MURAL PAINTING OF THE DOOM AT PATCHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

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The village of Patcham is situated in the midst of the Sussex Downs, about three miles from Brighton and a mile and a-half from Preston, the church of which contains the well-known thirteenth century mural paintings which have recently undergone the process of restoration. Patcham Church stands on a slight eminence about 150 yards to the right of the main road from Brighton to London, and is a good example of the type of church to be found in this district. It consists simply of a western tower, nave, and chancel. The tower is an addition of the latter part of the twelfth century, the body of the church being plain and probably Early Norman ; none of the original windows remain ; in the chancel we find on the north side one trefoil headed lancet, and two similar windows on the south side, the one on the north and the corresponding western one on the south being carried down so as to form low side windows, as to the use of which so many theories have been propounded. The east window and one on the south side of the nave are good examples of the Decorated period of the early part of the fourteenth century, and on the north side of the nave are two square-headed Perpendicular windows each of three lights, but only the western one is original. There is a large south porch with plain Early English inner and outer doorways, and on the north side of the nave is an early walled-up Norman doorway, with plain hoodmould and jambs, a very massive lintel and slightly recessed tympanum. A portion of a Norman stringcourse runs along the exterior north wall of the nave. In the interior there is in the south wall of the chancel a trefoil-headed piscina with projecting basin. The chancel arch is Norman, of small size, without any sculptured ornament, and rests on an abacus of very massive character.

The restoration of the church was undertaken by, and in February 1880, successfully completed under the able supervision of the vicar, the Rev. S. Tenison Mosse, to whom I am indebted for the present of a coloured drawing of the very interesting mural painting which was discovered during the restoration, and from which the illustration herewith given has been taken. As a part of the work the walls were divested of the numerous coats of whitewash which successive generations of churchwardens had most liberally bestowed upon them. During this process portions of several figures were brought to light on the north wall of the nave, but were too fragmentary and imperfect to be worth preserving. Soon afterwards traces of colouring were observed on the east wall of the nave above the chancel arch, and the Vicar at once employed Mr. Ellery, of Cliftonville, Brighton, who had had

MURAL PAINTING OVER THE CHANCEL ARCH OF PATCHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

previous experience in such work, to remove the remaining layers of whitewash on this portion of the wall. This operation was performed with the greatest care, and after no less than thirty coats of whitewash, and at least two series of post-Reformation paintings had been scraped off, the very interesting subject under notice was brought to light, and its various details carefully developed. This painting, contrary to the general practice in such cases, has been most religiously cared for, and measures have been taken to ensure its permanent preservation, and to bring out, as far as possible, the colouring of those portions, which have been injured by the erection of mural tablets in recent times.[1] I will at once proceed to describe it, and will first draw attention to the various details of the subject, and then endeavour to point out its peculiarities, to bring forward other examples which may enable us to arrive at its interpretation, and to prove the date of its execution to have been, as I believe, late in the twelfth century.

It is probable that this painting covered the whole of the eastern wall of the nave, but now we only have remaining the portion above, and on each side of the Chancel arch, down to within about two feet of the spring of the arch. The existing subject is divided into three compartments separated by parallel deep red lines. The upper and principal portion of the picture is in the shape of a segment of a circle somewhat less than a semicircle, and is bordered by two very rich foliated patterns, that round the circular portion being an interlacing scroll of a very conventional type, the lower horizontal border having a wavy stem with single leaves springing from it at regular intervals on either side. This compartment measures eighteen feet in width at the lower part by seven feet in height from the crown to the base. In the centre, within an aureole six feet high, is a figure of our Saviour; the aureole is shaped like an irregular quatrefoil, the groundwork of the border being white with a deep red edging on either side, and studded with a series of small roundels with central red bead. The figure of our Saviour fills up the greater part of the aureole, the ground colour of which is a dull ochre yellow, except between our Saviour's feet, where it is white. He is depicted as seated, with the cruciform nimbus, yellow hair flowing over the shoulders, and a short yellow beard. He is clad in a single garment folded round the waist and reaching down to the ankles, the upper part being carried up at the back and thrown over the left shoulder so as to cover the left side, but leaving the arms and the right side of the body bare. The garment is white, the folds being marked by red lines; the hands are raised on a level with the shoulders, and red spots on them—and the right breast and feet are of course intended to pourtray the five wounds. The feet rest on the border of the aureole, and between them is a circular object painted yellow with a red edging, intended to represent the earth. To the right of our Saviour, and partly within the aureole, is a figure of the Virgin, kneeling, and with the hands upraised in the attitude of supplication. She is without the nimbus, has on a richly jewelled crown, and is clad in a white robe picked out with deep red lines covering the feet, and over this a pale red cloak, the folds being marked by darker lines. Behind her stands an angel with one wing

[1] A short account of this painting appeared, soon after its discovery, in the *Sussex Daily News*, of 14th November, 1879; the *Times*, of 15th November; and the *Brighton Gazette*, of 24th December.

extended, clothed in an upper and under tunic, the latter yellow the former white; the folds on these and all the other dresses being denoted by deep red lines. He holds in the left hand, which is upraised, some object which it is difficult to decipher, but which is probably intended for the money, the price paid for the betrayal of our Lord; and in the right hand what has been described as a staff, but, as I have no doubt, a cross. Behind the angel are four nimbed figures seated, the end of the seat being visible, and clothed in similar garments with variations of colour, red, yellow and white being alone employed. These figures, there can be little doubt, are intended to pourtray four of the Apostles, since we find them thus associated with representations of our glorified Saviour in the early paintings at Copford, Essex, Kempley, Gloucestershire, West Chiltington and Hardham, Sussex, and in sculpture, within the south porch of Malmesbury Abbey Church, Wiltshire, and perhaps on the west doorway of Rochester Cathedral.[1] In the upper part of the picture on either side of the aureole is an angel with both wings extended blowing a long horn, that on the dexter side being clad in a yellow, and that on the sinister side in a red tunic. Below, between the knees of the Virgin and the aureole is a small crowned figure rising from a coffin,[2] with the hands raised in supplication, and a small figure of a bishop, also with hands raised accompanied by two smaller figures, and likewise rising from a coffin,[2] occupies a similar position on the opposite side of the aureole. On this, the sinister side of the picture, is a nimbed figure with white under and yellow upper tunic, partly within the aureole, holding in the right hand a pennon of a character similar to those to be seen in the paintings at Copford and Kempley, whilst with the left hand he seems to be pointing towards the wound in our Lord's side. The figure is doubtless intended for an archangel, as a portion of a wing is still discernible. Behind him is another nimbed angel, with one wing extended, holding a spear in one hand, and probably the sponge raised on a reed in the other, and behind him again a third angel also nimbed facing in the opposite direction towards another nimbed figure clothed in a red mantle. From traces of colour which can here and there be made out, it would seem that the groundwork of the dexter side of this part of the picture was painted blue, and of the sinister side a pale pink.

The second compartment extends the width of the wall and measures twenty-two feet in breadth by two feet seven inches in height, the central portion being cut into by the crown of the chancel arch. On the dexter side we see two angels on either side of what appears to be a tree, and if so, probably the Tree of Life. Advancing towards them, and marching from south to north, is a procession of thirteen nude figures, the rank of some of the personages being indicated by crowns, mitres, and tonsures. First comes a bishop, and the procession comprises two more bishops, two kings with crowns of a similar character to that of the Virgin except that they are not jewelled, three ecclesiastics, and five figures without any distinctive marks; the figure immediately behind the first bishop is holding him by the arms, and thus throughout a chain is formed, each figure having the arms stretched out so as to clasp the arms

[1] At Copford, Kempley, and Malmesbury, St. Peter with one key is placed nearest to our Lord's right hand. He is the only one of the apostles represented with an emblem.

[2] Or, it has been suggested, from behind an altar.

of the one immediately preceding him. A blank space is left beneath the feet of our Lord and above the crown of the chancel arch, and to the south of this is another small company also marching towards the north, composed of a king, an ecclesiastic, and a third figure; the king has the hands raised in supplication, while the two others have their arms outstretched, so as to form a similar chain to that in the first procession. To the south again is a nimbed angel with one wing extended and hands stretched out to receive an ecclesiastic who is advancing towards him with hands raised in supplication, and behind him are portions of another angel turned towards the north, and perhaps presenting the ecclesiastic to the first angel who is waiting to receive him. In all probability this angel occupying the most southern station in the picture is intended for St. Michael, and he was, as usual, doubtless represented with a balance weighing souls, the last figure having just passed safely through this most terrible ordeal. Between this last angel and the south wall is a considerable blank space, the painting here having entirely perished. It would be rash to conjecture what may have been here depicted, as I do not think that there is sufficient space for the representation of the condemned being driven to perdition, the subject which, as I shall shew by other examples generally occupies this position. The third and lowest compartment remaining also extends the whole width of the church, the central part being interrupted by the chancel arch and is one foot in height. The subjects are nearly all destroyed by the erection of tablets, but as far as can be ascertained, this part seems to have represented the dead rising from their graves, a portion of an angel being also discernible on the north side. It has been suggested that the figures are in the agonies of torment, but this I do not think is the case. The general ground colour of this part seems to have been black.

Below again on either side of the arch, and extending to each side wall, has perhaps been a decorative pattern, which has been newly painted as represented in the illustration, but from very slender evidence as to what originally existed. Only a small portion on the north side of the arch remained, shewing part of a chevron and an imitation of the indented moulding, both in deep red colour. Whether the space on either side of the arch below this border was occupied with painting it is impossible to say, as not a trace of colour now remains, but it is probable that these spaces were not left blank, and that they were occupied by scenes in the life of our Lord, as were found at the neighbouring church of Westmeston, or by full-length figures of saints under semi-circular arches, as may be seen at Kempley in the same position. The chancel arch has also been decorated; the joints of the voussoirs of the arch are picked out in red lines; and above is painted an imitation hoodmould, with a red zigzag pattern enclosed within a pale red border, dotted with a beading of darker colour. The greater part of this pattern has been repainted, though some of the more perfect portions have not been touched. Traces of colouring were also visible on that portion of the original abacus, which has been preserved.

Such are the various details of this painting. As to the full and proper interpretation of some portions of the picture there seems to me to be some uncertainty, though as to the whole subject there can be no doubt that the great Doom, the Day of Judgment, is here pourtrayed. It is peculiarly interesting, as it is in all probability the earliest example in painting of a

"Doom" which has yet been discovered in England,[1] and yet in its main treatment it closely resembles the numerous later instances which have from time to time been brought to light. In the Eastern Church rigid rules were laid down for the mode of treatment of the various subjects, and they are still exactly followed. In the Western Church more freedom was allowed to the artist, but still we find in the various representations of the Doom, both in England and abroad, in the treatment of legends of saints, &c., the same general rules observed, and many peculiarities in the method of depicting the earlier subjects carefully followed by the later artists. There is however one great point of difference between this painting at Patcham, and all other later pictures, to which I have already drawn attention, viz., that we have here in all probability no representation of the cursed being driven off to eternal perdition, which is an invariable accompaniment of the representations of the Doom of the thirteenth and succeeding centuries.[2] It is just possible that on the south side in some way the jaws of hell may have been depicted, but the space is so limited that this seems highly improbable. This circumstance will, I think, assist us in assigning an early date to this painting, and will, in conjunction with other points to be noted, prove it to be of earlier date than the other examples I shall bring forward as being most nearly identical with the Patcham picture. I will now endeavour to point out the various details of the painting which seem to me to require explanation. The figure of our Saviour is seated in judgment with the hands raised and the side and feet exposed to shew the wounds. This is the position in which, in later paintings of the Doom, our Saviour is generally represented, but as will hereafter be shewn, it is extremely unusual for this early date. The full signification of this attitude is explained, (see post page). The position of the orb, intended to indicate the world between the feet of our Lord is very unusual. In other early examples, as in the Crypt Chapel at Canterbury, &c., our Lord is invariably represented with His feet resting on the earth, in direct allusion to the passage "Thus saith the Lord, the heaven is My Throne, and the earth is My footstool."—Isaiah lxvi, 1. Also St. Matthew v, 35, and The Acts vii, 49.

[1] It may perhaps be safer to say the earliest *complete* subject of the Doom. At Kempley Church, Gloucestershire, over the chancel arch is a representation of our Lord seated on the rainbow, angels blowing trumpets, and other figures around Him. The painting is very faint, and could not be deciphered in 1877, and it is impossible to say now what was our Lord's position there, as it is not mentioned in the account given in *Archæologia*, xlvi, 192; in fact the upper part of the figure of our Lord is, or was then, concealed by a modern flat ceiling. This painting most probably represented the Doom, and as the paintings in the chancel at Kempley are most likely earlier than this one at Patcham, the instance at Kempley would, if of the same date as the chancel pictures, as it probably is, be earlier than this. It could not have been so elaborately treated as this example, as the lower portion immediately over and to the south of the chancel arch is decorated with a Norman chequered pattern, so that no figures could have been there represented. Over the fine Norman chancel arch of Whaplode Church, Lincolnshire, has been a large subject, which I conjecture to be the Doom, but none of the details can now be made out.

[2] I do not mean to include in this general category such examples as those at Bedfont, Middlesex, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, &c., where, owing to the limited space, the artist was only able to pourtray the figure of our Lord seated in judgment, and to fill up the remaining surface with angels blowing trumpets, and a few figures rising from their tombs, to demonstrate the full significance of the subject.

The attitude of the Virgin certainly suggests that she is in the act of supplicating the great Judge on behalf of mankind, and that such was intended by the painter may be inferred from other later examples of the same subject, where the supplicatory attitude of the Virgin is still more clearly demonstrated, for instance, at St. John's Church, Winchester, and at Newington-by-Sittingbourne, Kent, where in each case she is represented as in the act of baring her bosom. The angels bearing the instruments of the Passion are very commonly introduced into this subject, and in a painting at Houghton Conquest in Bedfordshire not only are the angels depicted, but below them are shields also charged with the emblems of the Passion.

The position of the small figures on either side of the aureole, viz., of a crowned figure on the north, and a bishop on the south, both rising from their graves, seems to point to the resurrection of two specially saintly personages, and I would hazard the suggestion that they may be intended for St. Catherine and St. Nicholas, both of whom were held in the highest veneration in the twelfth century. The history of St. Catherine of Alexandria is well known, and her trials, martyrdom and glory were depicted on the walls of many of our English churches. So again in the case of St. Nicholas, the tradition was that he was immediately after his decease carried up by angels into heaven. The two small figures may be intended for the two children whom St. Nicholas brought to life, after they had been murdered, cut to pieces, and salted, and are here introduced to demonstrate more clearly who the bishop is who is rising from the tomb.[1] I think that this is more probable than the suggestion that they are simply intended to pourtray the deacons by whom a bishop was generally accompanied. As these tombs are actually placed within the space representing the realms of heaven, there is little doubt that the resurrection of a royal personage, and bishop, whose eternal salvation had been foretold during their lifetime, or to whom had been awarded a place in heaven immediately after death, must be here pourtrayed.

It seems clear that in the second compartment of the picture we have only a representation of the blessed eagerly pressing forward to the enjoyment of everlasting felicity. The first procession has already passed from the left to the right of our Saviour, and joyfully advances towards the two angels who guard the Tree of Life. The smaller band is about to cross the space from the left to the right of our Lord, while the single figure is also hastening to join the preceding company, having been weighed by the Archangel Michael, and found worthy to be admitted into the realms of eternal bliss. The figures in the compartment below are rising from their graves, and the fact of their faces being turned upwards so as to behold our Saviour, and of their hands being raised in supplication, seems effectually to negative the supposition that they are in the agonies of eternal torment.

By some, I believe, this picture is supposed to represent our Lord in Judgment, and the Virgin interceding for the souls in purgatory, but as I have already asserted, there is nothing in the picture to convey the idea of an allusion to purgatory, nor does there seem to be sufficient space in

[1] It may be worth notice that in early examples only two children are represented as being restored to life by the saint; in later instances the number was increased to three.

the blank portion at the south end of the middle compartment for a representation either of hell or of purgatory, and I presume that it would be placed there, if introduced into the picture at all. The representations of purgatory or of eternal punishment in sculpture and painting in England during the Norman period of architecture are very rare, and as far as I can ascertain, only three examples are now existing. In the series of sculptures on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, attributed to the time of Remigius at the end of the eleventh century, which are fully described and illustrated in the *Archæological Journal*, xxv, 1, and in the Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, vol. viii, are three scenes which illustrate this subject, viz. :—(1) See Fig. 10, "The future blessedness of the righteous contrasted with the torments of lost souls," where we see in the upper part a prostrate form being raised by angels, while below three souls are descending into the jaws of a monstrous fish; (2) Fig. 12 pourtrays in all its horrors the torments of hell; and (3) Fig. 13, Christ's descent to hell and His preaching there to the spirits in prison. The other two examples cannot have an earlier date assigned to them than quite the end of the twelfth century, and are both representations in mural paintings of the torments of the wicked, one at Chaldon, in Surrey (see *Archæological Journal*, xxx, 35), and the other at St. Mary's, Guildford, where are several scenes all of rather doubtful import, but which have been thus interpreted. On the tympanum of the north doorway of Quenington Church[1] is a figure of our Lord pressing the cross down the throat of Satan lying bound and prostrate at His feet; and at the side are three nude figures rising out of the mouth of a fish. In this example, which is of the earlier part of the twelfth century, as the figures are rising from the mouth of the fish and not from beneath it, no allusion to purgatory seems to be intended, and the subject simply pourtrays the victory of Christ over Satan, and the release of souls from the power of sin and of death. So, again at Beckford, also in Gloucestershire, on the tympanum of the closed-up north doorway is a sculpture of our Lord with the cross held in the right hand and pressed down the throat of the serpent, while the left is held over a prostrate figure. Here, again, the idea seems simply to be the victory of Christ over Satan, which is also exemplified in a similar manner on the tympanum of one of the doorways forming the triumphal arch of Shobdon Park, Herefordshire.

Thus then in the example at Patcham, I believe that there was no representation of hell or of purgatory, but that the encouragement to hope for mercy at the Day of Judgment was put prominently forward, and in this respect the painting essentially differs from those representations of the Doom which we so constantly find of later date, and more especially of the fifteenth century. In later times very many of our churches were adorned with a representation of the Doom, which was usually painted on the east wall of the nave above the chancel arch, and sometimes was continued along both the north and south walls. Very elaborate examples have been found at Trinity Church, Coventry;[2] North and South Leigh, Oxfordshire;[3] West Ham, Essex;[4] St. Michael's, St. Albans;[5] and a host of other instances might be adduced. There are also numerous examples

[1] "Archæologia," x, plate viii, p. 129.
[2] Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, i, 220.
[3] "Archæological Journal," xxx, 52.
[4] "Archæological Journal," xxiii, 63; "Essex Archæologia," iv, 45.
[5] Drawings in the Society of Antiquaries Library.

where, owing to the want of space over the chancel arch, or for some other reason, the Doom was pourtrayed on some other part of the church, as at Broughton St. Lawrence, Bucks, over the north door;[1] Yaxley, Hunts, in the north transept;[2] Winchfield, Hants, on the west wall of the nave;[3] Axbridge, Somerset, over the arch opening from south aisle to south transept, Newington-by-Sittingbourne, Kent, on east wall of north aisle; Bedfont, Middlesex, within a recess on the north side of the chancel arch;[4] at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, on the south wall of the chancel;[5] at Gloucester Cathedral, on a panel, formerly an altar piece, but now placed in the triforium,[6] &c., &c.[7] It is probably hardly necessary to point out how appropriate is the position over the chancel arch for this subject. The chancel arch, as forming the division between the nave and chancel would be considered symbolical of the gate of Heaven,[8] and what could be more properly impressed upon the minds of the people than this practical exposition of the terrible ordeal through which all will have to pass, ere they can be admitted to the realms of eternal happiness? Thus, as I have said, the subject of the Doom is generally found over the chancel arch. The doorways of the Church might in a lesser degree be also considered the gates of Heaven. Thus in the Eastern Church this subject was invariably represented over one of the doorways, and in the Western Church, except in England, it is not uncommon. In England it is very rare to meet with sculptured representations of the Doom either over the doorways or elsewhere. At Lincoln Cathedral over the south choir doorway is the figure of our Saviour within a quatrefoil shaped aureole. His right side and feet are bare, and the hands were perhaps also raised to shew the wounds,[9] but all the figures in this magnificent portal have been so cruelly mutilated that it is very difficult to explain the exact details of the scheme as here pourtrayed. The jaws of hell are represented beneath the feet of our Saviour. Again, over the west doorway and on each side of the arch of Bloxham Church, Oxfordshire, we have another instance of this subject.[10] Here also we see the jaws of hell pourtrayed, and both this example and that at Lincoln, which may be assigned to about the year 1280, shew a somewhat varied treatment as compared with the Patcham painting. The whole of the western façade of Wells Cathedral, completed in the year 1242, "above and around the great window archings is occupied by a band or series of figures rising from their graves."[11] A mutilated effigy of our Saviour is seated in the middle compartment of the central gable, and below Him, within

[1] "Archæological Journal," vi, 176.

[2] "Ecclesiologist," iii, 55.

[3] "British Archæological Association Journal," vi, 76.

[4] "Archæological Journal" xxiii, 63. "Ecclesiologist," xxvi (xxiii, new series) 318.

[5] "Archæologia," xxxviii, 436.

[6] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 370.

[7] A full list of the representations of the Doom in Mural painting, will be given in the index to the new edition of the "List of Mural Paintings," &c., about to be brought out by the Council of Education, South Kensington Museum.

[8] At Chalfont, St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, the chancel arch is unusually small. Above it has been painted a series of battlements pierced with oillettes and with quatrefoil openings on either side of the head of the arch, so as to give the whole the appearance of an embattled gateway, the date being about 1350.

[9] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 382, and plate, xxxi, fig. 1; also Wild's "Lincoln Cathedral," plates 12 to 14.

[10] "Skelton's Antiquities of Oxfordshire, Bloxham Hundred," p. 4.

[11] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 381.

recessed arches, are statues of the Apostles, and another series of figures within the arcade immediately beneath them. On the eastern side of a monument, circa 1500, to one of the Babington family at Kingston Church, Nottinghamshire,[1] is another sculptured representation of the Doom, and on one of the bosses of the choir roof at Norwich Cathedral[2] our Lord in Judgment forms the conclusion of a series of Old and New Testament subjects.

In ancient stained glass the subject of the Day of Judgment does not seem to have been common in England. In the upper part of the east window of Carlisle Cathedral[3] are portions of a Doom, and a more perfect representation remains in the west window of Fairford Church, Gloucestershire.[4] There is also an example in a window of a north chancel chapel at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.[5]

I have already endeavoured to point out some of the peculiarities of the Patcham painting, and have referred to the position of our Saviour as being unusual for this early period. In most of the early paintings and sculptures of our glorified Saviour, He is represented with the right hand raised in the attitude of benediction; in fact there does not seem to be any contemporary example of a painting of our Saviour shewing the wounds, and only a very few early instances in sculpture of this subject, all of which I believe to be of the Late Norman period. On the font at Kirkburn in Yorkshire[6] we have a figure of our Lord within an aureole held by angels, and with both hands raised, but the sculpture here is too much worn to enable us to make out how the drapery was arranged. Again, on the font at Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall,[7] the upper part of our Saviour's body is bare, and the hands are raised. It is probable, therefore, that here the wounds were displayed. On the monumental slab ascribed to Bishop Remigius, in the north aisle of Lincoln Cathedral, we find a similar representation of our Saviour, though the body seems to have been entirely clothed. Over the south doorway of Haddiscoe Church, Norfolk,[8] there is also a figure with both hands raised, but with the whole body richly vested, which I also believe to be intended for our Saviour, and though the side is not bare, yet the same idea seems clearly to be conveyed. On the very quaint font at Ingleton, Yorkshire, is a curious representation of the Virgin with the infant Saviour on her lap, having the upper part of His body bare, and both the hands also upheld, with the undoubted object of illustrating the same doctrine. All these, however, are single figures, and have only been cited as being probably contemporary with, and intended to set forth the same teaching, as the painting at Patcham. But are there any parallel examples which can be quoted to elucidate our subject? In England I have been unable to find any, though in some instances, chiefly of the latter part of the fifteenth century, we find features which correspond closely with those in the Patcham picture. For instance, at Slym-

[1] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 387, and plate xxxii, fig. 5.

[2] Goulburn, "The Ancient Sculptures in the Roof of Norwich Cathedral."

[3] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 385, and plate xxxi, fig. 2.

[4] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 387, and plate xxxi, fig. 6. "Murray's Handbook of Gloucestershire."

[5] "Archæologia," xxxvi, 388.

[6] "British Archæological Association Journal," vii, 38, and "Associated Architectural Societies Reports," iii, 232.

[7] "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts," Van Voorst, 1844.

[8] Parker's "Glossary of Architecture," illustrations of Niches.

bridge Church, Gloucestershire,[1] a painting of the Doom was found over the chancel arch, in which the central figure of our Saviour with drapery similarly arranged was showing the wounds, at His side kneels the Virgin crowned, and behind her an angel holding the cross. So we also find in the example discovered, and the upper portion destroyed, at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, but in both these cases the rest of the picture is treated in a manner quite different to that at Patcham. One of the earliest examples of the Doom in mural painting in England was discovered in 1852 on the north wall of the nave of St. John's Church, Winchester, and has since been destroyed.[2] In this painting, which was probably executed in the thirteenth century, our Lord was represented in the centre of the upper compartment seated and with the drapery so arranged as to show the wounds; by His right side kneels the Virgin crowned and in the attitude of supplication, and behind her stands an angel holding the cross and scourge; on our Saviour's left is another angel holding the pillar and spear stained with blood, and on each side of Him are six of the Apostles seated and an angel blowing a trumpet; below in the centre is St. Michael weighing souls, on the dexter side a Franciscan monk,? St. Francis, conducting the company of the Blessed, these being, as at Patcham, naked, their rank in life being denoted by a crown, mitre, and tonsures; on the sinister side the lower part of a large demon and of feet behind him prove that this part of the picture represented the souls of the condemned being dragged away to torment; below, again, are nude figures rising from coffins, and the rank of the personages is again demonstrated by crowns, mitres, and tonsures, the crowns being of the same type as those at Patcham. There are many points of resemblance between these paintings at Winchester and Patcham, but the main distinction between the latter and all the later paintings remains, namely, that in the Patcham painting all are pressing forward to eternal bliss, while at Winchester and elsewhere part are being conducted to the realms of Heaven, while the other part are being hurried away to everlasting torment. In the example at Bedfont, Middlesex, already referred to, the figure of our Saviour also bears a marked resemblance to that at Patcham. It seems to me to be of the thirteenth century, though the late Canon Rock did not consider it to be earlier than the fourteenth century. In France we have some examples in some degree corresponding with the example at Winchester, and the instances I have been able to find are also all of the thirteenth century. On the tympanum of the great central west doorway of Notre Dame de Paris, we see a figure of our Lord in all respects corresponding to the one at Patcham. On His right is an angel with spear, and behind him a crowned figure of the Virgin kneeling; on His left an angel bearing the cross, and another saint kneeling behind him; below, in the centre, St. Michael weighing souls, the blessed on the north, while the cursed are hurried away to perdition on the south side; and below again are various figures of bishops, kings, &c., rising from their tombs, with an angel on each side sounding the trumpet. At Rheims Cathedral, on a side doorway, we find a similar figure of our Saviour. On His right is the Virgin kneeling, and behind her an angel

[1] Notes, Hist., and Arch., on Church of St. John the Baptist, Slymbridge, p. 59. "Ecclesiologist," iv, 41.

[2] Illustrated and fully described in British Archæological Association Journal, ix, 8.

holding a cross and a napkin; on His left a male saint kneeling, and an angel behind him holding in his hands the crown of thorns and other emblems of the Passion; below are two tiers of figures rising from their tombs, some naked and some still enveloped in their grave clothes. On the great central west doorway of Bourges Cathedral is also a similar figure of our Saviour in the centre. On His right is an angel bearing the cross, then another angel, and then the kneeling figure of the Virgin; on His left two angels and a male figure kneeling; below St. Michael weighing souls, with figures on the north side clothed in the robes of righteousness and advancing towards St. Peter, while those on the south are naked and being driven to eternal perdition. Another example, and the one most nearly illustrating our subject, is the sculpture on the tympanum of the great central doorway of Amiens Cathedral.[1] Here again is a figure of our Lord seated with the hands raised, and the drapery arranged so as to leave the whole of the upper portion of the body bare, and not one side only. On His right is the Virgin crowned and kneeling with uplifted hands, behind her is an angel bearing the cross with the crown of thorns on the arm nearest our Lord, and a second angel kneels behind him. On our Lord's left is an ecclesiastic kneeling, and behind him an angel holding a spear and (?) a sponge, while another angel kneels behind him. Below are a number of angels flying, some bearing crowns; below again are two processions of figures, those on the north are advancing clothed towards S. Peter, who holds his key, while those on the south are naked, and are being hurried off to eternal torment. In the lowest portion is in the centre, St. Michael weighing souls, and the dead are rising from their graves on either side. These examples all bear some resemblance to the painting at Patcham, and especially as to the figure of our Lord and the presence of the Virgin and the angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, but they all exhibit a more elaborate treatment of the subject of the Doom, and it can almost with certainty be asserted that they are later in their character than the example at Patcham. The only instances which I have at present lighted upon, as belonging to the period to which I wish to prove this painting to belong, and which in any way correspond with it, are at the Cathedral of St. Trophimus, at Arles, and at the Church of St. Iago de Compostella. In the former "the tympanum over the door" (the main entrance) "is occupied by the figure of the Saviour as Judge of the world with the attributes of the four Evangelists; and the sculptured frieze below represents in the centre the Twelve Apostles, and on the sides the Last Judgment; the Good being on the left of the spectator, the Bad, bound by a rope and dragged by devils, on the right. The archivolt is filled with the Heavenly Host in the shape of rows of cherubims.[2] This porch is an addition to the original church, and probably dates from the latter part of the twelfth century. In this example the figure of our Lord is in the usual attitude of benediction. Another and earlier example of the doom is sculptured on the tympanum of the great west doorway of Autun Cathedral.[3] On the noble doorway of the church of

[1] Figured in M de Caumont, Abecedaire d'Archeologie, Architecture Religieuse, 1st ed, p. 384.

[2] Murray's "Handbook of France." Fergusson's "Illustrated Handbook of Architecture," p. 602.

[3] See illustration in the fine work of Baron Taylor. "Voyages dans l'ancienne France," Bourgogne, tome ii.

St. Iago de Compostella, of which a fine cast is to be seen at the South Kensington Museum, we have a figure of our Saviour draped as at Patcham, with hands raised and right side and feet bare. He is surrounded by four figures holding the Evangelistic emblems, and on His right are the Virgin holding a crown, two angels holding the cross, &c. As we are informed, this splendid triple doorway was erected by one Master Matteo in the year 1188.

As a last example, I will invite attention to a folio MS. in the British Museum, marked Nero, c,iv, the date of which is about the year 1125. The subject of the Doom is depicted on nine separate pages, and an illustration and full account of them will be found in *Archæologia*, xxxvi, plate xxix, page 378. On one page is the figure of our Saviour seated within an oval vesica held by angels. His drapery is disposed as at Patcham, the right side bare, and the hands raised, with the marks of the wounds clearly displayed; the hair and beard are also similarly arranged. Below Him are two angels with outspread wings, holding the cross, on the top of which rests the Book of Life; behind and beneath it is an altar; on two other pages are the Apostles seated, six on each page, St. Peter, as usual, with one key; on two more pages are the blessed and the cursed; in each case six ecclesiastics, fully vested, appear below, and numerous rows of heads distinguished by crowns, tonsures, &c., above. On another page are six angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, and three of them carry pennons similar to the one at Patcham. Two other pages pourtray in all their horrors the torments of the condemned, while in the last, which is the first in order in the MS., are shown the dead rising from their coffins, and four angels of the Resurrection blowing long horns similar to those in the Patcham picture.

There can be no doubt that if we can prove this painting at Patcham to have been originally executed in the twelfth century we have here the earliest complete example of the Day of Judgment which has yet been discovered in England. I have both here and elsewhere used the term "originally" painted or executed, as there are several faint traces which may indicate that at some period this picture has been, in part at least, renewed. For instance, one can make out that the right arm, and perhaps both arms, of our Saviour have been considerably foreshortened, but the original intention seems to have been the same, the whole of the fingers of the right hand having been raised, and not the two, as is usually the case, in the act of benediction. The hair of our Saviour originally flowed more over the shoulders, and was not nearly so long as we now see it. There were also numerous faint lines in various places, which seem to denote some slightly different treatment in the original painting. It seems, however, extremely probable that some of these alterations were made by the original artist himself. The present painting is on a very thin layer of plaster laid directly on the surface of the wall, which is composed of Isle of Wight stone, and therefore whatever, if anything, was done in later times was no more than we should call a restoration at the present day.

The treatment of the subject seems to bear internal evidence of its early date, but this internal evidence is often dangerous to follow without some corroborative facts. The whole of the painting, namely, the main subject and the decorative pattern round the arch, was evidently executed

[1] See Mr. Waller's remarks (post.)

at one time, and one would naturally conclude from the ornamental patterns used, that as they are of the same character as the ornaments employed in sculpture in Norman times alone, therefore they must prove that the painting was executed in the twelfth century. Unfortunately, as I shall proceed to show, we must not draw such hasty conclusions. The elaborate painted decorations on the Norman arches at St. Alban's Cathedral, which are of pure Norman character, are by some, though, in my opinion, erroneously, thought to be not earlier than the thirteenth century; and it is recorded that one Walter de Colchester was employed on works of this kind at St. Albans early in the thirteenth century. A pattern of bold double chevrons, which occurs at St. Albans, is also found on early pointed arches at Ulcomb, Kent, and in the Revestry or Chapel of St. Faith, at Westminster Abbey, and even on an octagonal column of the latter half of the thirteenth century at Hunstanton Church, Norfolk. So again on the early pointed arches at West Chillington, Sussex, are painted stars and other Norman ornaments, which might well have been considered coeval with the arches themselves, but in several places the plaster on which this course of decoration was executed, has dropped off, and an earlier masonry pattern has been revealed beneath it. It seems to me that owing to the fact of the painters of the early times possessing but a slight knowledge of perspective, they were in the thirteenth century tempted to perpetuate the various simple ornaments used in Norman sculpture, rather than attempt to pourtray the bold foliage, or dogtooth or nailhead ornaments, which may be designated the distinguishing mouldings of the Early English or first pointed period, and which are not easy to represent in painting, except to an artist fully acquainted with the principles of perspective. Thus, the instances of the dogtooth ornament in painting are very rare, and I only know of three examples, namely, on the south wall of the Presbytery of St. Alban's Cathedral, forming a border to a band of rich foliage; within the splays of two lancet windows recently opened out in the south Chancel Chapel of Godalming Church, Surrey; and on the east wall of St. Olave's Church, Chichester, now destroyed. This uncertainty of judging by the ornamental patterns will apply almost equally to the foliage in the painting under notice. The band which forms the border of the semi-circular portion of the picture seems to be of an early type, though the double spray may be an addition to the remaining scroll pattern. We find a somewhat similar scroll pattern at Pytchley and Rothwell, Northamptonshire, Walsoken, Norfolk, Hullavington and Stapleford, Wiltshire, in each case painted on an arch of late Norman character. So, again, the leaf pattern forming the lower boundary to the main part of the subject is of a type by no means uncommon in late Norman work. We find a parallel example in a string-course above the porch and round one of the courses of the north doorway of the Church of St. Lawrence extra-Walmgate, York, on the knocker of the south doorway of Adel Church, Yorkshire, on a string-course or cornice along the Norman house or hospital in the High Street, Lincoln,[1] and on fonts at Wansford, Northamptonshire,[2] and Great or West Shefford, Berkshire.[3] All the illuminated pages of the Cotton

[1] Pugin, "Specimens of Gothic Architecture," vol. i, plate iii.

[2] Simpson's "Baptismal Fonts."

[3] "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts." Van Voorst, 1844.

MS., already referred to have ornamental borders, some of which resemble this leaf pattern. It also occurs in painting at S. Mary's Church, Guildford,[1] in the Chapel of St. Sepulchre, Winchester Cathedral, which is probably not earlier than the thirteenth century.[2] On the arch of the closed up north doorway at Malmesbury Abbey Church, and on the south doorway of Ditteridge Church, Wiltshire, we have somewhat similar leaves arranged in pairs, and not on a running stem, as also on some of the choir arches of New Shoreham Church, Sussex. On a capital dug up in the ruins of Lewes Priory, and now in the British Museum, we also find pairs of leaves of similar pattern joined by a band, and this last example perhaps furnishes us with a clue, which may help us in assigning a date to the Patcham painting, and will tend to strengthen the contention that it is late twelfth century work.

Besides the decorative patterns we have other characteristics which will assist us in determining the date of the painting. The dresses of the various figures accord with the date we are endeavouring to prove.[3] The form and position of the wings of the angels agree with other representations in twelfth century painting and sculpture, the horns which the angels of the Resurrection are blowing are similar to those in the Cotton MS. and the sculptures at Autun, in later examples a trumpet, not a horn, generally being the instrument used to summon mankind to Judgment. The crown of the Virgin, of which the other crowns in the picture are intended to be fac-similes, except as to the jewels, is certainly of an early type, and similar to the one which the Virgin wears in the sculpture on the font at Ingleton. So again the procession of nude figures seems to indicate an earlier method of treatment than the more elaborate thirteenth century examples, which I have mentioned, where the saved are usually clothed in the robes of righteousness while the condemned are being hurried away naked to torment. Lastly the fact of the full faces of all the figures being depicted proves its early character. This we also notice in the Norman painting at Westmeston, where, in the subject of the descent from the Cross, one figure who is releasing one of the arms of our Saviour, has his neck twisted right round so as to show the full face. So again we see in the Crypt Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral, and in the very early paintings at Kempley. As in this last case we find that the painting is executed on a very thin layer of plaster laid directly over the surface of the wall, which tends to prove that no earlier decoration existed here.

Now, is there anything in the history of the church which may enable us to assign a positive date to this painting? I fear that in this case we can bring forward nothing at all conclusive. We find Paccham, or Peccham as it is variously called, mentioned as having a church at the time of the Doomsday survey. We also learn that it was granted by William the Conqueror to William the great Earl de Warenne, and that at an early period the advowson and rectory were in the possession of the wealthy Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes. In a charter[4] to the

[1] "Builder," 1864, p. 722.

[2] Winchester Volume of the British Archæological Association, p. 264.

[3] Mr. J. Neale, F.S.A., considers the dresses to be more in the style of the thirteenth century.

[4] This Charter is set out in full in Horsfield's "History and Antiquities o Lewes and its Vicinity," vol. ii, appendix iv; see also Horsfield's "History of Sussex," i, 116 note; and Hussey's "Churches of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey," p. 252. It is not mentioned in Dugdale's "Monasticon."

Priory by Seffrid II., who ruled over the See of Chichester from 1180 to 1204, the bishop grants and confirms to the Priory the Church of Patcham in conjunction with several others in the same neighbourhood and elsewhere. The date at the end "11—" is defective, but it is probable that this charter was given soon after Seffrid's elevation to the Bishopric. It seems also probable that the use of the words "grant and confirm" at the commencement and elsewhere, denotes that this charter was given to ensure to the monks the quiet possession of some property either recently acquired, or owing to the troublous times, not previously formally conferred upon them. The large number of churches, &c., mentioned in this charter, proves that the possessions of the Priory must have been at this time very materially increased. It is by no means unlikely that, as in many other instances, the monks would at once set to work to enlarge and beautify their newly-acquired churches, and it is, at least, a coincidence that at Patcham an important addition seems to have been made about this time. The church must have originally consisted only of a nave and chancel, but towards the close of the twelfth century the present west tower was added. This opens by a pointed arch into the nave, and has in the lower stage a west window, lancet-shaped externally, but semi-circular headed and widely splayed within; a small lancet on the second stage, and a small semi-circular headed window on each face of the upper stage. These features clearly mark the transitional character of the tower, and we may accordingly consider it to have been built between the years 1175 and 1200. The fact of the tower being built at this time points to the conclusion that this addition to the church marks an era of newly increased importance in the parish, and is it not possible and probable that the execution of this painting may belong to the same period? It is certainly more elaborate than we should expect to find in so small a church, and it is, therefore, probable that it was executed at the expense of, and by one of the monks from, the Priory, and that the tower was also built at this time. It is clear from the beautiful fragments which have been dug up on the site of Lewes Priory, many of which may still be seen among the ruins, while some have been removed and deposited in the British Museum, that great building operations were carried on there in the latter part of the twelfth century, and it affords an additional proof of the property of the priory being at that time considerably augmented. Although I do not pretend to assert that any absolute proofs as to the date of this painting have been adduced, still it has been demonstrated that in the latter part of the twelfth century a number of churches, including that at Patcham, were granted and confirmed to the Priory at Lewes, and that probably owing to this addition to the possessions of the priory the monks at once commenced improvements at their own monastery and in their newly acquired churches.

Not many examples of mural paintings have been discovered which can with certainty be ascribed to the twelfth century, and most of these are simply masonry or decorative patterns. At Westmeston Church, about six miles from Patcham, a series of twelfth century paintings were discovered in 1861, but now no longer exist.[1] The only point of resemblance between these paintings and the one at Patcham is that over the Chancel arch was a representation of the Agnus Dei within a quatre-

[1] See "Sussex Archæol.," xvi, 1; "Archæological Journal," xx, 73, 168.

foil shaped aureole. The occurrence of an aureole of this shape is uncommon, and may point to some connection between the two series of paintings. Towards the close of the twelfth century a considerable amount of mural painting seems to have been carried out in the Sussex churches. Besides the elaborate series referred to at Westmeston, we find the whole of the walls of Hardham Church near Pulborough decorated with various scripture subjects, and a St. George and the Dragon, probably the earliest example in England of this legend in mural painting. In the south aisle of West Chiltington is a portion of the subject of our Lord in Majesty, already alluded to; on an arch on the east side of the north transept, opening into the library, at Chichester Cathedral are some figures also of this date, and within a recess on the south side of the Chancel arch of Wisborough Green are early paintings of the Crucifixion and St. James introducing pilgrims to our Lord in heaven. These and the Patcham paintings I have no hesitation in asserting to be considerably earlier than the better known paintings at Preston, which are attributed to the thirteenth century, and the details of which I have carefully compared with those at Patcham. I think, therefore, that on the whole the evidence of the painting itself, which certainly tends to prove it to have been executed towards the end of the twelfth century, has been strengthened by the recorded history of, and architectural additions to, the church at Patcham and the priory at Lewes at this period, and that it has been demonstrated that the most probable date of the execution of this Patcham painting was during the last quarter of the twelfth century, and most likely between 1180 and 1190. In any case it is peculiarly interesting as being, in all probability, the earliest complete example of the subject of the Day of Judgment which has yet been discovered in any of our English churches.

[1] "Archæological Journal," xxx, 48. "Sussex Archæol." xxii, 134.