

ART. VIII – *Cumbrian wall paintings*¹

By M. E. BURKETT

INTERESTING late medieval wall and ceiling paintings survive in Cumbria but they have not received any comprehensive modern treatment. In this paper I will examine some of these in the hope that it will stimulate new discoveries and new research.

A wealth of early painted ceilings and walls still survive in Scotland² and these include fine examples from the late 12th century in Glasgow, followed by paintings of the 13th to 15th centuries, comprising in all a hundred recorded examples, many of which are still extant.

The fact that so many examples have survived in Scotland seemed to lead to the belief that they were absent from other areas of the British Isles, and I even considered that there was a specific Scandinavian influence in Scotland which accounted for the discrepancy. Yet, if painted woodwork was more common in Scotland than in England, one might have expected some influence southwards in Border areas. Perhaps this is indeed so, since the most impressive painted ceiling in Cumbria is that in the Prior's Room in Carlisle Cathedral precinct. This, by its completeness and documentation serves as a benchmark for the more fragmentary paintings discussed below.

The Prior's Room³

The Prior's Room is now considered to date from the late 15th to early 16th century.⁴ The ceiling, with its forty-five panels of paintings was inserted during the time of Prior Senhouse (1505-1520). It had been greatly obscured for many years until it was cleaned by Pauline Plummer in 1976.

One of the dominating features of the painted beams is the Senhouse crest – the popinjay – which is depicted on a red ground, either with roses and leaves from the Carlisle or Lancaster arms, or with inscriptions on scrolls “Simon Senus prior, on whose soul God have mercy”, and “Soli deo honor et gloria. Deo gracias”. There is also a personal motto, “Simon lothe to offend”.⁵ Beside these there appears the Dacre badge – a scallop shell and ragged staff knotted together.⁶

I suggested that the painting may have been undertaken by two hands as there is a difference in the handling of the motifs but as major restorations were undertaken in 1870 and 1976 it is now very difficult to be certain.

The twelve bosses at the intersections and at the ends of the beams bear symbolic references to the relevant families and also carry interesting inscriptions:

Love God and they prynce and you neydis not
dread thy enimys. Senus Pryor, lothe to offend.
Simon sennus sette yis Roofe and Scallope here.
To the intent wythin thys place they shall have
prayers every day of the yere.

and an eight line poem:

Remember man ye gret pre-emygance
 Geven unto ye by God omnipotente.
 Between ye and angels is little difference,
 And all things earthly to the obediente.
 By the byrde and beist under ye fyrmament
 Say what excuse mayest thou lay or finde
 Thus you are maid by God so Excellence
 Buttee that you aughtests again to hy, be kinde.
 Soli Deo honor et gloria. DEO GRACIAS.

This is earlier than many of the Scottish examples which mainly date from 1550-1650. It is a fine ceiling but strangely isolated.

On close examination of the ceiling it is apparent that restoration has been uneven. Of the twenty-eight popinjays painted on red, and thirty on white, there is a difference. Sometimes the birds are larger and more crudely drawn. One bird on white has been retouched and displays the tips of two wings: its feet and beak are delicately painted. Sometimes the interlacing between the 'stock' of Greystoke is fine and sinuous but on others it is smudged and clumsy. Sometimes the retouching of details is overpainted on top of the background and with others the background colours cover the motifs.

Kirkby Hall, Kirkby Ireleth⁷

Kirkby Hall, sometimes referred to as Kirkby Old Hall, was the home of the ancient family of the Kirkbys, Lords of the Manor from the 12th century until the manor was mortgaged to a banker in 1689,⁸ and which finally, towards the end of the 18th century, passed into the hands of the Cavendish family. It was believed originally to have been the site of a cross and is also known as Crosshouse in early and late medieval times. From 1719 it was a farmhouse and although it was described by Cowper *et. al.* in 1894,⁹ since then it has fallen into some decay.

The Hall faces south and stands on a platform of land approached by an avenue of oaks, beeches and sycamore. It is of large proportions with low mullioned windows and huge cylindrical chimneys. The large doorway leads directly into the old hall and from its north-west corner a little passage leads into a pantry. Above this passage is a trap-door which is the only present access to the 'chapel' in which are the wall paintings.

The room is rectangular, 7747 mm x 4343 mm, and lit by a sandstone mullioned window with three lights in the southern wall. In the north wall there are two doors; one leading into a small room with a stone seat, the other leading into a larger room. In this wall and on the side adjoining the chapel are pigeon holes, and, from the straight joints it is evident that this room was added to the main structure. There are no floor boards as these were removed in the 18th century to Holker Hall and were destroyed in the fire of 1871.¹⁰

There are traces of wall paintings on all four walls. Around the top of these to a height of 1905 mm is a frieze of quotations from the Lord's Prayer and passages from the Bible of 1535. The west wall has been altered at some stage with the addition of a fireplace but the writing can still be seen above and behind the more recent surface. Cowper did not mention this.

Below the writing on the east wall are the best preserved panels of paintings.

From left to right they are as follows:

1. The first panel (990 mm x 711 mm) has been defaced and no sign of paint remains.
2. The second panel (Plate 1) (1270 mm x 622 mm) shows two large birds under an arch with their long necks crossed over and beaks pointing downwards. They stand in front of a palm tree with splayed foliage and below the tree trunk is a small spired building rather like a tiny church or chapel. Framing the birds are two pillars, surmounted by large cushion capitals. The one on the right is more pronounced. The heads of the birds are set against a dark arch and their feet are not shown. The birds appear to be non-native storks or cranes as opposed to herons.¹¹ The pillars strongly resemble Saracen piers and the capitals are reminiscent of Eastern metalwork.¹² On the other hand the small spired building is of an apparent European style, with lattice windows which suggest a 16th century date.
3. To the right a panel (Plate 2) (1270 mm x 596 mm) contains two animals linked together at the neck by a collar. They have large clawed feet: their heads twisting back to bite their long swirling tails which are three-pronged, similar to those of the *Leucrota*, the mystical animal depicted in the *Bestiaries*.¹³ The animal on the left is about to get up and that on the right is walking. Only five of the eight feet are shown. The animals have dog-like heads but with deer's eyes, although no antlers: their necks are long and giraffe-like, and they are set against the upper part of a palm tree. On the right hand edge is another pillar.
4. At this point the main arched beam interrupts the painting and it also bears traces of a sort of chevron pattern on it. Then in the next panel (Plate 3) (1219 mm x 635 mm) is a most remarkable bird-like creature with a hooked beak, pointed ears and feathers all round its head and form, which is carrying a horse-shoe. The horse-shoe is of a date between 1400-1450.¹⁴ It is probably an ostrich, although it has feet resembling those of a camel.¹⁵ Anna Hulbert¹⁶ has observed that there is a medieval legend that the ostrich was as hard as iron and was able to eat nails – this may well explain its connection with the horseshoe. The ostrich was adopted as an emblem by Federico de Montefeltro, 15th century Duke of Urbino.¹⁷ Above the creature's head are the remains of the upper part of another palm tree, again enclosed in a horse-shoe shaped arch, as with all the others. Above the capital are two window-like rectangular shapes not visible on the first three of the pillars.
5. Then there is a panel (Plate 4) (1193 mm x 609 mm) of remarkable vitality depicting a three-storied church with porch, tiled roof, three windows and spire. Next is a large bird with raised wing and a long four-feathered tail which has been identified by Nigel Harris as a *Bustard*.¹⁸ On its right, an egret-like bird with opened beak appearing to peck at the larger bird's back. This bird closely resembles the crested egret found in Indian and other Oriental decoration of the 14th century, and which picks insects from the backs of other birds or animals. A picture of a *Benu* or *Egret* comes down from an Egyptian papyrus and appeared in the *Bestiaries*.¹⁹ Behind is a palm tree and above the horse-shoe shaped arch surrounding it.
6. The next panel – lower part missing – (1270 mm x 558 mm) is largely defaced and only shows a palm tree and horse-shoe shaped arch, with trefoil head as before.
7. The next area (1346 mm x 1219 mm) is totally defaced.

The repeated motifs throughout the panels are palm trees not peacock feathers as previously described by Cowper and others.²⁰ Their stems are picked out in grey and



PLATE 1. Kirkby Hall – two large birds.



PLATE 2. Kirkby Hall – two large animals.



PLATE 3. Kirkby Hall – bird-like creature with horseshoe



PLATE 4. Kirkby Hall – church-like building and bird.



PLATE 5. Kirkby Hall – horseshoe shaped arch and cushion capital.

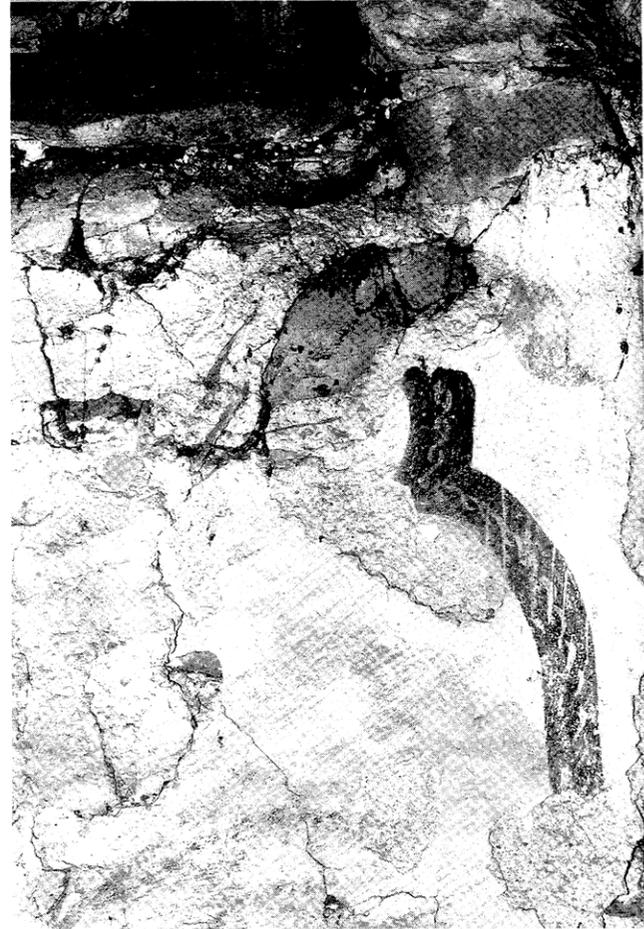


PLATE 6. Kirkby Hall – remains of arch with cable pattern.

the foliage is depicted variously, with flowers, leaves and fruit suggested: the fruit, in burnt sienna criss-crossed with white resemble pineapples.

The pillars and horse-shoe archways at the sides of the trees are very similar to Moslem architecture in style and, together with the Middle Eastern metalwork type capitals, clearly suggest Oriental inspiration.

Below each panel is a chequered pattern in black and white, of dog-tooth design. It tapers out in panels 6 and 7.

On the upper part of the frieze are frontal lions' heads in burnt sienna and black and white, with clearly painted features. Lion's heads images are used frequently in painting and particularly in heraldry because of their reputation as the mightiest of beasts. They signified courage, were proud and free, and, with their reputed power over death and constant 'vigilance' became a Christ-like symbol. They are often to be found flanking pillars as guards.²¹

The west wall, opposite the main paintings, although bearing some colour, has had a fireplace added and the paintings were presumably destroyed. The fragmentary remaining paint on this wall appears to be contemporary with the other paint but traces are slight.

There are, however, two remaining areas of colour (Plate 5). The first at the northern end shows traces of a horse-shoe shaped arch, cushion capital below and a fragment of a lion's head above it. A little of the palm tree is still visible. There are small concentric circles in black and white painted in the arch. More central to the wall is the second painting (Plate 6) where only the remains of another right-hand side portion of an arch are visible, in black with a white cable pattern on it, and faint traces of another lion's head.



PLATE 7. Kirkby Hall – north wall with palm and frieze.

On the north wall are the remains of a very freely painted palm tree. The left-hand edge appears to have been cut at the pillar by the door into the smallest chamber in the back north-west corner of this room (Plate 7).

The colours of the walls in the room are black, white and brown, with lighter and darker tones mixed with white or black. The latter is a pigment of lamp black, which is made from soot and is greasy. When mixed with white it becomes dark bluey-black, rather than the black derived from charcoal. The white is lime and the wall was probably painted with white lime laid on by a big brush before the colours were added. The brown is an iron oxide of the burnt sienna family²². There is a possibility that the room was used for secular purposes. The Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments make it appear to have been a chapel but there are examples of secular buildings employing religious decoration e.g. Windsor, Westminster, and Salford Manor, Avon.²³ Alternatively the building could possibly have been a Protestant Priest's hole in the reign of Queen Mary. The small recessed room in the corner has a seat and might have had a piscina at the outer edge. The room at the back, though added to the original structure, could have been the priest's living room.

Cross Hill, St Bees²⁴

A further example of wall painting most probably dating from the 16th century is to be found at Cross Hill, the birthplace of Edmund Grindal, later to become Archbishop of Canterbury.

The house, sometimes referred to as 19 and 20 Finkle Street, was built between 1500 and 1520. The property was owned by the Benedictine Priory of St Bees which was dissolved in 1539. The house then went through the hands of various owners until it was bought in 1983 by Mr and Mrs Carr, who have restored it with sensitivity. During the restoration of the hall fragments of wall paintings were found on four walls. Two panels to the right and to the left of the west facing window have been retained and show a little of what must have been a fine painted room.

The animal on the right (Plate 8) is a grotesque with wings and curvilinear tail though much of it is covered in plaster. That on the left (Plate 9) is another, more bull-like monster but the hands on each are human. Paul Barker suggests that the two animals are a griffin and a winged bull²⁵ but I support the view that they are grotesques with long swirling tails and of possible Italian origin.²⁶ They are not frescoes, which were painted on wet plaster but seccoes, painted with some form of animal size onto dry lime-washed-plaster. The only colour which now remains is black, and the plaster is discoloured.

Scales Hall²⁷

This is a splendid 15/16th century house approximately three miles west of Calthwaite. In 1992 David Bennett-Jones found a set of painted floor/ceiling boards (Plate 10) in an upper bedroom, under the present floor boards and which must have served as a ceiling in a previous period, either in the room below or in another context. They were located, paintings upwards but with a new floor above and a new



PLATE 8A. Cross Hill – grotesque/griffin (Photograph by C. D. Turner).

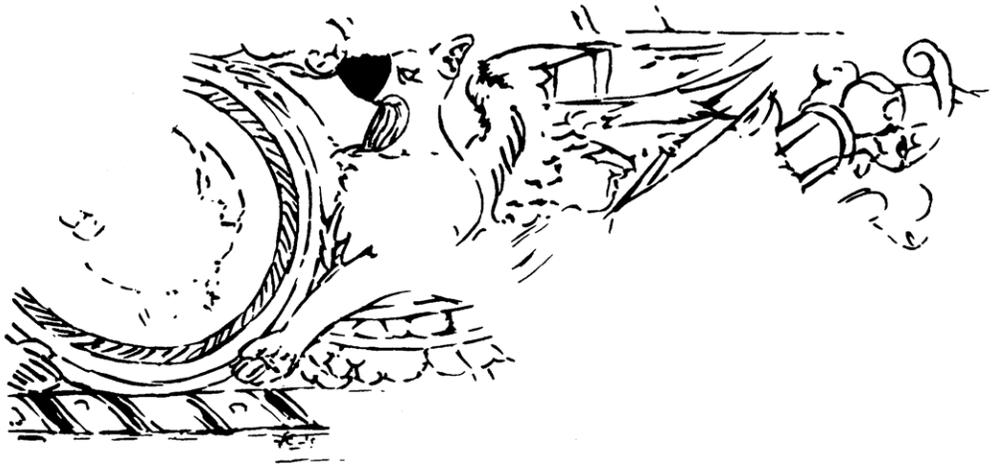


PLATE 8B. Cross Hill – drawing of detail of grotesque/griffin by Paul Barker (1983).

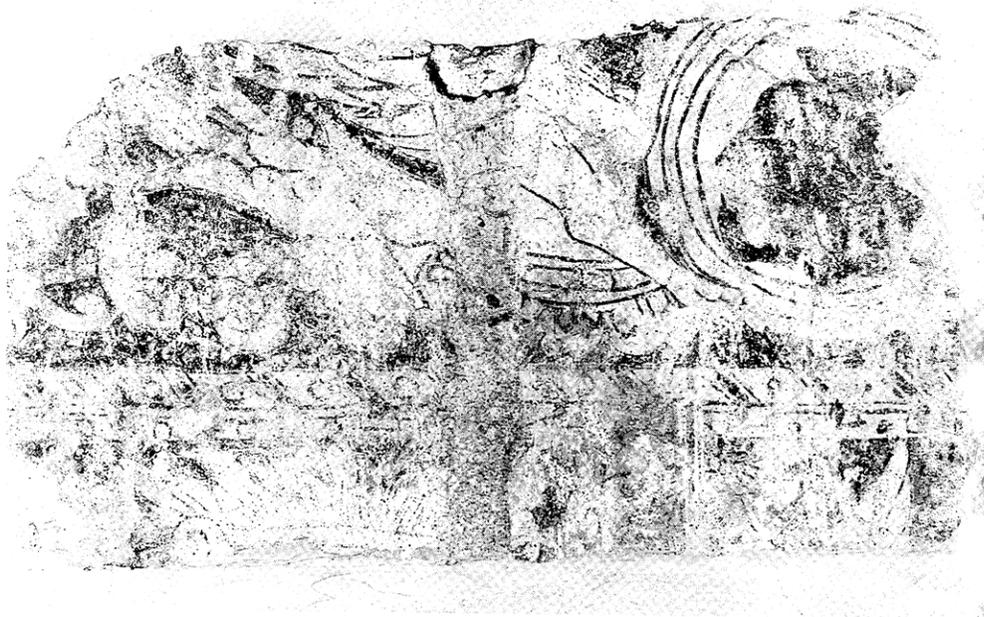


PLATE 9. Cross Hill – bull-like creature.



PLATE 10. Scales Hall – detail (Photograph by D. Bennett-Jones)

ceiling below so they must have been hidden from view for several centuries. They consist of floral and plant motifs and are similar to some at Lanercost but they are in monochrome as at Earlshall in Fife.

Lanercost

The history of Lanercost and Dacre Hall need not be fully rehearsed here.²⁸

In 1542, the property came from the Crown into the hands of Sir Thomas Dacre as a reward for military service and was probably decorated with the paintings whose remains can be seen today, after he took up residence in 1559. It reverted to the Crown in 1716 when James, the last Dacre of Lanercost, died. It was then used as a dwelling place until in 1869 the 9th Earl of Carlisle bought it. His daughter, Lady Cecilia Roberts, retained the Hall after the remainder of the Priory was given to the Nation. Lady Cecilia died in 1947 and, in 1952, the Earl of Carlisle and Mr Charles H. Roberts, who had inherited it, gave this part of the building to the people of Lanercost as a Village Hall under a Special Trust.

An early description of the Hall is given by R. S. and C. J. Ferguson:²⁹

In the time of Christopher Dacre this room must have been a fine hall, being about a hundred feet in length; although only eighteen feet wide in its narrowest part, at the north end it widened out considerably. A portion of the decoration remains and can be distinguished under the whitewash at the north end; it shows the remains of a bold frieze of cinque-cento work, consisting of ornaments in circular panels, with a bold leaf ornament, all in distemper, on what now at all events shows as a very delicate natural tint on a white ground. Towards the window the remains of a figure in armour can be traced below the frieze, indicating and showing that the decoration was similar to what in earlier times would have been wrought in tapestry work, and representing the scenes of some minstrel's gallery. Traces of ornament can also be distinguished on the underside of the oak beams of the windows, and in various other parts of the hall. The lower portion of the hall would probably be pannelled in oak, similar to the room at the North end.

At the north end of the large upper hall adjacent to the old Scriptorium there used to be a raised dais. This has now been removed and a staircase emerges under the north wall. On this are the remains of the wall paintings referred to by Ferguson. Minor traces of paint still occur in a few places on the west and east walls but they are so damaged that the north wall is the only one which indicates the former richness of the decoration. Also underneath the beam of the window on the east wall adjoining the north wall is a well preserved portion where the colour has retained more of its original strength than elsewhere, again referred to by Ferguson.

Most of the decoration has deteriorated greatly, the mural is divided horizontally into two bands of decoration, 5721 mm long and 1334 mm deep for the upper one and 5791 mm x 2032 mm for the lower (Plate 11).

The upper band, from the right, shows traces of classical urns, floral motifs and fragments of a figure. Next comes a boar's head with extended tongue, under an arch and surrounded by a few floral motifs. This is followed by an undecipherable patch. Then there is a small cherub with one wing and holding a bow and arrow, the left arm and hand are clearly visible. It has a curling tail as of a grotesque. There follows a blank area until another boar's head can be seen.

The lower right-hand side of the frieze shows some foliage followed by traces of stone-shell decoration. Above this, to the left, is a horned instrument and below it the remains of another figure as evidenced by a fragment of arm and hand.

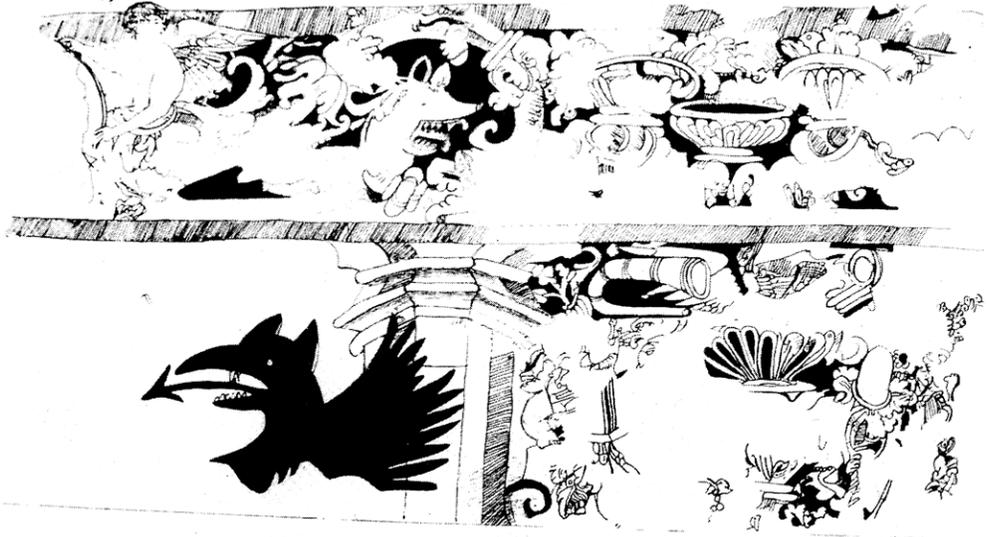


PLATE 11. Lanercost – north wall detail drawn by J. Robinson.

Succeeding this is a column and capital over part of which has been painted a griffin/dragon rampant's head and wings in reddish brown and black. (Mr Moses, the care-taker, remembers when he was a boy the colours appearing much brighter). The griffin/dragon appears to be, at first sight, over-painted but this is unlikely.

The closest parallels to the painting under the window alcove are at Huntingtower Castle in Perthshire. Here a fine painted ceiling and wall paintings of *c.* 1540 were discovered when plaster work was removed in 1913. It is believed to be the earliest of Scottish tempera painted ceilings in existence. The painting of the ceiling is drawn in black on a white background in ornamental knotwork patterns. Designs on the joists are carried out in (a) black and white on a yellow ground; (b) black and white on red; and (c) white on a black ground. On the beams there are leafwork, fruit, scrolls and zoo-morphic patterns. A hound, a dragonsque head, a human headed lion, foliage and strap work appear on the west side. Further paintwork can be traced in the window above the west wall and includes a hare, foliage, a human figure and an angel.³⁰ The style is very similar to the paintings at Lanercost.

Isel Hall³¹

Downstairs in the oak room are nine panels of oak, six measuring 40 x 27.5 cm., and three 40 x 27 cm. All are painted but one has had a marquetry shield cut into the former painted one. The six above the door are painted ovals containing crests, while the three to the right portray figures.

Upper row

1. Appears to be a bat under a golden coronet with red balls.

2. Two birds or martlets under a similar coronet.
3. A small golden harp on a red ground under a crown.

Lower row

1. Indecipherable shield under a coronet.
2. The Lawson crest inserted in marquetry over a former painted shield, now indecipherable (The Lawsons came to Isel in 1570).
3. Indecipherable shield with crown above.

The three figures on the right, from top to bottom

1. A girl with a full skirt and her right arm raised and perhaps holding something in her left.
2. A young woman in a long, light coloured dress and carrying a bunch of flowers. She appears to be standing by a tree.
3. A man resting his right arm on a plinth.

Upstairs in the oak bedroom are eleven painted panels. The four on the top row and the four on the lower row measure 39 x 27 cms, while the three in the middle row measure 64 x 37 cms. On some of the panels there appears to have been a written inscription along the upper edge.

Upper row

1. A young woman in a long dress, perhaps dancing.
2. A man.
3. A woman with a long red skirt, in front of a fire.
4. A man in armour.

Middle row

5. A figure wearing a hat with his arm outstretched.
6. Marquetry inlay of W. L. and M. L. with the Lawson arms in the centre (Plate 12). Wilfred Lawson married Maud (Matilda) Redmain (formerly wife of Thomas Leigh) in 1572/3.³²
7. Man, possibly in chain mail.

Lower row

8. Only ground and feet visible, with green foliage.
9. Figure of a man, *tempus* Henry VIII, wearing a ruff, sash and ornament, and green sleeves (Plate 13).
10. Man wearing a wide Tudor doublet and hose.
11. A figure indecipherable.

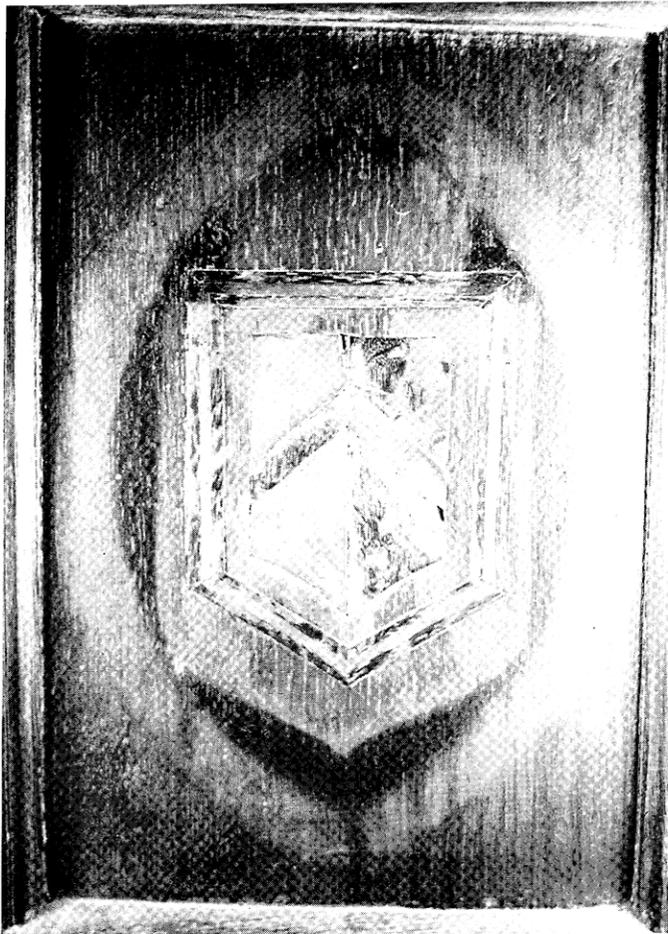


PLATE 12. Isel Hall – marquetry inlay.



PLATE 13. Isel Hall – figure of man.

Where figures are shown the ground pigment has remained most visible. Panels 9 and 10 are the clearest and vestiges of blue, yellow, green and red can be seen but some panels are badly defaced.

It is possible that the figures could have been either copied from book illustrations, contemporary woodcuts, or be of masque figures.

In the large bedroom, in the alcove to the right of the chimney, are further oak panels bearing arms relating to the Lawson family.

The Ashes, Raughton Head

This house, a Grade II listed building was being restored by its owners in 1974 when they came across traces of wall paintings in an upper room. It was possible only to preserve one fragment (546 mm x 698 mm) (Plate 14). It is damaged but retains traces of floral decoration and in the centre is a dog's head. The painting of the secco is in lamp black which now appears a pale bluish grey. The surface is thin and the hard red sandstone emerges at several points but is not dressed.

In late medieval times hunting scenes were commonly depicted on tapestries and often they were beautifully drawn, with accurate observation and great skill in execution. The landscape was idyllic and the animals not drawn in true perspective. It was an age of chivalry in decline when the brutality of former habits of the chase was giving way to the poetic stylization of the whole scene. A Chatsworth Flemish



PLATE 14. The Ashes – detail of dog's head (Photograph by C. L. Randall).

tapestry of c. 1450, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, shows a Roe deer hunt and the dogs in the tapestry may be compared with the one at Raughton Head.

Little is known of the history of the house save that it was believed to be a hunting lodge in Inglewood Forest. It would appear to be of the 15th/16th century, and in the lower hall are very fine carved beams or a "beaded ceiling" of oak. In the absence of a detailed survey of timberwork in Cumbrian buildings it is difficult to date the beams with certainty but they compare well with those in the extended range to the pele tower at Isel which are thought to be *tempus* Henry VIII.

Discussion

The exotic animals and birds seem to reflect the popularity of the *Physiologus* or Bestiary, which, although a pagan Greek text, was later translated into Latin and was widely esteemed by early Christian scholars. It was known in England in the Anglo-Saxon period as evidenced both in the poems in the Exeter Book and in sculptures such as the cross from Melbury Bubb in Dorset.³³ Also in the 10th and 11th centuries, illustrated manuscripts³⁴ testify to a new interest in exotic people, monsters and decorative plant motifs, which were combined under the heading "The Marvels of the East". Both of these texts, the Bestiaries and the Marvels of the East, remain as potent sources of inspiration for allegory in literature and painting through the Middle Ages and beyond. From Sassanian times (3rd-7th centuries A.D.) onwards the Middle East had supplied the West with images of exotic birds, beasts and plants through the export of fine textiles and metalwork, and even when translated into indigenous art the oriental style is discernible especially when, as here, one is concerned with the creatures derived from the Bestiaries or the Marvels.

The oriental motifs found at Kirkby Hall are intriguing. Such images frequently appear on tapestries and other artefacts from the Orient. It is possible that decorated artefacts were imported by a member of the family at Kirkby Hall returning, perhaps from pilgrimages. Religious ideas were constantly coming west through Rome from the 9th century onwards, with their associated artistic influences. Perhaps a tapestry brought home might have provided the inspiration and have been copied in paint on the wall.

At St Bees, the grotesques are suggestive of an Italian origin and the renewed popularity of such motifs seems to have derived from the discovery, in 1490, of Nero's Palace in Rome. When this was excavated, the underground grotto revealed wall paintings of curious mythical beasts whose reproduction became the height of fashion in Italy. Because they were found in a grotto the name of 'grotesque' has persisted. Sometimes with bird type faces, sometimes human faces, these strange creatures decorated high society villas in Rome in the early part of the 16th century and spread to the west. The connection between St Bees and Rome could well have come via Archbishop Grindal.

The perception of motifs and even styles of ornament, in particular of fabulous beasts, as deriving from the traditions of the Near and Far East has been widespread in Western art, continuing from the Middle Ages. The most recent consideration by Isabel Henderson³⁵ concerns the fabulous animals in Pictist art and she concludes, as

I do, that a variety of such influences were absorbed and translated into their own idiom by insular artists.

These fragments of early painted decoration in our Cumbrian houses are only a vestige of what must once have existed.³⁶ They are an important legacy of decorative art which was both didactic and colourfully exotic, combining the influences of the ancient Orient with those of the classical and Christian West. It is to be hoped that more evidence of this type remains for future discovery.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to the owners of all the properties mentioned for allowing me to publish this article. I should like to thank, in particular, the tenants of Kirkby Hall, the late Mr Coward and Mrs Coward, for their kindness and hospitality over the years on my many visits.

Notes and References

- ¹ The properties at Raughton Head and Scales Hall are in private hands and the owners do not wish publicity. Their privacy must be respected. Also Kirkby Hall may not be visited. It is, however, possible to visit Isel, Lanercost and St Bees with due notice and permission.
- ² M. R. Apted, *The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650* (H.M.S.O., 1966).
- ³ See J. H. Martindale, "Notes on the Deanery, Carlisle", *CW2*, vii, 188-192.
- ⁴ D. R. Perriam and J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* CW Extra Series XXIX (1998), 79.
- ⁵ Canon Bower, "Mural and other Painted Decorations in the Diocese of Carlisle", *CW1*, xv, 14.
- ⁶ J. H. Martindale, *op. cit.*, 192.
- ⁷ See H. S. Cowper, H. Barber and L. R. Ayre, "Wall Paintings at Kirkby Hall", *CW1*, xiii, 287-290 and for details of the hall generally see D. R. Perriam and J. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 386.
- ⁸ R. S. Boumphrey, C. Roy Huddleston and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* (1975), 177f.
- ⁹ H. S. Cowper, H. Barber and L. R. Ayre, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ Personal communication from Lord Cavendish.
- ¹¹ T. H. White, *White's Bestiary of Medieval Animals* (London, 1954), 117.
- ¹² Barbara Blend, *Islamic Art* (British Museum Press, 1991), 91.
- ¹³ T. H. White, *op. cit.*, 65.
- ¹⁴ Personal communication from Anna Hulbert, restorer of wall paintings, Oxon.
- ¹⁵ T. H. White, *op. cit.*, 121.
- ¹⁶ Personal communication from Anna Hulbert.
- ¹⁷ Federico de Urbino (1444-1482) was a brilliant representative of the princely order with high moral principles, ruler of territory, and spent his own money so as to reduce taxes. He gave much employment and was greatly loved by his subjects. He was a great builder and his palace, with its celebrated library, was of classical splendour. A keen devotee of his local monastery and interested in religion and scholarship, he was called 'light of Italy'. He was made a Knight of the Garter by Edward IV in 1474. J. Burchhardt, *Civilization of Renaissance Italy* (London, 1944).
- ¹⁸ Personal communication from Nigel Harris.
- ¹⁹ T. H. White, *op. cit.*, 258.
- ²⁰ H. S. Cowper, H. Barbour and L. R. Ayre, *op. cit.*
- ²¹ Isabel Henderson, *Pictish Monsters: Symbol, Text and Image* (C.U.P., 1997), 7.
- ²² Personal communication from Anna Hulbert.
- ²³ E. Clive Rouse, *Medieval Wall Painting* (1901), 26.
- ²⁴ For a detailed history of the house see these *Transactions*, 185-194.
- ²⁵ Personal communication from Paul Barker.
- ²⁶ Personal communication from Anna Hulbert.

- ²⁷ See *CW2*, xxxii, 80-83; D. R. Perriam and J. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 218.
- ²⁸ See John M. Todd (ed.) *The Lanercost Cartulary* (1997); D. R. Perriam and J. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 161; and R. S. and C. J. Ferguson, *A Short Historical and Architectural Account of Lanercost* (London and Carlisle, 18--); John R. H. Moorman, *Lanercost Priory* (1976 edition).
- ²⁹ R. S. and C. J. Ferguson, *op. cit.*
- ³⁰ J. S. Richardson, *Huntingtower Castle* (HMSO, 3rd edition 1982), 9-11.
- ³¹ I have been kindly assisted by P. J. Pollitt in this research at Isel Hall. For details of Isel Hall see D. R. Perriam and J. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 16 and J. F. Curwen, "Isel Hall", *CW2*, xi, 122-128.
- ³² J. F. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 123-4.
- ³³ S. A. J. Bradley (ed. and transl.), *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1982), 352-7; R. C. Cramp, "Anglo-Saxon Sculptures of the Reform Period" in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth Century Studies* (London, 1975, pl. xxi.
- ³⁴ B.L., Cotton Vitellius A. XV, 10th century; B.L., Cotton Tib. B.V. 11th century.
- ³⁵ Isabel Henderson, *op. cit.*
- ³⁶ A further example, not discussed here, appears above the Harrington tomb in Cartmel Priory. The paintings were restored by Anna Hulbert in 1986 and were dealt with by J. C. Dickinson, "The Harrington Tomb at Cartmel Priory Church", *CW2*, lxxxv, 116-122.