

XI.

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MURAL DECORATIONS AT THE HOUSE OF KINNEIL, BO'NESS, WEST LOTHIAN. BY JAMES S. RICHARDSON, F.S.A.Scot., H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland.

Read March 10, 1941.

During the reign of James V. the close connection between the Scottish Royal Court and that of France had a marked influence on the plastic art and architecture of Scotland. In the process of borrowing from France, no one played a more important part than Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, the King's Master of Works, who had spent some time at the French Court. This French influence lasted until the Reformation, when the Low Countries with the Baltic towns supplied another avenue of Renaissance inspiration.

The early period of the Classic Renaissance style dates in France from about 1461. It was, however, during the reign of Francis I (1515-47) that this particular phase in art became more pronounced, about which time it was introduced into Scotland and adopted by craftsmen in stone and wood, some of whom at least had been trained on the Continent. Within a short period it had taken root, was emerging in a bold and opulent way, and assimilating, to some extent, the native character. This Franco-Scottish style reflected, in no uncertain manner, the minds that controlled and the hands that carried out the work of providing surroundings for those nurtured in a life of feasting, banqueting, and all the other delights and pleasures of courtly and social exuberance. To this influence and age belong the King's Palace at the Castle of Stirling,¹ part of the buildings at the House of Falkland, and the King's Fountain within the close of the Palace of Linlithgow.² At these monuments can be seen the work of sculptors in stone—in the form of figure, medallion, corbel and pillar display—and in our museums examples of the wood carver's art which have been taken from their original settings. These artist-craftsmen delighted in depicting portrait heads of kings, queens, courtiers, warriors, and mythical heroes set within wreaths or medallions, conventional foliage, dolphin's heads, scrolls and heraldic devices. In wood craftsmanship, to this category belong the famous "Stirling Heads,"³ which

¹ Official Guide, The Castle of Stirling, p. 10.

² Official Guide, The Palace of Linlithgow, pp. 5, 15.

³ Lacunar Strevelineuse, *A Collection of Heads . . . in Stirling Castle* (Edin., 1817).

once formed the bold enrichments of the oak ceiling in the King's Presence Chamber at his royal house on the Castle rock at Stirling. Also, belonging to this period, are the four portrait busts on panels from a screen made for the hall at the Castle of Killochan¹ in Ayrshire. These, set in panelling of a slightly later date, are now in the National Museum of Antiquities.

The House, or Palace of Kinneil, on the western outskirts of the Burgh of Bo'ness, was built at the instance of James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran, whose bastard brother and tutor was Sir James Hamilton of Finnart. The Earl married in 1532 Margaret, daughter of James Douglas, 3rd Earl of Morton. In 1536 he accompanied King James V to France, and after the death of that king became Protector and Governor of Scotland during the minority of Mary, Queen of Scots, a post which he held from December 1542 to April 1554.

Henry II, King of France, the Scottish queen's royal father-in-law, granted Arran the Duchy of Châtelhérault, and on the 6th July 1548, at Dijon, conferred on the Scottish Earl the commission to receive the oath of the Order of St Michael and gave him the collar and jewel of the Order. After his return to Scotland, and during the troublesome times that followed, the Earl had to seek refuge in France where he remained for five years, coming back to his native country in 1569, to find that his palace at Hamilton and other residences which he had built and furnished liberally out of the national exchequer had been either burnt or damaged. In a contemporary record, in the form of a letter,² there is a statement, that "the Duke's houses of Kinneil and Linlithgow are demolished by powder," but this statement should not be taken too literally. As far as Kinneil is concerned, any such damage would be confined to the Tower or main building, which was of a semi-fortified nature.

In 1538 Arran began to build the palace of Hamilton, and, a few years later, the work at Kinneil claimed his attention. This latter enterprise, however, appears to have extended over a considerable period, and for some time after the execution in 1540 of Hamilton of Finnart, the Earl's kinsman and adviser. From 1546 to 1550 large sums were spent on building and furnishing the tower at Kinneil,³ and in 1553 the foundation of the Palace,⁴ *i.e.* the eastern wing, was laid. This house, situated by the Forth, and within three miles of the Royal Palace of Linlithgow, was incidentally one which the young queen could visit when on an excursion to the seashore.

The mansion occupies a site on the raised sea-beach overlooking the estuary of the Forth and has a prospect of the lands and hills beyond and the more distant Grampians. The buildings stand close to the eastern edge of a narrow and steep ravine. The main building is the

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. lxxiii. p. 324.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-1571, p. 257.

³ *Accts. Lord High Treasurer*, vol. ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 207.

oldest part. It is in the form of a large oblong tower, five storeys high, with the front facing east. Close to its north end is situated the palace, begun in 1553, a long three-storeyed wing extending eastward and terminating in crow-stepped gables, one facing east and the other north. Alterations were carried out during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when two storeys were added to a low north wall, windows were built up and others were introduced into the building. In or about 1677 a reorganisation took place when the 1st Duke of Hamilton had the interior arrangement of the tower and its tower-head reset, adding a pavilion to each end. That to the south contained a main stairway and a service turnpike, the other, also furnished with a turnpike, incorporated existing masonry connecting the tower with the north-eastern wing. Alterations were made in the fenestration of the front of the tower, and certain modifications were carried out on windows of the north-east wing. The original fixed leaded lights and iron casements were replaced by astragalled sash-and-case windows of wood, such as at that time were coming into fashion in Scotland. In this late readjustment the Regent's great armorial of stone was preserved in the part of the wall incorporated in the north pavilion. A housing for a panel of similar dimensions was made in the south pavilion, but the coat-of-arms intended for it seems never to have been provided.

By 1936, seven years after the publication of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments' tenth report with the inventory of monuments and constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian (1929), the building had passed into the hands of the Town Council of Bo'ness. In that year the Council sold to a house-breaker the right to demolish and take away whatever he wished. By the end of the summer the house of Kinneil had been wrecked, and the last phase of destruction was reached. The north-east wing had been unroofed, the gables taken down in part, and the floor joists were in the final stage of dountaking and removal. Attention having been called to this state of affairs, I visited the monument with Mr Stanley Cursiter, Director of the National Gallery, who had received from a correspondent intimation that traces of decoration had been noted where old plaster was exposed. The evidence which we saw was sufficient to justify the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works taking immediate action, and, by an arrangement with the Town Council of Bo'ness, the part of the building which contained two rooms exhibiting traces of mural decoration was taken over under guardianship on behalf of the nation. The Town Council gave every assistance by recovering from the house-breaker a coffered oak ceiling removed from one of the rooms, and by setting up the temporary protections necessary to safeguard the painted plaster from the weather. The first measure undertaken by the Ancient Monuments Department was to restore the gables and

slated roof over the part of the building with which it is concerned, the next was to reset the sixteenth century coffered ceiling, to uncover, and patch where necessary, the plaster surface, and apply preservative treatment to the decorations. These delicate operations were in the hands of the Department's specialist¹ and have resulted in a noteworthy achievement of patience and skill. To-day the history of art in Scotland is the richer by possessing, *in situ*, the most important example of early domestic mural decoration so far discovered in the country.

The undertaking has now been completed, and, to produce the appropriate effect, the windows of the two rooms in question have been furnished with leaded lights and iron casements in the original style and the floors are paved with stone. To ensure the condition of the exhibits a heating system has been introduced.

A few fragments of sixteenth century ceiling boards were fortunately recovered from the "lumber" collected for burning by the contractor, but others, unfortunately, had already gone to the fire. These, along with fragments of later decorated plaster which had been removed in uncovering the earlier painting in the vaulted northern room, are now exhibited in the room above this chamber.

The great stone armorial² representing the ducal arms of Châtelhérault was also handed over by the Local Authority. It has been taken down from the pavilion wall, cleaned, repaired, and set up for exhibition in the south vault of the ground floor. The shields represented are those of the Governor³ and his Lady.⁴ Each shield is ensigned with a ducal coronet, and the dexter shield, that of the Duke, is encircled by the collar of the Cockle with the jewel of the Order of St Michael attached. The Arms are: Quarterly, 1st and 4th three cinquefoils; 2nd and 3rd a lymphad with flag at the masthead. The other shield is within a *cordelière*⁵ of eight knots, and on it are the Arms of the Duchess—*Dexter* Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Arran; *Sinister*: on a chief two mullets for Douglas of Morton. Below each shield is a supporter couched, that under the Governor's shield being an antelope gorged with a ducal coronet and chained. Below the other arms is the Douglas supporter: a wodehouse, holding a bludgeon in his left hand. The achievements are enclosed in an architectural setting representing a colonnade rising from a podium containing two panels. The Regent's motto "THROUGH," on a pelta-shaped tablet, is set alongside a carved representation of a frame-saw. His lady's motto

¹ Mr John Houston, F.S.A.Scot., Architectural Assistant.

² The stone measures 6 feet 4 inches high by 4 feet 6 inches wide.

³ *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, Stevenson and Wood, vol. ii. p. 391. The second seal of the Governor shows the collar and jewel of St Michael encircling the shield. This seal is attached to a Charter dated May 8, 1552.

⁴ *Scottish Armorial Seals*, Macdonald, p. 88, No. 731. The seal of the Duchess on a document dated 1560 shows the shield within a *lac d'amour*. Laing, vol.-i. No. 406.

⁵ The *cordelière* encircles the arms of a wife or widow.

“SICKAR” is on a similar tablet, beside which a fetherlock is shown. The saw and the lock each represent a rebus. The respective mottoes thus read “SAW THROUGH” and “LOCK SICKAR” (sure). The arms have been tintured and the rest of the composition painted.

The two rooms which form the background of this communication are situated on the first or principal floor of the north-east wing, and occupy a position at the eastern limit of the building, the one being set behind the other on an axis running north and south. The south room, now reset to its original arrangement, measures 20 feet 6 inches long by 17 feet 6 inches wide, and is 16 feet high. There have been two entrances, one in the west wall, the other in the north, and both near the N.W. corner of the room. The fireplace is in the middle of the east wall with a large window to the north and a garderobe doorway to the south. In the south wall is a large window, which is not central but nearer the east wall. The wall surfaces are covered with a thin coating of mortar-plaster, except at the margins of the doorways, the fireplace and the splayed window ingoes, where the dressed stonework is exposed. The soffits of the segmental arches at the windows are also unplastered. This room contains the coffered oak ceiling (Pl. XXXV), which is set in a pattern framework of mitred ribs composed of small and various mouldings, some of which have been painted in black to imitate ebony inlay. The whole is set on oaken boards, which show traces of outlining with bands of red paint, and there are small decorations in the same colour at the outer angles of the panels. In its character the ceiling shows a marked Italian influence, for which prototypes are to be found in the Palace of Fontainebleau in the galleries designed by the Italian architects at the Court of Francis I. Two other ceilings of this kind—not, however, so pronounced in their pattern arrangements—are to be seen in the second floor of the James V tower at the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

The north vaulted room is 20 feet long by 15 feet wide, the springer line of the barrel vault is 9 feet from the floor, and the crown 15 feet. The entrance is in the west wall at the south end. Another doorway in this wall gives access to a mural garderobe, and between these is a wall recess with a segmental arched head, in which probably stood a buffet. A large window occupies the central space of the north wall and one of lower dimensions to the north of a central fireplace in the east wall. The communicating doorway in the south partition wall abuts the entrance doorway first mentioned which leads from a turnpike stair; as in the south room, there are stone margins round the windows, doorways, and fireplace. Both rooms overlooked a garden which had been liberally planted out with flowers¹ and shrubs² brought from the Duke's Palace at Hamilton,

¹ *Accs. Lord High Treasurer*, vol. x. p. 174.

² *Ibid.*, p. 144. Trees were obtained from Holyroodhouse, Fife, Strathearn, and the Carse of Gowrie.

and therefore it seems likely on this account that they were the private chambers of the Lady of the House.

In the period with which we are concerned, the royal, episcopal, and baronial residences were to some extent furnished with wall coverings of tapestry imported from the factories at Arras, Tournai, Brussels, and Antwerp. Many of these were designed by well-known artists of the period, or show influences of their work, the cartoons being prepared by artisan draughtsmen trained in schools of design connected with tapestry factories. As the hangings were for the most part of large size, the scale of the figure-work and detail was correspondingly large, and in most cases the composition was of a compact nature. It was not unusual for the author to label each subject portrayed with an appropriate inscription in verse and to weave the names of the persons represented into their garments.

Conforming to the fashion in architecture of this period, the designs produced for tapestries were a blending of the Italianate style and the so-called Gothic tapestry tradition—illustrating a transition in style, which was adopted by the school of Flemish cartoon painters who collaborated with Jean Van Roome¹ and the de Camps and which marked the last milestone of the true spirit of tapestry art. Architectural framework and buildings in the foreground show, in exaggerated perspective, pillar, lintel, and arch compositions, which, strictly speaking, cannot be analysed in terms of pure classic detail but are, nevertheless, allied in a figurative manner to the Orders of Architecture.

In the background compositions, the landscapes of trees and rugged crags, the castles set up on high, the clustered towers and gables of houses rising within walled-towns, follow the common tradition so well known in pictures, engravings, and woodcuts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The foreground assemblage of verdure and flowers displays the conventional portrayal of the time. The persons depicted are dressed in the garments of the period, the warriors in pseudo-classic armour.

The range of subjects is wide, but they can be classified in some half-dozen main categories, such as the Old and New Testaments, Classical Histories and Mythologies, Mediæval Moralities, Allegories, and tales of Chivalry and Romance. Besides these, subjects were chosen from Hunting, Military, other genre types, and also from the Months and Seasons. The fashion for verdures with and without animals and birds was very popular. From Scottish Royal inventories² it is easy to judge the number of tapestries, and the subjects most favoured.

¹ *Apollo*, vol. xxii., No. 127, p. 32.

² *Accts. Royal Household*, H.M. Reg. Ho. "The Creation of the World," "Auld Testament and New," "Solomon"; "The Story of Susanna," "Reboam," "Maliese," "Percuis," "Tobias," "Story of Troy," "Aneas," "Hercules," "Marcus Coriolanus," "Apis and ither Beasts," "The Unicorn," and "The Story of the Tryumphand Dames."

It was usual to have a *tapissier* in attendance in the Royal Household, and King James V brought one with him from France in 1538, to look after the royal collection of tapestries and other hangings.¹ This was "Gilzeame, tapistre," who, "at the King's command, to mak him, his wiff and barins reddy to pas in Scotland witht his grace,"² received the sum of twenty crowns. During Queen Mary's reign three such men are named in the household accounts—Nicolas Carbonier,³ David Lieges,⁴ and Peir Martin.⁵

In cases where tapestries could not be afforded, imitations in water paint were sometimes produced on the plaster surfaces. Such decorations were probably the work of master *tapissiers*, and resembled the large cartoons which were supplied to the tapestry weavers for copying on the looms.

In the Kinneil mural decorations of the Governor's time the pigments used are: black, confined to line drawing; white, applied in washes; grey tints used in shading and for a ground wash, and russet-red for the infilling and background. Ochre is employed sparingly for emphasizing hair, the heraldic supporters, the collar and jewel of the Order of St Michael, and generally for animals and birds entwined in the foliaceous scrolls.

The brushwork was applied on the plaster surface when the ground was still damp, and, as this is uneven in places or gritty owing to particles of sand in the mortar composition, the artist, when making the bold and sweeping outlines of his composition, found difficulty in obtaining a fluent line with his brush, and was forced to retouch in places. A careful inspection shows that the cartoonist used a style to make incised hair lines on the plaster to coincide with the major outlines of his compositions. These slightly formed indentations suggest that they were made in transferring the design to the plaster, or alternatively they were formed when transferring the compositions on the wall, in the process of producing patterns for tapestry weavers.

THE SOUTH OR PARABLE ROOM.

The decoration in this room gives the impression of an assemblage of large tapestry cartoons, each one related to its particular wall surface yet forming part of a general and comprehensive scheme drawn on a background of antique parchment tone. The north, west, and south walls are arranged in four horizontal zones, namely the frieze, the picture panel, the dado band, and the dado.⁶ There is, however, no frieze on the east

¹ *Accts. Lord High Treasurer*, vol. vii, pp. 43, 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. lxii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 109.

⁶ The frieze is 1 foot 8 inches deep, the picture panel 7 feet 6 inches. The dado band 1 foot 4 inches and the dado 3 feet 6 inches deep.

or principal wall, its place being taken by heraldic displays and an angel musician. The delineation throughout is significant of bold and direct brush draughtsmanship and the figures depicted are life size. The strong outlines are fluently achieved, and in-lines, representing light and shade, are well placed to add apparent depth where required; in some places, however, this is obtained by shading in grey wash tints of various intensity, in others the cartoonist has scumbled with whatever colours happened to be on his brushes to obtain the necessary notes of definition. In conventional pattern-work, the artist has used a colour wash on the field to throw out the design in a cameo manner.

The frieze (Pls. XXXV, XXXVII, XXXVIII) is confined within a double-lined margin, and the pattern is continuous except where interrupted by the window in the south wall. The composition consists of a series of portrait busts set within wreaths and centred at wide intervals, the intervening spaces being filled by supporting youthful satyr-like figures with arabesque acanthus-leaf tails, curling upwards, circling round and terminating in dolphinesque heads. Where the tails meet they are collared by a foliaceous annulet, above which a leafy cluster protrudes from the tails. Three medallions are disposed on each wall. Of these the best preserved are on the south wall, a head with a hair ribbon circlet tied at the back, and on the west wall a young queen with an antique crown, two laureated heads superimposed, the one that of a bearded man and the other that of a young woman, and a bearded king with an antique crown. All the faces are in profile. Human masks have formed the connecting links at the two western corners.

The picture panels illustrate episodes from the "Parable of the Good Samaritan," "St Jerome in the Wilderness," "St Mary Magdalene" and a figure representing Lucretia. Of these, the cartoons on the south wall, namely No. 2 of the Parable Series and St Jerome, are the best preserved. The others have suffered the loss of much of their outlining and detail, which have been obliterated, or removed by stugging or by cutting away the plaster. It is consequently difficult in some cases to visualize accurately the true nature of the composition. In spite of these apparent defects the interest and the appearance of this mural work is nevertheless impressive and by its large scale and boldness commands attention. The inscriptions throughout are in so-called Middle Scots and the lettering is of late Gothic character.

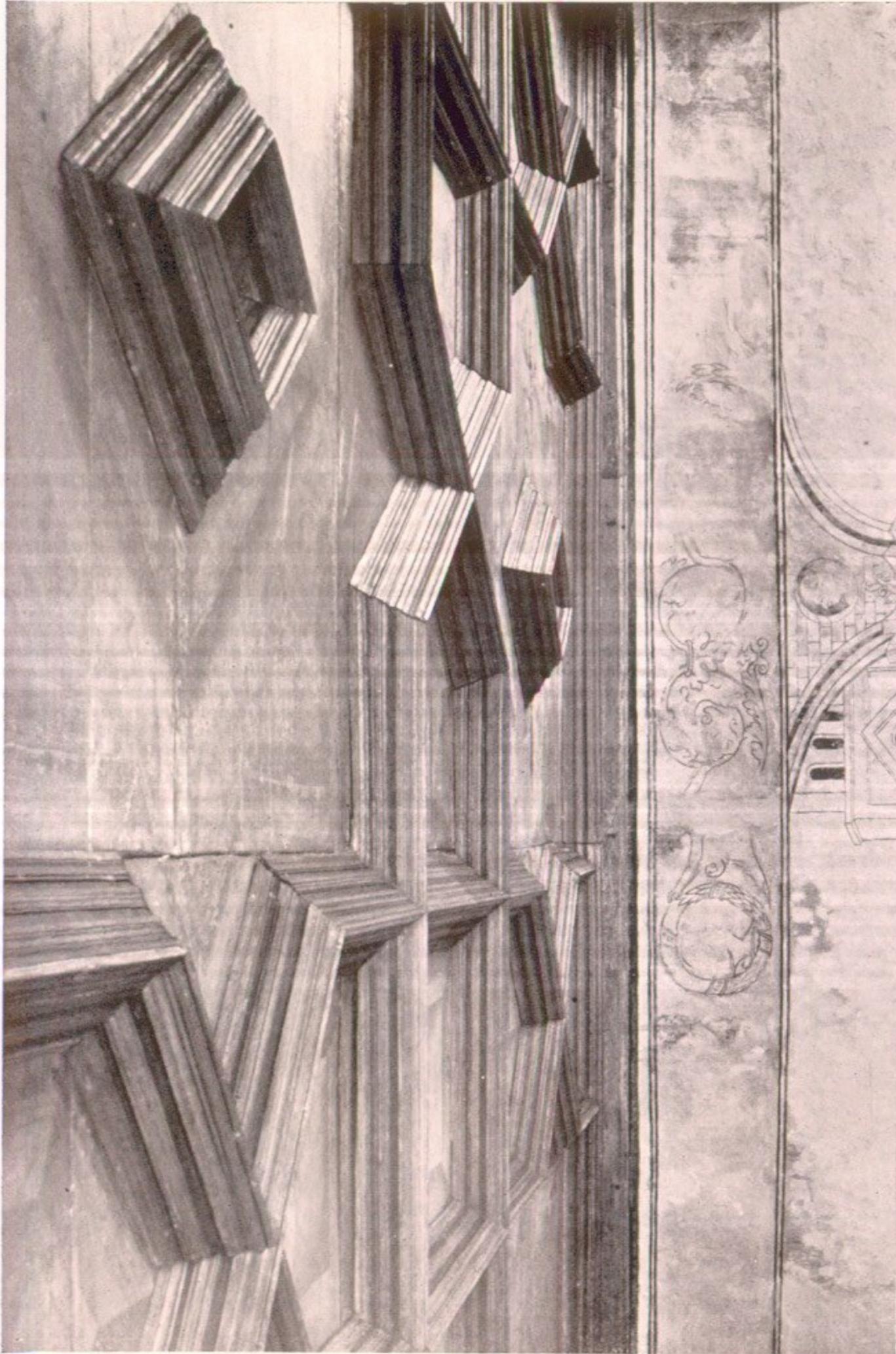
The Parable of the Good Samaritan¹ series. (1) (On the east wall over fireplace.) **The certain man falling amongst thieves** (Pl. XXXVI).—The picture shows the traveller being forced to the ground behind a tree by three warriors who are piercing his body with their swords: to the right of the group is an approaching spearman. The seated victim, dressed

¹ St Luke, chap. 10, ver. 30-35.

in a shirt and slashed trunks; is looking upwards, and supports his body on the left arm with the right hand upraised in supplication. A bearded warrior, standing behind the fallen man, is forcing his sword with both hands into the breast of the victim. The warrior is wearing a casque on his head and is dressed in a sleeved shirt of mail over which is worn a short-sleeved jerkin, emphasized by a reticulated pattern. Another soldier holds the head of his prey and forces the point of sword into the unfortunate's back. This thief wears a breast-plate over a sleeved garment and a knee-deep skirt of free flowing and lobated character. The third warrior is stabbing the right side of the fallen man with his sword, and his left arm is raised upwards from the elbow. This attacker is shown in a pleated kilt and breast armour with short lobated sleeves. The approaching figure poises his spear in front of a tree, behind which is to be seen an oval shield held in his right hand. The two tree trunks in the foreground are well drawn and have short lower branches stretching out from appropriate places. The boles tapering upwards have been lost in a mass of leafage, which has spread like a canopy over the episode depicted. Two large wreaths, disposed to balance the underlying composition, overhang the tree tops, each one bears in its upper half a shield ensigned with a ducal coronet and held by its appropriate supporters. The *dexter* shield is quartered with the Arms of Arran (Pl. XXXVII) and is collared with the insignia of the Order of St Michael, and the *sinister* shield bears the arms of Arran impaled with those of Douglas of Morton and is ringed with a love-knot; these armorials represent the heraldic achievements of James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran, as shown after the year 1548 when he became a French duke, and his Lady—Margaret Douglas.

This cartoon, which is on a white ground, shows more shading in washes and brush lines of grey than any other of the compositions; ochre has been freely used in the heraldic roundels. A musician angel figure with outspread wings and flowing drapery, playing a lute, occupies the space between the sinister roundel and a column which margins the south end of the wall. The angel underlies the ceiling line, but a subject below—of which a hand pointing upwards remains—was destroyed when a window was formed in the place occupied by a garderobe, the entrance to which has now been restored.

(2) (The south wall, west of window.) **The Levite and the Priest pass by** (Pl. XXXVII).—The unhappy victim, with hair awry, is seated on the ground at the left-hand bottom corner of the cartoon. The hands, resting on the ground, are joined in supplication; the legs are crossed below the knees. He is looking upwards in the direction of the approaching Levite and Priest. The latter, absorbed in discussion, are wending their way on the road leading from Jerusalem. The figures are labelled "The



The oak coffered ceiling in the Parable Room.

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The Parable of the Good Samaritan.
The certain man falling amongst thieves.

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The Parable of the Good Samaritan.
The Levite and the Priest pass by.

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The Parable of the Good Samaritan.
Parts of Scenes 3 and 4.

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The Parable of the Good Samaritan.
The arrival at the inn (part only).

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The Parable of the Good Samaritan.
The Samaritan paying the two pence to the host.

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The Parable Room.
St Jerome in the Wilderness.

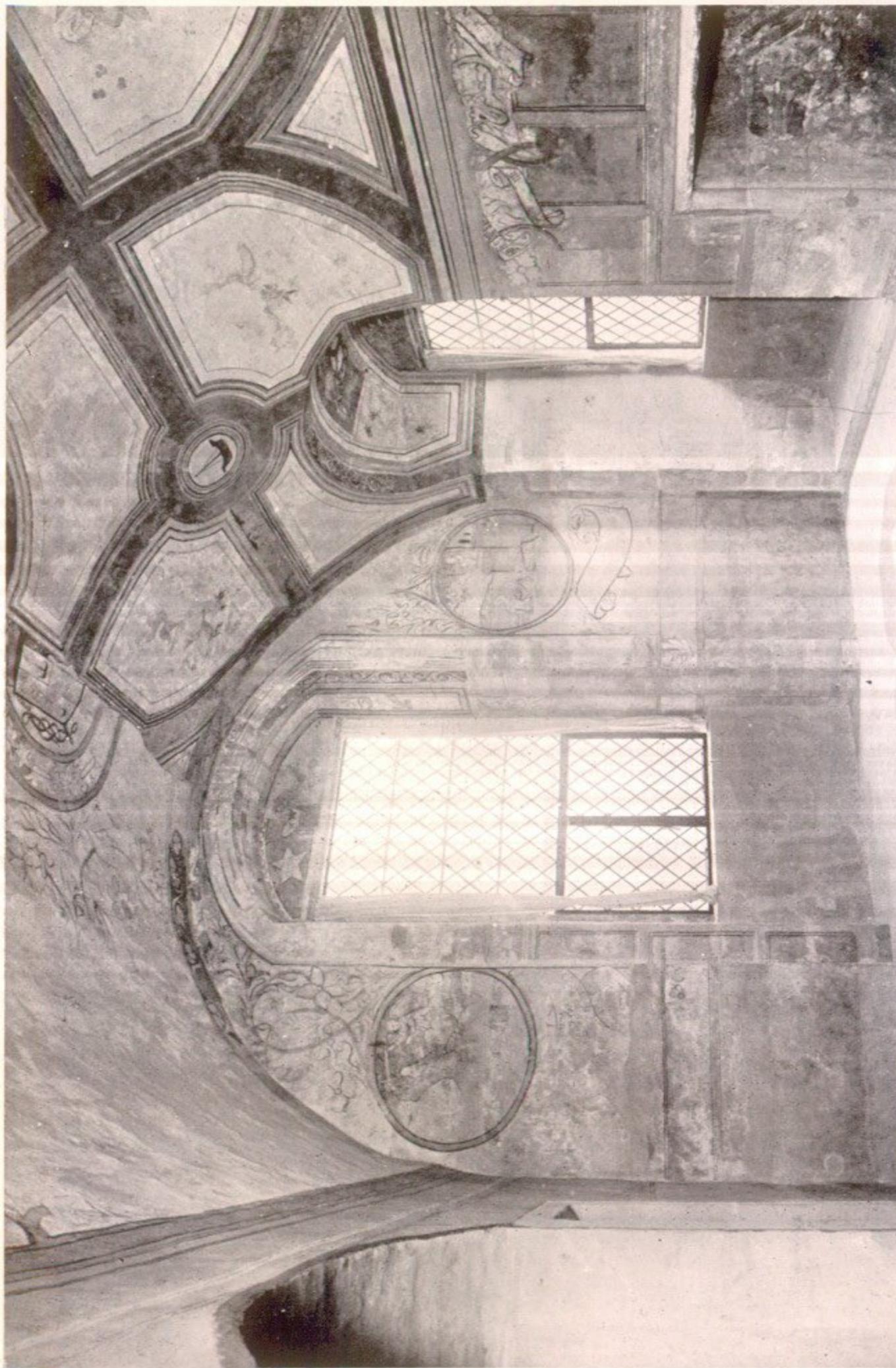
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The Arbour Room.
Samson and Delilah.

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The north end of the Arbour Room.

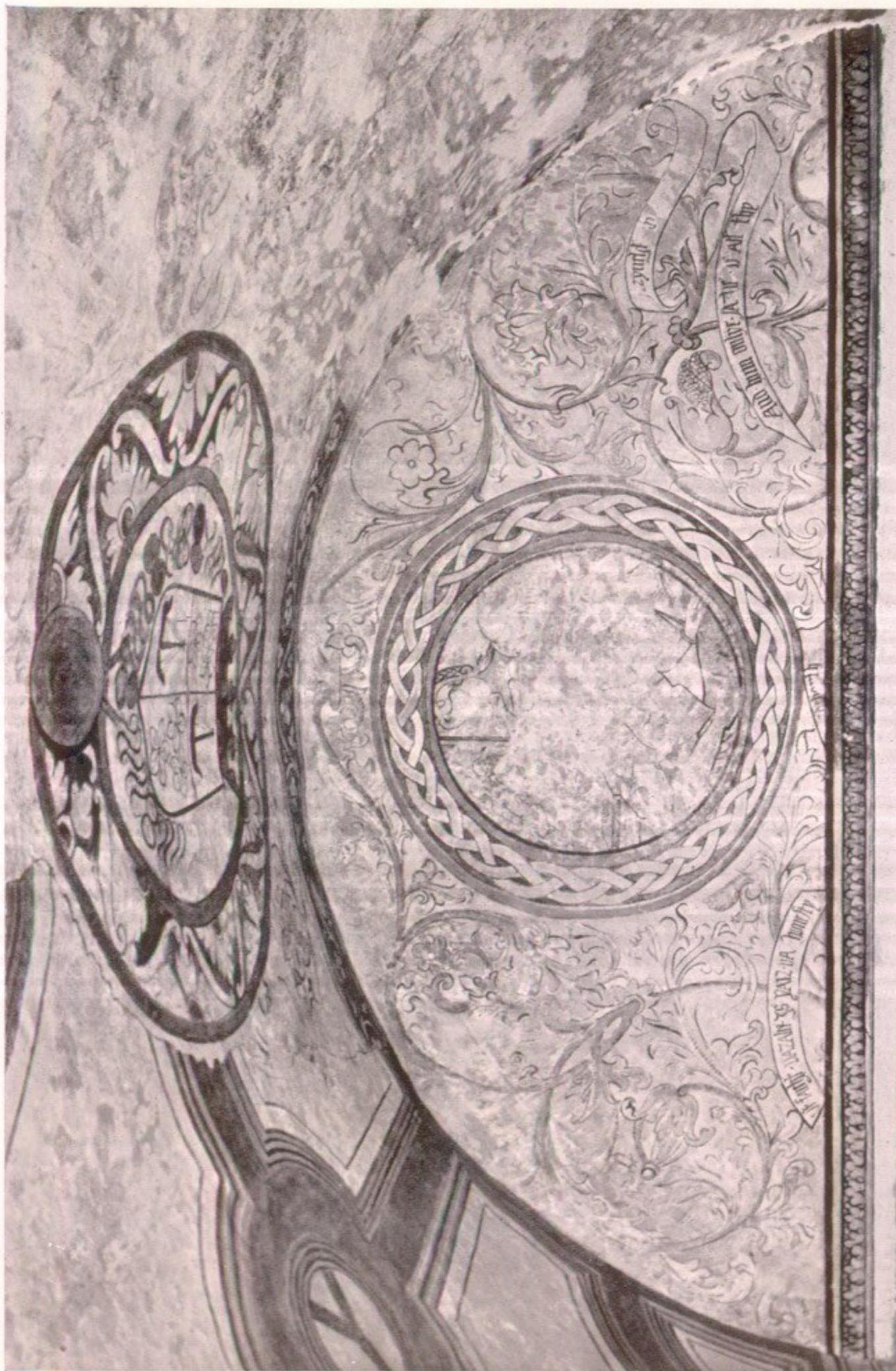
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The Arbour Room ceiling.

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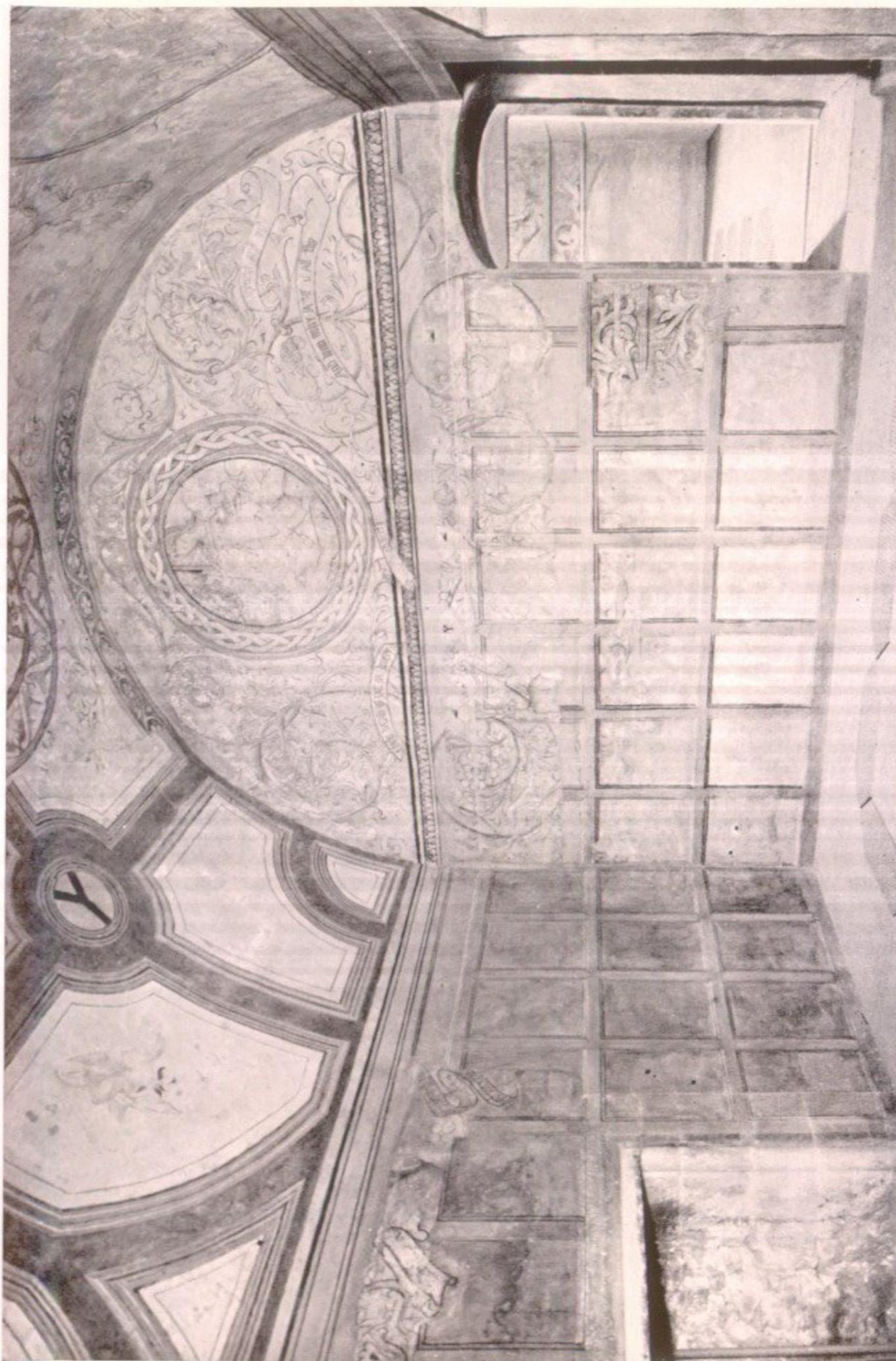
The Arbour Room.
The upper part of the south wall.

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The Arbour Room.
Detail from the south wall, showing both periods of mural work.

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The south end of the Arbour Room.

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Priest" and "The Levite," but their identities are in reality transposed. The Levite is studying an open book which he holds in his left hand. He is bearded and wears a doctor's square cap and is dressed in a doublet, over which is worn a fur-lined long gown fringed in front with fur. Frills adorn the wrist, and a scarf hangs loosely over the shoulders. The legs are stockinged, and the only shoe visible is of the broad-toed type of the period. The Priest is clothed in imaginative vestments of a similar nature to those portrayed by Dürer in his woodcuts, where he shows the High Priest officiating in the Temple, and also in pictures by the Flemish painters. The face is clean shaven, the hair controlled and covering the ears, and on his head is a precious mitre ornamented in front with a crescent and two large oval crystals, while other pseudo-gems also adorn this head-piece. The vestments shown are a long flowing alb, over which is a dalmatic girded at the waist with a sash, from which hangs a tasselled scrip. A lappet covers the shoulders; both this and the dalmatic are enriched with apparel, and the latter is fringed with pendant lobes. The priest's right hand rests on his girdle, and the left is raised in emphasizing some point in their discussion. Slightly behind him and to his left is a dog. Verdure is displayed in the foreground, and immediately behind the wounded man is a tree with well-arranged branches in the lower part of the trunk and terminating in a mass of leaves, on which is set an inscribed label. On the left of the picture, in the middle distance, is a grove, and behind this on rising ground is set a walled city representing Jerusalem. This assemblage of buildings occupies the upper right-hand corner of the picture, and is a well-defined composition of towers, gables, spires, and chimneys of balanced outline. On the left and above the head of the Levite is a large circular domed building of Byzantine character furnished with many circular headed windows and intended to represent the Temple. In front of it are two projecting portals from which roadways lead towards the foreground. On the extreme right is a square tower, of "stepped" construction, with two tiers of crenellated and machiolated wall-walks, each furnished with corner rounds. The roof is capped with a sharp-pointed spire. In advance of this building is a gatehouse with two entries flanked on one side by a lower defence which is buttressed and carries a spire. Between the great tower and the temple is set a large gabled building, behind which stands another with a hipped roof and a dormer window. Both of these buildings have tall chimney stacks.

The inscription on the label is a description of the incident portrayed—it appears to have taken the form of a stanza of five lines of the sort produced by the pen of Robert Wedderburn, part author of *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, who appears to have been living at Linlithgow about the time the cartoons were produced, or by some kindred Scottish Makar. The lines are badly obliterated and only a few of the words can be read:

This man the Levite bo[ok]° . .
 The law of Nature quhilk [to]ld th
 This priest ye law of [Isryal?]

(3) (West wall, south section.) **The Samaritan attending to the wounded man.**—This tableau is badly defaced, but three personages seem to have been represented in the right-hand lower half of the picture. One, in slashed breeches, is lying on his back, and the two others kneel or crouch behind him. The man on the extreme right, apparently the Samaritan, is extending the right hand towards the wounded one. His companion is now indicated only by part of a left leg, in slashed breeches and a high riding boot. There is also a suggestion of his right forearm raised, as if the hand were holding a vessel out of which wine is being poured. The left side of the composition shows a tree in the foreground, and between it and the kneeling group seems to be a mounted horseman. In the central background is a walled city (Pl. XXXVIII, left), approached by a roadway carried on a bridge and leading up to a gatehouse. The dominant building in the composition resembles a large church with a central high steeple, defensive towers and houses rising behind the city wall complete the representation. To the right a Bruegelesque rocky summit protrudes above a wooded landscape.

(4) (West wall, mid-section.) **The wounded man being mounted on the Samaritan's beast** (Pl. XXXVIII, right, part only shown).—Less than half of this picture is left, but that half is tolerably complete in detail. The wounded man is being helped on to the saddle of the Samaritan's beast and is resting his right hand on its off-flank. The helping Samaritan seems to be standing to the right behind the animal's head. Immediately behind, a horse looks on at what is happening.

In this picture the representation in the background of a walled city is the most interesting of the series. The houses are clustered on the right and disappear behind a rocky hill, on which stands a castle fortified with towers and bastions. To the left is the market-place with a cross in the centre. The market area is enclosed by the town wall, and in each of these three defensive barriers is a gatehouse, the most important being that in the wall farthest away. This building has a triple entry and is capped by clustered gables surmounted by a spire. Above is the label which once contained the appropriate paraphrase of the parable scene in question.

(5) (North wall, mid-section.) **The arrival at the inn** (Pl. XXXIX).—The cartoon has been much defaced, but the head of the Samaritan is clearly seen. He is bearded and has long hair and wears a tall hat with a flowing lambrequin. With the left arm extended the Samaritan is pointing with his hand in the direction of an entrance porch, evidently that of the

inn, which occupies the right side of the picture. Another man is ascending a flight of low steps which lead to the porch; he is seemingly helping to carry the wounded man within. Standing behind the Samaritan is a horse with the neck and head extending downwards near his right arm. The architecture of the hostelry is Italianate in style. The doorway is flanked on each side by a column of Tuscan type, and these carry a heavy lintel, moulded at the top, with a pediment above, the tympanum being pierced by a small circular window. Behind the pediment rises an attic with a low upper storey having three round-headed windows. In the pictorial background is the entrance to a walled town, to which a roadway leads up and through an arched entry. Within, on the left side is a high house with a steep pitched roof, and on the same side, but outside the gateway, is a smaller house: both these buildings have crow-stepped gables. To the right is another high, gabled house, and roofs of buildings are to be seen rising behind. Although the crow-stepped gable recalls to the mind a Scottish feature, it is to be remembered that it was a common form of gable treatment in some parts of France and also in the Low Countries. Houses with stepped gables are frequently shown in paintings and illustrations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and even Italian artists have recorded this feature.

(6) (North wall, east section.) **The Samaritan paying the two pence to the host** (Pl. XL).—The left side of this picture is the only part readable. The Good Samaritan stands in the left foreground and with the right hand is placing the second penny on a tablet for the receiving of money known as a nail or tome¹ and on which one penny already lies, while the innkeeper, who has emerged from the inn, looks on. The Samaritan is dressed for riding in a cloak which falls down his back, over a long, fringed, skirted doublet girded at the waist by a sword belt; trunks and spurs are attached to his ankles. He wears a head-piece similar to that shown in the former representations. The innkeeper, whose face is in profile, is bearded like the horseman, and is looking down at the nail. His head is hooded by a linen covering, which falls down over the shoulders and is held in place by a turban. Behind the Samaritan and looking over his right shoulder is his mount, which seems to be taking an intelligent interest in the proceedings. The background of the picture is obliterated.

THE INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS. (7) (South wall, east of window.) **St Jerome in the Wilderness** (Pl. XLI).—Jerome, as saint and penitent, is shown kneeling on the left knee, with the right foot, which is bare, in advance. He is looking upwards at a crucifix and beating his breast with a stone. The left hand rests on a human skull, the emblem of mortality, which lies on a bank and is balanced against the base of the crucifix. The saint has a short flowing beard and his hair is matted; he

¹ *The Field*, 11th Jan. 1941, p. 44; *ibid.*, 22nd Feb. 1941, p. 247.

is dressed in a long, loose-flowing and wide-sleeved garment over an open-necked shirt. The forearms are bare, the sleeves being rolled up at the elbows. The crucifix on which the Saviour hangs is long shafted and of T form. Set on the top of the cross arm is the label bearing the initials I.N.R.I. At the right-hand bottom corner, lying on the ground in front of the saint, is a double-corded and knobbed object—this might be a scourge, but is more likely to represent the tasselled cord or chin adjustment of the wide-rimmed cardinal's hat so frequently introduced in compositions of the saint in the wilderness or in the study. The top of the picture is enclosed by an arch over which is the label bearing the inscription SANCTE JERONEMUS. The label is adorned with a tasselled and sleeved ribbon.

(8) (West wall, north section.) **St Mary Magdalene in Penance.**—This is a counterpart of the picture of St Jerome, inasmuch as the representations are symbolical of Christian Penitence. The Magdalene is shown as an elderly women, far from emaciated in appearance, dressed in a ragged garment. She is seated, and rests her head in the right hand, the elbow being supported on a round table on which are a human skull and an hour-glass. The left arm is drawn across the waist, and the hand holds the alabaster box of ointment, which takes the form of a small flat heart-shaped, closed receptacle. The head of the saint is nimbed, and her hair falls in long dishevelled tresses. To the right is a bouquet of flowers—floral tributes cast by angel figures are not infrequent in representations of St Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness. Above the table is the outline of a label. The picture is set over a doorway.

(9) (North wall, west section.) **Lucretia in the attitude of stabbing herself.**¹—The figure is that of a young person with long flowing curly tresses waving downwards in a dishevelled manner. A loose draping hangs on the left shoulder, envelops part of the forearm, and falls down the back. A fold of the covering is carried round the waist, expanding and partially covering the legs. The right arm is uplifted, the hand forcing the weapon downwards, and the other hand guides the point into the right breast. The selection of the subject can thus be explained: the Roman matron represented was a lady of distinguished virtues who destroyed herself in penance, consequently her portrayal was symbolic of the defence of virtue. Lucretia has been frequently portrayed by German and other artists of the sixteenth century.

For the most part the architectural framework represents an arcading of four-centred arches carried on columns. The columns, with moulded bases, stand on pedestals rising from the lower margin of the dado band.

¹ In 1552 Arran purchased three English books, viz. *Perraphrasis upon the Evangelists*, ane New Testament, and Hopper upon the *Commandmentis*. The last-mentioned book was written by John Hopper, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester. In it the author extols the virtues of Lucretia and St Jerome. Hopper suffered martyrdom for the Reformed Faith.

They have caps of Corinthian character but of a style greatly removed from that of the pure classic form. Each spandril, shown as built of ashlar masonry, contains a small round window in which is framed a human head. A large plain label, which formerly contained a descriptive stanza, hangs on the central column in the west wall, and another such label rests against the architectural foreground in the last scene of "The Good Samaritan."

The dado-band, like the frieze, is an arabesque setting. On the east wall are traces of an inscription label, a wreath containing a blind-folded figure in a flowing gown (Pl. XXXVI), and a floral swag. On the south wall are medallion-portrait roundels supported by cupidesque figures with curling acanthus and fruity tails (Pls. XXXVII, XLI). On the west wall are compositions of vases, children, floating ribbons, floral sprays, and bunches of fruit; and on the remaining wall there is slight evidence of similar compositions.

The base of the dado is slightly elevated from the floor, and is set off as an arcade (Pl. XXXVII, bottom) supported on massive square pillars which underlie the upper colonnade. The piers are enriched with detail, and each arched panel contains a central urn, out of which grows a luxuriant design of scrolled conventional leafage, while above and on the centre is a cherub's head.

At the window ingoes the decorations take the form of foliaceous sprays, scrolls, and human masks. The painted outlines of these patterns are not confined to the plaster surface but are carried over the naked stonework. A set pattern is to be seen on the soffit of the window in the east wall.

NORTH OR ARBOUR ROOM.

In this wagon-vaulted chamber there is decoration of two periods, namely the work of the Governor's time, painted on the primary coating of plaster and on the stone margins, and that of the early seventeenth century, painted directly over the older work. In the treatment for preservation, consideration had to be given to what would leave the best possible document of both periods. To achieve this, the later plaster was carefully removed and the later paint on certain parts of the vault and the wall surfaces floated off to make the older and underlying decoration appear in places as if seen through a veil. The result is that the lower parts of the wall surfaces and the eastern half of the ceiling, including the central armorial panel, represent the later work and can be read as a unit.

As for the mid-sixteenth century decoration, the artist had to devise a scheme suitable for a room of this particular nature and in such a manner as to render his theme in terms best suited to his craft. This he achieved

by producing a bold and strong dado and dado-band of big-scale foliaceous detail. Growing up the wall faces from this screen and extending over the vault he wrought a bower of curling and coiling stem-work, embellished and embroidered with a great variety of leaves and blossoms. This screen swept its curvilinear outlines around pictorial and heraldic roundels, and within its free spaces were set, as if by chance, birds, animals, and heraldic beasts. Floating amid this pictured pleasance are inscribed ribbons and labels, curled at the ends, which bear descriptive stanzas.

The Picture roundels were disposed in the following manner—the largest high up on the south wall, one on either side of the window at the north end, and two on each side on the vault set just above the springer line. Two heraldic roundels are set on the ceiling.

(1) (South Wall.) **Samson and Delilah**¹ (Pl. XLII).—The composition represents Delilah as a young woman, seated and holding in her hands the scissors and the shorn hair. Samson is asleep at her feet, with his body resting against her knees; his legs are drawn up in an uncomfortable manner, the head lies over to the right, and in front of it is extended the right arm and hand. Delilah wears a reticulated coif, which has a frontal border; and her falling tresses outline her bare neck. She is dressed in a low-necked corsage which has *boffants* at the elbows and shoulders. Samson is shown in a jerkin and trunks. On the left a flight of steps leads to an entrance, and without stand two Philistine warriors armed with shields and spears and in the attitude of conversation. The picture is shaded in grey tones, and the enclosing frame is ornamented with interlaced ribbons coloured red, the marginal rings being in ochre.

(2) (West wall, south half.) **The Temptation of St Anthony**.—The picture, which is badly damaged, shows in the left lower quadrant the bearded, naked, aged saint reclining, his hands joined and uplifted in prayer. Behind the saint stands the devil, and to the right are two chests, of which the foremost stands open and is apparently full of coins. Behind these boxes appear to be traces of the legs of a nude female.

(3) (North wall, west of window.) **The Sacrifice of Isaac**² (Pl. XLIII).—In the representation of this scene, Abraham is shown holding the kneeling figure of his son by the left shoulder, and brandishing a sword. Out of the clouds appears an angel, who grasps the sword blade and, with the left hand extended, admonishes Abraham. Below the roundel is the label inscribed with the appropriate verse set in four lines, the words "to mak," "Soune Isaak," [ye] "Lordis Com[and]," "Thy hand" are legible.

(4) (North wall, east of window.) **David and Bath-Sheba**³ (Pl. XLIII).—David robed, crowned, and playing a harp is seen standing on the roof of the king's house. He is looking down at Bath-Sheba who is bathing. The messenger, dressed in a slashed doublet, is approaching the naked

¹ Judges, chap. 16, ver. 19.

² Genesis, chap. 22, ver. 11.

³ 2 Samuel, chap. 2, ver. 2.

woman. In the background a ridge is crested by a coppice. The inscription in the underlying label has been obliterated. In this and the previous subject the sky is tinted red.

(5) (Ceiling, south section.) **The arms of James, 2nd Earl of Arran** (Pls. XLIV, XLV). The quartered coat ensigned with a ducal coronet for Châtelhérault and with the collar of the cockle, with the jewel of St Michael attached, is surrounded by a circular frame ornamented with alternating **S** curves and half flower heads. The Michael hangs over this bordering. Below the roundel is a single supporter, the Hamilton antelope—shown couched, collared, and chained.

(6) (Ceiling, north section.) **The arms of Margaret Douglas, Countess of Arran** (Pl. XLIV) ensigned with a coronet as above and with a *cordelière* of four knots—the cinquefoil (for Arran) and the mullet (for Douglas) appear on the decorated band of the circular frame. The underlying single wodehouse supporter is obliterated.

The "Arbour" Decorations (Pl. XLV). (7) (South wall.)—Twin stems rise from the centre of the dado-band. Each stem sweeps outwards and upwards enclosing the picture roundel in a number of circular sprays clothed in leafy lambrequin and having blossom like "collars" with terminals suggestive of marigold, rose, lily, and bell-flower. Amongst the display are to be seen a small-headed greyhound of the type portrayed in late mediæval times, coursing towards a stag, which stands with head erect turned in the opposite direction (Pl. XLVI); a fluttering dove poised before a human face protrudes from a bell-flower, and higher up the wall are a squirrel, a rabbit, a pheasant feeding, and a bird perched on a stem.

(8) (North wall.) The narrow spaces of the main wall on either side of the recessed window are of similar treatment, and, as there is a decorated band margining the ingo, the space left is mostly taken up by the circular picture panels and the underlying scroll. The "Arbour" decoration in each wall space is therefore not extensive and rises from a single stem.

(9) (West and east walls.) The decoration on the side walls has been arranged in a manner similar to that on the south wall, but with the difference that there is a pair of twin stems instead of one on each wall which convolve over the walls and ceiling and circumscribe the picture and the heraldic roundels until they reach each other at places in the medial line of the vault. An owl and a galloping unicorn are set aloft; farther down in the convolution a rabbit emerges from a bell-flower and faces a small dog, which is shown coming out of another blossom (Pl. XLIV).

The artist, when emphasizing the main stem-work, has in some places only drawn the one outline of the stem in black; this he has "hatched" with short in-lines and then formed the thickness of the stem with ochre. Closely arranged and short in-lines are formed in the foliage where relieving

is necessary, and they also appear drawn across the medial lines of foliaceous work.

The north window ingoes are decorated with big free flowing stem and leaf work extending upwards in continuous **S** curves, and on the lintel was a display of the Douglas mullets.

Set between border lines the dado-band is embellished with continuous mantling of sea-weed character, resembling the leaves of Irish moss, which folds over and under a median rod. This large scale form of foliaceous work has been used for the dado decoration. Excellent work of this nature adorned the upper part of the west wall of the south room on the upper floor, but was destroyed when the building was dismantled in 1936.

Inscriptions.—Unfortunately, the inscriptions on the scrolls are for the most part obliterated in places, but from what remains readable they appear to have been proverbial sayings and spiritual exhortations. The late Gothic script on ribbons on the south wall (Pl. XLV) reads as follows:—

Vt. faucht. VAZALIE. IS. YAIZ. NA. honesty.

Without faith verily is there no honesty.

Pz/ yLozd. doeth

Pr[ay] [the] Lord doeth.

And him onlye. sazve. d. All the
stzyncht. And my.

And him only serve with all thy strength and might.

On the west wall:

Believe.

. me. do. so. I. say. I.

Believe [upon] me.

Do so I say I . . .

HAYE MEZE E. OF ME. DAY AND NYCH I

Have mercy on me.

Day and night I . . .

and "TREBIL AND" are the only words legible in a long legend on the west wall. The hand that printed all the script throughout the work may not have been that of the artist who drew the cartoons, for he could hardly have made the mistake of confusing the identities of the Levite and the Priest in the second picture of the Parable story.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DECORATIONS.

Early in the seventeenth century the lower decorated surfaces were painted over to represent oak wainscot (Pl. XLVII). This imitation, three panels in height, with a frieze-board and cornice, rises to the level of the springer-line of the wagon vault. The decorations on the upper parts of the end walls and on the ceiling were also painted over to resemble enriched plaster work. Later on, near the close of the century, a final alteration was effected. Memel wainscot was introduced, and the painted work on the ceiling and upper parts of the end walls was obliterated by a thick coat of plaster. To provide "grounds" for the woodwork, horizontal channels were cut at intervals in the wall-faces, thus destroying parts of the mural decorations. A similar mutilation took place on the south wall of the Parable Room.

The imitation panelling consists of a cornice representing a cyma-recta moulding enriched with an acanthus ornament, a frieze taking the form of a plain band punctuated over each style of the panelling with a small block or armorial; the heraldic emblems being set alternately. The blocks are drawn and shaded to give the impression of a faceted projection, and the small shields portray either the Arran galley or the Cunningham shake-fork. These decorative notes are further enhanced by frames of small scale strap-work in imitation of marquetry. Jacobean patterns of this strap-work order occupy the central area of each panel.

The ceiling decoration (Pl. XLIV, right) of imitative ribs set in a pattern with painted enrichments in the panels is an imitation of the type of plaster ceiling favoured in Scotland at that time. The centre feature is a large oval, supported at the cardinal points by ribs. The rib extending from each side of the oval branches into two arms, which find their base on a demi-rib resting on the wainscot. A horizontal rib set between the oval and the cornice is linked by a roundel to each of the outlying transverse ribs. These circular panels, originally four in number, contained alternately the galley and the shake-fork. A wall-rib terminates the ceiling at each end, and the wall-spaces enclosed by the arch were decorated

in a similar manner. The main band of each rib was painted red and enriched with a scroll of leaf-and-stem ornament in white. Marginal lines, of different colours, suggest the rib mouldings. Within the central oval of the ceiling are the achievement and supporters of James, 2nd Marquess of Hamilton, set on a dark grey background (Pl. XLIV, centre). The oval quartered shield (Hamilton and Arran) is enclosed within the Order of the Garter; the supporting antelopes stand on a strapwork frame of an underlying label. Over the coronet is the crest—an oak fruited and penetrated transversely in the main stem by a frame-saw. The motto "SAW THROUGH" in Roman lettering appears on scrolls on either side of the crest. On the dexter side of the coronet is the letter I for James, and on the sinister the letter M. and H. conjoined, for Marquess of Hamilton. Each of the large spaces within the rib-pattern is ornamented with a spirited and delightful representation of an amorino in the Italianate style adopted by Flemish painters. The babe is entwined in light floating drapery and flying in space, scattering fruit, blossom, and floral sprays through the air.

On the soffit of the east window is a large grey panel, on which is set the achievement of the 2nd Marchioness, Anne Cunningham, daughter of James, Earl of Glencairn. The shield charged with a "shake-fork" is set on a cartouche of strap-work design. The supporters are rabbits (cunnings). The shield is ensigned with a coronet, from which rises the crest, a unicorn's head couped, on either side of which are scrolls bearing the motto "FORK OVER," and the initials M. | A. H. are also present. The side enrichments outside the panel represent daffodils and fruit-bearing sprays of apple, pear, and cherry trees. In the space at the window lintel are two sprightly cupid figures, poised amidst falling blossoms, and holding from suspended cords a plaque, on which is displayed the Marchioness's cypher set under a coronet. A corresponding design adorned the similar space above the north window. The end-wall surfaces above the painted panelling were treated like the ceiling with panel patterns and amorini. It was found in removing the late seventeenth century plaster that the designs, owing to the nature of the pigments, had been fortuitously transferred to the inner face of the plaster, and sections removed from the walls, showing the decorations in reverse, can now be seen in the exhibition room on the upper floor.

The seventeenth century mural artist seems to have applied his decorations on a prepared surface washed over the earlier painting. He used a greater range of colours than his predecessor, as blue, green, umber, light red, and flesh tints appear in his compositions. Further, he did not rely, as the cartoon artist did, on the use of black as a medium for outlining his designs. In the buffet recess he has left a fortuitous sketch of a small nude female figure seated and spinning thread by hand with distaff and spindle. This spinster is drawn in a red line and coloured with flesh tints.

These later decorations can be assigned to a date between 1621, when the 2nd Marquess was made a Knight of the Garter, and 1624, the year of his death in London at Whitehall. The exact date of the earlier work, however, may be difficult to confine within such certain limits. In character and style the cartoons, the costumes, and the script on the scrolls and labels are definitely those of the overlap period between the second and the third quarters of the sixteenth century. The work seems to have been accomplished between the years 1553 and 1565 and not after 1570. The Earl of Arran died in January 1574-75, and the immediate years before his death imposed conditions that were far from conducive to any degree of artistic enterprise on his part.

An entry in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts for the year 1553 suggests a solution of the problem. "Item, to the masonis on Kynnele, in drinksylver, at the laying of the ground stanes of the palice of Kynnele."¹ Apparently this "founding pint" was supplied at the start of the building of the wing which contains the painted rooms. By the following year the palace would be completed, and the painter at work on the mural decorations. That same year, 1554, the Governor resigned in favour of the Queen-Mother, and the contents of the national purse were no longer his to command. The cartoons have the appearance of never having been brought to completion, and it may well be surmised that the year 1554 marks the most likely date of the work.

In the Lord High Treasurer's accounts for 1551-52, the many items for payment to painters and for paint indicate that it was all in connection with the Governor's Palace at Hamilton, but no entry in any subsequent year referable to Kinneil concerns painting, although building material is mentioned.

Contemporary records show that the following painters, Sir John Kilgour, Andrew Watson, Archibald Rowle, Andrew Michelson, Robert Galbraith, and Walter Bynning, were employed from time to time by the Governor of Scotland. From various entries in the accounts Bynning seems to have been the painter most patronised. After 1554 this man worked for the Queen-Regent. In May 1549, during Arran's governorship, Bynning was under a financial obligation to one "Gillian, the Franche paynter." In other documents of that year this foreigner is called a Dutchman, but no doubt he actually was a Franco-Fleming. It is of interest to note that a man of this name came to Scotland in 1539 to be *tapissier* to King James V. Although foreign artists obtained employment in Scotland under royal and ecclesiastical patronage, it should not be forgotten that continental records indicate that Scottish painters were sometimes employed in France and Flanders and that some of them were members of guilds in these countries. Such a man returning to his native

¹ *Accts. Lord High Treasurer*, vol. x. p. 207.

land would very naturally influence and stimulate the plastic and pictorial art of the country. If the Gillian, mentioned in connection with Walter Bynning's debt, and the *tapissier* were one and the same man, and provided he was still resident in Scotland in 1554, he might well have been the author of the cartoons at Kinneil—whoever that artist was, he had been trained on the Continent as a designer of tapestries.

The painted work at Kinneil is not confined to the two rooms in the guardianship of the Ministry of Works and Buildings; elsewhere, in the ruined part of the building, are indications of sixteenth century work underlying later coatings of wall plaster.

Cartoons such as those in the Parable Room suggest to the mind that Governor Arran may have had in view a scheme to furnish tapestries for the principal apartments of his palace, and that he had commissioned an artist to draw out cartoons to full size on the walls so that he might judge for himself their general effect. Although the subject of the "Good Samaritan" is not apparently one which appealed to the producers of tapestries, yet it was a theme which might well have occurred to the imagination of the Governor, who had leanings towards the Reformation party in Scotland. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine how furnishings of tapestry could be comfortably applied to the wagon-vaulted room—true, such hangings were canvas-backed and provided with hanging cleeks, but it would have necessitated many such metal appliances to have held the tapestry sections in a comfortable manner to the underside of the vault; for by such means only could the covering of the ceiling be effectively accomplished.

Reference to contemporary heraldic drawing in Sir David Lindsay of the Mount's *The Book and Register of Arms*, produced in 1542, shows that the herald painter employed used in his designs for label embellishments architectural and ornamental motifs of the same character and spirit as did the Kinneil cartoonist.

Not only have the Kinneil paintings been brought back to life to constitute an interesting extension to the collections of early Scottish paintings in the national galleries, but, in saving them from oblivion, the appropriate atmosphere of their period has been captured to such an extent that the visitor can almost visualise the figure of a man of gentle nature standing in the Parable Room, pensively surveying the symbols of Christian penitence, self-denial, and self-abasement—that man none other than the Most High, Puissant, and Noble Prince, James, Duc de Châtel-hérault, Earl of Arran, Knight of St Michael, and at one time the Protector and Governor of the Realm of Scotland.

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