

A UNIQUE WHEEL OF FORTUNE IN SUFFOLK: THE DISCOVERY AND CONSERVATION OF THE WALL PAINTINGS AT THE PARISH CHURCH OF ILKETSHALL ST ANDREW

by TOBIT CURTEIS

INTRODUCTION

IN LATE 2001, during the preparation of the walls of St Andrew's Church by decorators, a number of areas of wall painting were partially exposed. While fragments of polychromy were visible throughout the west part of the nave, two particularly large areas were partially uncovered on the north and south walls. A series of detailed surveys and uncovering tests undertaken in 2002 and 2003 demonstrated that the surviving paintings were highly unusual and an extremely important discovery¹. However, because of their extent and fragmentary nature, it was proposed that only the areas which had already been partly exposed should be uncovered and conserved, while the remaining sections should remain protected by the medieval limewash. The treatment programme took place during the summer of 2005.

ST ANDREW'S CHURCH

Situated in an isolated position on farmland to the north of the widely dispersed village, St Andrew's Church is a long two cell structure, each being of almost equal width, with a round tower at the west end. On the south side is a two storey porch. (*Figs. 119 & 121*) The nave, chancel and tower walls are of flint rubble with brick inclusions, with quoins and dressings of flint and limestone. The roof of the nave and chancel are of modern plain tiles while the porch and tower roofs are covered with lead. Originally the external walls would have been rendered with lime plaster, but this has been largely lost in most areas. Internally all of the walls are rendered. The nave floor is constructed mainly of brick, with memorial slabs in the centre and raised wooden platforms for the pews. The chancel floor is covered with memorial slabs and 19th century tiles.

The earliest part of the existing building appears to date from the first half of the 12th century, as can be seen from the small window in the north wall, and the south door. The present chancel appears to have been constructed in the early part of the 14th century, at which time new windows were also inserted in the south wall of the nave². In the 15th century, large windows were inserted in the north wall, and it appears that the upper parts of the walls were raised or rebuilt to allow for the ornately carved roof. It is probable that the porch was also added at this time. In 1898, following a severe fire, extensive work was undertaken throughout the church. In the chancel, the floor was tiled, the walls raised and replastered and a new roof was built. In the nave, extensive repairs were undertaken on the roof and a brick and wooden floor was inserted³. Significant parts of the window tracery were also replaced throughout the church and it is possible that some of the windows were enlarged.

THE WALL PAINTINGS

The painting on the north wall shows a large church or cathedral structure, comprising a double arched nave with Romanesque cushion capitals and a smaller single arched chancel. (*Fig. 120*) The capital at the east end of the nave appears to be decorated with an unusual cross or a trefoil. The roofs above are ornately painted with pegged and fish scale tiles and there is a large cross at the end of both the nave and chancel roof. In the chancel is an altar with an altar cloth, on which sits a chalice and paten. At the east end of the nave is what appears to be a large font, while to the west are tiny fragments of painting indicating where further details have been lost. At the west end of the building, there are fragments of a large west tower, with masonry pattern and a pointed tiled roof. On an area below the main painting, small fragments of two horizontal lines were discovered, which mirror two similar lines on the south wall. It appears that this marked a line of separation between the main band of figurative painting and a band dado decoration.

The painting is very simply executed in a linear style with red ochre paint and may be an underdrawing for a more detailed paint layer, which has since been lost. It is also possible that it is the sinopia, or preparatory drawing, for a fresco which would have been applied on a fine layer of plaster above⁴.

It would appear likely that the painting is of a similar date to the chevron patterned south door and is part of the original decorative scheme of the Romanesque church. Cushion capitals of the type depicted in the painting tend not to be seen after c.1130, so given the dating of the door at 1120-1140, a date for the construction and decoration at c.1130 appears reasonable⁵.

The painting exposed on the south wall spans three main bays, S5, S6 and S7. (*Fig. 122*) The eastern most bay, S7, shows a fragmentary series of large arcades, in which angels with open wings rest on a dark red background) The arcades have ornate tracery, with cusped arches and croquets along their outer edge and possible finials between. The dimensions suggest that there would have been at least three of these major arcades between the two windows, similar in form to a screen or reredos. Within the main arcades are pairs of subsidiary traceried arches, in which are situated standing figures holding scrolls. Only the female figure on the far right has survived intact, while in the two adjacent arches, only fragments of underdrawing can be seen. The female figure in the western arch stands against a red background with ornate white foliate decoration. (*Fig. 123*) She is dressed in a plain red dark robe, with a blue cloak decorated with clusters of three white dots and wears a white wimple and a crown. Her arms are upraised at a sharp angle from the elbows and she holds a white scroll with black lettering. In the spandrel above the western arch is a crowned figure in a red robe, above which are fragments of architectural decoration. (*Fig. 124*)

Below the arcade is a band of what appears to be drapery, on which are painted a series of extremely curious demons or monsters. The two most visible are the demon with a cockscomb and spiked nose and chin, (*Fig. 125*) and a fish-like creature with a long beak, which appears to be looking up the dress of the figure. No other example of this type of decoration is known in English wall painting and their significance is unclear, although it is possible that they are similar to marginalia seen in contemporary manuscripts.

To the right of the window, in bay S5 is a unique depiction of a Wheel of Fortune. (*Fig. 126*) In the centre is a large spoked wheel with the crowned figure of Fortune turning in a clockwise direction, assisted by two small figures. Fortune is difficult to make out as much of the central section is missing, but the crown, and the large hanging sleeves are clearly visible. The small assistants both wear red robes with white dots and one holds a whip. Within each of the segments of the wheel is a large eye, painted in black, which is thought to be the Eye of God.

On the left side of the wheel is an uncrowned figure in an ornate robe and carefully groomed hair, being pulled upwards. On top of the wheel is a seated figure with characteristic crossed shoes, flanked by the word REGNO, (I rule). (*Fig. 127*) Although the upper part of the painting is lost, where the wall is cut into by the 15th century alterations, this would originally have shown a crowned king. On the right side of the wheel is a crowned figure, with the same shoes, being cast down. (*Fig. 128*) Although the lower part of the wheel has been destroyed, fragments of one of the hatched shoes are visible, indicating that a fourth figure would have lain beneath the wheel. This distribution of figures being drawn up and thrown down is typical of the iconography of the Wheel of Fortune at this period.

Intermingled with the Wheel of Fortune is a scene of the Doom, or Last Judgement. On the upper left side Christ is seen sitting on a rainbow, with his chest bared and arms raised, displaying his wounds. Like the king sitting on the wheel, the upper part of Christ has been destroyed by the alterations to the wall. Around the rainbow is a curious square outline, possibly part of a throne. On Christ's left hand is an angel holding what appears to be a roughly hewn cross, apparently part of a group which would have originally included all of the instruments of the Passion. Further to the west, there is an unidentified kneeling figure, possibly the Virgin or a donor, while over the next window is a further angel ushering two figures, one of which is tonsured. Whether these are the Blessed or the Damned is unclear. Below Christ, a trumpeting angel wakes the dead, who rise from stone tombs. (*Fig. 129*) At the bottom right of the scene are the remains of demons dragging souls into the mouth of Hell. A small fragment of text is also present, but too little survives to be deciphered.

Although there are some variations in style between the two paintings on the south wall, their technical similarity indicates that they are both of the same date. Owing to the fact that the window splay were enlarged and replastered in the 19th century, there is no certain physical link between the dating of the windows and the paintings. However, the layout and positioning of the paintings strongly indicates that they were undertaken at the same date as the windows (or once the windows were in place) which appears to have been in the first third of the 14th century. Stylistic details in the paintings suggest a date in the 1320s or 1330s.

ORIGINAL MATERIALS AND PAINTING TECHNIQUE

The 12th century painting is executed on a single layer of relatively coarse lime and sand plaster, applied directly over the rubble structure of the wall. The paint layer itself is red ochre applied directly onto the plaster. No ground was observed, implying that what survives might have been an underdrawing rather than a finished painting.

In contrast, the 14th century painting is executed on a finer layer (approx. 5mm) of lime and sand plaster applied over a coarse base plaster layer (usually >10mm), containing large inclusions of unburnt lime and fine pebbles. A ground of white limewash with inclusions of ochre and carbon black was painted onto the dry plaster, over which the organically bound pigment layer was applied. Analysis of the pigment layers showed that a wide ranging palette was employed, including red and yellow ochre, white lead, lime white, indigo mixed with chalk, carbon black, vermilion with red lead and vermilion with carbon black. No varnish or other original coating was observed.

The present rather muted appearance of the paintings belies their original appearance. The female figure in the arcade, with a dark red (vermilion and carbon black) dress and a bright blue robe (indigo with chalk) with clusters of white decorative spots (white lead), set against a background of light red (Vermilion with a little red lead) with ornate white foliate scroll work (white lead), gives only a limited insight into how colourful the original painting would have been. The Wheel of Fortune gives even less impression of how bright it would have been, but the analysis shows that the main figures would have been wearing bright red robes (vermilion with particles of red lead), some with clusters of five yellow, almost golden, (orpiment) spots⁶.

The sketchy red ochre underdrawing is exposed on much of the painting on the south wall as a result of the loss of the main paint layer. Fragments of the flesh paint layer survive on the face of the female figure, but little is present on the figures on the wheel. Similarly, while most of the paint layer on the robes of the figure on the wheel has been lost, the standing female figure has retained almost all of this part of the paint layer. The only preliminary laying out that was observed, was an incised circle around the circumference of the wheel. No similar incisions appeared to have been used for the arcade or the painting on the north wall.

ICONOGRAPHY

The Wheel of Fortune, and subsequently the Wheel of Life, were popular subjects from the 12th to the 14th centuries, allowing artists a visual means to portray themes relating to the progression of life and the interaction with the Divine. The Wheel of Fortune is ultimately derived from the 6th century philosopher Boethius who, in his *Consolation of Philosophy*, depicted the figure of Fortune as blind, deaf, inconstant and two-faced, giving and taking favours as she pleased. (Sears 1986, 145) This is further described as Fortuna turning a wheel where Man is pinned to the rim and powerless to stop it. However, greater than Fortune is God, whose divine plan encompasses and influences these apparently random acts.

The subject is generally portrayed with the crowned figure of Fortune turning a wheel on which a man is pulled up from the left side, is seated in majesty at the top, is thrown down on the right, and lies beneath the wheel at the base. Traditionally these four stages would have been labelled, *regnabo* (I shall rule), *regno*, (I rule), *regnavi* (I have ruled) and *sum sine regno* (I do not rule).

In English medieval wall painting there are only two or three confirmed examples of the Wheel of Fortune which survive. The most significant example is the painting of c.1245-50 at Rochester Cathedral of which only the left hand side survives. (*Fig. 130*) Interestingly, Fortune is shown with open eyes and is clearly not blind, and the figures on the lower part of the wheel are common men rather than kings in waiting. The early literature identifies a number of other examples, but these have now been recognised to be misidentifications of other wheel motifs⁷.

Illustrations of the Wheel of Fortune, although still unusual, are more numerous in manuscripts. One of the earliest examples is that of c. 1240 made by William de Brailes, which contains elements of both a Wheel of Fortune and the Ages of Man⁸. Interestingly it is thought to have been displayed close to the image of the Last Judgement, when bound. (Binski & Panayotova, 2005, 176) Closer in date to the Ilketshall example is the illustration in the Holkham Bible Picture Book of c. 1320, which has some striking similarities to the iconography in the wall painting⁹. Unlike the other examples cited, this illustration shows the 'regno' text as well as the turning figures. A small example of a Wheel of Fortune is also understood to exist in the badly damaged Douai Psalter, painted in the early 14th century by the East Anglian author of the Macclesfield Psalter¹⁰. The only example known where Fortune is shown blindfolded is the illustration in the *La Queste del Saint Graal* made in France in c. 1316, which also bears some interesting similarities to the Ilketshall wheel. (*Fig. 131*) The Wheel of Fortune in the Chaworth Roll of 1321–7, a geneological roll of the kings of England, (Bovey, 2005, 9) is particularly interesting. But although the layout of the Wheel is slightly different to the other early 14th century examples, the basic iconography is the same. Examples of variations on Wheels of Fortune are also known in architecture most notably in the rose windows at Beauvais (12th century) and Amiens (13th century) cathedrals. (Sears 1986, 145) But the direct iconographic links with the wall paintings are rather more limited.

More common in medieval art is the Wheel of Life, which developed out of the ideas behind the Wheel of Fortune. However, in this subject, God is shown in a roundel at the centre, from which radiate ten arms each terminating in a further roundel, within which are painted the ages of man. Possibly the most famous example is that in the Psalter of Robert De Lysle, painted by a Westminster artist known as the Madonna Master in c. 1310, (Sandler, 1983) where the individual ages are flanked in the four corners by figures labelled with scrolls reading Infancy, Youth, Old Age and Decrepitude. The clear development in the Wheel of Life is the removal of the pagan figure of Fortune, so that Man is being influenced solely by God. As if to emphasise this, the text around the central figure of God reads *Cuncta simul cerno: totum ratione guberno* – 'I perceive all at once, I govern the whole with reason'. (Sears 1986, 147).

Examples of the Wheel of Life in English wall painting are more common than Wheels of Fortune. One of the most significant is that at Leominster Priory Church which is thought to date to c. 1275 (Malpas, 2000). Like the De Lysle example, this is constructed of a central circle with radiating arms and subsidiary roundels. Surrounding this is a field of masonry pattern with a king playing the harp on the left side. Another important example is that in Kempley Church in Gloucestershire, which dates to the 14th century, and shows the same structure and the fragmentary remains of the Ages of Man.

What is particularly interesting about the Wheel of Fortune at Ilketshall St Andrew is that, in addition to the iconography associated with the workings of Fortune, it also includes an integrated scene of the Last Judgement. This is clearly intended to illustrate the fact that the Wheel operates within a Christian context, with the influence or control of God over the actions of Fortune. It would appear then that the Ilketshall Wheel marks the development in the iconography of wall paintings from the earlier depiction of Fortune at Rochester, without overtly Christian symbolism, to the later iconography of the Wheel of Life, where God is shown as the only controlling force and Fortune is completely removed. The use of the floating black eyes, presumably intended to indicate the Eye of God, is also highly unusual. While a wheel studded with eyes is referred to in Ezekiel as a representation of Holy Scripture, (Dow, 1957, 279) there are no other examples known in English medieval wall painting¹¹.

The figure in the arcade to the east of the Wheel of Fortune is more common subject for the early 14th century. The use of figures with scrolls, in an ornate arcade with decorated roofs and tracery, can be seen in many contemporary examples. One of the most important local examples is the wall painting of the Apostles in the Anti-reliquary Chapel at Norwich Cathedral, now thought to date to the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. (Park & Howard, 1996, 397) (*Fig. 133*).

Another example of this type of figure in an arcade is seen in the Tree of Jesse in the Tickhill Psalter now in the New York Public Library¹². (*Fig. 132*) Here, figures in blue and red robes and holding scrolls, stand in a series of ornate architectural niches, flanking the main scene. The painting, which is in fine court style, is believed to date to c.1303-14 and to have been produced in the Midlands. (Alexander & Binski 1987, 451).

The use of architectural scenes above arcades is known in other wall paintings, such as that at Wissington in Suffolk, also of the early 14th century. What is unusual about the Ilketshall painting is the use of devils or demons in the area below the figures. The figures, which are reminiscent of marginalia in contemporary manuscript illumination, such as that in the East Anglian Macclesfield Psalter, appear to be without parallel in English medieval wall painting.

The 12th century painting on the north wall also presents interesting questions of iconography. Monumental architecture of this kind is extremely rare in 12th century wall painting in England, one of the few examples being that at St Gabriel's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral. Parallels for this type of 'sectioned' building are found in other media, the most notable being in some scenes from the Bayeux Tapestry, which although about forty years earlier than the Ilketshall painting, shows some stylistic similarities.

AUTHORSHIP AND PATRONAGE

The basic style and relatively simple technique of the 14th century painting suggests that it was carried out by a local painter, rather than an imported court artist.¹³ However, the iconography of the Wheel of Fortune is unusually complex for a rural setting such as this and it seems probable therefore that the patron would have instructed the artist in some detail as to what to paint and how it should be designed. It is possible that this would simply have been from a verbal description, but it seems more likely that there would have been some form of pictorial source, possibly a manuscript. The figures in the arcades, although less unusual than the Wheel of Fortune, are clearly part of a sophisticated design, and it seems probable that the patron would have given instructions as to how these would be laid out. The use of the demons below the arcade is particularly unusual, and can be assumed to have some direct relevance known to the patron.

During this period the living was held by the Ilketshall family, with the Lord of the Manor during the early 14th century being Sir James de Ilketshall (d.1345). It appears that the living had passed out of the hands of the Ilketshalls by the early 15th century, but given the extensive architectural changes that they made to the church, it can be assumed that in the early 1300s they were still a wealthy and powerful family. In 1327 the Benedictine Priory of Bungay was recorded as holding the rectoral rights at Ilketshall, and appointed one William Atte Welle de Dychinham as vicar (Suckling 1846, 117). However, given the location of the painting in the nave, as well as the unorthodox subject matter, it appears more probable that the patron would have been Sir James de Ilketshall, rather than the priory.

The obscure subject matter raises the question of how much it would have been understood by the observer. The principal Biblical and morality subjects would have been relatively common and well

known to the illiterate congregation, but it seems unlikely that the finer implications of a Wheel of Fortune would have been so transparent. Although the subject would be less rare than it is today, it seems unlikely that it would have been very common, or more examples would have survived. As a result, the underlying message may well have been obscure to the average viewer. That said, the image of the man on a wheel, being taken up and crowned in riches and then cast down, while Christ looks on, is a fairly clear message.

CONDITION AND CONSERVATION TREATMENT¹⁴

Although there were numerous historic repairs, and significant areas of keying, (*Fig. 134 & 135*) the render on most areas of the north wall was found to be in reasonably sound condition, and despite the recent scraping of the wall, much of the surface was still covered with limewash. The exposed areas of painting were found to have weak pigment cohesion with the original medium typically degraded, however the adhesion to the ground was generally satisfactory. The damage to the south wall was more serious and a significantly larger area of painted plaster had been removed. The most extensively exposed paintings were in bay S7 and these were among the most unstable areas. The cohesion of the paint layer was found to be weak in many areas and some sections were unstable and flaking.

Based on the extensive research and testing programme it was decided that the aims of the treatment should be to uncover and stabilise the areas of painting in bays S5, S6, S7, N5 and N6 which had been partially exposed and damaged. Other small fragments of painting on the nave walls were to be covered with distemper, under the supervision of the conservator. As the condition and extent of the painting was unclear prior to uncovering, the precise nature and level of reintegration were assessed during the course of the work. However, from the outset it was intended that the level of reintegration would be minimal, involving the treatment of losses rather than the reconstruction of missing areas of painting.

Limewash and plaster layers were removed mechanically with scalpels and small brushes and residues were reduced using deionised water on cotton wool swabs. (Figs. 18 & 19) Plaster losses were repaired with 1:4 lime putty and local sand, sometimes toned with ochre pigments. In the limited areas where it was necessary, the readhesion of the paint layers to the limewash ground was carried out using a solution of the acrylic dispersion Plextol B500, following pre-wetting with a mixture of ethanol and deionised water. Where the cohesion had deteriorated to a damaging level, the pigment layer was treated with a solution of the acrylic resin Paraloid B72 in Acetone.

In order to reduce the aesthetic disruption caused by the losses, new repairs were treated using toned limewash and watercolour washes, usually applied with sponges. Minor abrasions were also treated using watercolour washes. No reconstruction of major missing elements of the paintings was undertaken. The areas surrounding the wall paintings were treated with the same toned distemper used throughout the church.

In addition to the technical conservation of the paintings, one of the further aims of the project was to increase accessibility of the paintings to members of the public. To this end a number of talks were held in the church for groups of up to seventy five people. Comparative images were projected onto the other walls to allow the paintings to be viewed in a wider context, and so that the iconography could be better understood. Considerable media coverage was encouraged with the project being reported on BBC and ITV television news as well as in the local and national papers. The project was

also featured as part of a BBC2 documentary screened in autumn 2005. Following the completion of the project two illustrated posters were prepared with details of the church building, the wall paintings and their conservation, which are displayed, alongside other material on the history of the parish, on newly built presentation boards at the west end of the church.

CONCLUSIONS AND LONG TERM CONSERVATION

Despite the inauspicious manner in which they were found, the wall paintings at Ilketshall St Andrew represent one of the most exciting and important discoveries in English medieval wall painting in recent years. All three areas of painting are unusual, but the Wheel of Fortune is particularly important. It would appear that it is the only representation of the subject which combines the pagan iconography of Fortune turning the wheel, with the Christian iconography of the Last Judgement. The inclusion of the eyes of God only serves to increase the already unusual nature of the painting.

The discovery of such an important scheme of paintings has generated a great deal of interest in the church and attracted many visitors during the course of the work. The PCC has now arranged a more formal timetable for opening and, in liaison with the local tourist authorities, visitors are encouraged to come to the church. While there is no intention to turn St Andrew's into a museum, the increased visitor numbers help to maintain a wider interest in the church, as well as adding to the parish income.

While the conservation treatment discussed above has stabilised the wall paintings and short term deterioration has been prevented, the key to their long term conservation is the maintenance of the building envelope and the rainwater disposal system. If these remain in good condition, so too will the paintings. If they fall into disrepair, then the deterioration of the paintings will follow swiftly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For the financial support which allowed the conservation programme to be undertaken, I would like to thank the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Council for the Care of Churches. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Vicar and Church Wardens of St Andrew's Church, and in particular to Dr Martin Parry, Mr Stuart Carpenter and Mrs Catriona Hodge for their help and patience throughout the project. For information regarding the structural condition of the church I am grateful to the church architect Mr Brian Haward. I am also extremely grateful to Mr David Park for his suggestions of iconographic parallels and his views on the dating of the paintings. In addition, I would like to express my thanks to the Courtauld Institute of Art for allowing access to the National Survey of Medieval Wall Painting during the research for the initial survey. Finally I would like to thank the conservators, Emily Howe, Jonathan Scott, Bianca Madden, Juliane Kownatzki and Anika Basemann, who worked with me on the project.

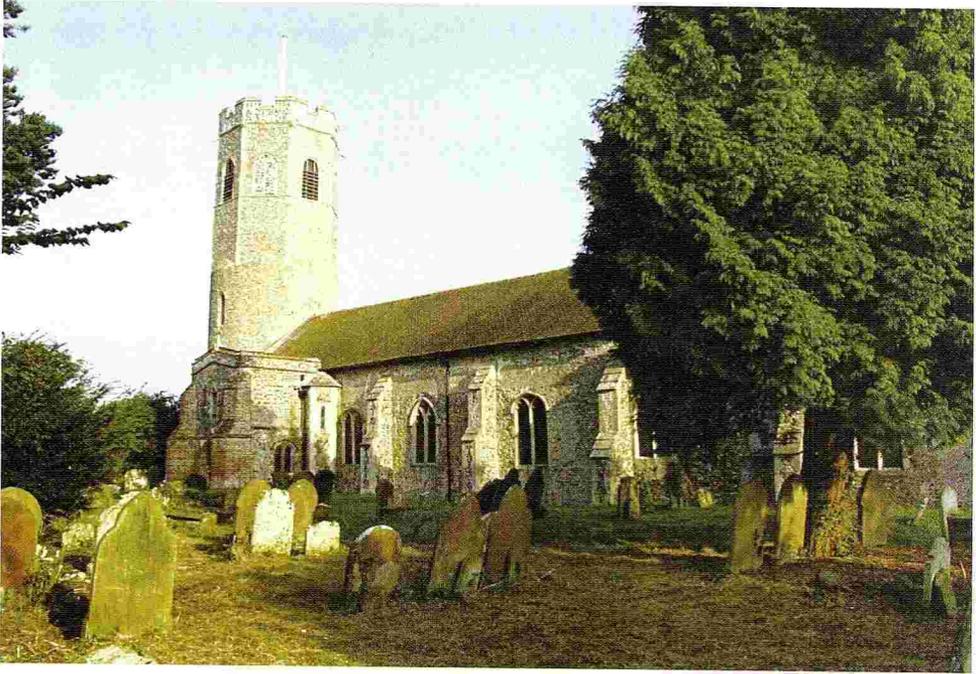


FIG. 119 – External view of the south side of the church (Photo TCA 2005).

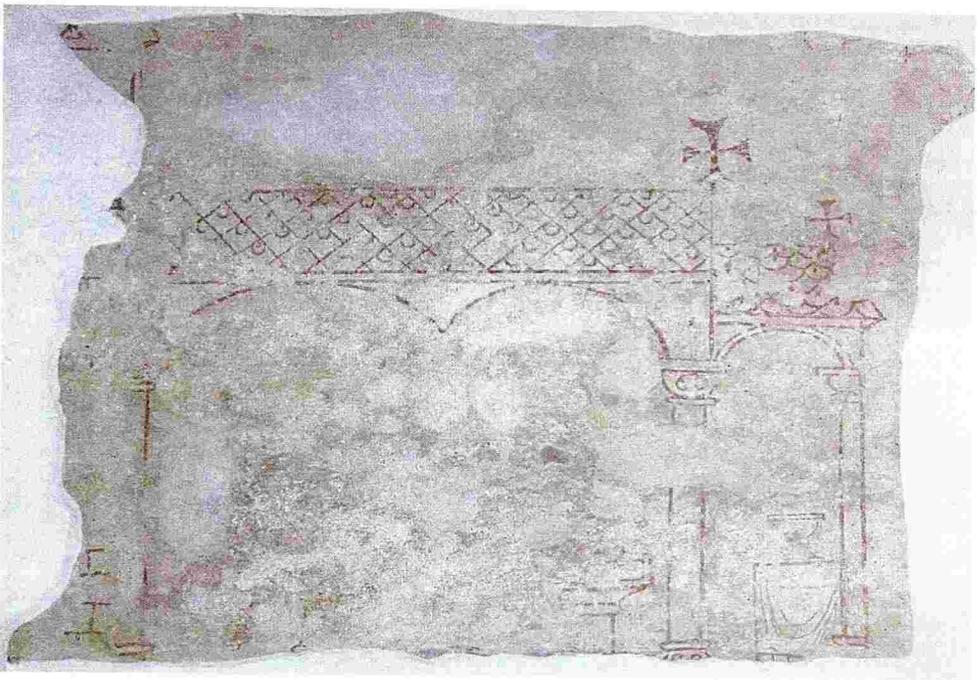
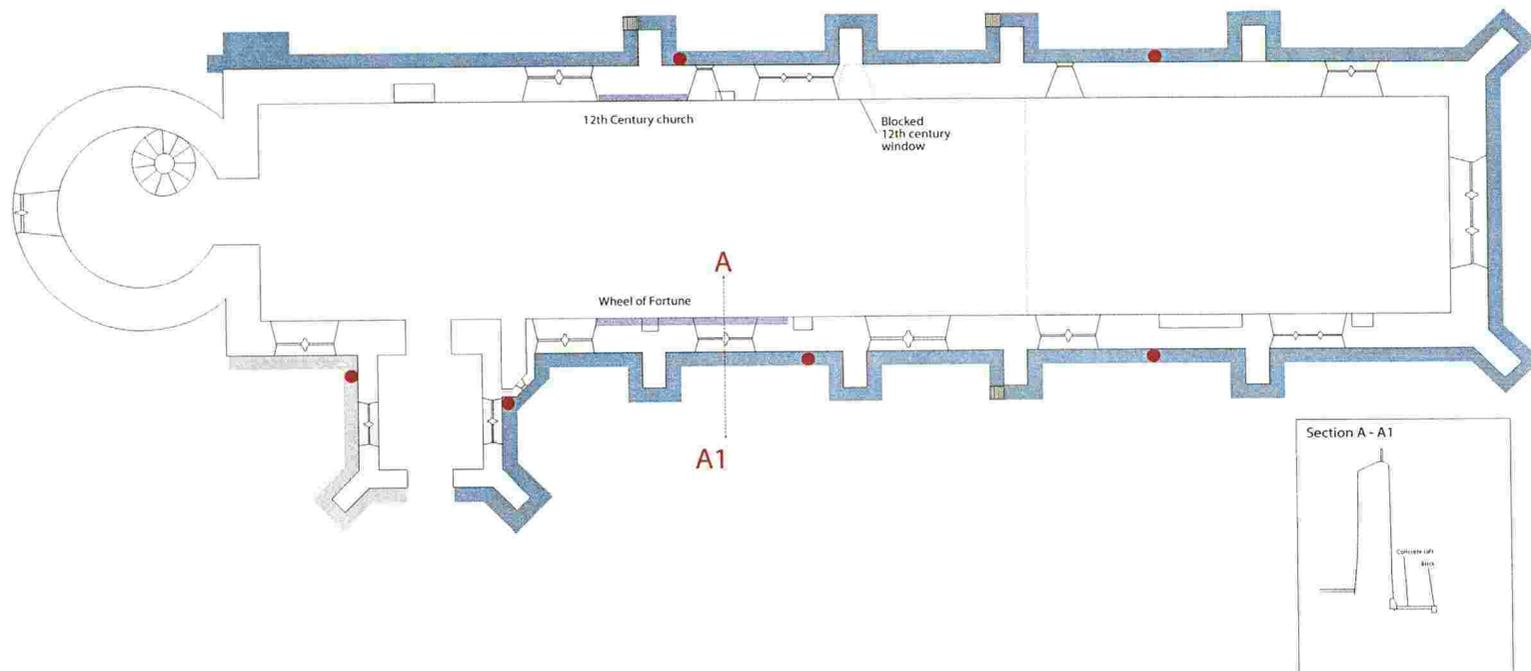


FIG. 120 – The painting of the church after conservation (Photo TCA 2005).



Site: Ilkethshall St Andrew	Type: Location diagram	0m 1m 2m 3m 4m 5m 	Treated areas of painting	
Area: Plan	Date: February 2002	TOBIT CURTEIS ASSOCIATES 36 Abbey Road Cambridge CB5 8HQ	Downpipe Drains Concrete gully	

FIG. 121 – Plan of the Church (Photo TCA 2005).

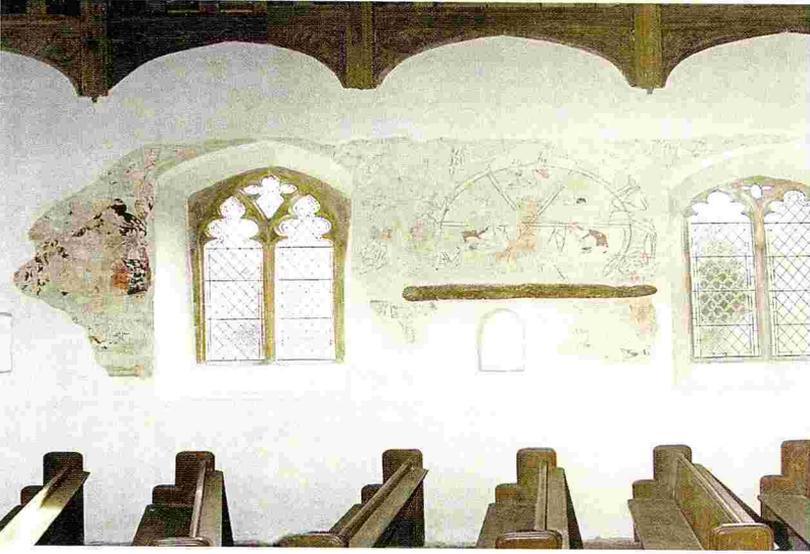


FIG. 122 – General view of the central part of the north wall after conservation (Photo TCA 2005).

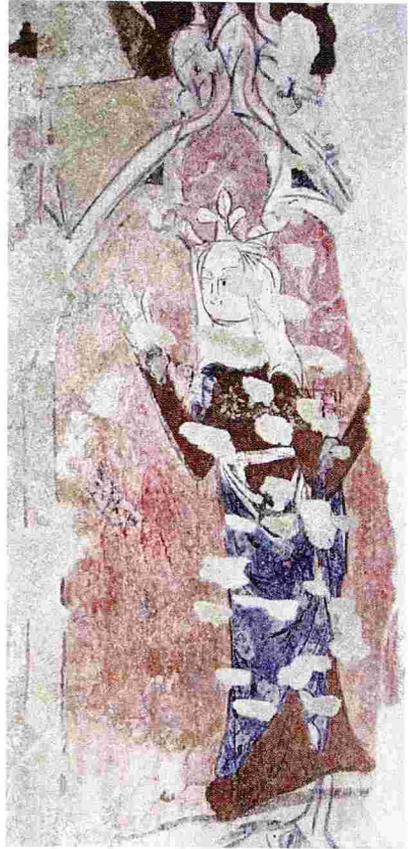


FIG. 123 – The female figure standing against a red scrollwork background (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 124 – Figure of the king and the architectural elements above the arcade. (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 125 – The two demons below the arcade (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 126 – General view of the Wheel of Fortune and the Last Judgement (Photo TCA 2005).

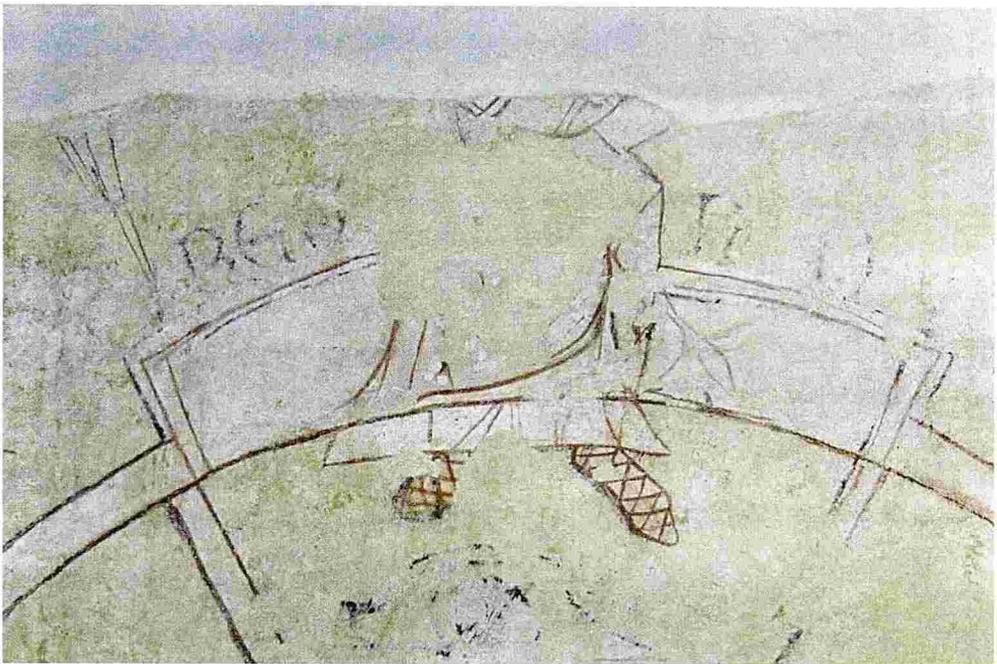


FIG. 127 – The figure in majesty at the top of the wheel (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 128 – The figure of the falling king on the right of the wheel (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 129 – The dead, raised from their tombs by the trumpeting angel (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 130 – The Wheel of Fortune at Rochester Cathedral
(Photo Pery Lithgow Partnership).

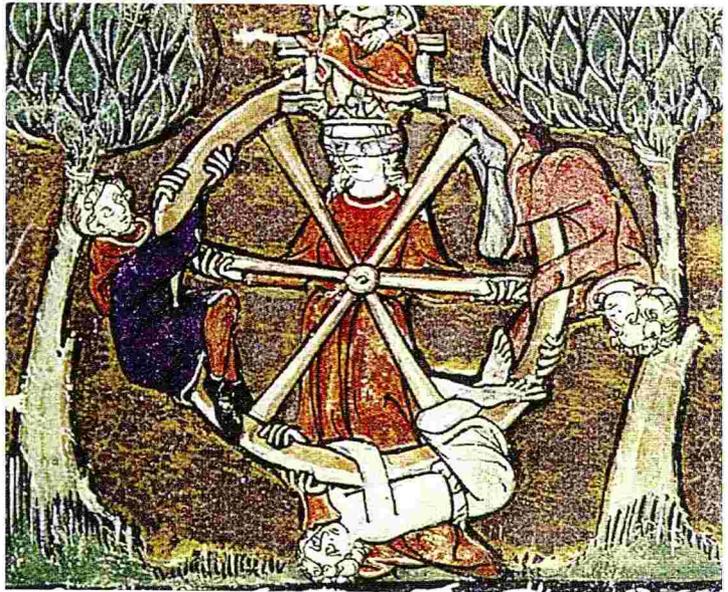


FIG. 131 – The Wheel of Fortune from La Queste del Saint Graal
(Photo British Library).

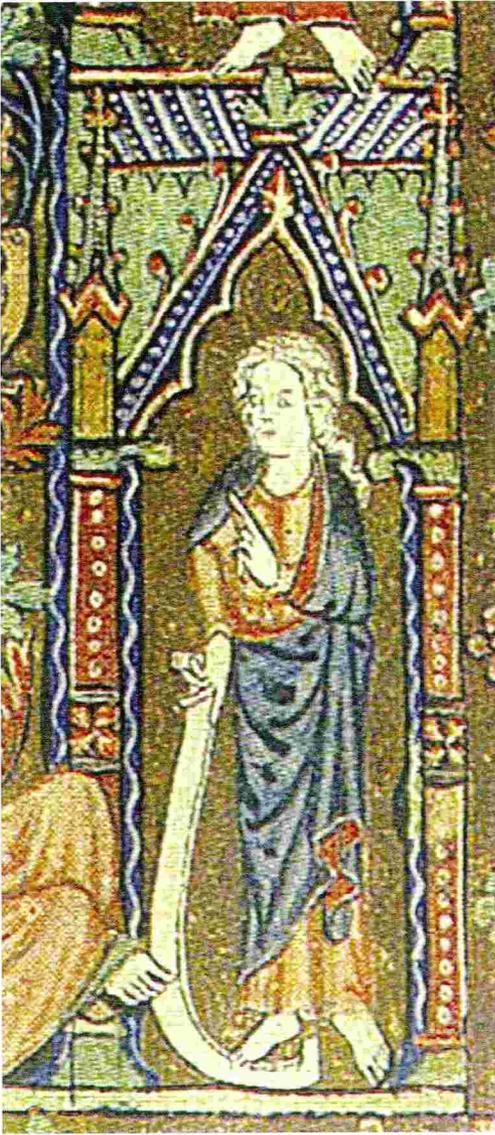


FIG. 132 – Detail of one of the figures in an arcade flanking the Tree of Jesse in the Tickhill Psalter (Photo New York Public Library).



FIG. 133 – The apostles in the Anti-reliquary Chapel at Norwich Cathedral (Photo Courtauld Institute).



FIG. 134 – General view of the central part of the north wall before conservation (Photo TCA 2005).



FIG. 135 – Detail of the keying (Photo TCA 2005).

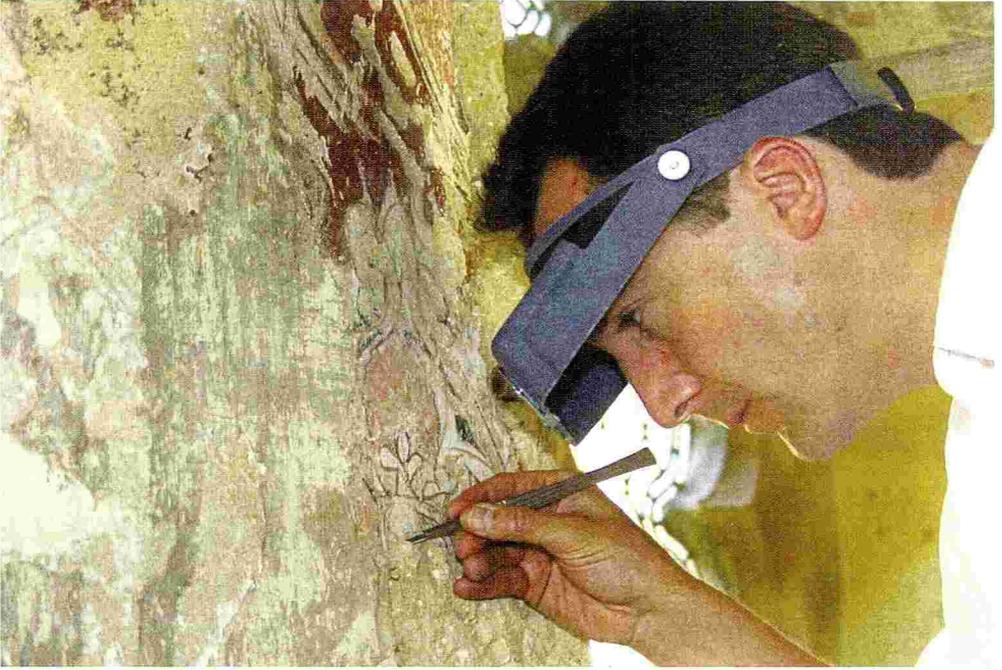


FIG. 136 – Tobit Curteis uncovering the female figure (*Photo TCA 2005*).



FIG. 137 – The partially uncovered female figure (*Photo TCA 2005*).

NOTES

- ¹ Tobit Curteis Associates, *Technical Survey and Proposals for the Conservation of the Wall Paintings, St Andrew's Church, Ilketshall St Andrew, Suffolk*, February 2002 and Tobit Curteis Associates, *Proposals and Specification for the Conservation of the Wall Paintings, St Andrew's Church, Ilketshall St Andrew, Suffolk*, July 2003.
- ² Although much of the tracery was replaced in the 19th century, it appears probable that the windows in the south wall are not all of the same date. Pers. Comm. Dr Richard Morris & Robert Carr, unpublished report, September 2005.
- ³ The faculty for the repairs to St Andrews' Church of 12th April 1898 puts the cost of the work at approximately £1350. I am most grateful to Mrs Catriona Hodge for drawing my attention to this record.
- ⁴ Although the use of this type of true fresco painting is extremely rare in English wall painting, there are a small number of examples known from this period. (Howard 1995, 94).
- ⁵ A programme of paint analysis was undertaken in order to examine the nature of the original painting materials and techniques.
- ⁶ Because of its intense pale yellow colour, orpiment was often used to imitate gold.
- ⁷ Paintings previously identified as Wheels of Fortune (Keyser 1883, 360, Tristram 1955) include those at Belchamp Walter in Essex, now identified as the Seven Deadly Sins, and Old Weston in Huntingdonshire, now identified as the Seven Ages of Man. The paintings at Padbury in Buckinghamshire and Catfield in Norfolk have been identified as the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Works of Mercy, respectively.
- ⁸ Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge Ms.330 no.4.
- ⁹ British Library MS. 476832, f.1v.
- ¹⁰ Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai, MS.171, I am most grateful to Dr Stella Panayotova for drawing my attention to this example.
- ¹¹ There is however a curious and extremely rare painting of the Eye of God by Hieronymous Bosch of c.1490, which is associated with the events of Man's Life and the Seven Deadly Sins.
- ¹² New York Public Library, Ms Spencer 26, f.5v.
- ¹³ Production of wall paintings was a large industry at this period and so workshops of church and house painters would have existed throughout the country. The skill of these painters might have varied considerably, but they would have been readily available for projects such as that at Ilketshall.
- ¹⁴ A full description of the condition and conservation treatment can be found in Tobit Curteis Associates, *The Parish Church of Ilketshall St Andrew, Suffolk, Uncovering and Conservation of the Wall Paintings*, unpublished report, September 2005.

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