

Some Lost Medieval Wall-Paintings

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SUMMARY

This paper comprises a list of some of those medieval wall-paintings known formerly to exist in various Oxfordshire churches, but which no longer do so, concluding with an attempt to assess which of them are of significance.

INTRODUCTION

A part from a few surviving Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon religious wall-paintings, for practical purposes wall-paintings in this country may be regarded as having flourished from the 12th to the early 16th centuries, after which they became unacceptable to the reformed religion and were mostly covered with whitewash. This continued until the upsurge of church 'restoration' in the 19th century, when so many medieval wall-paintings came to light that it was thought desirable for a list of them to be made, of which the third edition, C.E. Keyser's *List* of 1883,¹ is now regarded as definitive. Even at that stage, however, it was necessary for Keyser to record that many paintings had already been destroyed after being uncovered. A more detailed list for pre-1974 Oxfordshire is E.T. Long's 'Medieval Wall Paintings in Oxfordshire Churches' (1972),² though internal evidence suggests that it was compiled from the notes of a lifetime rather than from personal inspection immediately before publication.

The present article records some of the wall-paintings in the county which have been uncovered and subsequently, for a variety of reasons, lost. The evidence survives in scattered, and occasionally unexpected, form, so that there is a case for drawing it together and attempting an overall assessment in one readily accessible paper. Apart from the intrinsic value of collations, in a field where A. Clifton-Taylor has said that 'by no means as much as one per cent' of medieval wall-paintings have survived,³ to have some knowledge of the subject-matter of those which no longer exist can help in the interpretation of those which have been preserved, or which, as happens from time to time, have been newly uncovered. The number of surviving paintings regarded by received opinion as indecipherable may merely be an indication of a limited knowledge of the original scope of the iconography.

To begin by defining terms: there is a tendency, particularly among earlier sources, to refer indiscriminately to all wall-paintings as 'frescoes'; journalists still do so. To avoid

¹ C.E. Keyser, *List of Buildings Having Mural Decorations* (3rd edn. 1883).

² E.T. Long, 'Medieval Wall Paintings in Oxon. Churches', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 86-108.

³ A. Clifton-Taylor, *Eng. Parish Churches as Works of Art* (1974), 197.

adding '(sic)' after every such quotation, it should be explained that although true fresco, characterised by painting directly on to the plaster while still wet, was not unknown in England, it was not used in any of the cases mentioned in this paper. Oxfordshire is taken as the area laid down following local government reorganisation in 1974, so that what to Long was a considerable portion of north Berkshire is included. 'Wall-paintings' are taken as meaning only paintings on plastered walls or ceilings, so that painted wooden ceilings or other panel-paintings, painted tombs, fonts, and reredoses will normally be excluded. It also seems desirable that something should be known of the subject-matter of the lost painting; the disappearance of 'extensive remains' of 'early paintings' so often referred to by Keyser seems hardly worth recording. And where Long suggests that a 'thorough and careful investigation of the plaster would be rewarding'⁴ there seems no need to record the case, since nothing, it is to be hoped, has yet been lost. All the paintings included in this paper portrayed figures; the loss of purely decorative designs and consecration crosses is not normally mentioned. Finally, the word 'now' throughout this paper refers to a visit paid to the church concerned in the latter part of 1989.

CATALOGUE

The churches in question are set out in alphabetical order below:-

Ascott (near Stadhampton). This 13th-century chapel was already derelict by 1805, but was visited by D.J. Powell on his journey to Tetsworth in June of that year.⁵ He described it as having wall-paintings of Passion scenes, including the Flagellation, the Crucifixion, the descent from the Cross, the Harrowing of Hell, the *Noli Me Tangere*, and the touching of Christ's side by Thomas. The chapel was roofless by 1813, and was finally demolished in 1823.⁶ The interesting feature of this case – Passion cycles being not uncommon – is that the paintings were described at least 25 years before the period when medieval wall-paintings began frequently to be uncovered; one almost wonders whether they had ever been obliterated.

Broughton (near Banbury). Though there is agreement that a wall-painting of St Christopher formerly existed on the north wall of the nave, the other painting on the wall was described by Keyser as St Michael weighing souls,⁷ but by Long as St George.⁸ The latter dated both as of the 15th century. Both writers agreed on the former presence of a Doom over the chancel arch, Long adding that 'judging from a description of it in 1828, [it] must have been most impressive'.⁹ Though he gave no reference to this early authority, it can only have been the note of that year by the rector, worth quoting in full so far as concerns the Doom:-

In repairing the church at Broughton in the year 1828 some ancient paintings were discovered on the walls and particularly one of the day of Judgement on the arch leading to the chancel in which are three principal figures, the centre one of which is seated on an arch or rainbow with numerous other figures

⁴ Long, *op. cit.* note 2, 106, s.n. Yarnton.

⁵ Bodl. MS Top. Oxon b. 75.

⁶ County Museum, Woodstock, P.R.N. 1988.

⁷ Keyser, 'On recently discovered Mural Paintings', *Arch. Jnl.* liii (1896), 178.

⁸ Long, *op. cit.* note 2, 93.

⁹ Long, 'Recently discovered Wall Paintings in Eng., II', *Burlington Mag.* lxxvi (1940), 162.

without clothing, some moving to the right of the Judgement seat and some to the left. Amongst those on the right was a conspicuous one in white and scarlet and interspersed among the others on this side were some with the crown of their heads shaved assisting to point out a mansion or palace which formed the extreme part of the picture to the right. On the left hand were various groups collected in belts and being dragged off by the Devil and his assistants to a boat in which was one with a pole. At the top of the picture were the summoning angels with trumpets of great length and one of them with a sword striking a skull.¹⁰

Either the rector was being cautious, or, as might well have been the case in 1828 when so few medieval wall-paintings can have been uncovered, was ignorant of the usual iconography of Doms. Thus, he does not identify the 'three principal figures' as being Christ, 'the centre one seated on an arch or rainbow' (the latter being the usual way of representing His throne, as it symbolises God's covenant with man: Genesis 9:13),¹¹ with the Virgin Mary and St John (usually the Evangelist but occasionally the Baptist) flanking Him and interceding for souls. The conventional method of representing souls was indeed 'without clothing', though the clothed, 'conspicuous one' was perhaps St Peter. The 'mansion or palace' is of course the Heavenly City, often depicted as an Oxford college, but with angels looking out of the windows. On the other hand, the rector had no difficulty in identifying the Devil 'and his assistants', together with the Damned; that the latter were 'collected in belts' is by no means uncommon, as, for example, at South Leigh.

The Doom has now deteriorated to such an extent as to be unidentifiable except for its location, and must therefore be regarded as lost; it is mentioned by neither Caiger-Smith¹² nor Sherwood and Pevsner.¹³ Fragments of the other two paintings remain, though not now sufficiently to enable one to decide which of the different attributions is correct. Fortunately much of the Death of the Virgin cycle on the north wall of the chancel survives.

Burford. A lecture given in 1960 to the Friends of Burford Church¹⁴ stated that the restoration of 1870-87 was carried out by G.E. Street, the diocesan architect, who in his preliminary report of 23 March 1870 explained his proposals, including 'the cleaning of the interior stonework from whitewash, paint and plaster'.¹⁵ The lecturer commented: 'It was a careful restoration and there was not much that could be found fault with, except that the plaster was taken from the walls'.¹⁶ He might have added that the inevitable consequence would be the removal of the medieval wall-paintings which, in the case of a church of the importance and age of that at Burford, must have been present. Unfortunately, the only painting specifically known to have been destroyed was one of St Christopher, referred to by both Keyser¹⁷ and Long,¹⁸ who states that it was indeed 'destroyed by the stripping of the plaster at the Victorian restoration'. Paintings of this saint are, however, by far the commonest of surviving wall-paintings.

¹⁰ Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Broughton b 9, ff.34-5.

¹¹ J. Hall, *Dict. of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (1985), 257-8.

¹² A. Caiger-Smith, *Eng. Medieval Mural Paintings* (1963), 100-1, 165.

¹³ J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Oxon.* (1974), 491.

¹⁴ Rev. B.F.L. Clarke, *Burford Parish Church, Oxon: The 19th Century Repair and Restoration* (1960): copy in the Local Studies Dept. of Oxon. County Library, Westgate, Oxf.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.4.

¹⁷ Keyser, *op. cit.* note 1, 47.

¹⁸ Long, *op. cit.* note 2, 93.

It may be added that according to the lecturer Burford was one of the cases which led William Morris to propose the formation of what became the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings – the 'Anti-Scrape' Society.¹⁹

Cassington. As Long noted, no doubt following Williment's footnote to Parker (1846),²⁰ 'there is evidence of considerable remains of late medieval painting . . . much may still exist beneath the limewash'.²¹ The church is therefore included only to record the interesting fact, noted by Parker, that the paintings were white-washed over as recently as 1842, as part of the 'improvements' of that year.²²

Checkendon. Long stated that over the chancel arch were traces of a Doom, probably of the 14th century, but nothing now remains. In the apse are wall-paintings (stated by Long to be 13th-century)²³ of Christ in Majesty, and below Him, on either side, are Apostles, six on the north side and three and a half on the south. This, as the *Church Guide* (1978) points out, arose because 'Two and a half of the twelve Apostles were in fact 'lost' when a window was pierced on the south side of the apse in the 15th century',²⁴ thereby demonstrating that vandalism is not a modern invention. The date of the insertion of the window is confirmed by Long.²⁵ Saints Peter and Paul are identified by their emblems of the keys and the sword respectively, and St John by being the only Apostle who is beardless. The *Church Guide* (1978) mentions that 'in 1950 the frescoes were painstakingly and artistically restored by the noted authority on wall paintings, Eve Baker'.

Cropredy. Wall-paintings discovered during the restoration of 1877 were reported in 1936 to have 'perished from exposure to the weather and the workmen'. They comprised on one side of the north door representations of the Seven Deadly Sins, and on the other the Seven Works of Mercy, each within a medallion with a text.²⁶ Probably the medallions applied only to the Works of Mercy, as at Trotton (Sussex), where the Deadly Sins are being committed not in medallions, but each in separate dragons' mouths.²⁷ Long ascribed the disappearance of the Cropredy paintings to the removal of the plaster.²⁸

Deddington. At the west end of the north aisle a wall-painting of figures in 13th-century armour was referred to by Keyser.²⁹ The *Archaeological Journal* (1859) confirmed this, adding that the armour had 'mail of the peculiar fashion termed banded'.³⁰ All the plaster has been subsequently scraped from the north nave-wall, and with it the painting, doubtless when the church was 'restored' by G.E. Street in 1858.³¹

¹⁹ Clarke, op. cit. note 14, p.4.

²⁰ J.H. Parker, *Guide to the Archit. Antiqs. in the Neighbourhood of Oxf.* (1846), 132.

²¹ Long, op. cit. note 2, 93.

²² Parker, op. cit. note 20, 132.

²³ Long, op. cit. note 2, 94.

²⁴ *St Peter and St Paul, Checkendon* (1978), pp.2-3.

²⁵ Long, op. cit. note 2, 94.

²⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* x, 172, citing *The Times*, 22 Oct. 1936.

²⁷ J. Edwards, 'Trotton's "Abbreviated" Doom', *Sussex Arch. Collns.* cxxiii (1985), 118.

²⁸ Long, op. cit. note 2, 95.

²⁹ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 83.

³⁰ C. Faulkner, 'Proceedings at Meetings', *Arch. Jnl.* xvi (1859), 182.

³¹ Can. G. Palmer, *The Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Deddington* [n.d.], 5, plate on p.6.

Dorchester-on-Thames. Keyser refers to a wall-painting of the 'head of a female saint' in the south aisle.³² Though, in the case of a church the size of the abbey, this location is somewhat lacking in precision, the present writer is reasonably certain that no such painting now exists.

Ducklington. Long mentions a wall-painting of the Trinity on the south splay of the east window of the south aisle; it was in the part of the church now used as the vestry. God the Father, clad in a black robe, was enthroned with upraised hands, holding the crucified Christ between His knees, but even in Long's day 'no traces of the Dove' remained.³³ There was also a small kneeling figure, probably the donor. The 'cusped and crocketed arch' of the border is now virtually all that can be seen, though anyone knowing what was once inside it could still fancy he saw a shadowy halo round where the Almighty had once been. Professor Tristram's Plate of this early 13th-century painting shows that its cross was a Tau, rather than the usual Latin, one, and that the ends of its horizontal arms had been cut at an angle. He added that other paintings had been discovered in the same aisle, but had been obliterated some thirty years previously. One of them was thought to have been of the Betrayal, since tracings made at the time showed the word 'MALCVS' alongside one of the figures.³⁴

Eynsham. In an article in *Oxoniensia* (1937) Long referred to wall-paintings discovered here the year before, which he dated to the late 13th century.³⁵ Those in the sanctuary had a wide dado with a trellis pattern, fleur-de-lys being painted in each section of the trellis. On the north and south walls were three tiers of subjects. Those on the north wall dealt with the story of St Catherine (of Alexandria), notably the miraculous destruction of the wheel and her beheading. The paintings on the south wall probably depicted St Margaret (of Antioch), one scene showing her overcoming the dragon. Fragmentary subjects were on either side of the east window. Long mentioned the accomplished drawing and delicacy of the colour-scheme which 'betray a master hand', probably that of a craftsman from the neighbouring monastery. Elaborate decorative designs were to be found in a canopied niche and in the 'lateral' windows.

The whole interior has since been repainted, apparently fairly recently, with the exception of the St Catherine painting, which is now not nearly so decipherable as when Long saw it. No trace of the other paintings now remains.

Goosey. This was in Berkshire before 1974, and is not referred to by Long. Keyser mentions a painting of the Crucifixion on the east wall over a 'tester' above the altar bearing a painting of the same subject.³⁶ The usual 'portable board' available in the church refers to both of these paintings as having 'disappeared'. It may be significant that the subject of the central light of the present east window, said to have been given by the Rev. C. Wordsworth, vicar of Goosey, 1850-69, is also of the Crucifixion.

³² Keyser, *op. cit.* note 1, 87-8.

³³ Long, *op. cit.* note 2, 96.

³⁴ E.W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the 14th Cent.* (1955), 166 and pl. 58.

³⁵ Long, 'Mural Paintings in Eynsham Church', *Oxoniensia*, ii (1936), 204-5.

³⁶ Keyser, *op. cit.* note 1, 114.

Great Milton. Keyser refers to a wall-painting of the Virgin and Child here,³⁷ citing the *Archaeological Journal* (1845)³⁸ in support, which merely gives a passing reference. No precise mention of the painting's location was given, and there is now no trace of it.

Great Tew. As funds become available, work is proceeding on the uncovering of wall-paintings here, and a very complete Passion cycle in thirteen separate scenes, surmounted by a Soul-Weighing, has recently been revealed between two of the windows in the south aisle.³⁹ The church would thus be outside the scope of this paper, were it not for Keyser's statement that a wall-painting of Christ 'feeding the Hungry', (presumably the miracle of the loaves and fishes referred to in Matthew 15: 32-38 and Mark 6: 37-44), at the west end of the north aisle, had already been destroyed at the time he was writing.⁴⁰ On visiting the church the present writer was told that a wall-painting of this subject still exists, concealed behind the back of the organ, and although no such claim is made in the *Church Guide*,⁴¹ Long recorded that, 'The west wall is difficult to examine owing to the proximity of the organ, but much colour is already visible with a scroll border'.⁴² The present writer was unable to detect either, though certainly the location corresponds with that given by Keyser. The authority Keyser cites, namely the *Transactions of the North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society* (1875), merely says: 'North Aisle . . . On the west-end wall was a fresco of Christ feeding the hungry multitude . . .'.⁴³ The past tense was presumably used intentionally, but the statement might equally mean that the painting had been white-washed, or that it had been hacked out altogether. However this might be, the deep shadow now cast by the organ over the wall in question proved impenetrable by either torch or a moderately powerful flashgun, so that it remains impossible to express any opinion on whether the painting survives so long as the organ remains in its present position. Fortunately, the treatment of wall-paintings in this church is clearly in good hands, and it can only be hoped that one day the money will be available to settle the question.

Hanwell. Figures of saints on the east wall of the chancel had already been destroyed at the time of Keyser's writing.⁴⁴

Hatford. This hamlet, some 5 km. east of Faringdon, was in Berkshire before 1974, and notwithstanding its small size has two churches. Mrs V.M. Howse, in her *Hatford: A Parish Record* (1976), describes the ancient one, St George's, which has a Norman south doorway, as being 'shamefully abandoned in 1873 when the new church [Holy Trinity] was erected', and goes on to say that 'the old plaster remaining on the west wall of the nave at the turn of the century, showed traces of colour . . . on the south wall to the west of the doorway . . . [were] two figures under a canopy, probably representing the Annunciation . . . The remains of two further mural paintings seen at Hatford in 1882 . . . [were] one of

³⁷ Ibid. 178.

³⁸ W. Dyke, 'Decorations in Distemper in Stanton Harcourt Church, Oxon.' *Arch. Jnl.* ii (1845), 368.

³⁹ As forecast by Long, who anticipated either a Passion or a Life of Christ, of c.1300: Long, op. cit. note 2, 105.

⁴⁰ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 249.

⁴¹ *St Michael and All Angels, Great Tew, Oxon.* [n.d.].

⁴² Long, op. cit. note 2, 105.

⁴³ D. Royce, 'Great Tew and South Newington', *Trans. North Oxon. Arch. Soc.* xiii (1875), 17.

⁴⁴ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 122.



Fig. 1. Copy by G. Hollis of the wall-painting of the Adoration of the Magi, formerly on the wall of the south aisle at Islip church. (Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. b 220, f.57v.; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library.)

the Crucifixion and the other probably St George'.⁴⁵ The latter, illustrated with the Crucifixion in Mrs Howse's book,⁴⁶ showed no more than a right leg in armour and probably a stirrup, which in itself could as well have belonged to St Martin, or even to one of the participants in the *Psychomachia*, as at Claverly, Shropshire. However, in view of the Church's dedication, St George is probably correct. Murray's *Berkshire* states that the wall-paintings were 13th-century.⁴⁷

Ironically, Holy Trinity was made redundant in 1971,⁴⁸ and St George's, no longer half roofless, is now once more the parish church.

Islip. Wall-paintings, 'very much disfigured', were discovered in July 1824 on the wall of the south aisle, one of which was dated at c.1390 'from an inscription on the wall'. Copies of them now in the Bodleian Library include the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 1).⁴⁹ This

⁴⁵ V.M. Howse, *Hatford: A Parish Record* (1976), 27–8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* oppos. p.28.

⁴⁷ J. Bejeman and J. Piper, *Murray's Berks. Archit. Guide* (1949), 128.

⁴⁸ Howse, *op. cit.* note 45, p.48.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. b. 220, f.57v.

copy, which is rather in the manner of 1824 than of the 14th century, shows Joseph on the extreme left, seated on a chair 'from the style of [which] . . . he might be . . . a Roman ecclesiastic of a later period'.⁵⁰ On either side of the Virgin's head is a flying angel, the one on the right swinging a censer perilously close to her face. The Magi are shown as kings, but whereas it was usual to depict them as respectively young, middle-aged, and old, these all seem to be of much the same youthful age. Features less easy to explain are the face of the youth wearing a hood on the extreme right, who may perhaps be a shepherd, and the detached face with a moustache at the feet of the middle king, which is about half the size of the other adult faces in the painting. The other copy in the Bodleian shows a Soul-Weighing, the right half of which is missing; the remaining portion has no unusual features. In addition to these subjects, Keyser also mentioned a Resurrection.⁵¹ None of these paintings now exists, but during a village festival held in 1985 copies of them were exhibited in the church, the caption to which stated that there was formerly a wall-painting of St Nicholas (to whom the church is dedicated) on the north wall, but no authority was given for this.

Kidlington. Mrs M.E. Freeborn, in the portion of 'Thirty-Nine Years in an Oxfordshire Parish' for the year 1892, wrote that '... the wallpaintings were not ruined by the whitewash but were rediscovered on the north wall of the Nave and consisted of the Seven Deadly Sins, executed by a famous monk of Eynsham Abbey, and 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 with colour wash . . . The paintings of the B.V.M. and St Margaret and the Dragon were decorous enough to be left.'⁵² Other paintings were described by Keyser as 'north transept on north and east walls, several figures &c . . .'.⁵³

As regards the Virgin and St Margaret, Long stated that there was a painting of the Virgin and Child on the north wall of the north transept,⁵⁴ Caiger-Smith's catalogue being in error in assigning it to the east wall,⁵⁵ and mentioned that St Margaret and the Dragon formed part of a complex painting on the east wall of the transept with 'much damaged and somewhat confused subjects', including the remains of St Helena with part of a cross, St Catherine and the wheel, a seated figure of the Virgin at her desk, and, below, a small kneeling figure, doubtless the donor. Presumably Mrs Freeborn referred not to the Virgin and Child on the north wall of the transept, but to the Virgin in this composite painting, since no reference was made to the Child, and the 'B.V.M.' was linked with St Margaret.

The remains of these paintings have been obscured by the construction of what the *Church Guide* (1981) calls 'the new screen [enclosing] the Children's Chapel'.⁵⁶ This construction has its own roof with long slit windows, one of which gives the only near view of a part of the painting on the east wall of the transept. The only character still readily identifiable is, ironically, the dragon, since in the St Margaret story this was the guise

⁵⁰ J. Halliwell, 'Anc. Paintings in the interior of Islip Church, Oxon.' *Archaeologia* xxix (1842), 420.

⁵¹ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 144.

⁵² M.E. Freeborn, 'Thirty-Nine Years in an Oxon. Parish' (TS. 1924): copy in Oxon. R.O., MS. d.d. Par. Kidlington c 9, item h.

⁵³ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 314.

⁵⁴ Long, op. cit. note 2, 98.

⁵⁵ Caiger-Smith, op. cit. note 12, 166.

⁵⁶ J. Amor, *Kidlington Parish Church* (1981), p.3.

adopted by Satan.⁵⁷ Every other feature of the painting is now in an advanced state of disintegration, especially the central portion. Conditions inside the Children's Chapel preclude an inspection of the north wall of the transept, but if anything survives of the Virgin and Child it can only be vestigial, to judge from its condition when photographed by the present writer in 1973; even then the Child had completely disappeared.

Fortunately copies made some 35 years ago by Helen Watson of the two paintings are now on view, that of the Virgin and Child hanging on the east side of the entrance to the transept, and that of St Margaret on the east wall of the transept, inside the Children's Chapel. As at Croughton (Northants.), a complete 'realisation' of the painting of the Virgin and Child is perpetuated on the Mothers' Union banner (Fig. 2), kept in the Lady Chapel, which the *Church Guide* reports was 'worked by Gladys Laughton in 1956'.⁵⁸

Milcombe. Keyser said that opposite the north door was a wall-painting of the martyrdom of St Lawrence, to whom the church is dedicated, while on the north wall were the Seven Deadly Sins and the Works of Mercy, all of which had been destroyed by the time he was writing.⁵⁹ This resulted from the 'drastic restoration' carried out in 1860 by G.E. Street, in the course of which 'the chancel was completely rebuilt and no original details remain in the nave, except possibly the moulded head of the N doorway'.⁶⁰

Since Milcombe was formerly a chapelry of Bloxham, the existence of a painting of St Lawrence, combined with the dedication, reinforce the present writer's contention that the saint and martyr depicted in the Milcombe Chapel in Bloxham Church was also St Lawrence.⁶¹

Northmoor. Keyser, writing in a supplement of 1896⁶² to his *List* of 1883, mentioned only that above the two effigies in the tomb-recesses in the north wall of the north transept were paintings 'of the time of Edward III' of two angels holding a 'napkin', no doubt, in accordance with the usual convention, carrying heavenwards the soul of the deceased person in the tomb below. Tristram (1955),⁶³ after referring to these and mentioning that the knight in one of the tombs could be identified by the heraldry as one of the Delamore family and that the other effigy was that of his wife, described a wall-painting not mentioned by Keyser, namely a Coronation of the Virgin with kneeling figures, defaced, to the west of the eastern recess. Within the western recess was a Virgin and Child, with probably members of the Delamore family kneeling in prayer, headed by a figure resembling the effigy of Lady Delamore below. Immediately adjacent, on the west wall, was a painting of Christ in Majesty, blessing, and bearing in His left hand the 'Orb of the Universe', surmounted by the vexillum, the banner borne by Christ at and after His Resurrection. On either side was a censing angel. Except for the upper part of the Majesty, Tristram described all the paintings as much damaged. Long (1972) said that the upper part of the Majesty was fairly well preserved, but that only fragments of the other paintings survived, the loss of which was 'a tragedy since the quality of the work was of a high order'.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Hall, op. cit. note 11, 198.

⁵⁸ Amor, op. cit. note 56, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 177.

⁶⁰ Sherwood and Pevsner, op. cit. note 13, 704.

⁶¹ As pointed out by the Rev. Dr E.F. Condry, vic. of Bloxham; see J. Edwards, 'The Milcombe Chapel Martyr', *Cake and Cockhorse*, viii (Spring, 1982), 222-231.

⁶² Keyser, op. cit. note 7, 181.

⁶³ Tristram, op. cit. note 34, 229.

⁶⁴ Long, op. cit. note 2, 101.

Today the upper part of the Majesty and of the attendant angels can still readily be made out, and the *Church Guide* (undated)⁶⁵ states that owing to 'recent cleaning' there can again be seen 'a small section of a very fine wall painting [showing] the soul of Lady More transported to heaven attended by angels'. Only the left-hand angel and about half the 'napkin' can now easily be seen, but apart from these two all of the other paintings described above have disappeared.

OXFORD: Christ Church Cathedral. The wall-paintings of angels and a musician formerly in the vaulting of the south choir aisle were described in the *Walpole Society* (1927-28),⁶⁶ with illustrations by Tristram which were described by Dr M.R. James as being of 'impeccable fidelity', and particularly valuable as the paintings were 'very hard to see'. Tristram, having detailed the structural alterations in the early 14th century which resulted in the construction of the vaulting in question, added that in each of its four sub-divisions was the figure of an angel with upraised wings, the two westernmost being represented as dancing, while below the one on the north side was 'the figure of a young girl playing a stringed instrument with a bow', the latter typical of 'the earliest bows for stringed instruments [which] resembled in shape the weapon of the same name'.⁶⁷ Though these two latter figures were well preserved at the time, the paintings were 'scarcely visible from the floor'. He dated the paintings as not much later than c.1325, and described the work as a whole as 'masterly in drawing, and in its sweetness and gaiety [showing] the characteristics of 14th-century art at its best'.⁶⁸ These wall-paintings were again described and illustrated in Tristram's third volume, published posthumously in 1955; a note to the list of its illustrations mentioned that they had 'been obscured by dirt carried upwards on currents of air rising from heating apparatus',⁶⁹ while in a note to their description in the catalogue, evidently added at the last moment, it was stated that 'these figures are now almost concealed by dirt (1954)'.⁷⁰ No trace of them is now to be seen.

The *Annual Reports* of the Friends of the Cathedral mention that the works carried out in the late 1950s and early 1960s under the supervision of Mr Dykes Bower, an architect who was also Surveyor of the Fabric of Westminster Abbey, included the cleaning of the stone of the interior of the Cathedral so as to 'reveal its natural soft colouring'.⁷¹ The cleaning of the portion of the Cathedral in question appears to have taken place in the summer of 1962;⁷² the cleaning of the stone would of course automatically result in the removal of the wall-paintings. The bays of the vaulting of the south choir aisle are now an off-white colour.

Generally work of this description is preceded by a report from the architect on his proposals, but the present writer has ascertained that even if such a report were made, neither the archivist, the dean's verger, nor the librarian at Christ Church has been able to trace it. Nor has any such document been deposited with the British Architectural Library.

⁶⁵ *The Church of St Denys at Northmoor* [n.d.]

⁶⁶ M.R. James and E.W. Tristram, 'Medieval Wall-Paintings at Christ Church Oxf.', *Walpole Soc.* xvi (1927-28), 1-3.

⁶⁷ P.A. Scholes, *Oxford Companion to Music* (1955), 1087.

⁶⁸ Tristram, op. cit. note 66, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁹ Tristram, op. cit. note 34, xi.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 232.

⁷¹ 'The Cathedral, 1960', *Cathedral Record* (1961), 3; copy in the Local Studies Dept. of Oxon. County Library, Westgate, Oxf.

⁷² 'The Cathedral, 1962', *Cathedral Record* (1963), 1.

One is therefore left with the position that as long ago as 1927 the paintings were scarcely visible from the floor; that while Tristram's last volume was in preparation in the early 1950s or earlier, they had become obscured; while by 1954 they were almost concealed. There is no reason to suppose that an architect so well qualified to advise on work at a cathedral as Dykes Bower would have countenanced the removal of wall-paintings if they had not already gone beyond recall, and this is borne out by the fact that wall-paintings of censuring angels over the slab marked 'Frideswide' were allowed to remain, despite their fragmentary state. Moreover, the wall-paintings in question were very adequately recorded in the standard works quoted above, at least some of the copies made being deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

It should be added that the suggested chronology is not affected by Caiger-Smith's reference to the paintings as still extant,⁷³ since his book was doubtless going through the press at the material date. That they are still referred to in Long's article of 1972⁷⁴ confirms the likelihood that he was writing from notes accumulated over a lifetime rather than from contemporary inspection. It is significant that the paintings were not mentioned by Pevsner.⁷⁵

OXFORD: St Andrew's, Old Headington. This case is dealt with fully elsewhere;⁷⁶ here it need only be said that wall-paintings in the south aisle were destroyed in 1864, in the genuine belief that the condition of the wall left no alternative. The situation was dealt with conscientiously; records were kept,⁷⁷ drawings were made, and photographs taken. The outstanding feature of the various wall-paintings was that two of them illustrated the miracle of the cornfield on the Flight into Egypt, whereby Herod's men, in pursuit of the Holy Family, were put off the scent by the instantaneous growth of corn from seed to ripeness; this interpretation was worked out by the local historian, H. Hurst. Another of the paintings which has previously resisted satisfactory explanation may represent the miracle whereby the Lamb of God showed St Clement, exiled in the Crimea, where to find water.

OXFORD: St Giles. In 1939 there were in the north aisle on the south splay of the east window the remains of a painting, perhaps drapery, in red on white, 13th-century or later.⁷⁸ There is now no trace of it.

OXFORD: St James, Beauchamp Lane, Cowley. A comprehensive description, illustrated with 27 coloured drawings, of the wall-paintings formerly at this church is included in 'An Account of the Church of St James, Cowley, Oxon., read before the Architectural Society of Oxford on November 18, 1876',⁷⁹ a MS. copy of which is in the Bodleian Library. On the east wall of the chancel, reading from north to south, were paintings of the Virgin Mary being crowned by an angel (f.43); a Trinity of the Gnadenstuhl type, with censuring

⁷³ Caiger-Smith, *op. cit.* note 12, 167, who thought the girl musician was a young man.

⁷⁴ Long, *op. cit.* note 2, 102.

⁷⁵ Sherwood and Pevsner, *op. cit.* note 13, 113-24.

⁷⁶ J. Edwards, 'The Medieval Wall-Paintings formerly at St Andrew's Church', *Arch. Jnl.* cxlv (1988), 263-71.

⁷⁷ *Proc. O.A.H.S.* n.s. 1 (1860-64), 302; 'The Coloured Decoration of Churches', *The Builder*, xxii (1864), 733-4.

⁷⁸ *R.C.H.M.: the City of Oxford* (1939), 132 (b).

⁷⁹ Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. c. 71, ff.36-59, at f.51. The lecture was not in fact given until 20 February 1877: *Proc. Oxon. Archit. and Hist. Soc.* n.s. iii (1872-1880), 284, 286. The dating of the wall-paintings is taken from the table on f.17.



Fig. 2. *Left*: the Mothers' Union banner, Kidlington church, copied from a wall-painting of the Virgin and Child on the north wall of the north transept. (Ph. J. Edwards, 1973.) *Right*: copies by H. Hurst of wall-paintings formerly on the south nave-wall of St James's church, Cowley, now suggested to be (upper tier) the prophet Nathan forbidding King David to build the Temple, and (lower tier) the musical accompaniment to the recovery by King David of the Ark of the Covenant from the Philistines. (Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. c 71, f.51; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library.)

angels (f.40); and Christ, blessing (f.42), all attributed to the 13th century, as was an Entombment on the south wall of the chancel (ff.46–7). On its north wall was a row of saints (f.56), dated to the 14th century. A vestigial painting on the west splay of the south-east window of the chancel, said to be of St James writing (f.57), was attributed to the 15th century. In the nave was a 'small subject over the pulpit of a lady presenting a model of a church to a Queen or superior' (ff.8 and 50), which was dated c.1300. A 14th-century panel in two tiers on the south wall of the nave was described as showing 'two scenes from David's life, or perhaps the building of the temple and its dedication' (ff.29 and 51). Since Old Testament scenes are so rare in English medieval wall-paintings and because this panel is not referred to in other sources, perhaps because part of it 'fell

down, in one piece almost, while it was being sketched' (f.9), it is illustrated in Figure 2. The colours used are red, yellow, and a little black.

There can be little doubt that the harpist-king in the lower tier is, indeed, King David, since this is how he is depicted in contemporary illuminated manuscripts, and also in the only wall-painting of him of which the present writer is aware, at Tavant, in France. From left to right are David, shown playing his harp; a man wearing a red 'beret' and playing a recorder-type instrument; two men blowing trumpets; and two other men, the more distant of whom appears to be clashing a pair of cymbals (coloured yellow), though the function of the nearer man is no longer clear; could the upright object to the left of him be the fore-pillar of another harp? Possibly this scene represents the recovery by David of the Ark of the Covenant from the Philistines, since at various stages on its return journey there was playing on harps and cymbals (II Samuel 6:5) and on the trumpet (II Samuel 6:15).

The upper tier shows, from left to right, a ladder and a workman; a figure surmounted by what, though coloured red, appears to be a halo, and who is wearing a long white robe with red panelling, and holding up his left hand; and an isolated buttress. Finally, there is a crowned man in a red tunic, with flowing locks and a considerable chin-beard, who so much resembles the royal harpist in the tier below that it seems reasonable to suppose that he, too, must be David. As explained in the headnote to II Samuel 7, David's original intention had been to build a temple to house the Ark of the Covenant, but 'I Nathan [the prophet] first approving the purpose of David to build God an house, 4 after by the word of God forbiddeth him'. It is therefore suggested that this painting shows David having started to build in reliance on Nathan's original approval, but that the prophet – whom the medieval artist might well have considered to warrant a halo – has now arrived with God's instruction to forbid it; the upheld hand is a gesture of negation rather than of blessing at a dedication.

Following the restoration of the church by G.E. Street in 1864–5, which, untypically, did not result in the total destruction of all medieval wall-paintings, 'faint traces [of them] remained until a repainting in 1929'.⁸⁰

All the wall-paintings are thus lost, but a reproduction of the two women is now preserved towards the end of the south nave-wall, the caption to which reads 'The original wall painting, circa 1300, is thought to be of Lady Edith d'Oilly donating the church of St James to Our Blessed Lady of Osney'; the abbey acquired the church in 1149.⁸¹ The Virgin may be the figure on the left in blue and white, perhaps representing a statue on a plinth at the abbey. The caption proceeds to throw light on how the remains of wall-paintings were disposed of after a church 'restoration', adding: 'the present reproduction is copied from a composition made a number of years ago from the remains of the original wall plaster found lying waste'.

South Leigh. A novel method of obliteration was adopted here when in 1872 the 15th-century Soul-Weighing on the south wall of the nave was covered by a new and much larger painting of the same subject in the pre-Raphaelite style by Burlison and Grylls, who were not even muralists, but makers of stained glass.⁸²

⁸⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* v, 93.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 90, 93.

⁸² J. Edwards, 'A "15th-Century" Wall-Painting at South Leigh', *Oxoniensia*, xlviii (1983), 131–42.

Stanton Harcourt. The earliest reference to wall-paintings formerly in the church was made in the *Archaeological Journal* (1845), which stated that as a result of recent repairs, paintings had been brought to light 'which have unfortunately been already destroyed, as well by being chipped away to get a firm face for the new plaster, as by being actually re-plastered'.⁸³ The paintings included scrolls along the walls bearing lettering, amongst them the words 'Cryst' and 'Pylat'. The subjects were the washing of the disciples' feet; the Last Supper; the Descent from the Cross; the Entombment; and the Harrowing of Hell; in other words, part of a Passion cycle. The article was illustrated by sketches by Philip de la Motte. The author, William Dyke, concluded his paper by regretting that 'these interesting specimens of medieval art were not spared from destruction . . .'.⁸⁴ The removal of the paintings was also recorded by Keyser⁸⁵ who used the expression 'Descent into Limbus' rather than the 'Harrowing of Hell', and who dated them to c.1400, and by Wall, who described them as 'wantonly destroyed'.⁸⁶

Besides these paintings, which were in the nave, there survives on the north wall of the chancel, at the western end, a red painted area⁸⁷ with two incised circles, each c.70 cm. in diameter, and at the other the remains of a shield. No particular subject can now be discerned, although the circles may have been associated with one or more wall-paintings, Tristram describing how 'compasses which would produce an incised line were frequently used for the setting out of consecration crosses, [or] medallions . . . in some instances these are now the sole remaining indications of the work'.⁸⁸ The present colouring may have been an undercoat.

Since painted panels are scarce in Oxfordshire, it may be worth adding that the 13th-century screen has lost all its paintings except one at the south end of the nave side, said to be 15th-century.⁸⁹ It shows a woman in a nun's habit wearing a crown, a red cushion on her lap with an open book on it, and her over-large right hand stretched over it. The background is painted to suggest a stonework niche. She is 'said to be St Etheldreda . . . Abbess of Ely, in the 7th century',⁹⁰ an identification confirmed in the present writer's view by the gashes on her neck, from which a tumour had been removed just before her death; her crown was that of a princess, being the daughter of the king of the East Angles.⁹¹

Stanton St John. On the splay of a window on the north of the chancel, Long recorded faint traces of the upper part of a figure, probably c.1300, but nothing can now be seen of it.⁹²

Sutton Courtenay. In 1914 there survived to the west of the second window in the north wall a much damaged 15th-century painting of St George and the Dragon.⁹³ A former *Church Guide* (1970) bluntly stated that 'the remains of a medieval wall painting of St George were on the north wall until the 1950/58 restoration. There were also traces of a medieval

⁸³ W. Dyke, *op. cit.* note 38, 365.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 368.

⁸⁵ Keyser, *op. cit.* note 1, 236.

⁸⁶ J.C. Wall, *Medieval Wall Paintings* [1914], 147.

⁸⁷ P. Salway, 'The Chancel', in T.J. Goddard-Fenwick, *Guide to St Michael's Church, Stanton Harcourt* (1972), 4.

⁸⁸ Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: the 13th century* (1950), 397.

⁸⁹ Sherwood and Pevsner, *op. cit.* note 13, 779–80.

⁹⁰ Salway, *op. cit.* note 87, 3.

⁹¹ D.H. Farmer, *Oxf. Dict. of Saints* (1978), 138.

⁹² Long, *op. cit.* note 2, 104.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Berks.* iv, 376 (publ. 1924 but written in 1914).

Doom above the chancel arch'.⁹⁴ The current *Church Guide* (undated, the most recent date included being 1982) puts the matter more diplomatically, relating that these paintings 'have, like other wall paintings, been lost in changes', and adding that 'St George signified our link with St George's Chapel, Windsor, the Dean and Chapter [of which] are Patrons of the living'.⁹⁵ It is a little surprising to find that the church is dedicated not to St George but to All Saints, although the George and Dragon are still perpetuated in the name of the public house immediately outside.

Wallingford. This, like Sutton Courtenay, was in Berkshire before 1974. There are three churches, that in question being St Leonard's, situated in a maze of narrow streets in the south-east corner of the town. Hedges' *History of Wallingford* (1881) recorded that 'in 1850 the church was enlarged and partially restored . . . the workmen employed state that . . . some fresco work, of a flower pattern, over the first inner arch, and of figures on the south side of the chancel, was discovered, but it was too imperfect to be restored, and was consequently destroyed'.⁹⁶ Keyser refers to 'various figures', but throws no light on their identity.⁹⁷ Nothing can now be seen.

Warborough. Long reported fragmentary remains of a 15th-century St George on the north wall of the nave, with evidence of the dragon and the princess.⁹⁸ Arthur Mee differed on dating, saying that 'from this 13th century to which the church owes so much comes the wall-painting fading away in the nave; we can just see St George rescuing the captive princess'.⁹⁹ This question can never now be settled, the painting having completely disappeared; wall-paintings do not 'fade', however, 'the colours . . . simply disintegrate and fall off as dust'.¹⁰⁰

Woodeaton. Long, writing in 1933, after describing the St Christopher which is fortunately still surviving (though the heads are 'very convincing' substitutes by Tristram), went on to describe the remains on the opposite wall of another painting, the subject of which was obscure, but which he suggested may have been the popular morality of the Three Living and the Three Dead.¹⁰¹ Though the wall in question is still amply covered with 'stoning' and a few traces of other paintwork, nothing now remains which could be identified with any particular subject.

CONCLUSIONS

As Caiger-Smith noted, 'The obliteration or repainting of walls was such common practice in the Middle Ages, and the alteration of buildings so frequent, that wall-painters are unlikely to have thought their work permanent beyond one or two generations'.¹⁰² Even 19th-century removal of plaster was often done in good faith, in the

⁹⁴ W. Bradbrook, *A Short Account of Sutton Courtenay Church* (1970), 10; copy in Local Studies Dept. of Oxon. County Library, Westgate, Oxon.

⁹⁵ G.J. & F.C. [sic], *All Saints Church Sutton Courtenay* [n.d.], f.3.

⁹⁶ J.K. Hedges, *Hist. Wallingford*, ii (1881), 393.

⁹⁷ Keyser, op. cit. note 1, 260.

⁹⁸ Long, op. cit. note 2, 105.

⁹⁹ A. Mee, *The King's England: Oxon.* (1942), 373.

¹⁰⁰ J.G. Waller in preface to Keyser, op. cit. note 1, xcii.

¹⁰¹ Long, 'Some Wall Paintings in Oxon.' *Burlington Mag.* lxxv (1934), 83.

¹⁰² Caiger-Smith, op. cit. note 12, 124.

mistaken belief that it would restore the walls to their original condition,¹⁰³ so that the emphasis of this paper on those wall-paintings which have been lost should not be allowed to obscure our good fortune that so many have survived, not least in Oxfordshire.

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the purposes of this review of lost wall-paintings was to see whether they disclose subjects not hitherto included in the usual iconography of surviving English medieval wall-paintings, with the consequent benefit for the interpretation of paintings regarded as indecipherable or which might be uncovered in future. This has, in fact, happened in a gratifying number of cases.

Perhaps the most significant of these is the miracle of Christ and the loaves and fishes at Great Tew. In contrast to the usual subject-matter of Dooms, lives and martyrdoms of saints, moralities, and apocryphal lives and miracles of the Virgin, there is generally a glaring omission of what one would have thought to be the corner-stone of Christianity, namely, Christ during His ministry, since the majority of English wall-paintings depicting Him stop at the Flight into Egypt and do not resume their portrayal of His life until the entry into Jerusalem. Apart from Baptisms of Christ at Black Bourton and at Hardham (Sussex), the parable of Dives and Lazarus at Ulcombe (Kent), the miracles of Jairus' daughter, much restored, at Copford (Essex) and of the raising of Lazarus in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Winchester Cathedral, together with some scarcely identifiable scenes in medallions at Brook (Kent), nothing of Christ's ministry is portrayed in all the hundreds of surviving wall-paintings. This omission is in contrast to the countries of continental Europe, where ample numbers of paintings illustrating incidents during Christ's ministry survive, for example in Denmark.¹⁰⁴ To discover an addition to the handful of known English portrayals of this subject is therefore most satisfactory.

The present writer can recollect no other English example of a painting showing the donor presenting a church to a representative of the Divinity, so that the painting at St James, Cowley, would have been of special interest. This is not to say that such paintings are unknown elsewhere; a Danish example survives at Fjenneslev, Sorø, where, to judge by the divine hand appearing from above, the donor must have been presenting the church to the Almighty Himself; it is dated towards the end of the 12th century.¹⁰⁵ The wall-paintings at Cowley of King David represented rare examples of the use of Old Testament subjects in medieval wall-paintings, and if the identifications now put forward are correct, they would have been without precedent.

Angel musicians, as in the recently-discovered example at Purton (Wiltshire),¹⁰⁶ are by no means uncommon in medieval wall-painting, but that angels should be dancing to music provided by a human fiddler, as in the paintings formerly in Oxford Cathedral, must have been singular in the extreme.

The Doom at Broughton presented a number of peculiar features, the outstanding one being that the Damned were being shepherded into a 'boat in which was one with a pole'. In most Dooms, if the Damned are not being dragged into the Hell-mouth on foot, they are being carried there by devils; there is one painting, at Cirencester, thought to show them being taken to Hell in a cart¹⁰⁷ drawn by two creatures resembling foxes. But the

¹⁰³ E. Clive Rouse, *Discovering Wall Paintings* (1980), 4.

¹⁰⁴ R. Broby-Johansen, *Den danske Billedbibel* (Copenhagen, 1947), 67-124.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 16.

¹⁰⁶ J. Edwards, 'New Light on Christ of the Trades and other Medieval Wall-Paintings at ... Purton', *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.* lxxxiii (1990), 105-17.

¹⁰⁷ Can. R.E. Hill, *Cirencester Parish Church* (1981), 13.

idea that they should be taken there across water in a boat propelled by a Charon-like puntsman must be quite unprecedented. In addition, the Blessed were being conducted to the Heavenly City by a number of persons with 'shaven crowns', which is paralleled only by the Doom, probably of the late 13th century, formerly at St John's, Winchester, and even in that case there was only one such, a Franciscan friar.¹⁰⁸ There remains the problem of the angel striking a skull with a sword. It was not unusual for a Doom to relate back to the Crucifixion, with, for example, angels bearing the Instruments of the Passion, as at St Thomas's, Salisbury. Perhaps at Broughton the angel was merely pointing to the skull to indicate its significance, which was not only to allude to Golgotha, 'the place of the skull', but to represent Adam's own skull, redeemed by Christ's blood falling on it.¹⁰⁹

The subject of the miraculous cornfield, formerly at St Andrew's, Headington, is also unknown among surviving English wall-paintings, which is perhaps why even Tristram's explanation was wide of the mark. Since there is no authority for it even among the pseudo-Gospels, it can legitimately be regarded as an anecdote, and has been so described,¹¹⁰ though the Flight into Egypt itself is of course authenticated by Matthew 2:13,14. Strangely, though otherwise ignored by those who commissioned medieval wall-paintings in England, it was a popular theme for illuminated manuscripts and Books of Hours, together with medieval easel-paintings.

The painting of the Washing of the Disciple's Feet at Stanton Harcourt was acclaimed by Wall as 'the only example found in England',¹¹¹ perhaps correct at the time he was writing; an example can, however, be seen at Belchamp Walter, Essex.¹¹²

The St Georges and Dragons would have been a welcome addition to the county's few paintings of the saint in action; it is curious that there should be so few, especially as it was at the Synod of Oxford (1222) that he was recognised as patron saint of England.¹¹³ Of the two remaining, that at Kirtlington is now extremely shadowy (and the visitor can easily overlook the staff which is virtually all that remains of the St Christopher immediately to the east), while the example at Shorthampton is fragmentary.

The question of whether any of the lost wall-paintings could be recovered has been raised in the *Church Guide* (1972) for Stanton Harcourt, which suggests that 'these frescoes still lie presumably under the existing plaster'.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, Stanton Harcourt is not a good example; even if the paintings still exist and were recovered, the similar circumstances at Chalfont St Giles, where this work has actually been carried out, show that much of the paintwork will have been irrevocably lost wherever 'keys' have been cut into the surface to take the plaster,¹¹⁵ and both Dyke (a contemporary recorder) and Wall were agreed that whatever method was used at Stanton Harcourt to apply the plaster, it resulted in the paintings being destroyed. Where, however, wall-paintings are merely whitewashed over, no technical difficulty need arise in uncovering them; the vast majority of surviving wall-paintings have in fact been discovered by the removal of whitewash, thirty coats of it, with two layers of post-Reformation paintings, in the case of Patcham, Sussex.¹¹⁶ The real difficulty would, of course, be the usual financial one.

¹⁰⁸ Wall, *op. cit.* note 86, 215.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *op. cit.* note 11, 81 and 85.

¹¹⁰ J. Longnon and R. Cazelles, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (1969), caption to pl. 57.

¹¹¹ Wall, *op. cit.* note 86, 147.

¹¹² *Church of St Mary the Virgin, Belchamp Walter*, (1981), p.2.

¹¹³ E.W. Tristram, *Eng. Medieval Wall Painting of the 12th Century* (1944), 31.

¹¹⁴ T.J. Goddard-Fenwick, *Guide to St Michael's Church Stanton Harcourt* (1972), 2.

¹¹⁵ E. Clive Rouse, 'Mural Paintings in Chalfont St Giles Church', *Recs. of Bucks.* xii (1927-33), 108-9, 116.

¹¹⁶ C.E. Keyser, 'Mural Painting of the Doom at Patcham', *Arch. Jnl.* xxxviii (1881), 81.

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