

The Romanesque Wall Paintings of All Saints' church, Witley, Surrey

by DAVID PARK

Introduction

The paintings on the south wall of the nave of Witley Church (pl 1) are among the most important surviving Romanesque wall paintings in the South of England. Not only does an exceptionally large amount of painting survive at Witley, but the paintings are also very early (probably of the first third of the 12th century), and also include a great deal of very unusual subject-matter. The only other surviving Romanesque wall painting in Surrey of comparable importance is the much better-known painting at Chaldon (Flynn 1980), but this, unlike the Witley paintings, has been considerably retouched in modern times. Paintings on the south wall at Witley were first discovered towards the end of the 19th century, and there then followed two restorations in the earlier part of the present century. Serious deterioration in the condition of the paintings led to a major programme of conservation work being undertaken in 1979–80 by the Eve Baker Trust, though it was then only possible to partially complete the necessary work. For this conservation work, and in recognition of the importance of the paintings, several grants were made, including the first ever by the DoE for the conservation of wall paintings in a building in ecclesiastical use. For the well-being of the paintings it is now essential that this important conservation work is completed. In this article the paintings are first described and analysed; then an account is given of the conservation work carried out in 1979–80; and this is followed by an outline of the conservation work which still needs to be undertaken.

The Paintings

The paintings now visible on the south wall of the nave comprise three tiers of subject-matter, and extend from above the south doorway to above the inserted 13th-century window near the east end of the wall. There is also painting on the surviving splay of the early window which was partially destroyed when the larger one was inserted in the 13th century (pl 2). The total length of the paintings on the wall is about 30 ft (9m), and the total height about 14 ft 3 ins (4.35m). Some of the painting was uncovered from beneath limewash in 1889. The early window was discovered in 1916, and unblocked and more of the paintings on the wall uncovered by P M Johnston in the following year (Johnston 1918). A further small amount of painting was uncovered by Professor Tristram in 1936. Most of the lower tier of subjects (pl 4–5), and also of the painting above the 13th-century window, was uncovered in 1979–80. As will be explained below, it is certain that there is still more painting to be uncovered on this wall, and probably elsewhere in the nave.

The three tiers of subjects are each of approximately the same height, and are separated by narrow white borders. It is probable that these borders originally bore inscriptions in black letters along their whole length explaining the scenes below; traces of such an inscription were found on the border on the window splay by Johnston. At the top of the paintings, at wall plate level is a thick key pattern border. Simulated draperies may well have been represented at dado level as was common at this period. The subjects within the tiers generally run into each

other, without vertical divisions between. The background of each tier is composed of a dark band above, and a lighter and wider band below. The paintings were executed in the true fresco technique — that is, while the plaster was still wet. This is now known to have been the usual method in Romanesque wall painting in this country. In the fresco technique the patches of plaster were laid and painted one at a time, and at Witley the joins where the patches overlap can still be discerned (Baker 1966). An interesting discovery of the recent conservation work was a consecration cross, apparently contemporary with the rest of the painting, but superimposed on a different layer of plaster on the lower tier (pl 4). The paintings employ a limited range of inexpensive pigments, which could all have been obtained locally: red and yellow ochre, vegetable black, and lime white.

The subject matter of the paintings has always been recognised as very difficult to interpret, and indeed some of it still remains to be elucidated. Since their iconography is the most fascinating aspect of these paintings it is worth considering in some detail. Conflicting interpretations have been proposed in the past. C E Keyser, writing at the end of the 19th century when only part of the two upper tiers was visible, thought that one of the figures represented St Anthony (Keyser 1896, 161). Johnston considered that all the subjects in these two tiers were probably Christological, and drawn mostly from the Infancy of Christ. Tristram believed that the lower of the two tiers probably contained Infancy scenes, but that the subjects in the upper tier were probably from the Life of the Virgin, with perhaps the remains of a Last Judgement at the east end (Tristram 1944, 29, 153–4). It is now possible to show, partly as a result of the recent cleaning, that at least part of the subject-matter is in fact Christological, though all the certainly identifiable subjects are connected with the Resurrection of Christ.

The subjects in the middle tier are the most readily identifiable. At the east end of the tier (pl 2) is a subject that Johnston and Tristram considered to be probably the Adoration of the Magi. However, it is now quite clear that its correct identification is as the Three Marys at the Sepulchre. This was the subject commonly used in the Romanesque period to signify the Resurrection. In the centre of the Witley scene is the domed sepulchre, on the right the three approaching Marys, and on the left the angel facing them (its dark wings can be seen against the white castellated building represented behind). Lying diagonally at the foot of the scene, partly in front of the Marys, is the slab rolled away from the arched opening in the front of the sepulchre. The whole scene, in its composition and in such details as the domed sepulchre, is standard for the Romanesque period, and may be compared with, for example, the generally similar version in the Bury Gospels of c 1130 (Cambridge, Pembroke College Ms 120, fol 4; see Parker 1969, pl 38). The next subject to the west in the middle tier (pl 3) is one which Tristram called 'unidentifiable'. On the left is a standing nimbed figure holding a tau-headed staff, facing on the right apparently two figures (this right-hand part of the scene was not cleaned in the recent work and is consequently rather unclear, but Tristram states that there are two figures in this position). The subject-matter in wall paintings on the south side of churches normally proceeds from east to west, and this is in fact again a standard representation of the subject one might expect to be in this position: Christ Appearing to the Marys. Christ is usually shown in this scene, for example, holding a staff. This east to west progression in the tier is further confirmed by the subject on the window splay immediately to the east of the Three Marys at the Sepulchre (pl 2). This scene is at the same level and beneath the same upper border as the other scenes in the tier (this border, according to Johnston, here bore the remains of an inscription: the letter 'R' with a triple stop, perhaps preceded by 'Alh'). The scene shows two female figures, the one on the left reclining and with one hand to her head, and the other figure standing and pointing over her shoulder towards the Sepulchre scene to the west. The subject was interpreted by Johnston as the Visitation, and by Tristram as probably a representation of the Nativity. It is in fact the extremely rare subject of the Marys Watching at the Sepulchre, after the Entombment but before the Resurrection. This scene, which is possibly unique in surviving English Romanesque art, is paralleled on, for example, an Early Christian ivory



Plate 1. Witley Church. Wall painting on the south wall of the nave. (National Monuments Record — Crown Copyright)



Plate 2. Witley Church. Detail of middle tier of the wall painting: The Marys Watching at the Sepulchre, and The Three Marys at the Sepulchre. (National Monuments Record — Crown Copyright)

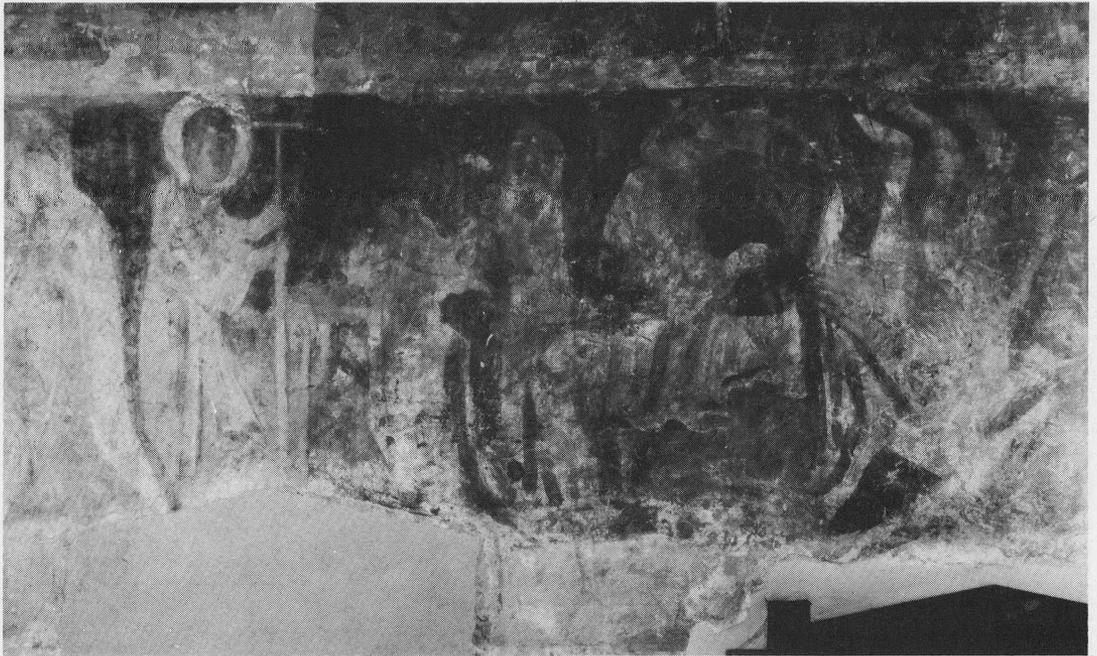


Plate 3. Witley Church. Detail of middle tier of the wall painting: Christ Appearing to the Marys, and (?) The Harrowing of Hell. (National Monuments Record — Crown Copyright)



Plate 4. Witley Church. Detail of lower tier of the wall painting, uncovered in 1979–80: consecration cross, and (?) The Miraculous Draught of Fishes. (National Monuments Record — Crown Copyright)



Plate 5. Witley Church. Detail of unidentified subjects in the eastern part of the lower tier of the wall painting, uncovered in 1979–80. (National Monuments Record — Crown Copyright)



Plate 6. Witley Church. Detail of unidentified subjects in the upper tier of the wall painting. (National Monuments Record — Crown Copyright)

casket of *c* 420–30 in the British Museum (Schiller 1971, fig 4), and in various Byzantine versions, such as that in the Khludov Psalter, of the second half of the 9th century (Moscow Historical Museum, Ms Cod Gr 129, fol 44; Schiller 1971, fig 177). In these two examples a particularly close parallel is provided for the reclining figure at Witley, since both the women are shown seated (Matthew 27, 59 actually states that the Marys were 'sitting' opposite the sepulchre), and are depicted with one hand to the head. With the three easternmost subjects in the middle tier at Witley having thus been identified as consecutively the Marys Watching at the Sepulchre, the Three Marys at the Sepulchre, and Christ appearing to the Marys, it is clear that the westernmost subject in the tier (pl 3) must follow on from the last of these (it was interpreted by Tristram, who thought that preceding scenes were Infancy subjects, as probably the Massacre of the Innocents). It has not yet been cleaned and is rather unclear, but on the left can be seen a male figure in a vigorous attitude and apparently grasping a staff, facing on the right two figures falling headlong, with other uncertain remains further to the west. The only subject in a Resurrection cycle which this could be is the Harrowing of Hell, in which Christ is generally shown standing on the left and holding a staff, and the souls in Hell are shown on the right. Although there are one or two unusual features in this Witley representation, its identification as the Harrowing of Hell would explain why only the legs and feet of the falling figures are visible, since the upper part of their bodies would be disappearing into the Hellmouth below.

The newly-uncovered subjects in the lowest tier also seem to belong to this Christological cycle. Unfortunately, they have been badly damaged by three 19th-century mural tablets (erected, of course, before it was realised that paintings survived on the wall). The subject most accessible to identification is at the west end of the tier, and shows two figures in a boat, with a net hanging overboard, and another net to the right (pl 4). The fragment of an inscription in white letters survives on the background above these figures: the letters TR can be made out. This scene could represent either of the two Miraculous Draughts of Fishes: that associated with the calling of St Peter, at the beginning of Christ's mission, or the post-Resurrection subject, in which Christ stood on the shore of the lake of Tiberias and Peter went over the water to him. In fact, the first subject is very rarely represented in medieval art, and since, in addition, the subject-matter in medieval wall paintings usually progresses from top to bottom of the wall, it is more likely that the Witley scene represents the second miracle. This is perhaps further confirmed by the next subject to the east in the tier, which was partly destroyed by the central mural tablet (which has now been removed), and is also partly obscured by the superimposed consecration cross (pl 4). The scene shows, on the left, a figure in a long robe standing beneath a battlemented canopy, and facing towards the right. This figure is perhaps to be identified as Christ (pl 5). On the right of the scene, below and on either side of the consecration cross, are what at first sight appear to be the white legs of two naked figures. However, it is perhaps more likely that a single four-legged animal is represented here; on closer examination the 'feet' look more like hooves, and there is what seems to be a white tail hanging down at the right. These remains have been interpreted as those of a horse (Baker 1980), but it is difficult to see what Christological subject, which looks anything like the Witley scene, could involve this animal. It is perhaps possible that this scene is connected with the incident occasionally represented immediately after the second Miraculous Draught of Fishes, of Christ commanding Peter to feed his sheep (John 21, 15–17). It is true that the Witley animal, if that is what it is, although white, does not look very sheep-like, but on the other hand in this period one does not expect a very naturalistic representation of an animal. However, it is no doubt wisest to leave the interpretation of this scene open for the time being. In the next scene to the east (pl 5), the lower half of a standing figure in a long robe is seen on the left — again very possibly Christ — with what may be the lower half of a kneeling figure in front of him. Most of the next scene to the east was destroyed by the insertion of the 13th-century window, but on the right survives part of a tall standing figure — perhaps female —

facing east. It should be noted that if this lower tier did continue the Resurrection series of the middle tier, this would be the longest Resurrection cycle in surviving English Romanesque wall painting.

Curiously enough, the relatively well-preserved scenes in the upper tier are the most difficult to interpret. The scene above the Three Marys at the Sepulchre and the surviving part of the early window shows several figures within an interior (pl 6). On the left is a bearded figure, facing towards a female figure who is shown pointing over her shoulder at another female figure standing within a narrow-arched opening. In front of this latter figure is what seems to be the small standing figure of a child, apparently holding a staff. Tristram interpreted this scene as probably the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. However it has little in common with other versions of this subject. The small standing figure at the rear is not readily identifiable as the Virgin; and, in addition, the central pointing figure is clearly not Joachim, as Tristram suggested. At the western end of the same building a bearded figure is shown standing within another narrow-arched opening; he has one hand raised, and is facing towards a female figure on the right. To the right of these figures a smaller figure is shown advancing westwards; and to the right again is a group of animals, and a highly stylised tree. All of this part of the tier was interpreted by Tristram as the Virgin Leaving Home, partly on the basis of a comparison with a section of the cycle of the Life of the Virgin in the wall paintings of Croughton (Northants), of *c* 1300 (Tristram & James 1927, fig 2). But this comparison is misleading. The Croughton painting is, in fact, a combined subject of St Anne Teaching the Virgin to Read — which is clearly not represented at Witley — and a scene that is not certainly identified, but may be Joachim taking the Virgin to the Temple, or to her Marriage (for a brief discussion of this Croughton painting see Lafontaine-Dosogne 1965, 123, n8), neither of which is represented to the west in the following scene at Witley. This scene shows a feast taking place within an interior, with a figure standing in the doorway to the left. The subject was interpreted by Johnston, before as much of this tier was uncovered as now, as probably the Last Supper; this is clearly impossible, since only four figures are shown feasting. Tristram believed that the subject was the Marriage at Cana; he compared it with a feast-scene in the 12th century wall paintings of Vicq-sur-Saint-Chartrier (Indre), which he thought was the Supper at Emmaus, and in which the central figure wears a rather similar turban-like headdress to one of the Witley figures, whom Tristram therefore identified as Christ. However, the scene at Vicq in fact represents the Feast of Dives (Favière 1970, 227, pl 119) — the turbaned figure being the evil Dives himself — and it is certain that Christ would never have been represented wearing such a headdress. The westernmost scene in the tier at Witley shows a figure, perhaps female, lying in bed, with probably two standing figures at the foot of the bed at left. Tristram interpreted this subject as perhaps the Death of the Virgin; but it is most unlike other representations of this subject, which one would also hardly expect to follow a feast scene. Returning to this feast scene, it is possible that Tristram's comparison with the Feast of Dives at Vicq was not entirely misguided. The Witley scene is certainly very like the standard representations of this subject, in which, for example, the figure of Lazarus is shown at a doorway at one side of the scene. Not only is there a figure in this position in the Witley scene, but there are also animals behind it, which could be the dogs which licked Lazarus' sores. If this scene is the Feast of Dives, then the scene to the west, showing a figure in bed, could be the Death of Dives. However, there are also grave difficulties in attempting to identify these two scenes as illustrating the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Where, for example, is the Death of Lazarus, which should precede that of Dives? And how could scenes from this story follow on from the subjects represented further to the east in the same tier? None of the western part of the tier was cleaned during the recent conservation work; and, until this work is completed, no final identification of the scenes in this position seems possible. At the opposite end of the tier, above the inserted 13th-century window, is some painting of which part was uncovered in the recent conservation work. It is firmly separated from the scene to the east by a vertical tower, and its

subject-matter appears to be entirely different from that of the rest of the tier. On the right some flames are represented, and next to them are the remains of a male figure with one hand raised. The surviving left arm of this figure is naked, and it seems as if he may have been represented in a struggling posture. It is possible that this part of the tier showed the Damned in Hell, as part of a Last Judgement which would have extended over the adjacent nave east wall.

Not only does the subject-matter of the Witley paintings present many problems of interpretation, but they are also rather difficult to place stylistically. This is no doubt partly because they are not paintings of the very highest quality, reflecting all the latest stylistic developments of their time, but are rather paintings produced for what would have been in the 12th century a relatively humble village church.

Although there is a certain general similarity with, for example, the style of the Bury Gospels of *c* 1130, this similarity is really only very superficial, depending on such features as the use of figures within cut-away interiors. Unlike the Bury Gospels, or other manuscripts of the second quarter of the 12th century, the Witley paintings show no profile faces; in fact all the figures are depicted in three-quarters view, which is a characteristic associated more with paintings of the late 11th and early 12th centuries. There is no sign at Witley of 'damp-fold' draperies, revealing the structure of the body beneath; whereas such draperies occur, under Byzantine influence, in for example the wall paintings of St Gabriel's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, perhaps of *c* 1120, and in the Bury Bible of *c* 1130 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms 2), and thereafter remain standard in English painting until about 1170. As far as comparisons with other wall paintings are concerned, the Witley paintings are in certain respects very reminiscent of those of the so-called 'Lewes Group' in Sussex. These wall paintings, in the parish churches of Hardham, Clayton, Coombes and elsewhere, were all executed by one group of travelling painters working in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, probably partly under the patronage of Lewes Priory (Tristram 1944, 27–36; Baker 1970). The Lewes Group paintings all have, for example, a very similar overall colour-scheme to that at Witley; banded backgrounds to the tiers of subject-matter; and a striped drapery-style — this last, like that of the figure at bottom left of the Witley paintings. Because of such similarities, the Witley paintings have generally been thought actually to belong to the Lewes Group; this was regarded as 'indubitably' so by Tristram. In fact it is most unlikely. Witley is not only some distance from the Sussex paintings, but also shows a number of notable dissimilarities. Thus, it has three tiers of subject-matter, whereas two are invariable in the Lewes Group; a figure-subject is represented on the window splay at Witley, whereas the surviving window paintings in the Lewes Group are all merely ornamental; the white horizontal border on the Witley splay had an inscription in black, whereas all the Lewes Group inscriptions are in white. There are also considerable differences in the figure-style. The Lewes Group figures tend to be very mannered, and expressive in pose and gesture, with elongated bodies and small heads thrust forward on long necks. In all these ways, they clearly display their ancestry in Anglo-Saxon painting. The Witley figures, on the other hand, are rather staid, showing very little movement; and they often have rather large heads on almost non-existent necks. Such differences in the figure-style suggest that the Witley paintings might be slightly later in date than the Lewes Group. Iconographically, also, there are differences from the Lewes Group paintings. For example, the only one of the Resurrection subjects at Witley which also appears in any of the known Lewes Group paintings is the commonest, the Three Marys at the Sepulchre; and it is there (at Hardham) represented rather differently, without a domed sepulchre. In view of all these dissimilarities, the Witley paintings are better seen as probably the only surviving work of a different painter.

We have seen that the figure-style of the Witley paintings is suggestive of a slightly later date for these paintings than that of the Lewes Group. Nevertheless, the general stylistic similarities with the paintings of the Group, and the absence of such later characteristics as damp-fold

draperies, suggest that they are not very much later in date. The latest Lewes Group painting seems to be of *c* 1100 or shortly thereafter, and it is perhaps therefore safest to ascribe the Witley paintings to some time in the first third of the 12th century. Technical and architectural evidence also appears to support such a dating. The paintings are on the first layer of plaster on the wall (Mrs Eve Baker, pers comm), which strongly suggests that they are coeval with this wall. The south wall, and also the west wall of the nave and the west end of the north arcade wall, survive from the early church, which was at various later dates much enlarged, for instance with a central tower and transepts. This early church, with its surviving small double-splayed window in each of the south and west walls, has sometimes been regarded as late Saxon in date; while the south doorway, with its cushion capitals and chip-carved abaci — which is obviously Norman — has been thought to be a later insertion (Taylor & Taylor 1965, 676–8. The Taylors argue that the early church is pre-conquest or earliest Norman, and that the doorway is later). However, double-splayed windows are no longer regarded as an acceptable criterion of Anglo-Saxon date; and, although it is true that a church at Witley is mentioned in the Domesday Book (1086), this could refer to a predecessor of the present building. On the whole, it seems most likely that the Norman doorway and the early walls are of the same date. Further evidence for the post-Conquest date of the walls is of course provided by the wall paintings themselves which, as we have seen, occur on the first layer of plaster and are therefore likely to be contemporary. The Norman doorway itself is of a type which could occur in an up-to-date church of the late 11th century; but since Witley Church seems to have been originally a rather humble building, it is more likely to date from sometime in the first few decades of the 12th century (I am grateful to Mr Richard Halsey for this dating of the doorway). This is precisely the date stylistic evidence led us to suggest for the wall paintings.

The 1979–1980 Conservation Work

This conservation work was necessitated by the damage caused to the paintings by the misguided application in the past of so-called 'preservatives'. In addition, it was clear that more painting still remained to be uncovered for the first time. In his restoration work on the paintings in 1917 Johnston sprayed the parts then uncovered, and applied a coating of paraffin wax (Johnston 1918, 42). It is believed that Tristram in 1936 also waxed the paintings in his customary manner. At the time, these methods would have made the paintings clearer, and it was also thought that they would protect them. However, over the years the preservative coating darkened badly, thus obscuring the paintings underneath. More seriously, by forming an impervious skin over the paintings, these preservatives prevented the damp in the wall behind from escaping, which eventually led to the paint-layer being pushed off in blisters. All this is a very typical problem in English medieval wall painting conservation, since most of the paintings discovered before about 1950 were treated at some time with a preservative, which now has to be removed and the damage it caused rectified as far as possible.

The new work was undertaken by the Eve Baker Trust. It was carried out in two stages: from April to August 1979, and in June and July 1980. The necessary financial support was forthcoming from several sources. The DoE, as mentioned earlier, awarded their first ever grant towards the conservation of a wall painting in a church still in use. A large grant was also made by the Council for Places of Worship (now the Council for the Care of Churches), and a smaller one by the Manifold Trust. In addition, some funds were raised by the parish itself. During the first phase of the programme, in 1979, the conservation work undertaken here was selected as an exhibit by the Council for Places of Worship to the International Symposium on the Conservation of Wall Paintings which was held that year.

The work involved removing the old preservatives with special solvents, and making mortar repairs where the old plaster was unsound or had been completely lost. Frequent injections of

lime-water were also made to 'feed' the plaster. Mrs Baker also reports removing some modern retouching from the paintings (Baker 1980). Only the paintings on the window splay, and the eastern half of the two upper tiers were treated; the difference in appearance between these cleaned parts, and the still uncleaned area to the west, is quite startling (pl 1). No new materials were applied to the paint surface; the old mistake of applying an impervious coating was not repeated, but instead the paintings were left free to breathe. As well as treating much of the already exposed paintings, the Eve Baker Trust also uncovered from beneath distemper and limewash the greater part of the lower tier, and of the painting above the 13th-century window. Since this painting was uncovered for the first time, it had not been affected by previous applications of preservatives or retouching; and, as indicated above, the remains of four new subjects were brought to light, as well as the very unusual, but apparently contemporary, superimposed consecration cross. Removal of the central of the three 19th-century mural tablets (now re-sited in the Victorian north aisle) proved disappointing, since the plaster behind it had been completely destroyed. One of the most painstaking aspects of the conservation work was the making of the many fine mortar repairs. Many experiments were necessary before the right mix was found, which achieved a textural and tonal harmony with the surrounding painting. The final mix consisted of lime and two types of local sand, with the addition of a small amount of brick dust. These mortar repairs were extremely important, not only for the health of the surrounding areas of painted plaster, but also for the visual re-integration of the wall paintings with the overall architecture of the building. One further step was taken to protect the paintings. The oak dado at the foot of the wall, which was erected earlier this century, had suffered badly from wet rot. It was taken down as far as the south doorway, and the completely rotten plaster behind it was stripped from the wall. The dado was repaired, and then refixed slightly away from the wall so as to allow through ventilation. The wall itself behind has been left bare so that it can breathe.

The Conservation Work Still Required

It is now most important that the western half of the two upper tiers receives conservation treatment. Preservatives still cover this area, with the result that it is not only badly darkened, but is also continuing to blister and is in some danger. There is a good chance that the removal of this obscuring layer of preservatives will lead to the elucidation of the remaining subject-matter which still defies identification. Completion of the work begun in 1979–80 is also very necessary from an aesthetic point of view; at present the entire painted area looks most odd, with one half cleaned and light in tone, and the other uncleaned and very dark. It would also be sensible if, in this same phase of work, the remaining painting beneath the limewash on this wall was uncovered. There is still a little more of the lower tier of subjects to be revealed; the uncovering of the painting above the 13th-century window needs to be completed, and there may be some further painting to be found to the east of this; and the area of the wall to the west of the present painted area should also be investigated. The remaining two memorial tablets will not need to be taken off the wall; the removal of one in the last phase has already shown that no old plaster or painting is likely to survive underneath. As far as the financing of this remaining work on the south wall is concerned, considerable grant-aid will certainly be needed.

Of course, the painting on the south wall, and particularly the parts which are still covered with preservatives, should receive priority of treatment. However, it is to be hoped that, as soon as practicable, the other parts of the nave will be investigated where it seems very possible that further painting belonging to this same scheme still survives under distemper and limewash. Original plaster, and perhaps painting, may still survive on parts of the nave east and west walls, and at the west end of the north arcade wall. There may be the remains of a Last Judgement on the east wall — a subject which would be appropriate to this position, and to which the painting at the east end of the upper tier on the south wall may also belong. If

funds become available in the future, it would be desirable that better lighting is provided in the nave, so that these important wall paintings may be appreciated to the full.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my gratitude to Dr Jonathan Alexander, who first took me through part of these paintings when I was a student of his at Manchester University. I am also much indebted, for help of various kinds, to Mrs Eve Baker, Mr Alban Caroe, the Rev Philip Case, Miss Margaret Freely, Mr Len Furbank of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, who took the photographs, and Mr Christopher Norton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baker, A M, 1970 The wall paintings in the church of St John the Baptist, Clayton, *Sussex Archaeol Collect* **108**, 58–81
 Baker, E, 1966 *All Saints, Witley, Surrey*, unpublished report
 —, 1980 *Record of conservation*, unpublished, Council for the Care of Churches
 Favière, J, 1970 *Berry Roman*, Zodiaque, La pierre qui vire
 Flynn, K F N, 1980 The mural painting in the church of Saints Peter and Paul, Chaldon, Surrey, *SyAC* **72**, 127–56
 Johnston, P M, 1918 An early window and wall paintings in Witley church, *SyAC* **31**, 28–44
 Keyser, C E, 1896 On recently discovered mural paintings at Willingham church, Cambridge, and elsewhere in the south of England, *Archaeol J* **53**, 160–191
 Lafontaine-Dosogne, J, 1965 *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire Byzantin et en Occident*, **2**, Brussels
 Parker, E, 1969 A twelfth-century cycle of New Testament drawings from Bury St Edmunds abbey, *Proc Suffolk Inst Archaeol Hist* **31**, 263–302
 Schiller, G, 1971 *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst* **3**, Gütersloh
 Taylor, H M & Taylor, J, 1965 *Anglo-Saxon architecture* **2**, Cambridge
 Tristram, E W, 1944 *English medieval wall painting: the 12th century*
 —, & James, M R, 1927, Wall paintings in Croughton church, Northamptonshire, *Archaeologia* **76**, 179–204