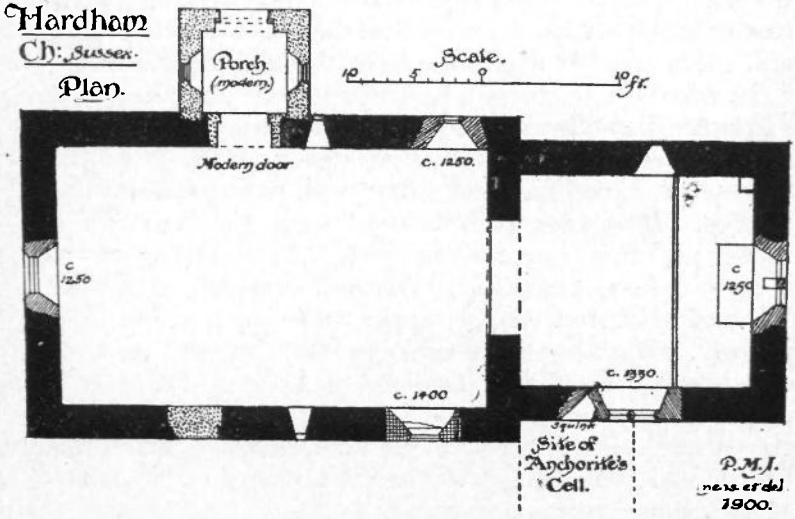
HARDHAM CHURCH, AND ITS EARLY PAINTINGS.

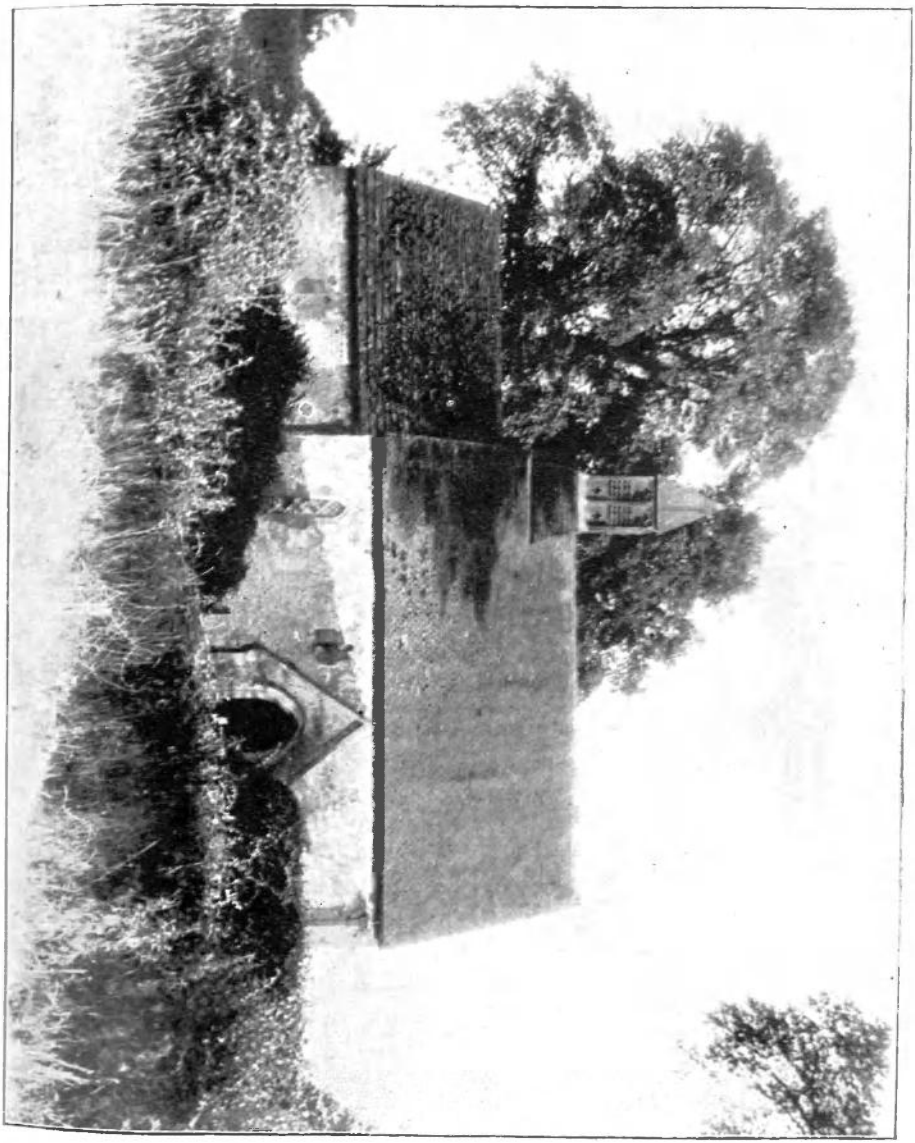
By PHILIP MAINWARING JOHNSTON.

The little church of St. Botolph, Hardham, in the valley of the Arun, a mile or so to the south of Pulborough, in West Sussex, is typical in its utter plainness and small dimensions of the early churches of this part of the county.[1] Coates, Selham, Chithurst, Burton, Tangmere, Eastergate, and Ford are but a few of these tiny ancient sanctuaries, all built of the rudest materials and on the simplest lines, and all, if not pre-Conquest in plan and in their main features, at any rate of a date within the eleventh century. (Plate I.)



[1] The dedication to St. Botolph favours a pre-Conquest origin for the church. A view of the church as it appeared about the end of the eighteenth century occurs in Horsfield's *Sussex*, II. 153. This shows a remarkable hollow yew tree of great size and immense antiquity, of which no vestige remains. Besides its ancient church the parish still contains the ruins of the Priory of the Holy Cross, an Augustinian foundation, dating back to the twelfth century at least. The existing portions comprise the very beautiful chapter-house of mid-thirteenth-century date, and the undercrofts of the refectory and dormitory, the latter being probably over the canons' day room. See, for further particulars, *Sussex Archæological Collections*, XI. and XVIII., wherein views and a plan are given. It is much to be wished that further excavations could be undertaken to recover the plan of the church of the priory.

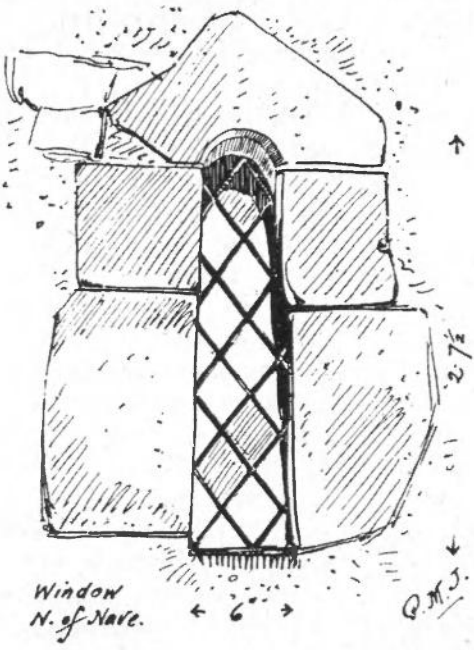
To face page 62.



HARDHAM CHURCH FROM NORTH.

From a photograph by P. M. Johnston.

In plan Hardham, like the others, consists only of nave (31 feet 6 inches by 19 feet) and chancel (17 feet by 15 feet 6 inches), with the addition of an incongruous modern porch. The east wall of the chancel and the west wall of the nave converge towards the south; otherwise the lines of the building are quite regular. There is a modern wooden bell-cote at the east end of the nave, replacing an old one, containing two bells. The roofs are ancient, and that of the chancel is still partly



covered with stone slabs. The materials used for the walling are the local sandstone and ironstone rubble, with quoins, etc. of the same local stone, hammer-dressed,[1] while in the chancel many Roman bricks and tiles are visible, some of the latter impressed with characteristic scoring-patterns. A mass of the bricks in their original mortar does duty as part of the south-east quoin of the chancel. The ancient plaster remains on the walls for the most part, externally as well as internally. Of the original

[1] There is not a trace of the Norman axe-tooling on any of the quoins or other dressed stonework.

features, one window in the north wall of the chancel and one each in the north and south walls of the nave, together with a door in the south wall of the latter, remain. These are quite archaic in character. The nave windows are narrow slits, very slightly splayed to the interior, with no rebate or other provision for glazing, and the external jambs incline upwards to the circular head of the opening, which is cut out of one large stone. The jambs of the chancel window are splayed out to a wider angle (no doubt for the greater need of light), and externally there is a shallow shutter-rebate, which, however, may not be original. The *internal* jambs of this window incline towards the head.

The doorway in the south wall of the nave (now blocked up) is even more archaic in appearance than the windows. It has perfectly plain jambs, worked in large blocks of sandstone, and crowned by a massive flat lintol, tapering on its upper edge towards the ends, and over this is a rough discharging-arch. There is not a vestige of moulding or ornament to relieve the bare outlines.[1]

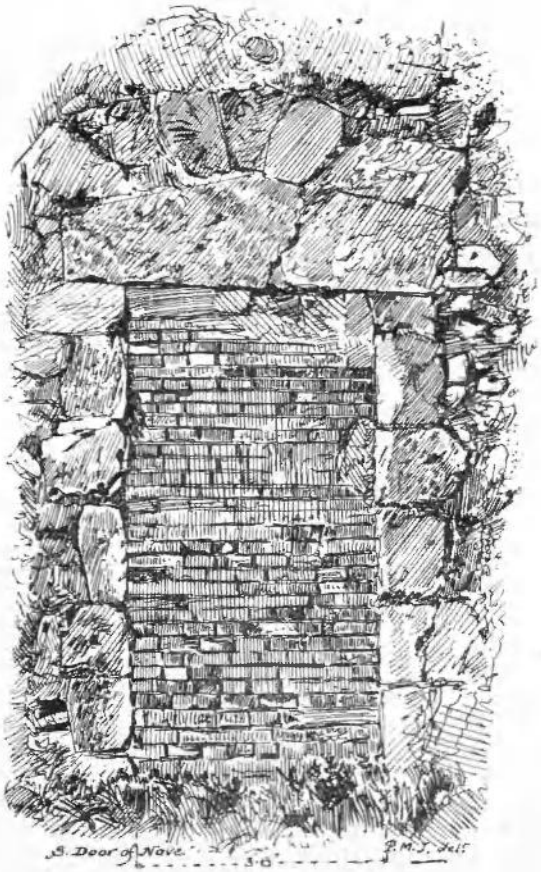
The chancel-arch, a bold semi-circle slightly horse-shoed, is also square-edged and perfectly plain, except that the chamfered imposts have had a small bead-moulding partially worked upon them, perhaps at some subsequent period.[2] It is greatly to be regretted that, at the restoration in 1866, the ancient plaster was removed from this arch, and its rough hammer-dressed stonework exposed, the joints being then pointed with cement in the loathsome fashion so dear to builders. In this manner portions of the ancient paintings covering the plaster of the arch were destroyed.

The east window consists of two broad lancets divided by a wide pier-mullion, the thin masonry above being pierced with a small opening of pointed-oval shape—the whole forming an interesting and early essay in plate

[1] At Burpham, hard by, is a similar square-headed door, but the lintol there presents a curious and early instance of joggling. Close to it is an undoubtedly Saxon window, and probably both are of the same date.

[2] But the same moulding occurs in an upper window of the Necessarium at Westminster Abbey, a piece of the untouched work of the Confessor, brought to light, alas! only to be destroyed or hidden by recent extension of the School buildings. The abaci of the caps had a quirked bead and chamfer, and the cushions were carved with tau crosses and palm-leaf angles. I was able to obtain careful sketches before the work was masked or destroyed.

tracery. The internal head is flatly arched in one segment. Its date is about 1250, and it possibly replaces a single slit window of the original work. Below the central mullion, on its internal cill, is a singular block or corbel evidently designed to support the altar cross, a purpose which it once more fulfils. In the north-east



angle of the chancel is another corbel, possibly intended as a lamp or image bracket, or perhaps as one of the supports for the altar beam carrying the ornaments.

To the same date (1250) belongs the lancet in the eastern part of the north wall of the nave, the rear arch

of which (as in the east window) is of flat segmental form in one sweep. This was, no doubt, inserted to light a small side altar.

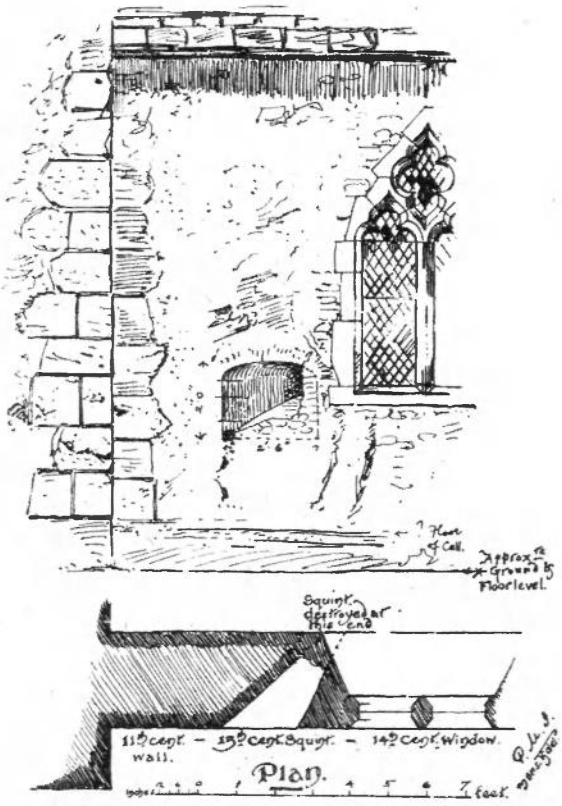
The wide pointed-arched window in the west wall, of nondescript character, may also be an insertion of this period, perhaps in place of one of the early openings, but it may be as late as the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Another wide and rudely formed window, with a peculiar trefoiled head, probably of early fifteenth century date, has been inserted in the eastern part of the south wall of the nave. This may also have had some connection with an altar; its flat internal cill and nearness to floor and ground seem to place it within the category of what are termed low side windows, the usual position for which was the south-west corner of the chancel. Such a position was impossible in this instance, for a reason that will presently be seen. There is no present trace of either piscina or aumbry in the chancel or nave; they may, however, still exist behind the plaster.

In the south wall of the chancel is a two-light decorated window, the existing tracery of which is a restoration; and immediately to the west of this is a feature of peculiar interest which it was my good fortune to discover last summer.

This is nothing more nor less than an anchorite's Sacrament-squint, which pierces the wall in a slanting direction so as to exactly command the mediæval altar, which must have stood a yard or more clear of the east wall. It was in searching for a low side window in this, its normal position, that this singular squint came to light.

There can be no doubt that it served the purpose of enabling the occupant of a small anchorage attached to the south wall of the chancel to watch the pix containing the reserved Sacrament, to join from his narrow cell in the masses offered at the high altar, and to receive through this small aperture the consecrated Host and chalice. The squint is far from perfect. On the exterior, however, enough remains to show that it measured 2 feet 6 inches in width by about 2 feet in height, the head being roughly arched in an elliptical form, and sloping

downward to the interior; the head and sides of the aperture were smoothly plastered. The cill, from the cell side, must have been not more than 2 feet 6 inches from the floor, requiring the recluse to be in a kneeling posture to make use of the squint. Of the opening on the interior face of the chancel wall hardly a trace remains,



Anchorite's Squint, Hardham.

the whole squint having been cut into and partially destroyed in the formation (*c.* 1330) of the large window adjoining. We have thus plain evidence that the cell to which this squint belonged must by that date have fallen into disuse.

As to the date at which the ankerhold and its squint

were made we can guess with tolerable certainty. From the character of the opening it is evidently not coeval with the eleventh century wall in which it has been pierced; nor has it any of the marks of Norman work, early or late, about it. We are helped to decide the date by a bequest in the will of the famous Sussex saint, Richard de la Wych, Bishop of Chichester. He seems to have been a special patron both of the friars and of the anchorites (he was at one time a Dominican himself), for in his will, made probably in the year of his death, 1253, bequests to two male and three female recluses are specified. Among these we find the recluse of Hardham.[1] As St. Richard became Bishop of Chichester in 1245, it seems likely that he superintended the inclusion of the anker at some time between that date and 1253, and that the cell may have been built at the same time. It thus remained in use probably for 70 years or more.

The cell in this instance was almost certainly a light and simple erection of wattle-and-daub, some 8 feet square internally and probably roofed with thatch, or reeds from the river hard by. Had it been of more massive construction we should have traces remaining of its roof and walls against the chancel wall and nave quoin. It must have had its grated and shuttered opening, probably on the western side, for the admission of food supplies, and other needful uses; and through this narrow aperture the recluse held converse with such as sought him, administered ghostly counsel, and, if a priest, heard confessions and shrove the penitent. And on the eastern side was perhaps another small aperture, high up and glazed with

[1] "Also to Friar Humphrey, the recluse of Pageham, 40 shillings.
Also to the female recluse of Hoghton half a marc (6*s.* 8*d.*).
Also to the female recluse of Stopeham half a marc.
Also to the recluse of *Heringham* half a marc.
Also to the female recluse of the Blessed Mary of Westoute at Lewes 5 shillings."

Printed *in extenso*, with an excellent translation and copious notes, in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, I. 164.

HERINGHAM (*Heriedeham* in Domesday), is the modern HARDHAM. It is very probable that these recluses had all been admitted to the Order and "included" by Bishop de la Wych, who thus shows a lively interest in their support. There must have been a great many more in Sussex in the thirteenth century than we have any idea of at the present day. Houghton and Stopham are both but a few miles from Hardham; Pagham, on the Selsea peninsula, is in the extreme south-west corner of the county. I am not aware that any search has ever been made for traces of the cells at the two former churches.

horn, for the admission of light.[1] It was a strange life, but we must suppose it presented attractions to the devout in those rough times, or else many would not have voluntarily chosen to relinquish their freedom and be virtually buried alive for the remainder of their days. Doubtless where the spirit is free it is always true that

> "Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage."[2]

The nave is still for the most part seated with the massive oak benches of fifteenth century date, with plain but well designed square ends; the font, also plain, is probably of the same date. The communion rail bears date 1721, and is good of its kind. The porch and north door are modern and incongruous. There are no monuments of any antiquity or interest.

So much for the building. I now come to the very important series of paintings with which the entire church is covered. In considering them I shall refer, from time to time, to two strikingly similar series of paintings—now alas! no longer in existence—in the churches of Plumpton

[1] One of the statutes of the Synod held by Bishop Richard de la Wych in 1246 lays down certain regulations as to recluses. They were "not to admit or have any person in their dwellings of whom grave suspicion might arise. Their windows were also required to be narrow and convenient; they were permitted to have intercourse with those persons only whose character did not admit of suspicion. The custody of the vestments of the church was not, except in cases of necessity, to be delivered to female recluses."—*Wilkins's Concilia.*

In the Pontifical of Bishop Lacy, written in the fourteenth century, is an office "Reclusio Anachoritarum," wherein the Sacrament of Extreme Unction was administered and the commendatory prayer for the soul of the recluse was offered, lest in his solitary condition he should die without these rites. Part of the office for the Burial of the Dead was also recited to emphasise the fact that the anchorite, already dead to the world, had entered his sepulchre. The *Sarum Manual* contains a like office, "Servitium Includendorum." These anchorites and anchoresses took vows of lifelong inclusion after a certain period of probation and with the express license of the bishop of the diocese. The door by which they had entered their cells was either locked and the key taken away—the bishop putting his seal thereon—or else walled up with solid masonry, only to be broken down on the death of the solitary inmate. The recluse was commonly buried under the floor of his cell, which was then cleansed and prepared for a fresh occupant.

The *Ancren Riwle*, of early thirteenth century date, printed for the Camden Society, gives us much curious information as to the manners and customs of ankers and ankeresses. *Cf.* also papers printed in the *Archæological Journal*, XLIV. 26, and XLV. 284. I have given a drawing of a cell still remaining at Hartlip Church, Kent, in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, XLII. 177.

and Westmeston, near Lewes, some 20 miles to the east of Hardham.[1]

The Hardham paintings are, without doubt, among the oldest remaining in England; they are specially noteworthy also for the variety and brilliancy of the colours employed, for the remarkable details, and for the extraordinary state of preservation of parts of the work. I have assigned a date between the years 1050 and 1100 to the building, and it will, I think, be evident on examination that the paintings can hardly be many years later than the latter year. Though brought to light about 1866-8 by the late rector, the Rev. J. M. Sandham, the uncovering of the paintings was not very thoroughly or carefully done, and many important details were still hidden till last summer, when as much of the whitewash as it was possible to remove was taken off by myself and others. They were then twice sized and twice varnished with a tough white varnish. In the earlier uncovering it is to be feared that much injury was wrought, partly by unskilful or hasty handling, and also, inevitably, from the close adhesion of the whitewash to the surface of the painting. In addition, eight centuries of exposure to various destructive agencies—of which the damp and unsheltered situation of the church was not the least—have caused large portions of the surface of the plaster to disintegrate, and the painting has, of course, been slowly perishing with it. So durable, however, was the medium originally employed, that even where this has occurred stains and outlines of figures, nimbuses, and architectural settings remain in the plaster to indicate the nature of the subjects. Unfortunately, a modern distemper dado has obscured part of the lower range of paintings in both nave and chancel.

The paintings throughout are in two tiers, the upper much better preserved than the lower. A modern doorway on the north side of the nave has wrought much

[1] I feel tempted to add a third church, that of Clayton, in the neighbourhood of the other two, but I have not my full data at the time of writing; and also I hesitate to controvert the opinion of so eminent an authority as Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., who ascribed the Clayton paintings to so late a period as the latter half of the thirteenth century. If I am too early, surely he is much too late.

injury to some of the subjects, as also have the various ancient inserted windows.

The medium used is one of the most curious questions connected with the work. An enamel-like face, especially noticeable when the whitewash was freshly removed, seems to render it certain that a varnish was originally employed to give a glaze to the finished paintings. The colour below this glaze is very thick and tough, several coats being applied one over another in many places, and over all in some cases a thick white body colour is laid on for the borders, etc. the effect of the work being exactly similar to oil painting. I incline to think that we have in reality a combination of pure tempera and oil painting, the ground colours and broad masses being laid on in the former, and the latter being applied in the smaller details belonging to the last stage of the work, and then the whole glazed over with oil, or oil varnish. The writer of an account of the now destroyed paintings at Westmeston,[1] the work in which was precisely similar in technique, style, and date, says: "The colours used are distempers, and in one or two places *there were traces of varnish.*"[2]

The colours employed are chiefly a deep Indian red, pink in various shades, and flesh-tint; a rich yellow ochre, and brown umber (chiefly in outlines of features and nimbuses); and a vivid emerald green in some of the nimbuses, etc. White is freely used to heighten the outlines, features, and hands, and to give relief to the robes. It also is applied as a body-colour in dotted patterns on some of the dresses; for the lettering of the descriptive sentences connected with some of the subjects, and as a peculiar undulating border or lacing which edges some of the compositions.

[1] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, XVI. 1. By Rev. C. H. Campion, M.A.

[2] It is difficult to fix with certainty the antiquity of oil as a medium in painting; probably it is at least as old as the Christian era, but it seems to have come into general use very slowly and partially, and at first to have been employed chiefly in connection with small articles of furniture, rather than with large surfaces of buildings. We have recorded instances of its use in the thirteenth century for wall-paintings, and it is probable that in the two preceding centuries its use was not unknown, either alone or as a finishing process in connection with tempera painting. Varnish is set down among the materials used in executing the paintings in the royal palace of Westminster, *temp.* Henry III. (see the Accounts, printed in *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. VI. 1842).

Beginning with the WEST WALL of the nave, let us now examine the paintings in detail.

This is the worst preserved of all. Only the upper tier remains, and this has been half-destroyed by the insertion of the large window. The subject is "THE TORMENTS OF HELL," apparently. Large figures of demons are shown hacking the arms and legs of lost souls, the gashes and blood being very realistically indicated. The demons are grotesquely ugly and bear some resemblance to those in the famous twelfth century painting at Chaldon—also on a west wall.[1] The figures are of flesh-tint against a dark red background.

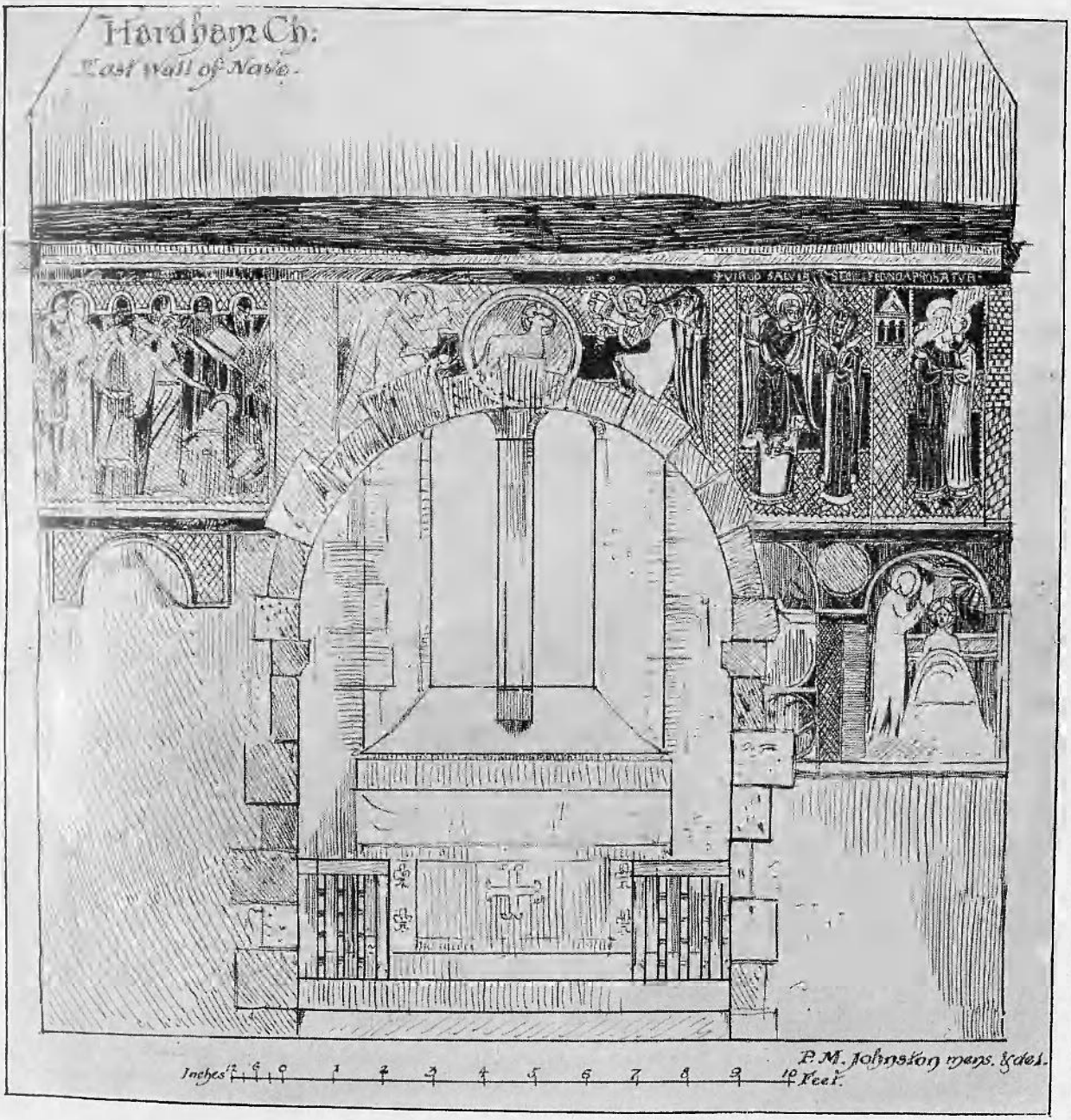
The scenes depicted in the upper tier on the north, south, and east walls of the nave are concerned with the nativity and infancy of our Lord, those in the lower, of which but little remains, being mostly of a legendary or allegorical character. To take these in their proper sequence we must commence with the EAST WALL OF THE NAVE. (Plate II.)

Here, beginning on the southern side, we have in the upper tier "THE ANNUNCIATION," the most perfect of any of the subjects represented. On the left is the Archangel Gabriel, the forefinger of his right hand emphasising the message he is delivering to the Blessed Virgin. His arms are crossed over his body to enable him to do this, and in his left hand is a lily-sceptre.[2] The Blessed Virgin—over whom the Holy Dove is hovering—spreads out her hands in the Eastern attitude of prayer. She wears a curious three-lobed crown or tiara of Byzantine character, from which depends a veil. Both figures have nimbuses of a peculiar oval form and a rich emerald green colour; their dresses consist of a long robe of a deep Indian red colour, that of the angel being somewhat fuller and shorter, displaying an under tunic of white, while the Blessed Virgin's, which fits closely to the body, has a broad white band above the feet. Over her shoulders falls a mantle of the same deep red, lined

[1] See account in *Surrey Archæological Collections*, V, with coloured drawing to scale. By J. G. Waller, F.S.A.

[2] There is something extraordinarily Byzantine in these elongated yet not inelegant figures and in the pose of the hands. They remind one more of figures in the mosaics of Ravenna and elsewhere than of anything in English wall-paintings.

To face page 72.



EAST WALL OF NAVE. UPPER TIER: CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS; AGNUS DEI ADORED BY ANGELS; THE ANNUNCIATION; THE SALUTATION.
LOWER TIER: (*Subject destroyed*); THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

with white. The sleeves of both figures are short and bell-mouthed, and those of the angel have a border or lining of emerald green. The drapery folds are very peculiarly treated—archaic and conventional to a degree. The red dresses are powdered with groups of three little white pellets, while the outlines and folds are in a peculiar whitey-brown colour. Note the remarkable wavy feathering of the angel's wings, the style of the hair—parted in the middle[1]—and the curiously *wooden* expression of the faces. The eyes in most of the figures are set obliquely, and the iris is drawn like that of a cat's eye. The Virgin has pointed white shoes, while the Messenger's feet are bare. The Dove is delicately drawn with light brown outlines, round his neck is some crimson feathering, and on the wings black "eyes." Both figures stand upon a golden pavement, represented by a diaper pattern in red upon a rich yellow ground, and the same yellow, with a different pattern (a sort of diamond scale work, having a white dot and red line through the centre of each scale), forms the wall or background behind the upper part of their bodies. Beneath is a dado of red hanging, edged with a white scalloped border, and upon this is a roughly smeared pattern of crosses and fleurs-de-lys.[2] On the left of the Announcing Angel is a trellis border formed with red lines on a pink ground, in the centre of each diamond being a white star.

To the south of "The Annunciation" is "THE SALUTATION," the subjects being separated by a remarkable tower, perhaps intended for the Virgin's house. The lower part of this is covered with a trellis pattern of red lines, recrossed with pink, on a cream ground, the edges being bordered with the scalloped white line before mentioned.[3] These borders, which are about an inch wide, are used throughout to separate the subjects one from another and to emphasise parts of the subjects. In the case of this tower they run up to the horizontal border over the whole range of subjects, giving at a

[1] Said to be a traditional rendering of *arch*-angelic coiffure.

[2] These no doubt refer to the purity of the Blessed Virgin, and that which her faith was to eventuate in—the redemption through the Cross.

[3] This white lacing or scalloping is one of the peculiarities of the Plumpton and Westmeston paintings. It is met with in a slightly different form in the eleventh and twelfth century paintings at St. Savin, Poitou, France.

distance the appearance of pinnacles to the angles of the tower. The upper stage of the latter has a curious arcade which looks at first sight like three trefoiled arches, giving a later character than the painting generally bears; but this at once disappears on a closer inspection, for the arcade is seen to be composed of three little horseshoe arches on shafts, having plain capitals and bases of a conical shape. A moulded cornice and pyramidal roof, shaded in pink, red, and white to represent tiling, surmount the arcade.

To the right of the tower are the figures of Mary and Elizabeth; the faces, unhappily destroyed by an old settlement[1] in the wall, are represented only by parts of the nimbuses, which in this scene are yellow instead of green. The Virgin's dress is dark red as before, while that of Elizabeth is yellow, and both are powdered with the same white dotted pattern.[2] The figures are bordered on the right by a pink wall (? Elizabeth's house), lined out with diminutive "stoning"; and this, with some vertical bands of white yellow and red, completes the subject.

Above these two scenes is a very interesting inscription in white letters on a dark red band. The forms and curious contractions of the lettering can be better gathered from the accompanying reproduction (Plate III.) than from a description. It is what is known as a Leonine hexameter, and reads, without the contractions, as follows:—

✠ VIRGO SALVTATVR · STERILIS FECVNDA PRObATVR ·[3]

the C in "fecunda" being square—a mark of early date—and the minuscule b in the last word is also noteworthy. The shape of the S has a foreign look.

These Leonine verses were a remarkable feature of the destroyed Westmeston paintings, where they were

[1] Two or three large iron holdfasts have been driven into the wall hereabouts, either for the support of the Tables of the Commandments, etc. or some other purpose. These have wrought, fortunately, less injury than might have been expected.

[2] The writer of the account of the paintings at Westmeston describes these little groups of white spots as buttons!

[3] "The Virgin is saluted. The barren is proved fruitful."

ONE FOOT

W. GRIGGS & SONS, CHROMO-LITH.

EAST WALL OF NAVE, SOUTHERN HALF, UPPER TIER.

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON, DEL.

painted in an exactly similar manner, *i.e.* in Roman lettering, white body-colour on a dark ground, with the same style of contractions; while the square C also occurred—a strong corroborative proof that the paintings were of much the same date or even by the same workmen—as to which more anon.[1] Roman lettering in white on red was found in the paintings (also most reprehensibly destroyed) at Plumpton: one word was very distinct—MIHAEL (Michael)—and the white scalloped border and other peculiarities seem to attest the same hand at work as at Westmeston and Hardham.[2] At Westmeston there was a slight difference in the treatment of these Leonine hexameters, for instead of a plain red ground for the white lettering, the "field" of the texts was divided horizontally, half being painted yellow and half red, the lettering falling partly on each colour. The same idea, modified, is present at Hardham, where, as the plates show, the red text-strip has a yellow margin.

Doubtless the artist's intention was to affix a Leonine verse to all the subjects, but it does not seem to have been thoroughly carried out at Hardham, where remains of only two or three other inscriptions can be traced. At Westmeston, on the other hand, they seem to have accompanied all the pictures.

Coming now to the south wall of the nave, the series is continued in the upper tier, going westward, with "THE NATIVITY" and "VISIT OF THE SHEPHERDS," far less perfect than the foregoing. Here the Blessed Virgin is seen reposing upon a couch with a red coverlet

[1] White letters on a red ground occur on the splay of a Saxon window in the ground story of the central tower of St. Mary's, Guildford. This tower was not originally central but western, and the windows (which are double-splayed) external, but when a nave and transept were added and there was no further need of these ground story windows they were blocked up, with the Saxon painting on the splays, and *Early Norman* arches opened beneath, partly destroying the windows. We have thus indisputable evidence that the painting is eleventh century or pre-Conquest. That on the splay of the south window used to show a figure of Abraham offering up Isaac, and the letters ··BRAHAM OTR··AA· are still faintly discernible.

[2] The same writer described the paintings at both Westmeston and Plumpton in the XVIth and XXth Vols. of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, respectively, and while, quite correctly, claiming a date early in the twelfth century for the former, he is strangely blind to their obvious identity of date and workmanship, and in the case of Plumpton supposes that the paintings belong to "*the reign of Richard II.!*" One smiles at the perversity of ingenuity by which he seeks to establish this extraordinary conclusion.

spotted with white dots; her head resting on a richly diapered pillow; at her feet Joseph is seated in an attitude of meditation, partly wrapped in the folds of a curtain which is gracefully draped above and around the bed.[1] Beyond, with a domed roof, diagonally striped piers, diaper-work, and other peculiar architectural features, is seen the stable of the inn, in which are the ox and the ass watching over the swaddled child lying in the manger, and the entrance to this stable is being shown by a diminutive genuflecting figure, who is apparently acting as guide to three shepherds—if not one of themselves. All these figures are imperfect and very indistinct, but both the guide (? an angel) and the shepherds, who are very much larger in proportion, are dressed in tunics not reaching to the knee, with tight-fitting hose and long pointed shoes, dark red in colour. One of the little early windows follows this subject, being set in a framework of turrets and walling somewhat similar to those which occur in "The Annunciation" and "The Salutation."

"The Appearance of the Star" seems to have been the next subject, but it is almost entirely obliterated. Remains of a trellised tower divide it from

"The Magi on their Journey." Three figures on foot, in tunics, travelling-cloaks, and close-fitting hose, with pointed shoes. They have apparently Phrygian caps, or some similar form of head-covering, and carry staves or spears—it is difficult to say which. Before them is another wonderful bit of turret architecture—Jerusalem, or perhaps Herod's palace—in which trellis-work,[2] coursed masonry, a horseshoe-arched arcade (similar to that in "The Annunciation"), and some other peculiar masonry are seen. The last-named may be the painter's notion of herring-bone work.

The last subject represented on the south wall of the nave is very indistinct. It is either intended for "The Interview of the Magi with Herod," or else,

[1] *Cf.* MS. Cott. Claud. B. IV, in Brit. Mus., date eleventh century, for treatment of bed, etc. Joseph is usually represented, as in this instance, seated in a contemplative attitude in early paintings and illuminations of this subject. *Cf.* Benedictional of St. Æthelwold and Missal of Robert of Jumieges.

[2] No doubt intended for stone diapering, or else *opus reticulatum*.

as appears more likely from the difference in dress, "HEROD CONFERRING WITH THE CHIEF PRIESTS AND SCRIBES." A tower adjoining that last described, borders the subject, in which a seated figure on a dais can be made out with an attendant behind and two figures before him. These have staves of some sort in their hands and mitre-shaped headdresses. The one in front has a white tunic, striped horizontally with red, white hose, and red shoes, while the other's costume is mostly red. Another strip of masonry work, part of Herod's palace, completes the scene.

Passing on to the upper tier of paintings on the north wall, we find, beginning at the west end (Plate IV.)

"THE MAGI PRESENTING THEIR GIFTS." The architectural setting is fairly distinct and very curious—two circular arches flanked by turrets, with a third turret between them, supported by columns having capitals painted to represent carving. The Romanesque character of the turrets is very marked. Two of the Wise Kings stand under one of the arches (which is much wider than the other). They are shown with crowns of an early type—a simple band of metal—short tunics and outer cloaks, and long close-fitting hose—red in one case and white in the other. One holds a crescent-shaped object which may be intended to represent a metal "ship," or a dove, containing frankincense. The third kneels in the act of presenting his gift to the Young Child and His Mother, who are placed under the narrower arch. The Blessed Virgin is seated upon a low cushioned stool or seat, and holds the Child upon her knee, the latter being shown as though about two years old, in proper accord with the sacred narrative. Before the feet of the Mother and Child is what may be either a casket or a footstool. The Virgin has a sort of hood or veil, and a crown of similar character to that in "The Annunciation." Both Mother and Child are nimbed. I have as yet only succeeded in making the drawing here reproduced; a careful tracing from the painting would recover many obscure details.

The next picture represents (1) "JOSEPH WARNED IN A DREAM." The space is divided horizontally into two "floors" or compartments, in the upper of which, under

a canopy of two circular arches, Joseph, a bearded old man, is lying asleep, an angel bending over him with outstretched forefinger. (2) In the lower story, which is loftier and treated more richly, are represented "THE MAGI WARNED IN A DREAM." The three Magi are in bed, their heads reclining on large pillows, while over them also hovers an angel, with his hand emphasising the warning he is delivering.[1] There is some curious pattern-work upon the arches in this compartment—perhaps the remains of lettering—and the capitals are painted to represent carved foliage, while beyond to the right is a piece of pink wall lined out with miniature masonry.

"THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT." Here Mother and Child are seated upon the ass, led by Joseph, who carries, I believe, a lantern, but the details in this scene are very obscure. This subject, somewhat similar in treatment, was among the destroyed paintings at Plumpton, but in another position—on the east face of the east wall of the nave, and in this Joseph was shown following behind carrying a flaming torch and a thick staff in either hand, while the Virgin guided the ass with the reins.

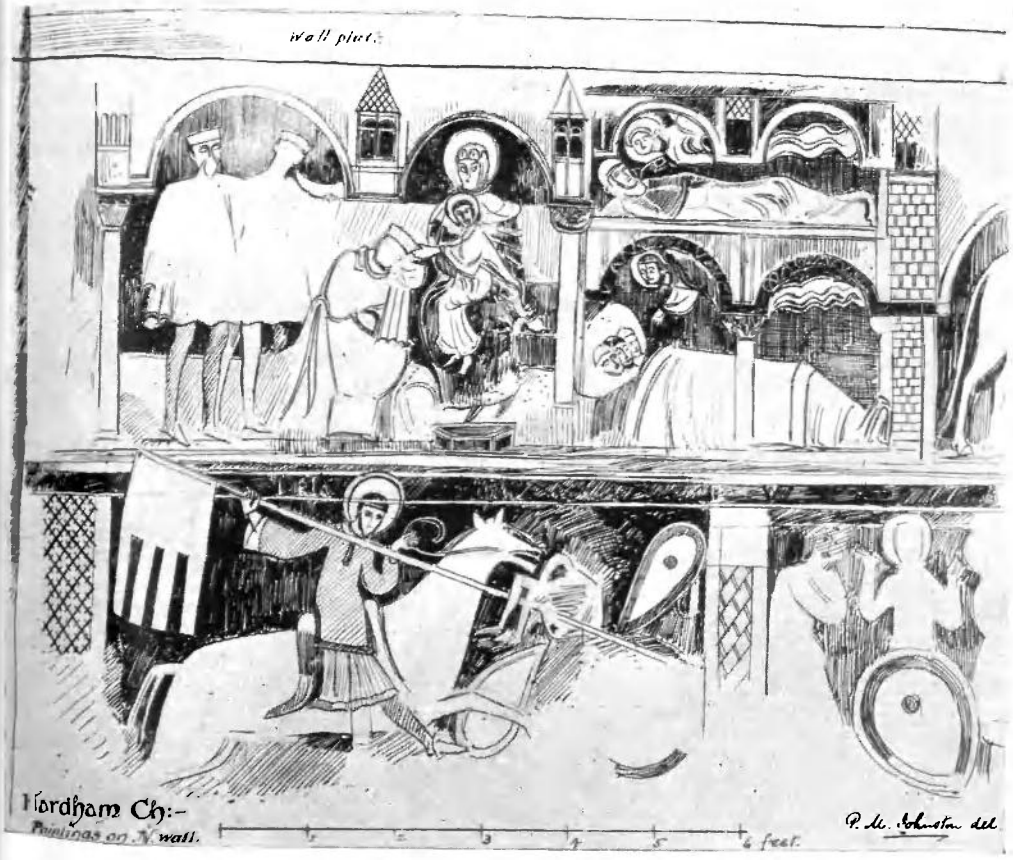
There is a remarkable adjunct to this scene in the Hardham "Flight" of which there is no record at Plumpton—nor indeed in any other ancient painting in this country to my knowledge—viz. the idols of Egypt falling out of their niches and being shattered at the approach of the Saviour of the World. There are four niches, two upper and two lower, and two nude idols are still erect in the former, while in the latter one is seen falling headlong and the other tumbling on to its knees, as though in involuntary worship.[2]

The single narrow-splayed early window in this wall follows the last scene. Its head and jambs are covered with a trellis pattern in pink bands upon a red ground.

[1] The Missal of Robert of Jumieges shows the three Magi wrapped in one coverlet, sleeping, with Phrygian caps on, and the angel bending over them to deliver his message.

[2] A very similar treatment of this curious subject appears among the series of bas-reliefs on the plinth of the west front of Amiens Cathedral. This is at least a century later than our Hardham painting. Illuminated MSS. sometimes include this episode in connection with the "flight," *e.g.* Kings 5, f. 5, Brit. Mus.

To face page 78.



WEST END OF NORTH WALL OF NAVE.

ABOVE: THE MAGI. THE DREAM OF JOSEPH. THE DREAM OF THE MAGI.
BELOW: ST. GEORGE AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIOCH.

"THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS." Herod's soldiers in short, full tunics and long hose (pink, with red shoes) are very realistically depicted slaughtering the children, whose frantic mothers are striving in vain to protect them. The Innocents are mostly naked. One of the mothers is being seized by her hair.

The large thirteenth century lancet destroys the next subject, and brings us to the east wall of the nave, where we have on its northern half "CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS." A well-preserved range of pendent circular arches forms a canopy, underneath which are the various actors in the scene. Joseph and Mary, and perhaps the Child, are on the left, the doctors on the right. There are some curious details of costume and architecture which would repay careful study. In all the foregoing scenes there are slight indications of lettering upon the broad red bands framing the pictures, but the words of the hexameters are quite undecipherable.

Over the chancel arch was a circular medallion which no doubt contained "THE HOLY LAMB," but this has been destroyed. At Plumpton the Lamb was painted on the soffit of the chancel arch; and the same subject, similarly placed to the Hardham painting, was to be seen at Westmeston,[1] but in that case the Lamb was placed within a curious irregular quatrefoil, bordered with zigzag ornamentation.[2]

[1] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, XVI. Plate opp. p. 8. Also, perhaps, at Maresfield, Sussex, where there are said to have been found in 1838 "on each side of the chancel arch, two angels with expanded wings, the right arm of one and the left of the other being so extended as to hold in their hands a chaplet of flowers just over this point. In their other hands were palm branches. These figures were about 8 feet in length." Together with other ancient paintings discovered at this time, "they were covered up again" (*Sussex Archæological Collections*, XIV. 143). The Agnus Dei is found painted over the chancel arch of the church of Vic, in the Department of Indre-et-Loire, work of the first half of the twelfth century; also in a like position, accompanied by censing angels, in the chapel of the ancient abbey of St. Chef, Isere, France.

[2] The quatrefoil, *as an ornament borrowed from a constructional source*, is frequently found in illuminations of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries (*e.g.* in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, *c.* 970, Cædmon's Paraphrase, *c.* 1000, and the Missal of Robert of Jumieges, *c.* 1045); or, what is the same thing, the *half*-quatrefoil, to form a trefoil arch (see the Missal of Robert of Jumieges and the Bayeux Tapestry). A quatrefoil opening in a gable occurs in an eleventh century MS., Cott. Claud., B. IV. I discovered an eleventh century consecration cross beneath the remains of twelfth or thirteenth century paintings in the restoration of Ford Church, Sussex. It was painted as a plain cross within a quatrefoil in the same varnish-coated medium as that in which the Hardham and Westmeston paintings were executed.

In the latter painting angels were represented as holding up the medallion with its sacred symbol, and averting their eyes from the splendour of the Divine radiance; but here they show their reverence by the crouching posture in which they kneel. The angel on the northern side is almost entirely destroyed, but that to the south is more perfect, the costume especially being very distinct and brilliant (see Plate III.). There is something very uncommon about the colours and cut of the dress. The nimbus is emerald green, the angel's hair being yellow, parted in the middle. The costume consists of a white, close-fitting tunic, reaching to the knee and having bell-mouth sleeves, one of which is pink, the other white with a pink border; and an under-tunic of deep red. There is a curious edging of pink, red, and white, like bits of cloth sewn on the hem of the upper tunic, which occurs in several other figures and was a common feature in the Westmeston paintings.[1] The upper tunic on a close inspection still shows the delicate spiral lines in pale brown—to indicate folds in a silken vesture—traced by the artist when the ground colour was wet.

The angel's wings are white and red, the feathering of a peculiar palm-like character. He holds a golden censer. Behind the figure is a diaper background and red dado; below is a rich yellow pavement—all as in the adjoining scene of "The Annunciation." The lower part of the figure, together with all the painting bordering the chancel arch, was ignorantly destroyed when the plaster was removed, to "show the stonework"! Most probably among the work thus destroyed, on the soffit of the arch, were "THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC"; and perhaps on the reveals of the arch-piers "THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE MONTHS."[2] Very imperfect fragments

[1] Parti-coloured clothes were shown on some of the figures at Westmeston, *e.g.* one leg pink, the other white.

[2] Both these were favourite subjects with Romanesque sculptors and painters. The Signs of the Zodiac appear on many Norman doorways (*e.g.* St. Margaret's, York, and Iffley, Oxfordshire); they occur also on the late twelfth century painted ceiling of Peterborough Cathedral, and in the charming stone marquetry pavement of like date in the Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. The occupations of the months are represented on the curiously carved medallions round the outer order of the south door at Barfreston Church, Kent. The Signs of the Zodiac were painted on the

of medallions such as may have enclosed the latter subjects still remain on the western face of the arch (south side).

We now come to the subjects in the lower tier of the nave.

That on the north of the chancel arch is too much defaced to make out. Probably it represented "THE CIRCUMCISION OF CHRIST"; for the opposite subject (south side) is "THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD." Though very imperfect, it is possible to trace the figure of the Saviour with cruciform nimbus, standing in the water (shown as a sort of conical-shaped fountain), the Dove descending on Him, and the Baptist pouring water on His head. A circular enclosing arch, diaper and masonry patterns, make the setting of this subject.

The only subject remaining in anything like a perfect state in the lower tier of the south wall is to the west of the large inserted window. This is "THE LATTER END OF THE RIGHTEOUS" and perhaps formed part of a series of "Moralities" founded upon the parable of Dives and Lazarus. If so, "THE RICH MAN FEASTING" probably occupied the eastern part of this wall, now nearly all taken up by the fifteenth century window, while the companion picture to that we are considering "THE LATTER END OF THE WICKED" of which there is no certain trace remaining, would have been placed somewhere to the west, in proximity to "The Torments of Hell" on the west wall.

Lazarus is shown as a small naked figure carried in a cloth or napkin by four large angels, two above and two below, to Abraham's bosom. The angels' wings are outstretched and go beyond the limits of the picture, passing through a very boldly drawn border of conventional clouds. On the left is a domed tower with some arcading similar to that in the picture of "The Annunciation," while a pair of smaller arcaded turrets with sharply pointed tiled roofs flank the subject on the right. Whether either of these bits of architecture is

soffit of the chancel arch at Westmeston and also at Copford, Essex, and Kempley, Gloucestershire, in the same position. They occur in the eleventh century paintings at the church of St. Savin, Poitou, France.

intended for the rich man's house, or for the heavenly city, does not seem certain. In the wide red band above are the very faint remains of an inscription in white lettering PAVPER ObIIT.

The paintings in the lower tier of the north wall of the nave have been, most regrettably, destroyed for the most part by the modern doorway and a widely splayed thirteenth century lancet. Had they been more perfect we might have had in this group very valuable evidence as to the date of the entire series. As it is, however, there is very strong probability that the whole of this lower tier as far as to the chancel arch was occupied by incidents in the legendary history of St. George.

My friend Mr. J. Lewis André—than whom none can speak with greater authority on such questions—endorses my opinion in this matter, although originally disposed to assign a purely emblematical meaning (such as "The Christian Warrior triumphing over his Enemies") to the first subject. (Plate IV., *ante*.)

I have called this "St. George coming to the Aid of the Christians at Antioch." A nimbed figure of youthful aspect, clad in a pink or red tunic, with upper vest open at the neck, and mounted on a large white horse, is charging a confused group of armed figures, who are in various attitudes indicating discomfiture, one or two being apparently dead, and another doubled up with the thrust of the Saint's lance. This lance carries at the opposite end a four-tailed pennon, strikingly similar to those shown in the Bayeux Tapestry and early twelfth century seals. The high-cruppered saddle bears a strong resemblance to the saddles figured in the same works; while one or two kite-shaped shields—white, with a red border, and *umbo*—are added evidence of date. These shields are a familiar feature of the Bayeux Tapestry, and do not seem to have been retained in that shape much beyond the first quarter of the twelfth century. The discomfited paynims appear to be wearing the conical steel cap and nasal, also associated distinctively with this period. Both in composition and details this subject is strikingly similar to the remarkable bas-relief of St. George on the head of a twelfth century doorway at

Fordington Church, Dorset. The pennon in this has but three tails, and it shows, what is not now to be seen at Hardham, a small Latin cross in the field, and a row of crosses as pendant ornaments on the horse's harness. The Saint in both representations is reining in his charger and thrusting down the struggling figure of a heathen warrior with the butt end of his lance, while other dead and doubled-up paynims attest his supernatural prowess. In his rear at Fordington are two Christian knights kneeling with hands uplifted in reverential wonderment at this signal act of divine interposition; but I cannot find any certain trace of these in the mutilated Hardham painting.[1] A piece of architecture (? the city of Antioch) serves to divide this subject from the next.

This (Plate IV.) has unhappily been so mutilated by the modern doorway that it is impossible to do more than guess at its meaning. A nimbed figure, throwing up his hands, is being held by two others who have seized him by the wrists; at his feet is a large kite-shaped shield. I think it possible that we have here an incident in the legendary life of St. George—his being seized and carried before Datian the pro-consul for tearing down the Emperor Diocletian's proclamation against the Christians.

The rest of the lower tier of this north wall is a blank, except for the faint traces of a wheel, with a figure apparently bound to it. This again, may be part of the story of St. George (which thus would have occupied the whole of the lower tier of this wall); for we know that after enduring other cruel tortures for eight days, and having drunk unharmed of a poisoned cup, the Saint was, on the decree of Datian, "bound upon a

[1] Both Christians and paynims at Fordington closely resemble the warriors of the Bayeux Tapestry. They have conical helmets with nasals, and close-fitting suits of apparently ring mail, the whole suit in one from the head to below the knee. Arms and legs are encased in this armour. It is impossible to understand how the wearer got into, and still more, *out of*, these "combination" suits of mail, unless they were fastened up the back. The foundation of these suits of mail was canvas or leather with discs of metal sewn on, or between two thicknesses of the same. The quilted brigandines of the bowmen and arquebusiers of the sixteenth century were the last survivals of this form of defensive armour.

wheel full of sharp blades; but the wheel was broken by two angels who descended from heaven."[1]

My conjecture as to the meaning of these paintings is strengthened by two considerations: (1) That in a will of 1537 a bequest is made "To Saynt George's light at Hardham."[2] This makes it certain that there was at that date an altar, image, or picture of the Saint—perhaps all of them—in the nave of the church. (2) That in the strikingly similar Westmeston paintings there was a martyrology—also on the north wall of the nave (on which wall St. George, like St. Christopher, seems to have been most commonly painted)—which almost certainly was that of St. George. In the account of these particular paintings in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, they are ascribed to the history of another saint and martyr, St. Vincent, but, as I think, without sufficient evidence—without any at all, indeed, excepting that the words DATIANO REGI were found in white letters on a band above the central subject, and · DATIANVS · appeared on the ground of the painting to indicate a crowned figure with a sword uplifted in his left hand. This figure was shown seated, in the act of pronouncing sentence, his right hand being raised to emphasise his words.[3] Behind him, and staying with upraised hands the blade of the sword, was another figure, evidently intended for the magician who had prepared the poisoned cup, while in front was the wall of a circular tower. Also, above this scene was another which is said to have conveyed "the idea of a battle or struggle," as heads were depicted rolling on the earth. This might well have been the battle scene at Antioch. The same pro-consul Datian figures in the legend of St. Vincent as well as in that of St. George, but without distinct evidence to the contrary, we may safely conclude that it was the latter whose history adorned the walls at Westmeston; and this conclusion adds weight to the

[1] Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, II, 400.

[2] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, XII, 93. In the paper read at the same meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute as this, Dr. Cox gave several instances of bequests to lights before pictures of saints.

[3] Datian's crown was of a very early type, three fleurs-de-lys on a hoop of metal, very similar to the crown of Edward the Confessor in the Bayeux Tapestry. His dark red dress was spotted with the three white pellets which occur so frequently at Hardham.

To face page 85.

W. GRIGGS & SONS, CHROMO-LITH.

WEST WALL OF CHANCEL, SOUTHERN HALF.

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON, DEL.

probability that the identically situated paintings at Hardham were also in honour of England's patron saint.

Now the date of the siege of Antioch, at which St. George is supposed to have come to the succour of Godfrey de Bouillon and the Christians (1098) makes it certain that the representation of the incident (and with it the other paintings) at Hardham *cannot be older* than the close of the eleventh century, while in all probability a little time would elapse for the miraculous intervention to become noised abroad sufficiently to get painted on a church wall. On the other hand, the style of the paintings, *per se*, is so archaic and peculiar, so much earlier in character than most of the well authenticated examples of twelfth century decorative art that have come down to us, that we might well be inclined to put them within the latter half of the eleventh century. The conclusion, therefore, that we may safely come to is that they belong to the early years of the twelfth century, and this is borne out by the details of the chancel paintings, which we will now consider.

The chancel walls, though less lofty than the nave, are similarly decorated in two tiers of paintings, the scheme of which seems to have been founded upon the two ideas of "The Fall and the Regeneration."

On the southern half of the west wall, back to back with "The Annunciation" on the nave side of the arch, is the well-preserved representation of "ADAM AND EVE." This particular painting (Plate V.) is treated in imitation of a piece of tapestry, being hung by loops to a rod which is supported by hooks from the wall. The details and colouring are noteworthy. Adam and Eve are *in puris naturalibus*, their bodies being painted a warm flesh tint with high lights of white and streaks of pink, the outlines and features being accentuated in dark red. Adam's hair is red, Eve's yellow; their eyes brown. The drawing of the figures, though archaic and conventional, is free and vigorous compared with contemporary native work of like kind. Indeed, the whole treatment betrays a foreign influence; and the artist, or body of artists, was possessed of no mean skill for the time at which the paintings were executed.

Our first parents stand against a pale blue background which shades off into white, and Eve is shown in the act of receiving the forbidden fruit which the serpent appears to have plucked and is dropping out of his jaws into her outstretched left hand, while with the long and curly forefinger of her right hand she is pointing over her shoulder at him. Adam seems to be pointing with his right hand at a piece of the fruit in his left; but he may be merely emphasising his speech with his hands. There is an appropriately conspirator-like air about the two.

The background of the serpent is a hot tomato-red, the only touch of this colour in the church, and upon this is painted the Tree of Knowledge, in the branches of which the serpent is coiled. "Coiled," perhaps, hardly expresses the attitude of the upper part of the body, which is furnished with large wings and feet, and rests in a fork of the tree, the serpentine hinder part being twisted in knots round the tree. The head presents a mixture of dog and serpent with a peculiarly evil look about the red eye. The body and wings are of a brownish yellow, relieved with pink and white shading and darker brown outlines. The effect of the creases in the worm-like skin is rendered by cross lines of white and pink. From the branches of the tree depend waving tendrils, on which are emerald green fruits similar to the one that Eve holds in her hand; while along the right-hand border of the picture are more branches with curious white flowers thereon. The very unusual and foreign character of these led me to search for anything similar in early art; and I was fortunate in lighting upon something almost identical in the recently published *magnum opus* of MM. Gélis-Didot and Laffillée.[1] In this splendidly illustrated and scholarly work—would that we had a similar treatise dealing with our English mural paintings!—the first of the coloured plates and descriptions are taken up with the unique series of eleventh and twelfth century paintings covering the entire church of St. Savin, in the

[1] *La Peinture décorative en France du XI^e au XVI^e Siècle.*

Department of Vienne, South-West France.[1] In one of the earliest groups (in the west porch) are rows of angels falling down in adoration before a central Majesty; and under their feet are springing up delicate little flowers on wavy stalks, precisely similar in shape to those in this painting of the fall at Hardham; and they also occur in another painting of the same date in the nave. In this latter, a vision from the Apocalypse, are other details displaying great similarity to the Hardham paintings, such as a winged dragon-serpent. Inscriptions in white lettering, as at Hardham and Westmeston, are placed on bands of dark colour over the different pictures. Most of them are no longer legible, but the letters that remain are of the same Roman type.

It is remarkable that in these paintings at St. Savin the standard of art in general composition, figure drawing, and ornament is quite classical in its excellence, and is, if anything, superior to similar work of the succeeding twelfth century in the same church and elsewhere in France.[2] And the standard thus set up may have produced a school whose traditions, models, and even guilds of workmen would before long penetrate even to remote Sussex. The paintings at Hardham look humble and rude by comparison, but one sees a master-tradition and here and there a master's *touch* which proclaim a noble parentage.

But to return. On the northern half of the west wall of the chancel the painting is very indistinct, and so much mutilated that I find it difficult to interpret the subject. A little figure waving a branch of a tree, and a beast that *may* be the Leviathan, together with some diaper-work, are all that can be distinguished. Probably this subject has some connection with the preceding.

[1] This church was monastic (Benedictine), and was rebuilt in the eleventh century, the greater part after 1050, and the paintings are for the most part coeval. M. Paul Merimee, an eminent authority, tells us that they go back to the second half, or to the end, of the eleventh century. A descriptive account, with excellent illustrations, of this church, by Mr. H. C. Corlette, A.R.I.B.A., appeared in *The Architectural Review* for August, 1897.

[2] The authors of the monumental work on French decorative painting above referred to say: "Some pictures can be placed in the rank of *chefs d'œuvre*; we may instance, among others, that where the Lord launches the worlds into space." And these were executed in the barbarous eleventh century!

But little of the detail of the remaining pictures in the chancel can be made out. The disturbance of the south and east walls caused by the inserted windows has wrought great havoc, and time, the weather, and injudicious scraping have aided in obliterating what was left. Rows of saints under canopies—perhaps the Apostles and others—appear to have occupied the western part of the upper tier on both north and south walls. Some seem to have had green, others yellow, nimbuses of the oval shape found in "The Annunciation," and verses accompanied the pictures. Below one of these rows, on the north wall, is "THE LAST SUPPER." Our Lord can be distinguished by the cruciform nimbus; St. John leans on his breast; the usual dishes, fish, loaves, chalice, and paten appear on the table. One of the loaves is marked with a cross. The opposite lower tier painting is too far gone even to guess at.

Eastward in the upper tier on both sides, and continued along the east wall, is seen the vision of "THE WORSHIP IN HEAVEN," originally leading up to a central Majesty, but this has been destroyed by the thirteenth century window. All that remain are parts of the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders. The former are very faint; wings and halos are barely visible.

The elders are seated on thrones and have a pavement under their feet similar to that in "The Annunciation." They have crowns of a very early type—something like a low mitre[1]—and are represented as "falling down before the throne," all in the same stiff attitude. They hold a vial in their right hand, and a gittern,[2] or guitar, in their left,

[1] The Magi in a painting in the church of Vic, Indre-et-Loire (date 1080–1100), have exactly similar crowns, the idea of which was a *square* metal cap, *i.e.* formed of four straight sides without a top covering. Viollet-le-Duc gives a drawing of one under the article "Couronne" (*Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français*), taken from the eleventh century paintings of the west porch, St. Savin. He remarks on the discomfort of a square headdress. Such a form of crown was in use between 1050 and 1150.

[2] Here, again, is a very early note. The gittern is found, instead of the harp, in painted or sculptured representations of the twenty-four elders of eleventh and early twelfth century date, and is also met with in contemporary illuminations. I cannot cite an English example to parallel this Hardham treatment in painting or sculpture, but in some of the early illuminations in our libraries, the gittern is to be seen in the hands of the Apocalyptic elders. Zithern (*cithara*, French), gittern (French, *guiterne*), guitar, are all derived from one word—the Greek κίθαρα; and in like manner the instruments bearing these names were evolved one from another, the harp being the original of all. What is translated "harp" in Rev. V. of our Authorised Version is rendered *cithara* in the Latin of the Vulgate.

and appear to be vested in long tunics or albes. Their faces are of the same curiously hard type that we find in "The Annunciation" and other subjects. Beneath is a broad red band on which are traces of a verse—perhaps one of the choruses in the Apocalypse.

In the lower tier of this eastern part of the chancel, under the remains of canopy work, are groups of figures, not all of whom are nimbed. It is possible therefore that these are not connected with the Majesty, but represent scenes in the life of our Lord.

I have gone at some length into the description of these paintings, as I believe them, imperfect as they are, to be of quite exceptional importance and interest, on account of their extent and very early date. One rarely finds a church, however small, covered with paintings all of one scheme and period; and when that period is the earliest of which we have any examples—that embracing the second half of the eleventh to the first quarter of the twelfth century—one may be excused for going somewhat minutely into detail in describing them.

My friend Mr. C. R. Peers calls this period "the Saxon overlap," and it seems a very good term to express an era of conflicting traditions in art such as that which ushered in the Conquest and subjugation of England; but it must not be understood that the dominating influence in these paintings was a native one. The number of distinct marks of early date which I have been at some pains in emphasising, taken in conjunction with the general aspect of the paintings, will, I think, warrant my claiming for them a date not long after the year 1100; and they might with equal propriety have been placed within the latter part of the previous century, but for the practical certainty that "The Appearance of St. George at Antioch" is among the paintings. This limits the date to a period after 1098, but, as I have endeavoured to show, *very soon after;* and it suggests the contemporary acceptance and widespread belief of the story.

The curious similarity of the paintings at Hardham, Westmeston, and Plumpton to eleventh and early twelfth century work in Western France seems to point to their being the work of a travelling guild who had inherited

the traditions of the school of painters of Poitou, and blended them with English ideas.

The peculiarities that we notice in the Hardham paintings are certainly not the result of pure Saxon influence, for in the treatment of the faces and draperies of the figures there is little trace of the mannerisms familiar to us in Saxon illuminated MSS.; at the same time this group of paintings bears very slight resemblance to the few remaining typical Anglo-Norman paintings scattered about England.[1]

On the other hand, a strong foreign influence is observable in this group of paintings—an inherited classical tradition, filtered in succession through Byzantine, Lombardic, and Frankish channels, and finally but imperfectly blended with native Saxon and Norman Romanesque. The very colours are un-English-looking.[2] In the weirdly tall and angular figures Byzantine feeling is very apparent. Much of the architectural detail is quite Italian in spirit; while the French influence grafted upon these strains is very noticeable in some of the special points dwelt on above. The workmen may have been English, but they received their training abroad; and it is evident that they were touched with the crusading spirit—perhaps some of them may even have newly returned from the First Crusade, their minds stored with the wonders of the East and the glories of foreign lands.

Until the settlement of England after the Conquest, and while as yet the dominant Norman ecclesiastics had found little opportunity to train up in their own art-traditions schools of craftsmen and painters, it seems

[1] *E.g.* Binsted Church, Sussex, not far from Hardham (*c.* 1140); West Chiltington, also near (*c.* 1170); Kemplev, Gloucestershire (*c.* 1130); St. Gabriel's Chapel in the crypt, Canterbury Cathedral (*c.* 1150). All these, and others that we could name, have a certain family likeness to each other, but the Hardham group have little in common with any of them. I have elsewhere indicated a half-belief that Clayton Church should be added to this group. One of the Binsted paintings forms a coloured plate in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, XLIII, 224; Kempley, with a coloured illustration, is described by Mr. Micklethwaite in Vol. XLVII, of the *Archæologia*, p. 187; and the Canterbury paintings, elaborately illustrated, by the late Canon Scott Robertson in *Archæologia Cantiana*, XIII, 17.

[2] They are found in the eleventh century paintings at St. Savin; a deep purplish red, with other shades, a strong golden yellow, yellow-brown, a brilliant green, blue, white, and black.

very probable that the need for skilled artists was supplied from abroad, as was often the case during the previous centuries of Saxon rule.

The great Cluniac priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, founded by William de Warrenne and his wife Gundrada about 1077, must alone have been the cause of importing a host of foreign artificers.[1] Its great stone church, replacing the Saxon wooden one, was consecrated in the first instance between 1091–97 ; but thereafter work was busily and continuously going on.

Now the church of Westmeston has been conjectured on what seems good evidence to have come into the possession of Lewes Priory[2]; but apart from this, both Westmeston and Plumpton (and Clayton) were among the lands of William de Warrenne, a man of singularly cultured taste for his time, a great traveller and patron of the arts ; in which latter *rôle* his sons continued to act as benefactors to the priory. After the death of William, in 1088, they proceeded with the building of the church and its offices, and much of the elaborate colour decoration (of which abundant traces have come to light during the recent excavations on the site of the infirmary chapel) may have been carried out in their time. Meanwhile Hardham was in the possession of other Norman lords, who emulated the great de Warrenne in benefactions to the church.

We have, it seems to me, in these facts suggestive evidence as to when and by whom the Westmeston and Plumpton paintings were executed, and, arguing by analogy, confirmatory evidence as to the date and artistic genesis of the paintings in Hardham Church.

In conclusion, the grateful task remains of expressing my indebtedness to the Sussex Archæological Society for bearing the actual cost of the scaffolding, sizing, and varnishing for the paintings ; to the Rector of Hardham,

[1] The pious patrons had a strongly marked partiality for Burgundian monks, with whom the community at Lewes was judiciously leavened. The peculiar expression on Gundrada's tomb (now in Southover Church), is supposed to refer to this : "Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum." Probably with the monks came skilled workmen and artists—indeed, many of them were doubtless artists themselves. Archbishop Lanfranc, the adviser of William and Gundrada, himself a foreigner, despised the English as barbarians, and recommended foreigners.

[2] *Sussex Archæological Collections* XVI, 18.

the Rev. Cecil Brereton, for much kind assistance rendered; and to the Hon. Photographer of the Sussex Archæological Society, Mr. J. C. Stenning, whose excellent photographs, specially taken, have greatly helped me in elucidating some of the details of the paintings. My thanks are also due to the Editors of the *Archæological Journal* and *Sussex Archæological Collections* for their kindly criticism.