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Four Worthies on plaster ceilings in Scotland (1617–25): a London perspective

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to contextualise a group of Scottish plaster ceilings dating from c 1617–1625 which all include roundels with busts of four of the Nine Worthies, to be found in houses identified by William Napier as comprising the Kellie Group. They will be viewed from two different perspectives. First, the Worthies will be considered as a subject popular in the literature and decorative arts of the period. Engravings of the Nine Worthies in a variety of formats enabled this medieval topos *to retain its popularity throughout Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. They featured widely in ornament and interior decoration of this period, not least in plasterwork. By setting these Scottish ceilings within this broader context, this paper will attempt to understand the reasons for their selection. Secondly, in the light of current research into London's plasterwork and its production in the early 17th century, the provenance of these busts will be reassessed. In 1900 Lord Balcarres's observation of the similarity between a plaster ceiling in his house and one from the 'Old Palace', Bromley-by-Bow, first appeared in print. The similarities included the repetition of roundels containing three of the Nine Worthies. The London building and/or its plasterwork had already been erroneously attributed to James VI/I for many decades and this article will present the historical evidence to dispel the myths which have continued to surface into the 21st century. In addition, the documentary and visual evidence that was adduced prior to the re-creation of two Jacobean ceilings in the State Apartment of Edinburgh Castle will be examined within these contexts.*

INTRODUCTION

While undertaking research into early decorative plasterwork in London it became apparent that one of the ceilings at a house in Bromley-by-Bow (bearing the date 1606 on an external chimney) shared some features with similar ceilings surviving in Scotland datable to *c* 1616–25. The relevant houses concerned are, alphabetically: Balcarres (for Sir David Lindsay), Craigievar Castle (for William Forbes), Glamis Castle (for John Lyon, 2nd Earl of Kinghorne), Muchalls Castle/House (for Sir Thomas Burnett) and Thirlestane Castle (for John Maitland, Viscount Lauderdale). This group was identified in his doctoral thesis as the Kellie Group by William Napier on the grounds of their many shared motifs, the kinship of some patrons and their closeness in date (Napier 2012: 164–9). The chief feature shared by all six ceilings is the presence of roundels containing busts of three of the Nine Worthies (Hector, Alexander and Joshua) set within circular bands of laurel, punctuated with strapwork 'shell and rosette' ornaments, with winged cherub heads set between them. It was Margaret Jourdain who originally observed that these plaster busts were derived from a set of separate engravings of all Nine Worthies

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ILLUS 1 Roundel with bust of Joshua from ground-floor ceiling of Bromley-by-Bow. (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

published by Nicholas de Bruyn in Antwerp in 1594 (Jourdain 1926: 8, illus 14–17).

De Bruyn placed all the roundels in plain circular bands in his engravings, except for David Rex who was a notable addition to the Scottish ceilings. The change in David's border was not transmitted uniformly onto the plaster ceilings, providing some insight into the way the plasterwork was executed. In the engravings all the busts are surrounded by grotesque ornament of great imagination and variety which could not be translated into plaster on a ceiling. Grotesque ornament derived from similar engravings was occasionally used on overmantels, however, as in the great chamber at Boston Manor House, Middlesex (1623). Patrons and/or plasterers at Bromley-by-Bow and, slightly later, Mapledurham, Oxfordshire (*c* 1610), selected virtually identical surrounds made up of a variety of motifs common to London plasterwork at the time. A band of laurel encircles the roundels, leaving a gap between the edges of the two elements (Illus 1).

This outer circle is punctuated by a 'shell and rosette' motif at the diagonals with a winged cherub head set between them. The choice of the 'shell and rosette' ornament and the winged cherub head might well have been inspired by the detail at the top of the cartouche containing Joshua's name and the bat-winged cherub head beneath it in the engraving (Illus 2).

An example of this 'mix-and-match' approach to the creation of these elements is exemplified at Mapledurham, where a small additional sprig erupts from the cherub's halo (see Illus 4 at end of article). This illustration also demonstrates the way in which isolated elements could be reused when the space available dictated; here the winged cherub head and a small section of the laurel border were deployed in a half-barbed quatrefoil at the edge of the ceiling. It is these roundels and their surrounds on ceilings within

ILLUS 2 Cartouche from Nicolas de Bruyn's engraving of Joshua, 1594. (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

the Kellie Group that are the subject of this investigation. They will be placed within the broader contexts of London plasterwork of the early 17th century and of the Nine Worthies *topos* in decorative plasterwork (Gapper 1998). The question will then be addressed as to whether these four busts can be categorised as what Michael Bath has termed 'applied emblematics' (Bath 2003: 29–34). The discussion of the Nine Worthies and their role in the visual culture of the early modern period that follows is also indebted to the publications of Anthony Wells-Cole (Wells-Cole 1997, 2001) and to an unpublished thesis of Tara Hamling (Hamling 2002: 153–69). Their work underpins a consideration about the possible choices made by the patrons when selecting the motifs for their plaster ceilings and how they might have been perceived by the spectators who stood beneath them.

In addition, this article will attempt to set out a more coherent account of the extent of the connection between the house at Bromley-by-Bow and Scotland than has currently been presented. The unpublished research of J E D Touche provided the starting-point for this investigation (Touche 1973). Touche attempted to catalogue all the examples of roundels of Worthies in 17th-century Scottish plasterwork in the hope of establishing a chronological sequence. He was defeated by the difficulty of comparing examples from photographs taken in differing conditions of lighting and position and where differing amounts of overpainting had taken place. Subsequent authors have frequently made reference to Touche's research, which he had extended to include other portrait roundels in England and Scotland; but until Napier's thesis, no coherent analysis of his findings was undertaken and ceilings were grouped together with little regard for their dating or the relationships that could be established between them. All the sites within the Kellie Group listed above have been visited by this author and revised dates for the ceilings at Thirlestane Castle and Balcarres will be suggested.

THE NINE WORTHIES AS *TOPOS*

The Nine Worthies were first introduced as a group in *c* 1312 by Jacques de Longuyon in his 'chanson de geste' *Voeux du Paon* (*The Vows of the Peacock*). This was one of the most popular romances of the 14th century and from their appearance in this chivalric genre the Nine Worthies were well placed to secure a place in the popular imagination. Neatly divided into a triad of triads, these men were considered to be paragons of knightly prowess within their particular traditions, whether pagan (Hector, Alexander and Julius Caesar), Jewish (Joshua, King David and Judas Maccabaeus), or Christian (King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon). Longuyon's select group soon became a common theme in the literature and art of the Middle Ages and earned a permanent place in the popular consciousness which endured into the early modern period. Their exemplary character is summed up

in the text prefacing paintings of the Worthies at Crathes Castle, Aberdeenshire (1602) (Bath 2003: 18):

> Lerne gallant youthes to aeternise your name,
> As did thir nyn with deids of endless fame

Their function as model warriors whose deeds were to inspire young noblemen to acts of bravery was still relevant in the early modern period, not least in the 16th century when Europe witnessed religious wars across the Continent. The chivalric tradition was maintained by tournaments and hunting, which continued to provide the elite with experience in horsemanship and the handling of weapons as a preparation for battle. A neat summary of the reasons for their continuing appeal across a broad spectrum of society is provided by Tessa Watt (Watt 1991: 212–13):

> … they integrated various cultural strands of the period: the medieval chivalry of the popular printed romances, the 'Renaissance' interest in classical mythology and the Protestant focus on the historical figures of the Old Testament and Judaic history. They were entertaining and heroic, while at the same time permeated with a nationalistic sort of religiosity.

Such was the popularity of these heroic figures that, dressed in armour and provided with their own heraldry on shields and banners, they moved beyond the confines of literature into a range of visual and three-dimensional media throughout Europe, appearing as architectural decoration, both internal and external, and as ornament both on textiles and objects. Their popularity was fuelled in the later 16th century by their representation in the numerous sets of engravings that were produced by a wide variety of artists and published in Europe (Wells-Cole 1997: 332). These included portrayals as mounted or standing warriors and as busts set within roundels. Their appeal may have been increased in Protestant countries by the desire to avoid contentious religious imagery involving saints, which might lead to accusations of idolatry, but they were no less popular in countries that remained Catholic. A few examples from the wealth that survive will serve to illustrate the range of options that were available to patrons of the day. In the form of wall-paintings they appeared in the Château d'Anjony, Cantal (1557) (Worsley 1988), at North Mymms Park, Hertfordshire (*c* 1590) (Ballantyne et al 1994) and at Eastgate House, Rochester (1590s).[1] Shields of the Worthies are included among those displayed on the ceiling of the gallery at Earlshall, Fife (*c* 1590) and their standing figures on the painted timber ceiling account for the name of the Nine Worthies' Room at Crathes Castle (Bath 2003: 146–67, 185–9). Three-dimensional carvings of complete sets can be found in masonry on the façade of Montacute House, Somerset (*c* 1600) and in timber on the newels of the staircase at Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire (early 17th century). Selected Worthies were also portrayed in relief in timber, as busts in *all'antica* architectural surrounds in a frieze at Porters, Southend-on-Sea (early to mid-16th century) (W[eaver] 1914) or among the roundels known as the Stirling Heads on a ceiling at Stirling Castle (*c* 1540) (Rush 2015). In plasterwork they are portrayed as free-standing figures with their banners swirling behind them in the frieze of the Great Dining Room of Aston Hall, Warwickshire (1630s) (Fairclough 1989) and selected Worthies appear as low-relief busts in roundels on ceilings in London and Scotland. Once the Worthies are no longer presented as a group of nine, the question of patronal choice arises and, having made their selection, to what extent could they rely on the reasons for the choice being apparent to spectators? These are questions which will be discussed below.

The Italian Renaissance was responsible for the widespread popularity of carved busts in roundels that emerged in 16th-century Britain. Cardinal Wolsey commissioned terracotta roundels of Roman emperors for the exterior of Hampton Court Palace, executed by Giovanni da Maiano (*c* 1520); and the entire ceiling of James V's Hall at Stirling Castle was decorated with a variety of medallion heads carved in timber (*c* 1540) (RCAHMS 1960). The court having set the fashion, similar roundels appeared in buildings of lower status throughout the 16th and into the 17th centuries. Engravings of antique Roman

coins and medals made the subject-matter readily available and were certainly responsible for some of the versions in plaster. For example, at Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire (1631–2) some of the plaster panels of the Great Dining Room ceiling featured profile heads of Roman gods and goddesses copied from engravings of Abraham Ortelius's collection.[2]

Although not emblems in themselves, on occasion the Worthies were treated in emblematic fashion. In his book about the heroes, Richard Lloyd combined woodcut portraits of each Worthy with a history of their deeds, adding a moralising Christian summary pointing out the character flaws that undermined their heroism.[3] King Arthur, for example, was castigated as 'pladge in his most pompe, for his lasciviousness'. A similar function has been ascribed to the fragmentary inscriptions surviving beneath the Worthies painted on the walls of the ground-floor front room at 56/61 High Street, Amersham, Buckinghamshire (Reader 1932). Bath argues that when transferred to the decorative arts the images borrowed from emblems can be seen as 'applied emblematics' (Bath 2003: 29–34). Images of the Nine Worthies might fall into this category as they 'may not be strictly emblematic in their function or their format … the aim of "profitable instruction" is common to both, and suggests the applied emblem's affinities with a wider range of texts and images, also used in the decorative arts'. It is within this context that Bath discusses the paintings of the Nine Worthies at Crathes Castle, where verses were attached to each portrait encapsulating their heroic achievements (Bath 2003: 185–90, 217–18). Bath notes that Hector and Charlemagne are the only two who do not share a compartment with another Worthy and provides a convincing rationale for this in the case of Charlemagne, but not for Hector.

At Crathes the combination of image and verse is certainly redolent of the emblems that were such a popular feature of European culture at this period; but the extent to which images on plaster ceilings were intended to be read allegorically or symbolically appears to have varied enormously. A selection of emblems copied from Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612) was included on the ceiling of the long gallery of Blickling Hall, Norfolk (1620s) but visitors would surely have needed assistance to interpret them (Gapper 1998: plates 19–21). Their host might have provided enlightenment in person or perhaps they would be given a copy of the book and left to work out the puzzles for themselves; unless they were so familiar with Peacham's work (with images largely 'borrowed' from foreign emblem books) that no further help was required. At the other extreme, there is a motley collection of classical busts on one ceiling at Canonbury House, London (1599), including two different versions of Alexander the Great, with a third on another ceiling in the house. The patron, Sir John Spencer, may have been London's richest merchant but his efforts to suggest that he was also well educated in the classics were undermined by the way in which his 'learning' was displayed (Gapper 1998: 470–1). A much more coherent arrangement of images on the ceiling of the great chamber of Boston Manor House, Middlesex led the viewer from purely mundane and sensory concerns towards the contemplation of the Theological Virtues (Hamling 2010: 149–51). However, spending time interpreting images on a white plaster ceiling soon becomes physically uncomfortable for the viewer and many patrons may have been quite satisfied if the decoration conveyed only a general sense of learning, in addition to an acknowledgement of his or her wealth. While depictions in print and paint allowed the Worthies to be interpreted in emblematic fashion, this became problematic when they were moulded or modelled in plaster, where lettering was either absent or severely restricted to initials and names. One has to ask, therefore, whether plaster portrayals of the Worthies were interpreted as 'applied emblems' as Bath suggests. In relation to the ceilings under consideration, was widespread familiarity with the *topos* sufficient to convey anything more than the generalised message addressed to the spectator at Crathes? Before attempting to answer this question it is necessary to follow the trail of the busts of the Worthies from London to Scotland.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF BROMLEY-BY-BOW

Busts of four of the Nine Worthies survive on the plaster ceilings of several Scottish houses and from the early 20th century a house at Bromley-by-Bow has been regarded as the original source of three of them (Godman 1902). Two myths have persisted in accounts of the house since then. The first concerns the identity of its builder. By the time of its demolition in 1894 the house, originally a fine Jacobean country villa, had become known locally as the 'Old Palace' (Knight 2009: 88–90). The presence in a ground-floor room of an overmantel with a finely carved heraldic achievement of James VI/I, with the shield and 'I Rex' repeated at the centre of the plaster ceiling, had allowed the myth of a royal connection to take hold in the local imagination and, as with so many such myths, it has proved difficult to dislodge. It has continued to resurface despite the early strictures of local historian James Dunstan, who wrote 'the royal arms having the initial letter I accompanied by Rex, is no evidence whatever that it was ever a Royal Palace, for such ornaments were the usual decoration of those days, …' (Dunstan 1862: 84–5). Similar displays of loyalty to the monarch were commonplace in the houses of their subjects at this period. Nevertheless, the author of the booklet produced by the Victoria & Albert Museum (initially in 1914, with a 2nd revised edition in 1922) chose to disregard the available evidence and concluded that there was 'at least a reasonable probability' of the accuracy 'of the connection of the house with King James I' (Smith & Brackett 1922: 9). This myth resurfaced in 1972 in an article by Alistair Rowan about Muchalls Castle, where it was stated that Bromley-by-Bow was 'built for King James about 1606' (Rowan 1972: 395). Not surprising, then, that it reappears in Scotland in 1973 with Touche's typescript, where he suggested that James VI/I would have been familiar with the 'Stirling Heads' on the ceiling of Stirling Castle built by his grandfather James V in 1540–2 and that 'it presumably influenced him when, as James I, he had the plaster ceiling done at Bromley-by-Bow about 1606–1610' (Touche 1973: 3). This misconception resurfaces in Historic Scotland's *Technical Advice Note 26*, where it is noted that 'some of the same moulds used at the Old Palace of Bromley-by-Bow in 1606 (for James VI and I)' were reused in Scotland (Gibbons et al 2004: 33).

The second myth concerns the inhabitants of the parish itself in the early 17th century. The first volume of the *Survey of London* was as circumspect as Dunstan: 'According to tradition James I is supposed to have founded a settlement in the parish of persons mainly of Scotch nationality, and built this house as a hunting lodge or occasional residence for himself though there is no record of this in the parish histories …' (Ashbee 1900: 36). Knight characterises the parish as 'a fashionable village close to the City with several good houses belonging to City families along the River Lea' (Knight 2009: 88). Unfortunately, in the booklet giving an account of the room that was rescued from demolition and recreated for display at South Kensington, it is stated that 'King James is believed, in the early years of his reign, to have founded a settlement in the parish of persons chiefly of Scottish nationality … and it has been conjectured that at the same time he built the house as a residence or hunting lodge for himself' (Smith & Brackett 1922: 7). During the research carried out by Historic Scotland in the 1990s to enable the re-creation of two plaster ceilings for the state apartment at Edinburgh Castle too much reliance was placed on the V & A booklet. In an illustrated lecture it was stated that Bromley-by-Bow had been 'built in a new suburb of London which was developed and occupied much by the ex-pat Scottish nobility who had come South to be with their king. It is also known that King James stayed at Bromley to enjoy the near-by hunting. It has even been claimed that the king built Bromley, though this cannot be verified from the Royal accounts. More likely it was the home of one of his Scottish friends.'[4] This seems unlikely in view of Keith Brown's research, which led him to the conclusion that 'When residing in England noblemen simply took lodgings in the

vicinity of the court unless rooms were provided for them in Whitehall' (Brown 1993: 563). In his doctoral thesis William Napier, like Knight, correctly interpreted the available data, concluding that there is no firm evidence to confirm the identity of the property's original owner or architect (Napier 2012: 77). Moreover, since there is absolutely no trace of the building in the Accounts of the Royal Works for James's reign, it can be safely assumed that it was not a royal building and it is to be hoped that this myth will not be resurrected in future.[5]

THE USE OF MOULDS IN DECORATIVE PLASTERWORK IN LONDON

Documentary evidence suggests that in London, at least, the timber moulds used by plasterers were carved for them by specialist woodcarvers or joiners. To give one example, when the London plasterer Richard Barfield was engaged on decorative work at Old Thorndon Hall, Essex in 1587, a joiner named David Harrison was paid for piece-work in May of that year which included carving moulds for the plasterers.[6] This would mean that the same carver might produce several versions of the same mould from a single engraved source for use by different plasterers. Detailed study of the plasterwork produced in London in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I has demonstrated the repetition of motifs from one house to another over a long period but this has proved an insufficient basis on which to ascribe plasterwork to specific plasterers or workshops (Gapper 1998: 286–98). Moulds were an expensive item and might be shared between patrons or plasterers and they were no doubt among the tools of the trade sometimes bequeathed to ex-apprentices by their masters. Although so much of London's plasterwork was lost in the Great Fire of 1666 and as a result of subsequent redevelopment or dilapidation, many of the elements of Bromley's decoration appeared at other sites, both in and beyond the capital. For example, a frieze from one of the first-floor rooms had already been installed at Lynsted Park, Kent (1599) and was to be used again at Bury Hall, Middlesex (*c* 1620); and several motifs were shared with Canonbury House (1599), Sir Paul Pindar's house in Bishopsgate (1600), Mapledurham, Oxfordshire (*c* 1610) and Bow Manor House (1612). Sadly, the plaster ceiling at Mildmay House, Newington Green, which also contained 'the arms of England, with the initials of King James, and the medallions of Hector, Alexander, etc.', no longer survives to indicate whether it, too, used the same moulds as at Bromley (Nelson 1829: 174–5). However, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence and it would seem unlikely that the moulds of the Worthies were not also deployed elsewhere by London plasterers in the years between 1606 and 1617.

In addition, it should be noted that Touche's extensive research located numerous motifs from other sites in England that were part of the London plasterers' repertoire that also travelled to Scotland. These have now been fully tracked in Napier's thesis, together with motifs that are not known to have an English origin. Napier was thus able to establish three distinct groups of houses with decorative plasterwork that can be connected by the use of numerous identical motifs cast from moulds. These are identified by him as the Pinkie Group, the Kellie Group and the Central Group (Napier 2012: 164–9). It is the ceilings of the Kellie Group with which this article is concerned, embracing Kellie Castle (1617), Balcarres (*c* 1620), Glamis Castle (1621), Muchalls Castle (1624), Craigievar Castle (1625) and Thirlestane Castle (1616–24). Sir John Maitland was created Viscount in 1616 and Earl of Lauderdale in 1624 and it is a viscount's coronet that sits above the monogram with his initials and those of his wife Isobel Seton at Thirlestane, providing a date-range for the creation of the ceiling.[7] The ceiling at Balcarres has been dated to *c* 1630 since the publication of *The Buildings of Scotland: Fife* (Gifford 1988: 82) but Napier argues very convincingly for an earlier dating (Napier 2012: 149–50). The ceiling is almost identical with the one at Thirlestane and both are stylistically similar to the others within the Kellie Group. The decoration between the ribs is much simpler and sparser than in the

plasterwork of *c* 1630. Moreover, Balcarres itself lies very close to Kellie, making a transfer between the sites of a plasterer and his moulds perfectly feasible; all of which supports the earlier date for Balcarres.

The decoration carried out in these houses was almost certainly connected with or resulted from the visit of King James VI/I to Scotland in 1617 and for that reason the plasterwork carried out at Edinburgh Castle in that year will also be included in the discussion that follows. One of the distinguishing features of this group is the pairing of two geometric rib designs: Type A, based on barbed quatrefoils; Type B, based on concave hexagons. These two rib designs were so commonplace in London that no particular house can be regarded as their source. The question then arises whether any moulds from Bromley-by-Bow besides those of Hector, Alexander and Joshua and their surrounds appeared in Scotland in 1617, to which the answer is none. The rib enrichments in Scotland were not copied from Bromley-by-Bow, nor were any of the three friezes or other motifs from the house. Following Touche, Napier recorded repeated small roundels with profile heads at houses in the Kellie Group: Tarquin and Lucretia at Kellie, Glamis, Muchalls and Craigievar; Jovinianus and Alexander at Glamis, Muchalls and Craigievar. Touche and this author found earlier examples of the use of these moulds by anonymous London plasterers at Canonbury House, London, Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire and Lynsted Park, Kent (all 1599) and in Old Schools at Cambridge University (*c* 1600). Mapledurham, Oxfordshire was also a site where roundels containing busts (not of Worthies) were placed in surrounds identical to those at Bromley-by-Bow. Napier does not comment on the numerous English origins of these moulds but they are a further indication that a wider London repertoire reached Scotland than simply the three Worthies, as Touche had previously found. The evidence rather suggests that Bromley-by-Bow may not have been the direct 'source' for the three Worthies at all and need have played no part in their migration to Scotland.

PLASTERWORK AND PLASTERERS AT KELLIE CASTLE AND EDINBURGH CASTLE IN 1617

In the 1990s Historic Scotland was proposing to reinstate two lost plaster ceilings that had been created for the State Apartment of Edinburgh Castle in 1617 in preparation for James VI/I's visit to his Scottish capital. Two pieces of evidence provided the basis for the project.

The first was the publication of the accounts relating to royal building works in 1617 (Imrie & Dunbar 1982). These contained references to moulds in connection with plasterwork and the names of the plasterers involved. The second was a fragment of the plaster frieze from one of the rooms which was discovered to have survived in store following the alterations of the 1950s and 1960s. This was identical with the frieze accompanying the ceilings with Worthies at Muchalls and Glamis and a simplified version was used at Thirlestane. In 1995 this author (then engaged on doctoral research) was invited by Historic Scotland to visit Edinburgh to discuss the project and the connections that existed between London and Scotland in the sphere of plasterwork. The fragment of frieze was undoubtedly of prime importance; the documentary evidence is more difficult to interpret.

A plasterer, Johne Johnstoun (and his man) appears first on 17 February 1617, when he is paid £10 'in consideratioun of his paynes in comeing fra York to his work' (Imrie & Dunbar 1982: 66). Johnstoun is not named again until 17 August 1618 (when he and two men were plastering the Council House in Edinburgh) and 1619 (when they were working on the Lord Chancellor's rooms at Holyrood), but he and his man can be assumed to be the two plasterers who are listed every week from 3 March until 16 June 1617 (ibid: passim). From 10 March the number of plasterers increases to four, but the two newcomers are not named until 9 June when 'Richard Cob' and 'Robert Quhitheid' received £24 'for transporting of them hame' (ibid: 79). Cobb and Whitehead can be identified as members of the London Plasterers' Company.[8]

Richard Cobb would have been about forty-eight in 1617, having been apprenticed in 1582 and freed in 1590. He was thus much older than Robert Whitehead, who would only have been about twenty-three. Whitehead was apprenticed in June 1608 and was working with his master, Robert Stephenson, for Robert Cecil at Salisbury House, London in that year. They were members of the team headed by Richard Dungan, the Royal Master Plasterer, engaged on exterior work in that year that seems to have been related to plaster statues on the garden side of the house.[9] During his working career Cobb took on five apprentices and must have run a successful workshop, rising through the ranks to join the Livery of the Company in 1604. Whitehead had not made his mark within the Company by the time he died in 1625. Neither of them is documented as working in any of the English royal palaces but the records of the Royal Works only give the names of craftsmen engaged on task-work, and this was almost exclusively the Royal Master Plasterer. Here we find a direct connection between London and Edinburgh at artisan level.

On 21 April 1617 James Murray was paid 30 shillings 'for 2 [twice] going over the watter for the plaisteris mouldis' (Imrie & Dunbar 1892: 73). Later that year, on 9 June, he received 40 shillings 'for careing muldis to the plaisterers from Kellie' (ibid: 79). This does not tell us which moulds were used at both sites but it does make clear that a direct link existed between the plasterwork in the royal works and that at Kellie. Kellie Castle was purchased in 1613 by Thomas Erskine, a lifelong friend of King James who accompanied him to England in 1603.

His closeness to King James was immediately apparent, as Lady Anne Clifford, aged thirteen, recorded in her diary when she and her mother went to meet the king at Theobalds, Robert Cecil's house in Hertfordshire, in May 1603 (Malay 2018: 17). First impressions were not favourable as she 'saw a great change between the fashion of the Court as it is now, and of that in the Queen's time, for we were all lousy by sitting in Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber'.

Erskine was appointed Captain of the Guard in 1603 and his continued friendship with the king resulted in his rise to the nobility as Viscount Fenton in 1606, a Garter Knighthood in 1615 and the Earldom of Kellie in 1619. In 1604 he married for the second time, taking an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Pierrepont (daughter of the MP Sir Henry Pierrepont), as his wife, which no doubt assisted his assimilation into London court society. His long residence in London and familiarity with the court made him a valued correspondent for Chancellor Alexander Seton and he would have been well placed to act as a conduit for the transmission of fashions in interior decoration, including plasterwork, to Scotland.

Erskine was making ready a state apartment at Kellie Castle, consisting of hall (great chamber), chamber of dais (withdrawing chamber) and state bedchamber on the first floor, to receive his monarch during the latter's return to Scotland. His refurbishment at Kellie presumably included decorative plaster ceilings in all these rooms but only that of the bedchamber (the present Library) survived a further overhaul in the later 17th century. Evidence for more extensive plaster decoration comes from the fragments of a frieze discovered beneath late 17th-century panelling in the hall (now Dining Room) during structural repairs carried out in February 2011 (Napier 2012: 130). The surviving ceiling bears the date 1617 and the initials T V F for Thomas Viscount Fenton. The enriched ribs are laid out in the Type B design. There are no Worthies, but the ceiling does contain the small roundels of Tarquin and Lucretia that have been shown above to have had a London origin. This allowed Hynd to argue persuasively that Cobb and Whitehead were already working at Kellie Castle in 1617, which would also explain why the two Englishmen were paid only travelling expenses for their return journey from Edinburgh Castle to London. With only one ceiling surviving at Kellie, it was necessary to look at later ceilings from which circumstantial evidence might be extrapolated backwards to Edinburgh Castle. In fact, there is little consistency in the combination of rib designs across the rooms of the state apartments in the houses in question (Table 1) but Craigievar provided the model of barbed quatrefoil for the high hall (King's Dining Room) followed by the concave

Table 1
Ceiling designs in the state apartments of Scottish houses (barbed quatrefoil: Type A; concave hexagon: Type B)

House	*High hall*	*Chamber of dais*	*State bedchamber*
Kellie Castle	–	–	Concave hexagon
Thirlestane	–	–	Second floor – barbed quatrefoil
Balcarres	Barbed quatrefoil	–	–
Glamis Castle	Narrow rib	Concave hexagon	–
Muchalls House	Barbed quatrefoil	Narrow rib	Concave hexagon
Craigievar	Barbed quatrefoil	Concave hexagon	Third floor – elaborate enriched rib

Table 2
Repetition of rib enrichments

Celtic interlace	*Floral scroll*
Kellie Castle	–
–	Thirlestane
–	Balcarres
Glamis Castle	–
Muchalls	Muchalls
Craigievar	Craigievar

hexagon in the chamber of dais (King's Presence Chamber).

One of the most intriguing features at Kellie is the rib enrichment, an interlace pattern that has a distinctly Celtic quality and that is to be found only in Scotland on Type B ceilings (Table 2).

This might well have been one of the moulds that was carried to Edinburgh Castle from Kellie. But not all the moulds used at Edinburgh came from Kellie. On 28 April 1617 William Wallace, a carver in stone as well as wood, was paid £8 'for making the haill muldis to the plaisterers and for carveing of dyvers window brodis' (Imrie & Dunbar 1982: 73). Ceiling designs were always laid out to fit symmetrically along at least one axis of a ceiling so rib enrichments of different sizes would be needed depending on the size of the room, which may have been what the carvers were providing for the plasterers. And just when Cobb and Whitehead were given their return fare, Ralf Ralinsone carver was paid £10 'for making muldis to the plaisterers' (ibid: 79). These might have included the roundel of David that did not come from Bromley-by-Bow; or perhaps new copies were made of those London motifs that continued to appear in Scotland, if Cobb and Whitehead were taking the originals home with them. Clearly the plasterers who carried these moulds further north were not Cobb and Whitehead, so one must assume either that the moulds passed into the hands of a plasterer who remained in Scotland (perhaps Johne Johnstoun of York (Napier 2012: 141–2) or a Scottish plasterer) or that he acquired copies that had been made from them. Johnstoun remained in Scotland, working at royal palaces in the 1630s and was probably a resident of Perth in the 1640s (Napier: pers comm).

Cobb would have been familiar with the style of plasterwork that emerged in London in the 1590s and that can be associated with Richard Dungan's tenure as Royal Master Plasterer from 1597 until his death in 1609. Dungan's documented plasterwork for the Earl of Sackville at Knole in 1605–7 has survived to provide visual evidence of the dominant style of decoration in

London and the Court at this date.[10] Whitehead's master was freed in the same year as Cobb and no doubt trained his apprentices to work in the same fashionable mode, using enriched ribs to lay out ceiling designs. Enriched ribs should not be confused with strapwork, which is the term used by art historians to denote the style of ornament that emanated from Fontainebleau in the 1530s. It was popularised throughout Europe by the prints produced by artists and engravers during the remainder of the 16th century. Scrolling ornament that appeared to be made from curvaceous leather 'straps' began as the basis for cartouches and borders in every possible medium and became an increasingly dominant element in English plasterwork in the early 17th century. As a result, by the second decade of the century the 'Dungan style' was no longer the leading court fashion. Plasterwork in the royal palaces of Dungan's successor, James Leigh, almost exclusively for Anna of Denmark, was extensive and undoubtedly influential but, sadly, nothing of it survives. However, the lighter touch that he introduced can still be seen in the plasterwork he executed for the courtier patron Robert Cecil in 1610–12. The strapwork ceiling of the long gallery at Hatfield House is indicative of Leigh's innovative manner and demonstrates very clearly the change that had taken place.[11] This was not the style that reached Scotland, where no strapwork is visible on ceilings, beyond the cartouches with which plasterers had been familiar for some decades. One has to ask why it was the rather outmoded fashion of Leigh's predecessor that arrived in Scotland in 1617, and several possibilities suggest themselves.

Persuading artisans to attend royal building sites had been a problem since at least the time of Henry VIII and remained so during James's reign. In 1610 the Plasterers' Company paid 'An officer for sending men to the Compter whoe refused to goe to the kings workes'[12] and again in 1614 they paid 12d 'for an order at my lo:Maiors to punishe them which refuse to goe to the kings works'.[13] However, it may have been easier to persuade Cobb and Whitehead, whether recruited for Kellie or Edinburgh Castle, if they were going to be working in the style of plasterwork in which they had been trained. As James Leigh's court fashion began to gain ground it may have been more difficult to obtain work in London without learning new techniques; although it is perhaps worth noting that a ceiling in the Dungan style and dated 1617 was created on the first floor of a house in Shoe Lane, Holborn. A drawing shows a layout of five barbed quatrefoils in enriched ribs. At their centres were roundels of Lucretia and Romulus, accompanied by the royal arms of King James, Anna of Denmark and Prince Charles.[14] So there were City patrons beyond the sphere of the court who were content with something familiar and there would have been numerous ex-apprentices and journeymen like Cobb and Whitehead able to supply just what was required.

Prior to his tour of Scotland King James had written to Thomas Erskine's cousin, the Earl of Mar, to stress the importance of decent accommodation for himself and his retinue and the need to make a good impression, especially upon the English members of the court accompanying him:

> Our houses, which by reason of our long absence are become ruinous and decayed, be repared and moveable in such decent and comelie order as is requiste, so as the strangers and others who are to accompanie us (of which there wilbe greate numbers of all rankes and qualities), may neyther perceive anie mark of incivilitie nor appearances of penurie and want.[15]

In the circumstances, perhaps neither Thomas Erskine nor King James wanted their ceilings in Scotland to look brand new? In a letter to Dudley Carleton of 9 May 1617 George Gerrard wrote to his son-in-law about the furnishings that were to be sent to Scotland ahead of the royal visit:

> Quantities of plate, hangings etc., to be sent to Scotland, and it was reported that the German tapestry-makers were intreated to make hangings that should look old in order that Scotland should be thought to have had such things long ago.

Napier suggests that the decorative schemes were to be artificially aged to create the impression that James had left his Scottish royal palaces

with interiors that were as up-to-date then as those he found in England. When his Birth Room in the Castle was repainted in 1617 the scheme chosen reflected what was fashionable in 1566 and the 'plasterwork may have been part of this pretence'.[16]

IS THERE A RATIONALE BEHIND THE CHOICE OF WORTHIES IN SCOTLAND?

In his most recent publication Peter Daly discusses the problems facing a spectator today when trying to interpret emblems. He laudably suggests that 'the primary objective in interpretation should be to try to understand the artefact as it was created or intended' (Daly 2014: 176). This worthy objective requires as broad an understanding as possible of the cultural milieu in which the artefact was created, in terms of language, ideas, beliefs and artistic conventions of the period, as far as they can be recovered (ibid: 173). This is a daunting challenge when applied to interpreting emblems and becomes even more problematic when it is figurative plasterwork without any text that is under consideration.

The persistent European-wide interest in the Worthies must have been further fuelled in Scotland by the publication of two books by John Johnstone. The year 1602 saw the appearance of *Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum*, containing a sequence of Latin epigrams on all the Scottish kings from Fergus I. A year later this was followed by *Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi* eulogising heroic Scottish noblemen (Bath 2018: 170). It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the Worthies should have made their way onto so many Scottish ceilings. If it is accepted that the repeated motifs from London plasterwork that appeared on ceilings within Napier's Kellie Group were also displayed at Edinburgh Castle (and the presence there of London plasterers would seem to support this), then it is reasonable to assume that the four Worthies were among those motifs. This brings us to the question of why these particular Worthies were selected. When the spectator is presented with a set of all nine heroes, then a generic reading is highly likely, especially if their placing makes them difficult to distinguish as individuals (Hamling 2002: 163). On the garden façade of Montacute House the three-dimensional figures were placed standing in niches at second-floor level, so high up that they could induce a feeling of humility in the onlooker. A similar example in plaster can be found in the very tall great chamber at Aston Hall, where the frieze just below the ceiling is peopled with reliefs of the Worthies set in niches, identifiable only by their banners. The positioning of Worthies could, however, have another specific implication, occasionally serving an apotropaic function, guarding vulnerable entry points to a house (such as upper-floor windows, staircases, entrances and fireplaces) against unwelcome spirits. This could have been the case at Montacute, where they stand between the windows of the second floor; while at Fountains Hall, Yorkshire (*c* 1604) two of the Worthies flank the entrance to the house like secular guardian angels, while the other seven remain in the frieze above.

As Wells-Cole has demonstrated, British artisans were hugely indebted to imported engravings for their decorative imagery, whether figurative or purely ornamental. Such engravings were available for purchase as single sheets, which would have been within the purchasing power of a master craftsman, while an interested patron would probably own a complete set. An artisan might perhaps buy only a selection, and some patrons seem to have been satisfied with this limitation; but it makes it difficult on occasion to perceive any deeper implication in the choices made. As Bath remarks apropos the ceiling from Rossend Castle, Burntisland (Fife), because there are no mottoes or inscriptions 'it is unclear whether, interspersed as they are with non-symbolic details, the devices copied from Paradin retain any emblematic function' (Bath 2018: 76). At Bromley-by-Bow each of three Worthies appears twice, organised as two sets of three at either end of the ceiling, flanking the central royal coat-of-arms. As a result there is not complete symmetry in the layout, with Joshua – Hector – Joshua at one end and Alexander – Hector – Alexander at the other. The two groups

are placed so that they both appear 'the right way up' when viewed from the centre of the room. The high level of sophistication in the interior decoration at Bromley-by-Bow suggests that the unknown patron would have taken part in the choice of these particular Worthies. Of course, they may have been commissioned elsewhere earlier and it is possible that their appearance here was simply the result of the availability of the moulds. It is certainly the case that a rationale behind the choice is difficult to fathom. They do not include a representative from each of the three standard groupings; most noticeably absent is one of the Christian Worthies. Possibly, these three were seen as representatives of a different grouping from the traditional pagan/classical, biblical and Christian triads. Mythical, biblical and classical heroes could be of particular significance to someone of a literary/historical bent, desirous of exhibiting his learning. Joshua may have had especial appeal to a Protestant patron, as the Old Testament hero who finally led the Israelites into the Promised Land. At Crathes Joshua was lauded as 'the noble Chiftan of Israell' who 'of Jewes first was frie' (Bath 2003: 218). He might then be seen as an antitype to those religious reformers who led the way into the light of the Reformation. At the time Britain's prevalent foundation myth attributed the origin of the country to Brut(us), a descendant of Aeneas of Troy, and London was presented as *Troia Nova* (Hopkins 2002). In this context Hector of Troy would have been an appropriate choice of Worthy.

There may also have been nominal associations on the part of the patron which dictated their choice but which remain impossible to retrieve while their anonymity continues.

Whatever the motivation, it was clearly felt to be important that the busts should be identified. In de Bruyn's engravings the names are written in scrolling script within strapwork cartouches below the roundels (Illus 2): Hector troianus, Alexander Macedo and Josue Dux. The carver of the moulds had to transfer this lettering to the roundels, which resulted in some abbreviations, some awkward placing of upper case letters to either side of the heads and to the letter N being reversed (Illus 1): HEC…TOR TRO, IOSV…E DVX and ALE… XANDER. In Scotland, King David is added to these three Worthies on the Kellie Group ceilings: on Type A at Thirlestane, Balcarres, Muchalls and Craigievar and on the narrow-rib layouts at Glamis and Muchalls. David would seem to have been an obvious addition at Edinburgh Castle, since David was the regnal name of two medieval Scottish kings and there had also been three kings named Alexander; so the Worthies who shared their names would strike chords with Scottish viewers, reminding them of heroic deeds from their own history. Napier also points to the likelihood that James VI wished to allude to the famous timber ceiling installed at Stirling Castle by his forebear James V, which also featured medallions containing busts. Rush interpreted the placing of a roundel portraying James V among the Stirling Heads (which included 'chivalric worthies') as the embodiment of 'the political and moral behaviour of his ancestors and the heroes of the classical and chivalric worlds' (Rush 2015: 226). The Stirling Heads included heroes from Scotland's past, both mythical and historical, but they are not named and it is unclear how many of the Nine Worthies might have been included (Julius Caesar, for example, could have been included as a Worthy or as one of a series of Roman emperors).[17] From the point-of-view of King James the de Bruyn engraving would have been particularly apt, since King David is the only one of the four who is shown not wearing a helmet but rather a crown. James presented himself as a ruler who was desirous of peace rather than war, so the absence of military headgear was appropriate. In his hands David, the author of the biblical Psalms, holds a harp and this would also have reminded viewers that James had produced a translation of the Psalms, further enhancing his identification with the Old Testament monarch. Napier also points to James's authorship of *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, where he claimed divine authority as a ruler, whose role was 'to minister Justice and Judgement to the people, as the same David saith' (Napier 2012: 254).

One might then speculate that King James/King David was sending a rather different

message from the instruction to 'gallant youths' at Crathes Castle to immortalise themselves 'with deids of endless fame' (Bath 2003: 218). James had shown himself eager to educate his heirs in the arts of good government by preparing *Basilikon Doron*, published in Scotland in 1599 and in England in 1603. After the death of Prince Henry this letter of advice passed to Charles, who was made Prince of Wales in 1616. Although Charles did not accompany his father to Edinburgh, James may have expected him to follow in his own footsteps when he inherited the Scottish crown, which would provide the opportunity for him to observe the plasterwork in the state apartment of the castle. Patrons of the Kellie Group ceilings could thus have seen David's inclusion on their ceilings as a way of paying an indirect compliment to the king. Bath has demonstrated in his most recent book how King James wished to adopt the persona of Solomon rather than David during his visit to Scotland in 1617, in the hope of securing agreement to his plans for church government as well as the union of England and Scotland (Bath 2018: 177, 201, 218–20). As Solomon was not one of the Worthies it might have seemed that King David, in pacific mode with a harp rather than a sword, was an appropriate substitute. James was certainly hoping to unite his kingdoms and their religious governance during his visit and the Worthies provided a suitable form of decoration, since their appeal traversed religious and political divides.

In the chapter of his thesis which explored how kinship and politics affected the spread of decorative plasterwork, Napier established the importance of Alexander Seton's sphere of influence, arising from familial connections and geography (Napier 2012: 145–8). Within the Kellie Group this operated through the marriage of three of Seton's daughters: Anne, the eldest, married Alexander Erskine, son of Thomas Viscount Fenton of Kellie; Isobel became the wife of Sir John Maitland, later Viscount Lauderdale, of Thirlestane; Sophia married Sir David Lindsay, son of Lord Menmuir of Balcarres. The geographical disposition of the northernmost houses in the Kellie Group is likely to have followed Seton's employment of the Bel family of mason/architects at Fyvie in 1596, as they were subsequently employed at Glamis, Muchalls and Craigievar (Napier 2012: 153–6). It would not be surprising if the moulds of the Worthies had been shared among these related patrons or if the same plasterer had worked with the Bels at various sites.

As recounted in the Introduction, Nicholas de Bruyn depicted all the roundels within plain circular bands in his engravings, except for David Rex. For this surround four sections of 'threaded coins' are laid out so that each section runs in the opposite direction to its neighbour, with a small rosette between them at the cardinal points (hidden at the bottom by the cartouche). This layout with no gap between the roundel and the border but with the rosettes at 45°, is reproduced faithfully on the Type A ceilings at Thirlestane and Balcarres and on the narrow-rib ceiling at Muchalls. There is, however, a difference in the lettering of David's name; and at this point a detailed examination of the variants between the roundels at the five sites becomes desirable in order to clarify the process whereby ceilings were designed by patron and plasterer working together.

The carver of the moulds clearly had no difficulty with Hector and Joshua but in every case the N of Alexander was reversed. David seems to have proved more problematic as the Ds are correct at Balcarres and Muchalls; reversed at Thirlestane and Craigievar; and both correct and reversed at Glamis. This might suggest that two moulds of David were available and this is possible but it need not have been the case. The slow set of lime plaster would have allowed time for the plasterer to correct the lettering if the patron had so wished, which seems the most likely explanation. Why only one of the two roundels at Glamis has the lettering corrected remains a conundrum as the busts themselves appear to be identical. The reversed N of Alexander does not seem to have merited similar correction.

On the narrow-rib ceiling of the Hall at Glamis there was plenty of space for the full surround with winged cherub heads; but they only appear again in the High Hall at Muchalls, where they are wedged tightly into the barbed quatrefoils.

This certainly added to the great richness of the ceiling, which already displayed numerous coats-of-arms and elaborate pendants. In both cases the 'threaded coins' border was replaced to match the laurel garland of the other three Worthies. Other patrons clearly preferred a less cluttered layout, omitting the cherub heads and with the 'shell and rosette' placed at the cardinal points of the laurel surround. This indicates that the barbed quatrefoil layout in Scotland must have been on a slightly smaller scale than at Bromley-by-Bow and Mapledurham, where there is clear space between the ribs and the roundels including the winged cherub heads.

One of the talents developed by plasterers was the ability to offer the patron variety without the need for a superfluity of expensive moulds. This aspect of his craft is amply demonstrated at Glamis where a narrow-rib ceiling was required for the High Hall – an extremely elegant combination of rectilinear and curvaceous elements, based on large, interlocking starry outlines. There was space for six roundels, one each of Alexander and Hector and two of David and Joshua. On the narrow-rib ceiling of the chamber of dais at Muchalls (based on a popular Serlian pattern of Greek crosses and stars), David appears with both borders – 'threaded coin' and 'shell and rosette' – the latter features placed diagonally rather than at the cardinal points (Illus 3).

Variety without significant extra cost to the patron was always a bonus. At Craigievar, the winged cherub head that was not used in the surrounds of the Worthies took flight and appeared as an isolated motif on several other ceilings in the house, just as previously mentioned at Mapledurham (Illus 4).

CONCLUSION

The Nine Worthies had proved their versatility over the centuries, and in the early modern period they still maintained their popularity in a wide variety of media across social and religious divides. From their origin in literature they had become common currency in the decorative arts, and by the late 16th century they finally made their appearance in plasterwork. The presence of King David wearing a crown and holding a harp was a significant addition to the roundels of Worthies that decorated Scottish plaster ceilings. At Edinburgh Castle it would have helped to reinforce the religious and political messages

Illus 3 Roundels of King David on the ceiling of the chamber of dais at Muchalls. (Photographs by Richard Gapper, © Claire Gapper)

Illus 4 Cherub head with section of border from a roundel on the great chamber ceiling at Mapledurham. (Photograph by Richard Gapper, © Claire Gapper)

that King James was eager to promote in 1617 and subsequently could be displayed as a sign of loyalty and support in the houses of his subjects.

A courtly fashion that presumably began at Kellie Castle and Edinburgh Castle was soon adopted by other members of the aristocracy, followed by some of the wealthiest members of the gentry class. The migration of the group of four roundels follows this pattern in an exemplary manner: from royalty (Edinburgh) and a viscount (Kellie), to another viscount (Thirlestane), an earl (Glamis), knights (Balcarres and Muchalls) and an extremely wealthy merchant from a landowning family whose elder brother was Bishop of Aberdeen (Craigievar). In geographical terms their wanderings were confined to the eastern coastal areas of Scotland. The two houses in Aberdeenshire were the last and northernmost to provide a home for these four Worthies on their London-style plaster ceilings between 1617 and 1625.

Decorative plasterwork was well established as a fashionable element in the interiors of Scottish palaces and houses in the early 17th century, continuing a style rooted in timber and painted ceilings from the previous century. The additional impetus provided by the visit of King James in 1617 seems to have been instrumental in confirming the status of plasterwork as a decorative feature, in particular the style that was first established in London in the decades around 1600. This more general trend was accompanied by the introduction to Scottish plaster ceilings of busts of four of the Nine Worthies, where in differing combinations they continued to figure until the late 17th century.

Although the moulds of Alexander, Hector and Joshua had been previously used at Bromley-by-Bow in *c* 1606, this house was not necessarily the inspiration for their use in Scotland in 1617. The Kellie Group ceilings owe a more general debt to London plasterwork of the early 17th century; and since the identity of the builder of the Bromley house remains unknown, he cannot be assumed to have any connection with King James VI/I or with Scotland.

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NOTES

1 Recently uncovered wall-paintings depicting King Arthur and Godfrey of Bouillon were identified by this author by their heraldic banners.
2 The engravings were commissioned by Ortelius himself and published as *Deorum Dearumque Capita ex Vetustis Numismatibus in gratiam antiquitatis studiosorum effigiata et edita ex Museo Abrahami Ortelli*, Antwerp in 1573.
3 Richard Lloyd, *A briefe discourse of the most renowned actes and right valiant conquests of those puissant Princes, called the Nine Worthies*, London, 1584.
4 Typescript notes for the slide lecture 'The Re-Presentation of the Royal Apartments within Edinburgh Castle' given by Neil Hynd of Historic Scotland in 1995. These notes put forward the arguments for re-creating the plaster ceilings in the style that was subsequently adopted.
5 TNA E 351/3239–3259 and AO 1/2418/36–2424/56.
6 Essex County Record Office MS D/DP A18–22.
7 In correspondence with the author, John Dunbar agreed that his entry for Thirlestane Castle in The Buildings of Scotland: Borders, New Haven & London, 2006: 722 needed to be corrected in future editions of the volume. Dunbar noted that the monogram is identical to that of the Maitlands at Lennoxlove but the coronet is different.
8 Guildhall Library MS 6122/1 (Plaisterers' Company Court Minute Book) and MS 6127/1 (Quarterage Accounts).
9 Hatfield House Accounts, Bills 28, Hatfield House Archive.
10 Centre for Kentish Studies MS U 269/A1/1. Illustrations of Dungan's plasterwork at Knole can be found in Gapper (1998).
11 Building of Hatfield House, Bills 37, Hatfield House Archive.
12 Guildhall Library MS 6122/1: 10 September 1610. The Compter was one of the Sheriff's prisons, located in Wood Street not far from the Plasterers' Company Hall.
13 Guildhall Library MS 6122/1: 25 March 1614.
14 Published as an engraved 'View of Oldbourn Hall and Ceiling' by R Wilkinson in 1823.
15 Historic Manuscripts Commission 1904 Sixteenth Report. MSS of the Earl of Mar & Kellie preserved at Alloa House, 78. Cited by Napier (2012: 134).
16 Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James I, 1611–18, 1858: 465. Napier (2012: 263) cites this reference as provided by Dr Michael Pearce.
17 For illustrations of the roundels see Dunbar (1960). At the time of writing the research carried out by Dr Sally Rush for Historic Environment Scotland had not been published.

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