



Norwich and the Medieval Parish Church c.900 - 2017 **The Making of a Fine City**

The Conference of the *Medieval Parish Churches of Norwich: city, community and architecture* research project

17-18 June 2017, The Weston Room, Norwich Cathedral Hostry
Followed by site visits to some of the churches on 19 June

Provisional Programme

(Please note: this programme is subject to change)

Day One

10:00 Coffee and Registration

11:00 Welcome and opening remarks

11:15 Session Chair: Tim Pestell

Brian Ayers

'... a city repaired and increased so much ...' Exploring the development of Norwich through an ABC of churches - All Saints, Botolph, Clement and others

David Stocker

Aristocrats, Burghers and their Markets: Suggested patterns of church foundation in Anglo-Scandinavian towns

12:30 Lunch

13:45 Session chair: Richard Halsey

Zachary Stewart

The integrated interior: parish church design in the diocese of Norwich c.1330-c.1500

Helen Lunnon

Where the artists have no name: from anonymity to attribution

15:00 Tea

15:30 Session Chair: Canon Peter Doll

Bill Jacob

The Georgianisation of medieval churches in Norwich

Clare Haynes

Of past and present: nineteenth-century images of Norwich's medieval churches

16:45 Break (optional introduction to the lost parish churches of the Cathedral Close)

17:30 Introduced by Sandy Heslop

Jane Kennedy

Is there a sustainable future for Norwich's medieval churches?

18:15 Drinks reception (Norwich Cathedral cloister)

19:15 Speakers' dinner (Norwich Cathedral refectory)

Day Two

9:30 Session chair: John Alban

Sarah Rees Jones

The relationship between neighbourhood churches and urban castles in England in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries

Rosemary Sweet

Norwich, the “historic city” and antiquarian imagination in the 18th and 19th centuries

10.45 Coffee

11:15 Session chair: Kristi Bain

Lesley Milner

The treasure house of the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich: was it exceptional? Late medieval practices of conserving and displaying sacred treasure

Christian Steer

Grave concerns: burying the dead in medieval Norwich

12:30 Lunch

13:45 Session chair: Carole Rawcliffe

David King

The contribution of antiquarians to the study of medieval stained glass in Norwich parish churches

Sandy Heslop

Picturing the sacred in fifteenth-century Norwich

15:00 Tea

15:30 Plenary discussion

16:15 Conference ends

Day Three

Walking tour of the city, including church site visits

Meet at Norwich Cathedral for a 10:00 start. The tour will end at approximately 3:30pm/

No refreshments will be provided on this day. Full details to be announced at the Conference

Churches included on the walk will be: St Simon and St Jude, St Clement Colegate, St George Colegate. St Michael Coslany, St Laurence, St Gregory, St John Maddermarket, St Andrew, St Peter Hungate and St Michael at Plea.

This conference is supported by

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PAUL MELLON CENTRE
for Studies in British Art



PURCELL

Abstracts and speakers' biographies

(Please note: these titles and abstracts are subject to change)

'... a city repaired and increased so much ...' Exploring the early development of Norwich through its churches

Brian Ayers

Norwich before and immediately after the Norman Conquest was clearly a large settlement by contemporary standards and yet understanding of its early evolution and layout remain problematic. Topographical analysis and archaeological investigation have provided a broad framework for the likely extent of the emerging city by 1066 but it is perhaps only with further investigation of the likely numbers of churches, their relationships and inter-relationships, all linked to early surviving documents, that it becomes possible to suggest processes of development and to characterise areas of occupation. This paper will build on recent published work to explore early church foundation and its contribution to an understanding of possible landholdings and influences.

BRIAN AYERS is a Research Fellow and Honorary Senior Lecturer at UEA. He was Assistant Head of Museums & County Archaeologist for Norfolk until 2008. Thereafter he became the Chief Executive of the Butrint Foundation until the end of 2011 (for which organisation he continues as a consultant). His research interests are the origins and development of medieval towns and their constituent elements (including churches) within the broad North Sea region. He has published numerous papers, principally concerning urban archaeology in general and Norwich in particular. His book *The German Ocean: Medieval Europe around the North Sea* was published in August 2016.

Of past and present: nineteenth-century images of Norwich's medieval churches

Clare Haynes

Large numbers of illustrations of Norwich's churches were produced in the nineteenth century, which are diverse in style, medium and ambition. All can be invaluable to the medieval historian, not least because they frequently provide evidence of buildings, architectural details, works of art and fittings that have since been lost. This paper will explore the contexts – artistic, commercial, political, religious and scientific – in which these images were made and offer a typology of church illustration. It will also consider the possibility that these images offer us sight of two things at once: the nineteenth-century present as well as the remains of the medieval past.

CLARE HAYNES specializes in eighteenth-century British religious culture. She is also interested in antiquarianism and graphic satire. Her work for the project is focussed on surveying and analysing images of the churches produced since 1700. She will curate the exhibition "Drawing in the Archive: the Visual Record of Norwich's Medieval Churches 1700-2017", which will be held at the Norfolk Record Office August-November 2017.

Picturing the sacred in fifteenth-century Norwich

Sandy Heslop

This paper explores two aspects of the substantial corpus of paintings on wood known from Norwich's medieval parish churches. Focusing particularly on independent images and narrative panels from altarpieces and screens, I examine the similarities with and differences from paintings of the same period in Germany and the Netherlands. The analysis is undertaken largely in terms of the characterisation of the figures in enacting sacred stories, and their affective power in engaging the

viewers' emotional responses. Then, more briefly, the enquiry broadens to include wall-painting and stained glass with a view to assessing how far similar strategies were adopted in these media.

SANDY HESLOP is the 'Medieval Parish Churches of Norwich' project's Principal Investigator and leads the research programme. Sandy is a world-renowned art historian and has published on topics as diverse as the Bayeux Tapestry, and Swaffham parish church. His overarching interest is in making and its place in human culture. Most of Sandy's research and teaching has focused on analyzing the relationship between people and things, and the role of imagination in the creation and reception of artefacts.

The Georgianisation of medieval churches in Norwich

Bill Jacob

This paper will examine the evidence for the adaptation, by the leading citizens of Norwich, as members of their parish vestries, of their parish churches for the use of the Prayer Book liturgy during the long-eighteenth century. It will suggest that, as leading citizens of Norwich lavished attention on their medieval and seventeenth-century houses, to fit them for polite society, so they also refurbished and adapted their parish churches for contemporary worship styles.

BILL JACOB has published extensively on the social history of religion in eighteenth and nineteenth century England and Wales, including *Lay people and Religion in the Early-Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, and *The Clerical Profession in the Long-Eighteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Is there a sustainable future for Norwich's medieval churches?

Jane Kennedy

The paper will address the condition of our medieval parish churches and look at how the redundant churches have fared in comparison with those that remain in use for worship. I will see how this might have changed over the last 50 years and comment on what their condition says about them. (Is decay ever pleasing?) Should they all be open, accessible and inviting? if so what changes are acceptable to allow buildings to continue in use? Alternatively, might it be acceptable to 'mothball' churches and if so what message would we be giving out by doing so? The paper will assess how the local community relate to the buildings and how are they seen by visitors and ask what roles might they have in the future and who will pay for their upkeep? To conclude the paper will refer to the virtuous circle of understanding, valuing, caring for and enjoying and ask what we can do now to ensure we hand on these buildings for future generations to enjoy.

JANE KENNEDY is an architect and partner at Purcell and has played a key role in securing the future of some of the finest historic buildings in the country during a career spanning more than 30 years. Jane was a commissioner for English Heritage for eight years until 2014. As Surveyor to the Fabric for Ely Cathedral since 1994, she has overseen a period of major restoration within the Cathedral and its precincts. She has been a member of the Norwich DAC, The Council for the care of Churches and is architect to a number of churches in East Anglia and beyond.

The contribution of antiquarians to the study of medieval stained glass in Norwich parish churches

David King

This paper will look at a number of antiquarian sources for Norwich churches which provide information on their glazing with stained glass, mainly of the medieval period. It will consider them first in chronological order, examining what their authors were aiming to achieve, so that their changing interests can be set in the context of the contemporary reception of the medium. The earliest source dates from c. 1575, when Robert Kemp toured churches and country houses in Norfolk, recording the heraldry and monumental inscriptions which he saw, and the latest is the notes of Rev Christopher Woodforde, made c. 1930-c. 1950. The most significant antiquarians for stained glass were Kirkpatrick, Blomefield and G. A. King, who made numerous illustrations of glass which passed through his stained-glass workshop. These sources cover thirty of the churches, some now destroyed, glass from sixteen of them being extant. The second half of the paper will show how this antiquarian material can be used by the modern scholar to interpret extant stained and glass and reconstruct lost glazing in the city churches, concentrating on the churches of St Peter Mancroft, St Peter Hungate and St Stephen.

DAVID KING is an Honorary Research Fellow of the School of History at UEA, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and the author of numerous publications on medieval stained glass and other media including *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (2006), for the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. He is at present working on the CVMA Summary Catalogue for Norfolk. He also contributed chapters to the 1996 volume *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996*, eds. I. Atherton et al, and in 2004 to *Medieval Norwich*, eds. C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson.

Where the artists have no name: from anonymity to attribution

Helen Lunnon

Norwich is replete with artefactual and documentary evidence for the lives and works of medieval craftsmen at parish level. However, connecting people with the objects they made is tantalisingly problematic. Whilst commissioning contracts, account rolls or churchwardens' records are scarce to non-existent, testaments are plentiful, so too the less-perishable object types. Attribution of buildings (or parts of buildings) to particular masons has been attempted in the past, but studies have largely attended to the formal characteristics of moulding profiles and tracery patterns. This paper adopts a somewhat less empirical approach. Rather than seeking to draw connecting lines between names and objects or buildings, the paper will survey the available data to investigate craftsmen as constituents of urban communities and present a number of case studies which indicate what is knowable of artists' personal and professional lived experiences.

HELEN LUNNON, a lecturer in Art History at UEA, trained as a historian and art historian and holds academic qualifications in History, Art History, and Museum Studies. Her research is concerned with the making and reception of art and architecture in medieval England, focusing on East Anglia. She is particularly interested in the late medieval understanding of decorum and appropriateness and how such notions influenced the art and architecture made in the period. Helen is a Senior Research Associate on the project, investigating the relationship between people, the churches and their furnishing through the primary written record and surviving artefacts.

The treasure house of the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich: was it exceptional? Late medieval practices of conserving and displaying sacred treasure

Lesley Milner

The church of St. Peter Mancroft, the largest medieval parish church in Norwich, is of special interest for many reasons including the impressive fifteenth-century treasure house which abuts its east end. This acted as the depository for the vessels used on the church's altars, and for vestments, altar hangings, linens candlesticks, liturgical books and reliquaries, the gifts of the church's parishioners, as testified by an early sixteenth-century inventory. The treasure house's architectural style proclaims that, although physically connected to the church it has its own identity and purpose acting metaphorically as a form of half-way house between the citizens of Norwich and the church, the world of the everyday and the world of the spirit. This paper will focus on the role of the treasure house in the ceremonial display of the church's treasures. In order to gain a fuller picture, evidence provided by contemporary churches, within Norwich and beyond, will be examined, together with fifteenth and sixteenth-century parish documents. Was the church of St Peter Mancroft, in its conservation and display of sacred treasure, together with its architectural style, disposition and scale, exceptional, or did it conform to ways of conserving and displaying sacred treasure that were deeply embedded within the late medieval world?

LESLEY MILNER, FSA, was awarded her PhD by the Courtauld Institute of Art, London University, in 2015, having completed a thesis titled *Secret Spaces, English Sacristies, Vestries and Treasure Rooms 1000-1300*. Recent articles include Milner, L., 'Lincoln Cathedral Treasure House' in *The Journal of the Society of Antiquaries* Published November 2016 and Milner, L., 'St Faith's Chapel at Westminster Abbey: The Significance of its Design, Decoration and Location' in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (British Archaeological Association, 2016).

The relationship between neighbourhood churches and urban castles in England in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries

Sarah Rees Jones

This paper will explore the social and topographical relationship between smaller neighbourhood churches (some of which later became parish churches) and castles in English cities after the Norman Conquest. My starting point is York where the redevelopment of the city centre with a new castle (or castles) after 1068 can be situated within a larger Norman redevelopment of the urban core that both reutilised certain features of the Roman townscape and was perhaps associated with a deliberate segregation between French and Anglo-Scandinavian settlements imposed upon an already established street systems of pre-Conquest origin (Rees Jones, 2013). This discovery can be compared to other English towns including Norwich where decades of archaeological research revealed a similar creation of a French borough near the castle within the wider area of settlement that became Norwich. At the heart of both developments were neighbourhood churches, both old foundations and new. This paper will explore how and why neighbourhood churches were crucial to the 'Normanisation' of English towns. It will employ a comparative and interdisciplinary approach, utilising evidence from records, literature and archaeology and asking questions about architecture.

SARAH REES JONES is a Professor of Medieval History at the University of York. She is the author of *York: The Making of a City, 1068-1350* (Oxford, 2013). Throughout her career she has worked closely with archaeologists and in 2015 was proud to see the publication of the British Historic Towns Atlas, City of York. <http://www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/atlas/volume-v/york>

Grave concerns: burying the dead in medieval Norwich

Christian Steer

Medieval Norwich was as much a city of the dead as it was of the living with sixty parish churches, the Cathedral and religious houses each providing a necropolis for the remains of the dead. All four orders of mendicant friars settled in medieval Norwich, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites and Austin Friars, and – like their brethren elsewhere – were welcomed with open arms. This lecture will consider patterns of burial and commemoration across the city and in particular address the competing alternatives of friary or parish church and the implications of choosing one over the other. Who opted for burial where – and why? And how did particular groups, families, craftsmen, the clergy, visitors and country squires, form ‘dead centres’ – or not? The lecture will contextualise the burial and commemoration practices of Norwich citizens by comparison with other English cities, notably London.

CHRISTIAN STEER is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and has lectured and published widely on the funerary monuments of the medieval city. He has a particular interest in the lost tombs of the Grey Friars of London and is preparing an updated edition of their register of monuments and burials. He holds degrees from the University of London and the University of York where he is currently an Honorary Visiting Fellow in the Department of History. He is a secretary of the Harlaxton Medieval Symposium and co-editor of the 2011 proceedings *The Yorkist Age* (published Donnington, 2013).

The integrated interior: parish church design in the diocese of Norwich c.1330-c.1500

Zachary Stewart

Among the many splendid parish churches of Norwich are several that belong to a select group of structures, dispersed across the wider diocese, which broke the mould of parish church design in late medieval England. Distinguishing these buildings—which might be termed “open-plan” parish churches—was a reconceptualization of the relationship between lay space and clerical space. Abandoned, on the one hand, was a traditional layout in which nave and chancel were built as semi-autonomous volumes, with or without aisles, divided by a lateral arch or, in rare cases, by a central tower. Adopted, on the other hand, was a non-traditional layout in which nave and chancel were built as a fully integrated volume, with aisles, of continuous extent and congruent design. This paper argues that this shift in building practice constituted a powerful means of social critique at earlier sites, such as North Walsham, Beccles, and King's Lynn St Nicholas, but that, following its use as a solution to site-based constraints at Norwich St Gregory, the open-plan type gradually became valued more for its spatial characteristics and less for its social connotations—both in the city and throughout the surrounding region.

ZACHARY STEWART is Visiting Assistant Professor of Art History at Fordham University. He specializes in the art and architecture of medieval Britain. His current book project, “The Parish Church Transformed: Architecture, Identity, and Community in Late Medieval England,” expands the study of Gothic architecture by demonstrating that formal integration—the quality for which the style is widely lauded—was not only a means of achieving spatial unity but also a method of confronting, controlling, and contesting social diversity in medieval Europe.

Aristocrats, Burghers and their Markets: Suggested patterns of church foundation in Anglo-Scandinavian towns

David Stocker

This contribution takes as its starting point the 46 medieval parochial churches of medieval Lincoln. It builds on the pioneering work of Alan Vince on the medieval archaeology of Lincoln, which was encapsulated in a database combining archaeology, documentary history and topography known as the Lincoln Archaeological Research Assessment (LARA - accessible via heritageconnectlincoln.com). The paper uses the topographical information now available from LARA to address questions about the foundation of parish churches. Who founded them and when? What does the pattern of parish churches tell us about the development of the Lincoln itself, and can we see any similar patterns in comparable Anglo-Scandinavian towns elsewhere in Eastern England, notably Norwich?

DAVID STOCKER, MA (Cantab & York), DLitt, FSA, MCIfA, worked for the York Archaeological Trust and in Lincolnshire (1978-1986) before English Heritage 1987-2012. He was appointed to the HLF's East Midland Committee in 2013. In addition to many honorary and administrative roles within British archaeology, he has been an Honorary Fellow in Archaeology at University of York, and is currently Honorary Visiting Professor of Medieval Studies at the University of Leeds. David's research interests lie mostly within Medieval archaeology, especially in buildings, settlement and landscape. He has published c.120 contributions to reports and academic papers and is the author/co-author of 15 books. His most recent volume (written jointly with Paul Everson) is *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture XII. Nottinghamshire* (OUP/British Academy) published in 2015.

Norwich, the "historic city" and antiquarian imagination in the 18th and 19th centuries

Rosemary Sweet

Thanks to the success of Macaulay's history of England, in which he selected Norwich as the archetypal model of a provincial city in the 'olden time' of the seventeenth century, Norwich's reputation was firmly established as a 'historic city' by the Victorian period. It was a place where the visitor might ramble through the by-ways of the past, surrounded by quaint reminders of the good old days: chief amongst these were the cathedral, the churches and the remains of former monastic sites. The parish churches of Norwich were of considerable antiquarian and architectural interest but they were also woven into a narrative of Norwich's medieval and early modern prosperity that was central to its nineteenth century reputation as a 'historic city' that provided the evidence for the historic roots of Britain's modern urban prosperity. This paper will consider the growth of interest amongst eighteenth and nineteenth-century antiquaries in the ecclesiastical fabric of the city within the broader context of antiquarian thought, medievalism and the nineteenth-century invention of the 'historic town'.

ROEY SWEET is professor of urban history at the Centre for Urban History at the University of Leicester. Her publications include *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (1997); *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (2004) and *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (2012). She is currently working on antiquarianism and the invention of the historic town in nineteenth-century Britain.