PAINTING IN SCOTLAND FROM THE 14TH TO THE 17TH CENTURIES

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PAINTED DOMESTIC DECORATION 1550-1650

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CHAPTER 1

PAINTED DECORATION IN SCOTLAND BEFORE 1550

I. TWELFTH CENTURY

The earliest example of painted decoration in Scotland is to be seen in Glasgow Cathedral where there is a painted arch-stone or voussoir under a glass case in the nave which was discovered beneath the floor of the choir in 1916. Decoration covers one side and soffit. The palm-leaf pattern on the former is without parallel in Scotland but has been recorded on the walls of St. Anselm’s Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral (third quarter of the 12th century?) and in the Galilee Chapel at Durham (1175). This voussoir may therefore be a surviving fragment of the cathedral dedicated by Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1197. Few buildings of this period survive in Scotland and no other contemporary painting has been identified.

II. THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A number of fine buildings were erected in Scotland during the thirteenth century. The majority are now roofless ruins but a few retain traces of painted decoration which is probably representative of much that

*Numbers in parenthesis refer to documents transcribed in the Appendix as listed on pages 141-142.
has disappeared. Such painting is distinguished by bold and simple patterns in primary colours (only red, black and white survive) applied to a thin coat of plaster and often associated with 'ashlar', a painted imitation of coursed masonry.

The most complete decorative scheme of this type survives in the chapter-house at Dryburgh Abbey, although only clearly visible on a bright, dry day. The structure of the chamber preserves evidence of a change of plan (or reconstruction) and internal re-arrangement, i.e., the stone barrel-vault sweeps across the windows and there is the 'shadow' on the side-walls of a stone arcade such as that which still survives against the east gable. The painting extends across ceiling and walls and so post-dates both the insertion of the vault and the removal of the side arcades.

The best-preserved painting is on the east gable. The stone arcade has been decorated and within each arch the lower part (the seat back) has been painted with 'ashlar' and the upper with foliaceous or geometric patterns visible where paint has been retained by the incised marking-out lines. On the side walls, the arcade has been boldly imitated in paint; above, the projecting string-course which defines the springing of the vault has been painted with a chevron pattern and the vault with 'ashlar' in narrow courses which converge, apparently deliberately, towards the east gable. Window outlines are emphasised by a band of decoration.

The string-course in the sacristy also retains a fragment of chevron pattern and there are traces of paint on the vault of the relatively
well-preserved north transept of the abbey church.

There are the remains of a somewhat similar scheme in the church of the Knights Hospitaller at Torphichen associated with thirteenth century work but not with the later rebuilding. The masonry over the transitional arch in the screen which formerly divided nave from crossing is painted with crude 'ashlar' outlined in red and there is a band of pattern round the surviving lancet window in the east wall of the south transept.

The most extensive scheme of which traces still survive was in the cathedral church of St. Magnus at Kirkwall on the mainland of Orkney where the masonry of nave, transepts and choir was thinly rendered and painted. It is said that at the end of the last century it was still possible to distinguish painting on the great pillars of the nave and even today one can reconstruct from surviving fragments the patterns on vaulting ribs in the south aisle of the nave and on the arches of the triforium. The vault is thirteenth century work and the painting stops short of the fifteenth century rebuilding at the west end of the nave.

In a few buildings painting of the same type appears in conjunction with fifteenth or early sixteenth century decoration. At Pluscarden Priory there are fragments of chevron pattern on capitals in the north transept of the priory church near to the painting of St. John which is on the inserted fifteenth century stone screen or pulpitu. At Dunfermline similar patterns survive on the vault ribs of the nave north-aisle associated with Renaissance figure-painting on the webs - possibly an early scheme of decoration repainted when the figures were added. At Arbroath 'ashlar' (fifteenth century?) in the abbot's house has been over-painted
with a vertical pattern probably representing wall hangings.

It is impossible to say how much such conventional patterns were associated with contemporary figure painting since the only surviving example of the latter (in the church of Inchcolm Abbey) is in a position where patterns would have been inappropriate. The painting, of which only the lower half survives, depicts a group of clerics, including one holding a staff and two swinging censors, and occupies the back of a recess in the south wall of the thirteenth century extension to the choir. A flat, painted stone found in the recess may originally have formed part of the sill. It has been suggested that the recess was the tomb of John of Leicester, Bishop of Dunkeld, whose body was reburied in the south side of the new choir at Inchcolm in 1247.

The only secular example of thirteenth century painting is preserved on a vault rib excavated from the ditch at Dirleton Castle which is decorated with a simple pattern of wide chevrons in alternating colours.

III. FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Little building of importance was undertaken in Scotland during the fourteenth century and much that already existed was damaged or destroyed. When building began again on a significant scale about 1450 the piety of the wealthy found its outlet in the building of collegiate churches, some of which were laid out on such a grand scale that they were never completed. Domestic building included the great royal works at Stirling, Falkland, Holyrood and Linlithgow, but was for the most part restricted to the construction of tower-houses which were erected in considerable numbers up to the end of the sixteenth century.
The most accomplished painting from the period 1450-1550 is to be seen on the two double-sided painted panels from the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, which are hinged and originally served as the side-pieces of an altar painting or as the doors of an elaborately decorated organ. These are dated on internal evidence to about the year 1480 and are attributed to the Dutch painter Van de Goes who died in 1482. They are notable in the present context as a reminder of the good quality of the best work then available in Scotland and as the only major surviving example of the painted plenishings of the period which with the painted glass, embroidery and metal-work have almost entirely disappeared.

The most important surviving examples of late fifteenth century work apart from these panels are the paintings on wood now hanging in four sections on the walls of the former collegiate church of Foulis Easter, near Dundee. These, with one exception, were originally associated with a rood loft and screen of which supporting corbels are still in situ. One section is made up of eleven small panels painted with figures of Christ, apostles and martyrs portrayed as if standing in niches; these were originally mounted on the parapet of the rood loft. The painted 'embroidery' on the vestments of St. Ninian includes the arms of the Gray family, founders of the collegiate church. Two sections belonged to the Crucifixion scene which spanned the space between loft and roof; a substantial part of this scene survives including the three central figures and what may perhaps be a portrait of the donor.

The general effect of screen, loft and tympanum can be visualised from Thompson's description written about 1800. "The east end is
separated from the pews by a boarded partition wall of wainscot whereon
is painted the crucifixion, with the figures in the foreground as large
as life. Under this on a belt of wood which extends across the church
from wall to wall, the heads of the twelve apostles as they are called,
are delineated. All these figures have suffered much from time but
apparently nothing from the rough hands of the Reformation*. In fact
they were whitewashed as the result of prolonged protest from the Synod
of Fig(24), but the screen survived as a convenient partition between the
laird’s burial aisle (formerly choir and chancel) and the remainder of
the building which continued in use as the parish church.

The fourth section was not associated with either screen or loft.
It is a Trinity painting with the head of God the Father in the centre
at the top, flanked on one side by the figures of the Virgin Mary suckling
the infant Jesus and John the Baptist holding the Agnus Dei and on the other
by that of St. Catherine of Alexandria who was also portrayed on the front
of the loft. At the foot is painted the deposition of the dead Christ.
This section alone shows signs of what may have been deliberate damage.

There is said to have been a fifth section representing the
Resurrection of Christ but this has disappeared as have the paintings which
covered the walls. Stuart claimed to have talked with 'one aged person,
who described minutely the different scenes represented on the walls, and
who pointed out the position of each'. These are said to have included
'the most remarkable scenes in our Lord's life ... until his ascension
from Mount Calvary'. Possibly some of these paintings still survive
behind modern distemper, but most of the original plaster was stripped from
the walls in the nineteenth century.
About 12 miles north-east of Foulis are other important although less well-preserved paintings of the same period. These occupy what was formerly the wooden barrel vault in the Guthrie burial aisle which was built in the second half of the fifteenth century by Sir David Guthrie when he extended the then existing buildings and endowed them as a collegiate church. The paintings faced each other across the vault and were divided from each other at the top by some feature which supported three carved and painted wooden heraldic bosses, one displaying the royal arms without the treasure at the top as in the Trinity College paintings and so indicating a date between 1475 and 1490. Little more of the painting survives than the outline of the design as drafted out on the surface of the vault before the colour was applied. One side of the vault was painted with a 'Doom'. It is still possible to distinguish in some detail the figure of Christ seated on a rainbow, with John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary kneeling before him in intercession for the souls of the dead who rise from their graves at the blast of a trumpet and pass before him in judgement on their way up to the gates of Heaven or down to the jaws of Hell. A sword of justice is painted on either side of Our Lord's head, instead of the more common sword and lily. Facing the Doom on the other side of the vault was the Crucifixion with a series of scenes from the Passion cycle including the entombment, Noli me tangere and the Descent into Hell. In 1817 the minister at Guthrie claimed also to have identified the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt; even at that date the state of the painting was poor and it seems unlikely on the surviving evidence that either of his identifications was correct.
The vault has now been removed from the aisle and mounted for greater safety in sections on the walls of the upper hall of Guthrie Castle.

The painters of the Foulis and Guthrie scenes are unknown, but a recent photographic analysis of the only comparable details, the heads of the women grouped at the foot of the cross, reveals such a similarity of technique and composition that they are likely to be by the same hand. Similarly there is a close correspondence between selected features on the Trinity panel and similar details associated with the figures from the front of the rood loft. It is reasonable to assume that all were painted in situ, by the same man who was presumably a foreigner.

There was extensive painting in the church and associated buildings at Pluscarden Priory of which traces are still to be seen on the pulpitum and in the south transept, the sacristy and the prior's oratory, including the figures of St. John and his emblem, the eagle, over the pulpitum and of a saint beside one of the altars in the south transept. For the rest it is necessary to rely on the late eighteenth century description of the Rev. Charles Cordiner who says that there were paintings of the Apostles and their symbols in the sacristy, with figures representing the Church personified and of Our Lord in Majesty(37). All these are likely to be contemporary and if so are dated by the fact that the pulpitum was a fifteenth century insertion designed to strengthen the tower.

At Dunfermline there are Renaissance paintings on the webs of the vault in the north aisle of the nave associated with patterns on ribs and arch mouldings which, as has been suggested, may have been inherited from
an earlier decorative scheme. The webs are occupied by four figures, St. Peter and St. Paul identified by their names on scrolls, St. Andrew identified only by his cross, and a fourth figure now anonymous. In three cases at least the figures were associated with representations of a book, and in at least two with helmeted heads of Renaissance type. These figures are likely to have been painted in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Other relatively complete paintings exist at Dunkeld where Biblical scenes painted on the walls of the fifteenth century tower include a Judgement of Solomon and what may be the Woman taken in Adultery. In each case there have been comparitively lengthy texts on scrolls associated with the principal characters. The ribs of the vault have also been painted and between them immediately above the capitals are painted figures including St. Andrew, identified by his cross, and an angel. These may have been the work of William Wallange or Valance who was recorded at Dunkeld from c.1505-15.

Three other examples of ecclesiastical painting probably of the same period have been recorded, although now destroyed. Two painted figures, one named as St. Ninian, were found on the sides or in-goes of a built-up window in the fifteenth century choir at Tariff and are believed to have formed part of a series continuing round the walls of the church. At Kinloss Abbey the walls in the abbot's room and elsewhere were painted by Andrew Bairhum 1538-41 as well as panels in the church. There were also paintings in Elgin Cathedral including a screen with a painted Crucifixion on one side and a Doom on the other which was demolished in 1640(29).
Three ecclesiastical buildings either have, or are known to have had, inscriptions on the walls, i.e. the warming house at Inchcolm Abbey where the carefully painted texts are sufficiently well-preserved to permit reconstruction, Dalmeny Church where there are visible but illegible traces of an inscription on the north wall of the choir, and Culross Abbey church where an inscription, now no longer visible, was recorded on the south wall of the chancel.

The only intact decorative scheme surviving from the first half of the sixteenth century is the great timber heraldic ceiling over the nave at St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen although not an example of decorative painting as such. This was erected for Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen 1518-32, whose name as distinct from his title is the only one to appear on the scrolls identifying the various shields. On internal grounds it is believed to have been erected about 1520 and not later than 1524. It illustrates in heraldic terms the state of Christendom just before the Reformation, displaying the arms of Pope and Scottish clergy flanked on one side by those of the Christian monarchs of Europe and on the other by those of St. Margaret, the King of Scotland and the Scottish nobility. At the extreme west end are the arms of the University between those of old and new Aberdeen.

The only parallel to the Aberdeen ceiling in Scotland is the coffered ceiling in 'Queen Mary's ante-chamber' at the Palace of Holyroodhouse which is structurally of the same type except that the shields are placed centrally in the rectangles formed by the coffering and not at the points of intersection.
No domestic decoration of the period 1450-1550 has been identified, although the fact that Bairhum is said to have painted pictures at Kinloss c.1540 of the less serious kind then popular in Scotland suggests that it may have existed. There are traces of decoration on the pointed stone vault in the hall of Borthwick Castle (built c.1430) and on corbels in the hall of the contemporary tower at Craigmillar, but no evidence as to its date.

Mediaeval painted decoration is unlikely to have influenced taste in post-Reformation Scotland, but the heraldic ceilings at Aberdeen and Holyrood were the prototypes for the painted heraldic ceilings that succeeded them and the Judgement of Solomon is to be seen both in the fifteenth century tower at Dunkeld and the early seventeenth century wing at Culross. There was thus some continuity throughout the sixteenth century and a man like Walter Binning, who was painting procession images for the Hammermen of Edinburgh in 1544 and domestic decoration for the Regent Arran at Hamilton some ten years later, was competent to adapt himself to the changed circumstances that followed the Reformation. The events of the second half of the sixteenth century may even have stimulated the development of painted decoration by reducing ecclesiastical patronage on the one hand and encouraging, by a redistribution of wealth, the growth of lay patronage on the other.
PAINTERS IN SCOTLAND FROM THE 14TH TO THE 17TH CENTURIES

The recorded history of painting in Scotland begins in 1301 with two painters, Richard of Dunfermline and Reginald the painter, receiving 8s. 4d. for the purchase of colours and eggs at Newcastle on Tyne and elsewhere for the King's chapel in Edinburgh Castle. The importance of the document concerned is largely due to the accident of its survival; although the only one of its period it is typical of many later documents and illustrates the sort of information to be obtained from the majority of records compiled before the end of the sixteenth century. It is an account and primarily concerned with recording a financial transaction; the identity of the craftsmen concerned is only briefly noted and the nature of the employment indicated in no more than general terms. Thus in many cases all that is known of the painters is their names, with few if any details of the work for which they were being paid. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the position improves because accounts are supplemented by other records such as apprentice and burgess rolls which are as much concerned with people as with payments.

I. TRAINING AND ORGANISATION

Nothing can be said about the training of painters before the end of the sixteenth century beyond the fact that during the period 1475-1540 there were a number of ecclesiastical painters such as Friar Thomas Lorimer, the
painter friar, recorded from 1377-82, Sir Thomas Galbraith the illuminator (1491-1512), Sir John Gilgour (1527-40) and Sir Thomas Cragy (1538) the herald painters. By the middle of the sixteenth century it is possible to distinguish families specialising in painting such as the Binnings and the Workmans in Edinburgh and the Scotts in Glasgow. Such families evidently established a painting tradition and passed on their businesses from father to son. Robert Binning is first recorded in 1538, Walter in 1540, Thomas in 1567 and John, son of Thomas, in 1610. David Workman is first mentioned in 1554 (in dispute with Walter Binning). His three sons John, James and Charles were all painters; John and Charles died of the pest in Edinburgh 1604-5, but James survived and was succeeded by a son of the same name. The Scotts have a similar history. Patrick Scott painter was already dead in 1574 when his son James was made painter burgess; George Scott, eldest son of James, was made burgess in 1623 and his eldest son George in 1628.

By the seventeenth century the position is clearer. Before a painter was regarded as fully qualified he had to serve a period, normally seven years, as an apprentice and thereafter to submit a test-piece or 'essay' for judgement by the master craftsmen.

The names of apprentices were enrolled when they began their service, and these entries normally record not only the name of the apprentice, but also the name, trade and residence of his father. The trades represented, apart from painting, were drawn from a wide cross-section of the middle classes such as cordiner (1625), merchant (1649), maltman (1662), mason (1670), farmer (1688), cabinet maker (1689) and weaver (1693). John and
Gilbert Henryson (1601 and 1603), were the sons of the late Gilbert Henryson, reader at St. Cuthbert’s Kirk; James Bontine (1674) was son of John Bontine town clerk of Dumbarton, Robert Hutton (1651) of Robert Hutton bailie in Queensferry and William Lauder (1698) of James Lauder provost of Haddington. Joseph Veitch (1681) was the son of a perfumer and John Yates (1694) of a trumpeter in the King’s Lifeguard.

The majority of Edinburgh apprentices came from the town or from the Canongate, but there were exceptions of which the most remarkable was Michael Wright, later a portrait painter of distinction, who was the son of a London tailor and apprenticed to George Jamesone in 1636. Steven Lindsay, apprenticed to the herald painter George Porteous in 1687, was the son of a London goldsmith, although the father may not have been resident in London at the time of the apprenticeship. Other apprentices came to Edinburgh from a wide range of places in Scotland, Aberdeen (1612 and 1656), Bo’ness (1656), Cumnock (1594), Cupar (1662), Dumbarton (1674), Dysart (1667), Glasgow (1698), Haddington (1673 and 1698), Hawick (1633), Jedburgh (1609), Linlithgow (1629), Newmynne (1688) and Tranent (1674). These apprenticeships presumably illustrate the desire of go-ahead fathers to have promising sons trained by painters of repute in Edinburgh, but may also reflect some personal but usually unrecorded association.

Andrew Gibson, son of Andrew Gibson, cordiner burgess of Linlithgow, for example, was apprenticed to John Sawers on 4th February 1629 just after the latter’s father had been working in Linlithgow Palace. William Lauder, son of the late provost of Haddington, was apprenticed in 1698 to Thomas Warrender who was himself the son of a Haddington burgess.
The number of apprentices was normally limited to three but some painters took more. One such was John Telfer who had five - James Torrie (1647), John Tait (1656), James Alexander (1660), George Porteous (1663) and George Wallace (1667). George Porteous in his turn had six - Henry Fraser (1670), James Bontine (1674), William Wallace (1678), Walter Melville (1681), Steven Lindsay (1687) and George Porteous younger (1687).

The relationship between master and apprentice and other disciplinary matters within the craft were controlled by the guild. Painting as a craft had no independent existence in the sixteenth century and even in the seventeenth painters were a sub-division of the wrights, who with the masons had been granted a seal of cause in 1475. Painters were first specified by name in a charter confirmed by Charles I in 1635 which listed the crafts as masons, wrights, cooper, glass-wrights, bowers, slaters, painters and others adhering to them. Prior to 1563 the craft guild was called the Incorporation of St. John's chapel, but the guild altar was demolished at the Reformation and thereafter the crafts moved to St. Mary's Chapel in Middrie's Close.

The earliest volume of guild records now surviving is said to date from 1669, apart from rolls of members from 1547-63, 1663 and 1664. The most interesting of the early items are the subjects of the 'essays' set to painters on completion of their apprenticeships (30). George Porteous, for example, was set in 1669 'to paint with ane piece of cloath of 4 ft. by 3 ane compartment and within the same ane squair and compass and on top of the compartment ane hand shewing out of ane cloud, holding ane pellet with pencells therein, with Trophies of the several Airts belonging to
Marie Chapell about the said compartment'. John Munro had in 1681 to paint 'ane peice of Landskip to be illuminated with collours'. James Hamilton had to present two essays. The first, in 1684, was 'ane perspective of his Majestie's Palace of Holyrood house as it is now situat, to be perfyted betwixt and Michaelmiss next to come'. His essay masters were to be James Smith, mason, and John Hamilton, wright. This is the only reference to the essay masters and it is interesting to note that neither was a painter, although this may have been due to the nature of the subject; Smith was a mason of repute, with work recorded not only at Holyrood, but also at Dalkeith, Yester, Melville House and Traquair.

This essay was disallowed because Hamilton had not completed his apprenticeship and his second, dated 1686, was 'ane frontispeice of ane Tomb, to be done in black and white upon a sheet of lumber paper.

Disputes between masters and apprentices no doubt occurred from time to time and one such is recorded in 1686, when George Porteous was involved with James Bontine, the son of the town clerk of Dumbarton. Porteous suspected that Bontine was stealing his colours and materials and with the concurrence of the deacon of wrights searched Bontine's house and took away the paints and brushes he found there. Bontine himself was subsequently imprisoned because he was found entering into a combination under oath with the rest of the journeymen not to serve their masters under 1s. 2d. a day with meat and drink. The deacon and Porteous were charged by Bontine with robbery, unjust imprisonment and
torture, but the account of the affair put forward by Porteous as outlined above was accepted and the charge quashed. Porteous had threatened the apprentice but threats and torture were regarded as different things. Porteous was subsequently attacked in the street by Archibald Bontine, presumably a brother. On this occasion Porteous charged Bontine with assault and Bontine claimed that Porteous had attacked him first. Porteous then said that his attack had been the result of a chance encounter in the street, while Bontine had first gathered his friends and then lured Porteous out of his house. Whatever happened, the underlying cause is likely to have been the dispute described above.

More than a century before, the guild is recorded intervening in a dispute between painters(13). In 1554 when most of the Edinburgh painters were at Hamilton working for a Regent a man called James Watson caused David Workman to come to Edinburgh to paint 'the haill rufe' of his house and thereafter 'to cum to this burgh for perfiting and ending of the syd wallis of his said hous'. While Workman was painting the deacon of wrights, a mason, Walter Binning the painter and others came and stopped him and were taking him away with his tools when Watson arrived and rescued him. The guildsmen then attacked Watson and threatened that they 'suld cum with foir hammeris and strik up the durris of his hous and tak him perforce furth of the samin'. The guildsmen clearly believed that Workman had wronged them by working in Edinburgh when they were all (presumably under compulsion) working at Hamilton, and the presence of the deacon and a mason shows that they were acting officially, if
arbitrarily, to put things right. Nevertheless they were found to have done wrong and were given eight days to make amends.

The fact that painters could be compelled to take part in royal works is confirmed in 1617 when the Provost and bailies of St. Andrews and others were ordered to produce certain named painters and other tradesmen 'to the effect the saidis craftsmen may be impoyed in his Majesteis workis for saidis at Haliruidhous, quhair thay salbe wele used with reddie and thankfull payment for thair labour; under the pane of rebellion and putting of the provest and baillies fois saidis ... to the horn'.

Settling quarrels was one function of the guild, another was to protect the interests of members from intruders and action of this kind was no doubt behind a case brought before the Privy Council in 1684. Edward Keickins, a German living with his family in the Canongate, petitioned the Council for permission to work in Edinburgh and elsewhere without molestation, in accordance with an act of Parliament of 1661 to encourage the immigration of skilled foreign craftsmen. According to Keickins some persons in Edinburgh 'who pretend a priviledge as being painters within the city and arrogat to themselves a monopoly in that art, notwithstanding of their little knowledge therein, doe debarre the petitioner to work within the city, contrair to the law and to the Councills practise and allowance given to the silkweavers, perfumers and other skilful artisans'. The Council, having considered the case and being aware of Keickins' skill recommended the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh 'to cause admitt and receave him in the corporation of painters within the city'.
Once a painter was qualified he had still to be admitted burges before he could practise his trade in any given burgh. The majority of painters became burgesses (on payment of an appropriate fee) as either children of burgesses, husbands of such children, or as time-served apprentices of burgesses, e.g. John Stewart was made painter burgess of Edinburgh in 1605 and William Stewart in 1607 as son of George Stewart burgess wright; Robert Blairie was admitted burgess in 1613 by right of his wife Janet, who was daughter of John Sawers painter burgess; William Symontoun painter became burgess in 1607 as prentice to James Workman painter burgess.

A few burgesses were enrolled either as an inducement to remain in the burgh or for services rendered. Adrian Vanyon, Dutchman, painter and goldsmith, was made burgess of Edinburgh in 1585 'for guid and thankfull service to be done to the guid townes ... speciallie for the service quhairin he is to be imployet be the town in his craft, and that he tak and instruct prenteissis', and David Workman in 1586 'for good service done to the good town'. In the same way Valentine Jenkin was made a painter burgess of Glasgow in 1623 'for service done by him to the burgh and to be done which will extend to the sum of 100 merks' and John Sawers in 1636 'in respect the samyn was promitit to him in bountethe for the painting of the heiche galrie of the tolbuith of this burgh'. In 1669 John Sawer's son Henry was made a burgess of Glasgow gratis 'for his better incurragement to remaine heir and use his tred thairintill'.
III. CONTRACTS

Some form of agreement must always have been made between employer and painter before work began, stipulating the nature and extent of the work and the terms of employment. No such documents have survived from the sixteenth century, but when for example Thomas Angus was paid at Holyrood in 1536 'for the haill irne wyndois, cullering and laying in the foir entray and new werk ... set til him be task' the latter phrase clearly refers to some preliminary instruction. An agreement is also mentioned in 1617 when the Lords of the Privy Council complained that although John Anderson had agreed to paint certain chambers in Edinburgh Castle and to begin by May 30th, he had not only failed to do so, but had produced some 'idill and frivolous excuse ... quhairthrou his Majesteis workis in the said castell ... ar lyke to be disapointit and hinderit, heichlie to his Majesteis offence, without remeid be providit'.

The king's works in 1617 also involved bringing craftsmen from London and in their case the nature of the contract is explicitly recorded. One was 'betuix Sir Gedeone Murray, Deputie Thesaurair and James Baillie on the one part, and Matheu Guidrick, citienair and paynter in Lundone, on the other part' by which the former were obliged to pay to the latter 'tua hundreth pundis laughful money of England' at certain specified times 'for paynting (and) gylting of his Majesties chappell of Haliruidhous in forme and maner likeways contenit in the said indentour'. Although called an 'indentour' in the extract quoted, the agreement is listed in the Minute Book of Processes (quoted in the Register of the Privy Council)
as 'an contract betwijx the Thesaurair and Mathew Guidrek for painting his Majesteis chamberis at Hallirudhous'.

The most important contractual documents to survive are the two accounts submitted by Valentine Jenkin in 1628-9(27) which are in origin contracts of agreement submitted to the Treasurer with minor amendments as claim for payment. This is made clear in the second document which is headed 'Upon the second day of March 1629 and other condition set done with the said Walintyne Jenking for painting and furnishing to the workis undertwitten' and which concludes with a claim for £20 'for sundrie by workis done be him by and attour the former conditiones and to supplie his allthedgit losseis' - in other words Jenkin had found the original task more costly than anticipated and had claimed a supplement to make good the balance.

Jenkin's 'conditions' specify building by building and room by room what was required, with particular stress on quality, e.g. housings and crownells were to be set off 'in the best sort', arches were to be 'weill done', borders 'to be maid fair and perfyte' and windows and scontians to be 'weill layit over'. The total figure claimed included workmanship and 'furnishing gold, oyle, cullouria and utheris necessaris'.

One other important group of documents of the same type survives, although in a different context - the contracts between the Treasurer and James de Witt for the royal portraits at Holyrood(32). The preliminary agreement was reached in August 1683 when de Witt first undertook the task and received £20 on account. The contract was signed in February 1684 and de Witt agreed to provide within two years 'the Pictures of the haiill
Kings who have Reigned over this Kingdom of Scotland', one hundred and ten in all 'like unto the Originals which are to be given to him'. Some of the portraits were to be in 'large Royal postures' and the rest 'in largenesse and number they may suite with the Chalked divisions scratched into the Privie galaries of his Majesties Palace of Holyroodhouse'.

De Witt also agreed not to undertake any other commissions while the work was in progress and to add such inscriptions as were required of him. Further he was to supply workmanship and materials including 'such fyne strong tykeing, of sufficient largenesse so that no seame be found in any picture' but excluding the straining frames. In return he was to be exempt from 'watching, warding or public burdens' and to receive £120 per year for the two years concerned - £60 initially including the original advance, £60 when half the paintings were completed, £60 when three-quarters were painted and £60 'at the finishing and compleating of the haill work aforsaid'. The task, with two additional paintings, was finished by July 1606.

De Witt subsequently petitioned for further payment on the grounds of hardship since the work had 'stood him a great deall of trouble and expense, bseyde the loss of his other imployment, and extraordinarie charges in transporting his family from Holland to this Kingdom', for which he received only £120 per year 'wheras the expence he was att did werie neer amount to the same'. Whether he was successful in his petition is not recorded.
IV. WAGES

Painters were normally paid separately for each task completed, but during the first half of the sixteenth century there were a few who were receiving regular salaries. The first of these was David Pratt who was paid by the Treasurer from March 1496 until some time in 1503. His first payment, £10 by the king's command on March 11th 1496 was 'of his fee of Witsunday and Mertimes bipast' and a further 56s. in part payment of his fee was paid on August 29th 1497. Thereafter he is recorded as receiving rents in cash and kind from the Crown lands at Falkland. In 1499, for example, 'Balbreky assedatur David Pratt, pictori, de mandato domini regis, pro terminis trium annorum, inde pecunia iiiij li., ij celdra iiiij bolle ordie \[wheat\], ij celdra viij bolle avenarum \[barley\], xxij capones \[chickens\], grassum iiiij li. et habet literas sub privato'. By 1501 his rents had been increased and the expanded entry refers to the lands of Balbreky and Auldhaw 'cum molendino earundem, extendentibus in anno ad decem libras ... concessis David Pratt, pictori, in feodo suo per literas domini regis sub magno sigilli ...' There are similar payments in 1502 and 1503 and in 1504 the rentals 'concessis quondam David Pratt, pictori, ad vitam, qui obiit ante festum Sancti Martini ultimo preteritum et post ipsius decessum dominus rex concessit hujuamodi firmas pecunie et granorum de terminis compoti relictae, quondam dicti David ad mariagum sue filie'. The payment of 40s. in November 1603 'to David Pretis wif that he wantit of the breddis he maid to the King' was presumably also posthumous.

Pratt received in addition to his regular fee payments for individual
tasks, such as the £2 9s. on 10th November 1497 'in compleit payment of the altar payntung as restyng awand to him', or the sums recorded in the spring of 1503 'in part of payment for the making of the Kingis sepultur in Cambuskinneth'. He was also given special payments such as the drink-silver paid on March 15th 1502 'to David Prat and the masons that hewis the lair in Cambuskinneth'; presumably the 14s. 'giffen to David Prat quhen he began the laying of the lair in Cambuskinneth' and similar payments on other occasions, although not described as drink-money were the same thing. He was provided during the same period with at least two suits of clothes; the first in October 1500 'agane his passage in England', included 'iij elne Inglis brown to be him ane cote' and 1½ ells damas 'to be his doubiat', total value £5 9s.; the second, probably the following year, consisting of 4 ells of French tan, 2½ ells of satin and 3½ ells of Scottish black, value £5 16s. 9d.

In Pratt's case separate payments were made for colours and materials and there are a good many entries such as that for colours 'bocht to David Prat, payntour', or 'to David Pret, to by culouris to the Kingis lair in Cambuskynneth'. The Treasurer even paid 2s. 'giffin to ane cheld of David Prattis to pas to Edinburgh to by him graith'.

Another well-documented painter was Piers, who succeeded David Pratt as the king's principal painter, and who was in Scotland from September (perhaps August) 1505 until August 1508. Piers is described as a Frenchman but came to Scotland from the Netherlands. In his case payments began with £12 12s. refunded 'to ane servand of Andro Haliburtons that the said Andro laid down on the furnessing of the painter to come to Scotland' and
£3 'to the said servand he gaif the said payntour in Scotland'. These entries suggest that the servant travelled with Piers, who was paid the first instalment of his salary, 56s. (4 French crowns) on arrival.

Piers received the same four crowns monthly for a year when his wage was increased to five crowns a month. Payment was sometimes irregular, as in January 1606 when he was paid on the 1st 'when he enterrit to wage for this moneth of Januar', and on the 3rd for 'twa moneth wazis bipast'. From August 1506 he was paid quarterly until 12th July 1508 when he received £7 'to pas in Flandres'; a further 3s. were paid on August 2nd in Inverkeithing 'for the expens of Eyke de la Mair and Pieris the Frenchmen thare, and for their hore costis'. In addition to his salary Piers received 'hous male' or rent; thus on 15th October 1506 52s. 6d. was paid to Pieris; payntour, his hous male of Meurymes to cum, be the Kingis command', on 28th July 1507 53s. 4d. 'to the payntour himself, the Witsunday mail for his hous' and on December 3rd of the same year 16s. 'to Peris, payntour, to his hous maill'.

There are a good many references to 'the painter' during this period, presumably Piers although this is often uncertain. Thus there were payments of 5 French crowns 'to one payntour to paynt Sanct Johne of Dunbar in the Castell' in August 1505 (i.e. just at the time that Piers arrived), of 10 French crowns 'to the payntour for one tabill picture he gaif to the King' in February 1606 and of 20s. in the same year 'to the payntour payntit the Duc of Flandres armes'.

Piers received drink-silver on at least one occasion (28s. on 18 May
1507) and a livery on December 3rd of the same year consisting of 5 ells of French tan, 2½ ells of satin and ¾ of Scottish black to a total value of £7 2s. 8d. He received a special 10s. 6d. on 20th January 1507 'for one manis wage within viij dayis before the justing to help him'. On the 28th 'the payntouris man' was given a doublet and a pair of hose. On 29th July 1508 (i.e. just before Piers' departure) the sum of 30s. was spent 'for tua pair black hos bocht in Strivelin to De la Roch and to Peiris, Frenchmen' which sounds like a farewell gift, and, more surprisingly, there was a payment two days earlier of £2, 'to the King to the cartis [gards] quhilk he tynt [loot] and gaif to Pieris the French man'.

Piers and 'the painter' were paid on a good many occasions for colours and materials of various kinds, but on only two do the records say why these were provided, i.e. in June 1507 when 6 books of gold were supplied to Piers and Galbraith 'for beneris, standartis and cote amours for heraldis, mestrelis, the feild and pallyons' and in May 1508 when velvet and cloth of gold were provided for horse trappings.

An anonymous painter, possibly Piers, was in trouble on 5 May 1506 when £6 10s. were paid 'to the payntour, quhilk he wess awand to Lance Fery, and wes callit in the tolbuth tharfor, in part of payment of his werk'. In other words the painter was given an advance of pay to enable him to settle his debt.

Piers' £2 16s. rising to £3 10s. a month can be compared with the £2 16s. a month (including 2s. a week for a servant grinding colours) paid to Patrick Fow at Falkland for 11 weeks preceding November 30s, 1537, and the
£3 10s. given to the 'queen's painter' for a month's wage at Falkland 'as it comes upon the day to 2s. 6d. for him and his servant'. William Valance, the Bishop of Dunkeld's painter, also received a regular salary, apparently £1 10s. a month with barley and meal.

Pratt, Piers, Pow, the 'queen's painter' and Valance are the five principal examples of painters on long-term engagements. Sir John Gilgour, who received a number of gifts of clothing between 1539-40 may also have been a member of the royal household.

Such salaries and issues of clothing are not recorded after the middle of the sixteenth century, but drink-money (normally a bonus on special occasions such as royal visits or when work was begun or finished) continued to be paid. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was Pratt at Cambuskenneth, Andrew the painter in Paisley (£1 8s. in 1502), the painter in Glasgow (14s. in 1506), Piers, (14s. in 1507), and Sandy Chalmer (23s. in 1507). Similarly in the seventeenth century there was the sum of £2 18s. paid to Valentine Jenkin 'to his servandis to drink' at Stirling in 1623, the same to John Sawer's men in Edinburgh in 1633 and the £1 given to John Binning the same year 'mair to him to drink' in addition to his £30 'for paintrie work at the castle'.

V. COLOURS AND MATERIALS(3,10,26)

In the case of David Pratt and Piers gold and colours were provided by the Treasurer, but it was equally common for them to be furnished by the painters, depending presumably on the terms of the agreement between
the parties concerned. As early as 1532 the payment of Angus and Chalmer 'for the complete paynting of the iron windows at Holyrood with red lead, vermilion and oil' included 'the samen stuf furnysing therto' and the painters account for work at Holyrood in 1536 included 'werkmanship gold asur and uthir stuf of all costis furnist be him'. The same thing happened in the seventeenth century. The £100 paid to John Anderson for work at Edinburgh Castle in 1617 included 'the furnising gold, colours and werkmanship' and Sawers at the same time received £50 for painting the arms of the yett including the provision of gold, colours and workmanship. The rule was not rigid; in the same year (1617) James Workman submitted a detailed account for colours to be paid by the Master of Works, yet in 1626 he and his man were paid 'for laying over the kingis rowmes with grey cullour that was blak, he furnising all sortis of materiallis thairto'.

There is some evidence as to where the painters obtained their colours and occasionally these were imported. The 6s. 8d. paid to Richard the painter of Dunfermline in 1301 was 'pro coloribus emendis apud novum castrum super Tynum' and in 1329 payments for the king's tomb included a sum 'in emzione mille centum foliorum aureorum emptorum apud Noun Castrum et Eboracum'. The £23 10s. paid to 'cuidam pictori fratri' (presumably Friar Thomas Lorimer) in 1382 'pro diversis emptis in Flandria' may also have included colours. In 1506 the sum of £332 was delivered to John Francis 'for to change in London, and to deliver to George Corntoun for the qhet qhilk suld haf bene bocht, and for gold to be bocht in London for the payntour'. Colours were also bought in Scotland, frequently in the
coastal burghs. In 1502 Galbraith was paid 'to pas to Edinburgh to illumyn the trewis and the conjunct infeftment, to by gold and to his expens', and the following year 'Ormund pursewent' was paid 7s. 'to pas to Dunde to seik gold for paynting' and James Rollock bought a book and a half of gold, also in Dundee, for coat armours. In 1507 there were payments 'to Johne Wright of Leith for graith he deliverit to Pieris the payntour', in 1537-8 colours for Falkland were said to be 'coft in Edinburgh and Sanctandrewis' and in 1552 a list of expenses for colours sent to Hamilton included a payment of 10s. 'for carying of the samyn furtht of Leith to Edinburght'.

Gold

There are almost three times as many references to the purchase of gold as to any other pigment, presumably because gilding was both costly and popular. Occasionally coins were melted down and used for gilding as in 1331 when 18s. were paid 'in sex florenis, emptis et liberatis Copino aurifabro, ad deaureandum' on in 1566 when £5 10s. were spent on 'ij auld angell nobillia to curegilt the harnesing and buttonis'. The commonest entries were for gold foil or leaf, but there are also references to Bressel gold (perhaps gold broken into small pieces), fine gold, parti gold and Racland or Rattil gold (again perhaps broken gold).

Gold was used primarily for heraldic painting, including coat armours, banners, flags and standards, and coats of arms on wood, lead or stone for temporary or permanent display on tents, ships and buildings. An account of 1496 includes 'gold party to the Duke of Yorkis banar', 'a buke of fine
gold to the Kingis cotearmour' and 'half a buke of gold party to the Duke of Yorkis standart'; four French crowns were given to Sir Thomas Galbraith in 1503 'to by gold for the Kingis arms on the foryet of Halyrudhouse'; books of gold and other colours were provided to Alexander Chalmers in 1512 'for the paintre of the Kingis gret schip'. There was also structural and ornamental gilding such as that of 'the gret hingand knoppis in the inner and myd chalmeris' at Holyrood in 1536, or 'the lyon, unicorne and four theanes of the prikis with thair knopis' and the 'letteris and crownallis of the palleice' at Stirling in 1628. There are also occasional references to the use of gold for illumination such as the provision of the 'tua quaris gold to illumyn the articules send in France' in 1507.

In view of this demand for gold it is not surprising to find in 1515 a payment of £90 'deliverit to my lord postulat of the Yllis for to pas to Crauford Mure, and thair to set werkmen and mak ordinance for the gold mynd' and a further £3 10s. in the same year paid 'to ane Johne Drane, francheman, callit ane fynour, weasheair and meltar of gold for to pas to Craufurd Mure, to haif consideratioun of his laubouris'.

**Silver**

Silver is rarely mentioned and if provided is for heraldic emblazoning as in 1496 when there is payment 'for iij quaris of a siluir buke' for the Duke of York's banner, or in 1544 when payments for the manufacture of a standard include £4 12s. 'for gold and siluer fulye to gylt the said standart and silk to be frenyes'.
Oil and red lead

After gold the items most commonly supplied were oil and red lead. In one case only (in 1328) the oil supplied was olive oil; thereafter whenever the nature of the oil was specified it was linseed oil (oly lingest). Oil was measured in mustchkins and chopins, gallons, quarts and pints, and occasionally cans were also provided as in 1552 when a gallon of linseed oil was bought and sent to Hamilton with 'ane can to put the oille lynget in' or in 1617 when Workman's account listed 11 pints of oil and '2 gryit cans to put the oyle in'.

The demand for oil was due to the fact that it was one of the two principal mediums used for the application of paint and probably the sole medium used for external painting. Pigments used in this medium were known as oil colours, e.g., expenses listed for one of the king's ships in 1539 included 'the painting of hir mastis, salis and airis witht oley colouris' and in 1629 Binning and Workman were paid at Linlithgow for 'gilting and laying over with oyle culour the four orderis abone the utter yet'.

Red lead was used with oil both as a preservative for external metal work and as a colour. The first function is implied in 1504 when red lead and oil were supplied for the great portcullis at Stirling(2) and explained in 1539 when payment was made 'for dichting, colouring and ourlaying of the samin artailiery with reid laid to keip thame fra roust' and in 1555 when 'the expensis maid upon the mending of the Knok and half-hour' in Edinburgh included 45s. 'gevin to Sampsoun the painter to lay the haill knok and half-hour all ouer with reid laid to keip thame fra rousting'.
Red lead and oil were frequently so used for the protection of iron window grills and sometimes as an undercoat for the brilliant and popular vermilion. In 1532 £20 was paid at Holyrood 'for the complete paynting and laying of thre irne yettis and xvij grete irne windois with all the remanent of the windois and irne werk within the new werk with reid leid and wermelone and uley' and in 1535-6 John Ross was paid at Linlithgow for painting 'all the new irne wyndois that is put up, in the first with red led and syne with vermione with all the prekkettis that the thanis standis on'.

For internal painting there were alternatives to oil colours. The reference to eggs in 1301 is the only one known and implies the use of an egg medium in the king's chapel at that date. The normal alternative to oil in Scotland was size, a glue made from boiling down parchment and other animal remains. This has been identified by analysis on a number of painted ceilings and is noted in the Edinburgh account of 1617 when there is provision for the painters of 'skrrowes to be glue', (skrrowes' probably being small strips of hide) and at Stirling the same year when Jenkin was supplied with skins for glue. Glue was not only used as a medium (in 1507 it was being used for making the 'bestis' for the tournament with their wooden wings, and in 1542 for 'the durris and mullerris of the Register House') but it was certainly being so used in 1563 when the wrights were 'making of the Scheyr to the Queinias Grace' and Thomas Binning was paid 20s. 'for laing with calk and glew'. The practical distinction between oil paints and tempera (i.e. colours with a medium other than oil) is made in 1628 when Jenkin's contract for Stirling Castle stipulated that in the
king's bed chamber 'the window brodis [were? to be layit over without with oyle cullour and within in temper cullour'; i.e. oil paints were water-proof and tempera colours were not.

Chalk, white lead and asure

Binning's use of chalk and glue for the queen's chair is the only direct reference to the technique known by microscopic analysis to have been used by the painters of wooden ceilings which was to prepare the surface for painting by coating it with a thin layer of chalk and size. Apart from this occasion all that can be said from the records is that chalk was often provided for the painters in large quantities; David Pratt at Stirling in 1501 was sent 4 stone of chalk, 12 stones of chalk were sent to Hamilton in 1552, Workman's account of 1617 included '2 hors laid of chalk' and a great deal of chalk was sent to Jenkin at Stirling in 1628-9. This chalk is likely to have been used as whitewash, as a white pigment and as a base for the application of tempera colours, but as far as the records go it is impossible to distinguish between the three.

An alternative to chalk as a pigment was white lead which is recorded as early as 1301 and on a number of occasions between 1501 and 1538. Far more common are references to 'asure' again probably because it was both popular and relatively expensive. Samples of blue pigment taken from painted ceilings have so far invariably been found to consist of ground cobalt glass, but the records indicate that in the first half of the sixteenth century at least several qualities of asure were being used, although there is no indication as to what the difference in quality
implied. Asure supplied by George Edwardson on 6th March 1506 included 3 ozs. asure @ 5s. per oz. and 3 lbs. @ 3s. 4d. per oz., and on 17th March 9 ozs. @ 4s. per oz. and 'blow asure' @ 2s. 6d. per oz. In 1508 Piers was provided with 8 ozs. 'licht asur' @ 1s. per oz. Colours bought for Falkland in 1537-8 included 8 ozs. fine asure @ 2s. per oz., 1 lb. 8 ozs. 'other asure' @ 1s. 6d. per oz., plus an unspecified amount of 'slycht asur', price not stated. There is also a solitary reference to 'best blew' in 1632.

Blue was a bright, gay colour, used by heralds but also for interior decoration particularly on ceilings. Ross was paid at Linlithgow in 1535-6 'for the payntting of the lyning of the chapell syllring with fyne asure and xij ballis under the chapell loffit', work at Holyrood in 1536 included 'the haill cullering of the mullouris of the inner myd and uter chalmeris laying with asur and all costis' and Binning was paid in 1554 for work at St. Giles including 'paynting of xviiij pannallis of the quier, and the twa greit pannallis of the north gevill of the quier, with osure'.

Orpiment and lamp black

An unusual feature revealed by analysis of the colours used on painted ceilings was the presence of orpiment, a brilliant yellow thought to be poisonous and therefore rarely used. The analysis is however confirmed by the accounts which record the supply of orpiment in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Pratt and Piers were both supplied with orpiment at the beginning of the sixteenth and Workman's account of 1617 includes no less than '7 pund and 1 halff of orpament'.

Black on the other hand is never recorded although frequently used on the ceilings. Presumably the painters manufactured their own pigment from lamp black.

**Varnish**

Occasional references to varnish at the beginning of the sixteenth century show both that it was used and that its value as a finishing and waterproofing agent were understood. A list of colours, for example, delivered to Pratt for the Chapel Royal at Stirling in 1502 included 'iij unce quhit vermua' and in 1506 Sandy Chalmer received 28s. 'for varniesing to paynt the schip botis'. Again in 1512 Chalmer was paid 'for all expens ... of the Kingis schippis in gold colouris olye and vernesing'.

**Miscellaneous items**

Paper was occasionally supplied to the painters as for example the 'ix quaris papir' provided for Piers in preparation for the tournament of 1507 and the 'foure quaris Lumbert paper, and four quaris uther paper, price of the quaire of the Lumbert ij s. and of the uthir xij d.' sent to Binning at Hamilton in 1551. Workman's list of 1617 includes 8s. 'for paper and floore' to the painters. Flour may have been provided on this occasion to make paste, but it was more probably a ration like the flour and ale issued to the painters at Linlithgow in 1629. The purpose of providing extra rations of this sort was clearly stated in 1590 when workmen were preparing St. Giles for the queen's entry and £4 16s. was spent on 'drink to our haill werkmen this sext week bygane at morn and
aftermune to hald thame in at thair wark for expeditioun off the samyn ilk day thre gallownis at v s. iiiij d. the galloun\(^1\). Buter provided to Jenkin at Stirling in 1617 may have come under the same heading.

An unusual item provided at Linlithgow in 1629 was linen. In February £3 10s. were spent 'to the painteris for the sylring of his Majesties bed chalmer fyne ellis of small lining' and in March 'thrie ellis small linning to the sylring of the trans at the gallerie end'. There is no indication how this was used (possibly it was a payment in kind like the ale and flour) but it is worth noting that in the Skelmorlie Aisle the junctions between sections of the ceiling boards are masked with strips of cloth.

Containers for colours are recorded from time to time. In addition to the oil cans already mentioned 'pigs' were supplied on two occasions, in 1507 when an account included 'ij piggis for colouris' and in 1617 when 2 dozen little and three great 'piggis' were provided with other items to the painters at Stirling. The Hamilton account of 1551 lists 'ane ledder poik to tur thir colouris in' and in 1552 18d. were spent on 'crelis' for the colours.

Brushes are only noted on one occasion, in 1633, when John Livingstone was paid 19s. 'for thrie birssis' so that they must normally have been provided by the painters themselves as part of the workmanship and other costs. This was certainly what happened in 1684 when de Witt undertook to provide 'sufficient Oyll and Cullouris of all sorts, Brushes, pincells of all sorts, with all kynd of workmanship'.

\(^1\) possibly it was a payment in kind like the ale and flour.)
Candles were occasionally provided, notably at Linlithgow in 1628 when sawers was issued on a number of occasions with half a pound of candle. In the week ending 22nd November he received half a pound as 'Setterday provisioune'; the following week he was provided with candle on Thursday and Friday, and the week after that on Tuesday and the three days following. The Saturday provision on this and the following week was a dollar (58s.), presumably his wage for the week.

Coal was provided to the painters on a number of occasions. In 1629 Jenkin received 30s. 'at the command of the maister of wark to by him coillis' and Telfer received 22s. at Holyrood in 1633 'for twa laid of Kolles qhilk is for this weik and the last weik be condition', i.e. the supply of coal was part of his contract. At Stirling the same year 14s. were paid 'for two weikeis kolles to the painter'.

Scaffolding

Painters must frequently have used scaffolding, but accounts for this purpose have rarely survived so that the detailed records for its use at Linlithgow in 1628-9 are particularly valuable. The painters were working both inside the courtyard and in the royal apartments, their first task being the painting of the sculptured window heads and other features on the new work (i.e. the north range rebuilt for James VI in 1620 after the collapse of the original building) and their second the interior decoration of the king's rooms in the west range.

Work in the courtyard began on 7th February 1629 when 10s. were paid 'for carying of xx singill treis fra the town to his Majesties pallace'
and 48s. 'for skaffauding of the east syde of the new wark, tuo wrightis tuo dayes'. On March 2nd the scaffold was moved from the east to the west side of the new work, and on 9th March from there to the turnpike. On 23rd March the wrights were paid 'for the doun taking of the skaifill of the new turnepyk and making ane ludge to the maissones' and on the 24th 'for carying of xx treis fra the palleice to the town'.

Work inside the palace was being carried on at the same time. The payments for January 26th include 24s. 'for carying of daillis and treis from the timber hous for skaffauding his Majesties chalmer of presence, tuo men tuo dayes', 36s. 'to tuo wrightis for skaffauding his Majesties chalmer of presence ane day and ane half' and 9s. 'to ane warkman ane day and ane half'. The scaffold was moved from the chamber of presence to the King's bed chamber on 21st February, and from there to the King's hall and the 'trans at the galerie end' on 16th March. The final payments on 24th March were for 'doun taking of the skaifill of the kingis hall with the window thairof and the window abone, with the skaifill in the trans at the galerie end' and for 'carying of daillis and treis to the timmer hous'.

These references supply incidentally the only accurate record available as to the length of time required for a task of this kind, i.e. about a month for the king's chamber of presence, three weeks for the bed chamber and a week for hall and trance.

VI. LABOUR AND HORSE HIRE

Although the number of painters mentioned by name in the accounts in connection with any particular task is always small, they can rarely if
ever have been working on their own and must in effect have been contractors employing staff as required for the job in hand. Occasionally such subordinates were paid separately such as the servants of Sampson the painter who were being paid 14s. a week by Edinburgh Council in 1560 as against the £1 received by Sampson himself. More frequently when servants are mentioned their wages are lumped in with the painters as in the case of the queen's painter at Falkland who received £3 10s. a month for him and his servant, or of Valentine Jenkin in 1617 who was paid £6, for 6 days for himself and his man. Occasionally such subordinates are mentioned incidentally such as Pratt's boy who was sent to Edinburgh, or the boy paid 12s. in 1633 for carrying a letter to the painter in Edinburgh and again for running to Edinburgh for 10 books of gold. There are also occasional references to painters named because they were buying colours for someone else, as in October 1551 when a list of colours concludes with a payment of 5s. 'to one payntour for his laubouris sekand the colouris' and in 1552 when 3s. were paid 'to the payntour that cost the colouris for his laubouris' and 10s. to 'Maister Andro send to Hamylytoun with thame, and his wage'. An account of July of the same year ends with payments of 10d. 'for carying of the samyn colouris furtht of Leith to Edinburght', 5s. 'to the paynter that walit the colouris for his laubouris' and 38s. 'to James Persale for two hors wage to tur the samyn to Hamylytoun'.

Payments for horse hire, whether for the carriage of the painter, his tools or his supplies, were frequent. The 'hors costis' paid for Piers in 1508 have been mentioned; 8s. were paid in 1553 'for ane hors hyrit to
turs the said Walter Binning's werkelsymas tools and equipment to Haumiltoun and £9 14s. paid to Jenkin and Binning in 1617 for the hire of 3 horses to transport themselves with sundry colours and oil from Edinburgh to Stirling. Of these items the most interesting are the payments to John Robinson in 1629 for transporting Valentine Jenkin to Falkland and back, including £3 6s. 8d. 'for ane horse hyre that caryit ane kais with thrie brodis in it quhairon the kingis armes is', 40s. 'to him also for ane uther horse hyre to Vallentyne Jeinking painter quha came with thame', and 36s. 'to him for his horse hyre fra Falkland to Stirling'. Jenkin was also paid for painting the boards and 'overlaying and marbilling the thrie housings abone the great yet quhare thai stand'. These housings over the entry can still be seen, but the existing painted boards were fitted in the nineteenth century.

VII. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

In the seventeenth century and no doubt before painters were accepted and respectable members of the burgess community. The nature of their material surroundings can be deduced to some extent from the testament of John Workman who died of the pest in Edinburgh in 1604 and left a very full inventory of his goods and gear (23).

John Workman was a painter of some standing, but a good deal of his bedding, clothing and linen is described as old, possibly because he was either a bachelor or a widower. His furniture was simple - a meat board, a trestle board, two chairs and a form, 4 chests and a cupboard, a wicker bed and two stand beds of fir. His dinner was cooked on an iron spit
and he had for his table a linen or Dornik board cloth and a dozen Dornik
serviettes. He had cooking or table ware of brass, tin and pewter, but
no silver. In the evening he sat by the light of a brass candlestick
beside an iron 'chimney' with a high back. He slept at night in a feather
bed which had a green canopy with matchings curtains fringed about with
red and white worsted.

Of his four cloaks two were old and one for mourning, and he had
besides a brown gown, an old white doublet, a coat and a pair of breeks,
and two velvet pailettes (collars?). To enable him to play his part as
a defender of the burgh he had corselet, head piece, arm and thigh pieces,
bandolls and a hagbut.

At the time of his death the only things of value noted in his work-
shop were a few boards and a small supply of colours.

John's brother Charles also died of the pest and wrote a testament
'being seik in body of ye contagious pest and haill and perfyte in spreit
and remembrance, thinking nathin mai sur yan deith and nathing to be mai
unsure yan ye tyme and hour yrof'. Charles was married with two daughters
and provided for his family as follows:-

'To Agnes Cokburne my spous fyve hundredth merks

To Jane Warkman my dochter thrie hundredth merks

To Elspeth Warkman my uther dochter tua hundredth merks.

Item, I leif my tua dochters to remain with ye said Agnes
Cokburne my spous during hir wedowheid, and in cais scho maire
I leif Elspeth Warkman my dochter with hir portioun of geir
to James Warkman my broder, and also I leif ye said Jane
Workman my dochter with hir portioum of geir to Andro Clerk
glasinwrycht, to be brocht up be yaiime in ye feir of god'.

James Workman was named executor and on the sixteenth of August 1606
'askit and tuik instrumentis ... forament ye said Charles dore and dwelling
house about fyve hours eftir nune'.

An early death in seventeenth century Edinburgh was nothing unusual,
and the burials of children are recorded with horrifying frequency. The
children of the herald painter George Porteous for example, who was perhaps
more unfortunate than most, were buried on 27th August 1671, 28th December
1676 (with his first wife Grizel Couper), 17th September 1684, 13 March
1685, 14 December 1690, 16th June 1693, 5th May and 23rd June 1697. In
spite of this at least three of his children survived.

VIII. THE KING'S PAINTER

John Workman was described in his testament as 'painter to his
Majesty' which raises the question as to whether there was an official
appointment of this nature. The earliest references to king's painters
are dated 1434 and 1435 when there are payments, without details, to
'Matheo pictori regis apud Lthw.' and to 'magistro Johanni pinctori
regis'. The 'queen's painter' already mentioned was at Falkland in 1542
and paid a regular wage by the Treasurer at least from May 3rd to August
1st, and in 1554 there is a reference to 'his gracis hou3 payntour' in
connection with the Regent's building works in Edinburgh. In none of
these cases is there anything to indicate that there is more involved
than a descriptive tag added for the convenience of the Treasurer.
Furthermore neither David Pratt nor Piers the Frenchman, both regularly employed by the king (1496-1503 and 1505-8 respectively), are ever described as anything other than 'the painter'.

In 1580 the Flemish painter called Arnold Bronkhurst submitted his account for three portraits (two of the king and one of Mr. George Buchanan), and on that occasion the King's endorsement referred to Bronkhurst as 'our lovit servitour Arnold Bronckhorst our Painter'. The following year the position was clarified by a letter of appointment 'constituand and ordinand him owre Sovernane Lordis Painter, and gevand him the office theairof for all the dayis of his lyvetyme with all feis, dewiteis and casualties usit and wont; For using quhairof his Hienes gevis and grantis to the said Arnold ane yeirlie pensioun of ane hundred pundis money of this realme'.

Bronckhurst's successor was probably Abraham or Adrian Vanson or Vanyon, a Flemish painter and goldsmith who was made burgess of Edinburgh in 1585 and naturalised in 1587. He died before 1610 when the king described him as 'Our Painter' and ordered an enquiry into his widow's petition for payment of 'debes dew to hir said late husband elsweill for wages as work done at of Commandement'. The debts were still unpaid in 1616.

There is an undated account for payment of £20 to this painter for a portrait of the king, possibly that mentioned in the preceding entry which recorded payment to George Heriot younger, goldsmith, for 'ane greit chainzie of gold with his hienes portratt hingand yarist'.

John Workman as painter to his Majesty in 1604 is in a different
category as he was not a portrait painter. His contract for providing the equipment for the Earl of Murray's funeral in 1592 specifically excludes the provision of 'ye said noble londis pictour'.(21) His claim to be king's painter may rest on his commission, also of 1592, 'makand, constituant and ordanand him during all the dayes of his liftime Paynter of the armes of all knichtis londis erles and dukes' at the time of their belting, forfeiture 'and at all vther tymes and occasionis requisite'.(22)

The description 'limner' does not appear in these references but was used by David de Grange c.1671 when he claimed that he had 'served yo' Majtie faithfully and diligently before yo' Restauration as yo' Limner in Scotland' and petitioned for payment for 13 portraits painted for the king at St. Johnstons in Scotland in 1951.

James de Witt in a petition of 1686 was described as His Majesties Picture Drawere in Scotland, on the strength of his contract to provide the portraits in the gallery at Holyrood.

The position with regard to the office of King's Painter in Scotland remains uncertain. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries there are painters described as King's Painters whose title appears to mean no more than that they worked for the king. Even de Witt, who is said to have been specially summoned from his own county by Sir William Bruce, is solely concerned with the payment for outstanding debts and additional expenses. Yet in 1581 Bronckhurst's commission refers to a recognised office with fees, duties and casualities 'usit and wont' and in 1610 the king's alleged debts to Vanyon included wages as well as work on commission.
Andrew Bairhum was the only one of the painters named in the records who was described physically by a contemporary. He was 'in arte sua egregium sed hominem quidem tractatu difficilem et contentiosum, non minus animi impotentia laborantem quam corporis imbecillitate, et quo utroque claudicaret' - a man outstanding in his craft, but argumentative and difficult, who suffered as much from lack of moderation as from the feebleness of his body, and who limped on either foot.
A painter in Scottish records was a man who painted, whether manuscripts, portraits, ships, coats of arms, guns or window grilles. This was partly because the term was sufficiently precise for the accountants for whom the records were mostly compiled, partly because there was a genuine lack of specialisation. Occasionally the term was qualified according to the person served (e.g. king's painter, his grace's house painter) but there is no suggestion of specialisation in the records before 1609 when John Smith was described as a 'picture painter'.

Sir Thomas Galbraith at the beginning of the sixteenth century was typical of his age. He was one of the king's chaplains at Stirling and is first mentioned on January 2nd 1497 when he received a unicorn 'for the singyn of a ballat to the King in the mornyng'. Thereafter he was paid in 1497 for painting a canvas gun cover for Mons Meg, in 1503 for illuminating the marriage agreement between James IV and Margaret Tudor, in 1504 for painting the royal arms over the fore-yett at Holyrood and in 1507 for making banners and standards for a tournament. He was evidently a herald painter but able and prepared to work on canvas, parchment, wood or stone.

In the circumstances there is no reason to believe that the men who in due course painted decoration on walls or ceilings were a class apart. The various types of painting now to be considered all flourished in the
sixteenth century and together formed the background to the development of painted domestic decoration.

I. THE ILLUMINATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

References to the illumination of manuscripts are rare and confined to the early years of the sixteenth century. Of these the most interesting are the entries of 9th December 1502 when Galbraith was paid 59s. 'to pas to Edinburgh to illumyn the trewis and the conjunct inertment, to by gold and to his expenc' and of the following April when Sir George Newton received £3 10s. 'for the transumptis of the trewis quhilk yeid to Rome'. The three documents illuminated by Galbraith, now in the Record Office in London, include the peace treaty, ratification and marriage agreement all sealed in Edinburgh on 17th December 1502. All three are set out in the same manner with a decorated margin on the left hand side. In the case of the first two the decoration consists only of a large illuminated letter J (the initial letter of James) and beneath it in a small, rectangular panel, the royal arms of Scotland supported by unicorns. In the case of the marriage agreement the 'J' is more elaborate, the initials J. and M. in gold, crowned and joined by a love-knot, are added beneath the royal arms and the remainder of the margin is decorated by a floral design of interlaced roses, thistles and marguerites. The predominant colours are blue, red, gold and green which are also used, with the exception of green, to enrich the first line of text. Thereafter the initial letters of sentences are occasionally illuminated. The great seal is attached by a red and blue cord at the bottom.
The corresponding English document, signed by Henry, is in the Scottish Register House. The initial H is richly illuminated including the royal arms of England, and intertwining roses occupy the top and side margins.

Galbraith was also responsible for the preparation of manuscript books for the King and the Chapel Royal. He received 42s. in 1506 'to by gold for the Kingis buke' and £10 in 1508 'for illuminynge of the Kingis evangelist buke' with 41s. 'for tua clasps of silvir gilt to the samyn'. In 1512 he was paid £3 in payment for 'lymning of ane great parchment Portuse [breviary] to the King with lettres of gold and asure'; Sir Simon Glade received 30s. 'for binding of the grete portims of the Kingis chapell' in October of the same year.

The preparation of one other document of interest is recorded. In February 1507 the sum of 10s. was paid 'for tua quaris gold to illumyn the articules send in France for the justing of the wild knyght for the blak lady' and on March 9th Sir John Ramsay received 42s. 'for the writing of the articules that the French knyght had in France for the justing'.

II. PORTRAIT PAINTING

There are only three named painted in the sixteenth century who can be said for certain to have been painting portraits. The first was 'Mynour the Inglis payntour' who received £14 by the King's command in September 1502 when he 'brocht the figures of the King, Quene and Prince of Ingland and of our quene' and a further £35 from the King in November 1503 'quhen he passit away'. He was therefore in Scotland some fourteen months and was presumably commissioned during that period, but his work in Scotland is unrecorded.
It has been suggested (Brydell, *Art in Scotland*, 48) that Mynour was John de Mayne or Maynard who was employed under Torregiano on the monument of Henry VII and mentioned by Walpole as a seal-engraver for the same king. This painter is also referred to in the accounts of the executors of Lady Margaret Beaufort in St. John's College, Cambridge which record payment of 60s. 'to Maynerde the paynter for payntinge the pyketour of my lady the kynges Grandmother' and of 33s. 3d. in 1514 'for makynge the picture and image of the Lord's Ladye'.

The second named painter was Arnold Bronkhurst, a Fleming, who submitted an account on September 9th 1580 for portraits painted at the King's command, including

'Ane portraitte of his Majestie fra the belt upward, last deliveryit, price thereof xvij lib.
Ane other Portrait of Mr. George Buchanan viij lib.
Ane Portrait of his Majestie full length xl lib.

Summa lxxij lib.'

Bronkhurst received not only his fee but also the sum of a hundred merks 'as a grate of his reparing to this country' and in 1581 the office of king's painter with a pension of £100 a year. He is said to have come to Scotland in the first place in search of gold, and to have been forced into the King's service by the refusal of Regent Morton to allow him to export the gold he had found.

The third was Vanson or Vanyun, also a Fleming, of whom little is known beyond the fact that he worked for the king at the end of the sixteenth century and painted at least one royal portrait.
The first native Scottish portraitist is believed to be George Jameson, born c.1587 and apprenticed to John Anderson the Aberdeen painter in 1512. Anderson was a decorative painter known to have worked at Huntly, Falkland Palace and Edinburgh Castle and it is not clear how Jameson came to specialise in portraiture. It is significant that the German painter who worked for Campbell of Glenorchy in 1633 was paid substantially more for portraits than was Jameson in 1635, and that even in 1683 a Dutchman, James de Witt, was commissioned to provide the royal portraits for the gallery at Holyrood. De Witt was to take his likenesses from copies provided and according to Lauder of Fountainhall 'they got help by thesee pictures that were used at Charles I's coronation in 1633, wher they all met and saluted him, wishing that as many of ther race might succeed him in the throne as had praeceded him'. If Fountainhall's story is true then the Holyrood portraits could be derived from originals by Jameson.

III. PAGEANTRY

There can have been few occasions when painters were more in demand than for the tournaments, mumming and pageantry of the sixteenth century, with their painted tents, flags, coat armours costumes and scenery. Probably the last of the great tournaments was that of 1507 when the king championed the 'Black Lady' who was probably in fact a negro. Three of the leading painters of the time, Piers, Galbraith and Sandy Chalmer, were employed on the preparations and were provided on June 26th with gold 'for baneris, standartis and cote armouris for heraldia, menstreles,
the feild and pailyons'. On 20th July Piers received an extra 10s. 6d. 'for ane mannis wage within viij dayis before the justing to help him'. The festivities involved beasts of canvas with wooden wings; 4s. 4d. were spent on 'bij Estland burdis to be weynggis to the bestis' and Chalmer was supplied with 'ijij doan viij camnes ... for the battering of the best hedis for the feild' and paid £56 'for making of the said bestis and for small expense on thaim, and for making of his part of cote armouris and banaris'.

Flags for a royal pavilion were previously mentioned in 1496 when John Pratt was paid 'for paynting of the palzounes thanis and the Kingis coetearmour' and there is a later payment dated 22 July 1527 'to Johne Kilgour, chapellane for paynting of the Kingis pailyeon, and the armys thairto'. Painted thanes were also provided in 1542 when two tents with wood and cordage were supplied for the use of Cardinal Beaton.

Standards were normally made of taffeta, or 'taffeta of cord' which was fringed with silk and then painted(4). Patrick Brown, painter, supplied a standard for the Regent in 1544 and used three ells of taffeta with gold and silver foil 'to gylt the said standart' and 'silk to be frenyes'; he was paid £4 for his workmanship. A more detailed account of the manufacture of a standard is recorded in 1548(5). The material provided was an ell and a half of corded taffeta with 14 ozs. of red and yellow silk for the fringes. Janet Bell received 14s. for working the fringes and the painter, who was provided with gold foil, 44s. for colours and workmanship. Twelve shillings were spent on 'ane speir to this
standart and paynting of it reid', 6s. on 'half one eine of bombasye to be one kais' and 14s. 'for tua skynnes to be one hois to the samyn to keip it fra weit'.

A painted banner was supplied as part of a livery provided for James Drummond, a trumpeter, in 1554(11). His coat and hose were made from three ells of red 'stemming' and his doublet from two ells of red 'armosing taffeteis'; he was also provided with an ell and a half of yellow velvet, an ell of yellow taffeta and a bonnet. His trumpet banner was made from an ell and a half of red corded taffata with red silk fringes. Binning the painter received £10 for gold and workmanship and the tailor £3 8s. 9d. 'for silk lining, buttons and making the livery'.

Although in these cases the functions of painters and embroiderers were distinct co-operation is recorded in 1531 when a painter was paid 2s. for painting the king's arms to be a pattern for the embroiderer.

There are on two occasions references to mumming at Christmas. In 1466 payment was made to John Rate the painter 'pro xxxix ulnis de tartir, tribus stekeis de bukrame, duobus libris auris, et aliis picturis emptis ... pro le mmurre regis erga Natale'; the following year Rate received a further sum 'ad le mmmre grathe in yeme elapsa'. On 31 December 1502 14s. were paid to 'David Frettis man quhilk payntit the bare heid' (bear's head).

In Edinburgh plays, dancing and pageantry were popular and elaborately staged. A play was performed in June 15th 1554 when £36 16s. were paid to Sir William MacDougal the master of work for distribution to 'the werkmen, merchandis, carteris, paynterris andutheris that furnesis the
grayth to the convoy of the moris to the Abbey and of the play maid that samyn day; the nature of the play can be imagined from Walter Binning's account for £5 paid 'for the making of the play geir and paynting of the handsenye and the playaris facis', since the 'play geir' included 'vij play battis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter, ane fulis hude, ane septour, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaplet of try mphe'.

Binning was employed again for the festivities in connection with the queen's marriage in 1558 when he received £16 13s. 4d. (as against the playwright's £10) 'for paynting of the vij planets of the kart with the rest of the convoy'. 'Cupid' and the 'planets' were fitted out with canvas coats and hose, 'xxviij ells of forbesti taffateis of syndre sorts of hewis' and 'vij Reid skynnis tilbe their schort bretkyanniis'; four golden skins were supplied to make a crown for one of the planets.

Royal 'entries' followed a standard pattern beginning with the eviction of beggars, cleansing of the streets and decoration of houses along the route of the procession. At the town port the monarch received the keys presented in some ingenious manner (Queen Mary received them from an infant lowered in a 'cloud') and was thereafter entertained with tableaux, dancing, songs and plays.

James VI made a formal entry in 1579 at the age of 13. The Council instructed the inhabitants 'to hing their stairis with tapestrie and ares warkis' and in view of the fire risk ordered that 'nother be nycht nor day ony fyre ballis, fyre arowis, or uther ingynes of fyre be castin be ony maner of personis heirefter'. According to one account
the hail streits war spred with flowres, and the forehowseis of the streits be the whilks the King passit war all hung with magnifick tapestrie, with payntit historeis, and with the effegis of noble men and women'.

There was the usual ceremony at the port 'at the quhilk hang a curious globe, that opnit artificallie as the King came by, wharin was a young boy that descendit craftelie, presenting the keyis of the town to his Majestie, that was all maid of fyne massie aylver'. After hearing a sermon in St. Giles the King 'maid progres to the mercat crose, where he beheld Bacchus with his magnifick liberalitie and plentie, distributing of his liquor to all passingers and behalders, in sic apperanee as was pleasant to see'.

In 1590 James returned with his bride, Anne of Denmark, and on that occasion the Council ordained 'that all the toun prepare and mak reddy all things concerning the triumph of hir said entrie, and ordanis Jhonn Morresoun, thesaurer, to make and deburse the expenses thairof upoun the wallis, ports, croce, trone and other convenient places, at the sycht of Androw Solater, master of wark, with all payntings and other furnitoures, concerning the solemnities thairof' ... In accordance with these instructions James Workman was employed on 'gilding of the gret armeis at the Nether bow, and for gilting of tua armeis quhilk ar to put up at the West port, and for malbring and cullering of the Nether bow about the armeis, and for drawing of alscheller draughtis within the bow, and for cullouring of the croes'. His brother John was engaged at the same time in 'gilting of the tua armeis at the Nether bow and for painting of the glob

presumably for the presentation of the keys' and for fourtene armeis and
fourtene crowneis and fourtene septers with certane coittis of aimour'.

The coats of armour were provided for the children from the song-school, who were also equipped with 'breikkis and heids' for the occasion.

The queen was received on May 19th and descended the Canongate with '42 young men, all cled in quhite taftetic, and visours, of black cullour, on their faces, lyk Mores, all full of gold chenyies, that dancit befoir hir Grace all the way'. The Council records include a payment of 33s. 'for xvij maakis that hings in the counsale hous to the moiris' and 42s. 'for painting the young men'. Equipment was provided for both sword and highland dancers, including 12 pairs of white shoes at 10s. the pair, 12 hats of flowers and 12 'girths' painted by John Workman for 10s. Workman was also paid 18s. 'for painting of sevin stalfis' (perhaps for the planets) 20s. 'for painting four stoupes of one bed at the salt trone with painting of Bacchus', 10s. 'for painting of Hercules baton and roid' and 10s. 'for painting of septouris'.

None of this ephemeral painting survives, but the boards with their painted 'histories' hanging on the house fronts and town gates must surely be related to the scenes painted on the walls and ceilings of Scottish houses.

IV. FUNERARY PAINTING

Scottish royal tombs have been almost totally destroyed, but occasional records survive as a reminder that Scottish monarchs were originally buried with appropriate dignity, and that painters played their part both in connection with the funeral ceremonial and in the subsequent
preparation of tombs worthy of their royal patrons.

The earliest entries refer to the tomb of Robert I, who died at Cardross in June 1329. The preparation of the tomb was under the supervision of John of Linlithgow whose detailed expenses include sums for the provision of gold leaf and for the wages of the painters and payments 'in diversis expensis factis circa picturam capelle erecte super corpus regis' (presumably a painted wooden shrine). Further payments, including sums for gold foil, were subsequently made to the same man.

The second series of entries refers to the tombs of Robert II, his father Walter High Steward of Scotland and his mother Marjorie Brus. Andrew the painter, Warden of the Mint at Edinburgh, received £5 in 1378 'pro cariagio petrarum pro tumba regis' and £10 in 1379 'pro labore et sumptibus suis, et cariagio, factis pro petris ordinatis ad tumbas patris et matris domini nostri regis, et eciam pro tumba ipsius domini regis, pro parte, videlicet solucionis sibi debite'. He received a final payment of £12 later in 1379 'pro petra de alesbaster pro tumba prima sponsae domini nostri regis'. Whether he actually worked on any of these tombs is unrecorded.

James II was killed at Roxburgh in 1460 and later in the same year £3 were paid 'pro certis expensis factis circa sepulcrum domini regis pie memorie, videlicet duabus ulnis cum dimedio pauni nigri pro coopertorio dicti sepulcri, necnon pro stipendiis carpentarii et pictoris laborancium circa dictum sepulcrum'. Six years later there is reference to satin and bukram 'pro ornamente sepulture inclito memorie domini Jacobi regis
secundi in monasterio de Edinburgh' (Holyrood) with a payment 'stipendio pectoris depingentis tunicam armorum et alia quatuor scuta'.

The construction of the 'lair' at Cambuskenneth for James III is recorded in some detail. It is first mentioned on March 15th, 1502, when 14s. drink silver were paid to David Pratt, a painter previously employed in the chapel at Stirling Castle, 'and the masons that heeds the lair in Cambuskinmeth'. A further 14s. were given to Pratt on June 12th 'when he began laying of the lair in Cambuskinmeth' so that presumably the main structure was completed by that date. Pratt and the masons received 28s. on 10th July by the king's command, and Pratt received a further 28s. in December to buy colours. Pratt was paid for his part of the work in three instalments, £14 in February 1503, £14 in March and £6 13s. 4d. (presumably a final payment) in May (?). Pratt himself died before November of the same year. In 1508 28s. was paid 'to the Almayn that suld mak the Kingis lair in Cambuskinmeth in marbill', a reference either to the same tomb, or to one in preparation for James IV.

The principal role played by painters in the funeral ceremonial was the provision of large numbers of coats of arms for the decoration of the church. There was such an occasion on July 23rd 1515 when Alexander Cheilmer the painter received £5 for 140 painted arms at 1s. each 'to the obsequijs of our souerane lord King James the ferd, quham God assolce'. Four hundred arms were provided for the 'obit' of Madeleine de Valois, daughter of Francis I of France and the first wife of James V, who died at Holyrood on 7th July 1537 only two months after her arrival in Scotland. For her memorial service the following year the painters supplied 6 dozen
arms 'to put about the quier and upoun torchis and candillis' at £1 per dozen; the tapischer spent 6s. on nails 'to hyng up the veluot and blak claith, and pynouris taking up and doun the samin'; the 'collegis and chapellanis that sang Derige and Saule hae', extending to 1½x chapellanis' were paid at the rate of 2s. per head; the Earl of Murray had 20s. 'till offer the pow penny' and the bellman 3s. for his labours(6). In 1541 payments on a similar occasion included £5 for 5 dozen arms supplied by the painter Andrew Watson(7).

The most detailed surviving record of funerary ceremonial is provided indirectly in connection with 'the expensis debursit be the Coster' following the death of James V on December 16th, 1542(8). Expenses for the funeral or memorial service can be divided under three heads, the preparation of the church, the construction of a tomb and lead effigy and the provision of cloth of state, pall and other materials for the ceremony.

The preparation of the church involved the purchase of timber, and a Dane, William Paterson, supplied 'aikin sparris, rauchteris and uther tymber werk ... to the preparing of the kirk and passage thairto'. Robert Dennis, painter, was paid £4 'for colloring of the Dolorus Chapell with the clubbis, sparris, chandeleris and uther wark in the kirk all of blak-colouris'. Andrew Watson provided 1,648 great and small arms at 9s. the dozen.

Paterson also provided 16 feet of casting lead for the effigy and mason work for the tomb. Watson was responsible 'for the cullouring and painting of the effesay croun and septur' and Andrew Mansion, a French carver 'for
the fygour of ane lyoun set abone the crowne, and for the graving of the
superscriptioune of the tombe in Romane lettres contenand in lenth xvij
fute'.

The cloth of state was made by the tapischer from 30 ells of black
velvet, with 10 ells of white satin 'to be the croce thairof' and 30 ells
of black bukram for the lining. The pall was of black velvet with
fringes of black hank silk and the beir was covered for the safety of the
cloth of state with 6 ells of French black. The embroiderer was employed
'to lyne ane coit of armes of clayth of gold and crammesay sating'
provided from the garderobe and was paid 'for brooderit wark' upon it, and
'for furnesing of gold and silk thairto'. He was also supplied with 'vj
quarteris reid taffites of cord' for a banner which was fringed with red
and gold and painted by Andrew Watson with gold and fine colours. Thus
the stage was set with sombre but colourful dignity appropriate to the
occasion.

It appears from a document of 1592\(^{(21)}\) that painters could be
responsible not only for the provision of arms at a funeral but also
providing the funerary equipment. John Workman undertook for the sum
of £53 9s. 'to furnes mak reddie and deliuer ... the funerall and bureall
of umquhile James Erle of Murray ... with the haill ceremonies and furnitour
therto belonging and pertening sic as tymber, bukram, taffaty and other
materialis quhatsumeuir, alswell warkmenschip as utheris necessary
pertening therto'. Later in the same year Workman was appointed official
painter of arms on all appropriate occasions, including funerals.
The practice of painting rooms black to signify mourning was no doubt responsible for certain painting work undertaken at Holyrood in 1625. James VI died in 27th March of that year, and on June 6th James Workman was paid for laying over the king's rooms with black under the hingingis and in sindrie uthir partis of these rooms that he layit over with blak quhilk were nocht hung' and on 2nd October for laying over the king's rooms with gray cullour that wes black'. The payment of £18 to John Binning in 1617 for laying over the catchball of Falkland with a blak cullour' was presumably for a happier occasion.

V. THE PAINTING OF SHIPS

The increasing use of artillery at sea led to the development of fighting ships designed as such. In Scotland James IV, who is regarded as the founder of the navy, was responsible for the construction of a number of ships of which the most famous was the Great Michael, completed in 1512. She was 'the greatestest scheip and maist of strength that ever saillit in Ingland or France ... so strang and wyde of length and breid that all the wryghtis of Scottland ye and money wther strangeris was at hir devyse be the kingis commandement quho wroght werei beasielie on hir, but it was yeir and day or soch was compleit'.

Among the busy craftsmen were 'Alexander Chawmer, payntour, that payntis the Kingis schippis' with his 'servitour' who worked on the ship for seven months and 'William Jamesone, payntour and his cheld' who worked on her for three. Chalmer was paid for all expens made be him one the standaris, pinsalis and banaris of the Kingis schippis in gold,
colouris, olye and vernesing' and also 'for certaine colouris, bukis of gold and all uthiris necessaris boght be him for the paintre of the Kingis gret schip'. The nature of a ships standard is illustrated in 1513 when Chalmer was working on 'the greit schip James and Margret' and was paid 26s. 'for xxiiij ellis lynnyng to lit blew for the heid of the standert to pant Sanct Androis cors'.

Chalmers had been employed previously (1506) on the Margaret when he painted the 'mery' (round top) and also 'the ros on the bolspreit', presumably an emblematic Tudor rose. He was provided with certain colours for the ship and paid 28s. 'for vernesing to paynt the schip botis'.

Elaborate decorative and heraldic painting on ships is also recorded in 1539 in connection with the 'expensis debursit upoun the litill new bark'. The painters concerned were Sir John Kilgour, Andrew Watson, Archibald Rewle and Robert Calbraith and their servants who were responsible 'for making of the arrays and facias about the said bark, colouring of thame with gold and asure and painting of hir mastis and airis witht oley colouris'. The carved work was executed by a Frenchman, Andrew Mention (already noted in connection with the king's funeral in 1543) and his men who were paid 'for making of the King and queneys chalmeris within the said bark, and carving of the carvit werk about hir, as thair compt beris'.

A royal barge is mentioned in 1538 when John Bertane was paid 'for grathing of the kings row boit in tymmer werkmanchip, salis and pantyne of hir salis, and to the childeris wage and to the ferry boit that past all to the Quenis ferry to bring ooure the quenis grace at hir entres in
Edinburgh'. There is also a reference in the same year to 'a compt of twe thosand frankis, quhilis John Bertoun oneris him witht, reasavit fra George Hume dwelland in Deip for the tyne of furnisyng of the Kings schippis at his grace command'. Bertane may have been related to 'Robene of Barton, quho was maister skipper' of the Great Michael.

James VI's bride, Anne of Denmark, was brought over in 1589. On 13th October 1589 'it was declayret be my lord provest of Edinburgh that Kings Natie had erenistly deyret the toune and Leyth suld reik furthande schip of the birth lx tunis or thairby to pas to Norway with the rest of the schips appoyntet for home-bering of the queyne'. The town agreed 'to send and furneis upoun the tounis chairges twenty men, weili clad and airmett, to pas in the tounes schip to Norway'. On this occasion James Workman's modest account for painting the ship amounted to £8.

VI. THE PAINTING OF GUNS

There are frequent references to guns at Edinburgh Castle from about 1450, usually in connection with payments for preservative painting. This purpose is most clearly stated in an entry of 1539 when £5 15s. was paid 'for dichting, colouring and curlaying of the samyn artailyery recently brought ashore from ships at Leith with reid leid to keip thame fra roust', but nearly every entry refers to red lead and linseed oil, and there is also an occasional reference to the supply and painting of canvas gun covers.

The entries begin in 1459 when 20s. were paid to the painter 'ad conficiendum dictum canubium ad arifaciendum pulveris bombardorum'. A
year later a gunner's account 'purgacionem et custodiam batterorum et artillaries domini regis in castro de Edinburgh' includes payment for linseede oil, red lead, canvas, pitch and rosed as well as the painters expenses for twenty days. There are similar entries for ship's guns such as one for the supply of red lead and linseed oil in 1513 'for the coloring of the three greit irne gunnyys that was put in the greit schip [The Great Michael] and the tus small falconis gevin to Rob Harwar and John Drummond'. An exceptional account of 1539 includes £10 'gevin to Maister Hanyys Cochrane, maister gumar, for vyre, clay, ole, valx and uthir necessaris bocht be him for making of the gun maldis and chalmeris thairto' and £7 10s. 'gevin to ane payntour for dichting colouring and ourelaying of 1x of irne baris and thair ixXX of chalmeris, at the maister of artailyeris command, price of the pece coloring, witht hir thre chalmeris, witht reid leid, ij s. vj d.' Occasional extras are noted such as the 23s. 8d. paid in 1540 'for tarring of the towis that bindis on the samin artalyery upon the stokkis' or the 5s. in 1542 'for colouring of ane clos cart to the munitioone'.

The famous bombard now known as Mons Meg and mounted on a wooden carriage in Edinburgh Castle is mentioned on a number of occasions. In 1497 8 ells of canvas were provided 'to be Mons clath to couir her' and were painted by Sir Thomas Galbraith for 14s. In 1501 funds were provided for the purchase of timber brought from Leith to Edinburgh for a gun-shed for Mons, Messenger and Talbert, 3s. 6d. were spent 'on casting of the erd fra Mons and to turne hir and lay the twych hole up' (clearly she was not mounted on a carriage at this date) and 2s. 'to pynouris for lifting of
Messingeir and Talbart of the erd and laying of thaim on tries'. The following day 40s. were paid for 20 lbs. of red lead for the three guns, 12s. for 4 pints of linseed oil and 18s. to Hans the gunner and Robin Herwood for painting them and for helping to build the gun-shed. Mons was repainted in 1539 when 30s. were spent 'for ourelaying of Monce in the castell witht reid leid'.

There is no record of decorative painting either on or in connection with the guns, except for one entry of 1539 when a painter was paid for gilding 'ten chanyas to putt upoun the rigging of the said work a gun shedJ and gavillis of the samin'. When the gun train was moved out of the castle in 1549 'thre elnis reid and quhite taffeits' were provided 'to be made in flaggis for the munition' with fringes of silk and 12s. were paid 'to the painter for painting of my lorde governours armes upon the foresaid tua flaggis of taffeits and gold fulye to thame'.

VII. THE PAINTING OF GLASS

Window glass was normally provided by a glasswright, but in practice the functions of painter and glasswright must at times have overlapped and in a few cases are known to have been carried out by the same man. William Valance was paid 30s. at Dunkeld in 1515-16 'to finish the window with his own glass' although in the records he is invariably described as a painter. William Pinkerton who was made a burgess of Edinburgh in 1586 is described as a painter and glasswright and as a prentice to Thomas Binning painter and glasswright. Thomas Chalmers of Jedburgh was prenticed in 1609 to John Smith who is said to be a picture painter and glass baker.
Glass for the royal palaces in the first half of the sixteenth century was provided by Thomas Peebles and a number of his detailed accounts survive. Glass supplied for Linlithgow Palace in 1535-6 included 268 feet of plain glass for the chapel windows and 29 feet of painted work 'to the fywe ymagis of the said fywe wyndois'. Plain and painted glass was also supplied for the five windows on the west side of the Lion Chamber (the hall). Plain glass was charged at the rate of 1s. 2d. per foot and painted glass at 6s. 8d. Contemporary accounts for the provision of glass at Holyrood include 'item in payntit werk roundis squair pecis with chaiplatis to giddir with arms and bourdouris' and 'lxxxix futtis and ane half paintit glas in bordouris and antik faces togydder with the foiirsaid [Flenderis] roundis and squair peces spendit in the foir entrey and chapel lychtis'.

Another example of the use of heraldic glass in windows occurs in 1550 when Walter Binning, usually described as a painter, received 50s. 'for fyve fute of kelyeit glas, witht my lord governoures arms, send to Hammiltoyn'. The arms were presumably to be mounted in a window like the heraldic roundels including the arms of Mary of Guise which are preserved in the Magdalen chapel in Edinburgh and are the only examples of pre-Reformation painted glass surviving in situ in Scotland.

VIII. PAINTING IN CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

Surviving references to ecclesiastical painting include both structure and fittings (pews, screens, tabernacles). The painting in the king's chapel at Edinburgh Castle mentioned in the household roll of Edward I in
1301 could refer to either, although the use of egg tempera suggests small-scale painting on wood. According to Barbour the capture of the castle by Thomas Randolph in 1314 was foretold by painting on the walls of the same chapel. In his own words:

In stede of prophesey
Scho [Queen Margaret] left ane takyne richt yoly
That is that scho in hir chapell
Gert welly be portrait ane castell,
A leddir up to the wall standand
And a man ther-on clymande,
And wrat owth him, as old men sayis
In Franch, Gardis vous de Francois.
And for this word scho gert writ swa,
Men wend the Franch-men suld it ta,
But for Francois hattyn wes he,
That swa clam up in privyate,
Scho wrat that as in prophesay;
And it fell efterward suthly
Richt as scho said;
For tane it was
And Francois led thaim up that place.

The description of a man climbing up into a castle suggests that the painting may have been in fact either a 'Doom' or a version of Jacob's Dream.
There are references to painting in the chapel at Stirling towards the end of the fifteenth century, e.g. 1st October 1507 payment of £3 4s. 'in Striuelin, To David Prat the paintour', 21 October 57s. 6d. 'giffin to David Pret the paintour, in payment of his werk in Striuelin', and December 10th £2 9s. 'in compleit payment of the altar paynting as restyng awand to him'. This last entry probably refers to one of two paintings listed at Stirling in an inventory of 1505, i.e.

Item, a tablet with three leaves on which are painted an image of our Lady bearing her son in her arms, and two angels with musical instruments.

Item, an (tabula) having three leaves on which are painted under glass an image of the crucifix and four of the saints under glass on the sides.

Painting in the chapel at Linlithgow was recorded in 1535-6 when John Ross the painter was paid £7 6s. 8d. for work in the inner court, and also 'for payntting of the lyning of the chapell sylloring with fywe asur and xij ballis under the chapell loffit'; the chapel windows were glazed at the same time with 'fywe ymagis ... of paynttit werk'. There is still structural evidence for the existence of a loft at the west end of the chapel.

In 1536 there was also painting recorded in the chapel at Holyrood probably in connection with the King's marriage. Thomas Angus was paid for workmanship and materials 'furnist be him in the chapell, for v\(^{xx}\) knoppis to the siling of the samyn, the kingis gret tymmer amis gilting of all oostis certane of the ald silour in the chapell culiering, togydder
with gilding and covering of certain sashorne werk abone the hie alter 
and certaine mullouris with asure'. Further work is recorded in 1559, 
probably the addition of a painted retable. The account is headed 'the 
expenses maide be me Lord Controwar of the cupputting of the paynttyt 
chablyl ...' and includes payments to the 'quarreor ... for vj gret pece 
hewing werk for the pellarris for the alter', for transport, nails, mason 
work and lead and finishes with 4s. 6d. 'drynk silver to the workman at 
cupputting of this bred'. There is no evidence that the 'board' was 
painted at Holyrood.

There are references to painting in Dunkeld Cathedral in the Vitae 
Episcoporum Dunkeldense and Rentale Dunkeldense which are published by 
the Scottish History Society. Bishop Lawder (1452-76) is said to have 
had made for the high alter an antemurale painted with twenty-four miracles 
of St. Columba, with two images of the same above and two pillars and two 
images above them. Bishop George Brown (1483-1514) provided a rood loft 
which had carved figures of the Apostles and paintings of saints on front 
and back, and on the back figures of royal and noble benefactors and of 
bishops so that the choir might call them specially to mind in prayer. 
This rood loft was built in 1510; John Pendour and his men are recorded 
at work there from May to November and the purchase of nails 'bought and 
sent to Dunkeld, to build the rood loft there' is also noted. Tabernacles, 
prosumably carved and painted, were also supplied by Bishop Brown. One 
was brought from Dundee to Dunkeld in 1506-7 at the cost of £3 17s. and a 
second (?) in 1508 from Flanders via Dundee for £4. 6s. A further £4 
freight was paid in 1510.
The bishop of Dunkeld's painter from about 1505-17 was William Wallance (Valance); although regularly employed throughout the period there are only two clues as to what he was doing. In 1507 the accounts of the Chaplain of Dundee 'sent altar and lodging in Dundee' include a payment of £9 9s. 6d. 'to William Wallance, painter, to buy colours' and in 1515-17 those of the Granitar of Dunkeld include 30s. 'to William Wallanch to finish the glass window with his own glass'. It appears that Valance was a glass painter, but this does not preclude his having been responsible for the painting on the rood screen and elsewhere. The Rentale Dunkeldensi also refers to Sir Thomas Grig, prebendary of Alight, who is said to have adorned with coverings and other necessaries the altar of All Saints set up by his uncle Master John Donaldson, Chancellor of Dunkeld, and to a fine ante-mural provided in the parish church of Perth.

According to Lyon's History of St. Andrew's there may also have been paintings in the cathedral there. Prior Haldenstane (died 1443) is said to have 'adorned the interior, as well with carved stalls, as with the images of saints'. He also beautified the nave 'with glass windows and polished pavement; as also by supplying altars, images and ornaments'.

Painting is recorded at Kinloss Abbey 1538-41 where Andrew Bairhum was working for Abbot Reid (from 1540 Bishop of Orkney) and provided the chapel with 'tribus diversa tabulis pictura plane graphics depictis tria sacella ... viz. Magdalenes, Joannis Evangelistae et divi Thomae Cantuariensis'. He also painted 'less serious pictures of the sort now popular in Scotland'.
in the abbot's cell and oratory and in another room on the way to the
abbot's cell.

There are a number of sixteenth century references to painting at
St. Giles, Edinburgh. The annual painting of the image of St. Giles is
recorded from 1553-7 (the painter in 1554-5 was Walter Binning); the
normal charge was 6s. but in 1555-6 an extra 6d. was paid 'for baring of
him to the painter, and fra', 1s. 'for mending and pouling of Sanct
Gelis arme' and 10s. to the tailor 'for mending of Sanct Gelis capis'.
Binning was also paid by the Treasurer 'for ane bord of the ymage of ...'
in 1545, and in 1554 'for paynting /at St. Giles/ of xvij pannalis of
the queir, and the twa greit pannalis of the north gavill of the queir,
with asure' and 'for paynting of the foure greit armis, with the twa
small armis of the queir with oly coloris and gold'. In 1556-7 there
were payments by Andrew Murry of Black Barony and others 'for onputting
of his armis uppon the pillar' at 4s. apiece, and in 1558 7s. were paid
'for paynting of one brod, to Johnne Sampsoun, paynter, to hing at the
Nye Alter'. In 1560 Binning was paid 'for painting green of the xxiiij
pillaris and the loift estimit to be ij pillaris' at 8s. perpillar and in
1567 David (sic) Binning was paid 5s. 'to paynt uppon the pillar of
repentence thir woundis, This is the place appoyntit for publik
repentence'.

Special preparations were made in St. Giles in 1590 for Queen Anne's
'entry'. The workmen received their allowance of ale to encourage
diligence and finally worked all night by the light of candles held by
two poor boys. Flowers were strewn in the church and a pall hung over
the royal pew in the scholar's loft. The royal arms were mounted over the pew and Walter's brother Thomas was paid 'for paynting and gaything' then. Wine was provided for the guests but never used so it was 'thereafter drinkin with the maister off work, the tapestricours and utheris of the Kingis servandis'. The entry was on a Wednesday and the following Saturday payment was made 'to schyft ladders to the paynteris for paynting the pyller heidis'.

The preparations for King James VI's home-coming in 1617 included the 'repairing of his Majesties chappell within the Palice of Halirudhouse with daskis, stallis, leftis and utheris necessaris in suche decent and comelie forme and maner as is aggreable to his Majesties princelie estate' and since 'this work could not be gottin so perfyttly and well done within this cuntrey as is requisite' a wood carver called Nicolas Stone was brought from London to take charge of the work. Another Londoner, Mathew Goodrick, was brought up to do the painting and gilding and was paid for work to the value of £200(25).

Valentine Jenkin's account for 1628 included work on the Chapel Royal at Stirling. The pillars and entablature of the entry were painted 'with the armes housingis crownellis and siferis'; the window heads, ciphers and crowns were also new gilded and laid over with oil colour. Inside, the chapel was 'all new paintit in the rufe in the forme it wes before' with a course of panels, arms and badges 'conform to the roof' and a border below. The joists were painted with flowers and 'antikis' and the windows coloured blue-grey.

These examples are sufficient to show that even though the Reformation
reduced the amount of painting in ecclesiastical buildings it did not put an end to it altogether.

IX. PAINTING OF SECULAR BUILDINGS

Most of the painting recorded on secular buildings consisted of the preservative painting of external ironwork or the colouring of stone, lead or wooden coats of arms prominently sited over the principal entries and elsewhere. Painting of both kinds is recorded at Stirling. Expenditure on the great portcullis in 1504 included not only the cost of buying the iron and carrying it to Leith, but also 32s. for a stone of red lead and 6s. for three choppins of linseed oil\(^{(2)}\). Over a century later, in 1626, Valentine Jenkin undertook the painting and gilding of the king's arms above the inner yett and all the arms and housings above the outer yett.

Reference to the arms above the fore-yett at Holyroodhouse is first made in 1503-4 when Sir Thomas Calbraith received four French crowns 'to by gold for the Kingis armes on the foryet of Holyrudhous' and thereafter ten French crowns 'in part of payment of the making of the armes above the yet'. Painting on the palace (probably the existing tower) is recorded in 1532 and included 'the complete paynting and laying of three ime yetties and xvj gret ime wincois with all the remanent of the wincois and ime work within the new werk with Reid leid and semelone and uley'. Sandy Chalmers and Sir John Gilgour were paid the same year 'for laying with gold in paynting culloxing and for stuff to the tua lyonis and
torris upon the head of the tua west roundis'.

Preparations for James V's marriage may have been in train in 1535 when there was a note on expenses at Holyrood covering the provision of 'towils and drynsilver at the compleit hewing of the gret armis and to the barromenis drinkailver for the cartage of the samyn fra Sanct Paulis werkis to the abbey becaus it mycht nocht for hurt be carlit with cartis' and Gilgour was paid 20s. 'for drawing of the armis and his counsal thereto'.

Painting of the 'ij gret stane armis in the foir entry and new werk' is recorded the following year with the 'xxij nanikynnis with xxij thanis upone the hedis of the ij roundis', the 'vj gret copper thanis to the new werk and the foir entray' and 'the hail! irne wnydois cullering and laying in the foir entry and new werk'. The 'foir entray' was demolished in the eighteenth century with the exception of the south wall which can still be seen outside the modern gateway to the palace. Internal painting in 1536 included the chapel as already described and the 'xxxiiij gret hingand knoppis in the inner and myd chalmeris in the new werk, lxviij gret knoppis gilting inlikwis in the uter and myd chalmeris and for the hail cullering of the millouris of the inner myd and uter chalmeris laying with ausur of all costis'.

There are further references to the armis in 1538 in connection with the formal entry of Marie of Guisa. Adam Leis was paid 20s. 'for carving and rasing of the quenis grace armis in leid upone the fut of the gret armis of Sanct Androw put up agains the quenis grace entray to Edinburgh', Andrew Barry 42s. 'for painting and gilting togydder with reformyng and
cleaning of the hale gret arms' and Craigie and Robert Binning £12 'for gilding of the gret stane arms on the est quarter of the palice that was put up of before'.

Painting was going on in 1535-6 at Linlithgow where work included 'all the new irne wyndois that is put wp, in the first with red led and syne with wermione with all the prokkettis that the thanis standis on' and 'the crossis and ballis so mony as wantis'. At the same time the painter undertook 'the paynttyne of ane Lyon thua unicorns that suld stand upone the forentres and the salutation of our lade with the wle pego and pape the knyght and the laborius man with thre billis abowme the pape knyght and laborius mannis hedis'. Most of this sculpture has been destroyed, but the figure of the Virgin is still in situ as are the recesses formerly occupied by Pope, knight and working man.

There was painting at Falkland 1537-8, but the account refers simply 'to the expensis of cullouris oft in Edinburgh and Sanctandrois to the hale irne work in the palice, sulingis, turngus hedis and utheris necessaris'.

One other example of the painting of sculpture is recorded. In 1659 John Telfer was paid £30 Scots 'for laying of Mr. Heriots porterat over in oyle collor thrise over with white lead and oyle with the carved work thereto and gilding of the dymond in his hand'.

Amongst miscellaneous references to the painting of metalwork in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the payment to Sampson the painter in 1555 'to lay the haill knok and half-hour all over with reid leid to
keip thame fra rousting'; John Scott received the Glasgow burgess dues of a draper called Biggard in 1577 for 'culloring of the knok, moyne and orlage'; in 1629 Jenkin was paid by the Council of Glasgow for 'gilting of the horolage brodis and palmes'. Jenkin was also paid in 1627 'for gilting the Cok and thanis and culloring of the same yallow with the glob and standart and stanes above the steiple head' and in 1630 for 'gilting the Cok' and other items.

Expenses at Holyrood included 6s. in 1617 'for tinning of one knock to the turnegyk yet' and 4s. 'for a dossen of tyn fulyie to the plait of the knock'; John Baron was paid in 1633 for gilding, making and graving the dial in the north yard, and John Anderson for painting the dial.

An unusual item at Edinburgh castle was the payment of James Workman in 1625 for laying over the great wheel of the castle well and its standards with bolle and linseed oil.

X. PAINTED DOMESTIC DECORATION

In an account for the year 1531-2 the painters at Holyrood were paid 6s. 8d. 'for culloring of certane wallis in the kingis uter chalmer and closet chalmeris abone the hingaris agane his grace cumynng'. In 1538 9s. were paid for 'iiij werkmen one day to Rob. Davis for culloring of one chalmer in the tour', also at Holyrood. Robert Davis is described elsewhere as a pargeonar (plasterer) and it is unlikely that either of the entries quoted implied more than the laying over of the wall surfaces with paint or distemper. Andrew Bairhum was certainly involved in mural
decoration in Kinloss Abbey 1538-41, but it is impossible to say whether the reference to his 'pictura leviore quae nunc est per Scotiam receptissima' refers to domestic decoration or not.

A good deal of painting was undertaken for the Regent Arran about the middle of the sixteenth century and it is likely that this included decorative painting. The painter principally concerned was Walter Binning, first recorded painting guns at Edinburgh Castle in 1540. He was paid £4 10s. in February 1548 'for coloring of the ruf of my lorde governoures hous' in Edinburgh at the same time that a payment was made 'for hinging of my lorde governoures hous with tapeyre, nalis and carage furth of the tapesre out of the castell to my lord governoures loging'. He was employed thereafter by the Regent at Hamilton for at least three years, payments beginning in August 1550 and ending in August 1553. He was supplied during this period with colours from Edinburgh in large quantities: some, such as oil, red lead and vermilion were probably used on window grills and other external iron work; others, like the gold and silver foil would be required for tincturing the coats of arms or gilding thanes and prikets; the remainder may well have been used for decorative painting. A list of July 1552, for example, includes half a stone of vermilion, a stone of red lead and a gallon of linseed oil as well as 'lxiiij dosane of gold fulye'; but the same list also includes 21 stone of chalk, a stone of Flanders ochre, 4 lbs. of asure, 4 lbs. of orpiment and smaller amounts of 'flury', 'knopcenopar' and 'inde'. That work was being carried on on a considerable scale is also suggested by information given in 1554 in connection with the quarrel between Binning and David Workman,
which arose because Workman was employed by one James Watson in Edinburgh when 'the maister paert of the paintouris craftismen of this burgh' (Edinburgh) were 'furth of the samin in Hammiltoun in the Gouernoris service'. Painting must also have been going on in the Regent's house in Linlithgow at the same time because on July 1st 1552 a stons of glue was sent to Linlithgow 'to the painttaris of my lord gouvernouris lugeing'. Unfortunately there is no reference to the painting at Kinnail which may have begun when work was completed at Hamilton.

Workman himself may have been engaged in decorative painting. At the time of the quarrel he was said to have 'payntit the hail mure of the said Maister James house' and subsequently to have returned 'for perfiting and ending of the syd wallis'. In 1581 he was paid 20 merks by the Council of Edinburgh 'for paynting of the ruif of the inner tolbuith of the lordis and abone the chymay thairof' and in 1586 another 20 merks 'for paynting of the walls of the Lords inner counsalehouse'.

Most of the references to painted decoration as such refer to the seventeenth century and, owing to the nature of the available documents, to work in the royal palaces. At Holywood there was payment in 1613 for repairing the lock of 'the paintit chalmer quhair Sir James McConnel lyis'; in 1617 'the green chamber' was to be 'plaistred and whyted' and certain repairs carried out 'in the black and yellow chamber for the Lord Arundell'. In 1617 there was also an agreement 'for ratifeing ane contract betuixt the Thesaurair and Mathew Guidrek for painting his Majesteis chamberis at Halliruidhousa'. The latter, recorded in connection with the home-coming of James VI, probably refers to painting in the chapel since according to
a Privy Council record of 18 March 1617 Goodrick was to receive £200 'for paynting (and) gyling of his Majesties chappell of Haliruidhous'.

The preparations for the king's return included work at Falkland Palace and in Edinburgh Castle. This is known because in March 1617 the Marquis of Huntly was ordered to send John Anderson the painter down within 6 days because a promise had been made 'to the effect the said Johnne myocht haif bene impoyit in his Majesties workis at Falkland'. What Anderson did at Falkland is unrecorded. The same painter had also agreed to paint at Edinburgh Castle and was paid £100 on 16 June the same year for painting the room where his Majesty was born and £33 6s. 8d. 'for painting the rowme within the new hall and for furnisiching of all sortis of cullouris and warkmanschip with marble dures and chinnayes'(25).

There was a great deal of painting at both Linlithgow and Stirling at the end of 1628, possibly in anticipation of Charles I's coronation visit which did not in fact take place until 1633. The work at Linlithgow was begun by John Sawers and Thomas Hall, but Sawers is not recorded after the week of 8-13 December and the following March is said to have 'dyet in the wark'. Thereafter the task was taken over by John Binning (probably a descendent of Walter) and James Workman (son or grandson of David) who were paid £240 in March 1629 'for painting his Majesties hall rowmes in the palleice of Linlithgow both in sylringis wallis dores windowds borderis abone the hingingis' as well as for paintwork in the courtyard. Details from the accounts show that the hall was painted by Sawers and that Binning and Workman were responsible for 'his Majesties chalmer of presence',

'his Majesties bed chalmer', 'the kingis hall' and the 'trans at the galerie end of the kingis hall'. No details of the nature of the painting survive.

The most detailed surviving records of seventeenth century painted decoration refer to work which was going on at Stirling at the same time as that described above at Linlithgow. The information is contained in the two accounts submitted by Valentine Jenkin in 1628 and 1629, the first covering the exterior and first floor of the palace and the Chapel Royal, the second the top floor of the palace, the great hall and the rooms of Sir William Alexander.

The external work on the palace in 1628 included 'the haill yrone windowis to be layit over with fyne rid oyle cullour', 'the lyon, unicorne and four theanes of the prikis with thair knapis to be giltit and layit over' and 'the letteris and crowmallis of the palleice to be new giltit and cullourit with oyle'. Inside the accounts covered with wide access passage or gallery and the two royal suites, each of three rooms. The gallery was to have 'ane fair border round about frome the sylring to the heid of the windowis weill done and the haill pennisallis of the sylring to be layit over in ane fresche cullour'. Each room in the two royal suites is dealt with separately: in the king's great chamber, for example, 'the borderis [were] to be maid fair and perfyte, the dores and chimlayis to be weill marbillit and the pendis and akonschonis to be weill layit over and the window brodis to be layit over without with oyle cullour and within in temper cullour and the articles weill set af'; in the king's bed chamber 'the window brodis his and low [were] to be layit over and set af and the
armes and letteris to be set af in their awin cullouris with gold and aisser and the borderis to be helpit and the dores and chimnayis to be marbillit and the pend of the windowes and skenschonis to be weill layit over with blew gray'. The queen's great chamber and hall were to have 'fair new borderis to the hingingis with the window brodis pendis akon-schonis dores and chimnayis ... weill marbillit in their awin kynd'; for her bedroom 'the pannallis of it abone the hingingis round about the sylring to be fair wrocht with armes antikis and their af settis conformit to the werkis of the sylring abone' (i.e. the ceiling was already either carved or painted).

Work on the top floor of the palace, including Buckingham's suite of rooms, was completed by March 1629. The duke's chamber was to be 'weill paintit in the sylring', with the walls grey and the 'chimnay marbillit'; the two chambers above the king's hall were to be 'fair paintit with pannallis in the rufe with ane border round about the wallis whyte abone and gray under with the chimnayis marbillit', and so on.

The great hall was painted according to the same scheme 'the wallis gavellis and pendis' were 'all to be weill layit over whyte abone the roll that gois round about the midis of the wallis and the roll weill marbillit and all blew gray under; and all the chimnayis to be weill marbillit with ane crownell to ilk ane of them; with the trumpet loft to be weill paintit and set af with housingis and pilleris'.

Sir William Alexander's rooms including his hall and great chamber were to be 'whyttit in the ruife and jeistis with bordouris round abone the hingingis, the haill wallis being maid blew gray' and his 'thrie
chalmers upon the gairdein syde (were) to be paintit on the ruiffis, and the wallis layit over with blew gray and the chymayis marbellit'.

This documentary evidence confirms the existence of painted decoration during the first half of the seventeenth century. There are few relevant records relating to the sixteenth, but some evidence that painted mural decoration was already popular by 1540 and that a good deal of painting, possibly decorative, was being commissioned by the Regent Arran in the middle of the century.

XI. FURNITURE

References to the painting of furniture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are rare.

In 1563 there is the note in the Edinburgh Town Accounts that 'it is to be rememberit to compt with Patrik Schange and George Tod and David Schange, wrychts, for the making of the Scheyr to the seirinis Grace, halfe ane day' 7s. 6d., and 'Item, to Thomas Byning for laing with calk and glew, and the wallis', 20s. In 1633 £13 6s. 8d. was paid at Linlithgow 'to Alexander Law for painting the kingis sait'.

James Workman was paid £12 10s. in 1602 'for painting and causing mak ye brod quhilk his maestie pleyis at callit ye guse' (a game said to have been invented in Florence in the sixteenth century and to have reached England in 1597 when it was described as 'the newe and most pleasant game of the Goose'. It was a simple board game of the snakes and ladders type). In 1616 he was paid 'for grening of xij beddis at 32s. the pece' in Edinburgh Castle and in 1622 'for painting my Lord Chancellaris knok case with grein paintrie' at Holyrood.
John Savers was paid in 1618 'for furnesing all maner of colloures for painting of his Majesties bed that wes sent up to Londoun'.
PAINTED DECORATION IN SCOTLAND 1550-1650

1. DISTRIBUTION

There are, in round figures, a hundred buildings or groups of buildings (castles, palaces) in Scotland which contain, or contained, decorations believed to have been painted between the years 1550 and 1650. Some examples are well-preserved, others so fragmentary that their inclusion is only justified because the surviving evidence fits the pattern of better preserved examples elsewhere. Of the one hundred, only two examples can both be identified in contemporary record and examined today; those in the birth-room of James VI in Edinburgh Castle (painted or repainted by John Anderson in 1617) and in the Chapel Royal Stirling Castle (repainted by Valentine Jenkin in 1628); three examples (in Edinburgh tolbooth and the palaces of Hamilton and Linlithgow) are known from contemporary documents only; the remaining ninety five are included either because painting still exists, or because it has been recorded in the (usually recent) past. Thus if Scottish painted decoration was known from contemporary record alone we should be largely unaware of its existence and totally ignorant of its variety and extent.

The known distribution pattern is fortuitous, dependent on the chances of survival, discovery or record, but certain aspects are significant. There are twenty-four examples (almost a quarter of the total) in Midlothian, of which the great majority are either in or near Edinburgh;
there are sixteen examples in Fife, of which nine are in town houses in the small burghs scattered along the coast-line (Culross, Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, Pittenweem and St. Andrews); there are fifteen in the northeastern counties (Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Moray) in an area notable for fine building and rich architectural decoration. Yet although there are these areas of high concentration there are also individual examples in the homes of noblemen or provincial lairds as far north as Kirkwall and south as Stranraer, as far east as Prestonpans and west as Port Glasgow. The geographical distribution was obviously wide. It can also be demonstrated that the fashion for painted decoration affected a considerable cross-section of the more prosperous classes of the community.

II. PAINTED DECORATION IN ROYAL PALACES

The principal palaces at the end of the sixteenth century were in Edinburgh (Holyrood and the Castle), Linlithgow, Falkland, Dunfermline and Stirling. Of these Linlithgow and Dunfermline are in ruin but the remainder survive in varying degrees and preserve some evidence of painted decoration in every case.

At Holyrood the palace as it stands today consists largely of the building erected for Charles II by Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie and Robert Milne, the King’s master mason, on the basis of plans submitted in 1671. All that remains of the old palace which stood up to the outbreak of the Civil War is the north tower. This has been much altered but retains two coffered timber ceilings on the second floor, both decorated with coats of arms, the one set carved and tinctured before being fastened to the
ceiling, the other painted directly onto the ceiling boards. The ceiling in 'Queen Mary's Ante-chamber' illustrates in heraldic terms the marriage of Mary Queen of Scotland to Francis eldest son of King Henry of France, during the Regency of Mary of Guise; since Francis is shown as Dauphin this must have been erected in the short period between the marriage of Mary and Francis on 24th April 1558 and their coronation as King and Queen of France on 10th July 1559. Mary of Guise, whose arms are superimposed on the ceiling, died in 1560. The ceiling in the adjacent bedroom is carved with the ciphers MR and JR standing either for James V and Mary of Guise, or James VI and his mother; in either case the painted heraldry, which includes the arms and emblems of Charles I and Charles Prince of Wales, must have been added after 1625 and probably like that in the chapel at Falkland, in preparation for the King's coronation in 1633. Small areas of a monochrome frieze are exposed in both ante-chamber and bedroom and this was originally carried right round both rooms; it is a repetitive design incorporating the Honours of Scotland (crown, sword and sceptre) which is without known parallel and cannot be dated on internal evidence.

Painting at Edinburgh Castle is restricted to the little room in the palace block where King James is said to have been born and which is presumably the room painted (or repainted) by John Anderson in 1617. The panelling and much of the timber of the frieze is modern, but sections made up of older boards bear the royal arms of Scotland within the Order of the Thistle painted over a metrical prayer and the date and year of James' birth enclosed within simple cartouches. The ceiling is divided
into four by simple coffering, with diagonally opposite panels painted
with the ciphers JR and MR and with the corners decorated with thistles.

The doubt about the dating arises from the wording of the poem which
reads:

Lord Jesu Chryst that Crounit was with Thonse
Preserve the Birth quhais Badgie heir is borne,
And send Hir Sonce Successioun to Reigne still
Lang in this Realme, if that it be Thy will
Als Grant, O Lord, quhat ever of Hir proceed
Be to Thy Glorie Honer and Prais sobied.

If the word 'Hir' refers to Queen Mary this suggests that the room was
first painted, or at least that the poem was written, during Mary's life-
time.

The great timber roof of the castle hall is also painted, but
examination in 1962 revealed that little of the original timber is preserved
and that the painting as it now stands is nineteenth century stencil work
with no visible evidence of any earlier origin.

Linlithgow Palace was burnt in 1746 and has stood roofless since then.
In the nineteenth century it was recorded of the King's presence chamber
that 'the sides of the fireplace have deeply moulded pillars, with richly
carved capitals upon which remain some orange, red and black colouring'
and in 1963 minute scraps of decayed paint were noted on the carvings
above the windows of the north range, both representing the last traces of
the work carried out by Binning and Workman in the Spring of 1629.
At Stirling there are no signs of the contemporary painting carried out by Jenkin in hall or palace, although most of the structural features mentioned in his accounts can still be identified. There are shadows of the crowns and ciphers above the windows of the Chapel Royal outside and a reconstructed version of a painted frieze inside. The frieze includes strapwork cartouches enclosing the Honours of Scotland and the cipher of James VI (confirmation that the frieze was being repainted in 1628) which are joined to what are now blank roundels by swags and 'bouquets' of fruit. This is presumably the course of panels, arms and badges which Jenkin was to provide round the chapel between the roof and the wall plates, although the latter description applies more appropriately to the space on the gable above the frieze which is painted with dummy windows surmounted by a crown and the lion crest of the royal arms.

The surviving painting at Falkland is on the coffered ceiling and walls of the chapel. The crowned arms of Great Britain are superimposed on the centre of the former and the compartments are painted with the arms and emblems of Scotland, England, Wales and France and with the ciphers of Charles I, Charles Prince of Wales and Queen Maria. Panels on the walls are painted with the royal cipher, the Honours of Scotland and the date 1633 suggesting that the scheme was carried out in connection with Charles I's coronation visit. The ceiling has a family resemblance to those at Holyrood and Edinburgh Castle, and false windows, swags and 'bouquets' of fruit as at Stirling suggest that the painter may again have been Valentine Jenkin who painted the heraldic panels and their housings.
over the main entry in 1629. The Palace also contains a number of entertaining ceilings painted for the Marquis of Bute at the end of the nineteenth century in the seventeenth century style.

III. PAINTED DECORATION IN CASTLES AND MANSIONS

Apart from the royal palaces most of the painted decoration outside the burghs is to be found in the tower-houses and mansions of the nobility and landed gentry. The earliest series of Renaissance paintings on an extensive scale may well be those in the palace of the Regent Arran at Kinneil which occupy two rooms on the first floor of the north wing, one with a coffered ceiling of timber, the other barrel vaulted. The Palace was begun in 1553 and the Regent died in 1574, so the paintings which incorporate the Regent's arms in both rooms must have been carried out between those two dates; it has been suggested that the paintings were never finished (as preserved they are little more than line drawings) and that work stopped when Arran ceased to be Regent in 1554. Judging from the records of other work undertaken for the Regent the painter is likely to have been Walter Binning.

The two rooms at Kinneil are painted with quite different schemes of decoration linked only by the use of Biblical themes. The walls of the so-called Parable Room are painted with an architectural frame-work including dado, frieze and a 'Corinthian' arcade within the arches of which are a series of scenes illustrating the parable of the Good Samaritan and other subjects (St. Jerome, St. Mary Magdalen and Lucretia) painted in the manner of tapestries with small panels of explanatory text.
The vaulted room, for structural reasons, required different treatment and was painted initially as an 'arbour' with an overall pattern of leafy foliage into which are introduced birds and animals, Biblical texts on scrolls and scenes (sacrifice of Isaac, David and Bathsheba, Samson and Delilah) in roundels, the whole crowned with the arms of Arran and his wife on the soffit of the ceiling. This room was repainted a generation later: the walls were 'panelled', the vault and end gable painted with the 'mouldings' of a plaster ceiling with a cherub in each compartment and the arms of the 2nd Marquis of Hamilton as Knight of the Garter replacing those of the Regent. Since the Marquis received the garter in 1621 and died in 1624, these secondary paintings are dated within narrow limits.

At least one other painted room, illustrated in the Inventory of Ancient Monuments for West Lothian, formerly existed at Kinnell, but the greater part of the building is now in ruin so that the original extent of the painted decoration there will never be known.

Aristocratic patronage on a grand scale is also to be seen at Pinkie House, Musselburgh, built for Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, in 1613 'non ad animi, sed fortunarum et egellii modum' according to an inscribed plaque said to have been mounted on the house. The gallery, 80 feet long, is the most richly painted chamber in Scotland, with a simulated vault and cupolas, emblematic paintings and a host of Latin texts enclosed in strapwork cartouches. The central feature is an octagonal 'lantern' decorated with the arms of the Earl's ancestors and rising in three tiers of balconies to a pierced dome with
the arms of the Earl himself in the centre. The walls of the gallery have also been painted although very little mural decoration now survives.

The paintings in the gallery at Pinkie have long been known, but reconstruction in 1953 revealed another painted ceiling in what is now known as the 'Prefect's Room'. This is an open-beam ceiling decorated with a disconnected series of birds, grotesques, emblems and heraldic devices including the monogram of Lord Dunfermline and his third wife Margaret Hay as painted in the gallery above. Part of this ceiling has been repainted and is still in situ, part has been removed and is stored in Edinburgh Castle. Painting was also noted in the library when a section of the panelling was temporarily removed revealing what is said to have been an oriental scene with a dancer and pagoda enclosed within an architectural arcade; further inspection suggested that the whole wall surface, beams and ceiling of this and the two adjoining rooms had been painted in a most elaborate manner and in fact that the southern portion of the east range had been painted on each of three floors. None of this decoration is now visible, but one fragment of external painting survives in a niche at ground floor level overlooking the garden; most of the painted plaster has fallen away but the upper part of the painting survives and illustrates a street scene in strong perspective.

Other notable buildings which formerly contained painted decoration were the palace block at Huntly which contained an emblematic ceiling probably painted for the Marquis by John Anderson who was summoned from Huntly in 1617, the palace of Scone where the painted gallery is said to have been
built for the Earl of Gowrie, also perhaps responsible for the paintings at Huntingtower and the Renaissance palace of Patrick Stewart Earl of Orkney in Kirkwall which according to Daniel Defoe contained several rooms 'curiously painted with Scripture Stories'. The evidence of a painted door suggests that the Earl of Morton's gallery at Aberdour may also have been painted. The popularity of painted decoration among the leading figures of the Scottish aristocracy is therefore beyond doubt.

Painted decoration is equally prevalent in the scattered homes of the minor nobility and provincial lairds. Frequently the paintings are found in towers either built or extended at the end of the sixteenth century or shortly thereafter; often a building which preserves one well-preserved example is found to show evidence of others. At Crathes there are three intact ceilings, as well as areas of painting in the hall and two other rooms; at Earlshall there is a splendid painted gallery, with two other intact ceilings and a tradition of mural painting in the hall; at Lochnaw Castle near Stranraer there are the remains of two open-beam ceilings in the tower and of a third in the adjacent extension. The list can be extended without difficulty to show that up and down the land Scotsmen of means were decorating their homes in accordance with the fashion set by the nobility.

IV. PAINTING IN TOWNS

There are at least eleven of the towering stone tenements of Edinburgh which contain, or formerly contained, painted decoration which in some cases occupied almost every room from ground floor to attic. At Gladstone's
Land there are three painted rooms, one above the other; in what is now the Midlothian Police Headquarters on the opposite side of the street there are two floors with two large painted rooms to each floor; Blyth's Close contained a number of buildings including that traditionally associated with Mary of Guise all of which contained painted decoration in varying degrees; most recently (1963) two complete floors in one of the buildings constituting Riddle's Court have been found to be painted. Much of this painting was in the town-houses of the aristocracy, some was in the homes of prosperous merchants. In Edinburgh the painted ceiling in John Knox House is likely to have been executed for the goldsmith Mossman or his family. Elsewhere Mary Somerville's House in Burntisland was originally built for a wealthy merchant captain called Watson; Robert Stewart, whose home contained two painted heraldic ceilings, was Provost of Linlithgow; Lumsden (original owner of Provost Skene's House) was a bailie of Aberdeen. Unfortunately many of the buildings erected in Scottish burghs at the end of the sixteenth century have been demolished, but it is reasonable to assume that a practice adopted in Edinburgh, Culross and Aberdeen was also popular in Stirling and Perth.

There is a little evidence to show that civic buildings were also painted. Edinburgh tolbooth no longer exists but David Workman was paid for painting there, including above the fireplace (which suggests decorative painting) in 1581. The Canongate tolbooth survives and contains a poorly preserved but typical open-beam ceiling with arabesque decoration. The whole of the first floor in the tolbooth at Culross was painted although part of one of the two ceilings concerned is now hidden;
this building was probably put up in 1626 (the date is carved on a lintol) but unfortunately the burgh records for the first half of the seventeenth century no longer exist.

V. PAINTING IN CHAPELS AND CHURCHES

The popularity of painted decoration in Scottish dwellings is not normally reflected in the decoration of chapels and churches but when such decoration is used it closely imitates the secular decoration of the period. As has been seen the Chapel Royal at Stirling was painted at the same time and in much the same way as the palace, and the heraldic decoration on the chapel roof at Falkland is the same as that in the royal apartments at Holyrood. A painted ceiling covers the east end of the little church of St. Mary, near Grandtully, which is believed to be a pre-Reformation foundation repaired in 1636; the central feature is a 'Doom' and there are also portraits of the Evangelists, but these are associated with the royal arms, the arms of the Duke of Athole and of the laird (Sir William Stewart) and his wife. Similarly the elaborately painted vault in the Skelmorlie vault at Largs includes in addition to Biblical texts, Old Testament figures and the arms of the Tribes of Israel a series of paintings representing the Seasons, emblematic subjects and a splendid heraldic display illustrating the genealogy of Lord Montgomery. A possible exception is the ceiling of which fragments survive in the chapel of Innerpeffray; the sun appears to have been the central feature, with blue sky and cloud and what may have been the figure of an angel.
None of the ceilings described, except perhaps the last, differ substantially in iconography from examples found in private dwelling. The ceiling in Provost Skene's House with its scenes from the Nativity and Passion, or that from Mary Somerville's House with its portrait heads of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Apostles or that in Blyth's Close, Edinburgh with its central head of Christ and New Testament scenes would appear to be more appropriate in an ecclesiastical than a secular setting, yet even though the rooms concerned may have been used as chapels there is now no evidence that this was actually the case.

The decoration of the open-beam ceiling in the chapel at Stobhall with its equestrian figures of royalty is secular, but it may well be that at the time the ceiling was painted the chamber was not used as a chapel. The ceiling was carried across the pointed window in the east gable and when this was restored a section of the ceiling was cut out and mounted on the partition at the other end of the room.

The great majority of post-Reformation churches appear to have had no decorative painting, but occasionally emblems were painted on the fronts of the lofts. These lofts were often provided by and for the members of the various trade guilds and when this occurred the practice was sometimes adopted of painting the emblems of the guilds concerned on the parapet. Painted symbols of this kind are still to be seen in the Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh and in the parish church at Burntisland.
VI. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PAINTED CEILINGS

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century most Scottish houses were built to the mediaeval plan with the principal rooms on the first floor over a series of cellars. Rooms on the ground floor were often barrel vaulted; rooms on the first floor were sometimes vaulted but more often fitted with flat, open-beam ceilings; rooms above either had the same or, if they were under the roof, ceilings which were barrel vaulted or coved to allow for the converging angle of the rafters. Painted ceilings, which in the circumstances are most commonly found on the first floor, are therefore usually of the flat, open-beam type, but coved, barrel vaulted, elliptical and in one instance groin-vaulted ceilings are also found. Stone vaults and walls, when not lined with timber, were plastered. The decorative painters had therefore to be prepared to work on wood, plaster and occasionally stone and to adapt their themes to satisfy the requirements of the various types of structure.

From the painter's point of view the important consideration was whether the ceiling was supported from below or suspended from above, since on this depended whether it was divided structurally into comparatively small areas or offered an uninterrupted surface for decoration. The commonest type of ceiling, flat and supported by exposed joists, belongs to the first class, as do the ribbed vault at Balbegno and the coffered ceilings at Holyrood and Falkland; the barrel vaulted and elliptical ceilings are in the second; the coved ceilings fall in between, the ceiling being divided into three, a soffit and two splayed sides, without
further sub-division. In practice the solutions to the problems so presented rarely varied. The panels of the open-beam ceilings were treated individually albeit to a common theme but the subjects never over-rode the beams to present a picture which could be read as a whole like a stained glass window. Advantage was almost never taken of the uninterrupted surfaces of the suspended ceilings which were with two exceptions invariably divided into smaller and more manageable areas by painted ribs and other devices often imitated with a high degree of fidelity. The exceptions to this rule are the astral ceilings at Cullen and Burntisland. The golden stars applied to the surface at Cullen with the fragments from Blyth’s Close provide the only surviving examples of the addition of three-dimensional features to the surface of a ceiling; stars were also recorded on the ceilings, now demolished, in General Dalziell’s house, Edinburgh and at Old Craighall near Musselburgh.

The division of ceilings into supported and suspended types was also significant because it affected the chances of survival of any particular example. Flat, open-beam, painted timber ceilings were normally plastered over when they ceased to be of interest suffering no more in the process than the loss in some instances of the painting on the soffits of the beams. Vaulted ceilings when no longer required were taken down and destroyed, although occasionally the painted boards were split up and used as lathing to support the plaster ceiling which supplanted them. Such painted lathing can occasionally be recovered and reconstructed as happened in the case of Mary Somerville’s House, Burntisland where two adjacent ceilings and an intervening partition were rescued in this manner.
The original curve of the painted vault was also recovered from its 'shadow' preserved on the face of the gable. At Culross two timber lined apartments and a closet in the garret were rebuilt from loose boards to a plan recovered by plotting the marks of post-holes on the floor. These cases, however, are the exception; in general open-beam ceilings survive in larger numbers not only because there were probably more of them in the first place, but also because for structural reasons their chances of survival are better.

For the same sort of reasons the prevalence of mural decoration has often been underestimated or overlooked. Sixteenth century interiors were almost invariably finished with a thick layer of plaster following the contours of the wall. Thereafter rooms were frequently panelled (with damage to the plaster surfaces behind from the supporting staples) and then when the panelling was removed the walls were stripped, replastered or papered. It is not surprising therefore that mural decoration disappeared or remained unnoted, but careful examination in recent years following the discovery of hitherto unknown painted ceilings has almost always revealed slight but recognisable traces of painted mural decoration.

VII. SUBJECT MATTER

Decorative schemes on painted walls and ceilings are almost infinitely varied in detail, but very few are incapable of classification under a comparatively small number of headings according to the limited range of sources from which the majority are derived, i.e. legend and myth, emblems of various kinds, the Bible, heraldry, animal life, arabesque and other patterns.
Legend and Myth

The legends and myths of Classical times and the Dark Ages were a fruitful source of ideas for Renaissance decorators. Subjects of this nature could only be fully developed on the uninterrupted spaces of the suspended ceilings or on wall surfaces. The most effective scheme of this kind in Scotland is to be seen at Cullen House, where the soffit of a coved ceiling depicts Mercury, Neptune, Flora and Luna with a host of winged cherubs in the heavens; there is a carefully pointed contrast between the figure of Mercury hurrying away with a message in his hand and the remainder of the deities sitting placidly amongst the clouds. The splayed sides of the cove are painted with episodes from the legends of Aeneas, Atalanta and Meleager and Diana and Actaeon. The rich colour is largely modern, but enough of the original work remains to show that these scenes which include a splendid siege of Troy were the most intricate of any now known. A second planetary ceiling formerly existed in Mary Somerville's House at Burntisland, where the central feature on the wooden barrel vault was a flaming sun encircled by the signs of the zodiac and Jupiter, Apollo, Luna, Saturn, Venus and other deities whom it was no longer possible to identify. The sun and/or the signs of the zodiac were also used elsewhere with paintings illustrating the Seasons; a set of four survives in the Skelmorlie Aisle and sets formerly existed at Old Craighall, Musselburgh (four) and Havelstone House (twelve). The sun was also a feature at Innerpeffray in General Dalziel's House and Old Saughton Hall, Edinburgh.
A single painting based on the Aeneid, perhaps originally one of a series, survives at Monymusk House where the ingoes of one of the windows in the hall are painted to represent a tent. According to the text above the window the scene is 'Quhen durying a trewe of fouir monethes maist worthy & noble Hector walked into the grekes host & of the talking betwyxe him & force Achylles'. The heroes are shown sitting in the tent, with Greeks and Trojans peering round the open flaps. Unfortunately the remainder of the paintings on this wall have been destroyed. Possibly the paintings noted in the Greyfriars, Elgin were also of the same type, since decoration was found 'embracing pictorial scenes and figure work delicately painted and dressed in costumes of James VI and Charles Iat's time' - a description which applies equally well to the figures in the boar hunt at Cullen or to Hector and Achilles at Monymusk.

Some legends were adopted as emblems. The painting of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises from burning Troy at Cullen is descriptive; at Culross and Pinkie it symbolises filial piety.

The personified Muses, Virtues and the Nine Nobles were all popular. The best known series is at Crathes where the Muses and Virtues appear on one ceiling and the Nine Nobles on another. These ceilings are low and the figures consequently difficult to see which may explain why full-length human figures are rarely painted on open-beam ceilings; the 'mummers' at Prestongrange are the only other recorded examples. Virtues are also depicted with the arms of the Nine Nobles on the elliptical ceiling in the gallery at Earlshall and Justice and Constancy are painted over the Montgomery tomb in the Skelmorlie Aisle, symbolising the respective virtues of the owner and his wife.
The Vices were not used as decoration, but grotesques derived ultimately from Roman sources were. These are to be seen in their purest form on the ceiling from Preston Range which is decorated, apart from the 'mummers' entirely with imaginative devices. Grotesques are more commonly found as one element in more general schemes as at John Knox House where the figure of a squatting, horned grotesque, half male, half female apparently once aroused so much interest that it was cut out of the ceiling and mounted on the stairs and then such revulsion that it was painted over with black paint. In its context however it was one of many similar figures which are to be seen in decorative schemes, engravings and other source books of the period.

Emblems

Emblems were extremely fashionable in the sixteenth century and provided a rich and variable source of decorative devices. In its complete form an emblem was compounded of three elements, a motto, a picture and an explanatory text or verse all of which contributed to the meaning of the whole. The decorative painters sometimes used the picture only, sometimes picture and motto and occasionally picture, motto and verse. Complete emblems used without other decoration are to be seen in a small room on the second floor of the 1597 range at Culross. Sixteen emblems are painted on the vault, each with picture, motto and couplet. In effect the painter has taken an emblem book apart and transferred its pages to the ceiling.

Emblems with texts formerly existed at Huntly Castle where there are
now only traces of paint and in the houses round Blyth's Close, Edinburgh, which have been demolished. Emblems from the same source but without texts are still to be seen at Munraw with decoration from other sources and are well preserved on the fine ceiling from Rossett Castle which is to be re-erected in the proposed new National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. The 'pictures' in the gallery at Pinkie and the elaborate painting on the soffit of the oriel window there are all emblems, as are the two unidentified scenes between the pairs of Seasons in the Skelmorlie Aisle.

Symbols which personified the five Senses are also likely to have been popular. Three panels from such a set, originally from the Dean, Edinburgh, are preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities. Each Sense is shown as a female figure in an oval frame with the appropriate and traditional emblems; an eagle, for example, perches beside Sight, who examines her features in a mirror with the Edinburgh skyline from Salisbury Crags to the Castle rock in the background.

The Bible

The decorative painters drew inspiration freely from both Old and New Testament, although after the Reformation certain themes were regarded as unacceptable. The records of the presbytery of Glasgow record that Harry Ross appeared on August 2nd 1597 'and denyis that he payntit the pictures of the Father, the Sone and the Haly Gaiast, in any houssis within this realms'. On the other hand painters did not hesitate to portray the head of Christ as at Mary Somerville's House and Blyth's Close, or to
illustrate episodes in his life as at Elyth's Close and Provost Skene's House. The ceiling in Provost Skene's House is intact, although only part of the painted surface has survived, and fragments of the paintings from Elyth's Close and Mary Somerville's House are preserved in the National Museum of Antiquaries and in Edinburgh Castle. Another fine series of panels at the Museum comes from the mansion called the Dean and includes a painting of David playing on his harp, Bethulia and Holofernes, the Sacrifice of Isaac and St. Luke sitting at his desk; the Cain and Abel, now mounted on the wall in John Knox House may well come from the same series. The Biblical paintings at Kinnell have already been mentioned and there is also a highly ornamental depiction of Adam and Eve, with symbolic turkey and peacock on the vault at Skelmorlie. Biblical heraldry includes the fictitious arms of the tribes of Israel in the same Aisle, and the Arma Christi on the coved ceiling at Provost Skene's House.

Biblical texts were frequently used in decorative schemes, sometimes painted along beams or on scrolls, sometimes in strapwork cartouches as at Falkland or in the Skelmorlie Aisle. The selection appears haphazard except at Kirkcaldy where the beams in the little room overlooking the harbour are inscribed THEY THAT DO GOWN TO THE SEA IN SHIPS, THAT DO BUSINESSE IN GREAT WATERS, THESE SEE THE WORKS OF THE LORD AND HIS WONDERS IN THE DEEP.

Heraldry

Heraldic decoration was popular in the sixteenth century and entirely
appropriate for display on the painted ceilings of the nobility. The arms of Christ, the Three Wise Men, the Nine Nobles, the Tribes of Israel, the monarchs of Europe and the Scottish king and nobility all find their place. Heraldic ceilings however are principally of two kinds. The first display the arms of European monarchs as at Nunraw, where there are two to each pane; the ceiling at Stobhall is a variation on the same theme although in this instance the monarchs themselves appear instead of their arms. The second display the arms of the Scottish nobility as at Collairnie and Balbogow and as formerly in Provost Stewart's house in Linlithgow. The two ceilings at Linlithgow, once recorded, were cut up and the painted coats of arms sent to the families concerned, but the section with the arms of Lord Sinclair is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquaries. Arms of both types are to be seen on the ceiling in the gallery at Earlshall. Fragments of yet another heraldic ceiling were recovered from Rossend Castle, but it has as yet proved impossible to identify the owners of the arms portrayed.

Heraldic decoration is also used to identify the owner of the ceiling, the family arms being displayed either in conjunction with the royal arms or on their own. The royal arms are splendidly blazoned above the fireplace at Monymusk House with the family arms at one side, but at Crathes and Delgatie the family arms appear on the ceiling alone. At Crathes the arms are flanked by the initials of the owner and these sometimes appear, as at Rossend Castle and Nunraw, displayed on a decorative shield in the place of the normal heraldic achievements. Sometimes the initials of the owner appear without the shield, either alone or in conjunction with those
of the wife; at Earlshall the initials of owner and wife appear both alone and on interlocking love-hearts, and at Old Gala House both separately and conjoined, as if in each case to symbolise the marriage union.

Animals, birds and fishes

Animals, birds and occasionally fishes feature prominently in a number of decorative schemes and on a lesser scale form a normal part of the decorative painters stock in trade. In the small bedroom at Earlshall named paintings of animals are the principal feature of the ceiling decoration and in the adjacent gallery fill many of the small rectangles into which much of the elliptical vault is divided. More frequently birds and animals provide one element in a ceiling decorated with a variety of suitable devices; at Nunraw and Rossend they appear with arms and emblems, and on the ceiling in the Midlothian Police Headquarters interpolated into a floral pattern.

The mural paintings at Kinneil and Traquair, and those of which traces remain at Huntingtower, form a class on their own. In these cases the whole wall is devoted to an array of birds and animals displayed against a graceful thicket of arabesque foliage. Both at Kinneil and Traquair this decoration is associated with Biblical texts, at Kinneil on scrolls and at Traquair as a margin at top and bottom, although in neither case is there any obvious association between texts and pictures. The paintings at Kinneil are also associated with Old Testament scenes and at Huntingtower there is a fragment of what is believed to represent the expulsion of Adam.
and Eve from the Garden of Eden. Animals and birds also appear on a wooden partition at Northfield, but in this instance the space is divided into four by supporting struts and a single different creature is depicted in the centre of each panel.

**Patterns**

The simplest decorative schemes are to be seen on the open-beam ceilings and consist of long panels of continuous decoration. The plainest example is at Huntingtower where there is a running pattern of black interlace; more commonly the decoration consists of a continuous undulating arabesque or a repetitive pattern of fruit and flowers. Occasionally other elements are introduced into the pattern such as the nesting and singing birds at Northfield, the cherubs and two-headed eagles at Riddle's Court or the lion, 'green man', bird, fox and hare in the Midlothian Police Headquarters. The most entertaining type of pattern is that on the Rossend ceiling which consists of a miscellaneous collection of objects, emblems, birds and animals, displays of arms and musical instruments united into a single pattern by connecting arabesque decoration, ribbons and other Renaissance decorative devices.

Most ceilings have something in common with one or more other decorative schemes; very few stand on their own without obvious parallel. The Huntingtower ceiling is now unique, but there is a drawing in the National Museum of Antiquaries of a similar pattern said to have existed in Dundee. The stencilled effect of the Riddle's Court ceiling is unusual because mechanical repetition is not a characteristic of Scottish decorative
painting, but there are examples of the same sort of thing at Crathes and Delgatie and on the beams at Prestongrange. One of the two ceilings in the Culross Tolbooth is unique with its running pattern of continuous strapwork interrupted by three repeated motifs, the winged cherub, the draped female head and the star, but this is associated with two of the commonest beam patterns. The most uncommon ceiling of all is probably that discovered in the Prefect's Room at Pinkie where the use of small, physically separated and delicate motifs is combined with beam patterns without known parallel elsewhere.

**Beam patterns**

The range of beam patterns is comparatively restricted probably because the narrow spaces on sides and soffits offer only limited scope for imaginative treatment and perhaps because variety in this respect was not regarded as important. Thus the two commonest patterns, usually found in conjunction, have been widely recorded in Fife, the Lothians and Renfrewshire.

A favourite and appropriate way of filling the awkward beam spaces was with a line of text either painted the full length of the beam or on a series of scrolls; the texts might be proverbs or apothegms as at Delgatie or Scriptural quotations as at Traquair or might be used, as at Crathes, to identify the figures painted on the ceiling above. Frequently the full length of the beam was occupied with a guilloche or arabesque patterns such as that provided by Jenkin in the Chapel Royal at Stirling where the joists were to be 'all weill paintit, the feild thairof blew
with flouris going all along thame and antikis'. Frequently also the beams were divided up into shorter lengths by various decorative schemes which provided rectangular or other simple geometric shapes which could be conveniently filled with arabesques.

The beams were often painted different colours, even when the patterns remained the same, and on occasions can be seen to follow a repetitive sequence. Occasionally the patterns incorporate details of special significance such as the Douglas hearts said to have existed at Aberdour and the initials SRM for Sir Robert Melville at Rossend.

Beam soffits were frequently cloured away to provide a level surface for the later plasterwork, so that it is rare for a complete set of beam patterns to be recovered, but it is also unusual for all traces of the patterns on the soffits to be destroyed.

**Mural decoration**

Mural decoration was normally architectural in form and served to 'support' the ceiling above. Arcades are common, sometimes occupying the majority of the wall surface as in the Argyll Lodging, Stirling Provost Skene’s House and Kinneil, sometimes confined to the upper part of the wall ('above the hangings') as at Gladstone’s Land and Earlshall. At Kinneil the arched spaces in the arcade enclose scriptural paintings; at Gladstone’s Land they are filled with vases of flowers and at Earlshall with proverbs; in the Argyll Lodging and Provost Skene’s House they are blank. Occasionally the mural decoration occupied no more than the small awkward spaces between the joists at wall head; these were usually filled in with patterns repeating the decoration on the beams.
An alternative treatment used in barrel vaulted rooms was to 'panel' the walls as in the arbour room at Kimeil (second stage) and in Culross Palace and Mary Somerville's House. These imitations were carried out with some care, the 'shadowing' being skilfully rendered to produce a three-dimensional effect. This simple illusionism is to be seen on a grander scale on the ceilings themselves, as for example in the Skelmorlie Aisle where there is a painted stone rib vault with supporting corbels or in Mary Somerville's House where there was a 'coffered' ceiling of timber - above all in Pinkie where the elaborate pretence even includes a series of painted 'pictures' complete with hooks and nails on the almost flat soffit of the ceiling. These imitations may have been a cheap substitute for the real thing but given the importance of the people concerned are more likely to be examples of a fashionable convention.

External decoration

Very few examples of painting on the outside of buildings have survived. Apart from the ciphers at Stirling and the street scene at Pinkie as already described the only known example is at Craigston Castle where there are painted 'ribs' on the soffit of the great arch over the entry.

Exceptions

There were some subjects that the decorative craftsmen did not paint, notably contemporary scenes, people or events. There are four exceptions, two in Edinburgh, where there is the painting of 'Sight' with the castle in the background and the record of another, one in the Skelmorlie Aisle
where the aisle itself is included in one of the paintings and one in the
gallery at Scone which is said to have been painted with scenes of King James
VI hunting. Other-worldliness is characteristic of the age but must be remembered because the paintings are frequently expected to provide information about daily life in the sixteenth century which they do not.

The paintings are occasionally coarse, but not suggestive or vulgar. The hermaphrodite figure from the John Knox ceiling has already been mentioned; the Prestonpans 'mummers' with their fertility symbols are also crude. Apart from these the decoration is acceptable to modern taste.

Humour is rare and except for the painting of the skater falling on his head in 'Winter' in the Skelmorlie Aisle confined to an occasional witty proverb as at Earlshall:

A NICE WYP AND
A BACK DOORE
OFT MAETH A RICH
MAN POORE

Another possible joke at Earlshall is the little figure of a guard with pointed gun just inside the entrance to the gallery although this figure may be a later addition - there is no known parallel apart from the doorkeeper at Cassillis Castle.

VIII. SOURCE BOOKS

Skilled decorative painters are likely to have carried much of their material in their heads, but they also used contemporary engravings which
they copied onto walls and ceilings. At Rossend as many as 24 emblems may have been taken from Paradin's *Devises Heroiques*, Lyon, 1551 as well as one from Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, Leyden, 1586 and one from Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimarum*, Magdeburg, 1611-14. Paradin was also used at Nunraw and Whitney at Culross.

The main source of animal illustration was Conrad Gesner's *Historiae Animalium*, Zurich, 1551. Engravings from this work were closely copied on the ceilings at Earlshall and the 'Scottish Water Hound' is probably the prototype for the running hound as seen at Traquair, Northfield and Kinnell. The book may also have been used at Rossend, Nunraw, Stobhall and elsewhere - the eagle attacking the rabbit (Gesner III, 169) appears on a large number of ceilings.

Bible illustrations are also likely to have been used. 'Cain and Abel' at John Knox House may be based on the fine woodcut in the Cologne Bible (1478-80) and the Kinnell parable sequence on the engraving in the Zurich Bible (1545), both illustrated in J. Strachan, *Early Bible Illustration*. Scriptural texts at Traquair and Skelmorlie are taken from the Genevan Bible, and the arms of the tribes of Israel as at Skelmorlie from the title page of the same work.

Proverbs at Delgatie and Earlshall come from Paul Freyman *Treatise of Morall Philosophye*, 1567, where the 'nice wyf' is inserted incongruously among the sayings of Marcus Aurelius, and the beam texts at Dundee from Quarle's *Emblems*, London 1635.

All the sources quoted above are literary, but it is reasonable to assume that embroidery, tapestry woodwork and sculpture all provided a
common pool of ideas. A Paradin emblem, for example, is carved on the front of the Huntly House Museum in Edinburgh, and others are embroidered on the bed hangings of Queen Mary.

The identification of source books is of interest in itself and also has practical applications. It is possible, for example, to visualise one of the painted ceilings which formerly existed in Blyth's Close because it was painted with emblems from Paradin which are described in Wilson's Edinburgh Past and Present or to prove that the ceiling at Cullen has been shortened because the figure of Actaeon is missing from a scene illustrating his transformation into a stag; the Rossend ceiling can be dated because the decoration includes an ostrich emblem from Rollenhagen which cannot have reached Scotland before about 1615 (although this evidence must be used with caution because engravings were frequently re-used without acknowledgement).

The Pinkie emblems have not been identified, but there are two versions of the woman with sail (Theodor de Bry and Jacob Brassardi, both 1593) and several versions of the winds blowing on the rock (e.g. George Wither, Emblemes) so that they are not original.

The two emblematic paintings in the Skelmorlie Aisle have also not been identified, but the painting of a woman and horse may be based on the emblem reproduced by Whitney (p. 182) which symbolises the power of a woman's beauty which is more effective than the speed of horse, strength of lion etc. As such it may be a tribute to Lady Montgomery, but does not represent, as traditionally believed, her accidental death.
IX. DATING

It is possible to say exactly when twelve of the ceilings were painted because the dates are included in the decoration. They range from Prestongrange (1581) to the Skelmorlie Aisle (1638). Many of the others can be dated on heraldic or other internal evidence (e.g. from Charles I as Rex Britanniae at Stobhall) or from dates on the buildings which contain them. The great majority belong to the period after 1600.

The earliest precisely dated ceiling is in Queen Mary's Ante-chamber at Holyrood (1558-9) and the earliest approximately dated ceiling that at Kinneil (probably 1554). It has been claimed that the ceiling at Huntingtower may have been painted before this (c. 1540) but the evidence is an almost illegible coat of arms and it seems more likely that the decoration is to be attributed to the Earl of Gowrie (c. 1580) who is known to have added a 'gallery decorated with pictures' (now demolished) at Huntingtower.

The evidence indicates that the fashion for painted decoration lasted at most for about a century and it is likely that many of the examples were either covered up or destroyed within a much shorter time than that. It is significant that the only scheme to be repainted is that at Kinneil, which in any case is likely to be the oldest, and that the only other known alterations were at Prestongrange and Rossend where the beams were repainted almost certainly within a year or so of the original painting of the ceiling. It is difficult to date individual ceilings on the basis of style or content because painters were working in the same
manner and using the same sources throughout the period. It is perhaps significant that most of the early ceilings are of the flat, open-beam type but as already explained this does not preclude the previous existence of painted wooden vaults which have failed to survive.

The fashion is likely to have ended with the outbreak of the civil war; when peace was restored interest in emblems and symbolism had passed. Decorative painting was sometimes used in the old manner - the arms of Great Britain at Cullen bear the royal cipher CR 2 - sometimes as at Holyrood where de Witt designed an oval painting which fitted into an elaborate plaster ceiling. The last stage was the painted eighteenth century panelling associated in Edinburgh with Norie, of which one example survives in Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen, and probably another, repainted in the nineteenth century, in the old library at Traquair.

X. THE PAINTERS

The only signed ceiling is in the Skelmorlie Aisle at Largs where, painted in the corner of an emblematic picture, is a small scroll with the inscription 'J. Stalker fecit 1638'. A James Stalker, son of David Stalker was prenticed with John Sawers the Edinburgh painter 28th March 1632; Sawers was a herald painter and there is much good heraldic painting at Skelmorlie. The monogram JM painted on the beams of the two ceilings at Delgatie Castle (1592 and 1597) may also refer to the painter. Apart from this, as already described, the frieze in the Chapel Royal at Stirling can be attributed on documentary evidence to Valentine Jenkin and the work at Huntly and in Edinburgh Castle to John Anderson. It is also a
reasonable assumption that the Kinneil paintings were the work of Walter Binning on the grounds that he was employed by the Regent elsewhere, and that James Workman, who was granted a licence to live at Burntisland, may have worked in Fife.

For the rest certain features indicate common authorship; some ceilings (Collairnie and Linlithgow, Rossend and Nunraw) are very much alike, or have features such as beam patterns in common. Occasionally mistakes occur which suggest that the painter was unfamiliar with his subject as at Kinneil where the titles of Priest and Levite are transposed or at Burntisland and in the Skelmorlie Aisle where Cancer and Scorpio were confused. Apart from this the paintings are impersonal and anonymous.

It is difficult to assess the ability of the decorative painters because so much of their work has been damaged or overpainted, but at its best it was very good. The essential quality was the skilful and vigorous facility with which they outlined an emblem, an animal or a human figure with two or three confident sweeps of the brush. The result is often crude in the sense that theatrical painting is crude, yet precisely calculated to fulfil the function for which it was intended.

XI. METHOD

Very little technical information about painted decoration has yet been accumulated by the examination of the ceilings themselves, partly because most of the better-known examples have been repainted. Paint sections and samples from Mary Somerville's House, Rossend Castle, Nunraw, Northfield have been studied under a microscope. The ground in each
case was found to have been prepared by coating with chalk mixed in animal glue (size); thereafter the pigments were thinly applied in the same medium. The palette as so far identified consisted of white (chalk and white lead), red (iron oxide, red lead and vermilion), blue (ground cobalt glass), yellow (orpiment) and black (lamp black); the unusual item is the orpiment which has not been identified by the staff of the National Gallery in London among paint samples from Roman, Byzantine, Italian or English sources. It was noted that some of the pigments, notably the reds, had changed colour appreciably on the surface since first applied. Analysis at Crathes confirmed the existence of nineteenth century repainting, although no record of this survived.

Technical information was obtained by a close examination of the Rossend ceiling at the time of discovery. The boards had been numbered with Roman numerals before painting. Once the white ground had been applied a centre line was marked out on each panel, probably by snapping a cord. The decoration was then roughed in with some form of pencil and finally the colour laid on with a brush.

Paint was normally laid on the ceilings in a single, thin coat, but it is worth noting that when considered necessary painters, as one might expect, used several coats. Thus in 1626 James Workman was paid 'for cullouring and overlaying of the utter yett thrie several tymes without and anes within', and in 1659 Heriot's statue received three coats of white lead and oil.
XII. CONSERVATION

Most paints are perishable to some extent and it is unreasonable to expect them to last in perfect condition for more than three hundred years, yet a few examples of painted decoration, maintained in exceptionally favourable circumstances, have survived almost unimpaired to the present day. Of these the most important are at Northfield, where three ceilings have preserved their original colouring to a remarkable degree. Elsewhere the story is different, partly because of deterioration of either base, pigment or medium, partly because the methods used in the past to combat the deterioration (waxing and repainting) have had consequences as serious as the deterioration itself. Conservation in the future may be more successful, but in the meantime it must be accepted that in nearly every case the known examples of painted decoration were originally brighter and more lustrous than they are today.
Scotland in the sixteenth century was poor and socially backward but because of its geographical position and the political, religious and commercial ties arising therefrom was never isolated either from England or the Continent. Throughout the century there were many Scots who as courtiers, diplomats, soldiers, churchmen or merchants were familiar with foreign countries and even more who were acquainted with their culture through the work of visiting craftsmen or from imported works of art.

As far as painting is concerned the association between Scots and foreigners can be confirmed to some extent from the written record. David Pratt, who worked in the Chapel Royal at Stirling (1496-1502) and thereafter on the King's tomb at Cambuskenneth (1502-4) was provided with a coat and doublet in 1504 'agane his passage in England'. Mynours, 'the Inglis payntour', who first arrived with portraits of the English royal family in 1502, remained and presumably worked in Scotland for fourteen months. Piers the painter, who came from the Netherlands but is described as a Frenchman, was employed by the King from 1505-8. Other foreign craftsmen were the anonymous 'Almayn' who was paid in 1508 to make the King's lair at Cambuskenneth in marble and the French wright, Andrew Mention, who wrought the carved work on one of the King's ships in 1539 and the crown for the King's effigy in 1542. According to the notes of Michel de Marolles, Abbe de Villelioni, which were written in the 1660's, there was
also the painter Pierre Quesnel, 'un Francois issu d'Ancienne noblesse Escossaise, dont les belles qualitez meriterent l'estime et la protection de Marie de Lorraine, qui le donna a Jacques Vᵉ, Roy d'Escosse, son Mary'. Pierre's son, Francois, is said to have been born 'dans le Palais Royal d'Edinbourg' in 1554 but if so the family must have returned to France shortly thereafter since Pierre is known to have been working in Paris in 1557. There may also have been a family link between Scotland and the Netherlands; it has been suggested that Walter Binning, the Edinburgh painter, was related to Alexander Bening, 'one of the very greatest of Flemish miniaturists', whose daughter married Andrew Haliburton. Craftsmen in Scotland who may have been foreigners were William Wallange (Valance) at Dunkeld (1503-17) and Robert Bairhum at Kinloss (1538-41). In the second half of the century there were also the foreign portrait painters Van Bronckhurst (1578-81) and Adrian Vanston or Vanyon (1585-1610?).

The finished products of foreign craftsmen were also imported into Scotland from abroad, such as the books 'bocht to the King in Paris' in 1503, the 'thre picturis brocht hame to his grace' for £5 in 1534 and the 'certane fyne picturis of Flandris coft fra Johne Broune to the Kingis grace' for £17 in 1535. Tapestries (and carpets?) were included; in 1532 money was sent to Flanders 'to by metall for the munitioun, tapesteis and divers utheris effaris' and in 1538 80 crowns were given to George Steill 'to pas in Flanderis for bringing of certane tapistre'. Steill was paid 23s. 10d. the following year 'for the cariage of xiiij pace of tapischery of the historie of Eneas fra Edinburgh to Sanctandros, and for cordis to pak thame in'. These contacts alone would probably be sufficient
to ensure that the Scots would be aware of what was going on abroad, particularly in the Netherlands, and that they would be increasingly exposed to Renaissance influence.

FRENCH INFLUENCE

Politically the foreigners with whom the Scots were most closely associated during the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century were the French. John Duke of Albany, Regent during the infancy of James V, was French by birth and up-bringing. James V married twice, first Madeleine de Valois, daughter of Francis I King of France (at whose court James spent some eight months before the wedding), and secondly Marie de Guise, daughter of the influential Claude of Guise Lorraine. Madeleine died shortly after her arrival in Scotland, but Marie was a focus for French influence in Scotland throughout her life and particularly after 1555 when she was appointed Regent in the place of Arran, himself the holder of a French title. Her daughter Mary was brought up at the French court from the age of 6, married the Dauphin at 19 and was for a brief period (1559-60) Queen of France. Thus until Mary's abdication in 1567 there was close contact between France and Scotland affecting not only the members of the royal family and their immediate circle but also all those concerned for political or religious reasons in the maintenance of the association. The special relationship also played its part in the commercial sphere where it survived into the seventeenth century. It is therefore reasonable to consider that the development of painted decoration in Scotland could have been a reflection of contemporary practice in France.
The typical French interior at the end of the fifteenth century was a lofty chamber of stone, with a plain but massive canopied fireplace and a flat, unpainted wooden ceiling supported by exposed joists. Structural simplicity was offset by the richness of wall-hangings and furniture. Painted decoration was sometimes used on the walls although it rarely survives. At Châteauneuf in Burgundy there are traces of red and black, the heraldic blazon of Philippe Pot, on the fireplace canopy. In the adjacent chapel the north, south and west walls are painted with the same colours in vertical bands from floor to wall-head, with intermediate bands of white on which are painted the figures of Christ and the Apostles. The roof is a pointed wooden vault, unpainted. The paintings are mediaeval in spirit. Renaissance art was not introduced into France until the end of the fifteenth century and then as a result of the French invasions of Italy.

Italians were first recorded in France at Amboise, where King Charles VIII employed them after his Italian campaign of 1494; their work does not survive but it is probable that they were used on the production of individual works of art or on the planning and laying out of the gardens in the Italian style. Italian workmanship is still to be seen on the gatehouse at Gaillon, near Rouen, which was rebuilt on mediaeval foundations by Italians between 1501 and 1510, and at Fécamp where there are sculptured stone screens in the abbey church enclosing the ambulatory chapels which were completed before 1515. Decorated ceilings were also introduced by the Italians into France at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There was a richly gilded ceiling in the hall at Gaillon which has been destroyed.
There are still several coffered ceilings at the Château de La Palisse, elaborately carved and painted, which were the work of Italians imported by the Marechal de La Palisse who died at the battle of Pavia in 1525. Such coffered ceilings, though elaborately developed, were based on simple geometrical forms such as the star, diamond or square and remained popular throughout the century. A ceiling of this type divided into squares by intersecting mouldings is preserved in the Francis I wing at Blois where it is said to be the only surviving example of the original painted decoration. There are notable examples of the same thing at Selles sur Cher where there is a richly decorated suite of rooms prepared for Phillipe de Bethune, brother of the Duc de Sully, at the end of the sixteenth century. In this case the intersecting mouldings are painted with simple arabesques and the intersections enriched with golden stars; the enclosed rectangular spaces are decorated with grotesque masks and other devices including, in the chapel, the heads of cherubs and children contained within strapwork cartouches. The wall surfaces are also painted, although now concealed except in the connecting passage behind canvas. The workmanship is accomplished and said to be Italian. A ceiling of the same type, although extending over a much wider area, covers the Salle des Gardes at Ciron, which was painted in the early seventeenth century. The very large number of small rectangular panels are decorated with a wide variety of motifs - birds, beasts, displays of arms, musical instruments and landscapes, arranged in an overall pattern by the symmetrical use of panels decorated with the monograms of Louis Gouffier (d. 1642) and Louis XIII (1610-43).
The propagation of Renaissance ideas in France during the first half of the sixteenth century was due to the influence of imported Italian craftsmen. The most influential school was at the Palace of Fontainbleau, where Francis I established the cultural centre of France. Here the first attempts were made to decorate the interior of the buildings in the same lavish manner as the exterior and according to a properly integrated scheme. Much has altered at Fontainbleau since the sixteenth century, but the original decoration can still be visualised in the Galerie de Francois I as it stands today. The room was long and low with windows on either side, the floor tiled, the ceiling coffered. The lower halves of the walls were panelled. Above, large symbolical or mythical paintings were framed in an elaborate three-dimensional treatment of figures, decoration and strap-work executed in paint and stucco. This scheme was the work, and in its developed form the invention, of two Italians, Giovanni Battista Rosso and Francesco Primaticcio, who were brought to France by the King in 1530 and 1532 respectively. Native imitation of the same scheme can be seen at the Chateau d'Écouen, home of the Constable Anne de Montmorency, a few miles north of Paris, where there are a number of apartments on the first floor all containing fireplaces with wooden overmantles painted in a creditable imitation of the Fontainbleau style. In each case there is a framed picture at the centre, oval, round or rectangular, depicting a Biblical scene and supported by life-size figures, decoration and strapwork. A second example is to be seen at Oiron in the Salle des Gardes (built between 1546-58) where the principal features are
frescoes illustrating the history of Aeneas and the Trojan war and paintings in the Fontainbleau style.

The influence of the Gallerie Francois I is easily appreciated because both gallery and imitations survive, but the Gallerie d'Ulysses was equally influential although it no longer exists. The latter occupied one side of the Cour du Cheval Blanc at Fontainbleau; the decoration was begun in 1541 and took 18 years to complete. The walls were decorated with a series of paintings illustrating the story of Ulysses and the ceilings with grotesques and panels of figures. The decoration was recorded by Du Cerceau and its influence is to be seen at Ancy-le-Franc, a building attributed to the Italian architect and writer Serlio, where there is a Galerie de Jason with oval paintings and grotesque ornament recalling that at Fontainbleau.

To these two galleries are probably due much of the subsequent popularity of strap-work on the one hand and of the grotesque on the other.

Although coffered and vaulted ceilings were known in France in the sixteenth century, the open timber ceilings of mediaeval type remained popular throughout the century. It is uncertain when the painting of this type of ceiling began. There are no traces of painted decoration on such ceilings in the great Loire chateaux of Amboise (begun 1492), Chambord (1519), Chenonceaux (1515) or Azay le Rideau (1513) and the painted ceilings at Blois (1498) are nineteenth century 'restorations'. There are painted ceilings at La Palisse and Dampierre which are attributed to the first half of the sixteenth century, but which more probably belong to the second as do the remainder. An example of these late sixteenth century open-beam
painted ceilings is to be seen at the Chateau de Rosny, east of Paris, home of the Duc de Sully, which was begun about 1595. The decoration includes Sully’s monogram and that of his second wife, Rachel de Cochefilet whom he married in 1594. The joists are painted with simple spiral or arabesque patterns in alternating colours, the main supporting beams with displays of arms, heraldry and Renaissance devices. The ceiling was concealed until comparatively recently behind a superimposed ceiling of plaster and on all counts provides a close comparison with contemporary Scottish work. The result is significantly different for a simple, structural reason. In Scotland open timber ceilings consisted of ceiling boards supported on a series of parallel joists spanning the room and mounted some two to three feet apart leaving ample room for the painter to develop his themes on the spaces in between. In France at Sully and elsewhere the ceiling boards were supported on a large number of small joists close together and resting on one or more great cross-beams mounted transversely and bedded into the walls on either side of the room. In France therefore the decorative emphasis was necessarily on the soffits of the joists where there was only room for repetitive and formal patterns; the narrow spaces in between were either left unpainted, or filled in with pattern similar to that on the joists. The only space available to the painter for more ambitious schemes was on the great cross-beams, and even there it was severely restricted. The only comparable examples in Scotland are at Huntingtower and St. Andrews.

Other ceilings of the Sully type are to be seen in contemporary palaces and in the homes of the nobility, often elaborately gilded and
enriched with cartouches and other devices of painted papier mache. Such a ceiling is to be seen in the Salle des Gardes at Fontainebleau dating to the reign of Louis XIII (1610-43), although largely 'restored' in the nineteenth century. Ceilings of the same type were painted in the Loire valley by the Blaisois Jean Mesnier at Cheverny (1643) and elsewhere. The most ornate example is in the Salle de Fete at Oiron where the applied decorative detail includes rectangular frames and oval cartouches enclosing romantic landscapes with ruined castles and youthful lovers. The walls are plastered and have been painted, but all that now remains of this mural decoration are 'bouquets' of flowers and fruit painted on the in-goes of the windows, which are connected by sashes in a manner reminiscent of the Chapel Royal at Stirling.

Elaborate enriched open-beam ceilings were associated with and later superseded by painted ceilings of a different type both at Fontainebleau and Oiron. The more typical Louis XIII ceiling has the joists concealed by a superimposed wooden ceiling with recessed panels and ornate decoration suggesting plaster-work rather than wood, the whole being lavishly coloured and gilded. There are a number of ceilings of this type at Fontainebleau and at Oiron a good example in the Salon du Roi, which incorporates paintings of classical deities and the four quarters of the world personified by female figures in chariots, the whole enriched with pendent garlands of gilded papier mache. The walls both of this room and of the adjacent Salle des Muses were elaborately panelled. The effect is almost unbearably lavish and an appropriate setting for the royal favourite Madame de Montespan.
The Muses Room at Crathes was painted in 1599, the Salle des Muses at Ciron 1632-42. A possible relationship might exist but in practice it is no more than the development of a common theme. The same thing is to be seen elsewhere. At Dampierre sur Boutonne the principal features of the Renaissance courtyard facade are open galleries which run the full length of the building at ground and first floor level. The upper gallery has a coffered vault of stone enriched with monograms, heraldic devices and emblems dated on internal evidence to the reign of Henry II (1547-9). If such a ceiling were representative it would suggest the possible source of the Scottish emblematic ceilings at Rossend and Munraw. In fact it is unique, a 'jeu d'esprit' manufactured for one Jeanne de Vivonne, former lady of fashion, who retired to Dampierre where she was so fond of anecdote that she was known to her nephew as the 'court register'. At Touffou there are a series of paintings illustrating the Seasons, a theme surviving in the Skelmorlie Aisle at Largs and known to have existed elsewhere. The Touffou paintings date to the proprietorship of Francois Chasteignier (1602-37) and illustrate in brilliant colours (probably modern repainting) the seasonal activities of the area, including the gathering and treading out of grapes in the vineyard. Again there is an association of themes, but no more.

There is painted decoration in France at the end of the sixteenth century and painted decoration in Scotland at the same time. In theory the two might be associated, in practice they are not. Historically James V and Mary and their associates were familiar with French court life, but there is no evidence that they tried to introduce French decorative
schemes into Scotland or that if they had such schemes would have resembled the decoration that survives today. There were in fact significant differences between the French and Scottish ceilings. French ceilings are technically skilful, limited in subject-matter and part of a long-continuing tradition of painted decoration. Scottish examples are cruder, more varied in inspiration and doomed to disappear within a few generations. The connecting links between the two are the Renaissance themes characteristic of both; they share a common ancestry but no more.

**SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE**

There are no records of Scandinavian craftsmen working in Scotland or vice-versa during the sixteenth century apart from the Scottish masons and stone hewers employed on the Rosenkrantz Tower in Bergen about 1563. On the other hand there is ample evidence of diplomatic, military and commercial contact between the two areas during the same period. Since there is painted decoration in each there is a possibility of some connection between the two.

The close relationship between the north of Scotland and Scandinavia in mediaeval times culminated in the marriage of James III and Margaret, daughter of Christian I of Denmark, in 1469 with the associated pledge of Orkney and Shetland to the Scottish crown. James and Margaret and their son (later James IV) are the subjects of two of the Trinity panels. Eric XIV of Sweden courted Mary Queen of Scotland after the death of her first husband in 1560 and James VI married Anne, daughter of Frederic II of Denmark and Norway in 1589. James was abroad for six months on this
occasion and so had personal knowledge of Scandinavia, as had the crews of his ships and the members of his escort like the twenty men of Edinburgh who were ordered to be 'weill clad and airmett to pass in the town s schip to Norway with the rest appoyntet for the same bringing of the Quaync'.

Scots mercenaries were first recorded in Scandinavia in 1501 when they were employed by the Danes against the Swedes, and thereafter in the 1560's when the Swedes employed three troops of Scottish cavalry against the Danes and in the 1570's when they used Scottish infantry against the Russians. Some at least of these soldiers of fortune settled in Sweden and one, Andrew Keith, (son of the Commendator of the Abbey of Deer) who had entered the Swedish service in 1563, was one of the ambassadors appointed to arrange James' marriage. Others settled in Swedish towns where they were joined by Scottish merchants who reached Sweden either from the south Baltic or from Scotland direct. The numbers involved may not have been large although some of the men concerned were influential, but even so when Gothenburg was refounded in 1619 after the War of Kalmar, Scotland was represented on the town council and its early inhabitants included Stewarts, Spaldings, Carnegie,Sinclairs, Lindsays, Ogilvies and Kinnairds.

The most important import into Scotland from Scandinavia and the Baltic was timber for the building of ships and houses and for fuel, which appears in the records as 'Estland burd'. The bulk came from Norway but was carried in Scottish ships. So important did this trade become that by the end of the sixteenth century one cargo in three entering Dundee
harbour consisted of Norwegian timber. There are frequent references to this imported timber in the Master of Works accounts from the beginning of the sixteenth century such as the £52 10s. paid in 1503 'to Bertholomeus ane Danskin man, for iiiij ²xl Estland burdis' for Holyrood House and £45 7s. 'to Gerean, ane othir Danskin man' for more of the same. Timber purchased at the ports such as the 140 'sawin burdis of fyr to the werk of Faulkland' in 1504 were also no doubt imported. In 1506 a cargo included 324 'Swethin burdis'. In 1555 the Edinburgh magistrates sent two agents to Norway to buy timber for the harbour works at Newhaven. The trade continued into the seventeenth century, e.g. in 1625 the Master of Works paid £285 to Janet Porteous in Leith 'for sex (hunder) Norroway dailles at xlviiij lib. the (hunder)'.

The other major import from Scandinavia was iron, mostly from Sweden. The trade only developed at the end of the sixteenth century but by 1625 over a quarter of the Baltic arrivals at Dundee were freighted from Sweden, and most of these came from Stockholm. This trade is also recorded in the Master of Works accounts as in 1616 when the sum of £81 was paid 'for twentie gaddis of Swelins iron wayed iiiirviiij stane and ten pund' as well as £76 for 'square Danskene iron', 'braid Danskene' and 'round Danskene'.

These entries provide no evidence that painted decoration in Scotland was inspired or influenced by contemporary practice in Scandinavia or the reverse, but they do show that there were a considerable number of influential and wealthy Scots who were familiar with the domestic interiors of Scandinavia. In this context the painted decoration of the merchant houses in the Fife coastal burghs and the trade relationship between these
burgs and the south west of Norway could be significant.

NORWAY

In Norway in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nearly all houses were built of wood but because communities large and small were periodically devastated by fire no urban building prior to 1650 survives. The only open-beam painted domestic ceilings of Scottish type seen in Norway were in the open-air museum near Oslo where there are fragments of two from a house in Dronningensgate dated 1660-1710; one is decorated with clumsy arabesque interrupted at regular intervals by a repeated sequence of interpolated details (a rose, a display of fruit and a cherub), the other with very thin arabesques and flowers; the beams were painted throughout with arabesques and cable decoration. Thus although it may well be that the homes of the timber merchants in Oslo, Christiansand, Stavanger and Bergen were painted during the period 1550-1650 this cannot be proved. It is, however, possible to obtain some idea of what such painted domestic decoration might have been like by reference to the decoration which still survives in churches of the same period.

Painted decoration existed in mediaeval churches in Norway although little of it now survives. At the National Historisk Museum in Oslo there is a painted wooden barrel-vault dated to the late thirteenth century from the church at Ál. On the gable is a large Crucifixion scene and the remainder of the decorated area is divided up into small scenes from the Creation and the Nativity and Passion cycles treated in a manner reminiscent of an illuminated manuscript or service book. In the stone church at
Kinsarvik towering figures are painted on the whitewashed walls of the nave, that on the north wall being the figure of St. Michael weighing souls. At Dale i Luster there are simple patterns round the window openings, but these have been over-painted in the sixteenth century and the principal feature is now the Renaissance painting in the chancel which includes the figures of the Apostles and scenes from the Old and New Testament with the characters dressed in sixteenth century costume. These somewhat bizarre figures with their swords, ruffs and steeple hats recall the similar figures of Hector and Achilles at Monymusk but are much more crudely executed. The paintings are undated, but thought to belong to the end of the century.

There is also Renaissance painting in the mediaeval stave churches of which the most important example is in the little church at Urness. This is claimed to be the oldest timber building in Europe (c. 1130) and incorporates splendid dragonesque sculpture in low relief from the portal of an even earlier church. The existing east end is an early seventeenth century extension. The walls and coved ceiling of this addition are painted, the walls with the figures of Our Lord and the Apostles identified both by name and symbol, with a frieze of grapevine arabesque above, and the ceiling with a crude cross with a 'Tudor' rose in each quadrant and at the centre, against a marbelled background. This painting is dated 1601 (1607?).

Most Renaissance painted decoration in Norwegian churches dates from 1630 or later. The finest examples of this type of work are in the little timber church at Ardal, not far from Stavanger. The church consists of
nave, choir and chancel with a small tower at the west end; there is structural evidence that the chancel is an extension to the original fabric and it is believed that tower, nave and choir were built in 1619 and the chancel added in 1626. The painting of the interior is likewise considered to be of more than one period, but the difference is not sufficiently great to be of real significance. The lower part of the walls in all three sections of the church is painted with curtains draped in festoon-fashion from a painted rail, and the upper part with bold arabesque patterns painted in orange on a white background with occasional interpolations such as the fragmentary representation of the baptism of Christ (?) on the west wall of the nave and the figure of Christ as Salvator Mundi on the north wall of the choir. The ceiling of the nave is flat and painted white except for the angles of the supporting beams which are orange; that of the choir is coved and the sloping sides are painted with the figures of Apostles and Prophets, the soffit with two angels and a cherub, each enclosed within a circle. On the coving of the chancel are the Virtues named in Latin. The date 1703 is painted over the chancel arch.

The paintings in the nave are believed to be the work of Gottfrid Hentschell 1634-5, and those in the choir and chancel of Hans Sager and his assistance c. 1703. Hentschell is also thought to be responsible for painting the nave of the stave church at Roldal.

The draped curtain decoration as at Ardal is common throughout Scandinavia in both ecclesiastical and secular buildings and is presumably
a substitute for real curtains which must once have been used in the same manner. The figures of the Apostles are also regularly found in the east end of churches as already described at Dale i Luster and Urness and as seen on the vault over the chancel at Jelsa (1621 or later). They are also painted on the walls of nave at Gaupne.

The inclusion of Biblical scenes in the decoration is to be seen in a developed form at Hamre, near Bergen, where painted frames enclose subjects such as the Sacrifice of Isaac or Samson and the lion. The exposed cross ties in the chancel are painted with Biblical texts in Gothic script. This decoration may have been painted in 1622 but more probably in 1653. The use of a large picture as part of the decoration is best seen in the stave church from Gol, now in the open air museum at Oslo, where there is a painting of the Last Supper (c.1650) carried right round the walls of the apse above the altar. Here again there are representations of the Apostles on the south wall of the choir.

Although the surviving Renaissance decoration in Norway may well represent no more than a fraction of the whole it is sufficient to give some idea of its character and date. The most significant feature is that almost all the surviving examples date to the second quarter of the seventeenth century or later. Neither these nor the earlier work bear any significant relation to Scottish decorative painting of the same period.

Sweden

The wealth of mediaeval Sweden is self-evident from the large number
of well-built, whitewashed stone churches, many splendidly painted by accomplished craftsmen as at Harkaberga and Risinge Gamla. From the decorative point of view the effect of the Reformation appears to have been marginal; churches continued to be painted in the traditional manner with patterns on ribs and capitals and Biblical and other appropriate scenes on walls and vaults.

Sixteenth century decorative schemes survive in the royal palaces and in the castles of the nobility. The earliest of the former are in Gripsholm Castle where there is a simple ceiling of coffered type with inset portraits dated 1543 and a circular chamber with painted panelling on the walls and rather feeble arabesques on the vault which is said to have been decorated in 1549. The king's bedroom has an open-beam timber ceiling which appears to have been painted or restored in the nineteenth century but which is associated with mural decoration including a frieze divided into sections by painted pilasters framing scenes of running deer and other subjects. There are also traces of simple patterns on the rectangular coffering of the hall of the same period and a second coffered ceiling from which virtually all paint has now disappeared.

The paintings at Kalmar Castle in south-east Sweden are equally important. King Eric's chamber (dated 1552-62) is described as 'the finest Renaissance interior in Scandinavia'. The lower part of the walls is concealed by panelling elaborately carved and inlaid and the upper is richly decorated with hunting and other scenes in relief enriched by a profusion of strapwork and other Renaissance devices. The ceiling is flat, coffered and elaborately carved, inlaid and painted, with small panels incorporating
strapwork, fruit, musical instruments and the like. One includes the initials E.R. and the date 1562. The room was restored in the nineteenth century, and the existing colour (which is exceedingly brilliant) must date to this period.

A number of other rooms are decorated. There is another richly decorated ceiling in the 'golden hall', dated 1575; the walls are plastered and whitewashed with a monochrome frieze, but the coffered ceiling which gives the hall its name is elaborately painted and gilded. The 'grey hall' also has a coffered ceiling but this is plain and unpainted; in this instance the decoration which gives the chamber its name is on the walls and consists of a series of paintings on the upper half illustrating the history of Sampson. These are largely in monochrome and are said to have been painted in 1586 by a Dutch artist Arentt Lamprechts van Emden. The 'queen's hall' is simply decorated, apparently with two over-lapping decorative schemes of which one included draped hangings on the lower walls as in Norway. The only painted open-beam ceilings noted in the castle were of the crudest kind, with almost untrimmed joists painted in alternating colours to produce an overall chequer-board pattern of red and white.

Outside the royal palaces the decoration is less extravagant. At Sjosa the wall of the entrance hall is painted with bold red arabesques on a white background and with the full-length figure of an armed guard near the door. The adjacent vaulted chamber is decorated with a series of painted frames enriched with grotesques and scalloped hangings enclosing landscapes all of which feature in the foreground the stump of a tree.
This curious scheme is dated 1640. Other painted decoration formerly existed in the castle and a number of the patterns have been reconstructed from boards recovered during repairs; these have been shown to be derived from engraved pattern books published in the sixteenth century in Germany and elsewhere. One for example was produced by Veit Ecks and Jacob Gockeisens at Strasbourg in 1596. In the Tovastugan, a wooden manor house dated 1640 and now at Nyköping there is an elaborately decorated room with a painted arcade on the walls enclosing the figures of the Virtues and with floral decoration on the ceiling. The decoration is similar to that in the small room at the east end of the church at Karlskoga (presumably a fragment of an earlier, timber church) which is painted in a similar manner but with the figures of Our Lord and the Apostles in the arcading; in this instance the ceiling is decorated with a coffered pattern corresponding in general design with that found in Mary Somerville's House, Burntisland.

The most pleasing ceiling seen in Sweden was that found in recent years at Goksholm Castle. Structurally this is flat and divided into squares by lathing. The squares are decorated with flowers, animals and sea monsters and, in one corner, what is perhaps a portrait of the painter. The lower walls are painted with the familiar drape pattern in red. This decoration is thought to date to the end of the sixteenth century and to be the work of one of the court painters. In the adjoining room is a painted imitation of a moulded plaster ceiling with the detail outlined in monochrome on a red background. A ceiling of the same type is preserved in Stockholm and is dated to about 1670.
There are a number of painted ceilings on the open-beam type preserved in the burgess houses of Stockholm. The earliest is dated about 1590 and differs from typical Scottish examples in that the soffit of the ceiling proper is only an inch or so above the soffit of the beams, instead of seven inches or more as in Scotland. The decoration in the example seen was of the simplest kind with a repeated diamond motif outlined in black against a yellow marbeled background. The more interesting ceilings date to about the middle of the seventeenth century and are constructed like the Scottish examples except that the boards are laid on the beams in a chevron pattern. Good examples are to be seen in the house of Borgmäster Johan Westerman built in 1647, now a tailor's shop, where the decoration includes small landscapes and paintings of animals. Another fine series of decorated ceilings dated about 1630 is in a house at 34 Skeepsbrou. In one case only the beams survive but these are painted with an entertaining series of figures including grotesques, musicians, a hare playing a harp, a goose in long boots with hat and sword and so on. An intact ceiling in the same house includes the more usual Renaissance elements such as the arabesques, draped heads and scalloped canopies. A certain amount of mural painting is also preserved, including simple arcing with vases of flowers and formal diamond patterns enclosed within the arches.

There is ample evidence of a flourishing tradition of painted decoration in Sweden with a background of skilled mediaeval craftsmanship and a history of steady development into the seventeenth century. There is however no evidence of any relationship with Scottish examples other than a limited dependence on sources of the same type.
Denmark

It is reasonable to assume that painted decoration may also have been common in Denmark. Little survives in the royal palaces apart from the lavish decoration in the chapels at Helsingor (including the royal gallery dated 1629) and at Frederiksborg, both of which are decorated with a degree of regal splendour far beyond anything now surviving in Scotland.

There are a number of examples of domestic painted ceilings in the National Museum at Copenhagen. Two from a house in Naasbyholsen which was built in 1585 are the survivors of a set of four illustrating the Seasons; one from Kopre dated c.1625 includes the Virtues, planetary gods and Elements enclosed in strapwork cartouches; one, from a house in Copenhagen demolished in 1913, is decorated with arabesques with interpolated grotesques. As a group these come nearer to Scottish examples than anything else seen in Scandinavia and the patterns on the beams of the last mentioned must stem from a common source or be directly related.

The only other examples of domestic decoration seen were in the mayor's house in the open-air museum at Aarhus. This was built originally in 1597 and contains painting in the parlour which is said to be a reconstruction of the original decoration and includes a painted arcade on the lower part of the walls and crude geometric patterns and marbling above. In the bedroom is a reproduction of wall decoration from a house in Helsingor which consists of large arabesques similar to those sometimes seen in Norway. In the blue chamber there is a reconstruction of a scheme said to have existed in the same room about 1650 which includes the characteristic drapes on the lower half of the walls and a grape-vine arabesque above.
None of the ceilings in these rooms are painted, and none of the decoration is significantly related to contemporary Scottish examples.

**ENGLISH INFLUENCE**

The only foreign decorative painters known to have been employed in Scotland were English, Mathew Guidrick and Valentine Jenkin, both of whom appeared in Scotland in 1617. The return of James VI after such a long absence meant that a great deal of painting was required in a hurry. The Privy Council summoned David Gregg from St. Andrews, John Smith from Dundee, John Anderson from Huntly and Mathew Guidrick from London. The employment of a London painter raises an issue of some importance since when the refitting of the chapel at Holywood was first considered in 1616 the grounds on which it was decided to employ Nicholas Stone the London 'carver' were that 'this work could not be gottin so parfytlye and well done within this cuntrey as is requisite'. This suggests that Guidrick was brought to London for the same reason, which requires some explanation at a time when the fashion for painted decoration was at its height. It seems likely that James did not consider the Scottish painters competent to work in the chapel, although there is no reason to believe that Guidrick was particularly experienced at this date either; it was his first recorded commission and when he was later employed by Charles I (1621-4) he was engaged on miscellaneous work including preparations for a tournament, painting trumpet banners and gilding the royal carriages. It may be that Valentine Jenkin was also brought in at the same time since he also is first recorded in Scotland in 1617 and is then described for the first and only time as an Englishman.
Since these painters are the only foreigners recorded in Scotland it is possible that the development of Scottish decoration could have been affected by English rather than Continental practices. This is the more likely since the fashion dates from after 1575 rather than before. There is however no evidence of such influence in the sixteenth century nor any surviving decoration in England comparable to that existing in Scotland. It is therefore probable that Scottish painters grafted new ideas from outside onto their own tradition and produced a type of decoration peculiar to Scotland alone.
APPENDIX

SELECTED DOCUMENTS, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, ILLUSTRATING
THE HISTORY OF PAINTING IN SCOTLAND.

1. Account for painting guns, 1501.
2. Paint for the portcullis at Stirling Castle, 1504.
3. List of colours, 1506.
4. The king's banner, 1517.
5. Account for window glass at Linlithgow Palace, 1536.
6. Queen Magdelen's 'suffrage', 1539.
7. The same, 1541.
8. King James V's 'suffrage', 1542.
9. Painting a standard and an ensign, 1548.
10. List of colours, 1552.
11. A trumpeter's livery, 1554.
12. Payment for scenery, 1554.
13. Quarrel between painters, 1554.
14. A play for Queen Mary's marriage celebrations, 1558.
15. Queen Mary's 'entry', 1561.
17. King James VI's 'entry', 1579.
18. Van Bronckhurst, King's Painter, 1580-81.
19. Adrian Vanson, King's Painter(?), 1585-c. 1610.
20. Preparing St. Giles for Queen Anne's 'entry', 1590.
22. John Workman's licence to be herald painter, 1592.
23. John Workman's inventory, 1604.
24. The Synod of Fife and the paintings at Foulis Easter, 1612-16.
25. Preparations for the home-coming of the king, 1617.
26. List of colours, 1617.
27. Contracts for painting at Stirling Castle, 1628-29.
28. Scaffolding for the painters at Linlithgow Palace, 1629.
29. Destruction of the painted screen in Elgin Cathedral, 1640.
31. A painter's burgess ticket, 1675.
32. James de Witt and the royal portraits at Holyrood, 1683-87.
33. The request of an apprentice to submit an essay is refused, 1684.
34. A German painter applies for authority to work in Edinburgh, 1684.
35. Quarrel between painters, 1686.
37. Description of the paintings at Pluscarden Priory, 1780.
38. The same, Guthrie Aisle, 1790-1817.
39. The same, the Farme, Rutherglen, 1793.
40. The same, Somerville's Land, Milne's Court, Edinburgh, 1884.
41. The same, Gray's Close, Dundee, 1887.
42. The same, Blyth's Close, Edinburgh, 1891.
1. ACCOUNT FOR PAINTING GUNS, 1501.

There are a good many references to the painting of guns in the Exchequer Rolls and the Accounts of the Lord Treasurer. The following is the most interesting since it refers to Mons Meg, the only named gun still in the castle, and includes information about the building of a gun shed and other works.

Item, the xiiiij day of Maij, be the Kingis command, giffin for iiiij dosan i rachter; to be ane hous to Mons, Messengeir and Talbert gunnis xxiiij s. viij d.

Item, for sawing of xiiiij of the said rachteris iij s. xj d.

Item, for viij sparris to the said houses, ilk pece xvij d. summa xij s.

Item, for vj wykir sparris, ilk pece v d.; summa iij s. vj d.

Item, for sawing of five of the said sparris, x d.

Item, for carying of the saidis rachteris and sparris fra Leith to the Castell of Edinburgh iij s. iiiij d.

Item, for casting of the erd fra Mons and to tune hir and lay the twych hole up iij s. iij d.

Item, to pymouris for lifting of Messingeir and Talbart of the erd and laying of thaim on treis iij s.

Item, payit to the wricht that maid the said houses on Messingeir and Talbart, iiiij dayis wage v s. iiiij d.

Item, to Robin Ker rem(an)and in Edinburgh at the houses making, to himself and his man xvij s.
Item, the xv day of Mei, giffin for xx pund of rede lede to lay Mons Messingair and Talbart with xl s.
Item, for iiiij pointis of olye lingeat to the sameyn xij s.
Item, to Hannis gunnar and Robin Herward for laying of thaim with rede lede and for their expens helpand to big the hous xviiij s.


For other references to the painting of guns see E.R. Scot., VI, 497; VII, 422; Actes. L.H. Treas. Scot., 1, 351; IV, 509; VII, 217, 222, 230, 348, 355-6; VIII, 135; IX, 352.

2. PAINT FOR THE PORTCULLIS AT STIRLING CASTLE, 1504.

Item, the xx day of Junij, for xvij waw of irne bocht to the gret portculis in Strivelin, ilk waw xxij s.; summa xxv li. xj s. vj d.
Item, for carying of the sameyn to Leith iiij s.
Item, for one stane of rede lede to it xxxij s.
Item, for thre choppinnis of oly lingeat to it vj s.

Ibid., 277.
List of colours supplied by George Edwardson for the painter (Hathowy) 6th and 9th March, 1506:—

Item, payit to George Edwardson for $\frac{1}{2}$ pund asur for the payntour; ilk unce v s.; x li.

Item, for $\frac{1}{2}$ pund byrst; ilk unce xiij s.; summa lvj s.

Item, for xxvj unce synaper xvj s.

Item, for viij pund rede lede xx s.

Item, for ane quart oly lingeat viiij s.

Item, for ane pund synaper xxvj s.

Item, for $\frac{1}{2}$ pund vermeloùn to him xiiij s.

Item, the ix day of March, payit for $\frac{1}{2}$ pund masticot to the payntour; ilk pund xij s.

summa l s.

Item, for $\frac{1}{2}$ pund quhite lede to him, ilk pund iij s. viij d.

Item, for $\frac{1}{2}$ pund verditer; ilk pund vj s.

summa xxj s.

Item, for xij unce synaper xij s.

Item, for iij unce asur; ilk unce v s. summa xv s.

Item, for iij pund asur bocht at Peter Brewhous; ilk unce iij s. iij d. summa viij li.

Ibid., 111, 184.
4. THE KING'S BANNER, 1517.

Item, for the Kings baner in all costagis, viz. iiiij eln of double taffetis of turky, price of the eln xx s.; summa iiiij li.

Item, iiiij unce of reid and grene silk maid in frenzeis price of the unce and werkmanchip vj s. viij d.; summa xxvj s. viij d.

Item, for iij bukis of fyne gold, price of the buk iiiij li; summa of the fyne gold viij li.

Item, to the payntour for his werkmanchip v li.

Item, for ane oais to turs and keip the said baner iiiij s.

Item, to the constable of Dundee, bannerman to the King, for his fee jc li, de mandato dominorum.

Ibid., V, 155-6.

5. ACCOUNT FOR WINDOW GLASS AT LINLITHGOW PALACE, 1536.

Detailed accounts for the supply of glass at the royal palaces are published in the Master of Works Accounts, Volume I. The following extract refers to readily identifiable windows at Linlithgow Palace.

The compt of the glassainwrechitis and futtis of glass resavit to the palice of Linlithgowl fra the first day of Februar the yeir of God etc. xxxiiiij yeris 1536 to the last day of Januar the yeir of God etc. xxxv yeris 1536.
Item, to Thomas Peblis for the glasing of the fywe chapell wyndois. The quhilk extendis to of quhit glas xiii\textsuperscript{xxviii} futtis and half a futt of maid werk the price of the futt xiii\textsuperscript{i} d.

\textit{Summa} xv lib. xiii s. iii d.

Item to the fywe ymagis of the said fywe wyndois of paynttit werk extendis to xxix futtis the price of the futt of maid werk vi s. viii d.

\textit{Summa} ix lib. xiii s. iii d.

Item to Thomas Peblis for the glasing of the fywe wyndois of the west syd of the Lyon chalmer. The quhilk extendis to of quhit glas iii\textsuperscript{xxii} futtis and thre quarteris of ane futt the price of the futt xiii\textsuperscript{i} d.

\textit{Summa} iii lib. xiii s. ii d.

Item, the haile paynttit werk of the said fywe wyndois of the said Lyon chalmer extendis to xx i futt and ane quarter of ane futt the price of the futt vi s. viii d.

\textit{Summa} vii lib. xx d.

Item, to Thomas Peblis xx lib. in payment of werk that is unwrucht to by glas and led to furnes the palice the quhilk will God I sail ansur for alsmekill werk referand to the compt forsaid

\textit{Summa particulo} xl lib. viii s. ii d.

\textit{Accts. M. of W.,} 1, 128. For further references see \textit{ibid.}, index, under Thomas Peebles.
6. **QUEEN MAGDELANE'S 'SUFFRAGE', 1539**

Item, deliverit to the payntour for vj dosane of armes, to put about the queir and upoun torchis and candillis, price of ilk dosane xx s.; summa vj li.

Item, to the Erle of Murray till offer the paw penny

Item, to the tapischer to by nalis to hyng up the welvot and blak claith, and pynouris taking up and doun the samin

Item, to the collegis and chapellanis that sang Derige and Saule Mes, extending to ij cx chapellanis, ilk ane havand ij s.; summa xxj li.

Item, to the belman

**Accts. L.H. Treas. Scot., VII, 181.**

7. **THE SAME, 1541**

In the first, for nalis, cekis, to hing the clathis, and pynouris dichting theirof, and to the belman

Item, to Schir Johnne Stirk to distribute amang the chaplanis

Item, to the Erle of Buchane to offer
Item, to Andro Watsoun, painter, for the painting of v dusan armes v li.

Ibid., VII, 466.

8. KING JAMES V'S 'SUFFRAGE', 1542.

The expensis debursit be the Compter fra the tyme of the Kingis grace decess, quhame God assolze, quhilk wes the xvij day of December, anno etc. xlij, be speciall command of my lord governour, and utherways twicheing the office of thesaurarie; and firstly upoune the suffrage done for our said soverane lord as followis:-

In the first, the xxij day of December foresaid, deliverit to the tapiscyHER to be ane claytht of stait, xxx elnis blakc velvet price of the elne lvj s.; summa lxxxiiiij li.

Item, deliverit to him to be the croce thairof, x elnis quhite sating, price of the elne xxxv s.; summa xvij li. x s.

Item, deliverit to him to lyne the samin, xxx elnis blak bukrane, price of the elne iiij s. vj d.; summa v li. v s.

Item, deliverit to him to be (ane) paill, xxij elnis $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter blak velvet, price of the elne lvj s.; summa lxiiij li. xv s.
Item, deliverit to him to be frenzeis thairto, xxvij elnis blakov hand silk, price of the unce witht the fassoun ix s.; summa xvj li. xiiij s.

Item, deliverit to David Hay, sumptourman, to be ane cover to the beir for saiftie of the cleith of stait, vj elnis French blakov, price of the elne xxvj s.; summa vij li. xvj s.

Item, gevin to the tapischare for ane palzeat of canvases to lay the effesy un, and for making of the claytht of stait and paill, and uther expensis debursit be him, as his compt beris v li. xj s.

Item, deliverit to Johnne Young, brodister, to lyne ane coit of armes of claytht of gold and crammessay sating ressavit furtht of the gardrop, thre elnis ½ elne purpure teffites of Janis, price of the elne xv s.; summa lij s. vj d.

Item, deliverit to him to be ane banar, vj quarteris reid teffites of cord, price of the elne xviiij s.; summa xxvij s.

Item, gevin to him for brouderit wark wrocht upon the coit of armes, furnesing of gold and silk thairto and for the frenzeis of gold mengit witht reid silk to the banar, as his compt subscrivit witht Lyoun herauldis handberis xxj li. x s.
Item, gevin to Andro Watsoun, painter for painting of the banar witht gold and fyne collouris

Item, gevin to him for the collouring and painting of the effesay crown and septur, and for ane targe deliverit to Lyoun herold

Item, gevin to him for xvij-xlviij greit and small armes, price of the dosan ix s.; summa

Item, gevin to Robert Denys, painter, for colloring of the Dolorus Chapell witht the clubbis speris chandelaris and uther wark in the kirk, all of blak collouris, as his compt beris

Item, gevin to Dane William Patersons for aikin sparris, rauchteris and uther tymber werk furnesit be him to the preparing of the kirk and passage thairto, and for xvij fute casting laid deliverit to Robert Murray, and for masoun wark of the tombe, as his compt subscrivit witht Lyoun heroldis hand beris

Item, gevin to Andres Mansioun, carvour for the fygour of ane lyoune set abone the crowne, and for the graving of the superscriptioun of the tombe in Romane lettres contenand in lenth xvij fute
The remainder of the text is missing.

Ibid., VIII, 141-3.

9. PAINTING A STANDARD AND AN ENSIGN, 1548.

Item, bought at James Barroun, vj quarteris taffate of the cord to be ane standart, price of the elne xxij s.; summa xxxiiij s.

Item, xiiij unces reid and yallow silk to be frenyeis to the said standart, price of the unce vij s.; summa iiij li. xvij s.

Item, to Jonet Bell for the wirking of the saidis frenyuis xiiij s.

Item, xv quair of gold fullye to the samyn, ilk quair x s.; summa vij li. x s.

Item, to the paynter for his culloures and warkmanschip xliiiij s.

Item, for ane speir to this standart and paynting of it reid xij s.

Item, half ane elne of bombasye to be ane kais to this standart vj s.

Item, for tua skynnes to be ane hois to the samyn to kep it fra weit xiiij s.

Item, for making of it ij s.
Item, the samyn day, boucht fra Jhomne Waderstoun and gevin to Capitane James Dog to be aue ansenye, ix elnis Reid and yalle taffite of Genis, price of the elne xviij s.; summa viij li. iij s.
Item, foure elnis quhite taffate to be crois to the samyn handsenye, price of the elne x s.; summa xl s.

Ibid., IX, 177-178.

10. LIST OF COLOURS, 1552.

List of colours bought in Leith and sent to Hamilton 20 July, 1552:-

Item, xx° Julii, coft and send to Hammyletoun, aue stane of Reid leid, price of the unce iij d., summa xlij s. viij d.
Item, half aue stane of wermeling, price of the unce xij d., summa vj li. viij s.
Item, foure pundis asure, price of the unce iiij s., summa ix li. x s.
Item, foure pundis orpyment, price of the unce vjd., summa xxxij s.
Item, xv unce of flury, price of the unce xvij d., summa xx s.
Item, xilij unce knopcenopar, price of the unce iiij s. vj d., summa xxxij s. vj d.
Item, ane stane of Flanderis ocker, price of the pund iiij s., summa xlviij s.

Item, ane galloun oille lyngett, price of the pintt x s., summa iiiij li.

Item, xij unce of Inde, price of the unce xx d., summa xx s.

Item, xij stany of oakk, price of the stane xx d., summa xx s.

Item, for carying of the samyn furtht of Leith to Edinburght x d.

Item, for ane can to put the oille lynget in xij d.

Item, for crelis to put the culleris in xviiij d.

Item, to the paynter that walit the cullouris, for his laubouris v s.

Item, to James Persale for tway hors wage to turs the samyn to Hammyltoun xxviiij s.

Ibid., x, 96-97.

11. A TRUMPETER'S LIVERY 1554.

Item, the xxij day, deliverit to James Drummond, trumpetour, to be his liveray, thre elnis of Reid stemmyng, to be ane coit and ane pair of hois, price of the elne xxxiiij s.; inde v li. ij s.
Item, to him twa elnis of reid armosy taffeteis\textsuperscript{*} to be him ane doublet, price of the elne xxxiiij s.; inde iiij li. viij s.

Item, to him sex quarterris of yallo velvet, price of the elne iiij li. xij s.; inde v li. xiiij s.

Item, to him ane elne of yallo taffeteis, price xvij s.

Item, to him ane bonet, price xx s.

Item, to him sex quarterris of reid taffeteis of the cord to his trumpet, price of the elne xviiij s.; inde xxvij s.

Item, for gold and werkmanschip thairof, to Walter Bynne the pentour x li.

Item, for frenyeis of reid silk to the said baner xx s.

Item, to Archiebald Dewar, tailycour, for silk lynyng, buttonys, and making of the said liveray iiij li. viij s. ix d.

\textsuperscript{*}Armosy taffiteis - taffeta from the Isle of Ormus on the Persian gulf.

\textit{Ibid.}, 225.

12. \textsc{PAYMENT FOR SCENERY 1554.}

15 June The prouest baillie and counsale ordanis the thesaurar Robert Grahame to pay the werkmens, merchandis, carteris, paynterris, and vtheris that furnes the grayth to the convoy
of the moris to the Abbey and of the play maid that samyn day
the tent day of Junii instant the sowm of xxxvij li. xvj. s.
ij d. as the compt producit be Sir William Makdougall maister
of werk theairpoun proportit, providing alwayis that the said
Sir Williams deliuer to the dene of gyld the handsenye and
canvas specifiit in the said tikkit to be kepit to the behuif
of the toun.

12 Oct. The prouest baillies and counsale ordanis the thesaurer
Robert Grahame to content and pay to Walter Bynnyng the sowme
of v. li. for the making of the play grath and paynting of
the handsenye and the playaris facis; providand alwys that
the said Walter mak the play seir vnderwrittin furth-cumand to
the town quhen thai half ado theairwith, quhilkis he hes now
ressauit, viz., viij play hattis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter,
ane fulis hude, ane septour, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell
hair, and chaplet of trymphe.

Extracts from the records of the burgh of Edr. 1528-57, 198-9.

13. QUARREL BETWEEN PAINTERS, 1554.

The prouest baillies and counsale sittand in jugement anent the
supplicationoun gevin in be Maister James Watsoun, makand mentioun that
quhair befoir the Feist of Yule last bypast the maist pairt of the paintouris
craftismen of this burgh being furth of the samin in Hammiltoun in the
Gouernoris servisce with licence of my Lord of Dunfermline, causit David
Workman cum to the samin burgh and payntit the haill rufe of the said Maister James hous

and laitlie within thir viij dayis lastbipast causit the said Dauid as of befoir, with tollerance of the said Abbot Dunfermling, to cum to this burgh for perfiting and ending of the syd wallis of his said hous and causit him enter thairto;

and vpoun Wednesday lastbipast quhen the said Dauid wes payntand the said Maister James hous traisting na harme trubill nor impediment to half bene done to him thairin

nochttheles Johnne Cunynghame dekyn of the wrychtis, Dauid Grahame masoun, Walter Byynyng peintour, with thair complicis without ony maner of commissioun power or autorite of the prouest and baillies of this burgh come to the said Maister James hous and thair maisterfulle and on force be way of deid tuke the said Dauidis haill warklomis and wes bringand thame away with thame tegidder with the said Dauid to half as the said Maister James belevit impresonit his body, quhilk thai had nocht failyet to half done in cais he had nocht chansit to cum in in the menytyme and efter his cuming stoppit thame thairon,

for the quhilk thai gif the said Maister James divers and siniry iniurius wounddis and said plainlie thai suld cum with foir hammeris and strik vp the durris of his hous and tak him perforce furth of the samin in hie contemption of all auctorite and lawis, as at mair lenth is contenit in the said supplication

quhilk being red in presens of the saidis prouest and baillies, bayth the partes referrit thame to the declaratioun of the said Dauid Werkman,
quhilkis jugis being riplie suisit with his declaratioun and the narratioun fairsaid of verite and thairfor decernitt that the saidis personis had falyet and done wrang thairintill and assignis this day viij dayis to modifie ane amendis for wrang done to the saidis provest and baillies and to the said Maiaster James.

Ibid., 194-5.


The expensis maid upone the Triumpe and Play at the Marriage of the Quenis Grace, with the Convoy the ... day of Julij, anno 1558.

Item, gevin to William Adamsoun for writting of one part of the play, and for the recompance of his part of the play quhilk he had in kepings, at the presidents command iiiij li.

Item, gevin to William Lawder for the making of the play and wrytting thairof x li.

Item, gevin Walter Bynding for paynting of the vij planets of the kart with the rest of the convoy xvij li. xiiij s.

Item, for xxiiij elnis of small canvases tilbe the vij planets coitts and hoiss, with cupid, price of the all iiiij s; summa is lvj s.
Item, deliverit to the vij planets with cupid, xxiiij ells of forbetti taffeteis of syndre sorts of hewis, price of the ell xij s.; summa is xiiiij li. viij s.

Item, till William Ury, ij ells of iij quarters of greimm taffeteis of the cord, quha was ane of the said planets, price of the ell xxiiij s.; summa is iiij li. vj s.

Item, gevin for vij reid skynnis tilbe their ahort bretykynnis, price of the pece iiij s.; summa is xxj s.

Item, gevin for four golden skynnis bocht fra ane skynnare tilbe ane crowne to ane of the planets vj s.

City of Edr. Old Acota. 1544-67, 1, 269-270.

15. QUEEN MARY'S 'ENTRY', 1561.

When her grace came forward to the Butter Tron, the nobility and convoy precedand, there was ane port made of timber in maist honourable manner, coloured with fine colours, hung with sundry arms; upon whilk port was singand certain bairns in the maist heavenly wise; under the whilk port there was ane cloud opening with fowr leaves, in the whilk was put ane bonnie bairn. When the queen's hieness was coming through the said port, the cloud openit, and the bairn descended down as it had been ane angel, and deliverit to her hieness the keys of the towm, together
with one Bible and one Psalm-bulk coverit with fine purpour velvet.

After the said bairn had spoken some small speeches he delivered also to her hieness three writings, the tenour whereof is uncertain. That being done, the bairn ascended in the cloud, and the said cloud steekit closed

**Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents in Scotland 1513-75, Maitland Club 1833.**

**16. VAN BRONCKHURST'S SEARCH FOR GOLD c.1572-80.**

The late Queene Elizabeth, of famous memory, was possessed often with a good opinion of the gold Mines in Scotland, (viz\(^t\)) about some forty yeares by past. Long before Mr. Bulmer had intelligence, one Cornelius Devosse, a most cunning pictur maker, and excellent in arte for triall of meneralls and menerall stones, sometimes dwelling in London, a young man, well acquainted with Mr. Nicholas Hilliard, a goldsmith, then principall drawer of small pictures to the late Queene Elizabeth, procured the same Hilliard to adventure with him into Scotland, and to send his servant and freind as an agent thither, by name Arthure Van-Brounckhurst; for at that time there was a great report and fame that went of the naturall gold gotten within the Kingdom of Scotland. And Brounchurst being knowne to be a good artist, skilfull and well seen in all sorts of stones, especially in meneralls and menerall stones, the Mr. Hilliard ceased not, untill he had procured patent, which was granted until Cornelius Devosse, and without molestation to seeke, as others before had don, for naturall gold in Scotland.
And then Mr. Hilliard and Cornelius Dovosse made upon reasonable conditions an assignment unto Arthur Van-Brounckhuurst, who, after that powerful, set sundry workmen to work without any trouble or molestation. And Arthur Van-Brounckhuurst had a further privilege then others that were before him. He was admitted to bring with him into England a good quantity of gold unrefined, and without any other dressing then was used by water, and to put the same stones, meneralls or menerall stones, and the gold that there withall dwelled, safely into a barrell or vessell, fitt for that purpose. For Cornelius and Mr. Hilliard had the like from thence before sundry times; and Van-Brounckhuurst and they two had often out of other nations the like sort of gold. And they were informed by men of good experience, travelling through foraine nations, affirming, that as sand and gravell have their several beds within the superficies of the earth, in sundry places within England; even so is there beds of gold and silver in foraine countries where they have travailed. And so craigges and rocks have their several vaines or beds of ewer, iron, copper and tymn mines, within the bowells of the earth in the Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland, or in the principallities of Wales. Even so hath gold and silver their vaines in rocks, amongst the waters in the earth, and under the waters in the ground; and they hoped in that manner to find out the bedd or vaine of Gold in Scotland. And this opinion I hold to be good, for I ever will be of the same mind, that there is both a bedd and vaine of Gold in Scotland.

And now upon the event, what is written of Arthur Van-Brounckhurst (viz.) he searched sundry Moores, and found Gold in sundry places; but
he was forced to leave it all att the Mint-house in Scotland, by speciall command of his Majesty, being then in minority. Whereas before, it was conditioned betwixt Mr. Hilliard and Cornelius of the one parte, and Van-Brounckhurst of the other parte, that the said Brounckhurst should pay the full valliation for all such naturall gold as should be gotten by him in Scotland, unto the King in minority or unto the Regent, for the use of his Majesty. And to that purpose he had both gold and silver store out of England, to peforme it as by pattent he was obliged so to doe.

And it is written, that the Earle of Moreton being the Regent, would not give way unto Van-Brounckhurst his pattent, although the said Brounckhurst became a suitor, at least for the space of 4 moneths, and did not prevails unto this day. And so at last he was forced to become one of his Majesties sworne servants at ordinary in Scotland, to draw all the small and great pictures for his Majesty. And by this means Mr. Hilliard and Cornelius Devoosse lost all their chardges, and never since got any reccompence to Mr. Hilliard’s great hinderance, as he saith, who yet liveth, and confirmeth the same.


17. KING JAMES VI’S ‘ENTRY’, 1679.

At the West Port of Edinburgh, he was ressavit be the Magistrates of the towne under a pompous payle of purple velvot. That port presentit unto him the widsome of Solomon, as it is written in the third chapter of the
first buik of the Kings; That is to say, King Solomon was representit with the twa women that contendit for the young chylde, and the servant that presentit the sword to the king with the chylde; and as he maid forder progres in the toun in the street that ascendis to the castell, their is ane ancient port, at the whilk hang a curious globe, that opnit artificiallie as the King came by, wharin was a young boy that descendit craftelie, presenting the keyis of the toun to his Majestic, that was all maid of fyne massie sylver, and thais war presentlie reasavit be ane of his honourable counsell. During this space Dame Music and hir scollars exercesit hir art with great melodie. Thine, in his discence as he came forment the hous of Justice, thair shew thaymeselfis unto him, four gallant verteous ladeys, to wit, Peace, Justice, Plentie, and Policie, and either of thayme had an oraison to his Majestic. Thereafter, as he came towart the cheif collegiall kirk, there Dame Religion shew hirself desyring his presence, whilk he then obeyit be entring the kirk, where the cheif preacher for that tyme maid a notable exhortation unto him, for the embraceing of Religion, and all her cardinal virtewis, and of all uther morall vertewis. Thereafter he came furth, and maid progres to the mercat croce, whare he beheld Bacchus with his magnifik liberalitie and plentie, distributing of his liquer to all passingers and behalders, in sic apperence as was pleasant to see. A litill beneth is a mercat place of salt, wharupon was erectit the genealogie of the Kings of Scotland, and a number of trumpets sounding melodiouslie, and crying with loud voyce, Wealfayre to the King. At the East Port was erectit the conjunction of the planets, as thay war in thair degres and places, the tyme of his
Majesteis happy nativite, and the same vivelie representit be assistance of King Ptolomae. And, withall, the haill streits war spred with flowres, and the forehowsis of the streits be the whilks the King passit, war all hung with magnifik tapestrie, with payntit historeis, and with the effegeis of noble men and wemen, and thus he past out of the tooun of Edinburgh to his palace of Halyruidhous.

MS

**Documents relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland 30-31** (quoting MS Historie and Life of King James the Sext. See also Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p.37.)

18. VAN BRONCKHURST, KING'S PAINTER, 1580-81.

The following documents show that the office of King's Painter existed as an established institution by 1581.

Certaine Portraiture maid be me at his Majesteis command and delyverit laitlie to his Hienes quhairof I have resavit as yit na payment.

Ane Portrait of his Majestie fra the belt upward, last delyverit, price thereof xvj lib.

Ane other Portrait of Mr. George Buchanane viij lib.

Ane Portrait of his Majestie full leirth xl lib.

**Summa** lxiiij lib.

**REX**

Thesaurair We gret you well. It is our will and We charge yow That ye Incontinent efter the sycht heirof answer our lovit servitour
Arnold Bronckhorst our Painter of the some of thrie score four pundis restand awand him for the thrie Portraitures and pieces abone mentionat maid and delivcrit to us at our command; and siclyke of the some of ane hundreth merkis money qhilik we have grantit him as ane gratitude for his repairing to this countrey. To be thankfullie allowit be yow in your comptis, keping this our precept together with the said Arnoldis acquaintance therupoun for your warrant. Subscryvit with our hand. At Halyrudehouse the nynt day of September 1580.

ANGUSS

JAMES R

ERGYL

Ane Letter said to Arnold Bronckhorst, Flemyng, Makand, constituan and ordinand him owre Soverane Lordis Painter, and gevand him the office thairof for all the days of his lyvetyme with all feis, dewiteis and casualties usit and wont; For using quhairof his Hienes gevis and grantis to the said Arnold ane yeirlie pensioun of ane hundreth pundis money of this realme. etc. At Glasgow the nynetene day of September the yeir of God 1580. lxxxvj yeiris.


19. ADRIAN VANSON, KING'S PAINTER(?), 1585-c.1610.

31 Dec. 1585

For guid and thankfull servise to be done to the guid towne be Adriane Vanyone, Dutchemen, paynter, speciallie for the servise quhairin he is to be imployet be the towne in his craft, and that he tak and instruct prenteissis, adimits and resuaves him burges of this burgh, and
gevis to him selff the dewty that rof, ordaining his name to be insert in
the gild buik.

**Records of the burgh of Edr.** 1573-89, 446.

20 Jan. 1587

Ane letter of Naturalization to be made under the Great Seal to Abraham
Wanson Flemyn folding Goldsmith 20th January 1586-7.

**Laing Papers La.**IV.25 quoting Register of Signatures in the Office
Comptroller, X, fol. 69, v.

17 Feb. 1587.

Vansoun, Abraham, Burgess, Fleming "goldsmyt, and now Scottisman, be our
sovereane Lords lettres of naturalizatioun under the greitt seall" be right
of wife Jonet daughter to Alexander Gilbert, goldsmith, burgess.


Undated

Item payit be commandement of his Maiesties precept to George Heriot
younger, Goldsmith, for ane great chainzie of gold wt. his hienes portraitt
hingand yairat quhilk was given to ane gentilman that came fra ye Duik of
Magilburgh as ye precept wt. the said George acquittance product upone
compt beiris xj6xj lib. xvij s. iij d.

Item payit be his hienes directioun to Hadrian Vansoun painter for ye
penting of his Maiesties portraitt xx li.

**Laing Papers La.**IV.25. Source unknown.
6 July 1610

To the Counsell

The bearer heir of Susanna Declory the wife of Adrian Vanston sumtyme of Painter hath divers tymes importuned us with petitions desyring that of debts due to hir said late husband alsewell for wages as work done at our commandement, and because we are willing to give hir all due satisfaction (and yett are ignorant what soume and upoun what ground shee craveth) We have by these pnts, thought good to will and requyre you particularly to enquire what is due unto her and wt. all convenient expedititonce to certifie us under your hands how muche we do justlie ow hir. To the intent that we so certified may tak such further course for her satisfactioune as selbe most agreeable to reasons, and not doubting of your care hearin, We bid you fairewell from our Court at Whitehall the 6 of July 1610.

Ibid. Source unknown.

2 Feb. 1616

A missive of His Majesty in favour of Adrian Wanston. Truste etc.

Whereas Wee haue been sindyry tymes importuned by petitiones from the widdow of vaquhile Adrian Vanston, who was Our painter, claiming some fees which she aledges were due to hir said husband for service done unto Us, of the certaintie thereof Wee are doubtfull, Our pleasure is that you cause searche Checker Rollis and all such records, whereby the soume may be cleared, and that thereafter hauring found the true estate thereof, you certifie Us what will be found due vnto hir, that We may signifie Our pleasure
thereupon, So recommending this your care, Wee bid yow fairewell.

From Our Court at Newmercat the 2 of Februar 1616.

Ibid. Source unknown.

20. PREPARING ST. GILES FOR QUEEN ANNE'S 'ENTRY', 1590.

Item, for drink to our haill warkmen this sast week bygane at morne and efternune to hald thame in at thair wark for expeditioun off the samyn ilk day thre gallownis, at v.s. iiiij d.
the galloun 4 li. 16s.

Item, upoun the xvij May for flouris and strewing to cast athort the loftis, saittis and stalls and kirk fluir, aspecting hir Mateis entrie 30 s.

Item, upoun Monenday the xviij May, being the day befoir hir Mateis entres and thairfoir enterit wrychtis and warkmen to the making of the sait prepared for hir Matie in the scollouris loft, and to that effect thai wrocht Monenday all day, Monenday all nycht, and Tysday, quhilk is thrie dayes payit to thame as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details of payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item, to twa pure boyis to hald candill to thir wrychtis this nycht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item, foure quartes aill and 2 braid to thame this nycht</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item, upon Tysday, the xix day of May and the
semin day of hir Mateis entres for xxj faldum
of towis to hyng the paill abone the quenes Mateis
heid in the scollouries loft 21 s.

Item, the foresaid day of hir Mateis entres,
payit for the Kings maister of warkis disjune and
the tapestrieuris in the yle off the Kirk att the
hynging off the tapestrie 21 s.

Item, for the mennis disjunes that hang the
tapestry 10 s.

Item, for twa quarts off wyne and foure
manschettis that wes brocht into the yle of the
Kirk for the strangeris, giff it had bene
requyrit for thame to drink, and thairefter
drinkin with the maister off wark, the
tapestrieurs and utheris of the Kings servandis 26 s.

Item, for ane galloun off aill and two breid
tane up to the stepill to the ministeris and
wrychtis 6 s. 8d.

Item, to Thomas Bynning, paynter for paynting
and graything the King and queenis armes to
hyng in the scolleris loft 10 s.

Item, iij li. of roset to burne in the Kirk 2 s. 8d.

Item, for xij burdene of gers to cast aasort
the Kirk 20 s.
Item, for flouris and strewing to the samem 10 s.
Item, upone Setterday, the xxiiij day of May, payit to certane warkmen quha enterit upon
Wednesiday, efter the quenis entres, to schytt
lederis to the paynteris for paynting the pyller heidis, to foure warkmen for foure dayes waidges every ane of them 53 s. 4d.
Item to ane solsitter for dountaking the romany
vyolettis of the hye scol to cast ahort the Kirk 10 s.


22. CONTRACT FOR THE FUNERAL OF THE EARL OF MURRAY, 1592.

Johne Warkman, Painter, Burgess and Indweller in Edinburgh on one Part, and George Bell in Barnehill in the Lordship of St. Colme, taking burthen for Mr. Harie Stewart, Commendator of St. Comes Inche and Tutour of Murray on the other. Contract at Edinburgh 25 April 1592.

The said Johne W. Binds himself that "he sail with all possible
diligence upoun his awin chargis & expenssis furnes mak reddie & deliuer
to the said George B. in name and behalf of the said Mr. Harie S. Tutour
foirsaid the funerall and bureall of umquhile James Erle of Murray quha last deceist, and of umquhile Patrick Dumbare Schireff of Murray, with the haill
ceremonies and furnitour therto belonging and pertening sine as tymber bukrum
taffaty and uther materiallis quhatsumeuir alsweill warkmanschip as utheris
necessary pertaining therto as said is conforme to ane particular compt
fullit and endit betuix the said parteis anent the furneissing to be maid
be the said Johne and expenssis of the said funerall and ceremonieis therof
forsaidis;

For the quhilk furnissings of the said funerall and buriall forsaid
with the said ceremonieis furnitour and utheris abone writtin the said
George B. bindis and oblissis him his airis executouris and assignayis to
content and pay to the said Johne W. his airis executouris and assignayis
the soume of fyftie thrie pundis nyne schillingis money of this realme
betwix the day and dait heirof and the thrid day of August nixtocum but
fraud or gyle. Prowyding alwayis the said Johne be nocht subject to fur-
neis nor deliver ye said noble lordis pictour. And heirto the said parteis
are faithfullie bund" etc.


21. JOHN WORKMAN'S LICENCE TO BE HERALD PAINTER 1552.

Ane Lre maid to Johanne Workman paynter burges of Edinburgh, makand
constituand and ordinand him during all the dayes of his lifyyme Paynter
of the armes of all knightis lordis erles and dukes at the tymes of yair
belting and promotioun to the estate dignitie and rank of knicht lord
erle and duke As alsua at the tymes of yair forfaitiethis restitutionun
and funerall and at all uther tymes and occasionis requisite and likwyis
his Ma'tie dischargis be yir pnts. all utheris paynteris within the
realm of all drawing and paynting of the saidis armes with command in
the same to Lyoun king of his Maties armes and his brother herauldis To
authorize fortifie and mantene the said Johnne in the bruiking and
Inioying of this his hienes privilege and licence to oppose him self to
all vtheris quha sall preis to Impair the same in onie poynct.

At haliruidhous the fourtene day of November the yeir of God 1604
four scoir tuelf yeirs.

Per Signatum.

Ibid., quoting Registrum Secreti Concilii LXV, 48.

23. John Workman's Inventory, 1604.

John Workman, 'painter to his majesty, indueller in Edinburghe' who
died of the pest on October 31st 1604 left a testament containing an
unusually detailed inventory of his goods and gear which gives a clear
picture of the personal property of a painter of standing at the beginning
of the seventeenth century. For convenience the various items have been
grouped under headings in the following extract; in the original there
is no recognisable order but the various items may have been listed
according to the rooms in which they were found.

Inventory of the goods and gear of John Workman.

Furniture

1 meat board of oak
A trestle board
A chair and a form

£7 6.8d.
£1
13s. 4d.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 kysts</td>
<td>£2.13.4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A press aumbry</td>
<td>£5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A chair and a wicker bed</td>
<td>£1.13.4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 stand beds of fir</td>
<td>£4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iron chimney</td>
<td>£6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another iron chimney</td>
<td>£2.12s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An iron back for the same</td>
<td>13s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kitchen furniture and fittings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An iron spit</td>
<td>9s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vessel bench</td>
<td>£1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tin plates</td>
<td>£1.1.8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tin plates weighing 7 lbs. 12. ozs.</td>
<td>£2.13.4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 muckle plates of tin</td>
<td>£2.16s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tin trenchers</td>
<td>12s. 2d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 lbs. weight of pewter plates</td>
<td>£4,10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A chopin and a muchkin stoup of tin</td>
<td>16s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A quart, a pint and a chopin of tin</td>
<td>£3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An old pot of brass</td>
<td>£1.6.8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another water pot</td>
<td>10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A brass pot weighing 7 lbs. 12. ozs.</td>
<td>£2.2.7d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another brass pot weighing 7 lbs. 8 ozs.</td>
<td>£1.17.9d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little candlestick</td>
<td>7s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A brass (high?) old candlestick with 2 old saltfats</td>
<td>13s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another old candlestick</td>
<td>4s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A flesh fat</td>
<td>6s. 8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pair of old shanks</td>
<td>6s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bedding</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An old feather bed and a bolster</td>
<td>£8.2s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A feather bed</td>
<td>£6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bed covering</td>
<td>£1.10s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another bed covering</td>
<td>£1.6s.8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pair of old sheets</td>
<td>£1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pair of old blankets</td>
<td>13s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another pair of old blankets with 3 old cods</td>
<td>16s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another pair of old blankets</td>
<td>16s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another pair of blankets</td>
<td>£1.6s.8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bolster pend</td>
<td>£1.1s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another bolster pend</td>
<td>£1.14s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A green canopy with the dociil black cloak</td>
<td>£4.3s.4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pair of green curtains of grenesay and a pendile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fringed about with red and white worsted</td>
<td>£3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certain old cushions</td>
<td>7s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linen</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 old serviettes with an old towel</td>
<td>7s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz. Domik serviettes</td>
<td>£3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 towel</td>
<td>6s. 8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 linen towels, one sewed with white work and the other plain</td>
<td>£1.10s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A harden towel
4 new coverchis of fine linen
A board cloth of linen
A Dornik board cloth

Clothing

A pair of black cloaks
An old green cloak
An old doeuil cloak
A coat and a pair of breeks
An old white doublet
A brown gown
A velvet paitleth with a bonrace
A new black paitleth bordered(?) with black velvet
2 corselets and head pieces with arm pieces and
thigh pieces
A mask and a hagbut
A pair of bandells

Equipment and colours

12 boards @ 5s. apiece
4 lbs. colour @ 5s. per lb.
2 lbs. yellow orpiment
4 ozs. assure.

Edr. Reg. of Test., 11, 1601-1700, 441.
6 May, 1612.

Item, it is statute and ordained that the paintrie quhilk is upon the pulpitt and ruid-laft, being monumentes of idolatrie, salbe obliterate be laying it over with green colour. The minister with diligens to see the same exped.

3 Apr., 1613.

And becaus the monumentis painted in the Kirk of Fowles ar nocht as yet removed the Synode gives be thir presentis full power and commissioun to Mr. Andro Clayhills, Jhone Duncane, Robert Rind and Andro Morton to pas to the said Kirk and abolish altogether the afoersaid monumentis.

Oct., 1613.

Mr. Andro Mortown, be his letter, shew that my Lord Gray will demolish such of the paintrie as is offensive.

3-4 May, 1614.

Mr. Henrie Futhie, minister of Fowlis and Lundie, reports 'My Lord Gray, having presently workmen, has promised to abolish the paintrie in the Kirk of Fowles.' The said Mr. Henrie is ordained to urge the performance thairof and to report the said 17 day of May.

3-4 Oct., 1615.

The Synode holdin at St. Androis - Paintrie Fowles - Lord Gray - It is reported that as yet the paintrie stands in the Kirk of Fowles quhilk was ordained to be abolished; the Synode yet as befoir ordains the minister with assistans of the Bishop of Ros (if neid beis) to deleitt the same.
2-3 April, 1616.

Paintrie, Fowles - The minister of Fowles reported that the paintrie standeth as yet undeleitt in the said kirk. The Synode finds fault w. him [Lord Gray] for that he has not put away the paintrie, and ordains him befoir the last day of this instant to abolish the same under paine of the censures of the Kirk and to requyre the assistans of the Bishop of Ros if neid beis.

Thereafter the paintings were whitewashed, but were re-discovered and exposed some time in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611-1687, Abbotsford Club.

25. PREPARATIONS FOR THE HOME-COMING OF THE KING, 1617.

4th Feb.

The Privy Council orders "the saidis provest and bailleis of St. Androis to bring and exhibit [1 wheel wright, nine masons and David Greg, painter; and the said John Skryngeour of Dudop to bring and exhibite with him the said John Smith, painter, yf he be in his company; to the effect the saidis craftismen may be imployed in his Majestis workis foirsaidis at Haliruidhous, quhair they salbe weele used with reddie and thankfull payment for thair labour; under the pane of rebellion and putting of the provest and baillies foirsaidis and the said John Skryngeour of Dudop to the horne".

16th March

Forasmeke as, by vertew of ane indentour past betwixt Sir Gedeone Murray, Deputie Thescourair, and James Baillie on the one part, and Matheu Guidrick, citiener and paynter in Landon on the other part, the saidis Sir Gedeone and James Baillie ar oblist to mak payment to the said Matheu of the soume of tua hundreth pundis laughful money of England, at certane termes specificit in the said indentour for paynting (and) gyling of his Majesties chappell of Hallruidhous in forme and maner lykewayes contenit in the said indentour; ... and whereas the termes of payment of the sowmes particularli abonewritten ar some bigane and the rest heir approtchoeing; Therefor the Lordis of Secreit Counsall Commissionaris of his Majesteis Rentis allowis of the indentour foirsaid made with the said Matheu (Gui)drick and ... accordinglie ordinis the said Sir Gedeone to mak payment (to the) said Mathew Guidrick of the soume foirsaid of tua hundreth pundis (usuall) money'. ...

Ibid., 65.

25 March

Forasmeke as George, Marques of Huntley, at his laitt being in the burgh of Edinburgh, haveing promeist to the Lordis of Secreit Counsall to have send hither Johne Andersone, paynter, who attendis his workis at Strathbogy, to the effect the said Johnne mycht haif bene imploypit in his Majesties workis at Falkland, the necessitie of the accomplisheing and perfyteing quhairof is so urgent in respect of the neir approtchoeing tyme of his Majesties heircoming as the same can admitt no delay nor
protract(ioun) of tyme, nevertheless the said Johnne Andersone is not as yitt come heir, sua that his Majesteis workis war to haf beane committed to his charge ar lyke to be frustrat and disappointit, heichlie to his Majesties offence and miscontentment, without remeid be providit; Therefore the Lordis of Secret Counsell ordanis letteris to be direct chargeing the said George, Marques of Huntlie to dimitt the said Johnne Andersone fra his worke and service, and to set him forwarth on his jorney hither within xxiiij houris mixtefter the said charge, and alsua chargeing the said Johnne Andersone to addresse him self with his workloomes and otheris necessaris (to his Majesties maister of workis at Falkland) to the effect he may be ... and imploied be him in his Majesties service, within sex dayis mixtefter the charge, under the pane of rebellium and putting of thame to the horne, and, yf they or any of thame failyee, the spaceis respective foirsaidis being bipast, to denunce the disobeyairis rebellis and putt thame to the horne, and to escheit etc.'

_Ibid._, 75.

3rd June

Forsamekle as James Murray, maister of his Majesteis workis, haveing aggreit with Johnne Andersoun, painter, to have painted some chalmeris in the Castell of Edinburgh, and he haveing promeis to heif enterit to the said worke upoun the penult. of May last at the forrest, he hes not onlie failyeet in that point, bot by one idill and frivolous excuse returnit be him to the said maister of workis he seames to pretend some impedimentis
quhairfor he may not fulfill the condition undertane be him, quhairthrou his Majesteis workis in the said castell, quhilkis requiris so quick and present dispatche and expeditioun, ar lyke to be disappointit and hinderit, heichlie to his Majesteis offence, without remeit be provided; thairfor the Lordis of Secret Counsell ordanis letteris to be direct chargeing the said Johnne Anderson to address himself with his workloomes and materiaillis necessair for the said worke to the Castell of Edinburgh within sax dayis nixtefter he be chargeit thairto, and to enter to the said worke and perfyte and accomplishe the same with such convenient diligence as possiblie he may, under the pane of rebellion etc. and, yff, he failye, the said space being bipast, to denunce him rebell and putt him to the home, and to escheit etc."

Ibid., 143.

16th June

To Johnne Anderson painter for painting the room quhair his Majestie was borne and for furnisiching gold cullouris and workmanship iic lib.

To him for painting the room within the new hall and for furnisiching of all sortis of cullouris and workmanship with marble dures and chinnayes xxxiiij lib. vj s. viij d.

Accts. M. of Works, 11, 81.
26. **LIST OF COLOURS, 1617.**

James Workman painters compt, 2 June 1617:

Item for xij pytis oyll at 2 merk the pyt

For half 1 pund of vergus

For a unce of indigo

For 7 pund and 1 halff of ornament

For halff a pund of rois aparine

For half a pund of indigo

For 2 gryit canis to put the oyle in

For sex poittis

For skrowes to be glew

For 2 hors laid of chaik

For 4 dissoune pottis to the painters

For paper and floore to thame

*Item for* xij pytis oyll at 2 merk the pyt

*For half 1 pund of vergus*

*For a unce of indigo*

*For 7 pund and 1 halff of ornament*

*For halff a pund of rois aparine*

*For half a pund of indigo*

*For 2 gryit canis to put the oyle in*

*For sex poittis*

*For skrowes to be glew*

*For 2 hors laid of chaik*

*For 4 dissoune pottis to the painters*

*For paper and floore to thame*

Ibid., 78-9.

27. **CONTRACTS FOR PAINTING AT STIRLING CASTLE, 1628-29.**

Valentine Jenkin's contracts for painting work at Stirling Castle,

28 August 1628 and 2nd March 1629.

Valintyne Jeinking painter his first compt

as followes

*Item first to the said Valintyne for painting and gilting the kingis armes above the inner yet at Stirling castell weill and sufficientlie in gold*
in oyle cullouris the housingis and crounells to be set of in the best sort and to furnisch all sortis of gold oyle and materiallis to the forsaid armes and to the haill wark following and als the armes and housingis abone the utter yet to be done in the lyke forme.

Item the archeis of the utter and inner yet with timber yet to be well done with oyle cullour.

Item the haill yorne windowis to be layit over with fyne rid oyle cullour and the lyon unicorne and four theanes of the prikis with thair knopis to be giltit and layit over.

Item the letteris and crounallis of the palleise to be new giltit and cullourit with oyle.

Item the kingis bedchalmer the window brodis hise and low to be layit over and set af and the armes and letteris to be set af in thair swin cullouris with gold and aisser and the borderis to be helpit and the dores and chymnayis to be marbillit and the pend of the windowes and akonschonis to be weill layit over with blew gray.

Item the kingis great chalmer the borderis to be maaid fair and perfyte the dores and chimlayis to be weill marbillit and the pendis and akonschonis to be weill layit over and the window brodis to be layit over without with oyle cullour and within in temper cullour and the articles weill set af.

Item the gaerd hall to have ane new border round about the dores and chimney to be marbillit the pendis and akonschonis to be weill layit over the window brodis to be layit over without and within and set af.
Item the law galerie without to have ane fair border round about frome the sylring to the heid of the windowis weill done and the haill pannallis of the sylring to be layit over in ane fresche cullour and the dores and windowis pennis and skonschonis to be weill done.

Item the queinis chalmer the pannalis of it abone the hingingis round about the sylring to be fair wrocht with armes antikis and thair af settis conformit to the warkis of the sylring abone with the windowis without and within and the pennis schonschonis chimny and dores to be fair set af as is forsaid.

Item the tua rowmes without quhilk is the queinis great chalmer and hall to have fair new borderis to the hingingis with the window brodis pennis skonschonis dores and chimnyis to be weill marbillit in thair awin kynd.

Item the Chappill Ayall all to be new paintit in the rufe in the forme it wes before and botuix the rufe and the wall pletis to have ane course of pannallis armes and badgeis round about conforme to the rufe and ane border under all these to be done weill and sufficientlie.

Item that the jeistis be all weill paintit the feild thairof blew with flouris going all along thame and antikis.

Item that the pennis skonschonis and mid mingallis of the haill windowis be all weill layit over with ane blew gray cullour.

Item the foir entrie of the chaippill with the pillaris and haill ordour thairof with the armes housingis cornwellis and siferis with tua new tarfellis to the housing.
Item the window heidis the seiferis and crownis with the af settis to be new giltit and layit over with oyle cullour.

For doing of the saidis warkis for furnishing gold oyle cullouris and utheris necessaris thairto the sowme of ii£lililib.


Upon the second day of Marche 1629 ane uther condition set doun with the said Walintyne Jeinking for painting and furnishing to the warkis underwritten.

Item in the first to the said Valintyne for painting of Buckinghames tua chalmeris qhilk is abone the kings bed chalmer both in rufes and wallis and thair chimneyis marbillit.

Item in the dukes chalmer qhilk is abone the kings great chalmer to be weill paintit in the sylring with the wallis layit over with gray haifffing ane border with the chimney marbillit.

Item the tua chalmeris abone the kings hall to be fair paintit with pannallis in the rufe with ane border round about the wallis, whyte abone and gray under, with the chimneyis marbillit.

Item the great trans abone the kings rowmes qhilk serveis the forsaidis chalmeris to be paintit with pannallis and mulleris in the rufe and the wallis layit over with ane bordour round about.

Item the thrie chalmeris abone the queinis hall to be paintit in the ruifis with ane bordour round about ilk ane of thame done highe, whyte abone and gray under, thair chimneyis marbillit.

Item the great trans that serveis the saidis chalmeris to be paintit in
the rufe with the timber wall to be sat af in pannallis of licht cullour and the bandis in sad cullour.

Item the wallis gavellis and pendis of the great hall all to be weill layit over, whyte abone the roll that gois round about the midis of the wallis, and the roll weill marbillit and all blew gray under and all the chimnayis to be weill marbillit with ane crownell to ilk ane of thame with the trumpet loft to be weill paintit and set af with housingis and pilleris.

Item in Sir William Alexanderis rowmes thrie chalmeris upon the gairdein syde to be paintit on theruiffis and the wallis layit over with blew gray and the chymnayis marbellit.

Item the said Sir Williams his hall and great chamber to be whyttit in the ruife and jeistis with bordouris round about abone the hingingis the haill wallis being maid blew gray.

To the said Valintyne for painting and furnishing of the forsaid wark being sexteine rowmes ii\textsuperscript{c} lib.

Item mair to the said Valintyne for sindrie by warkis done be him by and attour the former condiitiones and to supplie his alledgit losseis xx lib.

Item to his servandis to drink lviii s.

\textit{Ibid.}, 256-7.

28. SCAFFOLDING FOR THE PAINTERS AT LINLITHGOW PALACE, 1629.

While Valentine Jenkin was executing the contracts at Stirling Castle John Sawers and subsequently John Binning and James Workman were painting
the royal apartments at Linlithgow. The latter received £240 for this in 1629 'by and attour' £66.13.4d. 'quhilk wes gevin the yair befoir to Johne Saweris painter for sindrie thingis done be him quha dyet in the wark'.

According to the accounts Binning and Workman were paid 'for painting his Majesties haill rowmes in the palleice of Linlithgow, both in sylringis, wallis, dores, windowis, borderis abone the hingingis, and for furnisaching all sortis of cullouris and gold belonging thatirto;

and lykeways to thame for painting and laying over with oyle cullour and for gilting with gold the haill foir face of the new wark with the timber windowis and window brodis, staine windowis and crownellis, with ane brod for the kingis armes and houssing gilt and set of;

and lykwyse to thame for gilting and laying over with oyle cullour the four orderis abone the utter yet and furnisaching all sortis of gold oyle and warkmanschip thatirto and for laying over the tua unicomes and gilting of thame' ...

To enable the painters to carry out these tasks scaffolds were erected for their use. The following entries show how the scaffolds were moved round the palace and incidentally how long the painters took for each stage of their work. The period covers extends from 26 January to 24 March 1629.

26 Jan.

Item for carying of daillis and treis frome the timber hous for skaffaulding his Majesties
chalmer of presence tuo men tuo dayes 24s.
Item to tuo wrightis for skaffaulding his
Majesties chalmer of presence one day and one
half 36s.
Item to one warkman one day and one half 9s.

31 Jan.
Item for mending of the wallis of his Majesties
chalmer of presence for the painteris one
maisone one day 12s.

7 Feb.
Item for carryng of xx singill treis fra the
town to his Majesties pallace 10s.
Item for skaffaulding of the east syde of the
new wark tuo wrightis tuo dayes 48s.
Item gevin to the painteris fyve pund candill 20s.

21 Feb.
Item for doun taking of the skaffauld of his
Majesties chalmer of presence and skaffaulding
of his Majesties bed chalmer tuo wrightis tuo
dayes 48s.
Item to the painteris for the sylring of his
Majesties bed chalmer fyve ellis of small lining £3.10s.
Item mair to thame half ane peck of flour 7s. 6d.
Item to the painteris half ane galloun aill 16s.
2nd March

Item for down taking of the skaffauld of the east syde of the new wark and upputting ane skaffauld in the west syde thairof tuo wrightis tuo dayes 48s.

Item to ane warkman tuo dayes 12s.

9 March

Item for down taking of the skaffauld of the west syde of the new wark and skaffaulding of the turnepyke round about tuo wrightis tuo dayes 48s.

Item to ane warkman tuo dayes 12s.

16 March

Item for down taking the skaifill of his Majesties bed chalmer and skaifilling of the kingis hall and trans at the galerie end tuo wrichtis tuo dayes and ane half 83.

Item to ane warkman tuo dayes and ane half (barrow-man) 15s.

20 March

Item for skaifilling of the window of the kingis hall and the window abone it tuo wrichtis ane day 24s.

Item to ane warkman ane day 6s.
Item to the painteris thrie ellis small limning to the sylring of the trans at the gallerie end 42s.
Item mair for ane peck of flour 7s. 6d.

23 March

Item for doun taking of the skaifill of the new turnepyk and making ane ludge to the maisses tuo wrichtis ane day 24s.
Item to ane warkman tuo dayes 12s.

24 March

Item for doun taking the skaifill of the kingis hall with the window thairof and window abone with the skaifill in the trans at the gallerie end tuo wrichtis ane day 48s.
Item for ane warkman ane day 6s.
Item for carying of daillis and treis to the timmer hous tuo men ane day 12s.
Item for carying of xx treis fra the palleice to the toun 10s.

According to the above account the painting of the king's presence chamber took 26 days (including Sundays), of the king's bed chamber 23 days and of the king's hall and transe at the gallery end 8 days. The painters were paid by contract, wrights at the rate of 12s., and labourers at the rate of 6s., per day.

Ibid., 265-9.
DESTRUCTION OF THE PAINTED SCREEN IN ELGIN CATHEDRAL, 1640.

On Monday December 28th 1640 Gilbert Ross, minister of Elgin, with the young laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie and others, all Covenanters, broke down the screen 'dividing the Kirk of Elgin frae the quire, whilk hed stuid ever sen the refourmatioun, near sevin aoir yearis or above. On the west syde wes painted in excellent cullouris illuminat with starris of bright golde, the crucifixion of our blessed Saeour Jesus Christ. This peice wes so excellentlie done, that the cullouris nor starris never faidit nor evenishit bot keipit haill and sound as they were at the beginning notwithstanding this college or channounrie Kirk wantit the roof sen the refourmatioun, and no hail wyndo thairintill to saif the same from storme, snow, sleit or weit, quhilk mysel saw, and mervallous to consider. On the vther syde of this wall, towards the east wes drawin the day of judgement. Alasyes all is throwne doum to the ground. It wes said thair minister causit bring hame to his hous the tymber thairof, and burne for serving his keching and vther vses; bot ilk nicht the fyre went out that it wes burnt and could not be haldin in to kyndle the morning fyre as vse is; whairst the servandis and vtheris mervallit and thairupone the minister left of and forbair to bring in or burne any more of that tymber in his hous. This was markit, spred throwe Elgyne, and crediblie reportit to mysel.'

H.B. Mackintosh Elgin past and present, 66-67.
3 Sep. 1667.

Walter Melville, apprentice to George Porteous - Essay - 'a buffet stool with a moot-head thereon in its proper collours'.

2 Dec. 1669.

George Porteous - Essay - 'to paint with one piece of cloth of 4 ft. by 3 one compartment and within the same one squair and compass and on top of the compartment one hand shewing out of one cloud, holding one pellet with pencells therein with Trophies of the several Airts belonging to Marie Chapell about the said compartment'.

20 May 1680.

Thomas Kerr, painter - Essay - 'one hinging tomb decor'd with antichs of three foot broad and four foot and one half high'.

16 July 1681.

John Munro, apprentice to umquhl. Lewis Wilson - Essay - 'one piece of Landskip to be illuminat'd with collours'.

13 May 1684.

James Hamilton - Essay - 'a perspective of his Majestie's Palace of Holyrood house as it is now situat to be perfyted betwixt and Michaelmiss next to come. His essay masters to be James Smith, Mason and John Hamilton, wright'.

16 June 1686.

James Hamilton. His first essay, given above, was disallowed because he had not completed his apprenticeship. Second essay - 'one frontispeice
of ane Tomb, to be done in black and white upon a sheet of lumber \textit{Lombard} paper'.

18 June 1692.

Patrick Craig, painter - Essay - 'to make his essay conform to the draught of the Talideux produced'.

15 Dec. 1692.

Andrew Munro, painter - Essay - 'an hanging Tomb conform to the draught given him. To be illuminat in colours'.

3 March, 1697.

George Porteous - 'admitted to an Essay for a talideux extended to nyne tymes - in its most naturall colours'. Received as a freeman on the 27th of that month.

Laing Papers, La.IV.26 under Mary Chapel.

31. A PAINTER'S BURGESS TICKET, 1675.

The Oath of ilk Burges given be him at his Admission. Heir I protest befor God and your Lordschips That I profes and allow with my heart the trew Religioone presently profest within this Realme and authorized be the lawes thereof I shall abyde therat and defend the same to my lyves and Renunceand the Roman religeon callit papistrie. I shall be leill and trew to OUR SOVERAIGNE LORD KING CHARLES the SECOND and his successors To the provest and baillies of this burgh I shall keip and underly the lawes and statuts of this burgh I shall obey the officers of this burgh fortifie mentain and defend them in executione of ther offices with my bodie and
goods. I shall not pull or unfriend goods under color of my swine. I
shall not purchase Lordships nor authorities contrary to the freedom
of this burgh. In all taxationes, watchings, wardings and all other burdings
to be laid upon this burgh I shall willingly bear my part as I am
commanded by the Magistrats thereof and shall not purchase nor use
exemptiones to be frie thereof. Renounce and the benefit of the same for ever.
And especially not project nor procure any monoplies nor be partners
in any directly or indirectly. And finally I shall not attempt nor do
nothing hurtful to the liberties and common weil of this burgh and sue
oft as I shall break any point of this my oath I oblige me to pay to the
common affairs of this burgh ane hundredth punds money and shall remain in
weird by and while the same be payed. Sua Help me God and be God himself.

Vigesimo die Mensis Octobris j^m^v^x^ septuagesimo quinto.
The which Day in presence of Francis Kinloch Dean of Gild and the Gild
Councill HENRY FRAZIER Painter Compeirand is made burges of this burgh
as prenties to George Porteous on of his Majesties heralds and herald
painter burges thereof and gave his oath in manner above written and payed
for his dewtie to the Dean of gild Thrie pund sex shilling eight pennes
and watches Twentie four shilling. Extractit furth of the now locked gild
books of the burgh of Edinburgh be me Mr. James Rocheid Comon Clerk of the
samen witnessing heirto my signe and subscriptions manuall.

(Sgd.) J.: Rocheid.

Edr. Town Records Moses Bundle 272, No. 8529.
1683

Paid to de Witt, Painter, 20 lib. sterling, to account for Pictures of the old Kings of Scotland, to be delivered by him to the Lord Treasurer Depute, betwixt the 1st of November 1683, per Precept and receipt obligator, 14 Aug. 1683.

Hugh Wallace, Cashkeeper, Pay unto de Witt, Painter, the sum of Twenty pound Sterling, for which these presents, with his Receipt (obliging himself that betwixt and the first day of November next to come he deliver in to the Lord Treasurer Depute such a number of Pictures of the old Kings of Scotland as the said Lord Treasurer Depute shall approve of, both as to workmanship & number), shall be your warrant.

Dated at Edinburgh, 7th August 1683.

queensberry, Thes:*.

J. Drummond.

Edr. 14th Aug. 1683.

Received by me, de Witt, painter, from Hugh Wallace, his Majesties Cashkeeper, the full above written sum of Twenty pound Sterling, and I oblige me, betwixt and the first of November next, to deliver to my Lord Treasurer Depute such a number of Pictures of the Old Kings of Scotland as his Lordship shall approve of, both as to workmanship and number. By these presents, subscrivit with my hand, tyne and place foresaid, before these witnesses, Gilbert Nicolson, writer hereof, and Theodore de Witt my son.
J. de Wet

Gilbert Nicolson              Derrick De Wet.

1684.

Contract betwixt Hugh Wallace, His Majesties Cashkeeper, and James Dewitte, painter, indwellar in the Cannogate, 26 Feb. 1684.

At Edinburgh, the twenty sixth day of February i\textsuperscript{16}\textsuperscript{v} and fourscore four years, It is Agreed, Contracted, and finally ended betwixt the parties following, To wit, Hugh Wallace, his Majesties Cashkeeper (by speciall command from William Marquis of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer, & John Drummond of Lundin, Lord Treasurer Depute), on the one part, and James de Witt, Painter, Indwellar in the Cannogate, on the other part, In manner following:

That is to say, The said James de Witte binds and obleidges him to compleatly draw, finish, and perfyte The Pictures of the haill Kings who have Reigned over this Kingdome of Scotland, from King Fergus the first King TO CHARLES THE SECOND, OUR GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE who now Reignes, Inclusive, being all in number One hundred and ten, The pictures of which Kings he hereby binds & obleidges him to compleatly finish and perfyte betwixt the date hereof and the first day of March i\textsuperscript{16}\textsuperscript{v} fourscore six years, And to make them like unto the Originalls which are to be given him, and that to the advantage particularly in the art of Painting, And that at the sight and by the advyce of the said John Drummond of Lundin, or any whom he shall appoint for that effect:
As also, the said James de Witte binds & obleidges him to finish such of the saids Kings Pictures, in large Royall postures, as he shall be appointed by the said John Drummond as aforesaid, And so as in largenesse & number they may suite with the Chalked divisions scratched into the Privie gallerie of his Majesties Palace of Holyroodhouse.

Moreover, the said James de Witte binds & obleidges him to be so assiduous in painting of the saids Kings as the same be done without Intermission, And that he undertake no other manner of work until the same be finished, without leave asked and obtained for that effect from the said John Drummond, as said is; And in case he shall happen to gett leave for some little tyme, or become valitudinarie, then and in that case, he hereby becomes bound and obleidged to repay the said tyme with the equivalent measure of tyme, after the expyreing of the date at which the Contract terminates.

Lykeas, the said James de Witte binds and obleidges him to add such particular Inscriptions and Compartments, above and below the most notable of the saids Kings, as the said John Drummond shall appoint him, and suitable to that which the Gallery will allow in the respective places where the saids most famous Kings are to be placed, with their names, age, the years of their Reignes, and the date of the world, or the Birth of our Saviour.

And finally, the said James Dewitte binds and obleidges him to furnish all kind of materials necessarie for the said work, such as fyme strong tykeing, of sufficient largenesse so that no seame be found in any picture, with sufficient Oyl and Cullouris of all sorts, Brushes, pincells of all
sorts, with all kynd of workmanship, either relating to washing, grinding, 
syzeing, or painting whatsoever, elsewele not named as named, And to 
compleat them so as they be sufficiently winn, for being proofe against the 
Injurie sustainable be stour, dust, or any other such extrinsick accidents. 
The Names of the Kings most famous are to be done in large Characters, and 
the Remanent are to be done in lesser Characters, viz. ...

Here follows list of monarches...

For the which causes, the said Hugh Wallace binds and obleidges him 
and his successouris in office to content psy and deliver to the said James 
Dewitte the sum of One hundred and twenty pound Sterline yearly, In full 
and compleat payment of the forsaiids Picture work, dureing the space of 
the forsaid two years, wherein he undertake the finishing of the same, to 
be divided proportionally, as followes, viz.: the sum of Threescore 
pound Sterline at the subscribeing of these presents, per advance, for 
buying of tykeing, and furnishing himselfe with such fyne cullouris as he 
necessarily must provide; And sicklyke, the sum of other Three score pound 
Sterline, as the second moyety thereof, when the two fourth parts of the 
saids Kings are painted, at the sight & by the advyce aforesaid, and when 
the same is to be seen and attested by the said John Drummond, or any 
instructed to that effect; As also, the sum of other threescore pound 
Sterline more, when the three fourth parts of the saids Pictures are 
finished, by advyce and attestation aforesaid, with the sum of other three 
score pounds money aforesaid, as the fourth and last moyety of the haill 
sum contained in this Contract, at the finishing and compleating of the
haill work aforesaid, The sufficiency and compleat finishing of the same being attested by the said John Drummond, as said is.

Moreover, it is hereby specially provyded that the straining frames of all sorts are to be furnished to the said James Dewitte; and that he is to be at no other charges then what is above specifed; and that he shall be no wayes lyable to any watching, wardeing or publick burdens, dureing the tyme of his said service; and that he shall bruike and enjoy the benefite of the severall acts of Parliament & Counciell past in favour of his Majesties immediat servants, and particularly the 275 Act of the 15th Parliament of his Majesties Grandfather, King James 6th, of ever blessed memorie, wherein one of ilk occupation that serves his Majestie are freed from bearing of publick burdens, watching, wardeing, and quartering.

And hereto both the saids parties binds and obliidges themselves hing inde to otheris, and the party failzie to pay to the party observer, or willing to observe their part of the premisses, the sum of ten pounds money forsaid of penalty, in case of failzie, besides the performance thereof, and together therewith. Consentinge, for the more security, that these presents be insert and registrat in the Booke of Exchequer, that letters of horning on six dayes, and otheris necessary, in form as effearis, may pass hereupon. And thereto constituts Mr. George Bannerman, Advocat, one of his Majesties Soliciters, and Mr. Robert Deans, Advocat, their proings, etc.

In witness quherof both the saids parties have subscribde these presents (written be David Callendar, servant to Thomas Moncreife of that Ilk, Clerk
of Exchequer) with their hands, time and place forsaid, before these witnesses, the aforesaid Thomas Menzies and David Callender.

Hugh Wallace
J. de Wet

1694.

Precept for 60 lib. Sterling to Mr. Dewitt, Painter, as the first moiety of his Contract for painting the whole Scottish Kings.

Hugh Wallace, Cashkeeper, pay unto James De Witt, Painter, the sum of three score pound Sterling, as the first moiety of the Contract past between you and him (as our Command) for painting the whole Kings of Scotland, from Fergus the first King to King Charles the Second. And for the twentie pound Sterling which he formerly got by our Precept, and his Receipt, is to be allowed in his subsequent payments as we shall hereafter think fitt. And for the payment of which sixty pounds these presents, with his Receipt, shall be your warrant. Dated at Edinburgh, the first day of March, 1694.

Queensberry, Thos.
J. Drummond.

1694-5.

Straining frames for the Kings Pictures in the Gallerie at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, 1694 and 1695.

There is made be James McFarland thirtene great Straining frames for the Kings Pictures in the
Gallerie at His Majesties Palace of Halyroodhouse, at 3s. 4d. Sterling per piece

Item, There is of lesser frames from these Picturis in the same place, eighty nine at 13d. per piece

Summa in English money 08 16 10
Is in Scots money 107 18 0

I do hereby attest and declare that the above written soume of eight pounds nyntein shillings and ten pence Sterling is justly dew to James McFarland, wright in the Canongate, for straining frames furnished and wrought by him towards the painting of the Kings Picturs which Mr. de Witt has painted & is apainting for the Gallerie of His Majesties Palace of Halyroodhouse, which were to be furnished to him by Contract. Witness my hand, at Ed. this 10 March 1685.

Mr. J. Smith.

Received from Hugh Wallace, his Majesties Cashkeeper, the above written soume of Eight pounds nyntein shilling 10 d. Sterling, by me.

Ja. McFarland, his mark

As witness my hand, day and deat forsaid, befors thir witnes, James de Wit, pictor drawir, and Mungo Malloch, baxter, burges in Canongait.

J. de Wet,
Mungo Malloch.
These are declaring that the within named James Dewitt, Pictor drauer, has compleetly finished the within specified number of the Kings within mentioned, conforme to the tearnes of the Contract within written, & likewayes that he has drauen the Picture of his present Majestie, and a chimney peece for the principall bed chamber, over and above the contract, both of which last articles were barganed for by order of his Grace the Duke of Queensberrie for the soume of thretty pounds Starling, as witness my hand.

Mr. J. Smith.

I, Hellen Stalmens, spouse to Mr. Jacobus De wet, His Majesties pictur drauer in Scotland, grant me to have received from Hugh Wallace of Inglistoun, his Majestie's Cashkepper, in name of my said Husband, and as haveing full power from him, conforme to his factorie to me, of the date the 25th day of Aprile last, Registrat in the Bookes of Exchequer, the 12 day of July thereafter, full and compleat payment of the within written contract. In witness quherof I have subscribed these presents with my hand, at Edinburgh, 13th July 1686, Declareing that the therty pound sterline abovementioned for his present Majesties Picture, and the Chimney peece for the principall Bed Chamber, is not hereby discharged. Before these witnesses, James Vert, Servitor to William Cleland, Usher of Exchequer, and David Callender, Servant to Sir Thomas Moncreife of that Ilk, Clerk of his Majesties Thesaury & Exchequer, writer hereof.

Helena Stalmans.
Petitione for James de Witt, picture drawer, with his wyf's receipt for threttyt pounds Sterling for the picture in the king's bedchamber at Holyrudehouse Palace.

Unto the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesties Treasury and Exchequer, the Petitione of James de Witt, His Majesties Picture Drawer in Scotland.

Humblie Sheweth,

That wher your Petitioner being called from his owne contrey by Sir William Bruce, then Master of his Majesties Works, to this Kingdom, for painting of his Majesties Royall Palacce of Holyrudehouse, and haveing accordingly finished the Pictures of his Majesties Royall Ancestors, to the number of 111, which work, as it stood him a great deall of trouble and expense, bysde the loss of his other imploymcnt, and extraordinary charges in transporting his family from Holland to this Kingdome, so lykwyse he wes two years in compleiting thereof, haveing no more allowance for the same butt one hundreth and twentie pound sterling yearly, Whereas the expence he was att did werie neer amount to the same.

And the Petitioner haveing addressed himself to his Majestie for ane allowance for the great losses he had sustained, and for finishing the work, His Sacred Majestie was graciously pleased to Remitt the same to your Lordships, who by his Majestie are authorized to examine the Petitioners losses, als well in reference in his coming over from Holland, and of the work alreadie done, as of his desyre of being allowed to finish the
said work, and that your Lordships opinion and advyce therin should with all diligence be transmitted to his Majestie, as the said Petitione, and delieverance theron, of the date the 25 September 1636, lyeing in the hands of Sir Thomas Moncreif of that Ilk, bears. And in regard that your Petitioner hath alreadie sustained a great manie losses in maner above represented, and that as yett ther is no report of his conditiane made to his Sacred Majestie,

It is therfor humbly craved that your Lordships would be pleased, in obedience to his Majesties Royall desyre, to take inquirie of the whole affaire, and to Report the same, with your Lordships opinione and advyce, as by his Majestie is required.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

The Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasury haveing considered this Petition, and that as yet they have not had tyme to consider his Majesties Reference in favours of the Petitioner, and that he has not receaved payment for the Pictur abone the Chimney in the Kings Bedchamber, nor for his Majesties owne Pictor standing in the Gallarie, Doe therefor heireby appoint the Receavers of His Majesties Rents to pay unto the Petitioner the sum of threttie pund Sterling to an accoempt, for which these presents and his receipt salbe your warrand. Dated at Edinburgh, this 12th August 1687.

Perth, Cancell.

I.P.D.
At Edinburgh, this mynth day of September 1682, eighty seavine years.

Received by me, Helena Stalmans, spouse to the within designed James de Wett, & Factorx constitute by him during his absence for doing his affairs, conform to his Factorie Registrat in the Books of Exchequer upon the tualth of July 1681, eight sex years, from Patrick Murray, in name of the Receivers abovenamed, full payment of the abovewrittin soume of Thretty pounds Sterling, as wittes my hand, day and place aforesaid, befor thir witnessis, Mr. John Justice, merchant in Edinburgh, & Mr. Hugh Davidson, witter ther and heirof.

Helena Stalmans
Hugh Davidson
John Justice

The contract with James de Witte, painter, for the portraits of the Kings of Scotland in the Palace of Holyrood etc. Bannatyne Miscellany, 111, 1855, item XX.

33. THE REQUEST OF AN APPRENTICE TO SUBMIT AN ESSAY IS REFUSED, 1684.

The which day the Deacons, Masters and Bretheren conveened haweing considered a Bill given in be James Hamilton, painter, Creweing to be admitted to ane Essay, and being found qualified that he might be admitted freeman amongst the rest of the bretheren painters of the Burgh, Be rig of serving his prenticeship with James Alexander, painter Burges there, and for payt. of the ordinary dues therefore, Upon which the said Deacons, Masters and Bretheren have admitted and hereby admit the petitioner to
draw for an essay of his qualifications a perspective of his Naties.

palace of Holyrood as it is now situat to be perfyted betwixt and Michaelis-

miss next to come. His essay Masters to be Mr. James Smith Mason and

John Hamiltoun Wright. With this express condition the work agreed upon

betwixt Left Genale Drummond and him he first perfyted before his Essay

be entred on. And provyding always that the painters give liberty to

the petitioner to perfyte the sd. work and which is according to the own

Condisencance Amongst themselves. And whereupon the said James Hamiltoun

took instruments in the hands of me, David Callendar, clerk.

Eodem die. Protestation the Beacon of Wights and George Forteous

painter against James Hamiltoun painter his Essay. Follows nearly two

pages chiefly in regard that the said James Hamiltoun had not served as

prentise and servant full eight years from the date of his Indentars, and

also that before he should enter to his essay the bargain of painterwork

agreed upon betwixt Left. Genale Drummond and him should be first

perfyted. On these grounds the permission to submit an essay was with-
drawn. Hamilton was subsequently admitted 15 May 1686.7

Laing Papers La.IV.26 quoting records of Mary Chapel.

34. A GERMAN PAINTER APPLIES FOR AUTHORITY TO WORK IN EDINBURGH, 1684.

7th Feb. 1684.

Supplication by Edward Keickins, German, residenter in the Cannongsie,
as follows:-
Encouraged by the invitation contained in the 42nd Act of his Majesty's first Parliament, 1661, to strangers who are skilful artisans to come to this kingdom, and particularly that such as should come should be free to set up and work in burghs or landward without paying anything whatsoever to any person under any colour or pretext for their freedom, and to be free of taxes and public burdens during their lifetime, the petitioner "as being well bred in Germany in the art of painting" came to this kingdom and has lived with his family in the Camnongait and has been employed to work to several noblemen and gentlemen in the country, who can bear testimony to his skill and knowledge. But some persons in Edinburgh "who pretend a privilege as being painters within the city and arrogat to themselves a monopoly in that art, notwithstanding of their little knowledge therein, doe debarr the petitioner to work within the city, contrair to the law and to the Councilills practise and allowance given to the silkweavers, perfumers and other skilfull artisans". He craves to be allowed to work here and elsewhere at his craft without molestation.

The Lords having considered the petition and the act of Parliament foresaid "and being sufficiently informed of the supplicants extraordinar knowledge and skill in the art of painting" recommend to the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh "to cause admitt and receve him in the corporatione of painters within the city".

9 September

At Criminall Court the dyet is deserted in the criminall proces raised by James Bunton painter, against Patrick Chalmers Deacon of the Wrights of Edinburgh, and George Porteous herald-painter, for robbing his house, and taking away his pencils and colours, 2do For assuming the King's authority, by imprisoning him without the Magistrates, 3tio For threatening him with tortor, which only belongs to the Privy Counsell.

Answered to the 1° Generalities non relevat unless he specially condescend on the toalls and instruments abstracted; in furto rerum plurium earum numerus est desiderandus, 1. 19 et 1. 52, 5 linea D. de furtis. 2do No theft, because being my prentise and Juryman, and I finding that ye consumed the one halfe more coloours then the work required, I got the Deacon's concurrence to search your house, which is usual in suspitions, and found my owne goods with you, and if you'll prove you got them any where else, relevat. To the 3d, The incarceration was by the Provest of Edinburgh and Baillies order, and not privitate authoritate nor by the Deacon and Trade (tho' in some cases they may) and the imprisonment was neither wrongous nor unjust, because he was tane entring in a combination with the rest of the Juryman, that they should not serve their masters under 14 pence a day, beside meat and drink, and bound themselves to it by oath, contrare to the act 30 in 1424, act 78 in 1457 (and) act 43 in 1555, against leagues and bands, declaring them seditious. And Carpzovius in his Criminallis, Quaeat, iii de incarcerations rerum, says indicia
praeceendentia are enough to warrant the proceeding to imprisonment; and the Provest is Shire, and has power; and the preparative of such a combination may be very bad to other Trades, especially their masters being now bound for them, by the late bond against tumults. To the 3d Territio verabalis non eat torture says Carpzove, Quest. 177, num. 47, et seq. And one might say, if you will not discover the truth, the Privy Council (who has the power of torture) may gar you doe it. The pershuer pressing (because some of his witnesses were absent) for a continuation, it was refused, it having been granted once before.

15 December

George Porteous, Heralds Painter, persuaded Archibald Burnet, Sir G. Mackenzie's servant, for invading him in the Hy Streit, and beating him. Alleged, You were the first aggressor, for you assaulted and beat me the day before, and so compensations tolluntur. Answered. That was but a chaud-melle and accidental rencontre; but yours was a deliberat forthought assassination; having gathered Auchlossan and sundry with you, you treacherously sent for me out of my house to speak with a friend, and then fell upon me; and self defence must be incontinently; and he offered to prove all this by his oath. It was committed to Tarbet and the President.

Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Historical notices of Scottish Affairs, 1848, 11, 749-750, 772.
36. COMMISSION FOR A HERALD PAINTER IN ABERDEEN, 1695.

Double of Commission by Sir Alexander Areskine of Cambo, Knight and Baronet, Lyon King of Arms, with consent of George Porteous and Henry Fraser, Herald Painters, to Charles Whyte, Painter, now residing in Aberdeen, empowering him to paint all funeral honours proper to Noblemen and Gentlemen, all Coats of Arms, Standards, Banners, Horse and Foot Colours, within the sheriffdom of Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, or within any other of the Northern Shires where he may happen to be employed.

Dated at Edinburgh 10th October 1695.

Edr. Town Records McLeod, Bundle 41, shelf 6, Bay D.

37. DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS AT PLUSGARDEN PRIORY, 1780.

Considering the devastation which they these sacred edifices were thus fated to undergo, and so long a period of time since elapsed, it is rather a remarkable circumstance that, on the roofs and walls of these buildings, so much of the fresco paintings should remain undefaced, as to preserve memorials of the mysterious and complicated designs which had been so elaborately executed on them. The most plain and obvious of these is on the loft arch of the entrance to the sanctuary of the great altar; there St. John, about to write, in an attitude expressive of attention to the objects before him, is seated under a canopy, and accompanied by his well-known eagle, lifts his eyes to the concave of the arch above, where the glowing colours of 'that splendid bow, which is seen in the cloud in
the day of rain' attracts our notice ... Within the lofty arch, the sun and moon, an arrangement of constellations, and some other splendid characters are painted ...

Thus far has reflection been led by the paintings on the entrance to the great altar. In the sacristy more complicated designs, and more wonderful schemes of theology, seem to have been pursued ... It is a long vaulted gallery, the roof and walls of which has been wholly covered with emblematical paintings; considerable traces of these remain, exhibiting evangelists and apostles nearly as large as life, accompanied with their several characteristic attributes, and many allegorical representations thronged around. In the midst of them, the august symbol of the Church 'A woman cloathed with the sun and the moon under her feet and on her head a crown of twelve stars' attracts peculiar attention. But there is a yet more striking and awful figure above, replete with more daring allusions, which one could have scarce ventured to describe ... The Messiah seated on a throne, in the attitude of benediction, is mysteriously veiled, his head encircled with solar rays, in reference to the declaration 'I am the light of the world' but the allusion is carried on by characters or designations of the planets being placed round the Throne of light. On the four angles of the square which contains the figure, there are symbols of the elements; a crescent is placed before the throne, and an expressive Alpha and Omega indicate the sacred reference of the whole; while St. John and the Holy Virgin are bending with veneration towards these sacred insignia.

Rev. C. Cordiner, Remarkable ruins and romantic prospects of North Britain, 1, section headed Pluscardine Abbey.
1790.

I was once in this church but it is long since. There is nothing remarkable in its construction; it is a little square building with a projection in the middle towards the south, opposite to the pulpit, where the family sit. The roof of this aisle or projection is ceiled with wood on which was painted many armorial bearings of the families connected with Guthrey but I am told it has been white-washed so little regard is had to antiquities. An architect has made a drawing but has promised a more correct one which if he executes it will be sent to you.

Hutton Collection, D (Nat. Library 29.4.2), item 95; letter from George Constable to General Hutton dated 6 May 1790.

1817.

It gave me much pleasure to hear from you some time ago and I delayed my answer until I should have a visit of a very ingenious painter who might inform us as to the practicability of copying the paintings in the roof of the aisle of the old church here. He has been with me and after a very narrow inspection I am sorry to say he thinks it impracticable and indeed the figures are not so distinct as when you saw them owing no doubt to the body of the church having wanted a roof the great part of last summer. As we had the statistical account of the Church of Foulis with us we found that both consisted of scripture representations and your conjecture is most likely that the figures in both churches were the work of the same
artist. We traced the flight to Egypt, the birth of Our Saviour, his death on the cross, his body deposited in the tomb, his ascension and a fearful representation of Hell. There were two or three of the Departments which we could make nothing of. Some of the female faces had much sweetness in them. In a line at the top are the royal arms, those of the Earl of Crawford and the Guthrie family as altered by Sir David the Lord Treasurer of Scotland. I shall account for all of these being there when I give you my remarks respecting the old church here which will be delivered to you when we have the happiness to meet.

Ibid., item 103; letter from James Will, minister of Guthrie, to General Hutton dated 1 Sep. 1817.


In May, 1792, one of the principal rooms in the old castle, at the Farms, was ordered to be repaired. The workmen, having torn down an old stucco ceiling, discovered above it another of wood. It was painted with water colours; but the figures were so much effaced, that excepting a few waved lines and stripes, it was impossible to form any distinct idea of what they consisted. Several lines of writing, in the old English characters, were observed on the sides of the great beams that lay across the house. The letters were black upon a white ground. Some of the lines were so greatly obliterated that they could not be read. The following however, which were legible, are here offered to the public as
a literary curiosity; and as an example of the way which the inhabitants of Scotland anciently used to inculcate the principles of morality and good breeding:—

Faire speiche in presence, with guid report in absence; And
manner in to fellowschep, obtain grate reuerence.

... Gyf thou heinousnes dois or Vice also; for scheme
remains quhen pleisour is ago.

He that sitis down to ye heau for to site
Forgetting to gyf god thankis for his meite;
Syne rysis up and his graceoure pass,
Sitis doun lyk ane ox, and rysis up lyk ane ass.

Thir armes that is heir, that ar abuine peunted; Ar the nobill
howses that the lard of this hows is descendit. J.C.A.H. 1325 (sic)

Each of the above stanzas is, in the painting, comprehended in a single
line. The epitome of the rules of good breeding, that is contained in the
first, is so admirably concise that it probably would have puzzled Chester-
field, and his numerous admirers, to have made a better. The former part
of the second stanza is obliterated, but the latter contains a lesson so
important, that to have surpressed it would have been a crime. From the
last it appears probable that all of them were written when the family of
Crawford dwelt in the Farme.

David Ure, History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride, 1793, 134-5.
Unfortunately in many places the decoration of the ceiling was quite gone, as the blanks on the drawing will show, but what remains gives an excellent idea of the character of the work. The beams which carried the flooring planks, whose reverse side formed the ceiling below, were spaced somewhat irregularly, and the spaces between them were treated as long panels with paintings of birds, beasts and fishes, surrounded and separated by masses of conventional foliage, and ribbon ornaments of renaissance type. In one case the animal (perhaps a wild cat) is represented sitting on its haunches with leaves and thistles on either side, treated quite naturally and in strong contrast to the other work. The beams were painted white with running ornaments on both soffits and sides, reminding strongly of Pompeian decoration. The ceiling was painted in water colour similar to those found in various old buildings, and of which the Society has a good example in the Museum. As washing at once obliterates the colour, restoration is hardly possible. The colouring, though limited in range being in fact confined to black, brown, green and yellow, was harmonious and effective.

Workmen had been for some time effecting alterations on the building, and in the course of the operations it became necessary to cut out the flooring and joists of one of the floors of the building. These, it was discovered when the plastering had been removed, had been originally painted in distemper on the under side - the joists being painted along the sides in panels with black lines, or right or curved angles, on a yellow ground - the field of the panels being shaded with purple, while the styles were finished with a rude species of graining as if to indicate the grain of woodwork. Running or inter-laced ornament of foliated description decorated the under sides of many of the joists, which were of the ordinary dimensions for the period, namely, about 5 to 6 inches square. The flooring was of Scots fir, in broad boards about 1½ inches thick, and being painted on the under side in similar fashion to the joists, formed a highly ornamental ceiling to the room below. In this way the flooring formed continuous strips between the joists, and was richly painted in Jacobean panels and scrolls, with foliage, fruit and flowers in natural colours, but in a highly conventional manner. The most interesting part of the ceiling, however, was undoubtedly certain legends or writings painted on four of the joists nearest to the fireplace at the South end of the apartment. These were still in their places when the writer visited the building, and by Mr. J.M. Keiller's instructions they were carefully removed to permit of the inscriptions being deciphered. When this was done it was discovered that the writings which occupied the panels along each
sides of the joists were continuous, and formed extracts from Quarle's *Emblems*. The writings, which are in a very legible Italian letter, in some places much obliterated, have been carefully photographed by Mr. A.C. Lamb, and from his photograph the accompanying sketch of the lettering on one of the joists has been prepared. The following are the inscriptions on the joists. The first one is from the dialogue between Eve and the Serpent beside the tree of knowledge (Book 1, Emblem No. 1) Eve speaks:-

'Tis but an apple, and it is as good to do as to desire, Fruit's made for food;
I'le pull and tast and tempt my Adam too
To know the secrets of this dainty. Serp. Doe.
... by this fall condem'd us all."

The other side of same joist, from Book 1, No. 14, has

Epigram. My soule if Ignorance puffe out this light
Sheell doe a favour that intends a spight
T' seems dark abroad but take this light away
Thy windows will discover break of day.'

The second joist quotes the first stanza of Emblem No. 11:-

Lament, lament; look, look what thou hast done;
Lament the world's, lament thy own estate.
Look, look by doing how thou art undone;
Lament thy fall, lament thy change of State;
Thy faith is broken and thy freedome gone.

The other side of the joist bears

*The source of this line is unknown. It is not in context.*
Epigram. Unlucky Parliament, wherein at last
Both houses are agreed, and firmly past.
An Act of death confirm'd by higher powers
O had it had but such success as Ours.
The third joint is inscribed
No key can lock the doors of my complaint.
Untill I smell this flower, or taste that fruit;
Go, Virgins, seek this tree, and search that bow'r.
O, how my soul shall bless that happy house
That brings to me such fruit, that brings me such a flower.
Epigram. See how that fruitful kernels, being cast
Upon the earth, how thick they spring! How fast!
A full-ear'd crop and thriving, rank and proud
Prepost'rous man first sow'd and then he plou'd.
The fourth joint, being close to the wall, was lettered only on one side,
as follows:-

Epigram. Why, apples, O my soul? Can they remove
The pangs of grief or ease the flames of love?
It was that fruit which gave the first offence
That sent him hither, that removed him hence.

Such a mode of decoration betokens a cultured literary taste, and as the
Emblems were first published in 1635, the paintings must have been executed
subsequent to that date.

Dundee Advertiser, 21 Feb. 1887.
Two round-arched or waggon-shaped ceilings were brought to view in the progress of demolition, richly decorated with painted devices, in a style corresponding with the date of erection, and both concealed by flat plaster ceilings constructed below them. One of these, shown in the accompanying plate \( \text{fig. 190} \) in its last stage of dilapidation, had been lighted by windows ranged along each side of the arched roof, and in its original state must have formed a lofty and elegant chamber. The roof was of wood, and had been painted in rich arabesques and graceful designs of flowers, fruit, leaves etc. surrounding panels with inscriptions in Gothic letters. On one portion, all that could be made out was YE TRUBILIS OF YE RIGHITOUS. On another was perfectly defined the following metrical legend:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{GIF YOW WY. SYN APPEITIT BE} \\
\text{OCH YAN SAY CRIST CUM YOW TO ME} \\
\text{SWITH YE WAY, WALK YOW THAIRIN,} \\
\text{EMBRACE YE TRUTH, ABANDON --}
\end{align*}
\]

The last word, obviously SIN, had been curiously omitted, and a dash substituted for it, as though for a guess or puzzle ... The whole appeared to have been originally wainscotted, and was probably completed with a carved oaken mantelpiece. The stone fireplace was of large dimensions but entirely without ornament ...

Another ceiling of a similar form, in a room adjoining this, on the west side of Blyth's Close, was adorned with a variety of emblematic
designs, most of which occur in Paradin’s *Emblems* (published at Lyons in 1557) or in the *Traité des Devises Royales*; although some of them are not to be found in either of these works—such as a hand amid flames, holding up a dagger, with the motto *Agere et pati fortia*: a branch covered with apples; *Ab insomni non custodita dragoi*; two hands out of a cloud, one holding a sword, and the other a trowel; *In utrumque peratum*: a royal orb, surmounted with the cross, and entwined with snakes; *In cruce tota quies*: and a hand out of cloud, holding a pair of balances on the point of a sword; *Quis levior? cui plus ponderi addit solum*. This species of emblematic device was greatly in vogue in the sixteenth century, and various illustrative works of similar character still exist in the libraries of the curious. Among further devices on this ceiling may be mentioned an ape crushing her offspring in the fervour of her embrace, with the motto; *Caecus amor proliis*: a serpent among strawberry plants; *Latet anguis in Herba*: a procupine with apples on its spikes; *Magnum victigal parsimonia* etc. The devices were united by a series of ornamental borders, and must have presented altogether an exceedingly lively and striking appearance when the colours were fresh and the other decorations of the chamber in harmony therewith ...

In the highest floor various indications of the same elaborate style of decoration were visible, as have already been described in the ceilings of the palace. A curious fragment of painting, filling an arch on one of the walls, was divided into two compartments by ornamental borders. The picture on the left represented a young man kneeling before an altar, on
which stood an open vessel amid flames, while from a dark cloud overhead, a hand issued, holding a ladle as if about to dip it into the vessel. A castellated mansion, with turrets and gables in the style of the sixteenth century, appeared in the distance; and on the top there was inscribed on a scroll the words Demum pergabitur. In the other compartment, a man of aged and venerable aspect was seen, who held in his hands a heart, which he appeared to be offering to a figure like a bird, with huge black wings. Above this were the words ... Impossible est. The whole apartment had been decorated in the same style, but only very slight remains of this were traceable on the walls. On the removal of the lath and plaster from the ceilings of the lower rooms, the beams, which were of solid oak, and the under sides of the flooring above were all covered with ornamental devices; those on the main beams being painted on three sides, and divided at short distances by fillets or bands of various patterns running round them, as shown in the woodcut at the end of this chapter.

In an apartment on the second floor of this house, an arched and painted ceiling framed in oak was accidentally discovered, elaborately decorated with a series of sacred paintings of a very curious and interesting character. A large circular compartment in the centre contains the figure of our Saviour, with a radiance round his head and his left hand resting on a royal orb. Within the encircling border are these words, in gilded Roman letters on a rich blue ground, Ego sum via veritas et vita. The paintings in the larger compartments represent Jacob's
Dream; Christ asleep in the storm; the Baptism of Christ; and the Vision of Death from the Apocalypse, surmounted by the symbols of the Evangelists. The distant landscape of the Lake of Galilee in the second picture presents an amusing anachronism. It consists of a view of Edinburgh from the north, terminating with Salisbury Crags on the left and the old Castle on the right! This pictorial licence affords a clue to the probable period of the work, which must have been executed within less than a dozen years after the renovation of the old land in 1591. The steeple of the Nether Bow Port and the old Weigh-house are introduced; the first of which was erected in the year 1606, and the latter taken down in 1660. The fifth picture, and the most curious of all, exhibits an allegorical representation, as we conceive, of the Christian life. A ship of antique form is seen in full sail, bearing on its pennon and stern the sacred symbol IHS. A crowned figure stands on the deck, looking towards a burning city in the distance, and above him the word VAE. On the mainsail is inscribed CARITAS and over the stern, which is the fashion of an ancient galley, SAPIENCI A. Death appears as a skeleton, riding on a dark horse amid the waves immediately in front of the vessel, armed with a bow and arrow which he is pointing at the figure in the ship; while a figure, similarly armed and mounted on a huge dragon, follows in its wake, entitled PERSECU TIO, and above it a winged demon, over whom is the word DIABOLUS. The stern is surmounted by an ornamental lantern with a cross on top, and inscribed with the words VERBUM DEI. Thus beset with perils there is seen in the sky a radiance surrounding the Hebrew word הוהי.
and from this symbol of the Deity a hand issues, taking hold of a line attached to the stern of the vessel. The whole series is executed with great spirit, though now much injured by damp and decay. The broad borders between the pictures are decorated with every variety of flowers, fruit, harpies, birds and fancy devices; and divide the ceiling into irregular square and round compartments, with raised and gilded stars at their intersections. This remarkable painting which we have endeavoured to describe possesses peculiar interest as a specimen of early Scottish art. It embodies, though under different forms, the leading features of the immortal allegory constructed by John Bunyan for the instruction of a later age. The Christian appears fleeing from the City of Destruction, environed still by the perils of the way, yet guided through all the malignant opposition of the powers of darkness by the unerring hand of an over-ruuling Providence. These paintings were concealed, as in similar examples previously described, by a modern, flat ceiling. ... 

Another curious relic of the decorations of the apartment, consisting of a group of musicians, which was rescued from destruction by Mr. C.K. Sharpe, may possibly have been one of the "paintit broddis" mentioned among 'the Queene Regentis Paintrie'. One of the band is playing on a lute, another on a horn etc., and all with their music books before them. Fragments of a larger but much ruder copy of the same design were discovered on the demolition of the fine old mansion of Sir William Nisbet of the Dean in 1845, which bore above its main entrance the date 1614. ... 

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