

## TROTTON'S 'ABBREVIATED' DOOM

by John Edwards

Covering most of the west wall of St. George's church, Trotton, is a wall painting which has been described as an 'abbreviated' or 'simplified' Last Judgment, or Doom, because although it includes Christ sitting in judgment on souls most of the usual features of a Doom are absent. This wall painting has been taken much for granted by previous writers, but it possesses several features which are quite outside the usual iconography of Dooms and which render it unique among those which still survive. They also throw incidental doubt on the usually accepted theory of the purpose of medieval religious wall paintings.

### INTRODUCTION

The wall painting on the west wall of the nave of St. George's church at Trotton (Fig. 1) has been described by Professor E. W. Tristram in his *English Wall Painting of the 14th Century* as an 'abbreviated' version of the Last Judgment, or Doom, while elsewhere in the same work he calls it a 'simplified' one.<sup>1</sup> As to its dating, the *Victoria County History* of Sussex suggests that the painting is 'perhaps coeval with the church' which, apart from the south porch, it states to be of the early 14th century.<sup>2</sup> Tristram and P. M. Johnston, however, (and it can be deduced from Johnston's article in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1904 that he was the discoverer of the painting in that year) put the date of it at c. 1380<sup>3</sup> and c. 1390<sup>4</sup> respectively.

### A DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTING

It is proposed to begin with the lowest tier (Fig. 2), on the spectator's right. The Good Man is 'clothed in a Friar's gown and cowl',<sup>5</sup> which, at the time the *Victoria County History* account was published, were red and yellow in colour respectively.<sup>6</sup> He is bearded and his hands are clasped as if in prayer. He is surrounded by a series of medallions or roundels, each con-

taining a little scene depicting one of the *Seven Acts, or Works, of Mercy*. The nature of these derives directly, in six cases, from the teaching of Christ, set out in Matthew 25. 34-6 as follows:

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison and ye came unto me.

As to the burial of the dead, 'the last was added,' says Tristram, 'apparently after the twelfth century, to complete the mystic number, seven, and is drawn from the first two chapters of Tobias'.<sup>7</sup> In English Bibles the Book of Tobias is relegated to the Apocrypha but in the Vulgate, i.e. the Bible as used in the Middle Ages, it is placed among the historical books of the Old Testament. The Seven Works of Mercy, despite their august provenance, are but aspects of Charity, which in turn was only one of the Seven Virtues. These comprised three theological



Fig. 1. General view of the Doom in Trotton church, 1962. Photo. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). (Since the photographs illustrating this article are not contemporary, the modern visitor should not expect to find the paintings in the same condition.)

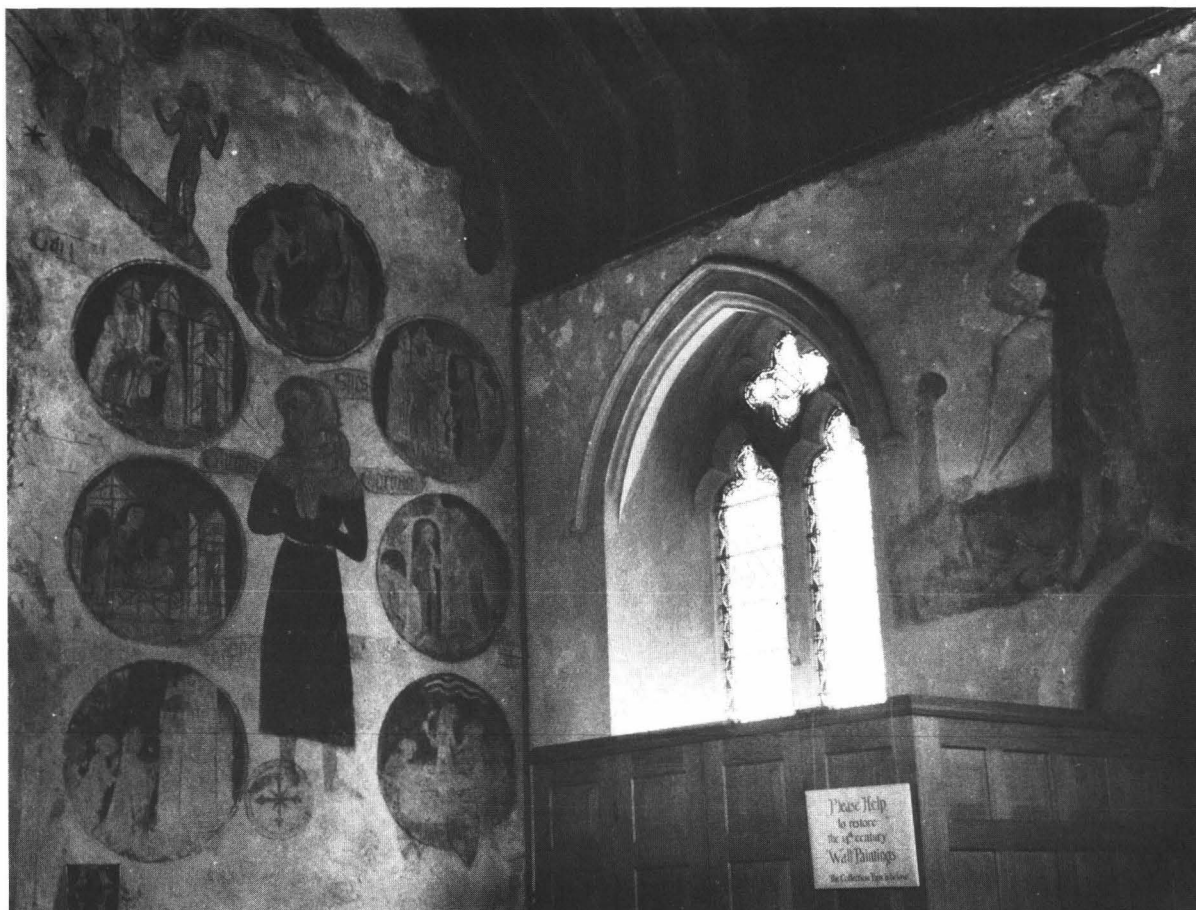


Fig. 2. The Trotton Doom, detail, 1954: the Good Man surrounded by the Seven Works of Mercy; remains of another wall painting on the right. Photo. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

Virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity), and four cardinal Virtues (Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Justice).<sup>8</sup>

It is no longer possible to identify all the Seven Works at Trotton with any certainty, but there can be no doubt that the one over the Good Man's head shows the clothing of the naked, since there is a man wearing only a loincloth pulling a garment over his head; the donor (possibly a woman) is standing in the background holding more clothes. Proceeding clockwise round the Good Man, there is next the word 'spes' (Hope) on a scroll, which was noted in 1904 by Johnston;<sup>9</sup> Hope is one of the Virtues and has no direct relationship with the Seven Works of Mercy. The second medallion shows on the left the thirsty man drinking from a cup handed to him by a figure on the right, standing in a doorway with a jug. Another scroll, perhaps bearing the word 'castitas' (since this is another of those recorded by Johnston in 1904) follows. Indeed, it seems from faint indications still to be seen on the painting, and much more clearly shown in the plate in the *Victoria County History*,<sup>10</sup> that originally similar scrolls were to be seen between all the medallions. The third medallion shows a homeless person, who may be a pilgrim, being offered shelter in a house by the householder, who is wearing a parti-coloured costume. The fourth medallion looks at first like a meal being provided, with the host standing in the middle holding a spoon, but it probably represents the burial of the dead, the standing figure being a priest asperging the body with holy water. A consecration cross and various coats of arms painted on the wall are at this stage mixed up with the lowest part of the principal painting; if the consecration cross is the original, it will be of a date only slightly more recent than the church itself. Continuing clockwise, prison visiting is shown in the next medallion, the prison being a high castle with sheer walls capped by a variety of turrets. It once had a little window from which, according to Tristram, the prisoner 'peers' out to see his visitors, who,

dressed 'in high-collared and long-sleeved houppelandes',<sup>11</sup> are approaching the castle on foot from the left. Visiting the sick is represented in the sixth medallion, with the visitor leaning over the bed, perhaps to take the patient's pulse, since he seems to be holding the sick man by the wrist rather than shaking him by the hand; another visitor, or perhaps a relative, sits behind the invalid. Another scroll, this time almost certainly bearing the word 'caritas', is interposed between this medallion and the seventh. 'Charity' is the one inscription still legible having a direct reference to the Seven Works of Mercy, since it comprises them all. Three of the inscriptions observed by Johnston in 1904 have thus been identified; the last he quotes, 'fides', is no longer to be seen. The seventh and last medallion probably represents feeding the hungry, the food being put into a sack. It should perhaps be emphasized that the foregoing sets out the present writer's view of the identification of the medallions as they now exist, and that it does not necessarily tally completely with the identifications made by previous writers.

The Seven Works of Mercy are complemented in the lower left-hand corner of the painting by the *Seven Deadly Sins* (Fig. 3), and just as the Seven Works are arranged around their human embodiment, so are the Sins grouped around the Wicked Man. They are not shown in medallions, but, in accordance with the convention often used in this case, are being enacted in the jaws of dragons issuing from the appropriate parts of the anatomy of the central figure, as though each Sin had its own Hellmouth. The Wicked Man is described by Johnston, somewhat unexpectedly, 'as in life, nude',<sup>12</sup> and was, according to Tristram, 'when first discovered, phallic', and 'about 9 ft. in height', standing over 'the gaping Jaws of Leviathan'.<sup>13</sup> A. Caiger-Smith, in his *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, credits him with wearing 'a fancy hat, signifying vanity'.<sup>14</sup> There is certainly something still discernible round his head, which could be the 'nimbus . . . of evil, as



Fig. 3. The Trotton Doom, detail, 1962: Christ, Moses, and the Wicked Man surrounded by the Seven Deadly Sins. Photo. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

seen in some miniatures of the Beast of the Apocalypse' mentioned by Tristram in another context.<sup>15</sup> Apart from the Wicked Man's height and his hat, or halo, none of these details can be made out now, and indeed the whole of this side

of the painting is in a worse state of preservation than the Seven Works. Rather than more rapid decay due to the evil nature of the subject, as I. Nairn whimsically suggested,<sup>16</sup> it probably results from not merely the stronger light on the

south side and the penetrating damp but also the prudery of the original restorers. These included, besides Johnston, 'the Squire . . . assisted by a number of ladies . . .'.<sup>17</sup> Their reactions were probably similar to, though fortunately less drastic than, those who in 1892, at Kidlington in Oxfordshire, restored another wall painting of the same subject which 'consisted of indescribably accurate drawings of these sins which were not considered suitable for the notice of the Sunday School whose benches were beneath them. They were therefore covered up again . . .'; one is relieved to learn, however, that 'the paintings of the B.V.M. and St. Margaret and the Dragon were decorous enough to be left'.<sup>18</sup>

The Seven Deadly Sins at Trotton were identified by Tristram as follows: immediately over the Wicked Man's head was Pride, followed, proceeding clockwise, by Gluttony, Avarice, and Sloth; then, travelling round to the spectator's left-hand side of the Wicked Man, the lowest Sin is Wrath, then Lechery and Envy. Nowadays, however, only Gluttony can be identified with any certainty, and is shown as a man drinking from a leather bottle, with an even larger bottle behind him, so that the Sin, as so often in contemporary representations of it, is regarded as constituted by drunkenness rather than by overeating. Gluttony stands in the dragon's mouth issuing, appropriately enough, from that of the Wicked Man. Perhaps it is still possible to imagine, below Gluttony, the miser seated before his open treasure-chest 'apparently repelling a small devil holding a three-pronged fork' as described by Tristram, and representing Avarice.<sup>19</sup> Caiger-Smith advances the ingenious theory that the Works and the Sins were 'balanced', so that 'the scene of gluttony . . . balances the scene of the Christian giving drink to the thirsty'. Similarly, 'the miser guarding his money chest seems deliberately contrasted with the scene of the Christian offering the stranger shelter in his house'; both these do in fact correspond with the identifications already put forward. His only other

example of this 'balancing' of opposites depends on Pride (over the Wicked Man's head) being opposite Clothing the Naked (over the Good Man) and assumes that Pride would be an 'extravagantly dressed gallant'.<sup>20</sup> Quite apart from the fact that Tristram regarded Pride at Trotton as being represented by two figures, a man and a woman,<sup>21</sup> rather than one, Pride in the character of an over-dressed fop was not the invariable iconography; at Little Horwood in Buckinghamshire he is naked too.

Above these two figures of Good and Evil with their surrounding tableaux, and immediately over a small central doorway in the west wall is the figure of Moses, holding the Tables of the Law on which a certain amount of 'black letter on each table is undecipherable' (Figs. 1 and 3).<sup>22</sup> Moses is shown with a nimbus and, as is so often the case, has horns on his forehead. This is explained by Réau in his monumental work on Christian iconography, who dismisses the theories that it originated in the Mystery plays; or was a symbol of strength; or was a heritage from the gods of Canaan. The true reason, in Réau's view, was simpler, namely, that the similarity of the Hebrew words for 'horned' and 'radiant' had been responsible for a misunderstanding in the translation of the Vulgate. Réau affirms that from the 12th century to the 15th the portrayal of a horned Moses was almost *de rigueur* and was not abandoned until the 16th century, and then more from fear of protestant sarcasm than in the interests of scholarship;<sup>23</sup> it was, he says, already an anachronism when Michelangelo included horns on his statue of Moses for the tomb of Pope Julius II in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome.<sup>24</sup> Réau mentions that the other characteristic in the portrayal of Moses was 'un ample barbe bifide';<sup>25</sup> at Trotton the beard is certainly ample, but not noticeably forked.

Over Moses is Christ the Judge seated, as is customary in Dooms, on a rainbow (Figs. 1 and 3); 'the rainbow is a symbol of pardon and of the reconciliation given to the human race by

God'.<sup>26</sup> Around the rainbow-throne are blue stars. Christ's dark red robe is thrown back to reveal all the five wounds. Little pathways are on either side, and on the one on the spectator's right stands, at the end furthest from Christ, what must surely be intended to represent the soul of the Good Man, shown, as souls were in Dooms, as naked; 'a soul was distinguished by the absence, not of its body, but of its clothes'.<sup>27</sup> This soul is being welcomed into Christ's presence by an angel standing on the path with wings outspread. The soul holds up its arms in the orante position of prayer. On the opposite side what must be the soul of the Wicked Man is being turned away from Christ's presence by a second angel, also with outspread wings; the soul in this case is now only visible from the waist downwards, but enough can be seen of him for it to be apparent that, whereas the soul of the Good Man looks towards Christ, that of the other has already turned away, as if in acceptance of his fate.

Tristram records that over the Good Man's soul was a scroll with the words 'Venite Benedicti', and on the other side was its counterpart, inscribed 'Ite Maledicti',<sup>28</sup> these being quotations from the Vulgate of the words which appear in Matthew 25. 34, 41, in the Authorized Version. These words, and in their Latin form, were thought so essential a part of a Doom that at South Leigh in Oxfordshire, when they were found to be absent from the 15th-century Doom there, they were added to it on its restoration in 1872.<sup>29</sup> At Trotton the inscription on the left has disappeared, but it is still possible to make out the one over the soul of the Good Man.

The painting is completed by a canopy of stylized clouds.

The Doom is not the only painting in the church; the north nave wall has a painting of a man looking at an animal the size of a sheep or large dog, with the remains of a tree behind them (Fig. 2). Tristram reported traces of a large subject on this wall, said to have included 'large figures, dogs, and horses', but by his time it had become indecipherable.<sup>30</sup> Some half a century

earlier, when it was no doubt in a better state of preservation, however, Johnston had no hesitation in identifying it as the 'remains of paintings of St. Hubert and St. George'.<sup>31</sup> Only ten miles away is what was for long thought to be another wall painting of the former saint at Idsworth, just over the Hampshire border. In relation to the Idsworth painting, however, it has now been shown that not all 'St. Hubert' paintings can be taken at their face value.<sup>32</sup>

## DISCUSSION

The composition of the painting includes one glaring anomaly. Paintings of the Doom, following Matthew 25. 33–4, 41, normally show the Blessed on the right hand of Christ and the Damned on the left. Trotton is, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, the sole exception to this rule, in that their canonical positions are transposed. Of the previous writers on Trotton, only two comment on this feature, Tristram and the *Victoria County History*, the former in factual terms only.<sup>33</sup> This rearrangement is so unprecedented that the present writer can only suppose that it was due to human error, but the *Victoria County History* is more charitable and prefers to think that the transposition 'might be due to the painter being accustomed to painting Last Judgements in the usual position on an east wall'.<sup>34</sup> Even this theory presupposes that the painter mistakenly thought that the rule was that the Blessed were always on the north side of a Doom, and that he failed to appreciate that the real point was that they should be on the right hand of Christ.

The other, less outstanding, anomaly about the painting is that, although a Doom, it is not in the location usual for this subject; Tristram states that 'in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the normal position for the Doom was above the chancel arch, since it symbolised the division between this world and the next'.<sup>35</sup> By a happy accident, this position provided exactly the right shape for the subject, with Christ at the apex of the triangle under the ceiling and the

spaces on either side conveniently accommodating the Blessed with the Heavenly City on the spectator's left, and the Damned and the Hell-mouth on the right. However, as the remarks of Tristram just quoted hint, this rule is not in practice absolute, and of the 29 Dooms, in addition to the one at Trotton, which the present writer has seen, 18 are on chancel arches (including those at Clayton and South Leigh, where the Dooms extend to a greater or lesser degree from the chancel arch along the north and south nave walls) and 11 on either north or south walls. Among the latter is notably the spectacular Doom, some 32 ft. in length,<sup>36</sup> on the north nave wall at Oddington in Gloucestershire. But a Doom on a west wall is rare indeed; possible candidates are at Hardham and at Little Kimble in Buckinghamshire, but the former consists entirely of scenes from Hell, which are not enough to constitute a Doom in themselves, while the only legible part of the west wall at the latter shows a devil apparently pushing two people into a cellar, but since they are clothed they cannot be souls. Nairn says Trotton is a Last Judgement 'covering the W wall in the same way as at Chaldon in Surrey'<sup>37</sup> as if the latter were itself a Doom. He somewhat resiles from this view, however, when dealing directly with Chaldon, where he adopts Tristram's view of that painting by describing it as neither wholly a Ladder of Salvation nor a Doom, but partaking of some of the features of both.<sup>38</sup> The most interesting feature which the two paintings do in fact have in common is that both portray the Seven Deadly Sins, but Chaldon shows, with some originality, the fate of the Sinners in Hell, rather than their actions in the present world.<sup>39</sup>

The rule as to the normal location of Doom paintings appears to be an English one, since on the Continent important Dooms—those in the Cathedral at Torcello, and in the Scrovegni (or Arena) chapel at Padua, by Giotto, for example—are on west walls. So is the Doom in stained glass at Fairford in Gloucestershire, but stained glass is a special case since it obviously

could not be used on a chancel arch.

Though the inclusion of Moses is not unknown among post-Reformation wall paintings, this case is the only one known to the present writer where he is portrayed in a medieval Doom painting. It is true that Kendon's statistical analysis, based on C. E. Keyser's *List of Buildings Having Mural Decorations* (1883, and thus published before the discovery of the Trotton Doom) includes one Moses painting, but this was in Chester Castle and showed Moses being given the Tables of the Law.<sup>40</sup> Kendon does not contend that this formed part of a Last Judgement, and it is indeed difficult to see how he could do so. The inclusion of Moses in the Trotton Doom serves not merely as a reminder of the Ten Commandments, the Tables of which he is holding, but his juxtaposition with Christ was no doubt meant to illustrate a saying by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5. 17), namely 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am come not to destroy but to fulfil'. The latter implication would not, however, be self-evident; the congregation would have to be taught it.

What did Tristram have in mind in describing the painting at Trotton as an 'abbreviated version of the Doom', or, as he put it elsewhere, a 'simplified Last Judgement'?<sup>41</sup> The Trotton Doom is indeed simplified, compared with so fully elaborated, yet completely orthodox, a Doom as that at St. Thomas's church at Salisbury. This is over the chancel arch and includes, in addition to Christ the Judge (resembling Trotton in having the robe flung back to reveal all five wounds, and seated on a rainbow), the Apostles, apparently acting as a jury or assessors; the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, both interceding for souls; six angels, two of whom are holding the Instruments of the Passion; the Sun of Righteousness and the Star in the East; and more angels on either side sounding the Last Trump. The dead rise from their graves, the Blessed being escorted to a large and already densely



populated Heavenly City, which extends on both sides of the painting with a space in the middle for Christ, while the Damned, chained together, are hauled off towards the Hell-mouth. Most unusually, particular sinners are highlighted, a dishonest ale-wife apparently trying to buy off Satan by offering him a drink, and a miser clutching a money-bag in either hand.<sup>42</sup> Even so comprehensive a Doom as this lacks two features: a Soul-Weighing, which, though usually the subject of a separate painting, is included in the Doom at Stowell in Gloucestershire, and possibly also in the one at Broughton in Buckinghamshire, and, secondly, the depiction of the torments of the Damned, which is more usual. Thus the Oddington Doom, already mentioned, includes damned souls being boiled in a cauldron, while a soul, his hands tied behind his back, is being hanged from a gibbet, and another soul, similarly bound, kneels at the foot of the scaffold awaiting his turn – in all cases presumably for eternity.

This elaborate detail as to Heaven and Hell in orthodox Dooms finds no counterpart at Trotton, where they are both simply omitted. Damnation is sufficiently represented at Trotton by the soul of the Wicked Man being turned away from Christ's presence, which seems an infinitely more spiritual concept than the depiction of physical torment so explicitly shown in many of the un-'abbreviated' Dooms surviving elsewhere.

The Doom at Trotton, therefore, has almost nothing in common with the Dooms of which St. Thomas, Salisbury, is an example, apart from the inclusion, essential in any Doom, of Christ the Judge; but on the other hand to apply, as Tristram has done, the adjectives 'abbreviated' and 'simplified' to Trotton is only half the story. In other respects it has features not to be found in any other surviving Dooms. Some of them have already been described; last and perhaps most significant, the Trotton Doom is alone in incorporating both the Seven Works of Mercy and the Seven Deadly Sins.

Although Caiger-Smith lists in his concluding catalogue four cases where the Works and the Sins survive in the same church, namely, at Arundel, Cranborne in Dorset, Hoxne in Suffolk, and Kingston in Cambridgeshire,<sup>43</sup> none of these cases are Dooms and indeed at Hoxne Caiger-Smith mentions that the Doom is separately represented.

Although a characteristic Doom such as that of Salisbury, rich in detail, shows some souls going to Heaven and others to Hell, it gives, of itself, no reason why certain souls should have merited eternal bliss and others eternal damnation, though perhaps in the exceptional case of Salisbury the more perceptive members of the congregation of St. Thomas could have deduced for themselves that it was, to say the least, imprudent to be a dishonest ale-wife or a miser. Very few other Dooms would have given even that much explanation; the only other Doom to add to the list of ill-advised occupations of which the present writer is aware is at Hornton in Oxfordshire, where Janet Ashby has pointed out that one of the Damned is a woman who had during her life falsely pretended to be a cripple so that she could earn her living by begging instead of by honest work.<sup>44</sup> By including the Seven Works of Mercy and the Seven Deadly Sins in its Doom, Trotton alone spoke directly to the unlettered individual member of the congregation by telling him in pictures what Christ had said he was to do to be saved, and thereby exemplifying the kinds of service to his fellow men which the Saviour had taught should be practised by all who followed Christ and hoped for eternal life, and what conduct would, on the other hand, lead to his rejection by Christ on the Day of Judgement.

The usual explanation given for the existence of medieval religious wall paintings is that they were the Bible of the Poor; for instance, J. G. Waller in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1877 says 'if we would comprehend these paintings in the spirit in which they were intended . . . we must never forget what ecclesiastical writers

say of them from the eighth to the fifteenth century, viz., that they are for instruction, for the use of those who cannot read—in fact, the “Book of the ignorant””.<sup>45</sup> However, the contrast between the Trotton Doom and the orthodox Dooms brings out the fact that instruction is precisely what the latter fail to give to a congregation which the argument takes for granted was illiterate. Kendon comes closest to the truth when he says ‘much of the talk about the “Poor Man’s Bible”, so specious on paper, was not in fact justified’.<sup>46</sup> In the present paper it has only been necessary to make this case in relation to Dooms, but it is confidently expected that, had it been dealing with any of the other usual subjects of medieval religious wall paintings, the result would have been the same.

## CONCLUSION

Previous writers on the Trotton Doom have tended to underrate its significance. The opinions of Tristram have been sufficiently quoted already, and their one-sided nature pointed out; *Sussex Notes and Queries* (1942–3) cautiously describes it as ‘somewhat unusual’;<sup>47</sup> the only feature singled out for comment by the *Victoria County History* is the transposition of Good and Evil;<sup>48</sup> Nairn merely notes that it was on a west wall; while Caiger-Smith’s epithet of ‘seemingly original’<sup>49</sup> takes away with one hand what it gives with the other. Johnston alone recognized its special significance when he

summed up his report by saying that ‘in many of its details the painting is unique’,<sup>50</sup> though even he did not elaborate.

The present writer suggests without qualification that the Trotton Doom is indeed unique for the following reasons: it omits most features regarded as essential in more orthodox Dooms, and in particular any physical portrayal of either Heaven or Hell; on the other hand it includes both the Seven Works of Mercy and the Seven Deadly Sins, which render it uniquely self-explanatory by enabling the congregation to work out for themselves why the Good Man is received and the Wicked Man rejected by Christ, with obvious implications where their own future conduct as Christians is concerned; though not of itself self-explanatory, the mere inclusion of Moses is in itself exceptional; and finally it is unique in its presence on a west wall and in the doubtless accidental transposition of Good and Evil. Its significance among English medieval wall paintings has been inadequately appreciated hitherto.

## Acknowledgements

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the 14th Century* (1955), 20, 259.

<sup>2</sup>*Victoria County History, Sussex* (hereafter *V.C.H.*), 4 (1953), 37.

<sup>3</sup>Tristram, 20, 260.

<sup>4</sup>P. M. Johnston, in an untitled report to a meeting of the Royal Arch. Inst., *Arch. Jnl.* 61 (1904), 340.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*V.C.H.* 4, 36–7.

<sup>7</sup>Tristram, 99.

<sup>8</sup>F. Kendon, *Mural Paintings in English Churches in the Middle Ages* (1923), 194.

<sup>9</sup>*Arch. Jnl.* 61, 340–1.

<sup>10</sup>*V.C.H.* 4, pl. facing p. 29.

<sup>11</sup>Tristram, 260.

<sup>12</sup>*Arch. Jnl.* 61, 340.

<sup>13</sup>Tristram, 259.

<sup>14</sup>A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (1963), 51.

<sup>15</sup>Tristram, 88.

- <sup>16</sup>I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (1965), 356.
- <sup>17</sup>*Arch. Jnl.* **61**, 341.
- <sup>18</sup>Bodleian Library, MS. D.D., Par. Kidlington, c.9, item h.; [Mrs.] M. E. Freeborn, *Thirty-Nine Years in an Oxfordshire Parish* (1924).
- <sup>19</sup>Tristram, 259.
- <sup>20</sup>Caiger-Smith, 55.
- <sup>21</sup>Tristram, 259.
- <sup>22</sup>*V.C.H.* **4**, 37.
- <sup>23</sup>L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, **2**(1) (Paris, 1956), 176–9.
- <sup>24</sup>Réau, 178. For reproductions of this statue, see C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo* (Princeton, 1975), pls. 95–6.
- <sup>25</sup>Réau, 178.
- <sup>26</sup>G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, 1954), 43.
- <sup>27</sup>A. W. Pollard, *Italian Book Illustration* (1894), 41.
- <sup>28</sup>Tristram, 259.
- <sup>29</sup>*Oxford Architectural and Hist. Soc.* new series, **3** (1872–80), 29 n.
- <sup>30</sup>Tristram, 260.
- <sup>31</sup>*Arch. Jnl.* **61**, 341.
- <sup>32</sup>J. Edwards, 'The Wall Painting at Idsworth Reconsidered', *Antiq. Jnl.* **63** (1983), 79–94.
- <sup>33</sup>Tristram, 20.
- <sup>34</sup>*V.C.H.* **4**, 37.
- <sup>35</sup>Tristram, 19.
- <sup>36</sup>W. Hobart Bird, *Ancient Mural Paintings in the Churches of Gloucestershire* (Gloucester, ? 1927), 24.
- <sup>37</sup>Nairn & Pevsner, *Sussex*, 356.
- <sup>38</sup>I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Surrey* (1962), 118–19.
- <sup>39</sup>*Ibid.* pl. 10.
- <sup>40</sup>Kendon, *Mural Paintings*, 22 and Appendix II.
- <sup>41</sup>Tristram, 20, 259.
- <sup>42</sup>For a full description see A. Holländer, 'The Doom Painting of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury', *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.* **50** (1944), 351–70.
- <sup>43</sup>Caiger-Smith, 135, 138, 173, 176.
- <sup>44</sup>Janet Ashby, 'Medieval Doom Paintings in Oxfordshire Churches', *Oxford Art Jnl.* **3** (1979), 58.
- <sup>45</sup>J. G. Waller, 'On the Wall Paintings Discovered in . . . Northamptonshire', *Arch. Jnl.* **34** (1877), 220.
- <sup>46</sup>Kendon, *Mural Paintings*, 173.
- <sup>47</sup>*Suss. N. & Q.* **9** (1942–3), 14.
- <sup>48</sup>*V.C.H.* **4**, 37.
- <sup>49</sup>Caiger-Smith, 127.
- <sup>50</sup>*Arch. Jnl.* **61**, 340. Trotton is also mentioned incidentally in Johnston's article 'Mural Paintings in Houses . . . at Stratford-on-Avon and Oxford', *Jnl. of British Arch. Assoc.* new series, **37** (1932), 75.