

# **An Evaluation of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence Which Demonstrates Robert Bruce's Policy of Slighting Castles in Scotland**

**Philippa RJ Johnston  
180004589**

Word Count: 11,991



University of  
St Andrews

Supervisor: Professor Michael Brown

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of M.A. Honours in  
the School of History, University of St Andrews.

April, 2024

I, Philippa RJ Johnston, attest that this dissertation, for submission to the School of History, University of St Andrews, is entirely my own work. It contains exactly 11,991 words.

3<sup>rd</sup> April 2024.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Johnston', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

## **Abstract**

During the Scottish Wars of Independence, Robert Bruce developed a policy of systematically dismantling his own castles to impede the English from later using them against him. Referred to as slighting, this policy involved the damage of high-status structures, their associated landscape and contents. Whilst this policy degraded the value of the castles, it also instilled fear in the English nobles and was a successful wartime strategy. This dissertation will aim to evaluate textual and archaeological evidence which demonstrates Bruce's castle policy. By analysing textual evidence, it is possible to establish which castles Bruce targeted and the dates on which he implemented his policy. Archaeological evidence, meanwhile, deepens our understanding of the specific structures targeted and the level of damage caused by Bruce. Additionally, archaeology confirms slighting to have taken place on a site and, when combined with the textual evidence, forms a picture of the totality of damage that the castle incurred. By dividing the evidence into destruction and reconstruction, it is possible to understand the extent of damage where reconstruction further evidences the prior and proves to be paramount in enabling the building to be reused following his policy. The dissertation will address multiple sites Bruce impacted, including high-status sites like Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling Castles. The archaeological evidence appears to back up the textual evidence we hold and may enable a picture to be formed of Bruce's castle slighting policy.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would first like to thank my advisor, Professor Michael Brown, who helped guide me through this dissertation with a clear enthusiasm and passion for his field. Thank you to the St Andrews history department and to my lecturers, who helped give me the foundational knowledge to be able to write this paper. Additionally, thank you to Professor Beach and Professor Dawson, who helped foster my combined passion for the two disciplines of medieval history and archaeology. I would also like to thank the team at ScARF, who supported me in becoming a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and encouraged my research and first publication concerning Robert Bruce and his slighting policy. I would also like to thank Jonathan and our cat, Daisy, for your support and for joining me on so many castle visits. Thank you also to my parents for always being there and helping me get to archaeological digs throughout Scotland and England.

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>9</b>
1.1	Background of Robert Bruce.....	9
1.2	Castles in Context.....	11
1.2.1	Roles of Castle and Bruce’s Impact Upon Them.....	11
1.2.2	Slighting Pre-Bruce.....	13
1.2.3	Robert Bruce’s Slighting Policy.....	15
1.2.4	Slighting Post-Bruce.....	16
1.3	Aims of Thesis.....	17
<b>2</b>	<b>Textual Evidence.....</b>	<b>18</b>
2.1	Destruction.....	18
2.1.1	Roxburgh Castle.....	18
2.1.2	Edinburgh Castle.....	20
2.1.3	Stirling Castle.....	21
2.1.4	Douglas Castle.....	21
2.1.5	Caerlaverock Castle.....	22
2.1.6	Buittle Castle.....	23
2.1.7	Tibbers Castle.....	23
2.1.8	Threave Castle.....	23
2.1.9	Inverness Castle.....	24
2.1.10	Urquhart Castle.....	24
2.1.11	Bothwell Castle.....	25
2.1.12	St Andrews Castle.....	25
2.1.13	Summary.....	26
2.2	Reconstruction.....	26
2.2.1	Roxburgh Castle.....	26
2.2.2	Edinburgh Castle.....	27
2.2.3	Stirling Castle.....	28
2.2.4	Douglas Castle.....	29
2.2.5	Bothwell Castle.....	29
2.2.6	Summary.....	29
<b>3</b>	<b>Archaeological Evidence.....</b>	<b>30</b>
3.1	Destruction.....	30

3.1.1	Roxburgh Castle.....	30
3.1.2	Edinburgh Castle.....	31
3.1.3	Stirling Castle.....	32
3.1.4	Caerlaverock Castle.....	33
3.1.5	Buittle Castle.....	34
3.1.6	Tibbers Castle.....	34
3.1.7	Threave Castle.....	35
3.1.8	Bothwell Castle.....	36
3.1.9	St Andrews Castle.....	38
3.1.10	Summary.....	39
3.2	Reconstruction.....	39
3.2.1	Roxburgh Castle.....	39
3.2.2	Edinburgh Castle.....	41
3.2.3	Stirling Castle.....	42
3.2.4	Caerlaverock Castle.....	42
3.2.5	Tibbers Castle.....	44
3.2.6	Inverness and Urquhart Castles.....	44
3.2.7	Bothwell Castle.....	44
3.2.8	Summary.....	45
<b>4</b>	<b>Analysis.....</b>	<b>46</b>
4.1	Roxburgh Castle.....	46
4.2	Edinburgh Castle.....	47
4.3	Stirling Castle.....	48
4.4	Douglas Castle.....	49
4.5	Caerlaverock Castle.....	50
4.6	Buittle Castle.....	51
4.7	Tibbers Castle.....	52
4.8	Threave Castle.....	53
4.9	Inverness Castle.....	54
4.10	Urquhart Castle.....	55
4.11	Bothwell Castle.....	56
4.12	St Andrews Castle.....	57
<b>5</b>	<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>59</b>

## List of Figures

Figure 1: The Distribution of Castle Slighting in England from Pre-1100 to 1485.....	13
Figure 2: Castles Taken by Robert Bruce by the 1st of January 1314.....	16
Figure 3: Route of Robert Bruce where he Slighted Inverness and Urquhart Castles.....	16
Figure 4: Map of Castles Impacted by Bruce that are Discussed in this Thesis.....	17
Figure 5: Plan of 16th Century Castle.....	30
Figure 6: Excavation Work at the Tunnel Below St Margarets Chapel.....	31
Figure 7: Douglas Gardens Excavation Location.....	33
Figure 8: The West Gatehouse Tower and the West Curtain Wall.....	34
Figure 9: Diagram of Trench L.....	35
Figure 10: Dated Plan of Bothwell Castle.....	36
Figure 11: North Wall of Gatehouse.....	37
Figure 12: Trench A.....	37
Figure 13: Damaged Donjon.....	37
Figure 14: Plan of the Excavation Site.....	38
Figure 15: Plan of Tannery.....	38
Figure 16: North Curtain Fragment.....	40
Figure 17: Curtain on Teviotside.....	40
Figure 18: Excavation of Bridges.....	43
Figure 19: Dendrochronological Dating of Bridges.....	43
Figure 20: Difference in Masonry.....	43
Figure 21: Roxburgh Castle in 2009.....	46
Figure 22: Edinburgh Castle in 2014.....	47
Figure 23: Stirling Castle in 2017.....	48
Figure 24: Douglas Castle in 2009.....	49
Figure 25: Caerlaverock Castle in 2011.....	50
Figure 26: Buittle Castle in 2013.....	51
Figure 27: Tibbers Castle.....	52
Figure 28: Threave Castle in 2009.....	53
Figure 29: Inverness Castle in 2017.....	54
Figure 30: Urquhart Castle in 2017.....	55
Figure 31: Bothwell Castle in 1998.....	56
Figure 32: St Andrews Castle in 2017.....	57

## List of Abbreviations

<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>CDS</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>HES</i>	<i>Historic Environment Scotland</i>
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
<i>RCAHMS</i>	<i>Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland</i>
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i>

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background of Robert Bruce

Robert Bruce was born at Turnberry Castle in 1274. Throughout his youth, he spent much time in the highlands and in fosterage with an Argyllshire family.<sup>1</sup> According to Penman, these experiences shaped Bruce and prompted his empathy for the Gael and also, the Scottish cause;<sup>2</sup> these empathies, alongside his personal ambitions, encouraged Bruce to pursue kingship, and from 1306 to 1329, he acted as King of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Bruce fought for Scotland's independence throughout this period and was successful in 1328 when the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was signed. This treaty acknowledged Bruce and his heirs as Scotland's rightful rulers, and Scotland itself was considered independent.<sup>4</sup> The following year, Bruce, at the age of fifty-five, 'on the 7th of June, 1329, [died] from severe disease.'<sup>5</sup>

In 1286, Scotland suffered a great loss with the death of both its king, Alexander III and his young granddaughter, the Maid of Norway.<sup>6</sup> Their deaths left Scotland with no direct successor and multiple claimants, including Bruce's grandfather, bidding for the throne. The king of England, Edward I, intervened in this succession crisis, and claimants were ultimately forced to pay homage to him. In 1292, John Balliol was declared king; however, this kingship was weakened by Edward's consistent intervention in Scottish affairs. Edward involved himself in the judicial and financial sectors of Scotland and demanded troops from it for his war against France. The Scots, angered by this, formed a 'defensive/offensive alliance with France'<sup>7</sup> and subsequently started a war with England. It was in this year that the Scottish Wars of

---

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Dean, 'Scottish profiles in leadership: William Wallace and Robert the Bruce', *Medieval Warfare*, 6:2 (May/June, 2016), p.54.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Penman, *Robert the Bruce: King of the Scots* (New Haven, 2014), p.19.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Grant, 'The Death of John Comyn: What Was Going On?', *SHR*, 86:222 (October, 2007), p.189.

<sup>4</sup> Sonja Cameron and Alasdair Ross, 'The Treaty of Edinburgh and the Disinherited (1328—1332)', *History*, 84:274 (April, 1999), p.237.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical account of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1844), p.148.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth M. Blakely, *The Brus Family, In England and Scotland 1100-1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), p.85.

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Bonner, 'Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295—1560', *History*, 84:273 (January, 1999), p.5.

Independence began. They started off badly for the Scottish, with their king being imprisoned and stripped of his title; however, by 1297, Edward had lost his control, and Wallace and Murray had regained Scotland and won a significant battle (The Battle of Stirling Bridge), which resulted in Wallace becoming a guardian.<sup>8</sup> However, this success was short lived and following the Scots failure at the battle of Falkirk and their internal issues, Wallace resigned from his position and was eventually executed in 1305 whilst a deal was made with Edward.<sup>9</sup> This deal, too, was short-lived, and the Robert Bruce of this dissertation came into play. Additionally, in 1306, Bruce murdered Comyn ‘in the church of the Franciscan Friary at Dumfries,’<sup>10</sup> who was another rival for the throne present in Scotland, and his demise enabled Robert to soon become King. Following this, he ‘seized and garrisoned a number of castles..but defeat in the field rendered them redundant,’<sup>11</sup> and as a result of his prior actions, he was excommunicated and had to flee. Bruce returned in 1307 and here he began his castle slighting policy, potentially starting with his own hereditary castle of Turnberry.<sup>12</sup>

Bruce’s campaign from 1306 to 1329 showed him to be an effective leader who was proficient in military strategy. A key aspect of his strategy was the use of slighting, where he systematically dismantled his own castles to impede the English from later using them against him. Given his social position as a nobleman, Robert was well-taught in all aspects of Chivalry. These included a well-rounded schooling in language and military pursuits, where Chroniclers recall how he read ‘the histories of ancient kings and princes and how they conducted themselves in their times, both in wartime and in peacetime.’<sup>13</sup> These teachings and readings enabled Bruce to become a capable leader who, alongside his strong support network of figures like Thomas Randolph, Robert Boyd and James Douglas, was able to consolidate his position as Scotland’s rightful ruler.

---

<sup>8</sup> Dean, ‘Scottish profiles in leadership’, p.53.

<sup>9</sup> Henry W. Nevinson, ‘Rebellion’, *The North American Review*, 192:660 (November, 1910), p.681.

<sup>10</sup> Grant, ‘The Death of John Comyn’, p.179.

<sup>11</sup> David Cornell, ‘A Kingdom Cleared of Castles: the Role of the Castle in the Campaigns of Robert Bruce’, *SHR*, 87:224 (October, 2008), p.233.

<sup>12</sup> Colm McNamee, *Robert Bruce: Our Most Valiant Prince, King and Lord* (Edinburgh, 2006), p.128.

<sup>13</sup> Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, p.16.

## 1.2 Castles in Context

### 1.2.1 Roles of castles and Bruce's impact upon them

Castles were a central component of medieval Scotland and medieval society as a whole. They played key social, political, economic and military roles to individuals and the entire community.

Socially, castles were hubs of cultural activity where many types of people could be found. They were private homes of the elite and workplaces for others. Many also had tenants who would manage the land's agricultural activity.<sup>14</sup> By acting as local judicial centres, castles, too, controlled their surrounding community. For their owners, they were also bases of social activity where feasts and tournaments would take place. These activities highlighted the chivalric nature of the owner and showed their peers their status.

Bruce, by damaging castles and rendering them useless, was able to disrupt these social patterns. By removing private strongholds, Robert denied the 'aristocracy the luxury of remaining uncommitted to his cause'<sup>15</sup> and subsequently placed himself and his supporters in direct control of local communities. Moreover, by taking direct and indirect charge of the localities, Bruce was able to demand service from a greater number of people and supply them with equipment like 'a lance and sword'<sup>16</sup> for his wars against England.

Political, castles were structures from which political and fiscal control could be exerted. Acting as judicial centres, these buildings controlled their localities. On an individual level, castles were a lord's powerbase, which highlighted their status and position in society.

Bruce was able to shift Scotland's political sphere through his castle policy and influence individual lords and their families' prominence and influence. As a 'lord ruled from his castle,'<sup>17</sup> these structures were inextricably linked to his lordship and status. Slighting, thus, was a symbolic removal of a lord's power and the granting of these lands to a new individual, a

---

<sup>14</sup> Oliver Creighton and Robert Higham, *Medieval Castles* (Oxford, 2003), p.18.

<sup>15</sup> McNamee, *Robert Bruce*, p.248.

<sup>16</sup> St Andrews University, '1318, 3 December, Scone, Parliament', *Parliamentary Record*, Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, 2007-2024 <<https://www.rps.ac.uk>> [accessed 30 March 2024].

<sup>17</sup> Richard Anthony John Nevell, 'King of the Castle: A Study of Castle Slighting in the 12th and 13th centuries' (MA Thesis, University of Leicester, 2011), p.2.

symbolic reward for support.<sup>18</sup> Bruce strategically targeted Comyn and Balliol strongholds, perhaps for this reason and to demonstrate his overarching position of power over his opposition and rival claimants. Therefore, Bruce was able to control the politics of his kingdom through his policy and ensure opposition was rooted out and could not control territories. This gave him greater control over a large geographical range.

Financially, castles played a central role in the economy. They were locations of trade, both local and sometimes foreign and provided goods and revenue to their owner and the king. Urban castles were linked to local markets and, therefore, central to the town's population. However, whilst castles did provide revenue, they were expensive to garrison. Cruccueth in 1402-3 evidences this expense, where the provision of '6 men at arms and 50 archers in the castle... amounted to a staggering £416 12s. 2d.'<sup>19</sup>

Whilst Edward, Robert's opposition, could afford this as he 'possessed great resources to raise an army,'<sup>20</sup> Robert could not and he held 'more castles than he could garrison.'<sup>21</sup> By damaging castles, Bruce also impacted his opposition's revenue and supply chain by removing important links. Additionally, as Edward could not finance the rebuilding of these castles, Robert had created an irreversible weakness in his opposition's campaign. Bruce, did, however, preserve the key castles which provided vital and strategic foreign trade. These castles, thus, did not conform with his policy and instead evidence the importance he placed on the economic condition of his realm. Berwick was amongst these castles where Robert 'repaired the castle'<sup>22</sup> in addition to providing it with a garrison and confirming it with 'privileges and market rights.'<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Bruce maintained Aberdeen and Dundee as these were 'vital harbours for the receipt of weaponry and foodstuffs from Flanders.'<sup>24</sup> The retention of these demonstrates Bruce's fore-planning and keen understanding of the finances of a successful campaign.

---

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2016), p.83.

<sup>20</sup> Caroline Bingham, *Robert the Bruce* (London, 1998), p.215.

<sup>21</sup> Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1300-1328* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 2022), p.37.

<sup>22</sup> Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1988), p.301.

<sup>23</sup> Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, p.210.

<sup>24</sup> McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces*, p.233.

Militarily, Castles had both defensive and offensive roles in this period. Defensively, these structures were able to safeguard those inside and provide refuge. Offensively, castles created a strong network which could be used during a campaign. They enabled leaders to replenish supplies and acted as a camp. Due to the nature of the building and level of fortification, castles could also actively engage in warfare and deter enemies.

The military importance of castles is the most significant factor behind Robert's policy where by damaging castles he essentially rendered his opponents warfare tactics useless. Bruce was able to play to his sides strong suit and remain on the move whilst utilising guerrilla warfare.<sup>25</sup> The English were now at a disadvantage and Robert's forces could fight in 'the forests, the moors...and rugged terrain [which] compensated for lack of manpower.'<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, Robert's policy meant the English could not progress through Scotland and actively gain territory in the realm.

### 1.2.2 Slighting Pre-Bruce

Prior to Bruce, Slighting had been used infrequently and tended not to be a policy of warfare but rather a tool used by an individual in response to a set of specific events.

Whilst the 12th and 13th-century kings of England did use slighting as a tactic to control rebellious barons, they did not consistently use it. Moreover, it had traditionally only been used on castles that belonged to opponents rather than ones which their supporters or they themselves possessed.

Date	Number
Before 1100	3
1100–1134	0
1135–1154 (The Anarchy)	14
1154–1189 (Reign of Henry II)	31
1189–1199 (Reign of Richard I)	0
1199–1216 (Reign of John)	13
1216–1272 (Reign of Henry III)	13
1272–1307 (Reign of Edward I)	0
1307–1327 (Reign of Edward II)	3
1327–1377 (Reign of Edward III)	0
1377–1399 (Reign of Richard II)	1
1399–1413 (Reign of Henry IV)	0
1413–1485	2
Unknown/vague	4
Total	84

1. The distribution of castle slightings in England from pre-1100 to 1485. (Nevell, 'King of the Castle', p.12).

<sup>25</sup> Michael Brown, *Bannockburn: The Scottish War and the British Isles, 1307-1323* (Edinburgh, 2008), p26.

<sup>26</sup> McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces*, p.51.

By analysing Figure 1, it is clear the majority of these slightings took place between 1135 and 1272, with the exception of King Richard I's reign, which lasted only ten years. In this period, England was consumed with internal strife and rebellious barons who possessed a greater number of castles than the monarchy; they aimed to challenge their king and his dislike of the castle ratio, which was 'almost 5 to 1.'<sup>27</sup> Nevell explains that castle slighting cases arose due to common themes, including the king denying his magnates ownership of their strongholds and the presence of civil war and rebellion.<sup>28</sup> Whilst these cases evidence Bruce's tactics being used elsewhere, they are dissimilar to his policy due to their reasoning. Bruce is attempting to actively hinder his opponent's military capacities whilst these kings are utilising the tactic to punish and control their own subjects.

The Welsh are also recorded using slighting as a tactic. However, their use of it is much more sparse. An event-specific slighting included that of Caergwrle, which was performed by Dafydd.<sup>29</sup> Like Bruce, he slighted his own castle in response to English forces he could not counter. However, Dafydd did not plan to slight in advance like Bruce, and instead, it occurred only a few days before the army arrived.<sup>30</sup> Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd are also recorded slighting castles in 1263.<sup>31</sup> Gwenwynwyn slighted Nantcribba castle,<sup>32</sup> and Llywelyn slighted Dyserth and Degannwy castles in Wales.<sup>33</sup> They used a variety of techniques and implemented picking, undermining and burning in their processes whilst specifically targeting the intra-mural area.<sup>34</sup> The strategy behind these sightings was similar to Bruce's, wherein Llywelyn destroyed the latter two castles to prevent them from falling back into English hands and being used as a 'secure base for [Edward's] army in north Wales.'<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Llywelyn, like Bruce, lacked the finances to directly challenge Edward's forces

---

<sup>27</sup> R. Allen Brown, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *EHR*, 74:291 (April, 1959), p.249.

<sup>28</sup> Nevell, 'King of the Castle', p.66.

<sup>29</sup> Sean Davies, 'Edward's Conquest', *Medieval Warfare*, 8:2 (June/July, 2018), p.39.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Richard Nevell, 'The Archaeology of Castle Slighting in the Middle Ages' (PhD Thesis, University of Exeter, 2017), p.162.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.169.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p.287.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.303-305.

<sup>35</sup> PLB Consulting Ltd, *Interpretation Plan for the Princes of Gwynedd for Cadw* (Swinton, 2010), p.16.

and, following his castle slightings, he engaged in guerrilla warfare, catching his enemies by surprise and subsequently retreating 'into the woods and hills.'<sup>36</sup>

### 1.2.3 Robert Bruce's Slighting Policy

Robert's motives for slighting castles, as discussed above (p.11-13), revolved around the structure's social, political, economic and military capabilities. By rendering the structure unusable, Bruce was able to strengthen his campaign against the English and his own kingship. Bruce's methodology centred around guerrilla tactics where he could take advantage of his smaller army of 3500 to 6000 men.<sup>37</sup>

In 1307, Bruce marched north, and his 'forces swept through the great glen,'<sup>38</sup> taking the castles of Inverness and Urquhart. Following capture, he proceeded to damage them and render them useless. In 1314, Bruce's main men, Douglas and Randolph, stealthily captured Roxburgh and Edinburgh castles. Covertly, alongside the dark of night, gave Bruce and his smaller force an advantage. Following the capture, Robert ordered the destruction of these castles. Douglas Castle, taken twice by Douglas, was captured through bribery. The first time, he paid soldiers for entry, and the second time, instead, he 'raised a force of freeholders.'<sup>39</sup> Other than capture, Bruce also gained castles through surrender, like at Stirling, where the inhabitants were pressured to give him the building. Following his gain, Bruce slighted the structure, rendering it unusable to Edward. Whilst Bruce's method of slighting is hard to determine, the extent of it can be seen in Figure 2, and the route of his destruction can be traced in Figure 3. However, it can be understood that he damaged the castle's stonework in addition to burning timber structures present on site. The impact of Bruce's damage was the creation of a building that could no longer be considered militarily effective and was often uninhabitable.

---

<sup>36</sup> Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King, Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London, 2008), p.151.

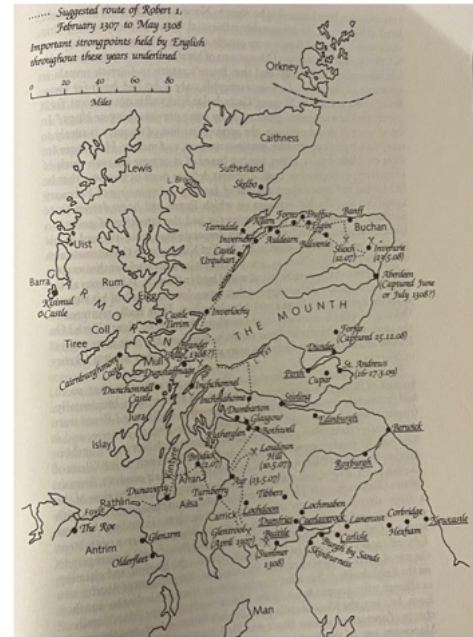
<sup>37</sup> Brown, *Bannockburn*, p.109.

<sup>38</sup> Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.175.

<sup>39</sup> Brown, *Bannockburn*, p.28.



2. Castles taken by Robert Bruce by the 1st of January 1314 (McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces*, p.48).



3. Route of Robert Bruce where he slighted Inverurie and Urquhart Castles (Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p.167).

## 1.2.4 Slighting Post-Bruce

Following Bruce, slighting was a tactic that continued to be used. After his death, Scotland was left vulnerable, and Edward Balliol jumped at the opportunity to restore the Balliol family to the throne. While Bruce's son's guardians one-by-one succumbed to death,<sup>40</sup> Balliol landed in Scotland and was crowned king of Scotland in September 1332; this led to the reignited Wars of Independence.<sup>41</sup> The loyal Scots remained resistant despite David II, Bruce's son, being in France until 1341 and, following Robert's example, continued to capture and render castles unusable.<sup>42</sup> Given these sightings were carried out by Bruce's remaining supporters, their acts of destruction can still be considered an impact of Robert and the subsequent reconstruction, evidence of their and, ultimately, his policy. Additionally, slighting as a tactic continued to be

<sup>40</sup> Stephen Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the Anonymous Chronicle', *SHR*, 76:201 (April, 1997), pp.28-29.

<sup>41</sup> Ranald Nicholson, 'The Siege of Berwick, 1333', *SHR*, 40:129 (April, 1961), p.19.

<sup>42</sup> Ranald Nicholson, 'David II, the Historians and the Chroniclers', *SHR*, 45:139 (April, 1966), p.61.

used by later generations post-Bruce, such as during England's civil war in the 17th century, where 'slighting of castles throughout the country' occurred.<sup>43</sup>

### 1.3 Aims of Thesis

This dissertation aims to understand Robert Bruce's impact on Scottish castles and, to do so, will analyse textual evidence in conjunction with the archaeological. The dissertation will be divided into three main sections; the first focuses solely on the textual evidence available and will present contemporary evidence of Robert's policy, whilst the second section will focus on the archaeological and architectural evidence available and will present relevant evidence of destruction in Robert's period and subsequent reconstruction following these dates. The final section discusses the two in conjunction with one another and tests the hypothesis: Is the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy consistent with one another? Whilst Robert Bruce impacted many castles, this dissertation will analyse a total of twelve castles, which can be seen in Figure 4. These castles will act, thus, as individual case studies for his overall impact on Scottish castles.



4. Map of castles impacted by Bruce that are discussed in this thesis (self-made).

---

<sup>43</sup> J. S. A. Adamson, 'The Baronial context of the English Civil War: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 40 (1990), p.119.

## 2 Textual Evidence

Before analysing the textual evidence, it must be noted that primary sources have limitations. Barbour's *Bruce*, for example, is propagandistic in nature, whilst English sources like the *Vita* struggle to remain neutral. Overall, however, these primary texts endow readers with depictions of the numerous events occurring within the period.

### 2.1 Destruction

This section will analyse the textual evidence of destruction at castles in which Bruce's forces are recorded as having been present at during his campaign. By doing so, the section lends credibility to the hypothesis of destruction under him and highlights the overall impact and extent of Bruce's slighting policy.

#### 2.1.1 Roxburgh Castle

The *Scotichronicon* evidences the presence of Bruce's forces at Roxburgh Castle during the period in which the castle was slighted by placing Bruce's captain, James Douglas, as being at Roxburgh Castle 'in 1313 on the night of Shrove Tuesday.'<sup>44</sup> This information corresponds with other contemporary sources where it is stated that he was responsible for taking 'two of the most fortified camps...[including] Roxburgh.'<sup>45</sup> The *Vita* broadly explains Bruce 'utterly destroyed, too, the walls of the castles'<sup>46</sup> and, within the same event description, expands on prior information, informing us of the actions taken by Douglas to gain Roxburgh Castle. Like the prior textual evidence, *Lanercost* explains that Douglas took the castle in the shield of the night using clandestine tactics, which involved positioning ladders on the walls and attacking 'sleeping

---

<sup>44</sup> Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon, Volume 6*, trans. and ed. D E R Watt (Aberdeen, 1991), p.349.

<sup>45</sup> *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. And Edward II., Volume II.*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1883), p.199.

<sup>46</sup> *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p.83.

or careless guards.’<sup>47</sup> Direct evidence of slighting comes from Gray and the Lanercost chronicle. Gray explains that the castle was ‘dismantled’<sup>48</sup> whilst the Lanercost chronicle states that Bruce’s forces ‘razed to the ground the whole of that beautiful castle.’<sup>49</sup> The Oxford Dictionary defines the term dismantled in the 1500s as ‘to render (fortifications, or the like) useless for their purpose, to pull down, take to pieces, destroy, raze.’<sup>50</sup> It can be understood, therefore, that Bruce's forces damaged Roxburgh Castle to the point that it could no longer function as it was originally intended. Given Roxburgh Castle had previously acted as an important military asset of the English where a ‘mounted force [was] based,’<sup>51</sup> Bruce can be considered as having damaged the building's fortifications to render it unable to perform in a military capacity. In addition to explaining the extent of damage inflicted on the site by Bruce, the chronicle of Lanercost also provides a contemporary understanding of the reason for its destruction. It explains Bruce’s forces burnt Roxburgh ‘so that the English could find no place of refuge in Scotland.’<sup>52</sup> By using the definition of dismantling again, this would suggest that Roxburgh’s other function, acting as a residence, was prevented by Bruce’s slighting. Importantly, this reasoning emphasises that Bruce’s slighting policy is making castles not only militarily incapable but uninhabitable, particularly for Edward and his troops whilst en route during campaigns. Lastly, Barbour evidences both the speed at which, the way in which and the key structures which Bruce impacted. It is explained that Bruce's brother ‘came with a large company, and made [them] work so hard that the tower and wall were knocked to the ground in a short time.’<sup>53</sup> This short time is also noted by Lanercost, who confirms that it was dismantled ‘soon after’<sup>54</sup> being taken. The speed of destruction evidences the level of support Robert held and the importance of slighting in his campaign against the English. Barbour also specifies that the

---

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.85.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica: The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III*, trans. and ed. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1907), p.51.

<sup>49</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, trans. and ed. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), p.204.

<sup>50</sup> ‘dismantle (v.), sense 5’, *Oxford English Dictionary*, September 2023, <[https://www.oed.com/dictionary/dismantle\\_v?tab=meaning\\_and\\_use](https://www.oed.com/dictionary/dismantle_v?tab=meaning_and_use)> [accessed 4 January 2024].

<sup>51</sup> David Cornell, ‘English Castle Garrisons in the Anglo-Scottish Wars of the Fourteenth Century’ (PhD Thesis, University of Durham, 2006), p.106.

<sup>52</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p.165.

<sup>53</sup> John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. A.A.M Duncan (Edinburgh, 1998), p.386.

<sup>54</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p.204.

‘tower, castle and donjon’<sup>55</sup> were devastated by Bruce. These structures were crucial to the militaristic and residential roles of a castle and their wreckage exemplifies Bruce’s desire to vitiate Roxburgh Castle and prevent it from being able to perform its traditional functions.

### 2.1.2 Edinburgh Castle

Bower records Edinburgh Castle as being taken ‘on 14 March...by Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Moray,’<sup>56</sup> placing another of Bruce’s main men at a castle that was slighted in this period. Following its capture, Barbour explains that Bruce ‘had [the] tower and wall mined [to collapse] completely to the ground.’<sup>57</sup> This directly evidences Bruce’s slighting of the castle and his specific targeting of unambiguous structures which, according to Gray, equated to the castle being ‘dismantled.’<sup>58</sup> Following our prior definition of dismantled, this would suggest that Bruce, by destroying these explicit structures, rendered the castle unusable for all its prior purposes. In addition to being destructed in these manners, Lanercost explains that ‘they razed the said castle to the ground.’<sup>59</sup> The term razed suggests that the building was demolished and removed in its entirety and whilst this could be symbolic of its functionality being removed, Bower’s description of the men of Namur at Edinburgh demonstrates Bruce may have literally obliterated the castle as all that remained of it in 1335 was ‘the lamentable hill where there used to be the maidens castle of Edinburgh.’<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.386.

<sup>56</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Volume 6, p.351.

<sup>57</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.400.

<sup>58</sup> Gray, *Scalacronica*, p.51.

<sup>59</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p.204.

<sup>60</sup> Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Volume 7, trans. and ed. A.B. Scott, D. E. R. Watt, Ulrike Morét and Norman F. Shead (Aberdeen, 1996), p.113.

### 2.1.3 Stirling Castle

Unlike the two previous castles, Stirling Castle was not gained through Bruce's forces' stealth but instead through 'Robert and the Scots lay[ing] continually in an ambush'<sup>61</sup> whilst Edward failed to help and the castle's stores diminished. Ultimately, Bruce came to a deal with its keeper and gained the castle through his surrender.<sup>62</sup> Despite this change in his castle capture methodology, Bruce stayed persistent in implementing his slighting policy, damaging Stirling Castle also. Barbour explains that he did this, once again, rapidly after gaining the stronghold and did so through having 'the towers mined [and reduced] right down to the ground.'<sup>63</sup> The referral to towers again demonstrates continuity through Bruce's targeting of a specific structure of the castle. Furthermore, the continuing citation of this structure being damaged is significant as towers were intrinsically linked with the militaristic functionality of castles and were 'a fitting visual focus for the noble residence.'<sup>64</sup> They signified the status of the castle's owner and were symbolic of the power they held over the local geography. Therefore, by destroying these at Stirling, Bruce can be identified as purposefully rendering it militarily incapable and demonstrating the shift of power from the English King to himself.

### 2.1.4 Douglas Castle

Whilst the Douglases were the 'hereditary keepers of Douglas castle,'<sup>65</sup> James Douglas went to this castle twice to prevent the English from being able to utilise it against the Scots at a later date. In 1307, James damaged Douglas Castle, and Barbour elucidates that Douglas 'took salt... and dead horses and polluted the well, then burned everything apart from the stonework.'<sup>66</sup> The purposeful damage of the well but not the castle's military defences is interesting as it demonstrates a motive to make the building uninhabitable for prolonged periods rather than just

---

<sup>61</sup> *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p.85.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.514.

<sup>64</sup> Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.59.

<sup>65</sup> Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (Edinburgh, 1998), p.41.

<sup>66</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.210.

martially ineffective until repair is carried out. This emphasises that there was more behind Bruce's policy than simply rendering castles powerless in warfare and that his policies had socio-political intent too. Following Douglas' first activity at the castle, it was recaptured by the English; however, soon after this, Douglas returned. Whilst there is no evidence of him slighting it a second time, it is understood that he had a time constraint and had to 'go toward the king in great haste.'<sup>67</sup> This explains why Douglas could not cause equally significant damage and shows that despite Bruce having a consistent policy of slighting, it could not always be carried out as movement rapidly elsewhere in Scotland was necessary.

### **2.1.5 Caerlaverock Castle**

Caerlaverock Castle was owned by the Maxwell family and upon changing allegiance to Robert in 1312, he was ordered to 'demolish that castle.'<sup>68</sup> This order aligns with Bruce's policy and shows that, despite how a castle is obtained, his policy of slighting is enforced. Following Bruce's death and the 'renewed civil war...between the Bruce and Balliol factions,'<sup>69</sup> both Maxwell and Caerlaverock Castle changed sides to support Balliol. By 1332, the family were rebuilding; however, in 1356, the castle is explained by Bower as having been taken 'from the hands of adversaries by force and valor, and cast ..down to the ground.'<sup>70</sup> This directly evidences Bruce's slighting policy being enforced by William Douglas and demonstrates it to have been severely damaged.

---

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.246.

<sup>68</sup> Doreen Grove and Peter Yeoman, *Caerlaverock Castle* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 2006), p.28.

<sup>69</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Caerlaverock Castle* (Edinburgh, 2021), p.30.

<sup>70</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon, Volume 7*, p.297.

### **2.1.6 Buittle Castle**

Buittle Castle was captured in 1313 ‘by the king by main force.’<sup>71</sup> After their capture, Bower records how it was amongst those that were ‘razed to the ground.’<sup>72</sup> This directly evidences Bruce’s slighting policy.

### **2.1.7 Tibbers Castle**

Tibbers castle, built around 1298 by a Scottish noble who supported Edward I, was also impacted by Bruce's slighting campaign.<sup>73</sup> Undoubtedly, the owner’s allegiance played a role in why this castle was damaged and McNamee believes that, whilst Edward Bruce didn’t take it initially, he did eventually.<sup>74</sup> While it is not mentioned directly in contemporary sources, it was undoubtedly amongst the castles that Bruce's brother took in the Galloway expedition the Lanercost mentions.<sup>75</sup> The abandonment of the castle in 1313, when Robert ignited his policy of castle slighting again, suggests its owner may have foreseen what would happen to the site and felt retaining the castle was of no advantage as it would soon be rendered functionless.

### **2.1.8 Threave Castle**

Threave Castle is also suggested to have been slighted by Bruce during the assailing of 1308. Given that Threave Castle was the lodging of a ‘Gallovodian nobleman who supported the Balliols,’<sup>76</sup> it is not an unlikely site to be destroyed due to the owner’s dispassion for Bruce. Additionally, because it is in Galloway, Lanercost’s specified region of destruction, and

---

<sup>71</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Volume 6, p.349.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> W. Douglas Simpson, ‘Skipness Castle’, *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 15:3 (1966), p.104.

<sup>74</sup> McNamee, *Robert Bruce*, p.161.

<sup>75</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p.273.

<sup>76</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Threave Castle* (Edinburgh, 2017), p.3.

McNamee's proposition that Threave Castle was a potential target of Robert's policy,<sup>77</sup> Threave could be identified as being amongst the castles slighted in this region by Bruce.

### **2.1.9 Inverness Castle**

In October, Bruce is recorded as having reached Inverness Castle. Once he reached it, Bower records that 'after the garrison had been killed he razed it to the ground.'<sup>78</sup> This information is consistent with Barbour, who agrees that the garrison was devastated and that the castle itself was 'altogether destroyed to the foundations.'<sup>79</sup> Bruce's policy at Inverness can, therefore, be considered one of utter destruction where contemporaries are in full agreement about the deaths of those within and the building's complete eradication.

### **2.1.10 Urquhart Castle**

Inverness Castle was the standard for how Bruce's policy impacted the northern castles and Urquhart Castle was no exception. It can be considered amongst those other castles in the north which Fordun suggests he slighted 'in this very way.'<sup>80</sup> However, given Urquhart Castle 'had been left ungarrisoned,'<sup>81</sup> it can be understood that, unlike at Inverness, he impacted primarily the building rather than those within as it was already suffering 'through lack of proper keeping.'<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> McNamee, *Robert Bruce*, p.149.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.320.

<sup>80</sup> John Fordun, *John of Fordun's Chronicle of The Scottish Nation*, ed. William F. Skene and trans. Felix J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1872), p.336.

<sup>81</sup> Brown, *Bannockburn*, p.30.

<sup>82</sup> Patricia M. Barnes and G.W.S Barrow, 'The Movements of Robert Bruce between September 1307 and May 1308', *SHR*, 49:147 (April, 1970), p.52.

### 2.1.11 Bothwell Castle

In 1314, Following Bannockburn, 'the Scots, having received the surrender of its English garrison, dismantled the castle'<sup>83</sup> of Bothwell, which would lay 'destroyed and abandoned'<sup>84</sup> until 1336, when 'Edward III made Bothwell his headquarters.'<sup>85</sup> The prior abandonment portrays the castle as having been rendered entirely useless by Bruce's policy. Following recapture and repair by the English in 1337, Bruce's remaining supporters and guardian, Andrew of Moray, returned to Bothwell Castle, where they seized the building and 'after some little time .. levelled it with the ground.'<sup>86</sup> This later destruction emphasises the longevity of Bruce's Policy and the similarities in the way it was carried out after his death.

### 2.1.12 St Andrews Castle

St Andrews castle was besieged by Moray and an entourage 'for three weeks'<sup>87</sup> until those inside surrendered. Following this surrender, Bower records how, on the 28th of February, 'the consuming flame devoured its splendid buildings...and the walls were levelled to the ground.'<sup>88</sup> Whilst a prolonged siege using engines was not implemented by Bruce during his own castle policy,<sup>89</sup> the eventual impact of the policy on the castle was the same and Moray rendered the castle completely unusable.

---

<sup>83</sup> W. Douglas Simpson, 'Bothwell Castle Reconsidered', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 11 (1947), p.99.

<sup>84</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p.300.

<sup>85</sup> Chris Tabraham, *Bothwell Castle: the official souvenir guide* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 2009), p.26.

<sup>86</sup> Fordun, *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, p.354.

<sup>87</sup> Fordun, *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, p.354.

<sup>88</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon, Volume 7*, p.125.

<sup>89</sup> Cornell, 'A Kingdom Cleared of Castles', p.236.

### **2.1.13 Summary**

Therefore, the textual evidence on the destruction of these castles confirms Bruce's policy's impact on sites whilst demonstrating the severe effect it had on the castle's functionality. Additionally, the evidence has proved useful in demonstrating Bruce's motives behind his policy, where he aimed to render castles both militarily incapable and, on occasion, entirely uninhabitable. These motives are exemplified by the evidence showcasing which specific structures were targeted and that the practice of slighting was consistent and rigorous, regardless of the means by which Bruce gained a castle.

## **2.2 Reconstruction**

This section will evaluate the textual evidence of reconstruction at castles which Bruce's forces are recorded as having damaged during his slighting policy. By doing so, this section lends credibility to the hypothesis of prior destruction under him and highlights the overall impact and extent of Bruce's policy.

### **2.2.1 Roxburgh Castle**

After 1333, the English once again possessed Roxburgh Castle and began strengthening it.<sup>90</sup> The appointed keeper is recorded as having seized '240 boards of baltic timber, [originally] ordered for the roof'<sup>91</sup> of the local church and having ordered the seizure of '530 similar boards...to repair the castle.'<sup>92</sup> This evidences the castle's immediate need for repair following Bruce and suggests destruction, wherein his forces burnt structures of Roxburgh. It also suggests that Robert damaged the timber structures present at castles during his slightings. The Close Rolls also highlight what structures Bruce impacted, wherein it is recorded that money was given 'for the making of walls and other edifices';<sup>93</sup> structures which Bruce ultimately dismantled.

---

<sup>90</sup> Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, p.178.

<sup>91</sup> *ER*, i, p.411.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *CCR*, vii, p.42.

Evidence for Robert's impact is given further through the castle's need to be 'strengthened...by William of Felton'<sup>94</sup> in 1336 and Gray recording 'the said castle of Roxburgh having been fortified.'<sup>95</sup> In 1342, the Scots retook the castle by assault.<sup>96</sup> Shortly after this, the record states that 'Sir Alexander Ramsay got £26, 13s. 4d. to put the castle of Roxburgh in order,'<sup>97</sup> highlighting repair from Bruce's policy being incomplete. Additionally, the fact that the sum given was so high suggests the level of destruction caused by Robert was equally large.

### 2.2.2 Edinburgh Castle

Edinburgh Castle 'by 1335...was back in English hands'<sup>98</sup> and while it only stayed in their control for roughly six years, the English had already started reconstruction a year later. Bower records Balliol and Edward III employing John de Stivelyn in 1336 to rebuild the castle,<sup>99</sup> whilst Fordun explained that, ultimately, John 'strengthened'<sup>100</sup> the building. The need to rebuild so soon following the occupation of the site emphasises Robert's slighting policy's severe impact on the building, where it had to be hastily repaired to be functional. The king of England is also explained by Gray as having continued repairs whilst 'caus[ing] a strong garrison to be put in the castle.'<sup>101</sup> The placement of a garrison whilst repairs were still underway within this castle demonstrates that it was under immediate threat. Although the reasoning for this urgency may have simply been the remaining presence of Bruce supporters, the building's physical deficiency could have also contributed, wherein it was unable to defend itself fully due to the damage inflicted on it by Bruce's policy. In 1341, Douglas of Lothian retook the castle for the Scots and subsequently became its keeper.<sup>102</sup> As keeper, he was supplied with '£33, 1s. 3d. for military

---

<sup>94</sup> Fordun, *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, p.353.

<sup>95</sup> Gray, *Scalacronica*, p.99.

<sup>96</sup> Herbert Maxwell, 'The 'Scalachronica' of Sir Thomas Gray', *SHR*, 3:9 (October, 1905), p.8.

<sup>97</sup> *ER*, i, p.509.

<sup>98</sup> Chris Tabraham, *Edinburgh Castle: the official souvenir guide* (Edinburgh, 2008), p.50.

<sup>99</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Volume 7, p.113.

<sup>100</sup> Fordun, *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, p.353.

<sup>101</sup> Gray, *Scalacronica*, p.101.

<sup>102</sup> Michael A. Penman, 'The Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross, 17 October 1346', *SHR*, 80:210 (October, 2001), p.161.

engines and other works at the castle.’<sup>103</sup> The need for further work, despite recent reconstruction under the English, further exemplifies the potential severity of the damage caused by Bruce.

### 2.2.3 Stirling Castle

Whilst still under the control of the Scots, it was recorded that in 1327, ‘the construction of a certain house as a kitchen for the king’s work’<sup>104</sup> was carried out. This shows the building still being used as a domestic building following Bruce’s policy and suggests he did not damage it to the point of being uninhabitable. Following the English recapture in 1336, Edward III ‘went to Stirling, where he caused the castle to be fortified.’<sup>105</sup> This fortification was done ‘by William de Montague, who set Sir Thomas of Rokeby therein.’<sup>106</sup> With Rokeby as keeper, Stirling continued to be reconstructed and the Close Rolls record payment to him ‘for the expenses of works’<sup>107</sup> at the Castle and Henry Palmer, who was paid ‘18l. 11s., 11d. for divers works made about the pele.’<sup>108</sup> The latter of these transactions demonstrate a potential structure which could have been impacted by Bruce’s policy, whilst the transactions, when considered together, showcase the extent of damage caused by Bruce’s policy by exemplifying the level of repair required to rectify the damage.

---

<sup>103</sup> *ER*, i, p.508.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p.67.

<sup>105</sup> Gray, *Scalacronica*, p.102.

<sup>106</sup> Fordun, *John of Fordun’s Chronicle*, p.353.

<sup>107</sup> *CCR*, iv, p.555.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

#### **2.2.4 Douglas Castle**

Within the same year as Douglas had slighted the castle, the English retook it. Clifford, who was one of Edward's 'leading agents in the Scottish wars,'<sup>109</sup> is recorded as having made 'repairs to the castle.'<sup>110</sup> Additionally, he 'received a total of £100 from Edward I for this work...plus the services of 21 masons for nine days.'<sup>111</sup> The large sum given indicates the extent of damage Bruce's policy caused to Douglas Castle, whilst the presence of masons reveals the policy's destructive effect on the castle's masonry.

#### **2.2.5 Bothwell Castle**

Between the two slights that occurred at Bothwell Castle, there was an episode of reconstruction carried out by the King of England who 'caused the castle to be fortified...and caused a strong garrison to be placed therein.'<sup>112</sup> Additionally, it is recorded that 'Master John de Kilburn'<sup>113</sup> was at Bothwell during this period, suggesting the damage caused by Bruce's policy was being restored in 1336. Whilst this reconstruction was ultimately rendered useless as Moray re-slighted the castle, it evidences that Bruce's policy in 1314 caused repair to be necessary.

#### **2.2.6 Summary**

Therefore, the textual evidence of reconstruction for these castles demonstrates which structures were impacted and to what degree. Thus, the severity of disrepair caused by Bruce during his policy is positively correlated with the level of repair carried out on-site following its implementation.

---

<sup>109</sup> Andrew M. Spencer, 'Royal Patronage and the Earls in the Reign of Edward I', *History*, 93:1 (January, 2008), p.32.

<sup>110</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.211.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.212.

<sup>112</sup> Gray, *Scalacronica*, p.102.

<sup>113</sup> *CDS*, iii, p.358.

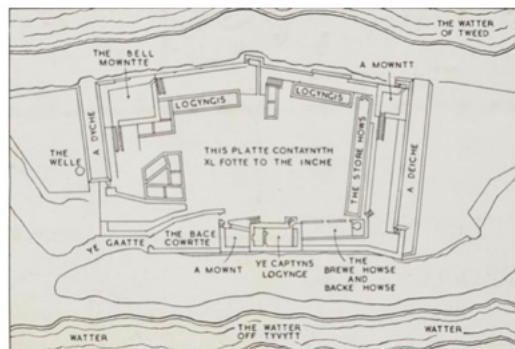
## 3 Archaeological Evidence

### 3.1 Destruction

This section will discuss the archaeological evidence of destruction at castles in which Bruce's forces are recorded as having been present at during his campaign. By doing so, the section lends credibility to the hypothesis of destruction under him and highlights the overall impact and extent of Bruce's slighting policy.

#### 3.1.1 Roxburgh Castle

Archaeology for Roxburgh Castle is limited due to the fact that little of Roxburgh Castle is visible above the surface and the fact that 'fieldwork on the site had been restricted.'<sup>114</sup> Whilst the tower which Barbour describes is untraceable, a possible location for it has been identified: where the 'bell mount of 1547'<sup>115</sup> was placed (Figure 5). Additionally, by tracking the decline of Roxburgh's burgh, it is possible to see that Bruce's policy 'accelerated the depopulation'<sup>116</sup> of it to the point that, by 1460, it had been utterly deserted.<sup>117</sup>



5. Plan of 16th century castle (RCAHMS, 'Key to 16th Century').

---

<sup>114</sup> Nevell, 'The Archaeology of Castle Slighting', p.27.

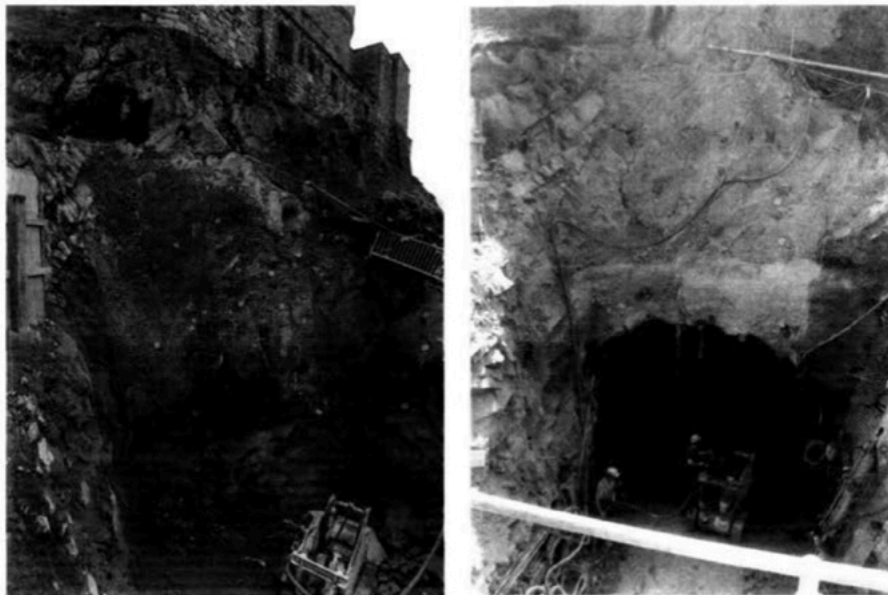
<sup>115</sup> HES, 'Roxburgh Castle, NT73SW 12, Ordnance Survey index card, page number 7, Recto' Canmore, 1958 50 1983 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/2454834>> [accessed 2 January 2024].

<sup>116</sup> Nevell, 'The Archaeology of Castle Slighting', p.234.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p.222.

### 3.1.2 Edinburgh Castle

Whilst Bruce's policy damaged a large majority of Edinburgh Castle, the Chapel of St. Margaret remained (Figure 6).<sup>118</sup> Unlike this chapel, Hodge explained that the main well of the castle became 'blocked and concealed during the demolition process.'<sup>119</sup> Whilst this may not have been a direct action of Bruce, even as a consequence, it demonstrates his slighting's impact, whereby the castle was made uninhabitable and stonework was brought down. The use of Ground Penetrating Radar has also provided evidence of a potential impact of Bruce, where 'anomalies suggestive of potential structural remains have been identified,'<sup>120</sup> indicating the presence of remnants of a past 14th-century curtain wall which has been built over.



6. Excavation work at the tunnel below St Margaret's Chapel (Driscoll and Yeoman, *Excavations within Edinburgh Castle*, p.12).

---

<sup>118</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - Defences* (Edinburgh, 2012), p.3.

<sup>119</sup> Arkady Hodge, *Edinburgh Castle Research: The Medieval Documents* (Edinburgh, 2018), p.360.

<sup>120</sup> Susan Ovenden, 'Edinburgh Castle, Ground Penetrating radar: Recording', Canmore, October 2015 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1026510>> [accessed 6 January 2024].

### 3.1.3 Stirling Castle

In 1995, excavations were carried out; of which, those in the Douglas Gardens and the east end of the chapel reveal evidence of Bruce's policy.<sup>121</sup> The Douglas Gardens excavations involved the opening of six trenches (Figure 7), exposing multiple finds and part of a wall. The prior of which 'indicate[d] an early-mid 14th century date for...demolition'<sup>122</sup> of the latter. The Chapel Royal excavations, meanwhile, possessed 'deposits containing quantities of demolition debris,'<sup>123</sup> which would be expected following Bruce's destruction of the site. Additionally, in 2005, near and beneath the kitchens, 'fragmentary traces of buildings of apparent 13th- and 14th century date'<sup>124</sup> were found. The discovery of these strongly evidences demolition around Bruce's policy's period, given that the discovery did not include later dated traces of buildings as well. Burial evidence also links Bruce and the castle's demolition, whereby 'skeletal evidence of trauma, combined with the radiocarbon dates probably relate to the Scottish wars of independence.'<sup>125</sup> It has been suggested by Ewart and Gallagher that the 'two young males pre-dating the conversion of the chancel arch into a doorway'<sup>126</sup> were part of the 'English garrisons of Stirling during the first half of the 14th century.'<sup>127</sup> Given their resting place has been built over, reconstruction following their deaths is evident. Additionally, throughout the site, charcoal and 'the presence of ash and coal'<sup>128</sup> has been discovered, particularly within 'the inner close immediately to the west of the great hall.'<sup>129</sup> This burnt deposit also included 'two pennies of Edward I/II,'<sup>130</sup> evidencing the structures must have been scorched before Bruce's death and

---

<sup>121</sup> G Ewart and A Radley, 'Roxburgh Castle, Excavation: Recording', Canmore, 1995 <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/142458/stirling-castle-chapel-royal>> [accessed 6 January 2024].

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> G Ewart and D Murray, 'Roxburgh Castle, Archaeology notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 2005 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/850875>> [accessed 7 January 2024].

<sup>125</sup> Gordon Ewart and Dennis Gallagher, *With Thy Towers High: The Archaeology of Stirling Castle and Palace, Archaeology Report no 9* (Edinburgh, 2015), p.55.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p.32.

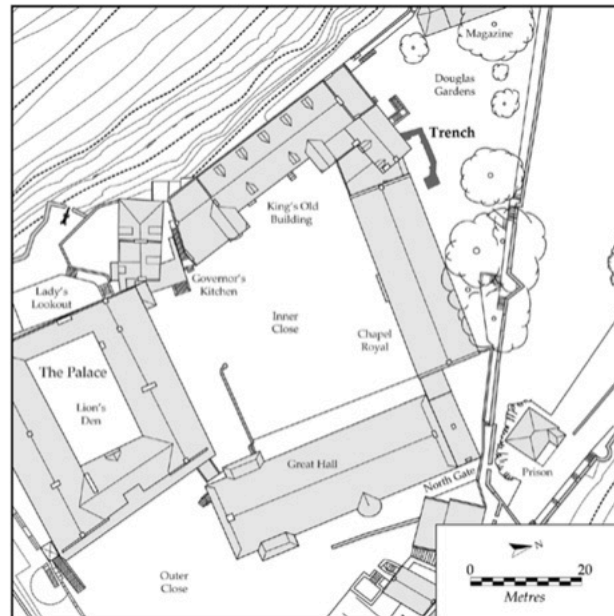
<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p.34.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

most likely during his damage of the site, given the castle was not in English hands again until 1337 in Edward III's reign.



7. Douglas Gardens excavation location (Ewart, 'Stirling Castle').

### 3.1.4 Caerlaverock Castle

The majority of the evidence for destruction by Bruce's policy at Caerlaverock Castle can be located at the lower levels of the site due to the amassed reconstruction above.<sup>131</sup> The curtain wall of this castle (Figure 8) is particularly significant in evidencing the dual impact of Bruce's destructive policy because there exists 'several different forms of masonry construction,'<sup>132</sup> which may indicate the two destructive phases and subsequent reconstructive phases. Whilst a 'break south of the gatehouse was interpreted as the result of a thorough destruction in 1312,'<sup>133</sup> the curtain wall is also evidenced as being brought down elsewhere on the site in this period. The need for new timbers on the site, as evidenced by dendrochronology, also may demonstrate destruction on-site.

<sup>131</sup> Iain MacIvor and Dennis Gallagher, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock castle, 1955-66', *The Archaeological Journal*, 156 (1999), p.189.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p.190.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*



8. The west gatehouse tower and west curtain wall (Grove and Yeoman, *Caerlaverock Castle*, p.16).

### 3.1.5 Buittle Castle

Excavations at Buittle Castle on the ‘perimeter of the S Bailey’<sup>134</sup> have revealed direct evidence of destruction under Bruce. This is because the fosse contained datable pottery alongside rubble, which is considered to have come from the castle’s dismantlement during Robert’s policy.<sup>135</sup>

### 3.1.6 Tibbers Castle

Destruction at Tibbers Castle has been identified through geophysics that revealed ‘the two baileys along the ridge to the south are secondary to an earlier ditched enclosure,’<sup>136</sup> which had contained ‘rectangular buildings’<sup>137</sup> associated with the castle before Bruce’s policy. However, the site does ‘show signs of rearrangement and evolution,’<sup>138</sup> making it difficult to precisely identify the policy’s destructive impact.

---

<sup>134</sup> A Penman and E Cochrane, ‘Buittle Castle, Archaeology Notes: Descriptive Accounts’, Canmore, 1999 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/730123>> [accessed 3 February 2024].

<sup>135</sup> A Penman and E Cochrane, ‘Buittle Castle, Archaeology Notes: Descriptive Accounts’, Canmore, 1997 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/730123>> [accessed 3 February 2024].

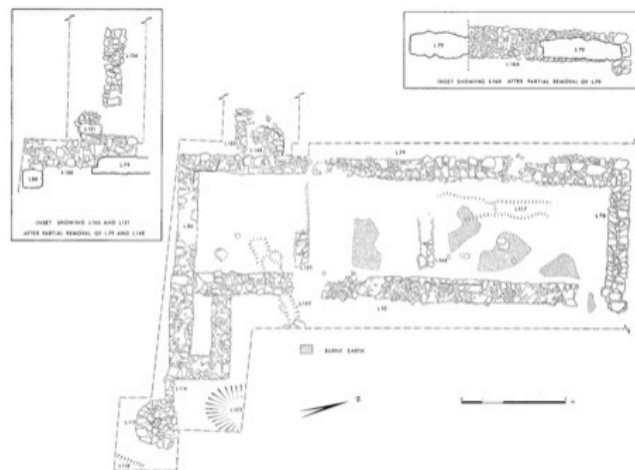
<sup>136</sup> Piers Dixon, Iain Anderson and Oliver O’Grady, ‘The evolution of a castle, Tibbers, Dumfriesshire: Measured and geophysical survey, 2013-14’, RCAHMS, 2015 <<https://castlestudiestrust.org/docs/Tibbers-Castle-Report-Final.pdf>> [accessed 3 February 2024], p.28.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

### 3.1.7 Threave Castle

Pre-dating the current castle on-site, there existed ‘an early castle of the lords of Galloway.’<sup>139</sup> Evidence of this can be found in ‘the debris of a badly burned building, interpreted as a smithy.’<sup>140</sup> This burnt building is associated with Bruce’s policy as, within the debris, ‘a coin of Edward I’<sup>141</sup> was found. Additionally, within trench L, the wall L166 was found (Figure 9). This wall is considered to have been part of a larger building which was destroyed during the slighting.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, the boundary ditches located in Trench L are linked by Good and Tabraham to Bruce’s tactic, as they are believed to have been on the site within the early 14th century.<sup>143</sup>



9. Diagram of trench L (Good and Tabraham, ‘Excavations at Threave Castle’, p.102).

<sup>139</sup> George L. Good and Christopher J. Tabraham, ‘Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway, 1974-78’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 25 (1981), p.136.

<sup>140</sup> HES, *Threave Castle*, p.3.

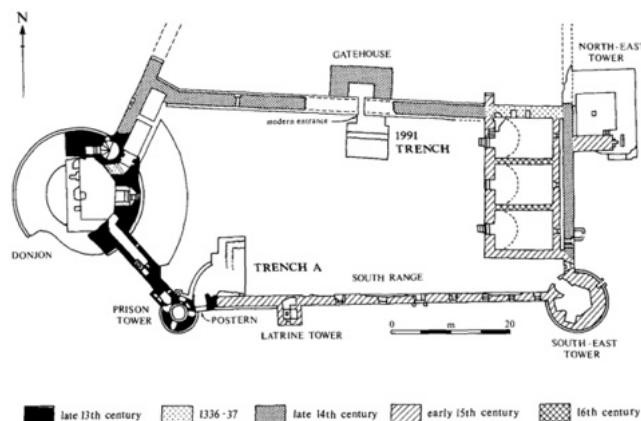
<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> Good and Tabraham, ‘Excavations at Threave’, p.136.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

### 3.1.8 Bothwell Castle

Bothwell underwent two slightings in the 14th century as a result of Bruce's policy and reconstruction after each, which can be seen in Figure 10. The first, in 1314, removed the gatehouse and its towers, as evidenced by the finding of their foundations in 1987-8 excavations (Figure 11).<sup>144</sup> Following this first slighting, the castle was repaired. However, evidence of further destruction in 1337, when Moray continued using Bruce's castle policy, can be identified. In trench A (Figure 12), there is evidence 'of disturbed clay and rubble, the latter resulting from the partial demolition of the surrounding buildings'<sup>145</sup> under Bruce's methods. Additionally, on the current exterior, 'the half-ruined donjon'<sup>146</sup> (Figure 13) clearly presents itself as direct evidence of Moray's 'demolition works.'<sup>147</sup> Excavation has 'revealed that the 13th-century outer defences were truncated and levelled,'<sup>148</sup> potentially by Bruce's strategy at the same time. In addition to this, excavations in the courtyard in the 1980s 'revealed some evidence for the long-demolished east range.'<sup>149</sup>



10. Dated plan of Bothwell Castle (Lewis, 'Excavations at Bothwell Castle, p.690).

<sup>144</sup> John Lewis, 'Excavations at Bothwell Castle, North Lanarkshire', *PSAS*, 127 (1997), p.687.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p.690.

<sup>146</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Bothwell Castle* (Edinburgh, 2014), p.9.

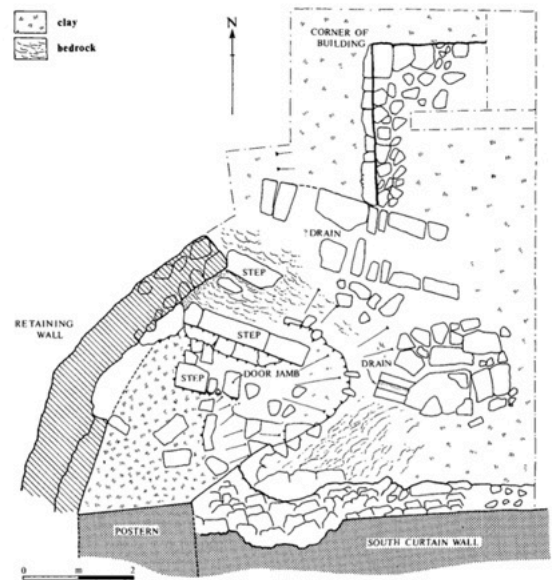
<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2.

<sup>148</sup> Gordon Ewart and Paul Fox, 'Bothwell Castle, Excavation: recording', Canmore, June 2015 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1025849>> [accessed 5 February 2024].

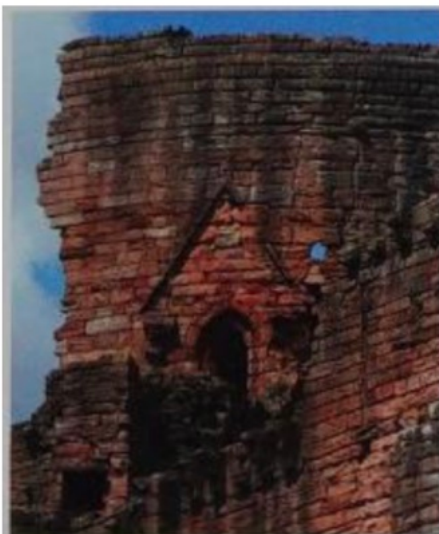
<sup>149</sup> HES, *Bothwell*, p.4.



11. North wall of gatehouse (HES, 'Excavation Photograph').



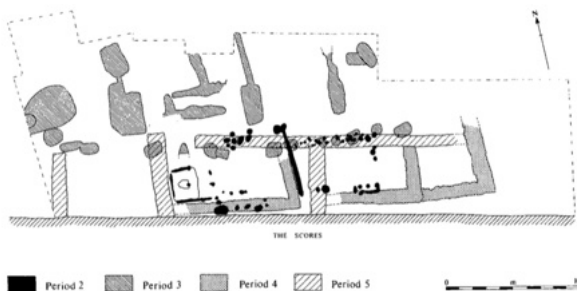
12. Trench A (Lewis, 'Excavations at Bothwell Castle', p.692).



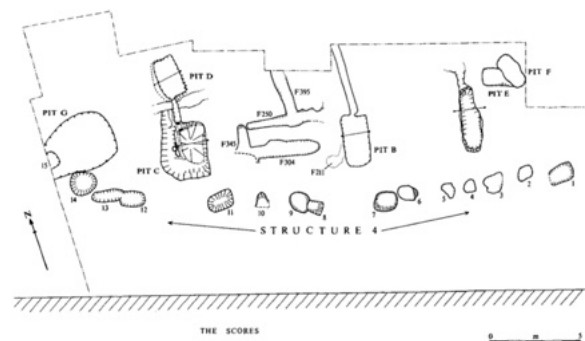
13. Damaged donjon (Tabraham, *Bothwell Castle*, p.27).

### 3.1.9 St Andrews Castle

Whilst St Andrews Castle now ‘largely reflected’<sup>150</sup> Traill’s building program of 1385, the castle’s foretower evidences the impact of Bruce’s policy, wherein ‘its lowest courses...appear to date from the later 12th/early 13th century,’<sup>151</sup> whilst its upper sections do not. This demonstrates the potential destruction of a portion of the tower by Moray in 1337. Additionally, in 1988-90, excavations were carried out that revealed a tannery (period 2) and masonry buildings of the late 14th and the 15th centuries (period 4)(Figure 14).<sup>152</sup> The tannery (Figure 15) appears to have come into existence as a direct result of the implementation of Bruce’s policy, leaving the castle for ‘most of the 14th century in a state of ruin.’<sup>153</sup> This association is backed up by ‘the abandonment of the tannery’<sup>154</sup> occurring upon ‘the completion of a major phase of rebuilding at the castle,’<sup>155</sup> suggesting it was only in operation whilst the castle was not functional itself.



14. Plan of the excavation site (Lewis, ‘Excavations at St Andrews’, p.624).



15. Plan of tannery (Lewis, ‘Excavations at St Andrews’, p.617).

<sup>150</sup> John H Lewis, ‘Excavations at St Andrews, Castlecliffe, 1988-90’, *PSAS*, 126 (1996), p.608.

<sup>151</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: St Andrews Castle* (Edinburgh, 2011), p.1.

<sup>152</sup> Lewis, ‘Excavations at St Andrews’, p.610.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p.607.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p.624.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

### **3.1.10 Summary**

Therefore, the archaeological evidence on the destruction of these castles confirms Bruce's policy's impact on sites and demonstrates his influence on their structures. The evidence has proved useful in tracing the precise locations of his slighting on some sites and the structures which he rendered functionless. Additionally, this has provided direct evidence of his tactics where demolition material and damaged and missing structures have been identified. Moreover, the presence of datable rubble at the castles has enabled a strong connection to be made between damaged features and Bruce's destructive approach. The use of ground penetrating radar at Edinburgh Castle and radiocarbon dating of human remains at Stirling Castle has also proven to be useful evidence for establishing Bruce's connection to each site during periods of destruction.

## **3.2 Reconstruction**

This section will discuss the archaeological evidence of reconstruction at castles in which Bruce's forces are recorded as having been present at during his campaign. By doing so, the section lends credibility to the hypothesis of destruction under him and highlights the overall impact and extent of Bruce's slighting policy.

### **3.2.1 Roxburgh Castle**

Evidence of reconstruction, as with destruction, is hard to trace at Roxburgh Castle due to the limited archaeological activity having taken place on the site. However, four pieces of evidence found on the site do help demonstrate reconstruction following Bruce's policy. Oram discusses 'surviving tombstones associated with St James'<sup>156</sup> found on-site. One of these was a female who has been ascribed 1371 as her year of death.<sup>157</sup> The presence of these human remains with a set date of death is valuable evidence that the castle was in reuse by the 1370s. Furthermore, it suggests that the site was habitable and that accommodation could be located within the castle.

---

<sup>156</sup> Colin Martin and Richard Oram, 'Medieval Roxburgh: a preliminary assessment of the burgh and its locality', *PSAS*, 137 (2007), p.396.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

Given Bruce is known to have impacted structures necessary for the residential use of castles elsewhere, like at Stirling, this could also be evidence of the reconstruction of domestic structures at Roxburgh following his policy's implementation. Additionally, on-site, 'there are considerable remains of the curtain'<sup>158</sup> along the side of the Teviot River. This wall (Figures 16 and 17) was built in 1378 to a staggering height, and it can be found on-site, with some sections of it still reaching 13ft.<sup>159</sup> Attached to the curtain remnants is a bastion. Significantly, this feature demonstrates reconstruction through the alternating stonework between it and the curtain wall, where the wall possesses later 'thinner rough coursed work,'<sup>160</sup> whilst the bastion retains 'earlier coursed masonry of the castle.'<sup>161</sup> A gate, which was reworked in the 1300s, is also found on site, possibly evidencing Bruce's policy of destruction's impact on specific elements of the castle and showcases the need for later reconstruction to render the castle once again functional.<sup>162</sup>



16. North curtain fragment (self-taken).



17. Curtain on Teviotside (RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle').

---

<sup>158</sup> RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle, Archaeology notes: Descriptive Account', Canmore, 14 June 1932 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/721709>> [accessed 21 January 2024].

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Piers Dixon, Ian Parker and Georgina Brown, 'Roxburgh Survey, Field Visit: Recording', Canmore, 2006 - 13 March 2009 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/884101>> [accessed 22 January 2024].

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

### 3.2.2 Edinburgh Castle

Given ‘the castle was almost entirely destroyed during a siege in 1573,’<sup>163</sup> archaeological evidence of reconstruction, as with deconstruction, is minimal. By analysing the Queen Anne Building of 1708-13, Historic Scotland has established that this building lies within a greater structure.<sup>164</sup> This latter structure has been attributed to David II in 1356 and can be considered a full building intended to replace the ruins of the previous castle damaged by his father’s slighting policy.<sup>165</sup> In addition to this construction, the building of a ‘stone-built arch and gateway’<sup>166</sup> and David Tower can be attributed to David II, evidencing the level of damage inflicted by Bruce’s policy. This tower can be seen ‘replacing its 12th-century predecessor’<sup>167</sup> and, through excavation, it is known to have been built alongside a curtain wall, suggesting that these defensive structures were created to replace those originally damaged by Bruce. The presence of ‘obvious 14th-century details’<sup>168</sup> such as ‘vertical arrow-slits, fishtailed at end...[and] flagged soffits supported on transverse ribs’<sup>169</sup> date this accurately and confirm his building project to have taken place following Bruce’s slighting of the castle. Surviving still, but repurposed, are the vaults which David built. Whilst it has been suggested that they were once part of a larger complex, they have since been extensively remodelled.<sup>170</sup> Regardless of the reconstructed component, the above directly evidences David’s need to repair even the integral structures of the castle following Bruce’s policy’s implementation.

---

<sup>163</sup> Anne Turner Simpson, 'Historic Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith: The Archaeological Implications of Development', Canmore, 1981 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1018050>> [accessed 22 January 2024].

<sup>164</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - Queen Anne Building* (Edinburgh, 2012), p.5.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - Portcullis Gate, Argyle Tower and Land Stairs* (Edinburgh, 2019), p.15.

<sup>167</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - David's Tower* (Edinburgh, 2012), p.3.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - The Vaults* (Edinburgh, 2012), p.1.

### 3.2.3 Stirling Castle

At Stirling, Ewart and Gallagher have mentioned the ‘random nature of the archaeological evidence,’<sup>171</sup> describing how the evidence present in the archaeological record doesn’t appear in a manner that best illuminates the occurrences that placed it there, but instead follows a random process that can seem confusing and senseless with the impossibility of gathering their full context. In terms of evidence of reconstruction, this makes the establishment of it difficult, where it is challenging to connect the archaeological evidence of it to Bruce’s slighting policy. However, despite this, there is evidence of wells being deepened in 1336-7<sup>172</sup> during the supposed rebuild period post-Bruce’s slighting and remains of a ‘mid-14th-century horizon [which] was sealed by remains of timber buildings’<sup>173</sup> of a later date are present.

### 3.2.4 Caerlaverock Castle

Reconstruction following the site’s slighting is evidenced throughout the castle. Significantly, the dendrochronology of bridge timbers found (Figure 18) revealed major repair at the castle in 1333 and the replacement of the bridge again in 1371.<sup>174</sup> Figure 19 reveals the dendrochronology of the original and the 1371 bridges of the castle. Whilst the tree used in the bridge was felled in 1333, it was ‘reused in the bridge some thirty years later’<sup>175</sup> and, according to MacIvor and Gallagher, shows ‘most of the work done in the 1370s [w]as repair and reinstatement needed because of the partial demolitions earlier in the century:’<sup>176</sup> demolitions associated with Bruce’s strategy. Additionally, the newer forework of this reconstruction required a shorter bridge. This itself evidences its building, suggesting, alongside ‘the patching visible in the east and west curtain walls and the east of the gatehouse,’<sup>177</sup> reconstruction following Robert’s policy. Changes

---

<sup>171</sup> Ewart and Gallagher, *With Thy Towers High*, p.23.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p.37.

<sup>174</sup> HES, *Caerlaverock Castle*, p.8.

<sup>175</sup> MacIvor and Gallagher, ‘Excavations at Caerlaverock’, p.170.

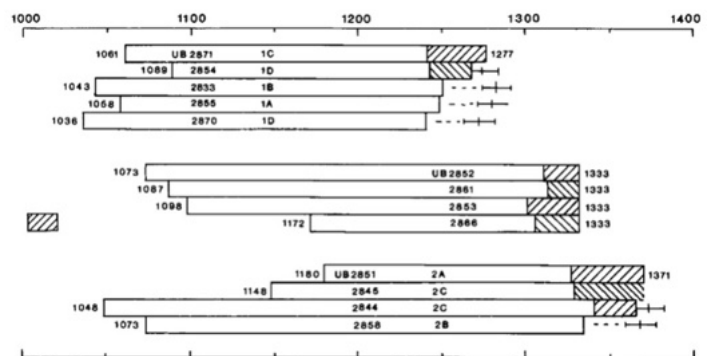
<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p.191.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

in masonry (Figure 20) also evidences this potential rebuild. However, further interpretation of this must be made to confirm a link between it and Bruce's castle slighting practice.<sup>178</sup>



18. Excavation of bridges (MacIvor and Gallagher, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock', p.165).



19. Dendrochronological dating of bridges (MacIvor and Gallagher, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock Castle', p.185.)



20. Differences in masonry (HES, 'Caerlaverock Castle').

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p.190.

### 3.2.5 Tibbers Castle

Reconstruction at Tibbers Castle is more obvious than destruction, where a ‘second phase development within the buildings of the courtyard’<sup>179</sup> is apparent. This evidence is clear through the coursing of the stonework of the ante-chamber, which differed from that ‘of either the NW curtain wall or the WNW-ESE building which they abut.’<sup>180</sup> This demonstrates that the chamber is a later annexation, alongside ‘the skewed wall which sits at the E end’<sup>181</sup> of the kitchen.

### 3.2.6 Inverness and Urquhart Castles

The northern castles of Inverness and Urquhart do present evidence of both destruction and reconstruction. However, the evidence is minimal and, therefore, would not add weight to the hypothesis given that, at Inverness Castle, ‘it is not clear how much survives of any archaeological remains of the medieval castle,’<sup>182</sup> and at Urquhart Castle, the site has become dilapidated and has suffered ‘plunder[ing] for its stone, lead, timber and other building materials.’<sup>183</sup>

### 3.2.7 Bothwell Castle

Bothwell experienced multiple phases of reconstruction as a result of slighting. The first reconstruction was in 1335 by the English. The north curtain wall was rebuilt during this period and evidences Bruce’s policy through the fact that ‘a great deal of ashlar from the destroyed portions has been re-used’<sup>184</sup> within this rebuild. Additionally, the ‘double reconstruction’<sup>185</sup> of Hamilton Tower evidences the occurrence of the two separate slightings. Here it is evidenced by

---

<sup>179</sup> Dixon, Anderson and O’Grady, ‘The evolution of a castle’, p.18.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>182</sup> David Perry, ‘Inverness: an historical and archaeological review’, *PSAS*, 128 (1998), p.845.

<sup>183</sup> RCAHMS, ‘Urquhart Castle, Publication Account: Descriptive Accounts’, Canmore, 1995, <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1016683>> [accessed 28 January 2024].

<sup>184</sup> W.D. Simpson, ‘The Architectural History of Bothwell Castle’, *PSAS*, 59 (November, 1925), p.174.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p.188.

the upper and lower part of the tower belonging to different reconstruction phases where the lower portion is built of ashlar whilst the upper part is constructed of rubble.<sup>186</sup>

### **3.2.8 Summary**

Therefore, the archaeological evidence on the reconstruction of these castles demonstrates which structures were impacted by Bruce's policy and had to be rebuilt and repaired at subsequent dates. The evidence has proved effective in showing the connections between the locations of reconstructed structures and those pre-Bruce. The masonry change seen in castle exteriors has provided direct evidence of his tactics where, visibly, reconstruction can be seen immediately following Robert's demolition. Additionally, the use of dendrochronology at Caerlaverock Castle and excavation at Edinburgh Castle has also provided useful evidence for establishing Bruce's strategies in link with different building phases at each castle.

---

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

## 4 Analysis

This section will consider both the textual and archeological evidence for each castle, describing what conclusions can be gleaned given the depth and content of each.

### 4.1 Roxburgh Castle



21. Roxburgh Castle in 2009 (RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle').

Textual evidence at Roxburgh Castle has emphasised that Bruce's policy impacted the castle's tower, walls and donjon. Archaeology has revealed a possible location for this tower but, other than a suggestion, no confirmation of it can be seen on site.<sup>187</sup> Additionally, because the tower is not visible on the surface at Roxburgh, and we would expect it to be given its height, it is clear that damage has occurred to cause it to fall, either by Bruce, natural degradation or another event, but nevertheless, it is consistent with the textual evidence suggesting that Bruce felled it. The reoccupation, alongside limited archaeological work on the site, has made it difficult to directly identify the aftermath of Bruce's policy and the subsequent reconstruction. What does remain on the site, however, is valuable, as the 1378 curtain wall, for example, showcases later occupation at the site and the need to rebuild following Bruce's recorded policy.<sup>188</sup>

---

<sup>187</sup> HES, 'Roxburgh Castle'.

<sup>188</sup> RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle'.

## 4.2 Edinburgh Castle



22. Edinburgh Castle in 2014 (RCAHMS, 'Edinburgh Castle').

It has been hard to determine the structures present at Edinburgh Castle pre-1500s due to consistent remodelling taking place on the site following the destruction of the castle in 1573.<sup>189</sup> What archaeology has revealed, however, was that demolition occurred in the early 13th century. This evidence comes from demolition debris present in the well and dates of evidenced damage correlate to those given in textual evidence surrounding Bruce's policy.<sup>190</sup> Additionally, the archaeological evidence of repairs within the gate in 1335,<sup>191</sup> and rebuilding under David II has demonstrated that reconstruction was necessary in the periods following Bruce's slighting of the castle.<sup>192</sup> Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Edinburgh Castle are consistent with one another.

---

<sup>189</sup> Simpson, 'Historic Edinburgh'.

<sup>190</sup> Hodge, *Edinburgh Castle Research*, p.360.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p.378

<sup>192</sup> HES, *David's Tower*, p.3.

### 4.3 Stirling Castle



23. Stirling Castle in 2017 (RCAHMS, 'Stirling Castle').

It has been hard to determine significant archaeological evidence at Stirling Castle for Bruce's policy as the archaeological record of the site has been impacted. Moreover, regular occupation and reconstruction of the site has made it difficult to determine the extent of the damage Bruce's policy caused. Archaeological evidence, however, does connect the overall wars of independence with the castle and destruction with Bruce's tactics. Human remains have been identified on the site which correspond with textual dates of the English garrison at Stirling,<sup>193</sup> whom Bruce took the castle from, whilst physical evidence found in burnt deposits date destruction to Bruce's slighting.<sup>194</sup> Additionally, the find of a wall which was clearly damaged in the same period as Bruce's policy connects to textual evidence explaining that his forces brought the castle to collapse.<sup>195</sup> Archaeological evidence is backed by reconstructive textual evidence as the archaeologists revealed the deepening of wells and construction of new walls on site, whilst textual evidence explained that works were carried out in this period and the castle was re-fortified.<sup>196</sup> Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Stirling Castle are consistent with one another.

---

<sup>193</sup> Ewart and Gallagher, *Why Thy Towers High*, p.34.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>195</sup> Barbour, *The Bruce*, p.514.

<sup>196</sup> Ewart and Gallagher, *Why Thy Towers High*, p.27.

#### 4.4 Douglas Castle



24. Douglas Castle in 2009 (RCAHMS, 'Douglas Castle').

It is difficult to connect the considerable textual evidence of Bruce's policy at Douglas Castle with archaeological evidence to date, as little to no archaeological work has been carried out on site. This dissertation must, therefore, rely on textual evidence alone to back up Bruce's strategy occurring at this site. Therefore, no connection can be made between the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting of Douglas Castle.

## 4.5 Caerlaverock Castle



25. Caerlaverock Castle in 2011 (RCAHMS, 'Caerlaverock Castle').

At Caerlaverock Castle, the textual and archaeological evidence are overwhelmingly consistent. There is strong archaeological evidence of destruction on the site occurring during Bruce's policy period, with the lower levels of masonry revealing remnants of the castle he brought down and the gatehouse elucidating the damage he caused.<sup>197</sup> Additionally, dendrochronology has revealed that rebuilding was necessary following Bruce's activity on the site.<sup>198</sup> Thus, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Caerlaverock Castle are consistent with one another.

---

<sup>197</sup> MacIvor and Gallagher, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock', p.190.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p.170.

## 4.6 Buittle Castle



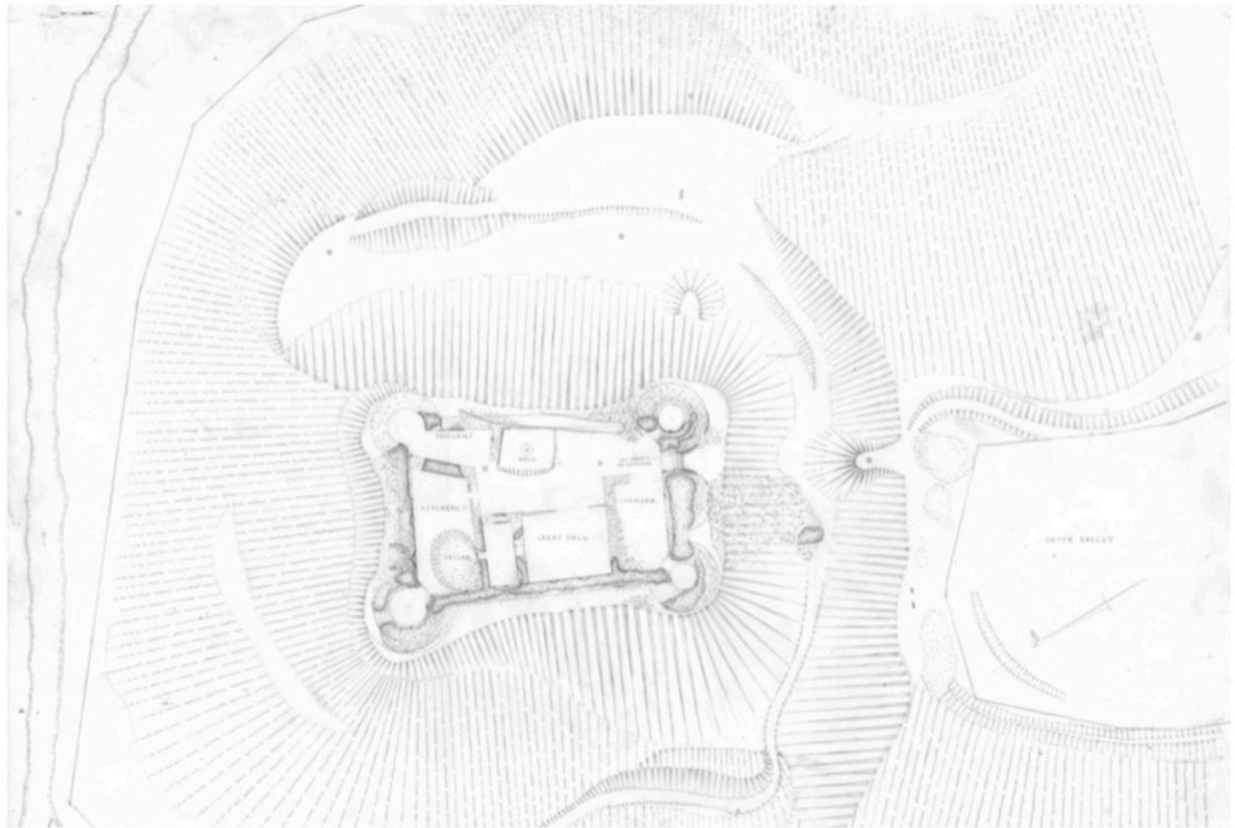
26. Buittle Castle in 2013 (RCAHMS, 'Buittle Castle').

Excavations at Buittle Castle have directly confirmed textual evidence of it being potentially amongst the castles undergoing Robert's slighting policy. The excavation has revealed the high level of damage incurred on the site's defences where the fosse contains, alongside datable material, structures which were destroyed by Bruce.<sup>199</sup> Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Buittle Castle are consistent with one another and the extent of damage caused by this slighting is clear.

---

<sup>199</sup> Penman and Cochrane, 'Buittle Castle'.

## 4.7 Tibbers Castle



27. Tibbers Castle (RCAHMS, 'Tibbers Castle').

Tibbers Castle was slighted by Bruce and fell out of use shortly after English reoccupation and re-development in 1313.<sup>200</sup> This early abandonment of the castle has resulted in somewhat limited archaeological evidence to be found on-site. The evidence that was found, however, suggests Bruce heavily damaged it, with reconstruction following this. Geophysics has been utilised at the site and has revealed further evidence of destruction and reconstruction.<sup>201</sup> Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Tibbers Castle are somewhat consistent with one another and demonstrates the need for repair following the implementation of Bruce's policy.

---

<sup>200</sup> Dixon, Anderson and O'Grady, 'The evolution of a castle', p.3.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p.28.

## 4.8 Threave Castle



28. Threave Castle in 2009 (RCAHMS, 'Dumfries and Galloway').

The impact of Bruce's policy is hard to determine due to the presence of the current Threave Castle, which was built in 1369.<sup>202</sup> This castle occupies the location of the original castle that Bruce's policy impacted. Archaeology has revealed datable evidence amongst destroyed buildings,<sup>203</sup> which correlates with the period Edward Bruce is textually evidenced to have been in Galloway while implementing Bruce's castle destruction policy.<sup>204</sup> Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Threave Castle are consistent.

---

<sup>202</sup> HES, *Threave Castle*, p.2.

<sup>203</sup> Good and Tabraham, 'Excavations at Threave', p.136.

<sup>204</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, p.273.

## 4.9 Inverness Castle



29. Inverness Castle in 2017 (RCAHMS, 'Oblique aerial view').

Inverness Castle suffers from a dearth of archaeological evidence and it is even unclear how much of the medieval castle remains.<sup>205</sup> Additionally, the site where the castle once lay has since been repurposed (Figure 29). This means that it is, therefore, not possible to connect the textual and archaeological evidence for Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Inverness Castle, and Bruce's policy's impact on this castle must be gleaned from textual evidence alone.

---

<sup>205</sup> Perry, 'Inverness', p.845.

## 4.10 Urquhart Castle



30. Urquhart Castle in 2017 (HES, 'Urquhart Castle').

The majority of buildings visible at the site have suffered from natural deterioration since the late 1400s and their structures have been plundered since.<sup>206</sup> This has meant that the castle does not provide cohesive archaeological evidence, other than the existence of early 14th-century buildings that have undergone remodelling at some date.<sup>207</sup> This itself could suggest that reconstruction occurred at the site following the early 14th century period, where Bruce is textually evidenced as slighting the castle. However, given the lack of archaeological evidence for destruction, it is hard to confirm whether this occurred as a direct result of Robert's slighting. At Urquhart Castle, archaeological evidence for reconstruction can be found; however, for destruction, it cannot, whilst textual evidence for destruction is present and, for reconstruction, it is not. This means that to understand Bruce's impact on the castle, the two must be used together and when done so, a picture is formed of a castle that was damaged by Bruce and repaired as a result. Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Bruce's slighting policy at Urquhart Castle are consistent with one another in the fact that the latter confirms the castle needed to be repaired following Bruce's slighting period while the prior explains the reasoning behind the reconstruction.

---

<sup>206</sup> RCAHMS, 'Urquhart Castle'.

<sup>207</sup> HES, *Statement of Significance: Urquhart Castle* (Edinburgh, 2004), p.3.

#### 4.11 Bothwell Castle



31. Bothwell Castle in 1998 (RCAHMS, 'Bothwell Castle').

Bothwell Castle's archaeology has been affected by the reuse of its masonry in the nearby mansion.<sup>208</sup> Whilst this recycling, alongside the impact of modern landscaping, has damaged the archaeological record, evidence can still be found on-site for the destruction caused by Bruce's policy.<sup>209</sup> Textual evidence revealed that Bothwell Castle had been destroyed and repaired both after its original slighting and that of Moray, using Bruce's policy again in 1337. The re-use of materials in these reconstructions has been useful in demonstrating Bruce's policy as a whole, whilst the visual change in phases on the exterior effectively demonstrates textual evidence to be true.<sup>210</sup> Significantly, the donjon which Murray destroyed can still be seen (Figure 13). Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy at Bothwell Castle are highly consistent with one another.

---

<sup>208</sup> Ewart and Fox, 'Bothwell Castle'.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> Simpson, 'The Architectural History', p.174.

## 4.12 St Andrews Castle



32. St Andrews Castle in 2017 (HES, 'Oblique aerial view').

While St Andrews Castle did not remain in use following its slighting and was only functional again post-1385, its grounds continued to be used and a tannery was built following the castle's dismantling.<sup>211</sup> The current castle is the product of a massive building program and very few features of the site are accounted to the castle predating Bruce's policy's implementation. This is to be expected given textual evidence records a lengthy siege and significant damage by Murray.<sup>212</sup> Therefore, the textual and archaeological evidence surrounding Robert Bruce's slighting policy is consistent with one another.

---

<sup>211</sup> Lewis, 'Excavations at St Andrews', p.679.

<sup>212</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Volume 7, p.125.

## 5 Conclusion

The evidence suggests a clear link between the archaeological and textual evidence. However, there exists limitations within the archaeological record that can make it difficult to compare the two. This was the case at the northern castles of Inverness and Urquhart which had insufficient archaeological evidence to draw a clear conclusion between it and the textual evidence available. There is, however, consistency between the written and archaeological records elsewhere and there appears to be no contradictions between the two. Whilst it is evident the degree of damage caused to a site has been exaggerated in textual evidence to depict Bruce's forces as leaving no trace of the castles onsite, archaeological evidence has demonstrated the sites were not left barren but continued to possess components of the highly damaged structures. These components included fragments of stonework and, in the case of Edinburgh, the entire chapel of St Margaret's. The opposite can be said for evidence of reconstruction, where archaeological evidence has proved more insightful in demonstrating the level of rebuilding required to reinstate the castle as a functional building. Textual sources for reconstruction have tended to be basic, explaining the costs involved and stating plainly that the building was strengthened or refortified by the English. Archaeological evidence, meanwhile, has formed a deeper picture of the rebuilding programmes taking place post-slighting, whereby entire towers and walls, for example, are evidenced to have been constructed.

Therefore, by evaluating the textual and archaeological evidence of the twelve castles above, a picture can be formed of Bruce's castle slighting policy. Whilst the textual evidence given by contemporaries has provided the scenario from which the policy has arisen and explained that Bruce's forces destroyed, dismantled and, ultimately, rendered castles functionless for the sake of the campaign, the archaeological evidence has expanded on what we can gather from the textual, indicating specific structures impacted and the degree to which they were damaged. The two ultimately work in unison to create a picture of destruction followed by necessary reconstruction.

## 6 Bibliography

### Figures

Figure 1. The Distribution of Castle Slighting in England from Pre-1100 to 1485. Image in Richard Anthony John Nevell, 'King of the Castle: A study of castle slighting in the 12th and 13th centuries' (MA, University of Leicester, 2011), p.12.

Figure 2. Castles Taken by Robert Bruce by the 1st of January 1314. Image in Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328* (Edinburgh, 2006), p.48.

Figure 3. Route of Robert Bruce where he slighted Inverness and Urquhart Castles. Image in Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and The Community of The Realm of Scotland* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1992), p.167.

Figure 4. Map of Castle Impacted by Bruce that are Discussed in this Thesis. Image self-made.

Figure 5. Plan of 16th Century Castle. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Key to 16th Century plan.', Canmore, 1993 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1226772>> [accessed 28 January 2024].

Figure 6. Excavation Work at the Tunnel Below St Margarets Chapel. Image in Stephen T Driscoll and Peter A Yeoman, *Excavations within Edinburgh Castle in 1988-91*, *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1997), p.12.

Figure 7. Douglas Gardens Excavation Location. Taken from Gordon Ewart, 'Stirling Castle Palace: Historic Scotland SCPP Archaeological Works 2008', 13 January 2009 <[https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-1656-1/dissemination/pdf/kirkdale1-249698\\_1.pdf](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-1656-1/dissemination/pdf/kirkdale1-249698_1.pdf)> [accessed 7 January 2024], p.2.

Figure 8. The West Gatehouse Tower and West Curtain Wall. Image in Doreen Grove and Peter Yeoman, *Caerlaverock Castle* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 2006), p.16.

Figure 9. Diagram of Trench L. Image in George L. Good and Christopher J. Tabraham, 'Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway, 1974-78', *Medieval Archaeology*, 25 (1981), p.102.

Figure 10. Dates Plan of Bothwell Castle. Image in John Lewis, 'Excavations at Bothwell Castle, North Lanarkshire', *PSAS*, 126 (1997), p.690.

Figure 11. North Wall of Gatehouse. Taken from Historic Scotland, 'Excavation photograph: north wall of gatehouse, from west.', Canmore, 1981 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1907684>> [accessed 6 February 2024].

Figure 12. Trench A. Image in John Lewis, 'Excavations at Bothwell Castle, North Lanarkshire', *PSAS*, 126 (1997), p.692.

Figure 13. Damaged Donjon. Image in Chris Tabraham, *Bothwell Castle: the official souvenir guide* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.27.

Figure 14. Plan of Excavation Site. Image in John H. Lewis, 'Excavations at St Andrews, Castlecliffe, 1988-90', *PSAS*, 126 (1996), p.624.

Figure 15. Plan of Tannery. Image in John H. Lewis, 'Excavations at St Andrews, Castlecliffe, 1988-90', *PSAS*, 126 (1996), p.617.

Figure 16. North Curtain Fragment. Image self-taken.

Figure 17. Curtain on Teviotside. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle, Last in a series of views of the Teviotside curtain of Roxburgh castle showing restoration work to the right, from the SE', Canmore, 23 April 2013 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1333805>> [accessed 18 February 2024].

Figure 18. Excavation of Bridges. Image in Iain MacIvor and Dennis Gallagher, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock castle, 1955-66', *The Archaeological Journal*, 156 (1999), p.165.

Figure 19. Dendrochronological Dating of Bridges. Image in Iain MacIvor and Dennis Gallagher, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock castle, 1955-66', *The Archaeological Journal*, 156 (1999), p.185.

Figure 20. Differences in Masonry. Taken from Historic Scotland, 'Caerlaverock Castle', Canmore, 15th July 1961 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/2017014>> [accessed 12 December 2023].

Figure 21. Roxburgh Castle in 2009. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle, Oblique aerial view centred on the remains of the castle, taken from the NW', Canmore, 4th February 2009 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1142420>> [accessed 15 February 2024].

Figure 22. Edinburgh Castle in 2014. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Edinburgh Castle, Oblique aerial view of Edinburgh Castle and Esplanade, looking E.' Canmore, 11th July 2014, <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1433709>> [accessed 5 February 2024].

Figure 23. Stirling Castle in 2017. Taken from RCAHMS 'Stirling Castle, Oblique aerial view' Canmore, 17th June 2017 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1576741>> [accessed 12 January 2024].

Figure 24. Douglas Castle in 2009. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Douglas Castle, General oblique aerial view of Douglas Castle, taken from the SW' Canmore, 9th June 2009 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1161046>> [accessed 1 March 2024].

Figure 25. Caerlaverock Castle in 2011. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Caerlaverock Castle, General oblique aerial view of Caerlaverock Castle, taken from the WSW' Canmore, 3rd July 2011 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1252776>> [accessed 22 January 2024].

Figure 26. Buittle Castle in 2013. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Buittle Castle, oblique aerial view of Buittle Castle, looking to the SW' Canmore, 6th June 2013 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1347557>> [accessed 17 January 2024].

Figure 27. Tibbers Castle. Taken from RCAHMS, 'Timbers Castle, plan' Canmore, 16th March 1995 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/382033>> [accessed 8 January 2024].

Figure 28. Threave Castle in 2009. Taken from RCAHMS, ‘Dumfries And Galloway, Oblique aerial view of Threave Castle, taken from the NW.’ Canmore, 8th June 2009 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1160162>> [accessed 7 January 2024].

Figure 29. Inverness Castle in 2017. Taken from Historic Environment Scotland ‘Oblique aerial view.’ Canmore, 8th August 2017<<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1583797>> [accessed 17 December 2023].

Figure 30. Urquhart Caste in 2017. Taken from Historic Environment Scotland ‘Urquhart Castle, oblique aerial view.’ Canmore, 8th August 2017 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1584660>> [accessed 29 December 2023].

Figure 31. Bothwell Castle in 1998. Taken From RCAHMS, ‘Bothwell Castle, oblique aerial view, taken from the W. Digital image of D 32209 CN’ Canmore, 31st August 1998 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/798388>> [accessed 7 February 2024].

Figure 32. St Andrews Castle in 2017. Taken From Historic Scotland, ‘Oblique aerial view.’ Canmore, 31st March 2017 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1557517>> [accessed 18 February 2024].

## Primary Sources

Barbour, John, *The Bruce*, ed. A.A.M Duncan (Edinburgh, 1998).

Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon, Volume 6*, trans. and ed. D E R Watt (Aberdeen, 1991).

Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon, Volume 7*, trans. and ed. A.B. Scott, D. E. R. Watt, Ulrike Morét and Norman F. Shead (Aberdeen, 1996).

*Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward III: Volume IV, 1337-1339*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1900).

*Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward III: Volume VII, 1343-1346*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1904).

*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. And Edward II., Volume II.*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1883).

‘Extracts from the Chamberlain’s Rolls for 1328’, in Chris Brown (ed.), *Robert the Bruce, A Life Chronicled* (Stroud, 2004), pp.91-95.

Fordun, John, *John of Fordun’s Chronicle of The Scottish Nation*, ed. William F. Skene and trans. Felix J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1872).

Gray, Thomas, *Scalacronica: The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III*, trans. And ed. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1907).

Le Baker, Geoffrey, *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, trans. D. Priest and ed. R. Barber (Woodbridge, 2012).

St Andrews University, '1318, 3 December, Scone, Parliament', *Parliamentary Record*, Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, 2007-2024 <<https://www.rps.ac.uk>> [accessed 30 March 2024].

*The Acts of Robert I, King of Scots 1306-1329*, ed. Archibald A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1988).

*The Anonimale Chronicle 1307 to 1334*, ed. W.R. Childs and J. Taylor, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Leeds, 1991).

*The Anonimale Chronicle 1333 to 1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (London, 1927).

*The Brut or Chronicles of England, Part I.*, ed. Friedrich W.D. Brie (London, 1906).

*The Brut or Chronicles of England, Part II.*, ed. Frederich W.D. Brie (London, 1908).

*The Chronicle of Lanercost*, trans. and ed. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913).

*The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden 3rd series, London, 1957).

*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Volume I, A.D. 1264 -1359*, ed. John Stuart and George Burnett (Edinburgh, 1878).

*Vita Edwardi Secundi: The Life of Edward the Second*, trans. and ed. Wendy R. Childs (Oxford, 2005).

## Secondary Sources

Adamson, J. S. A., 'The Baronial context of the English Civil War: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 40 (1990), pp.93-120.

Anderson, Erich B., 'To catch a queen', *Medieval Warfare*, 5:5 (November/December, 2015), pp.44-48.

Anderson, I., and Dixon, P., 'Inverlochy and Lochindorb Castles: A Comparative Study', *Architectural Heritage*, 22 (2011), pp.1-17.

Barnes, Patricia M. and Barrow, G.W.S., 'The Movements of Robert Bruce between September 1307 and May 1308', *SHR*, 49:147 (April, 1970), pp.46-59.

Barrow, Geoffrey W.S., *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1988).

Bingham, Caroline, *Robert the Bruce* (London, 1998).

Blakely, Ruth M., *The Brus Family, In England and Scotland 1100-1295* (Woodbridge, 2005).

Boardman, Stephen, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the Anonymous Chronicle', *SHR*, 76:201 (April, 1997), pp.23-4.

- Bonner, Elizabeth 'Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295—1560', *History*, 84:273 (January, 1999), pp.5-30.
- Brown, Michael, *Bannockburn: The Scottish War and the British Isles, 1307-1323* (Edinburgh, 2008).
- Brown, Michael, *Disunited Kingdoms: Politics and Peoples in the British Isles 1280-1460* (Harlow, 2013).
- Brown, Michael, *Scottish Baronial Castles, 1250-1450* (Oxford, 2009).
- Brown, Michael, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Brown, Michael, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004).
- Brown, R. Allen, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *EHR*, 74:291 (April, 1959), pp.249-280.
- Brown, R. Allen, *English Castles* (3rd ed., London, 1970).
- Caldwell, David H., 'Scottish Spearmen, 1298-1314: An Answer to Cavalry', *War in History*, 19:3 (July, 2012), pp.267-289.
- Cameron, Sonja and Ross, Alasdair, 'The Treaty of Edinburgh and the Disinherited (1328—1332)', *History*, 84:274 (April, 1999), pp.237-256.
- Chalmers, Peter, *Historical and Statistical account of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 1844).
- Coldstream, Nicola, 'Architects, Advisers and Design at Edward I'd Castles in Wales', *Architectural History*, 46 (2003), pp.19-36.
- Cook, Murray, *Bannockburn and Stirling Bridge: Exploring Scotland's Two Greatest Battles* (Stirling, 2021).
- Cornell, David, 'A Kingdom Cleared of Castles: the Role of the Castle in the Campaigns of Robert Bruce', *SHR*, 87:224 (October, 2008).
- Cornell, David, 'English Castle Garrisons in the Anglo-Scottish Wars of the Fourteenth Century' (PhD Thesis, University of Durham, 2006).
- Cornell, D., *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert Bruce* (New Haven, 2009).
- Coulson, Charles, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2005).
- Creighton, Oliver and Higham, Robert, *Medieval Castles* (Oxford, 2003).
- Cressey, Mike, 'Caerlaverock Castle: Watching brief', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, 19 (2018), p.58.
- Cunningham, W.R., 'A Survey of Roxburgh Castle', *SHR*, 20 (1922), pp.81-83.

Davies, Sean, 'Edward's Conquest: "all Wales was cast to the ground"', *Medieval Warfare*, 8:2 (June/July, 2018), pp.36-45.

Dean, Sidney, 'Highlanders and hobbies', *Medieval Warfare*, 4:3 (2014), pp.13-15.

Dean, Sidney, 'Scottish profiles in leadership: William Wallace and Robert the Bruce', *Medieval Warfare*, 6:2 (May/June, 2016), pp.51-55.

Esiana, Benneth O.I. and Oram, Richard D., 'Soil and spatial analyses in the assessment of the focal point of the extinct medieval royal burgh of Roxburgh', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 50 (2023), pp.1-14.

Ewan, Elizabeth, 'Living in the Late Medieval Town of St Andrews', in Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (ed.), *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City* (2nd ed., Woodbridge, 2021), pp. 117-140.

Ewart, Gordon and Gallagher, Dennis, *With Thy Towers High: The Archaeology of Stirling Castle and Palace*, *Archaeology Report no 9* (Edinburgh, 2015).

Faulkner, P.A., 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century' in *Archaeological Journal*, 120 (1963), pp.215-35.

Good, George L. and Tabraham, Christopher J., 'Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway, 1974-78', *Medieval Archaeology*, 25 (1981), pp.90-140.

Grant, Alexander, 'The Death of John Comyn: What Was Going On?', *SHR*, 86:222 (October, 2007), pp.176-224.

Grove, Doreen and Yeoman, Peter, *Caerlaverock Castle* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 2006).

Hall, Derek W. And Smith, Catherine, 'The Archaeology of Medieval St Andrews', in Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (ed.), *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City* (2nd ed., Woodbridge, 2021), pp.173-204.

Hammond, Matthew, 'The Burgh of St Andrews and its Inhabitants before the Wars of Independence', in Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (ed.), *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City* (2nd ed., Woodbridge, 2021), pp.141-172.

HES, *Statement of Significance: Bothwell Castle* (Edinburgh, 2014).

HES, *Statement of Significance: Caerlaverock Castle* (Edinburgh, 2021).

HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - David's Tower* (Edinburgh, 2012).

HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - Defences* (Edinburgh, 2012).

HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle* (Edinburgh, 2012).

HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - Portcullis Gate, Argyle Tower and Land Stairs* (Edinburgh, 2019).

HES, *Statement of Significance: Edinburgh Castle - The Vaults* (Edinburgh, 2012).

- HES, *Statement of Significance: St Andrews Castle* (Edinburgh, 2011).
- HES, *Statement of Significance: Threave Castle* (Edinburgh, 2017).
- HES, *Statement of Significance: Urquhart Castle* (Edinburgh, 2004).
- Hirst, Paul, 'The Defence of Places: Fortifications as Architecture [part 1]', *AA Files*, 33 (Summer, 1997), pp.13-26.
- Hodge, Arkady, *Edinburgh Castle Research: The Medieval Documents* (Edinburgh, 2018).
- Johnson, Matthew H., 'What do Medieval Buildings Mean?', *History and Theory*, 52:3 (October, 2013), pp.380-399.
- Kenyon, John R., *Medieval Fortifications* (3rd ed., London, 1998).
- Lewis, John and Smith, Helen, 'Excavations at Inverlochy Castle, Inverness-shire 1983-95', *PSAS*, 128 (1998), pp.619-644.
- Lewis, John, 'Excavations at Bothwell Castle, North Lanarkshire', *PSAS*, 127 (1997), pp.687-695.
- Lewis, John H., 'Excavations at St Andrews, Castlecliffe, 1988-90', *PSAS*, 126 (1996), pp.605-688.
- Liddiard, Robert, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2016).
- MacDonald, Alastair J., 'Courage, Fear and the Experience of the Later Medieval Scottish Soldier', *SHR*, 92: 235 (October, 2013), pp.179-206.
- MacIvor, Iain and Gallagher, Dennis, 'Excavations at Caerlaverock castle, 1955-66', *The Archaeological Journal*, 156:1 (1999), pp.143-245.
- Malcolm, C.A., 'The Office of Sheriff in Scotland: Its origin and Early development', *SHR*, 20:78 (January, 1923), pp.129-141.
- Martin, Colin and Oram, Richard, 'Medieval Roxburgh: a preliminary assessment of the burgh and its locality', *PSAS*, 137 (2007), pp.357-404.
- Maxwell, Herbert, 'The 'Scalachronica' of Sir Thomas Gray', *SHR*, 3:9 (October, 1905), pp.417-429.
- McNamee, Colm, *Robert Bruce: Our Most Valiant Prince, King and Lord* (Edinburgh, 2006).
- McNamee, Colm, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1300-1328* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 2022).
- Mills, Coralie and Quelch, Peter, 'Caerlaverock Castle: Walkover survey', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, 19 (2018), p.58.

Morris, Marc, *A Great and Terrible King, Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London, 2008).

Nevell, Richard Anthony John, 'King of the Castle: A Study of Castle Slighting in the 12th and 13th centuries' (MA Thesis, University of Leicester, 2011).

Nevell, Richard, 'The Archaeology of Castle Slighting in the Middle Ages' (PhD Thesis, University of Exeter, 2017).

Nevinson, Henry W., 'Rebellion', *The North American Review*, 192:660 (November, 1910), pp.680-693.

Nicholson, Ranald, 'David II, the Historians and the Chroniclers', *SHR*, 45:139 (April, 1966), pp.59-78.

Nicholson, Ranald, 'The Siege of Berwick, 1333', *SHR*, 40:129 (April, 1961), pp. 19-42.

Oldrieve, W.T., 'David's Tower at Edinburgh Castle', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 6 (Edinburgh, 1913), pp.1-11.

Ovenden, Susan, 'Caerlaverock Castle: Geophysical survey', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, 19 (2018), p.58.

Pearson, Karl, 'The Skull of Robert The Bruce, King of Scotland, 1274-1329', *Biometrika*, 16:3/4 (December, 1924), pp.253-272.

Penman, Michael A. 'The Scots at the Battle of Neville's Cross, 17 October 1346', *SHR*, 80:210 (October, 2001), pp. 157-180.

Penman, Michael, *Robert the Bruce: King of the Scots* (New Haven, 2014).

Pergalias, Vassilis, 'Bothwell Castle', *Medieval Warfare*, 4:3 (2014), pp.23-25.

Perry, David, 'Inverness: an historical and archaeological review', *PSAS*, 128 (1998), pp.831-857.

PLB Consulting Ltd, *Interpretation Plan for the Princes of Gwynedd for Cadw* (Swinton, 2010).

Simpson, Anne Turner, and Stevenson, Sylvia, *Historic St. Andrews: The Archaeological Implications of Development* (Glasgow, 1981).

Simpson, Douglas W., 'Bothwell Castle Reconsidered', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 11 (1947), pp.97-116.

Simpson, Douglas W., 'Skipness Castle', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 15:3 (1966), pp.87-109.

Simpson, D.W., 'The Architectural History of Bothwell Castle', *PSAS*, 59 (November, 1925), pp.152-183.

Slavin, Philip, 'Warfare and Ecological Destruction in Early Fourteenth-Century British Isles', *Environmental History*, 19:3 (July, 2014), pp.528-550.

Spencer, Andrew M., 'Royal Patronage and the Earls in the Reign of Edward I', *History*, 93:1 (January, 2008), pp.20-46.

Spencer, Daniel, 'Adapting to New Technology: Roxburgh Castle and the Scottish Marches', *Emergence*, 6 (2014), pp.1-7.

Suddaby, Ian, 'Caerlaverock Castle: Evaluation', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, 19 (2018), p.58.

Tabraham, Chris, *Bothwell Castle: the official souvenir guide* (Edinburgh, 2009).

Tabraham, Chris, *Edinburgh Castle: the official souvenir guide* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 2008).

Watson, Fiona, *Robert the Bruce: Pocket Giants* (Stroud, 2014).

Watson, Fiona, 'The expression of power in a medieval kingdom: thirteenth-century Scottish castles', in S. Foster, A. MacInnes and R. MacInnes (ed.), *Scottish Power Centres from the early middle ages to the twentieth century* (Glasgow, 1998).

Watson, Fiona, *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland, 1286-1306* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 2005).

Williamson, Sam, 'Inverness Castle: Evaluation and watching brief', *The Journal of Archaeology Scotland*, 22 (2021), p.100.

Wyeth, William John Edmund, 'Holistic methodologies in the study of Scotland's early stone castles and landscapes (c.1050-c.1350CE) with reference to the Earldom of Orkney and the Lordship of Galloway' (PhD Thesis, University of Stirling, 2018).

## **Internet Sources**

Cruden, S H., 'Threave Castle, Archaeology Notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1960 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/730050>> [accessed 14 January 2024].

Dixon, Piers, Anderson, Iain and O'Grady, Oliver, 'The evolution of a castle, Tibbers, Dumfriesshire: Measured and geophysical survey, 2013-14', RCAHMS, 2015 <<https://castlestudiestrust.org/docs/Tibbers-Castle-Report-Final.pdf>> [accessed 3 February 2024].

Dixon, Piers, Parker, Ian and Brown, Georgina, 'Roxburgh Survey, Field Visit: Recording', Canmore, 2006 - 13 March 2009 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/884101>> [accessed 22 January 2024].

Ewart, G and Murray, D, 'Roxburgh Castle, Archaeology notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 2005 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/850875>> [accessed 7 January 2024].

Ewart, G and Radley, A, 'Roxburgh Castle, Excavation: Recording', Canmore, 1995 <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/142458/stirling-castle-chapel-royal>> [accessed 6 January 2024].

Ewart, Gordon and Fox, Paul, 'Bothwell Castle, Excavation: recording', Canmore, June 2015 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1025849>> [accessed 5 February 2024].

HES, 'Roxburgh Castle, NT73SW 12, Ordnance Survey index card, page number 7, Recto' Canmore, 1958 50 1983 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/2454834>> [accessed 2 January 2024].

HES, 'Roxburgh Castle, NT73SW 12, Ordnance Survey index card, page number 2, Verso', Canmore, 1958 to 1983 <<https://canmore.org.uk/collection/2454829>> [accessed 2 January 2024].

Kirkdale Archaeology, 'Urquhart Castle: Archaeological excavation and monitoring, December 2008 & February 2009', Historic Scotland properties in care: Minor Archaeological Works 2008-9, March 2009 <[https://her.highland.gov.uk/api/LibraryLink5WebServiceProxy/FetchResourceFromStub/1-2-2-1-1-2\\_53c86ce759890e9-122112\\_7843007f62c2033.pdf](https://her.highland.gov.uk/api/LibraryLink5WebServiceProxy/FetchResourceFromStub/1-2-2-1-1-2_53c86ce759890e9-122112_7843007f62c2033.pdf)> [accessed 3 January 2024].

Kirkdale Archaeology, 'Urquhart Castle: Archaeological excavation, February 2009', Historic Scotland properties in care: Minor Archaeological Works 2008-9, March 2009 <[https://her.highland.gov.uk/api/LibraryLink5WebServiceProxy/FetchResourceFromStub/1-2-2-1-1-3\\_a695e12fa9c2a65-122113\\_fe8cbd7e97d0a28.pdf](https://her.highland.gov.uk/api/LibraryLink5WebServiceProxy/FetchResourceFromStub/1-2-2-1-1-3_a695e12fa9c2a65-122113_fe8cbd7e97d0a28.pdf)> [accessed 3 January 2024].

Kirkdale Archaeology, 'Urquhart Castle: Archaeological excavation, September 2009', Historic Scotland properties in Care: Minor Archaeological Works 2008-9, March 2010 <[https://her.highland.gov.uk/api/LibraryLink5WebServiceProxy/FetchResourceFromStub/1-2-2-1-1-4\\_efdd694558e3200-122114\\_2a2583edbd1f5ae.pdf](https://her.highland.gov.uk/api/LibraryLink5WebServiceProxy/FetchResourceFromStub/1-2-2-1-1-4_efdd694558e3200-122114_2a2583edbd1f5ae.pdf)> [accessed 3 January 2024].

Ovenden, Susan, 'Edinburgh Castle, Ground Penetrating radar: Recording', Canmore, October 2015 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1026510>> [accessed 6 January 2024].

Penman, A. and Cochrane, E., 'Buittle Castle, Archaeology Notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1997 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/730123>> [accessed 3 February 2024].

Penman, A. and Cochrane, E., 'Buittle Castle, Archaeology Notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1999 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/730123>> [accessed 3 February 2024].

Penman, A. 'Buittle Castle, Archaeology Notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1996 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/730123>> [accessed 3 February 2024].

RCAHMS, 'Caerlaverock Castle, Publication account: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1986 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1017423>> [accessed 3 January 2024].

RCAHMS, 'Douglas Castle, Archaeology notes: Descriptive accounts', Canmore, 4 August 1954 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/707091>> [accessed 20 January 2024].

RCAHMS, 'Edinburgh Castle, Publication Account: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1951 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1097508>> [accessed 6 January 2024].

RCAHMS, 'Roxburgh Castle, Archaeology notes: Descriptive Account', Canmore, 14 June 1932 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/721709>> [accessed 21 January 2024].

RCAHMS, 'Urquhart Castle, Publication Account: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1995, <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1016683>> [accessed 28 January 2024].

Reid, R C., 'Tibbers Castle, Archaeology notes: Descriptive Accounts', Canmore, 1939, <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/729509>> [accessed 4 January 2024].

Simpson, Anne Turner, 'Historic Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith: The Archaeological Implications of Development', Canmore, 1981 <<https://canmore.org.uk/event/1018050>> [accessed 22 January 2024].