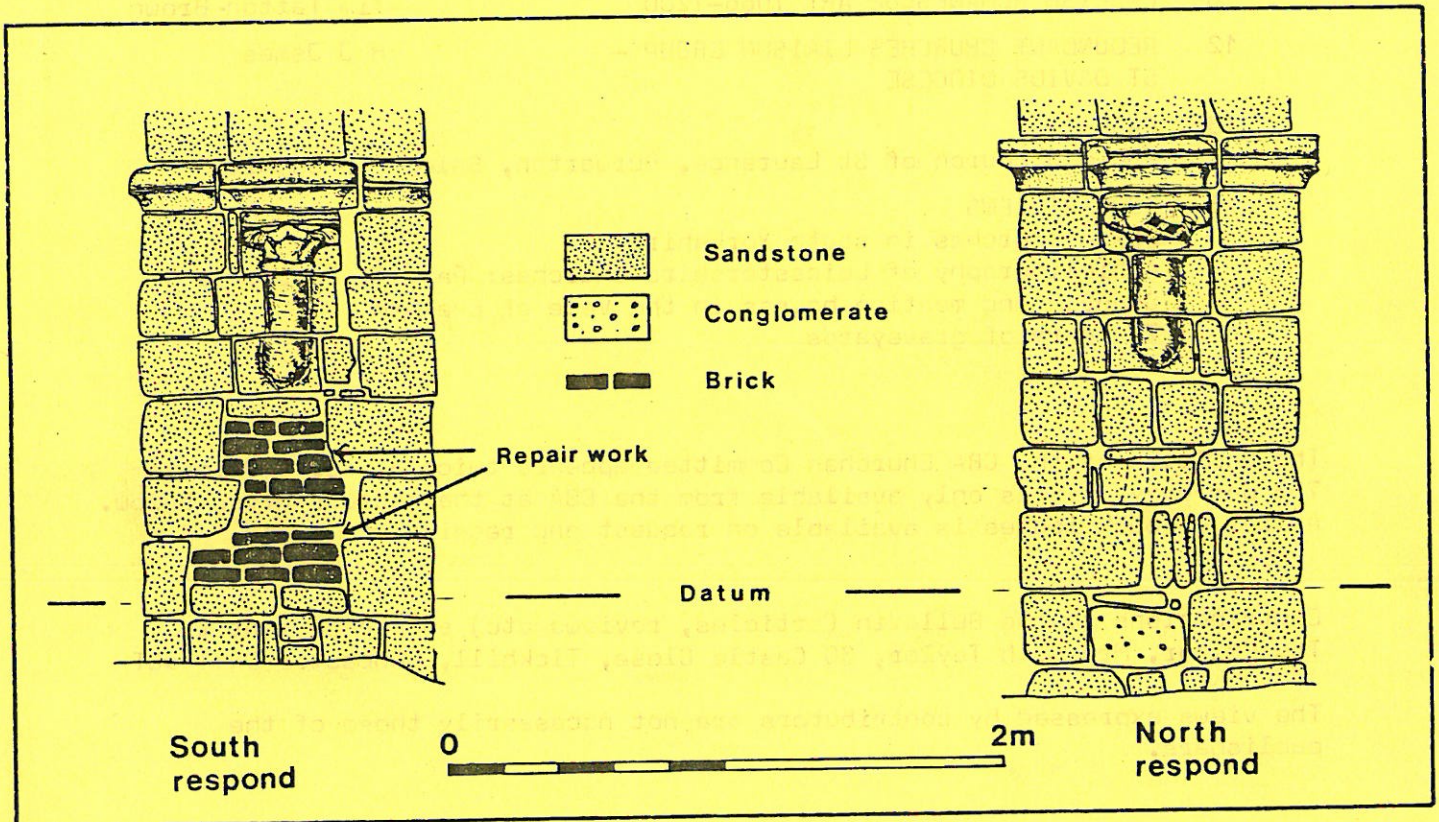


BULLETIN

of the CBA Churches Committee



Burwarton Old Church, capitals on chancel arch

Number: 20 Summer 1984

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The Bulletin of the CBA Churches Committee appears twice a year and costs 75p per copy. It is only available from the CBA at the address given below. A list of back issues is available on request and receipt of an s.a.e.

Contributions to the Bulletin (articles, reviews etc) should be sent to The Editor, Mrs Ruth Taylor, 30 Castle Close, Tickhill, Doncaster DN11 9QT

The views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the publishers.

NOTES

Changes

- Sheffield Mr Peter Ryder has resigned as archaeological consultant following his departure to Northumberland. Mr John Little has been nominated as his successor.
- Lincoln Mr Paul Everson has resigned as archaeological consultant for the northern part of the diocese, following his translation to the West Midlands Local Office of RCHM(E) at Keele University. His place has been taken by Ms Naomi Field.
- CBA Churches Committee Professor Richard Bailey's term as Honorary Secretary of the Churches Committee has now ended. His place has been taken by Mr Daryl Fowler.

Faculty jurisdiction and the ecclesiastical exemption

At its Annual General Meeting, held on 13 July 1984, the CBA discussed the report of the Faculty Jurisdiction Commission and the DoE's consultative paper The ecclesiastical exemption from listed building control. The Churches Committee and its Working Party on Nonconformist Places of Worship presented a number of recommendations based on consultations with all CBA Regional Groups, the CBA's listed building agents, the CBA's Historic Buildings Committee, and the DAC consultants. Council approved the recommendations that ecclesiastical exemption should be brought to an end in respect of demolition and that the churches and chapels of other denominations should not be exempted. These recommendations are consistent with the evidence given to the Faculty Jurisdiction Commission by the Churches Committee in 1980, but the CBA reconsidered the matter as the present consultation embraces buildings of the Free Churches as well as those of the Church of England. Copies of the CBA's response are available from the CBA, 112 Kennington Road, London SE11 6RE. Requests should be accompanied by an sae.

A date for your diary?

Periodically the CBA organizes meetings for diocesan archaeological consultants: reasonably informal occasions when diocesan advisers can meet in order to compare notes, and be briefed on matters connected with their work.

It is hoped that the next of these meetings can be arranged so as to coincide with another event which is of interest to diocesan archaeologists: the annual conference of DAC members, which is organized by the Council for the Care of Churches. Next year's annual conference will be held from 3-6 September at Bretton Hall, near Wakefield, Yorkshire. Bretton Hall is well placed for those who wish simply to travel to the archaeological meeting for one day: there are Inter-City connections at Wakefield, and the Hall stands very close to the M1. Alternatively, the archaeological function may attract a larger-than-usual quota of DAC archaeologists to the full conference. This plan has yet to be confirmed; definite details will appear in the winter issue of the Bulletin.

As a further innovation, we hope to invite cathedral archaeological consultants to the forthcoming meeting.

Conference on religious sites in the landscape

The Society for Landscape Studies and the CBA Churches Committee propose to hold a joint conference in London early in 1986 on the theme of religious sites in the landscape. It is hoped that topics to be covered may include the idea of holy places, holy wells, henges, standing stones and stone circles, hill figures, churches in the landscape, the implications of the construction of medieval religious buildings in terms of materials and resources required, and folk observances. People working in these or any other relevant fields are invited to submit papers for consideration by July 1985. All papers will be refereed in the normal manner.

It will probably be possible for only a proportion of the papers submitted actually to be read at the conference. However, it is intended that all papers recommended by the referees will be published as the first volume of Occasional Papers of the Society for Landscape Studies. Anyone considering the submission of a paper is requested to contact Dr M L Faull, Society for Landscape Studies, 39 Eldon Terrace, Leeds Road, Wakefield WF1 3JW, as soon as possible. Further details about the date, venue, and programme of the conference will appear in the CBA Newsletter in due course.

Conference on nonconformist chapels in Wales

The Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, is to hold a conference on nonconformist chapels in Wales over the weekend of 12-14 October 1984 at Gregynog (Pcwys). The conference brings together a variety of scholars who have each made a significant contribution to the study of nonconformity in the Principality in the fields of architecture, music, social life, and the development of Anglicanism. Among the speakers will be Dr Lawrence Butler on 'Architecture of the church in Wales, 1560-1820'.

Costs will be £30.00 (full residential) and £15.20 (non-residential with meals). Registration forms and programmes are available from Dr C J Arnold (Chapels Conference), Bronawel, Green Lane, Abermule, Montgomery, Powys (tel Abermule 334).

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THE PRE-CONQUEST CHURCH IN LONDON

John Schofield

Introduction

To steal a phrase from Peter Fowler, the pre-Conquest church in London is well known but not known well. I shall attempt in this short summary to give an outline of eight aspects:

- 1 Roman Christianity in London
- 2 Sub-Roman suburban churches
- 3 The founding and position of St Paul's
- 4 Churches from 650 to 886
- 5 Churches in the post-Alfredian period (10th and 11th centuries)
- 6 Topographical functions of churches
- 7 The pre- or post-Conquest cemetery of St Nicholas Shambles
- 8 Westminster

I shall also use the opportunity for speculation to fill some of the enormous gaps in our knowledge.

1 Roman Christianity

Since our ideas about churches in Roman London are all speculation, we may as well go to town with them - specifically, to Rome, to ask 'what might we be looking for?' - even though it will be a list of desiderata. By 312 as much as a third of Rome's population may have belonged to the Church or sympathized with it (Krautheimer 1980, 18). The meeting places were ordinary houses (tituli, after the original owner's name). There were also a few plain specially built barnlike halls. Cemeteries and mausolea were centres for celebratory feasts. The cult centres at the graves of Christian martyrs were unpretentious places, simple courtyards with niches for offerings and a shed or loggia. The 2nd century shrine of St Peter was a grave marked by a small aedicula or niche, gabled and flanked by columns, against a wall (Krautheimer 1980, 19-20).

Constantine had more grandiose intentions. He decided, possibly as early as 312/3, to build a cathedral for the bishop which we know as St John Lateran, a variant on the contemporary public monumental form, the basilica. Constantine's church building was, however, generally confined to sites on imperial estates; in the later 4th century the church expanded on its own initiative, with new buildings such as S Clemente, rebuilt out of a factory near the Colosseum. Its apse arched over a small mansion which a century before had been a sanctuary of Mithras. The new structures were of a standard type: a nave, long and high, flanked by aisles and terminated by an apse; an atrium, a courtyard enveloped by four porticoes, or a narthex at the other end of the building (Krautheimer 1980, 32-4).

Rome was largely Christian in the second half of the 4th century; paganism had almost completely been suppressed in Rome by 395. Within this context occurred the most important church building of the late 4th century, St Paul without the Walls, which was rebuilt over the shrine of St Paul in 384. It, too, had a wide nave and side aisles.

These are some of the materials for a speculation - and it is no more than that - about the nature of the 4th century church in Roman London. There is very little evidence to hand concerning the fate of the forum and basilica in the late Roman and immediately post-Roman period. Between 1.5m and 2m of dark earth gradually accumulated in the forum courtyard and to an unknown depth within the basilica. In this soil were large chunks of fallen masonry, presumably from the basilica itself (P Marsden, pers comm). The two main roads which cross the site of the basilica are first documented in the 11th century, though it is reasonable to suggest that Gracechurch Street at least dates from the late 9th or early 10th century when the bridge to the south was probably reopened and the north-south route through Bishopsgate reestablished on its post-Roman alignment.

The speculation concerns the siting of St Peter Cornhill over part of the north aisle of the basilica, significantly perhaps over the part of that aisle in which the Roman municipal shrine was probably to be found (cf Silchester: Wachter 1975, 46). Wheeler (1935, 103) suggested that the remote predecessor of St Peter's may well have been a Roman church situated close to the forum and basilica in a position similar to that of the church at Silchester; he might also have mentioned the position of St Michael's on top of the forum at Verulamium. Further, St Peter's claimed in the medieval period that its Rector should have precedence among the City clergy because his church had been the site of an archbishopric fully 400 years before Augustine (Stow i, 194; ii, 304). This claim was linked to a separate tradition, first appearing in the Liber

Pontificalis not later than AD 700, that a King Lucinus of Britain successfully applied for conversion to Christianity to Pope Eleutherius (AD 174-89). At this stage one can only suggest that the coincidence of this legend and the position of St Peter's over the probable site of the municipal shrine is significant and speculate that the 4th century St Peter's may have been an adaptation of the basilica to resemble contemporary new churches in Rome such as St Paul's outside the Wallis.

2 Sub-Roman suburban churches

In at least five German cities, as Martin Biddle remarked (1976, 66), Christian mortuary chapels and graveyards grew up in cemeteries of Roman cities. The grave of Childeric himself at Tournai in 481 was in the middle of a Roman cemetery (Dixon 1976, 65). I think it is true that only now are there forthcoming cases in the south of England of late Roman cemeteries developing into the sites of Christian churches.

At St Bride's in London Grimes found a small part of an undated Roman building with a tessellated floor of red and yellow tesserae beneath the east end of the Saxon church; nearby was building debris containing 4th century coins (Grimes 1968, 182-3). Grimes excavated burials cutting through the Roman building which he thought were 'Early Christian' and which might have been associated with an early church or with the earliest existing remains, those of the south wall of the nave. I shall come back to these burials but my conclusion is that they are more likely to be late Saxon.

Roman building material has also been noticed in the medieval and early modern fabrics of a number of suburban and rural churches around London (Biddle 1976, 66), but this can probably be explained in the main by the proximity of Roman building material rather than the coincidence of Roman and Christian sites. The immediately suburban church of St Andrew Holborn, for instance, which is said to have Roman material in its present medieval and 17th century fabric, is known as the 'old church of wood' in a charter of 959. The only known case of remains beneath a church is that of St Martins in the Fields, Trafalgar Square, where a burial in a stone coffin and a 'brick arch with ducts' were found during the rebuilding of 1722. In contrast, many parish churches within the City are built by coincidence on top of Roman buildings.

3 The founding and position of St Paul's

St Paul's was founded in 604 by Ethelbert, on the western hill, on or near the main Roman road leading out of one of the western gates, some distance from the basilica on the eastern hill. The original intention of the Roman mission was to make London the seat of an archbishop, though in the event this gravitated to Canterbury. This may imply that Gregory knew London to be a centre of population, or merely that he knew London to have been the major city of southern Britain in the Roman imperial period. Can we throw any further light on his intentions by looking at his practice in Rome?

Rome was, of course, rather a different kind of place in 590, with a population of 90,000 (Krautheimer 1980, 62). Gregory seems to have been reluctant to take over public buildings for churches, either for reasons of policy or the maintenance costs, a policy which changed after his death. He was, however, the first to change a pagan temple into a church: the Pantheon, in 609. He instructed the mission in England to reuse pagan sanctuaries as churches after destroying the idols (Krautheimer 1980, 72). We would in consequence dearly like to know what was on the site of St Paul's. On the form of St Paul's we can look both to Kentish churches and to continental parallels. The plans of

the Kentish churches were themselves derived from Italy and the use of Roman brick suggests to some scholars that they were the work of foreign, and probably Italian, builders (Stenton 1971, 111; Cherry 1976, 163, 175). Perhaps one should expect a slightly more ambitious church in London, as it was intended to be the seat of an archbishop, along the lines of Italian churches such as that of S Reparata, the 6th century predecessor of the cathedral in Florence.

Wheeler (1935, 100-2) proposed that three other churches, aligning with the main Roman road westwards out of the city, could also be 7th century foundations; St Augustine Watling Street, St Gregory (later to form part of the west facade of the medieval cathedral), and St Martin Ludgate, just inside the gate. For Wheeler the positions of these churches corroborated his suggestion that the emphasis of early Saxon occupation was restricted to the western hill. Of these three churches only St Augustine's has been investigated archaeologically and no remains prior to the medieval period were recorded.

The expected archaeological assemblage for this period, of which these churches would be a part, would comprise an East Saxon or Kentish royal centre, with Frankish material, and traces perhaps of a trading centre, this time with Frisian contacts. The finds from this period are not numerous. The Coptic bowl found in the last century probably dates from the first half of the 6th century, the product of transalpine trade from the Mediterranean, and gives a hint of contact with the Ravenna of Justinian (527-65) (Hodges 1982, 31). The men of Kent had a hall in London by 675-83 where their transactions could be ratified but we do not know where it was. As to the trading aspects, Ipswich and Dorestad, founded in the early 7th century, were probably engaged in trading with Ethelbert's kingdom in Kent through Sarre and Canterbury (Hodges 1982, 35-6). The port of London 'where ships tie up' is incidentally mentioned as a reference point for land - probably in the later Southwark - in a charter of 672-4. Archaeological investigation has so far failed to locate the 7th century port and current thinking places it either south of the new cathedral or in the area around Aldwych west of the Roman city, where most of the finds of 7th and 8th century date are found (Vince 1984).

4 Churches from 650 to 886

For the next 250 years we must stretch the meagre archaeological remains on a documentary framework. Control of London in the 7th century does not seem to have been a static matter. A Kentish king built the cathedral in 604, a Mercian king sold its bishopric in 664-5, and it was under Mercian protection and permission that Erkenwald founded the Abbey of Barking, to the east of London, in 666 (VCH Surrey ii, 55-64); in the late 7th century Ine of Wessex talks of the bishop of London as his bishop, though this probably reflects the inclusion of Surrey within the diocese of London, rather than West Saxon control of London itself.

Aethelbald of Mercia probably took control of London in 731 or 732 (Metcalf 1978, 88); possibly his predecessors had been influential there, since they may have been taxing ships since the opening of the 8th century (Stenton 1971, 57). Offa was acknowledged in London soon after his accession and he confirmed Aethelbald's charter to Thanet before 764. He probably founded or refounded Westminster Abbey. From 742 to 825 there were also at least 21 ecclesiastical councils of the southern province, presided over by Mercian kings in their capacity as bretwaldas; these include Brentford 780-1 and Chelsea 799-802.

There are virtually no archaeological remains of this period in London, a characteristic shared with other towns which are known to have been flourishing, if small, communities in the mid-Saxon period (eg Worcester). It is possible

that part of the grid of streets found south and east of St Paul's in the medieval period dates from this time, though at least one square seems to date from the late 9th century (Dyson 1978).

Fragments of two churches may date from this period but they are not even fragments of the same parts of the church for comparison. At All Hallows Barking, which was attached to Barking Abbey and which was presumably founded by it, wartime bombing disclosed an arch of reused Roman tiles leading to a porticus at the south-west corner of the church; the north-west corner of the church, also of Roman tiles, survives in the first-floor vestry. The dating is not specific, and is best placed 'around 800' (R Gem, pers comm), though it could be earlier. St Alban Wood Street was excavated in 1962; it had a nave and square chancel, the latter possibly an addition. The position of the south door into the nave and the occurrence of a cross-wall in the western part of the nave may indicate that the western part of the nave was a tower, under the 14th century tower (Grimes 1968, 205). The structure was archaeologically undated but Matthew Paris believed that it adjoined Offa's palace and Grimes's own work has shown that it lay within the Roman Cripplegate fort, which may well have been a mid- and late-Saxon royal enclosure within the city.

5 Churches in the post-Alfredian period (10th and 11th centuries)

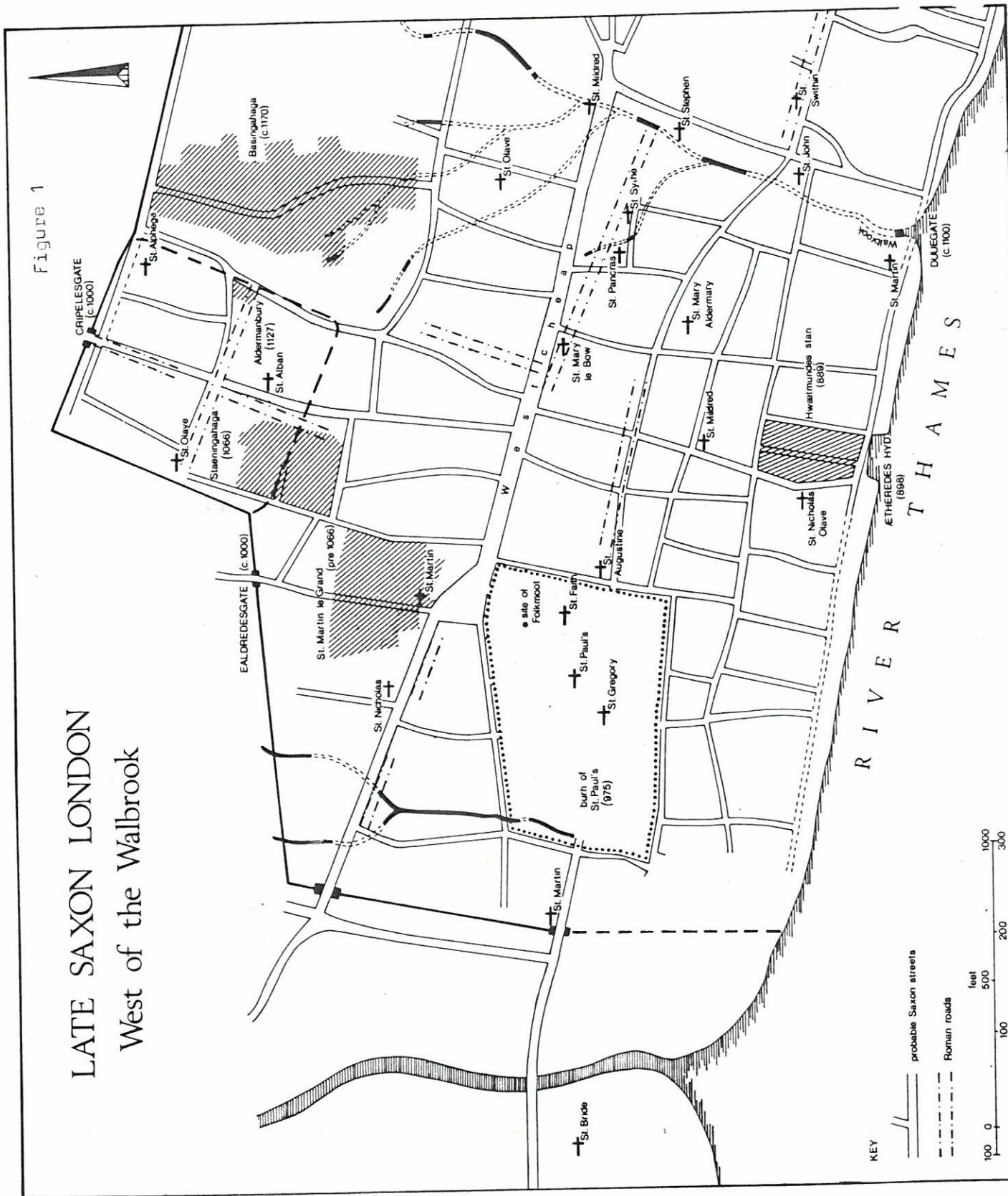
Parish rights - for a priest to baptize, to bury, and to gather tithes from a local community - became fully defined in London by about 1200. Some churches began as chapels to the larger estates, whether burhs, hagas, or sokes. Others began as neighbourhood churches and can be found at crossroads. Yet others were founded by groups of tradesmen or merchants. Parish boundaries often ran along the backs of properties which fronted on to separate, often parallel streets; occasionally a parish boundary can be shown to follow an old Roman wall or even a submerged Roman street (Fig 1).

The only extensive excavation of a Saxon-period parish church in recent years has been that of St Nicholas Shambles in 1975-8 (Fig 2). The church had four main late Saxon and medieval phases; for each of the phases only foundations survived, and the west end of the nave is only approximately known pending detailed correlation with documentary evidence. The first phase comprised a nave and square chancel, dated archaeologically to the late 10th or early 11th century. The chancel was lengthened by a narrower, two-bay extension in the second half of the 12th century, a northern aisle was added in the late 13th, and the church was further enlarged in the late 13th or probably early 14th century.

Several other parish churches have been recorded during watching briefs since before the War (Fig 2). A two-cell church, with a western annexe which may be from an earlier church, was recorded beneath All Hallows Gracechurch Street in 1939; this must be the church given to Christchurch Canterbury in 1053. The late Saxon church at St Bride's had a nave with a western porch (not in association with the nave walls, however), a choir with a possible south transept, and an apse with a semi-circular internal shape but polygonal exterior face (Grimes 1968, 185). A single fragment of a handled pitcher dated the apse and, therefore, the church in the excavator's view, to the 9th/11th centuries (Grimes 1968, 187); the pitcher is now dated to 'not before the 11th century' (Alan Vince, pers comm). Several other churches are known to date from before the Norman invasion on documentary grounds (St Andrew Holborn, St Martin Vintry, St Mary le Bow, St Peter Cornhill, and churches with St Olaf dedications) but there is no supporting archaeological evidence. The earliest remains of St Botolph Billingsgate uncovered in the 1982 Billingsgate excavations were those of the 12th century south wall; only the south aisle, in its medieval and later aspects, was excavated.

LATE SAXON LONDON West of the Walbrook

Figure 1

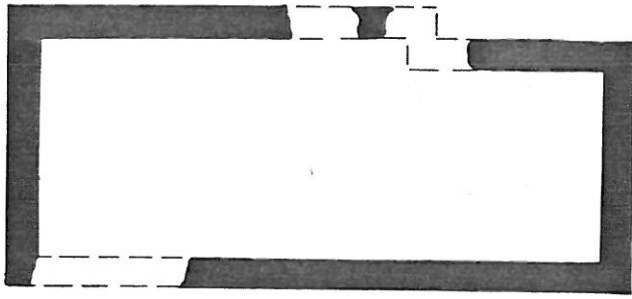


KEY

- probable Saxon streets
- - - Roman roads

feet
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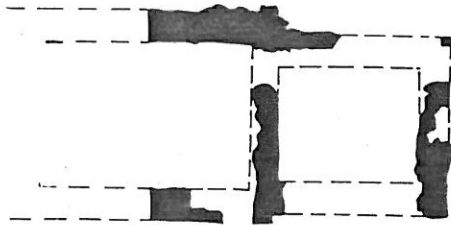
Figure 2



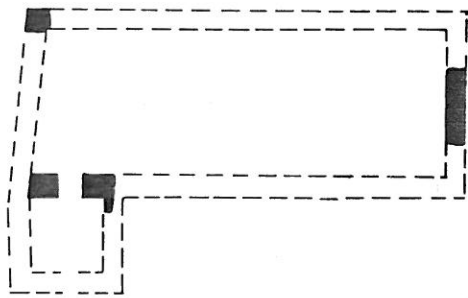
All Hallows Lombard Street



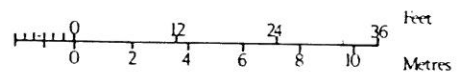
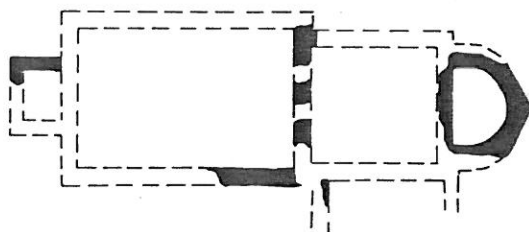
St. Alban Wood Street



St. Nicholas in the Shambles



All Hallows Barking



St. Bride Fleet Street

6 Topographical functions of churches

The situation of a church in a certain place indicates that there was a local community to serve either before or shortly after its foundation. Thus if we could find out the date of origin of the three churches dedicated to St Botolph outside London's gates, we would have a clue to the date of development along the suburban roads in the late Saxon and early medieval period. Similarly, the four churches south of Thames Street, one of them also dedicated to St Botolph, are of great interest. The first references to each date from soon after the Norman conquest. The four churches were located close to the sites of 11th century embankments recorded archaeologically at Dowgate, near the pre-Conquest establishment of foreign merchants, and between the bridge and Billingsgate (first mentioned c 1000). This reinforces the suggestion that large-scale encroachment into the river had taken place at these points by the late 11th century, and that the churches served the needs of significant concentrations of population at known centres of early activity on the river.

7 The pre- or post-Conquest cemetery of St Nicholas Shambles

Notable late Saxon sepulchral sculpture has been recovered from St Paul's, where the famous Viking tombstone was found in the south-eastern corner of the churchyard in 1852, presumably marking the grave of a Viking buried about the time of the death of Cnut in 1035, and at All Hallows Barking, where the Blitz revealed, built into medieval walling, fragments of a Saxon stone cross, perhaps a grave monument which would have stood near the church, and which is evidence of a school of native sculptors in 11th century London only slightly influenced by Viking fashions.

It is clear that several smaller parish churches did not possess a cemetery as late as the mid 12th century, and the date of the first burials at St Nicholas Shambles is presently under review. The 234 articulated burials are for the moment placed in a date-range of the 11th-13th centuries, but they display features which seem to be of Saxon origin and which may after further analysis place some of the burials in the pre-Conquest period.

There are three aspects of the graveyard worth mention here: (i) burial types, (ii) evidence of graveside rituals, and (iii) zoning of the graveyard suggested by the skeletal evidence.

- (i) Burial types: 164 burials could be assigned a burial type and the majority of these (153, or 94%) were simple unlined graves, very occasionally with a crushed chalk and mortar floor and occasionally with fragments of wood or nails suggesting coffins. Eleven examples (6%) had graves of a presumably more prestigious type: the grave was lined with dry-laid stone or tile (four examples) or mortared stone (five examples); there was in addition one charcoal burial and one case of a cist made solely of mortar, of an infant. This group of cists were all at a narrowly defined band within the graveyard on levels and apparently indicate a short-lived practice.

Stone grave-chambers or cists are a late Roman practice, as for example at Lankhills. The hanging-bowl found at St Paul in the Bail, Lincoln, was in a robbed stone-lined grave contemporary with the church, which is dated to sometime in the 7th to 9th centuries (M Jones, pers comm). There are also continental parallels: for instance, a cemetery of stone-lined cists has recently been reported from Zürich, dating to the late 7th century. The earliest dated burial of this type in London is that found on the north side of St Paul's in 1841-3, when a chalk-lined grave was noted with a

skeleton and a trial die of the moneyer Eadwulf for a silver penny of Alfred. Stone-and-mortar lined cists are known on several late Saxon and Norman period sites in London and at sites outside London such as St John's Abbey, Colchester; the date range where known is generally early to mid 12th century, possibly late 11th century.

- (ii) Burial rituals: There was evidence of two sorts of ritual: placing stones beneath the head, around, or on the body; and the curious custom of placing a small pebble in the mouth.

Laying stones or tiles around the body is known at several late and sub-Roman cemeteries; Clarke suggests it becomes common on late 4th century sites such as Lankhills. The earliest burials at St Bride's were lined with stones and tiles and one skeleton had a large piece of tile on its chest (Grimes 1968, 184, pl82). Other burials 'at the same level' included chalk-lined cists. In other words, as at St Nicholas Shambles, the two burial types were found generally at the same level. In both cases stratigraphic relationships are not available.

In 21 cases at St Nicholas a pillow of stones was found beneath the head, and in one case further stones were laid on the feet. Such head supports are found on other Saxon church sites, eg Barton on Humber.

Here is cause for another speculation. This may be a relic of the graveside ceremony of soul-scot. Soul-scot is mentioned in the laws of Athelstan (925-39) and was presumably a much older practice (Godfrey 1962, 480). In Edgar's code (959-63), 'payment for the soul is to be paid for every Christian man to the minister to which it belongs' (EHD i, 396). In the laws of Ethelred, 'it is most proper that soul-scot be always paid at the open grave' (Thorpe i, 309; cf EHD I, 407). The practice reported in the Leofric missal (2nd quarter of the 11th century) was that a small thin square stone marked with a cross was usually set as a pillow in the coffin of wood (Rock II, 255) (I am grateful to Mrs Dorothy Owen for these three references). It seems reasonable to suggest that the stone pillows found here and on other Saxon cemetery sites may be a relic of a graveside ritual such as the paying of soul-scot.

Eight plain graves, on the other hand, had skeletons with a stone in the mouth and in one case there were also stones laid on the body. The fact that no skeleton had both pillow and stone in the mouth seems to suggest that two rituals were either of different function or were practised at different times. One wonders also if the stone in the mouth replaced the inscribed stone or even the pillow and was a later variant on the soul-scot (as opposed to some other) graveside ritual.

- (iii) Zoning by skeletons: Computer-plotted plans of the skeletons have recently been produced by Brian Alvey and these are currently being studied. They do not show any overt grouping of the skeletons by sex, age, or osteopathological condition. It is possible that pathways through the graveyard will be perceptible, and it remains to be seen if any such pathways line up with entrances to the graveyard which might be forthcoming from documentary study of its perimeter and bordering structures.

8 Westminster

Richard Gem and Terry Ball have recently reconstructed the Romanesque rebuilding of Westminster Abbey (Gem 1980). The rebuilding was probably under way by c 1050 and Edward was buried there in January 1066. The church is shown on the Bayeux tapestry. Fragments of the presbytery, of the south nave arcade, and of the north side of the south-western corner tower have been found in excavations of 1860, 1910, and 1930. From this Gem deduces that the arcade was probably of alternating square and cruciform plinths, the former designed for plain columnar piers, the latter for shafts with half columns attached. The bottom storey of the south-western tower was open both to the aisle and the nave between the two west towers.

The building was one of the largest Romanesque churches of Europe for its time, being 322ft long - almost 100ft longer than Jumieges with which it has been compared. Its architectural details place it with larger churches in Normandy. Gem suggests that Westminster may even have preceded Jumieges in certain important ways. While Westminster seems to be of one building phase, Jumieges is of two, dating to 1040 and 1052. The second phase, which includes the nave, could well be influenced by the fact that the builder of Jumieges, Abbot Robert, had left Jumieges during the early part of its construction and become Bishop of London in 1044 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051. Gem suggests that Robert took the Westminster forms back in his mind in 1052 and applied them to the nave of Jumieges. Thus the usual relationship of the two churches is reversed; Westminster precedes Jumieges and not the other way round. One might also legitimately wonder what effect, if any, the Bishop of London, fresh from Jumieges, had on his cathedral of St Paul during his eleven years of office in the 1040s.

9 Discussion

With so little material to work upon, the student of Saxon churches builds his framework in the air and tries to place the fragments carefully upon it, in the right places and hopefully not upside down. The initial conversion would probably have relied upon local royal support and the coincidence of probable Saxon palace sites with major Roman topographical features, now known in several Roman towns (eg York, Winchester) suggests that some links are to be found in these critical places. On the other hand, in London the site of St Paul's was about as far away from the Roman centre of the town as its founders could get. The siting of St Peter Cornhill within the forum/basilica complex is paralleled by that of churches in other Roman towns, and especially by the 7th-9th century church of St Paul in the forum at Lincoln (though in the courtyard, not the basilica). The period of Carolingian contacts, 800-940, may be illuminated by further archaeological results of a secular nature. The third phase of the 10th century reform throws up the interesting observation that the promotion of relics and new cults of saints which was a notable feature of the movement (Rollason, lecture 1983) was largely absent from the London area: the real foci were New Minster Winchester, Ely, and probably Glastonbury. Did these promotions of relics reflect the contemporary power structure, in which London did not play a prominent part? The disposition of saints, for Rollason, reflects an emphasis in Wessex and the south-west during the 10th century. It was only in the mid and late 10th century that London's secular expansion, and presumably that of its religious framework also, began in earnest.

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ENGLISH ROMANESQUE ART 1066-1200

Tim Tatton-Brown

This is the title of one of the most sumptuous exhibitions seen in the Hayward Gallery, London, for quite a few years. The exhibition opened on 5 April and continued until the end of July. If you were unable to get to the Hayward Gallery during this time, there is a magnificent introduction and catalogue (published by the Arts Council in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and a bargain at £9.50) which is well worth buying. The catalogue has a splendid collection of colour photos (as well as many black and white) and very good introductory essays by Professor George Zarnecki (a general introduction), Dr Richard Gem (English Romanesque architecture), and Professor Christopher Brooke (the historical background). There are also many specialist introductions to the catalogue sections (on manuscripts, wall paintings, stained glass, sculpture, ivory carvings, metalwork, decorative ironwork, seals, coins, bindings, pottery, textiles), and finally a section on the rediscovery of the

Romanesque by Dr Thomas Cocke. There is also an excellent bibliography and chronology. All in all it is a very useful book which will be an excellent reference work for many years.

Returning to the exhibition itself, it has brought together a marvellous range of material, from the sorts of thing that usually lurk around in dusty damp corners of our parish churches (architectural fragments etc) to some of the finest and most valuable treasures of the great museums and libraries of Europe and America. The architectural and sculptural fragments were all very well displayed (well lit and most carefully placed in their correct original relative positions). Many of these fragments had also been specially cleaned and conserved for the exhibition, and Paul Williams's fine design allowed one to see some of these sculptures probably better than ever before. I particularly enjoyed seeing the Glastonbury, Reading, and Hyde Abbey cloister arcade capitals, the Gundrada (Tournai marble) tombstone from Lewes, the Much Wenlock Priory lavabo and lectern, and the incredible reliquary cross from St Helen's church, Kelloe, County Durham.

Perhaps the finest exhibits, however, were the many manuscripts that had been brought together. As a Canterbury person, how splendid it was for me to see together again all four leaves (recto and verso) of the amazing Psalter which was made in Christ Church, Canterbury, in c 1140. These, as the catalogue says, contain by far the largest New Testament cycle produced anywhere in the 12th century. All four leaves, which are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the British Library, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, were together until they came under the hammer at Sotheby's in 1838. The problem with manuscripts, however, is that in an exhibition it is usually only possible to see two leaves. This means that with a uniquely important manuscript like the Eadwine Psalter, the organizers chose to show the famous portrait of Eadwine rather than the (to me) quite exceptional 'waterworks' plan on the next folios. Tantalizingly one could see the colour of one leaf of the 'waterworks' plan coming through on the recto!

As someone who has been studying the remains of the great monastic buildings of Canterbury, this was also a superb and memorable exhibition as about 12% (or 65 out of 552 items) of the exhibits originated in Canterbury. Today only a handful still belong in the City. 'English Romanesque Art' was, therefore, a feast which should certainly have been seen by all who are interested in church art and architecture, and we should be extremely grateful to Professor George Zarnecki and his many assistants (as well as the Arts Council) for bringing it to London.

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REDUNDANT CHURCHES LIAISON GROUP - ST DAVIDS DIOCESE

H J James

The Group came into being following concern expressed in 1981 by the then Chairman of St Davids Churches Diocesan Committee, Mr J H Barrett, about the disposal of church contents following redundancy. A series of meetings between Mr Barrett, Dyfed County Council's Cultural Services Officer, the Deputy Director of Education, and the curators of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire museums resulted in the decision to form a selective collection of portable antiquities and works of art from redundant churches, to be housed in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire museums.

The Group is chaired by C Delaney, curator of Carmarthen Museum, and consists of the Rev W Price, Diocesan Archivist, and representatives of Pembrokeshire museums (M Freeman), the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales (A J Parkinson), the Ancient Monuments Branch, Welsh Office (Dr S Rees), and Dyfed Archaeological Trust (Mrs H James). It has been active over the last two years.

The numbers of redundant churches and those churches with tiny congregations whose long-term future must be in doubt are greatest in the Archdeaconry of St Davids, which includes most of Pembrokeshire. There are 13 redundant churches and 13 possible candidates, compared with seven and five in the Archdeaconry of Cardigan, which includes all of Cardiganshire and parts of Pembrokeshire, and six and four in the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen. All sales are handled by Messrs Cooke and Arkwright of Bridgend for the Representative Body of the Church in Wales. It is fair to say that there is not a vigorous sales policy nor have many buildings been sold, the jungle of planning procedures deterring many would-be purchasers.

The Royal Commission in Aberystwyth is involved as soon as closure is announced or imminent. Mainly through the work of A J Parkinson, as full a record as possible is made of the church and its contents. On the basis of those surveys and as a result of site visits by the Group, a number of objects including fonts and windows have been removed to museums or other churches. However, shortages of staff and money pose problems in, say, the removal of stained glass. Another problem concerns churches which are due for closure and have been in a semi-derelict state for years. The parish council may unilaterally decide to remove and sell the roof slates or pews without notice or consultation with the diocesan administration. The Group is opposed to any policy of selling church fittings, which might stimulate a market in these ill protected objects. It is clear, however, that the very limited storage and staff resources of both museums preclude the removal and collection of large quantities of 19th century stained glass windows, tiled floors, etc. Lists of objects worthy of preservation have been compiled for all redundant and possibly redundant churches, and any of these can be excluded from the sale of the building. In practice, in the few cases so far encountered, negotiations with the new owners can ensure the preservation in situ of memorial slabs, windows, etc.

Dyfed Archaeological Trust commissioned a survey of redundant churches in the county in 1977 from the Rev J Wyn Evans, when all sites were visited. The lists compiled then differ little from the present position reviewed by the Diocesan Liaison Group. The area of Trust concern is in some respects wider than the DLG's in that long-abandoned church sites and also existing church and churchyard sites affected by all types of 'development' are reviewed. Information is gained through regular scanning of planning applications received for five out

of the six planning districts in Dyfed, applications for Listed Building Consent for the small proportion of churches thus designated received via CBA Group 2 Wales, and Scheduled Monument Consent applications in respect of Early Christian Monuments in churchyards or churches. Channels of information are therefore fairly good, but there is clearly a need for the DLG simply to liaise between all the bodies affected by construction, renovation, and demolition work on threatened church sites.

Some survey work, including gravestone recording, has been carried out by or organized by Dyfed Archaeological Trust. This summer limited excavation was carried out around the four Group II Early Christian Monuments sited around and close to St Davids, Llanychllwydog, Gwaun Valley, Pembrokeshire, to determine whether they are in their original position. The church, a late 19th century total rebuild of a medieval church, has been sold for conversion to a house and there is likely to be little of interest inside the church itself, which will be the subject of a watching brief.

The opportunities for archaeological investigation to date have thus been very limited. Where resources permit (and working with the DLG) the Trust intends to carry out limited excavation on redundant church sites sold and subject to conversion but to 'hold it's fire', as it were, on full excavation until a suitable church and cemetery site is affected by more total destruction.

The most important site at present is Pwll Crochan church, redundant and up for sale, on the south side of Milford Haven. It has been thoroughly surveyed by the RCAHMW, its medieval structure has not been obliterated by restoration, and it contains important medieval effigies and inscriptions. It is one of the churches being considered by the Welsh Folk Museum for removal to St Fegans. Should that occur there will be a clear need for extensive archaeological investigation. Warren Church, Castlemartin parish, has been visited by the Group. Its slates are urgently required for repairs to a church in Pembroke and, if this were to happen, the church would rapidly become more dilapidated. If it cannot be sold, it would (like others in the diocese) need to be converted to a 'decent ruin'. Listed Building Consent has been applied for by the Group to remove the 19th century tiled floor (recorded by the RCAHMW), the windows, and the font to Pembrokeshire Museums. There may well be an opportunity for limited archaeological investigation. St Edren's church, Pembrokeshire, has been sold for conversion to a house. It is another total 19th century rebuild, but the new owner has agreed to the removal of the Early Christian Monuments to Scolton Manor, Pembrokeshire Museum.

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CASE STUDY

The Old church of St Laurence, Burwarton, Shropshire

R Shoesmith.

During the autumn of 1983 the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee organized a full survey of the ruined church at Burwarton, some 10 miles north-east of Ludlow in Shropshire, on behalf of the DoE. The remains were in a parlous condition and parts had collapsed during the previous winter. Piles of fallen masonry were almost obscured by a strong growth of nettles and brambles and several of the walls were covered with ivy. After clearance a full photographic survey of all the surviving walls was made, accurate outline elevations were drawn, and, at a later date, the elevations were completed using the photographic survey.

The old church was abandoned in 1876 when a new church was built by the then Viscount Boyne on higher ground to the south. At that time a faculty was obtained to demolish the redundant building, but the only work carried out was the removal of the roof and the demolition of the west wall and bellcote and parts of the north and south nave walls. The remainder was left as a 'romantic ruin' in best Victorian tradition, becoming gradually overgrown in ivy. The graveyard, which surrounds the old church, continues in use. The 19th century church became redundant a few years ago and is now being converted into a house.

The old church was built of a hard dolerite, locally known as dhustone, which occurs as small inclusions on the neighbouring Brown Clee and Titterstone Clee hills. The quoins, window dressings, and chancel arch are of sandstone.

The building is a simple two-cell church of 12th century date and character and, although both the east and west walls were rebuilt at some time in the late 18th or early 19th centuries, they are approximately in the same position as the originals. The chancel arch (Figure 3) and east wall both survive to eaves level, but the north and south walls of the chancel have both suffered recent wall collapses. Sufficient remained of the north wall, including the collapsed stone, to reconstruct two 12th century windows on the elevation drawings. The north and south walls also only exist to cill level. The south doorway is now a simple opening without any head and the blocked north doorway had a window inserted into and above the opening.

The most interesting feature in the building is the chancel arch, which is almost entirely 12th century work. The arch itself is round and 3m wide with a simple squared order. The square abaci are supported on decorated capitals of differing designs (see cover illustration). On the south the decoration, although suffering from some weathering, is of water leaf form, whilst on the north the decoration includes some strap-work with semi-stiff leaf foliage above. The capitals relate to sculptural work at Haughmond and Lilleshall abbeys and similar strap-work is present in the south arcade of St Mary's, Shrewsbury. Above the chancel arch is a round-headed opening with sandstone dressings on both sides; a similar feature can be seen in the church at Middleton-on-the-Hill near Leominster in Herefordshire.

The only other carved stonework of significance is reused in the wall of the nave. It consists of fragments of a hood moulding with 'trumpets' of still leaf interlocking lengthwise around the arch and a very worn head, which was presumably an apex feature. Exact parallels for the hood moulding occur in the chapter house entrance at Haughmond and in the south-west doorway of St Mary's, Shrewsbury.

The building is not a Scheduled Ancient Monument but it is a Grade 2 Listed Building. For some time the Parochial Church Council, which owns the ruin, has been concerned about the danger from falling masonry, especially as several small children live nearby. They applied to the DoE for financial help in capping the walls but this was refused, although it was appreciated that demolition was the only alternative offered by the PCC. The survey followed and in due course the PCC applied to the Bridgenorth District Council for listed building consent to demolish the ruin. This was refused in July this year on the grounds that it would 'result in the unacceptable loss of part of the County's architectural and historic heritage'. The District Council appreciated the impasse and themselves approached the DoE.

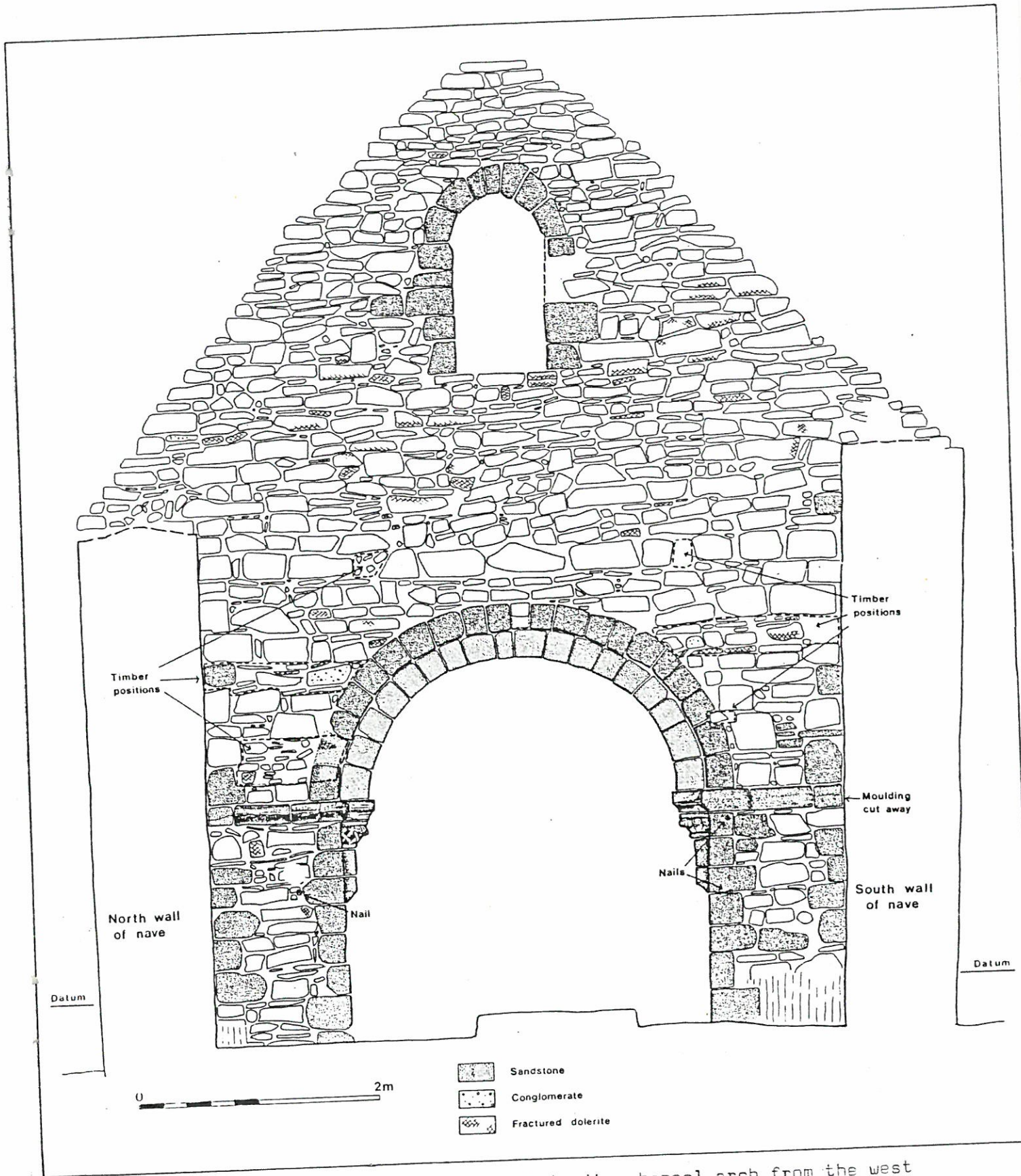


Figure 3: Burwarton Old Church, the chancel arch from the west

They were advised that, although a small grant may be available, the majority of the estimated £7000 cost of consolidation would have to come from other sources. This is a sum which is obviously beyond the resources of a small PCC which is mainly concerned with the buildings in use.

Since the time of the survey further substantial parts of the building have collapsed and the chancel arch itself is now decidedly unstable. It will only be a matter of months before the action of rain and frost on the open core-work of the walls leads to the total collapse of this historic building unless immediate consolidation work is undertaken.

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BOOK REVIEWS

P F Ryder, Saxon churches in South Yorkshire (South Yorkshire County Archaeology Monograph no.2)

210mm x 300mm, 126pp, numerous figs, X pl. South Yorkshire County Council 1982.

Price £1.85 + £1.00 p&p from County Council Offices, Barnsley S70 5LH

To discover an unknown piece of Saxon sculpture while carrying out a field survey for SYCC's Ancient Monuments and Sites Record must have been exciting, especially when it turned out to be probably the earliest piece of Christian sculpture in the county. The stone, bearing a 'merigold' flanked by panels of interlace, was found built into the wall of Darfield church tower and was possibly part of the screen surrounding the sanctuary or altar. It is thought to be 8th century by comparison with stones from Hexham and York. Full details are given in the section cataloguing the pre-Conquest sculpture of South Yorkshire, prepared with the assistance of J T Lang.

The main part of Peter Ryder's monograph, however, is a detailed study of the seven churches in the County where substantial amounts of Saxon fabric survive - Bolton-upon-Deerne, Brodsworth, Burghwallis, Conisbrough, Hooton Pagnell, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and Maltby. The descriptions are illustrated with plans, elevations, reconstructed perspective impressions, and drawings of monuments, based on work carried out during the compilation of SYCC's Ancient Monuments and Sites Record. The monograph also contains, besides the illustrated catalogue of pre-Conquest sculpture, a section on the historical background by David Hey and a brief gazetteer of some 74 medieval parish churches still in use in the County, noting where fabric or sculpture survive of pre-Conquest, Overlap, or early Norman date.

Mr Ryder has, however, been ill-served by his editors, which makes the monograph difficult to use without some effort on the part of the reader. The impression given is that the various sections were written independently of each other, so that relevant information on a particular church appears in different places without any cross-referencing. This might have been overcome to a certain extent by the provision of an index and a list of plates. It comes as a pleasant surprise to find that the reused frieze at Bolton-upon-Deerne, described on page 20, is in fact illustrated on Plate IX(3). Nor is there any identification of the illustrations on the cover (from top left clockwise Burghwallis, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Sheffield, and Cawthorne).

The author has also been ill-served by his publishers, who appear to have saved on binding costs in order to produce the monograph at an extremely low price. The reviewer's copy has several loose pages after only being used to make an index. It is not, therefore, likely to survive for long as a guidebook to the churches discussed in detail as envisaged by Mr Ryder in his preface.

David Parsons (ed), A bibliography of Leicestershire churches, Part 3: documentary sources, Fascicule 1: parochial records, parishes A-H
205mm x 143mm, 89pp University of Leicester Department of Adult Education, 1984
Price £4.00 post free

David Parsons's extramural group, which has been working on a bibliography of Leicestershire churches for some years, has now published the first part of its guide to the parochial records of the parishes of Ab Kettleby to Husbands Bosworth (see Bulletins 10 and 14 for details of Parts 1 and 2). The group has been limited to working on documents at parish level because of the vast amount of material available and because certain categories are kept outside the diocese for historical reasons. Thanks to the generosity of a number of trusts, it was possible to appoint a research assistant for one year to search the Lincoln Archive Office and Delapre Abbey. This work will be published as a separate fascicule covering episcopal and archdeaconry records.

The documents searched include churchwardens' accounts, vestry or PCC minutes, faculties, architects' reports, drawings and photographs, contractors' estimates, bills and receipts, and general correspondence. Parish registers were deliberately excluded because a sample search showed that there were too few references. David Parsons stresses, however, in his introduction that anyone researching a particular church should check all the original documents. Some may have been missed because of the number of parishes involved and because the group only visited the parish to search when the material in the Leicestershire Record Office was obviously defective or where the parish had retained their parochial records.

Some interesting information is now becoming available as a result of the group's work. As expected there is most information on the 18th-19th centuries, very little on the 17th century, and, perhaps surprisingly, a fair amount on the 16th century in the records of the big town parishes. They document alterations to liturgical arrangements under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth at Melton Mowbray, a temporary return to Roman practice under Mary at Cossington, much rebuilding, reroofing, and repairing at Uppingham during and after the Commonwealth, and more restoration activity in the 17th and 18th centuries than is generally thought to be the case.

A significant improvement to the arrangement of the gazetteer entries is a brief description of the type of work referred to in the entry, instead of the symbols used in Part 2.

Benjamin G Cox, Chapels and meeting houses in the Vale of Evesham
296mm x 210mm, 18pp Vale of Evesham Historical Society, 1982
Price £1.50 from the Vale of Evesham Historical Society, The Almonry, Evesham

Between 1978 and 1980 Benjamin Cox, Life President of the Society, undertook a photographic survey of all the extant chapels and meeting houses in the Vale of Evesham and obtained photographs where possible of other chapels which had been either demolished or converted to secular use. The booklet publishes a selection of these photographs, with the whole collection available for consultation in the Society's museum at the Almonry in Evesham.

A short introduction gives a brief history of dissent in general and in particular for the area under study. The Gazetteer which follows lists some 37 chapels and meeting houses. Each entry has an illustration, a grid reference, and a short history of the building from its foundation to its modern use. There is no separate bibliography, but Mr Cox refers in the gazetteer entries to several sources, including the Methodist Recorder, Kelly's Directory, and local newspapers, which may be of relevance to someone contemplating a similar survey,

Ann Hamlin, The care of graveyards
210mm x 150mm, 16pp Historic Monuments and Buildings Branch, Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland 1983
Available free of charge from the Archaeological Survey, 66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast BT9 6NY

The Archaeological Survey of the Historic Monuments and Buildings Branch, DoENI, has produced an interesting little booklet, which, although it does not supersede the CCC's The churchyards handbook, provides an illustrated summary of the main points covered in that book. It has been prepared 'to help people concerned with graveyards to give them the care they need and to avoid the risk of damage'. Guidelines for work in graveyards are suggested and addresses in Northern Ireland from which help can be requested. Subjects briefly covered include clearing a neglected graveyard, paths, trees and bushes, ironwork, gravestone inscriptions, and the law. The final page lists a number of Don'ts and Do's and the numerous line drawings throughout are by Stephen Shaw.

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PUBLICATIONS FROM THE CBA

All prices post free: please send cheque with order payable to CBA

How to record graveyards 3rd edn, 1984, Jeremy Jones £1.50
With an updated and enlarged bibliography

Recording a church: an illustrated glossary 2nd edn, 1984 £1.75
Thomas Cocke et al

Revised, with new short bibliography and a section giving advice on how to set about recording a church

The church in British archaeology (RR47) 1983, Richard Morris £17.00
The academic purpose of the archaeological study of churches

Research objectives in British archaeology 1983, ed C Thomas £1.85
Objectives from CBA Research Committees, including Churches, Urban and Countryside amongst others

A full list of CBA publications is available on request with an sae.

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