LAMBERT BARNARD: AN ENGLISH EARLY RENAISSANCE PAINTER

By EDWARD CROFT-MURRAY

The subject of this paper is a school of early Renaissance painting in England which flourished at Chichester under the patronage of the then Bishop of the see, Robert Sherborne.

Sherborne was a typical great churchman of his day: scholar, diplomatist, and patron of learning and the arts.[1] He was born at Rolleston in Staffordshire, probably about 1455, and was educated at Winchester and New College, both of which foundations were greatly to benefit by his generosity.[2] Between 1469 and 1496 he passed from one preferment to another in London and the provinces, ending up as Archdeacon successively of Buckinghamshire, Huntingdon and Taunton. In 1496 came his first diplomatic mission: he was sent to Rome to inform Pope Alexander Borgia of Henry VII's readiness to join the Holy League which aimed at keeping the French out of Italy. In 1499 Sherborne became Dean of St. Paul's. Three years later, in 1502, he was again in Rome; this time in company with the Spanish ambassador to announce the death of Prince Arthur to the Pope, and ask for a dispensation for the marriage of Katherine of Aragon with Prince Henry, later Henry VIII. In 1504 came a third visit to Rome, to bring the royal congratulations on Julius II's accession to the Papacy.

The following year, 1505, saw Sherborne Bishop of St. David's. This advancement he appears to have achieved entirely on his own initiative by forging the Papal Bull appointing him to the see. This trick was discovered, but he went unpunished through the intercession of his patron, Henry VII. His reign at St. David's, anyhow, was a short one, for on September 18th, 1508, he was translated to Chichester, where he remained for the last twenty-eight years of his life.

Sherborne did much for Chichester. He was an able administrator, and left behind him a *Liber Donationum ac Fundationum*[3] which is most revealing about his work and character; it is a full record of his activities for the use of his successors, and covers every aspect of the administrative life of the bishopric, from the upkeep of windmills and barns on the episcopal lands down to the provision of a custard of milk, saffron and eggs for the choristers. It also contains an inventory of the objects given by him to the Cathedral treasury, as well as details of his many benefactions, among which are four prebends to be held by former Wykehamists and members of New College, and a grammar school at

[1] A good general account of Bishop Sherborne will be found in *D.N.B.*, LII, 69–70.

[2] Scholars admitted to Winchester under the election of 1465 include Robert SHYRBORN (T. F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, 1892, 77). As, according to the Statutes, he must have been aged 8, but not over 12, at election, his date of birth should lie between 1453 and '57. Reference kindly communicated by Mr. John Harvey.

[3] MS. copies are in the Chapter Archives of Chichester Cathedral (now housed in the County Record Office, Chichester), and in the libraries of New College, Oxford, and Winchester College.

his native village of Rolleston. He also spent large sums on beautifying his Cathedral. He lived in great state, and remodelled his palace within the precincts and the three episcopal country seats in the neighbourhood of Chichester : Aldingbourne, Amberley Castle and Cakeham on the Selsey peninsula. At Cakeham he erected a charming pentagonal tower in brick, in order to look out to sea—surely one of the oldest follies of this kind to survive in England.[1]

It was in one of these seats that Sherborne entertained Henry VIII during a royal progress south, in August, 1526. Sir William Fitzwilliam (Treasurer of the Royal Household), who was present at the occasion, noted that there was ' not within 100 miles a properer and better cast house more neatly kept, with fairer and pleasanter walks, except the King's houses and Cardinal Wolsey's.' Unfortunately Fitzwilliam does not name the house ; nor does he give any explanation of his tantalising reference to ' sundry devices ' there, which he has not seen anywhere else.

Sherborne's activities were not confined to West Sussex, for he took great interest in Wolsey's new foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford, and presented books to its library. Every now and then, too, he was called back to his old diplomatic and ceremonial life, being appointed to receive distinguished foreign visitors to this country : he escorted Charles V from Calais to London in 1522, and was in attendance on Cardinal Campeggio when that prelate came to try the Royal Divorce in 1528.

Sherborne steered a prudent course during the ensuing break with Rome. As we have seen, he had been instrumental in bringing about the marriage between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon : now, with other Lords spiritual and temporal, he joined in the petition to Clement VII to hasten the divorce. His whole-hearted support of the Reformed Church, however, was evidently held in doubt ; but he managed to clear himself with Cromwell, and on February 26th, 1534–5, he renounced the jurisdiction of the Pope and confirmed his support of the King's supremacy, in letters both to Henry and to Cromwell.

Confidence in him was indeed restored, to the extent of his being appointed in this same year as one of the Commissioners to sit on the value of church property ; and we get a final glimpse of his splendid living and of his amazing vitality—he would have been about eighty at the time—in the entertainment he gave in his palace at Chichester to his fellow Commissioners. It is described in a letter written on April 10th, 1535, by Antony Waite, one of the Bishop's household : ' He came on Friday in Easter week to Chichester, as the Chief Commissioner. . . . He was accompanied by 100 horse, partly gentlemen of the county and partly his own. Such yet is his stomach to honour the King's commission, albeit by his great age scarce able to bear it. He

[1] *Cf.* the drawing by Samuel Heironymus Grimm in the British Museum, *Add. MS.* (*Burrell*), 5675, *f.* 69, No. 132.

made that day such a dinner of fish, as nor I, nor any that were there, ever saw, as they said, for the quantity and goodness of them. About 700 persons dined in his palace ; some in the hall, which is not small ; some in the parlour and the great chamber above, where he dined for warmth, with other of the commissioners '.[1]

Despite his official position, however, there are hints that Sherborne's sympathies were with the old faith ; and his canons apparently took their cue from him, for in September, 1535, we find Cromwell's agent, Richard Layton, writing that the ' cathedral church of Chichester (was) appliable to (that is to say, *compliant with*) all things, (but) somewhat papistical with privy susurrations '. We do not know what passed between Layton and Sherborne himself on that occasion, but at any rate the Bishop was left in peace for the short time he had to live. In June of the following year, 1536, no doubt feeling that he had well and truly ensured the future of his Cathedral, he asked to be allowed to resign his bishopric. He died in the following August, aged probably 81. He was commemorated by a handsome tomb in the south choir aisle of Chichester Cathedral.[2]

Lambert Barnard

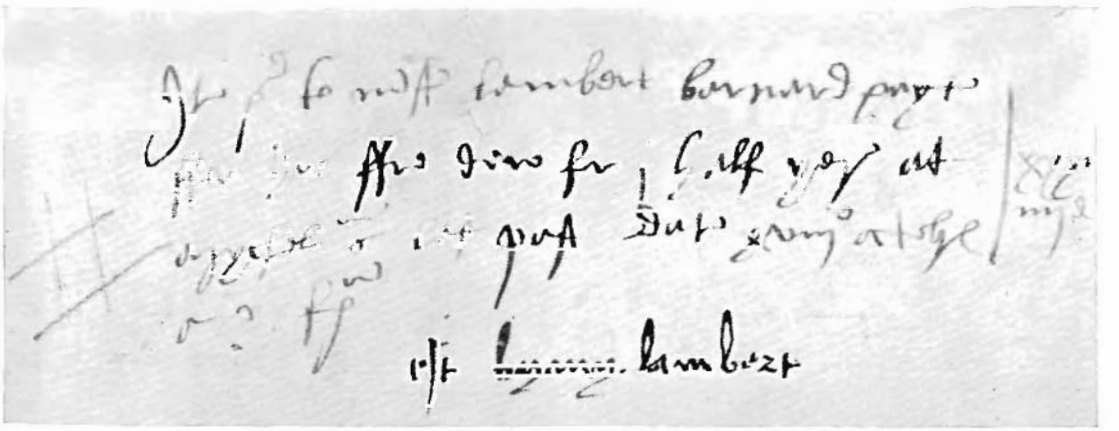
Sherborne's court painter was named Lambert Barnard. Whether he was an Englishman or a foreigner has not yet been discovered. In favour of the former hypothesis may be cited references, dating from between 1486 and 1498, in the earliest *Act Book* of the Dean's Peculiar Jurisdiction in Chichester, to members of a family established in the city, variously called Barnard, Bernard, Berenard and Bernham, the most significant being an entry under April 28th, 1498, recording how a certain Lambert Bernham sued one John Braggett for a debt.[3] But the name Barnard could equally well be French or Netherlandish, in some form like Bernard, Bernaert or Barendt. Barnard's artistic origins are also difficult to determine. His style is Netherlandish in general flavour, but then it must be remembered that at his period the dominating influence on English painting was Netherlandish. As we shall see, however, his work on the vaults of Chichester Cathedral and Boxgrove Priory and in the Queens' Room at Amberley Castle suggests that he had more than just a second-hand acquaintance with the Netherlands and that he may even have received at some time a continental training. His technique, on the other hand, is uncompromisingly English : an analysis of his pigments carried out by the National Gallery shows that, at a time when

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner, 1885, 201, No. 530.

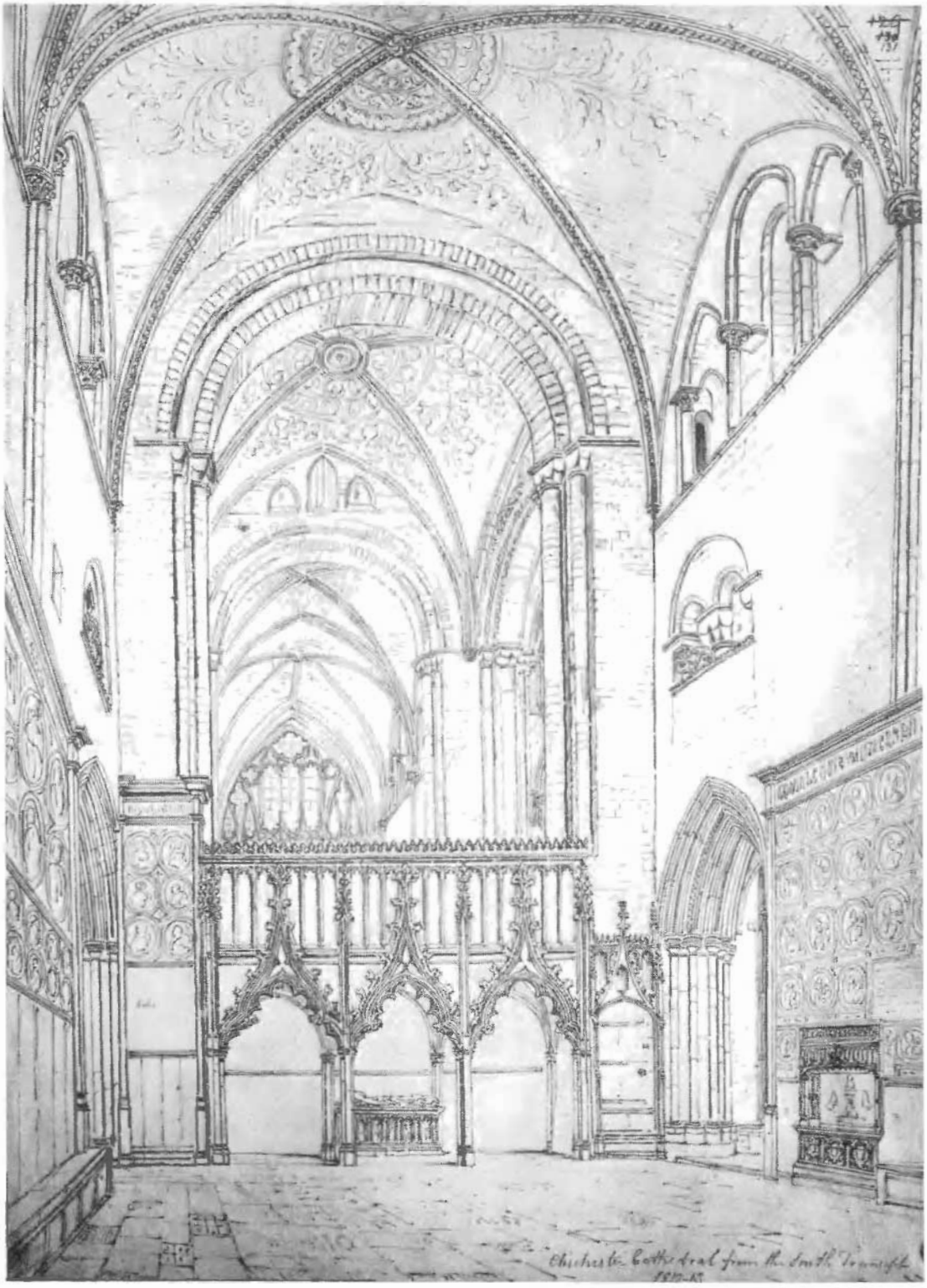
[2] Bishop Sherborne's effigy lies on a panelled tomb-chest beneath a crested canopy. On the back wall of the recess is a relief bearing his initials and his arms supported by angels. The tomb was refurbished in the 19th century, but S. H. Grimm's drawing, Br. Mus., *Add. Ms.* 5675, *f.* 56, No. 106, shows it as it was before restoration.

[3] County Record Office, Chichester, Episc. III/4/I, *ff.* 14 *v.*, 23 *v.*, 66 *r.* and 84 *r.* Kindly communicated by Mr. C. E. Welch.

A. The Nave of Chichester Cathedral. Drawing by S. H. Grimm
(*By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*)



B. Lambert Barnard's signature, from the *Communar Account Book*
(*Reproduced by courtesy of John R. Freeman & Co.*)



Chichester Cathedral from the South Transept. Drawing by John Buckler

(By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

oil was a medium generally accepted throughout Europe, Barnard never used anything but the traditional English medium of distemper for painting not only on plaster but also on wood.

George Vertue, who visited Chichester on more than one occasion to study Barnard's work there noted, with considerable acumen for his time, that the paintings he saw were in Dutch or German taste, recalling Dürer or Lucas van Leyden. Having been told who the painter was, he queried whether he might not, from his name, be related to ' Theodore Bernardi of Amsterdam ' (that is, Titian's Dutch pupil Dirk Barendsz, b. 1534 : d. 1592), or to ' Bernaert of Brussels—who was the master of Michael Coxie ' (that is Bernard van Orley, b. 1492 or '95 : d. 1542).[1] Unfortunately Horace Walpole hastily digesting Vertue's notes and seeing the name ' Theodore Bernardi ', jumped to the conclusion that this was Sherborne's painter.[2] The result has been that nearly every authority, when referring to Barnard's work, has, since Walpole's day, spoken of a mythical ' Theodore Bernardi ', this Latin form of the name occasionally giving rise even to the absurd idea that the artist was an Italian. The *Chichester Guide* of 1794 reverts to the older and correct tradition, only giving the painter's name as ' Hulbert ', which is obviously a deformation of Lambert.

The first record of Lambert Barnard in the Cathedral archives occurs only late in Sherborne's reign, in 1529, when he appears as the Bishop's tenant of land at Lathorne Manor, south of Chichester.[3] There is evidence, however, that he had been in Sherborne's employ well before that, for on December 23rd, 1533, he was granted by the Dean and Chapter, on his master's recommendation, an annuity of £3 6s. 8d. in recognition of his long service to the Bishop in the past, and of his continued employment by the Bishop and Chapter in the future. At the same time it was laid down that, if commissioned to work for the Bishop or anyone else connected with the Cathedral, he should receive for his pay and keep, and for the hire of his assistant, £14 8s. a year, together with the cost of his colours and of his gold and silver.

Unfortunately the Chapter accounts contain no mention of the several works still existing which Barnard carried out for Bishop Sherborne, who probably paid for them out of his own privy purse. Recorded payments to the artist, whose name appears variously as ' Lambert Barnarde ' or ' Mr. Lambert ', date only from after the Bishop's death. They are for tasks of a routine nature, and extend well into Elizabeth's reign, reflecting the changes of faith over that period : in 1543, repairing the painted cloth of the Crucifix over the High Altar ; in 1556, painting the carved figures on the re-erected Rood ;

[1] George Vertue, *Notebooks*, in *Walpole Soc.*, XXIV, 150, and XXVI, 74–5.

[2] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. Rev. James Dallaway, I, 1828, 182.

[3] County Record Office, Chichester : *White Act Book* ; Bishop Sherborne's *Liber Donationum & Communar Accounts*, 1556–61. Kindly summarised and communicated by Mr. W. D. Peckham.

in 1558, making and mending the wings of two angels ; and in 1560, painting a clock. Finally, in 1561, there is a payment of 8s. 4d. for painting the Ten Commandments on 6¼ ells of cloth behind the altar, certainly one of the earliest recorded instances of an embellishment which was to become so characteristic of the Anglican East End.

All this time Barnard continued to receive the annuity of £3 6s. 8d. fixed for him by Sherborne. An entry in the *Communar Account Book* for 1550 recording the receipt of the half-yearly payment of this, on October 18th of that year, is the only example we have of his signature : *est by my* (that is *by me*) *Lambert* (Pl. XIIIB). He received his annuity up to the time of his death, which probably occurred in January, 1567–8. In his will, made on December 11th, 1567, he is described as ' Lambarte Barned of the prshe of St. Andrewe in the cytye of Chichester Painter '.[1] He bequeathed his goods to his children, and to his ' boye John Foster . . . halfe of his toles [tools] and halfe his pattrons ' (that is, his pattern-books). Administration was granted on February 11th, 1567–8, to his son Anthony. His burial is not recorded in the registers of St. Andrew's, which is a pity, for such an entry might conceivably have told us whether he was an Englishman or a foreigner.

Lambert Barnard's son Anthony achieved some fame by his longevity, for he lived until 1619, his burial being noted in the register of All Saints', Chichester, on December 29th of that year : 'Anthony Barnarde the olde painter . . . being an hundred and five years old '.[2] If this statement is to be believed he would have been born in 1514. We have no records of his career as a painter, but doubtless he would have assisted his father in his work for Sherborne, and for the Dean and Chapter after the Bishop's death. He in his turn was succeeded by his son, Lambert II (b. 1582 : d. 1655), who continued obscurely into the third generation the family profession.[3] Vertue noted that there were still members of the family living in Chichester and the neighbourhood in the 1740's.[4]

Barnard's surviving works include the decorated vaults of the Lady Chapel in Chichester Cathedral, the two large paintings on board in the same Cathedral, and the painted panelled ceiling of the hall in the Bishop's Palace. A further commission for Bishop Sherborne was the decoration of the ' Queens' Room ' at Amberley Castle. At Boxgrove Priory, only three miles from Chichester, he decorated the vaults of the church for the 9th Lord De La Warr who was an intimate of the Bishop's.

Doubtless much of the work was executed with the help of the painter's son Anthony ; but it will be more convenient to refer to it here

[1] Original in the Probate Registry, Winchester. Kindly communicated by Mrs. V. Hedly.

[2] Rev. George Arthur Clarkson, *Notes on Amberley*, in *Sussex Archaeological Coll.*, XXII, 1865, 211.

[3] County Record Office, Chichester : *Abp. Ct. Deposition Bks.*, I ; & *Episc. IV/8.* Communicated by Mr. W. D. Peckham and Mr. C. E. Welch. Clarkson, *op. cit.*, 211.

[4] Walpole Soc., XXVI, 74.

The *Cathalogus* of the Bishops of Selsey and Chichester. Detail
(*Photograph : A. C. Cooper Ltd.*)

PLATE XVI

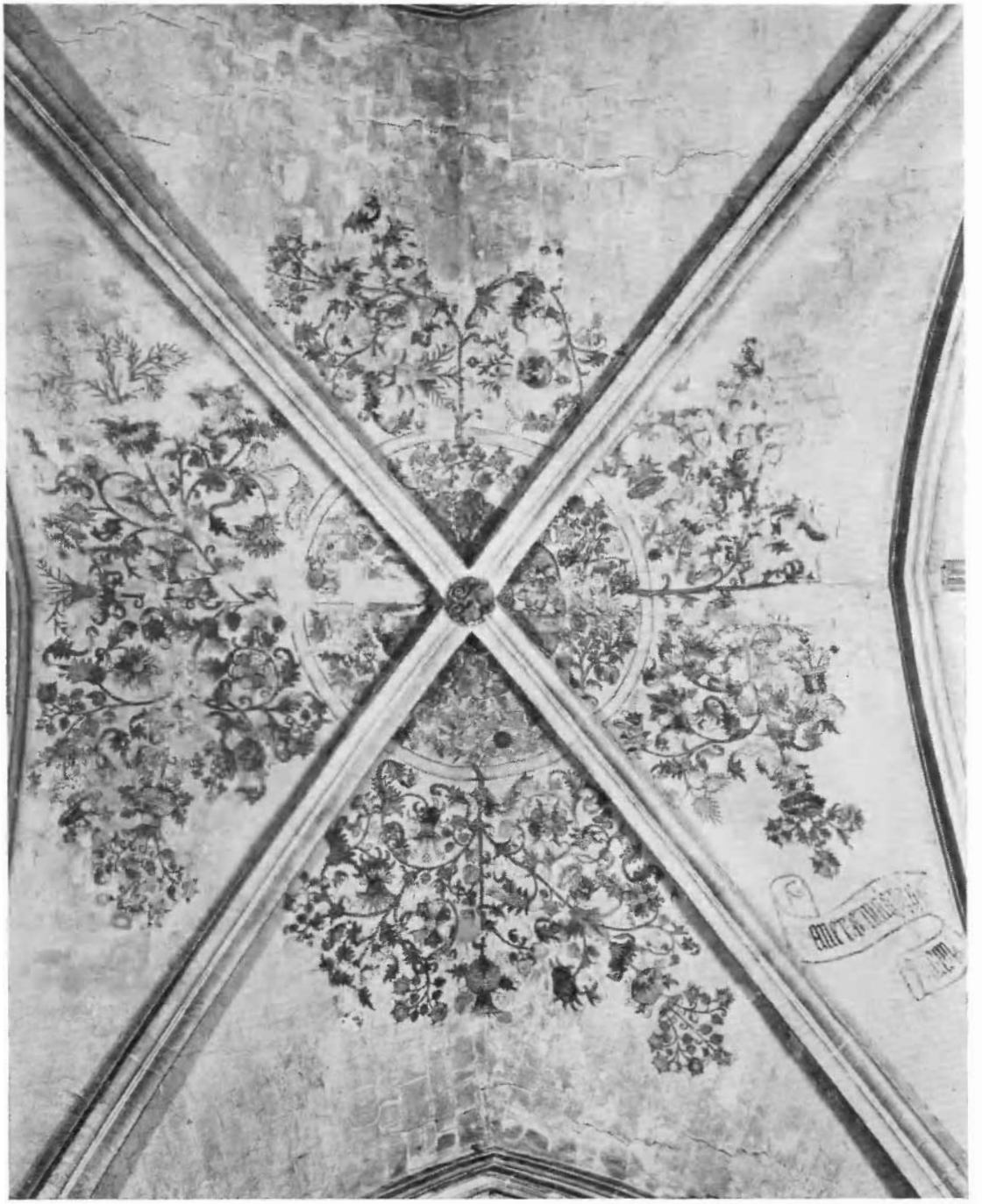
Painting on Panel by Lambert Barnard. The South Saxon King Caedwalla granting the see of Selsey to St. Wilfrid

(*Reproduced by courtesy of John R. Freeman & Co.*)

Painting on Panel by Lambert Barnard. King Henry VIII confirming to Bishop Sherborne the royal protection of Chichester Cathedral

(Reproduced by courtesy of John R. Freeman & Co.)

Facing page 113



Chichester Cathedral. Vault of Lady Chapel

(Reproduced by courtesy of John R. Freeman & Co.)

as by the elder Lambert Barnard. Having no actual records of payments, one can only arrive at an approximate dating of the more important works through internal evidence, as in the case of the painted vaults of the Cathedral, and the ceiling of the hall of the Bishop's Palace, both of which bear the emblems of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, and must therefore have been painted before 1528, when the proceedings for the Royal Divorce were instituted. Sherborne would, of course, have had a special interest in Henry VIII's first marriage.

Chichester Cathedral, The Vaulting

The only surviving example of Barnard's decoration of the vaults of the cathedral is in the Lady Chapel (Pl. XVIII). Here a rich and delicate pattern of flowers, fruit, and acanthus foliage sprouts from a ring surrounding the central boss. Within the ring the pomegranate of Katherine of Aragon grows on one stalk together with red and white roses. The colours are blue-green, yellow, white, grey, and a brownish purple which was probably once red. In one compartment of the vault is a scroll bearing the Wykehamist motto *Maners makyth man*, which Sherborne often used.

Drawings by S. H. Grimm and John Buckler[1] show that originally all the vaults of the cathedral were so decorated (Pls. XIIIA and XIV); but nearly all the painted work was scraped off by 1817, leaving only this fragment and some traces in the north choir aisle, just outside the entrance to the Treasury.

Painted vaults of the late Gothic period in England are very rare. It is possible that English taste did not like to overload the already intricate patterns of fan and lierne vaulting with further ornament. But at Chichester the actual vaults themselves are of the 13th century, and their surfaces are ideally suited for this kind of decoration. The only other known example of late Gothic sprays and emblems applied to vaulting on a big scale such as this is in the presbytery at St. Alban's Abbey. This dates from the middle of the 15th century and is therefore much earlier than Barnard's painting, but it affords an interesting precedent to his work, as it too is applied to 13th-century vaulting. Nearer in style to Barnard's ornament, but on a diminutive scale, is the vaulting of the famous screen at Ranworth in Norfolk, which dates probably from about 1480–90.

The true prototype of the Chichester decorations is, however, to be found not in England, but on the Continent where such floral and foliated patterns are a common feature of numberless churches from the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, down through Germany to Austria. The two examples illustrated (Pls. XXA and XXI) are from Holland, and both belong to the early 16th century. The vault of the

[1] Br. Mus., *Add. MS.* 5675, *f.* 62 & *Add. MS.* 36, 389, *f.* 131.

church at Aalten in Gelderland has scrolls of inscriptions in Gothic letter curled round the foliage, just as they are at Chichester ; and in the church at Stedum in Groningen can be seen spiky acanthus foliage of exactly the same type as Barnard's.

The Ceiling in the Bishop's Palace

Barnard's painted ceiling in the hall of the former Bishop's Palace at Chichester (Pl. XIXa), unlike the Cathedral vaulting, belongs to a variety very common in England.[1] Its construction, of wooden boards coffered into square panels, is well fitted for compact and repetitive ornament. Within each framed compartment is a painted roundel containing a heraldic device ; shields of arms alternate with heraldic badges. Four initials are used to fill up the corners of each square outside the roundels, and these are entwined with meandering ribbons ending each in a tassel. The devices consist mainly of the Tudor red and white rose, with *H* and *K*, for Henry and Katherine, in black on a dull yellow-brown ground. These royal symbols alternate with the quarterings and emblems of Bishop Sherborne and other great men of West Sussex in his time : Thomas West, 9th Lord De La Warr ; William Fitzalan, 18th (or 11th) Earl of Arundel ; and Sir Henry Owen. Sherborne's badges include his red hat—almost that of a cardinal—and the Pelican in her Piety, which is better known in association with another great churchman of the day, Bishop Foxe of Winchester. The foliated capital letters, in a hybrid style half gothic and half Roman, are characteristic of Barnard ; it will be seen that he used them in other works to be considered below.

Such flat ceilings are frequently to be found in ecclesiastical and domestic interiors in late medieval England. Two good parallels, both of 15th century date, will be found in the Chapter House of Exeter Cathedral and in the nave of St. Alban's, where the decoration consists of the Sacred Monogram alternating with Angels bearing shields of arms.

The Painted Panels in Chichester Cathedral

The two large paintings on oak boards that hang in the transept of the Cathedral are Barnard's best known productions. Originally both were in the south wing, as shown in Buckler's drawing of 1812–13.[2]

The more important of the two panels is still *in situ* in the south wing of the transept. It consists of two historical compositions, that on the left representing *The South Saxon King Caedwalla granting the see of Selsey to St. Wilfrid,* that on the right *Henry VIII confirming to Sherborne the royal protection of Chichester Cathedral,* together with subsidiary

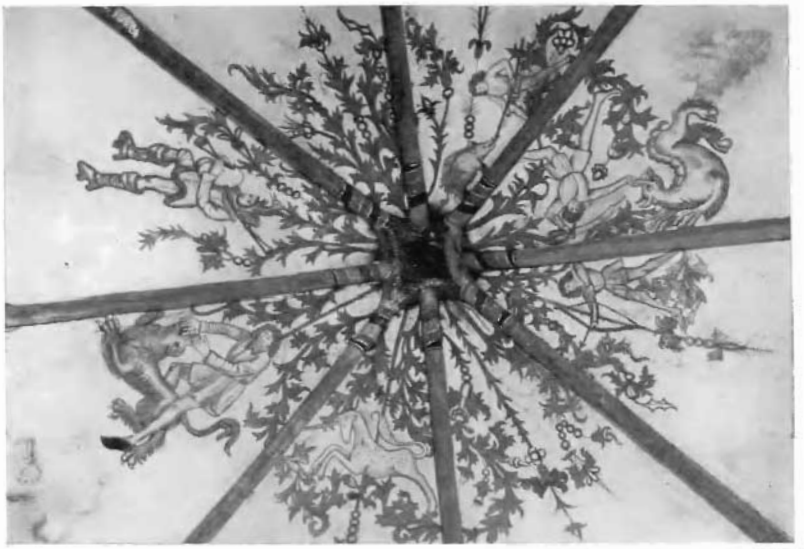
[1] This is the room in which Bishop Sherborne's great feast of fish would have taken place in 1535.

[2] Br. Mus., *Add. MS.* 36, 389, *f.* 131.

A. The Bishop's Palace, Chichester. Painted Ceiling

B. Barnard's script, from the Stalls of Chichester Cathedral

(Photographs reproduced by courtesy of John R. Freeman & Co.)



A. Painted vault in the church of Stedum, Groningen (Holland)

(Reproduced from G. J. Hoogewerff, De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst, I, Pl. 157, *by kind permission of Martinus Nijhoff)*

B and C. Boxgrove Priory. Painted vaults in the church

medallion-heads of the kings of England from William the Conqueror onwards.

This painting has suffered much. First came defacement by Parliamentary troops in 1642 : ' These Monuments they deface and mangle with their hands and swords as high as they could reach '. wrote Bruno Ryves in his Royalist propaganda-sheet, *Mercurius Rusticus*, ' and to show their love and Zeale to the *Protestant Religion* . . . one of those Miscreants picked out the eyes of *King Edward the sixt's* Picture, saying, *That all this mischiefe came from him when he established the Booke of Common-Prayer* '.[1] Then there was heavy repainting by a certain Tremaine in about 1747. And finally the Cathedral spire fell in 1861, destroying several of the boards. Nevertheless, these pictures remain as an important testimony to Barnard's competence and intrepidity in tackling ambitious subjects on a life-size scale.

The left-hand subject, *Caedwalla granting the see of Selsey to St. Wilfrid* (Pl. XVI), shows a historical event which took place somewhere between A.D. 686 and 688. No attempt, of course, is made to reproduce ancient Saxon dress : on the other hand, it is possible that the remote antiquity of the scene dictated the curious blend of fantasy and realism in the costumes. While Wilfrid and his clergy are habited in strictly 16th-century manner (the saint, incidentally, is wrapped in the Parliamentary robe of red and ermine of a Spiritual Lord of Sherborne's day), Caedwalla and his courtiers wear something approaching the strange fashions to which northern painters of the 16th century were so partial, and which were concocted from an exaggeration of contemporary fashion mixed with elements borrowed from classical antiquity. Caedwalla wears the arched crown that had been the fashion with English sovereigns since Henry VI's reign. The architecture in the background is Italianate ; but of an Italianism naïvely misrepresented by a Northerner, still with a strong Gothic flavour about it : and this, with other features like Barnard's mixed gothic and Roman script, affords an excellent instance of how slow and laborious was the penetration of the English vernacular by the Renaissance.

The presence of Renaissance elements in early Tudor painting is somewhat rare, so it may be of interest to cite two contemporary examples for comparison with Barnard's work. One, a series of episodes from the story of St. John the Baptist, is in the Oxenbridge Chantry in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.[2] It is dated 1522, and again shows northern figures against an Italianate background. The other far less sophisticated example is the retable at Romsey Abbey, which is said to date from about 1525. Here the upper half is treated like a Gothic screen with a row of stiff little saints in niches ; but these niches are round-topped, and are supported by baluster-like pillars in Renaissance taste.

[1] Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1646, 224.

[2] W. H. St. John Hope & P. H. Newman, *The Ancient Paintings in the Hastings and Oxenbridge Chantry Chapels . . . Archaeologia*, LXIII, 1912, *f.* 85–98.

Barnard's companion piece to the picture of *Caedwalla and St. Wilfrid* represents *Henry VIII confirming to Sherborne his protection of Chichester Cathedral* (Pl. XVII). From the right, Sherborne, dressed in his Parliamentary robe and attended by his household, approaches with a scroll lettered in gold on blue : *Sanctissime Rex propter Deum confirma ecclesiam tuam Cicestrensem, jam cathedralem, sicut Caedwalla Rex Suthsex ecclesiam Selesiensem olim cathedralem confirmavit.* In reply Henry lays his hand on a book held by one of his courtiers and inscribed : *Pro amore Jesu Christi, quod petis concedo.* Behind the king stands on the right Sherborne's first patron, Henry VII, and on the left a figure which is also probably intended as a portrait, though its identification with Sir Thomas More is most likely incorrect, as will be seen. At the foot is Sherborne's favourite motto, *operibus credite.*

Vertue was informed by a Chichester correspondent that these paintings were executed about 1519. This date seems to have originated with two local antiquaries, Prebendaries Richard Green and William Clarke ; but who their authority was remains a mystery. Like the mythical name ' Theodore Bernardi ', this date has persisted. One would naturally associate it with the event shown in the painting. Unfortunately this event, as far as we know, never took place. Mr. W. D. Peckham, who has made such admirable researches into the history of the Cathedral, has been unable to find any record of such an occasion either in 1519 or in any other year of Sherborne's reign. But perhaps the clue to the interpretation of the painting and to its date rests in Sherborne's scroll, and more especially in the words *Confirma ecclesiam tuam.* We have seen how concerned the Bishop was to keep his church and himself out of trouble during the difficult years preceding the Reformation. Can this not be then a pictorial expression of his trust in Henry's goodwill towards the see, and of his own acceptance of the Royal Supremacy ? It would be quite in accordance with Sherborne's historical sense also to produce an ancient precedent for Royal patronage in the shape of Caedwalla's gift to St. Wilfrid, which is shown in the companion picture. If this surmise is correct, the date of the paintings would be somewhere about 1535–6, right at the end of Sherborne's life. The figure on the left behind Henry VIII might therefore be taken to represent Thomas Cromwell, rather than Sir Thomas More, for, as has already been said, Sherborne had been careful to be on good terms with him at the Reformation.

In the case of a contemporary scene such as this one, with actual portraits of the protagonists, Tremaine's repainting in the 18th century was more than ever disastrous. One of the planks—that showing Sherborne's mitre borne by a member of his household—has now been cleaned so as to reveal Barnard's own hand, which is much more robust and lively than one would suspect from the present condition of the paintings. It is to be hoped that some day it may be possible to raise sufficient funds to liberate the whole from its later overpaint.

Below the two main compositions run a series of medallion heads of the Kings of England. These belong to a class of portraiture which may be termed historical or commemorative, and which was a common feature in medieval decoration. In England the tradition of using a series of royal portraits for such a purpose goes back at least to the well-known story of Edward II's visit to the Abbot of Gloucester and his joke about the effigies of the kings, his predecessors, which he found painted on the walls of the Abbot's hall.[1]. For examples nearer Barnard's day there are the monumental late 15th-century figures of Saxon kings from Baston Hall, Kent, and the little half-lengths of English and foreign royalty, all of which now belong to the Society of Antiquaries. Barnard's kings all wear the same arched crown as Caedwalla and Henry VIII, and all look very much alike (which may be due partly to Tremaine's repainting). The earlier ones, of course, would have been imaginary portraits ; but the later ones, from Henry VI onwards, may have been once recognisable likenesses, especially those who reigned during Barnard's life. Unfortunately it is just these which were nearest to the spire when it fell.

The portraits of kings were continued after Sherborne's time, and no doubt the whole panel was considerably modified to accommodate the additional medallions. The elder Lambert would have been responsible for Edward VI, Mary I, and perhaps Elizabeth (the queens were completely destroyed by the fall of the spire) ; Anthony, though he would have been very old at the time, might have painted the James I, who is certainly in the same manner as the earlier kings, though on a larger scale. The younger Lambert might have done the Charles I (who, again, was destroyed by the fall of the spire). Later sovereigns, from Charles II to George I, appear on a separate panel on the north wall. They are all in a style recalling that of Kneller, and may have been furnished by Tremaine.

The second and less interesting of Barnard's big panels consists of a *cathalogus* of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester beginning with St. Wilfrid (Pl. XV). It used to hang in the south transept opposite the Kings, but has now been removed to the north transept.

The idea of compiling a *cathalogus* or list of the bishops of the see was first conceived by one of Sherborne's predecessors, William Rede, who reigned from 1369 to 1385. Rede took great interest in the history of the Cathedral, and his antiquarian tastes were later reflected by Sherborne, who continued the list down to his own day, setting the whole out in this monumental fashion and illustrating each name with a conventional portrait. The *cathalogus* originally ended with Sherborne himself, and in the lower right-hand corner of the panel it concluded with a tablet giving a summary of his career in Barnard's characteristic

[1] Henry M. Hake, *The British Historic Portrait, Document and Myth* (*Hertz Lecture*, 1943) in *Proc. of the British Academy*, XXIX, 2.

script, which seems to have been always respected by Tremaine. Later, Sherborne's successor, George Day (reigned 1543–1556) was added.

This variety of historical portraiture, commemorating—instead of royalty—notables of a foundation, was again a common feature of medieval decoration. The only well-preserved example of such a series in England besides this one is the representation of seven early bishops of Hexham on a screen flanking the choir at Hexham Abbey, Northumberland. In Saxon times Hexham had been a bishopric and, like the Chichester *cathalogus*, these figures may reflect the antiquarian spirit of the person at whose instance they were probably painted, George Neville, Archbishop of York from 1465 to 1475. By happy coincidence this series includes St. Wilfrid who ended his life as Bishop of Hexham, but who in his earlier career had introduced Christianity and the art of fishing to Sussex.

Barnard's Script in the Cathedral

A minor work carried out by the elder Lambert Barnard was that of inscribing the names of the prebends of the diocese and the titles of the dignitaries of the Cathedral on a frieze above their stalls, in pretty gothic script punctuated by little Renaissance balusters, all in gold on a black ground. As the names of the Wykehamist prebends, founded by Sherborne in 1520–24, are included, this lettering would have been done after that time. Pl. XIIIB shows all that remains of the original lettering ; but happily a careful copy of the whole was taken in the last century, and this now tops the stalls.

Much later specimens of Barnard's script also occur on two of the piers of the nave. They consist of black-letter texts from the Bible in English, and would have been written up at some time after the Reformation, in accordance with the practice which was to become so widespread in the English Protestant Church.

The Painted Room at Amberley Castle

Barnard was also employed by Sherborne at Amberley Castle. This manor-house, dating from the late 12th century, had been fortified by Bishop Rede about 1377. Sherborne divided the original hall into two stories, the upper of which, his Great Chamber, came to be known from its decorations as the Queens' Room.

What is left of this scheme now consists of eight oak panels of life-size half-length figures, out of an original nine representing the Heroines of Antiquity and the Prophetess Cassandra[1] (Pl. XXII).

[1] Some of the panels were exhibited to the Institute in London in 1864 by Mr. (later Sir George) Scharf. Three of them were again shown to the Institute at Burlington House on December 8th, 1954.

After the big paintings in the Cathedral, deadened as they are by Tremaine's heavy hand, it is refreshing to come to the Amberley panels which, despite severe damage, are in their original condition, and allow one to form some proper idea of Barnard's personality as a figure painter. Each Heroine wears rich and fantastic dress or armour, carries a foliated shield blazoned with her arms, and is framed in an arched compartment. Like so much of Barnard's work, these panels show strong Netherlandish influence. They look as if they might be based on woodcuts of the time, such as those of Jacob Cornelisz of Amsterdam, but so far no such prototypes have been found. For all their foreign characteristics, however, there is also something about them which is very much akin to English rood-screen painting. Nearly all the figures originally had couplets beneath them in Barnard's script, identifying the personages. These couplets were apparently based on a ballad, *The Nine Ladies Worthy*, once attributed to Chaucer, which first appears in a late 15th- or early 16th-century MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge. This ballad was not printed till 1561, when it was included in John Stowe's appendix to the second collected edition of Chaucer's *Works*.[1] So whoever adapted the verses—probably it was Sherborne himself—would have been familiar either with the Trinity College MS. or with some other copy of the time.

A word may be said about the ridiculous heraldry on the shields. That the Ladies should be armigerous is quite in accordance with medieval tradition : both they and their male counterparts, the Heroes of Antiquity (who included such distinguished characters as Alexander the Great and Judas Maccabaeus), were all given coats of arms and even family quarterings by the early writers on blazonry ; but these arms, being entirely fanciful, were far from being consistent, and were even interchangeable. So it is that the shields borne by the Amberley Ladies do not help us to identify the unnamed among them ; if anything, they tend to confuse the issue.[2]

Originally the Ladies were arranged in three triptychs. From the principal triptych two of them survive : Semiramis, Queen of Babylon, in the centre, and on the left an unknown Lady holding a helmet and a shield with a black lion between three hearts on a gold ground. The third Lady has disappeared altogether ; but there is a record that a fragment of the panel, showing an ermine-cuffed hand holding a sword, was still in existence in the last century. The decorative importance of this triptych is emphasized by the pilasters of Renaissance grotesque in gold on a red ground between the panels. On the tablet below Semiramis can be seen the final words of each line of her couplet, *Babylon* and *Septentrion*, these appearing in the corresponding lines about her in the ballad of *The Nine Ladies Worthy :*

[1] The present writer would like to express here his indebtedness to Mr. L. A. Sheppard for his help in identifying this poem.

[2] Clarkson, *op. cit.*, 204–8.

' Lo here Semiramys quene of great Babilon
Most generous gem and floure of louely fauor,
Whose excellent power fro[m] Mede vnto septentrion
Florished in her regally as a mighty conqueror '.

The shields of arms in the upper corners, with their grelots, seem however to correspond rather with the arms usually borne by Penthesilea, the Amazon queen slain by Achilles ; Semiramis's arms are usually given variously as a white swan, a white dove, or three thrones.

The second triptych is in very poor condition. The identity of the Lady in the centre is most uncertain. All that remains of her couplet is the word *also* in the first line ; and this word only appears once in the ballad, in the line beginning 'Also the ladie Menalip '—that is, Menalippe, Semiramis's sister. This identification is perhaps confirmed by the arms she bears, three gold thrones on a red ground, which, as we have said, are sometimes attributed to her sister Semiramis.

On the right is certainly Hyppolita, Queen of the Amazons, and wife of Theseus. Her couplet, too, has almost disappeared, except for the word [s]hame at the end of the first line, connecting it with the verses about the ' Lady Ipolite ' in the ballad :

' Yet Hercules wexed red for shame, when I spake of Ipolite
Chief patroness and captaine of the people of Sinope '.

Her arms agree more or less with those usually assigned to her, a red lion on a gold ground and three maidens' heads on a small red shield.

The Lady on the left has now no couplet visible; but she bears on her shield twelve gold billets on a blue ground and, like Hyppolita, three maidens' heads on a red ground, which may point to her being yet another Amazon, Lampedo, who certainly appears in the ballad.

The third triptych is the best preserved, and even the couplets are fully legible. In the centre is Sinope, Queen of Armenia. Her couplet reads :

' The excellent Qwene Sinop is to magnify
Which ruled the hole countre of Ennai '.

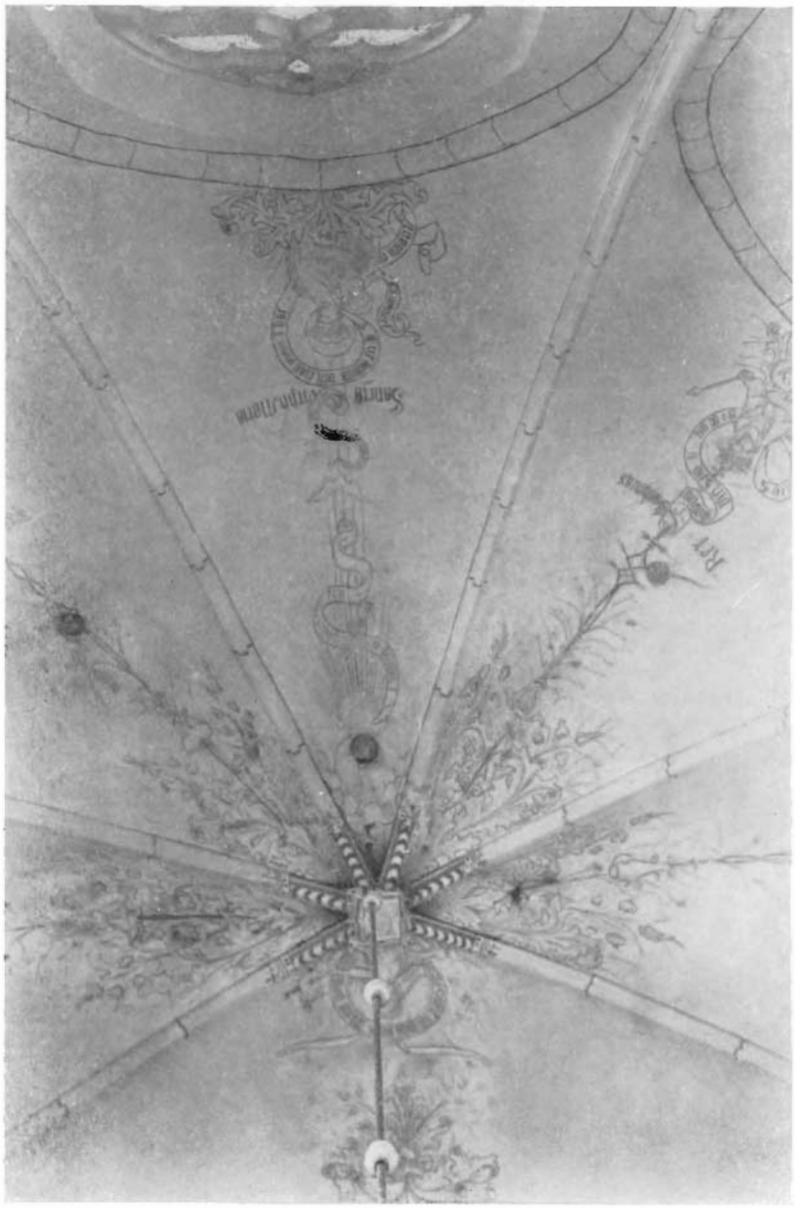
This can be related to the lines on her in the ballad :

' Profulgent in preciousness, O Sinope queen
Of all feminine bearing the scepter and regaly,
Subduing the large country of Armenie as it was sene,
Mauger [in spite of] their mights that brought them to apply,
Thine honour to encrease, thy power to magnify '.

Her arms as here represented, a lion on a gold ground, are not those usually associated with her.

On the right is Thomyris, Queen of the Massagetae. She has below her the couplet :

' Sirus the noble kynge of Percy,
Submitted himsel[f] to Thamoris mercy



Painted vault in the church at Aalten, Gelderland (Holland)

(Reproduced from G. J. Hoogewerff, De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst, I, Pl. 99, by kind permission of Martinus Nijhoff)

A. Cassandra, Sinope, and Thomyris

B. Unknown Lady and Semiramis

THE NINE HEROINES OF ANTIQUITY. Panels from AMBERLEY CASTLE

(By courtesy of John R. Freeman & Co.)

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adapted from these lines in the ballad :

' O thou rigorous quene Thamiris invincible
. . . . . .
Thou tokest in battail Cyrus the great king
Of Perce and Mede, his head in blood lying '.

Her arms, which should be three demi-lions, are instead those usually given to Sinope, three maidens' heads on a red ground.

The Lady on the left is evidently intended to be Priam's daughter Cassandra. She is an unorthodox figure in this company : she does not appear in the ballad of *The Nine Ladies* nor in any other cycle of them ; yet she takes her place here as a warrior maid (which she certainly was not in Homeric legend), and is accompanied by a Latin couplet correctly referring to the gift of prophecy accorded to her by Apollo :

' Cassandra post data vaticinia
Apollinis derisit adulteria '.

Her arms are again three maidens' heads on a red ground (like those of Hyppolita, Lampedo and Thomyris), but this time surrounded by a border of red hearts on a white ground. Since one of the Ladies bearing the three maidens' heads is Lampedo, it is possible that some false relationship has arisen here between Apollo's protégée, Cassandra, and another Lampedo, who was Apollo's daughter by the nymph Neaera, but who had nothing to do with her Amazon namesake.

Early accounts of the Queens' Room state that at one time there were the corresponding heroes, together with six carved panels of warriors in the ceiling ; all trace of these has now disappeared.[1] There was once, too, a painted heraldic panel with a lion, which has also gone. But other relics of the room survive. They include fragments of wainscot, the main panels of which are grained to imitate some elaborate figured wood, the stiles being painted scarlet. How all this fitted into the decorative scheme is now a matter of conjecture ; but it is possible that the Heroines and Heroes (supposing these latter once existed) formed a kind of broad frieze round the upper part of the room, with the grained wainscot below.[2]

This was a common decorative formula of the period ; and that it was probably used here seems to be confirmed by an old view of the Queens' Room, taken in about 1820, which shows what appears to be Cassandra, Sinope and Thomyris still in place at the top of the right-hand wall.

Although the Heroes of Antiquity are a fairly common cycle in medieval art, representations of the Heroines are exceedingly rare. Indeed, the only other known series in wall-painting is that by Jacques

[1] *Cf.* Francis Shoberl, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, XIV, *Sussex*, 1813, 229, and James Dallaway and Edward Cartwright, *The West Division of the County of Sussex*, 1815–30, II, 229.

[2] Clarkson, *op. cit.*, 202.

Iverny (*c.* 1420–30) in the Castello della Manta in upper Piedmont.[1] These Ladies are not, like those at Amberley, in fantastic costumes. They are more realistically treated in contemporary dress and stand on flowery turf between trees from which hang their shields of arms. But neither the heraldry nor the personages themselves agree with the Amberley series.

Boxgrove Priory

The Barnards did not only work for Sherborne. At Boxgrove Priory, three miles east of Chichester, the vaults are decorated with patterns very similar to those on the vaults of Chichester Cathedral. The patron in this case would have been Thomas West, 9th Lord De La Warr, who owned the neighbouring seat of Halnaker and was a close friend of Sherborne's. Lord De La Warr obviously had a special affection for Boxgrove Priory, for besides having the vaults of the church decorated, he erected in it a handsome chantry chapel which he intended for his tomb, though he was eventually buried in Broadwater Church, near his other seat, Offington.

The Boxgrove decoration has survived in its entirety. The ornament (Pl. XXB and C) is, on the whole, freer and more naturalistic than the formal acanthus foliage at Chichester, but there is no doubt that it belongs to the same school. There is a vine with bunches of grapes, and the flowers represented include roses, cornflowers, pinks, daisies, pimpernel or germander speedwell and honeysuckle. The individual leaves and blossoms are carefully observed, but the habit of growth is subdued to a running pattern of curves ; a more stylised element is introduced in the parti-coloured Tudor rose, less common than the concentric variety which we have seen in the hall of the Bishop's Palace. A spray of formal roses with spiky leaves approaches nearest to the style of the Chichester foliage. Lord De La Warr's arms, among others, appear in shields scattered over the vaulting.

This concludes the list of paintings which can definitely be assigned to Lambert Barnard and his family.

Works Possibly Connected with the Barnard School

There are a number of works which might be mentioned as having perhaps emanated from the Barnards' shop. Sherborne left behind him several copies of his *Liber Donationum*. Two of these were given respectively to New College and to Winchester College, and are sumptuously illuminated with initial letters and marginal scrolls of flowers and fruit. We know that these MSS. were written by Sherborne's Chapter Clerk and Registrar, John Stilman (*fl.* 1518–43) ; and it is

[1] *Cf.* Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400–1500*, 1949, 202, No. 84 and Pls. 33–4.

A. Initial from the *Liber Ordinationum*
(*By courtesy of E. A. Sollars, Winchester*)

B. Illumination from Lydgate's *Troy Book*
(Roy. MS 18.D.II)
(*By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*)

Illumination from Lydgate's *Troy Book*, Troilus beset and slain (Roy. MS. 18 D.II)
(*By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*)

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highly probable that the Bishop would have employed his court painter on their illumination.

Pl. XXIIIA shows an initial I from the Winchester copy. The Gothic sprays of flowers in the margin come out of the same garden, as it were, as those on the vaults at Chichester and Boxgrove ; but, whereas their appearance as vault decoration is rare in England, their application to book-ornament is extremely common. We find such sprays extensively used from the 15th century onwards, throughout Sherborne's period, and continuing in increasingly decadent form on legal and other documents right down to the reign of James I. The Renaissance setting of the initial itself is less frequently met with, but in this case it would be perfectly consistent with Barnard's habit of mixing Renaissance and Gothic.

Another initial I from the same copy of the *Liber Ordinationum* has daisies instead of heartsease in the border, and S-scrolls instead of dolphin-grotesques flanking the initial. It is in the Winchester copy only that the initials have the Renaissance ornament.

It is possible perhaps to associate Lambert Barnard with another illuminated manuscript. This is a copy of John Lydgate's *Troy Book* and *Story of Thebes*, now in the British Museum.[1] The book was originally made for Sir William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, at some time before 1462, and partially illustrated with eight miniatures in a rather undistinguished English gothic manner of the time (Pls. XXIIIB and XXIV). It subsequently passed first to Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland,who had married Lord Pembroke's daughter Maud in 1476, and then to his son, Algernon Henry, the 5th Earl. It was the last-mentioned who had the decoration completed, at some time between 1516 and 1523, with seventeen more miniatures which must be regarded as among the earliest surviving examples in English illumination of the use of Renaissance motifs. The main seat of the Northumberlands in the south was Petworth, which is only fourteen miles north-east of Chichester, and this geographical link has suggested that Barnard may have been responsible for these later miniatures. Their general style, it almost goes without saying, is Flemish. The costumes of some of the figures, though not quite so fanciful, and the Italianate architectural details have distinct affinities with those in the two big historical paintings of *Caedwalla and St. Wilfrid* and *Henry VIII and Bishop Sherborne* in Chichester Cathedral. And in one miniature, that of *Priam mourning over his son*, one may even perhaps see a parallel in the arrangement of the figures with the *Henry VIII and Sherborne*. The case for the Sussex provenance of the book is perhaps further strengthened by its having passed into the possession of Lord Northumberland's nephew, Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel. But, judged as a whole, the

[1] Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, Br. Mus., *Catalogue of Western MSS., in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 1921, II, 308–10, No. 18, D.11 ; and IV, Pl. 105.

evidence is far from conclusive, and the attribution to Barnard should only be regarded as a very tentative one.

Somebody else before the present writer has invoked geographical reasons for an attribution to Barnard. Sir Joseph Ayloffe, in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1773,[1] suggested that the wall-paintings (up to then given to Holbein) in the Great Dining Parlour at Cowdray House, twelve miles north of Chichester, might in reality be by Barnard, whom, following Walpole, he calls ' Theodore Bernardi '. It is impossible now to judge of the soundness of this attribution, as Cowdray was burnt down in 1793, and all we have to go on are some drawings made of these pictures by the invaluable Grimm and engraved at the cost of the Society of Antiquaries, where impressions of the prints and two of his original drawings can be seen. They represent three episodes in the war with France of 1544, the threatened French invasion of Portsmouth in the following year, and the coronation of Edward VI in 1547, at all of which Sir Anthony Browne (d. 1548), the builder of Cowdray, had been present in his capacity as Master of the Horse to Henry VIII and Edward VI. Unfortunately Grimm only copied the scenes separately and did not take a view of the room as a whole ; but we gather from Ayloffe's description that they were painted in oil on plaster and formed a broad frieze above the wainscot.

Certainly there is nothing comparable with them in Barnard's known *oeuvre*, though the treatment of the architecture in the *Meeting of Henry VIII and Sir Anthony Browne between Calais and Marquison* is perhaps reminiscent of that in Sherborne's two big pictures at Chichester ; but one misses the characteristic hybrid gothic script, which is almost Barnard's hall-mark : here the lettering is entirely Roman.

The Cowdray paintings belong to a type of picture, part decorative, part historical, which must have been very popular at the court of Henry VIII; Holbein's first decorative work in England, painted for the temporary banqueting hall erected at Greenwich to receive the French embassy of 1527, was a ' plat of Tirwan '—that is to say, a bird's-eye view of Thérouanne, the scene of the Battle of the Spurs. And the first recorded permanent wall-paintings in one of Henry VIII's palaces must have also belonged to this category. They were executed in 1531–3 in the ' Nether Galarye by the Orcheyarde ' at Whitehall, and represented ' King Henries Coronacon, and his goinge to Bulleyne '.[2] It obviously was a very important commission, for at one time a band of some fifty or so painters was employed on it, headed by one John Rauff who (according to two authorities) may have been none other than Johannes Corvus, painter of the well-known portrait of Bishop Foxe

[1] Sir Joseph Ayloffe, *An Account of some ancient English Historical Paintings at Cowdry, in Sussex*, in *Archaeologia*, III, 1778, 239–72.

[2] *Cf.* James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, v, 18, 446 and 448.

at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.[1] It is quite possible that Sir Anthony Browne would have been impressed by this decoration, and under its influence commissioned his own series of historical events.

We can get a fair idea of what all these commemorative wall-paintings looked like from a number of large canvasses at Hampton Court, best known of which are *The Embarcation of Henry VIII for Boulogne* and *The Field of the Cloth of Gold.*

Thus we have, flourishing in this corner of West Sussex, a school of early Renaissance painting, comprising figure-subjects, floral decoration, heraldry, and perhaps illumination and historical topography. We have, too, the names of its patrons and artists, coupled with an amount of documentation far more satisfactory than is usual at this period. Alongside this school of painting there is also a school of tomb-sculpture and wood-carving which, if it does not directly come out of the Barnards' workshop, at least flourished on the same soil and under the same patronage.[2]

Together all this forms the most complete surviving record we have of artistic activity in the provinces during this fascinating time of transition.

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[1] *Cf.* Sir Lionel Cust in *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Early English Portraiture*, Exhib. Catalogue, 1909, 46, and Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, 1954.

[2] Among the most important of this school are the De La Warr tombs at Boxgrove and Broadwater, and the carved panelling formerly in the hall at Halnaker (*cf. Add. MS.* (*Burrell*), 5675, *f.* 73).