Durham University

Durham E-Theses

The archaeology of memory : an investigation into the links between collective memory and the architecture of the parish church in late medieval Yorkshire

Mark Douglas

How to cite:

Douglas, Mark (2003) The archaeology of memory : an investigation into the links between collective memory and the architecture of the parish church in late medieval Yorkshire. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/1260/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

The Archaeology of Memory: an investigation into the links between collective memory and the architecture of the parish church in late medieval Yorkshire.

Mark Douglas

Submitted for the degree of PhD

University of Durham

Department of Archaeology

2003

A copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.



25 AUG 2004

Mark Douglas

The Archaeology of Memory: an investigation into the links between collective memory and the architecture of the parish church in late medieval Yorkshire.

Abstract

This thesis examines the ways in which memory, particularly collective memory, influenced the architectural development of the parish church in later medieval Yorkshire. It is argued that the parish church, while being the focal point for the religious activity, also functioned as the central location for a great deal of social interaction within the parish and the architectural arrangement of these buildings carried specific mnemonic messages regarding issues that were central to communal stability. The manner by which this memorial significance could be manipulated by certain individuals and groups within society is also addressed. It is also argued, that the manipulation of memory was a strategy employed by wealthy in reaction to the reduction of their actual coercive power in the later part of the fourteenth century.

The concept of the collective memory is viewed in relation to strategies employed by the late medieval community as a whole as a means of social regulation. The issue of social surveillance, a means by which social cohesion was maintained and inter-communal tension was kept in check, is discussed in some depth.

The re-use and repositioning of architectural material in later building phases is looked at in some detail. It is argued that this, in many instances, can be seen to be related to the use of the past in symbolic terms.

The architectural significance of a number of late medieval Yorkshire churches is examined, with three churches receiving closer scrutiny. The three parish churches which form the detailed case studies are Catterick, Sheriff Hutton and Wensley. In each case the historical and archaeological background is considered in order to present a contextualised discussion of the main themes of the thesis.

Contents

List of figures III

Acknowledgements IV

Abbreviations V

1. Introduction 1

1.1 Aims 1

1.2 The history of church studies . . . 4

1.3 The parish church and people . . . 8

1.4 Communal identity 10

1.5 Collective memory 11

2. Theoretical Background: space and architecture 13

2.1 Simmel and social space 13

2.2 Tuan and the perspective of experience . . 15

2.3 Space syntax 16

2.4 Structuration and space theory . . . 18

2.5 Archaeological approaches to social space . 19

2.6 A theory of architectural memory . . 22

2.7 Methodology 23

3. Historical Background 27

3.1 The Black Death 29

3.2 The parish church in an age of crisis . . 32

3.3 Church patronage and authority . . . 37

4. Social Space and the Medieval Parish Church 39

4.1 The theory of social space . . . 39

4.2 Liminality and the employment of sacred space 42

5. Collective Memory 51

5.1 Collective memory 52

5.2 medieval collective memory . . . 54

5.3 Memory and the medieval concept of time . 61

6. Memory, Death and Burial . . . 68

7. The Parish Church as the Locale for Collective Memory . . . 75

7.1 Tradition and the later medieval community . 77

7.2 Social surveillance 79

7.3 Memory and ritual action . . . 82

7.4 Liminal space and 'Rites of Passage' . . 84

7.5 Baptism 86

7.6 Proof of age documents 91

7.7 Baptism and authority 94

7.8 Marriage 96

7.9 Death 100

7.10 The living and the dead 102

7.11 The dead and communal identity . . 107

8. The Symbolic Re-use of Material in the fabric of the Later Medieval Church . . . 111

8.1 Memory and architecture . . . 111

8.2 The symbolic re-use of architectural material . 117

8.3 The re-use of doorways 119

8.4 St Michael's, well, North Yorkshire . . 125

8.5 St Peter's, Woolley, West Yorkshire . . 128

9. Case Studies 137

9.1 Introduction 137

9.2 Richard le Scrope and Wensley parish church . 141

9.3 The de Burghs and Catterick parish church . 148

9.4 Thomas Witham and Sheriff Hutton parish church 169

10. Conclusion 180

Appendix; Architectural descriptions . . 186

Bibliography 200

List of Figures

1. Map of Yorkshire and parishes mentioned in text 3

2. Long Melford parish church . . . 48

3. Armorial shields, Catterick . . . 124

4. The Neville Chapel, Well . . . 126

5. The south doorway, Well . . . 127

6. Woolley parish church . . . 129

7. North chapel piscina, Woolley. . . . 132

8. Rood stair door, Woolley 133

9. The twelfth century door shaft, Woolley . . 134

10. Brass of Simon le Wensley . . . 144

11. Wensley parish church 145

12. Catterick parish church 150

13. The south door, Catterick . . . 158

14. The south wall of the tower, Catterick . . 163

15. The south porch, Catterick . . . 165

16. The de Burgh font, Catterick . . . 167

17. Sheriff Hutton parish church . . . 176

18. The repositioned north aisle window . . 177

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for their help and support during the production of this thesis: John Atkinson, for all his enthusiastic encouragement, Richard Annis, Linda Bosveld, Peter Carne and Duncan Hale, of Archaeological Services University of Durham, for their help, support and time. My supervisor, Dr Pamela Graves of the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, Professor Jenny Price, for giving me my initial start in archaeology and Professor Matthew Johnson, for his help and advice. Professor Rosemary Cramp and Dr Derek Craig, for showing an interest in my subject. Dr Ardle Mac Mahon, for our discussions and Dawn Coull, for reading the final draft.

I would like to express my gratitude to the incumbents and parishioners of all the churches visited during the course of my research.

Michael, Bridie, Tilly and Patrick Douglas, thank you very much.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife Geraldine, without whose support I would never have made it to the end.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of John Douglas

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without their prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Abbreviations used in text

Cal. Inc. Post. Mort. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*

Cal. Pat. Rolls. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*

York Chan. Sur. *York Chantry Survey*

Test. Ebor. *Testamenta eboracensia*

'Then there's hope a great man's memory may outlive his life half a year: but by'r lady, he must build churches, then; or else shall he suffer not thinking on, with the hobby-horse, whose epitaph is 'for O, for, o, the hobby-horse is forgot.'

Hamlet, act III sc II

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Aims

The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that the archaeological study of the later medieval parish church has a greater role to play in the enhancement of our understanding of society in the later Middle Ages than, for the most part, has hitherto been appreciated or investigated. The overarching emphasis of the arguments pursued throughout is intended to show that the church, whilst maintaining its position as the focal point of the religious activity of the parish, also acted as the central stage for a great deal of communal social activity and the playing out of social relations. In fact, more specifically, that based on the action of the collective memory, the parish church functioned as a medium for the focussing of communal identity and self awareness. The underlying theme is to demonstrate that the architectural arrangement of these buildings carried specific mnemonic messages concerning issues that can be regarded as being central to the social lives of those individuals who utilised them on a regular and routine basis. In terms of the communal function of the church and the part it played in the establishment of social relations, it will be argued that there were elements inherent in the everyday and customary activities carried out within the building, both religious and secular, that were capable, with tacit reference to the memorial status held by the parish church, of being manipulated to achieve specific and socially oriented goals.

It will be argued that the way in which the late medieval parish church developed architecturally came about as a direct consequence of the social, economic and cultural changes that overcame England in the later part of the fourteenth century. The arguments followed will touch upon the manipulation of sacred space and liminality within the confines of the church, and its use as a tool of social control. The proposal being that the later medieval period can be regarded as an age of economic and political uncertainty for many of its inhabitants and that it was this feeling of impending crisis which acted as a powerful catalyst for the overt display of authority, through the actions of church building and elaboration, in the face of the reduction in the existence of actual coercive power.

In addition, it will also be suggested that the new opportunities for social mobility that the age presented, and which saw the rise in social status of particular groups in society, made the parish church the ideal location for the presentation and recognition of newly established authority. It is argued that both of these groups, those of established lordship and those whose authority was newly emerging, employed the architecture of the parish church in such a way that it impinged on the collective memory of the wider parish community and thereby was used to strengthen their own individual claims.

It is also intended to lay particular emphasis on what the examination of the architecture of the parish church offers us in terms of information concerning the less powerful in society. The concept of the collective memory will be viewed in relation to strategies employed by the late medieval community as a whole as a means of social regulation. This has been termed 'social surveillance' and is linked to the use of the collective memory in the Middle Ages as a means by which social cohesion was maintained and tensions within the community were avoided or at least kept in check. This again can be linked to the parish church being the building which was the focus of much of the social interaction of these communities and can be regarded as functioning as an aid to memory for the retention of important social events.

The re-use and repositioning of earlier architectural features within the fabric of later buildings will also be discussed in some depth. It will be argued that this, in many instances, can be directly related to the overall concept of the use of the past and the memorial resonance inherent in church architecture, to convey specific messages concerning legitimacy and power.

The majority of the structural and documentary evidence presented is based on churches located within the counties of North and West Yorkshire. This region was chosen because it demonstrates a broad based variation in building types and dates (see chapter two). These range from small two cell structures, consisting solely of a chancel and nave, to much larger multi-cell buildings which exhibit an increased development of planning, encompassing side aisles, porches, towers and chapels etc (figure 1). These Yorkshire churches were used as the prime data set upon which this thesis is based. However, to illuminate certain theoretical and practical arguments some churches from outside of the main study area are also referred to. These examples come predominantly from the counties of Suffolk and Northamptonshire, with both of these counties, and their churches, being chosen because they have inherent characteristics which can be used as direct parallels and contrasts with those of Yorkshire.

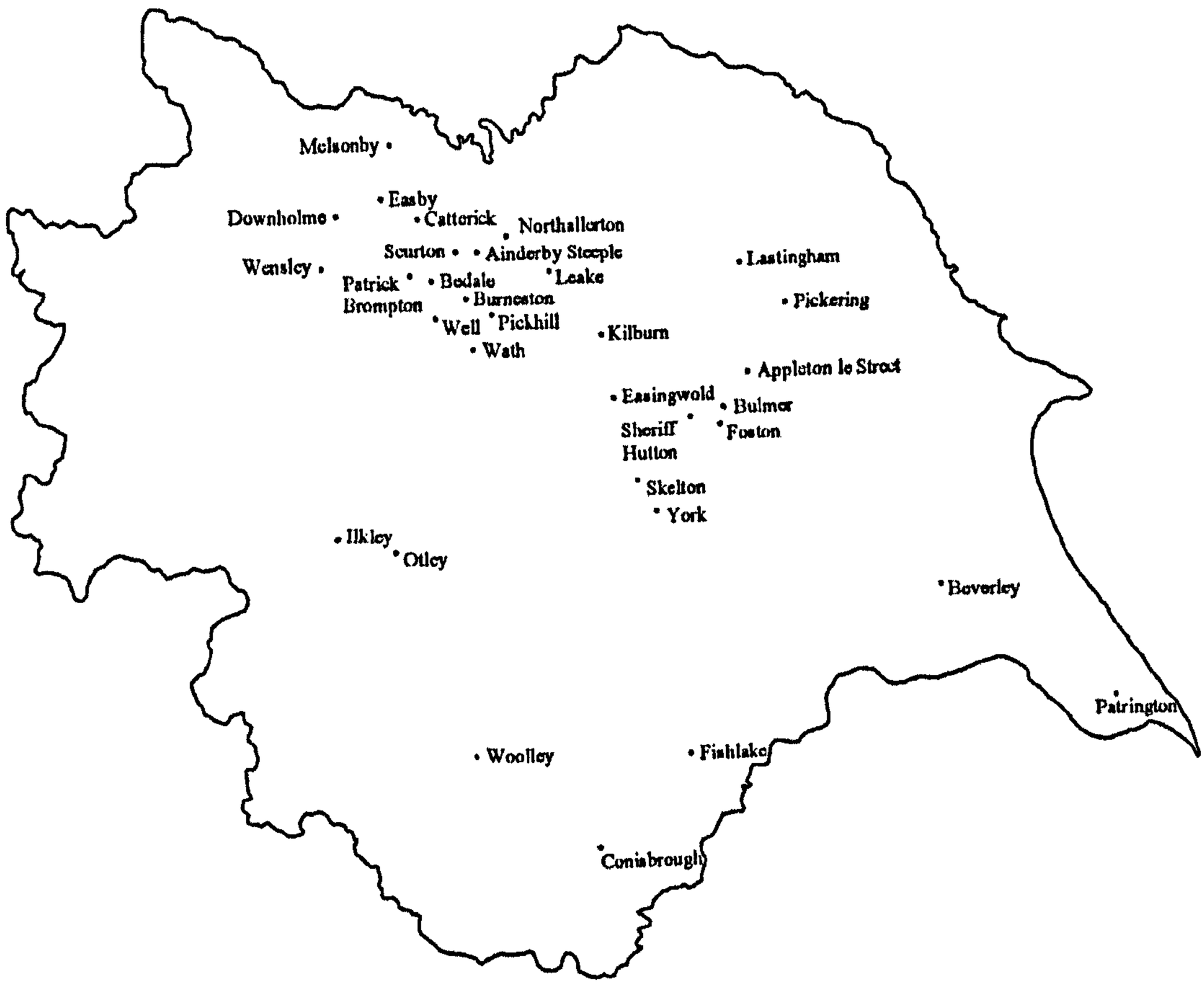


Figure 1, Map of Yorkshire and parishes mentioned in text

The overall intention is to demonstrate that the development of the later medieval parish church was directed by a particular set of complex conditions each of which

played a significant role in its evolution. To do this it will be necessary to consider the historical complexion of the age in order to arrive at a context within which to place them. This will reveal how these buildings were absolutely a creation of their age, reflecting the aims, anxieties and concerns of the individuals and groups who built, maintained and worshipped in them. It will be shown that by examining their fabric and structural layout, whilst at the same time referring to particular known events, individuals and groups associated with them, the parish church can be used as a record of the development of late medieval society in general.

Although the research presented here is focussed on the later Middle Ages it is intended that the theoretical framework underpinning the thesis is dealt with in such a way that the findings could be adapted and applied to other periods of study. Memory is a fundamental process of human consciousness and when looked for can be detected within a social context whatever the period. The concept of collective memory and its application to the field of archaeology could have important implications particularly with respect to the study of ritual monuments and other forms of architecture.

1.2 The history of church studies

Visit any medieval parish church in England and one will encounter, at the very least, a guidebook or leaflet which describes the history and architecture of the building. These, usually concise descriptions, tend to focus on the history of the church and its foundation as well as highlighting the major features of interest for the visitor: an eleventh century font perhaps; the stained glass in the windows or a memorial brass of particular interest.

Parish church guides constitute the most basic, although highly commendable, attempts to impart information about the architecture of the English parish church to the wider public. Over and above these, a great number of medieval churches have been the focus of studies on a larger scale. One need only think of the major, and successful, series of volumes produced by Nikolaus Pevsner to appreciate the important place the parish church holds in the study of English architectural history. Consult any of the earlier editions of local county archaeological reports and proceedings (particularly from the first half of the twentieth century) and one will find that they often contain at least one monograph study per volume, dealing in detail

with the architectural form and evolution of a particular medieval church. Many of these earlier works provide a large amount of valuable information with regards to the structural layout and dating of these buildings. The nineteenth century marks the starting point for the discipline of architectural history, along with the establishment of a recognised architectural vocabulary (Morris 1989). It is understandable therefore, that much of this work followed this general trend and was couched firmly within the discipline of architectural history. Relatively recently, however, there has been an increased interest in the archaeology and history of the parish church, summarised by Warwick Rodwell in the introduction to his influential volume *The Archaeology of the English Church* (Rodwell 1981). The resurgence in the study of the parish and parish church in England has culminated in the formation of, under the auspices of the Council for British Archaeology, the Society for Church Archaeology in 1998.

Richard Morris, with the publication of his seminal work *Churches in the Landscape* (1989), can be credited with having a profound impact on the direction taken by church archaeology in recent years. Morris views parish churches completely within their historical and landscape context, synthesising and bringing together many of the diverse elements which played a part in their development. He stresses that the parish church has to be seen "as a place, a component of the pattern of settlement, and churches together as a pattern of places" (1989: 2). However, despite this call for greater archaeological inclusiveness, it is clear that there still seems to be a presumed notion, albeit with some notable exceptions, (Binski 1996, Graves 1989, 2002), to view the parish church in isolation and not to move out too far beyond the bounds of traditional church studies. Of course it is important that these buildings are recorded in a systematic manner and that the phasing of the building is understood in the terms of national and regional styles and decorative techniques, but this does not provide a complete picture as to the important part these buildings played in the period. There has to be an increased willingness to move the investigation of the medieval church in the direction taken by archaeology in general. Archaeology is a diverse and wide ranging discipline that embraces and considers the whole body of evidence presented by a particular site and period. In this sense the approach to the medieval parish church needs to be viewed in a way which considers all the available evidence provided by the building and its historical context. In doing this a clearer and more detailed picture can be produced relating not only to the history of the buildings themselves but also to the individuals and groups who built and worshiped in them.

The medieval parish church constitutes one of our most tangible links with the medieval period and the study of these buildings needs to exploit this relationship to its greatest extent. Demonstrating that the decoration and style of a particular church is of a particular date and was carried out by a particular school of artisans and paid for by a particular patron is only the starting point. As Graham Fairclough quite rightly points out,

> Buildings are perhaps our principal evidence for culture and society in much of the past, and they can offer a rich source of data for social patterning and relationships. In addition, buildings are also significant because they are rarely standardized, and they can therefore often bring us closer to individual decision-makers such as architects, designers and users. Indeed, because of their longevity they can also illustrate social change over the long term more effectively than other types of artefact (Fairclough 1992: 348-9).

The importance of the physicality of the church, as a building that stood at the social heart of the medieval community, has to be given greater emphasis and acknowledged as an agent of transmission. The investigation of these buildings, which for other periods of archaeological research would be termed ritual monuments, has to be approached in such a way as to allow for the greater enlightenment of our understanding of medieval society as a whole. In order to investigate the true potential of the church as a material artefact, rather than a purely ritual and architecturally historical structure, it is necessary to place them squarely within the context of the cultural and social developments that took place within and around them. The medieval parish church, and indeed the social relationships between the members of the community of the parish as a whole, has to be viewed as a symptom of the social and economic factors of the period. We need to produce a theoretical framework into which the physical and documentary evidence relating to the parish church can be fitted. Only in this way can a complete archaeology of these critically important buildings be produced.

If we accept for the moment the proposition that the study and interpretation of the medieval parish church needs to be redirected more towards the current theoretical trends in archaeology and away from, whilst without totally losing sight of, the art historical perspective, we may come to a position where the full significance of the social attitudes towards the church can be recognised. The argument is that this redirection is needed if the study of the late medieval parish church is going to provide anything in the way of a coherent insight into the conditions of the wider social milieu. As has already been mentioned, in archaeological terms the medieval

parish church constitutes a ritual monument. In the study of earlier archaeological periods, the Neolithic, Bronze or Iron Ages for example, the study of these types of monuments would generate vast amounts of theorising and debate. The fact that these earlier periods are non-historic, in the sense that they have left no written record, demonstrates that the study of the ritual monuments needs to go well beyond the consideration of building techniques and ritual observance. As a consequence of the lack of direct evidence, these tangible remains are interpreted in ways designed to shed light on subjects such as social organisation, ethnicity, power and control.

It is one of the paradoxes of the archaeological study of the Middle Ages, however, that due to the existence of a relatively huge amount of textual evidence pertaining to the period, and particularly to the latter part of it, there may be the danger of the over-reliance on contemporary written records. Textual evidence has to be viewed as an aid to interpretation, not as the standard interpretation around which the archaeological evidence has to be fitted. In terms of the archaeology of the medieval parish church, the available documents have to be approached in a similar way to any other type of artefact, as a product of the age which produced them.

One particular example of this can be gained from the examination of documents recording contracts drawn up between patrons and masons for the construction and the extension of parish churches (Salzman 1952). On the one hand these documents provide information concerning the administrative process and how it operated with regards to the commissioning of private building work and what degree of control was exercised by the patrons over the work. In some cases, it also answers questions concerning labour and building materials, costs and expenses. At its most basic level the contract document can be used as a dating tool, providing a specific date for the construction of a particular church in a particular style. On the other hand, a contextual reading of these documents can be made to reveal aspects inherent in the planning and construction of the building which are of specific concern to the patron or patrons. The contract (see chapter nine) that was drawn up for the demolition and rebuilding of the parish church of St Anne, Catterick, North Yorkshire (McCall 1910) can be read in such a way that it provides an insight into the motivations which lay behind secular patronage of the church.

This is not to suggest that the building programmes of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries were solely the result of the activities of only one sector of society. The evidence, in the form of churchwardens' accounts and wills points to the

fact that a great deal of the building activity which was taking place at this time was in fact paid for by the ordinary members of the parish. This expenditure was carried out either through individual action, such as donation to the church fabric fund or by collective action as was the case with guild membership (Williamson and Bellamy 1987; Platt 1981). However, the expenditure undertaken by the elite within these communities, over and above the contributions made by the less wealthy individuals, acted as a clear indication of their social position.

1.3 The parish church and parish people

As a building the parish church was central to the consolidation of the community within whose midst it stood. It was attended on a regular and routine basis and was the scene of the major spiritual and social events of the lives of the community's members. Many of the experiences which had a bearing on the stability of the community were played out within the confines of the church and churchyard. Baptisms, marriages and funerals were not only religious rituals performed under the auspices of the Church authorities they were also highly charged social events attended by the majority of the inhabitants of the parish. In addition to their religious motivation they also functioned as a means of negotiating deeply rooted issues concerned with communal identity and social relations. It is by virtue of this dual relationship between the spiritual and the secular that the parish church can be considered as the physical embodiment of the self awareness and solidarity of these communities.

In addition to the church being the location for a number of socio/religious activities, the building was also utilised by the community in a more directly secular sense.

> Plays were held in churches; a certain amount of marketing was done there - or in the churchyard: rents were paid at specific tombs or fixed points, or in church porches: and all sorts of other business could be conducted. Sunday services were perhaps the one common fixed point in the individual's weekly timetable, and could be exploited accordingly. The multiple uses of the church accounts for a rather secular approach to the building (Swanson, 1989: 258).

These secular activities again brought people together and by doing so increased the awareness of community. This feeling of communal identity would have been greatly enhanced by the fact that in the majority of cases it was the parishioners themselves who paid for and maintained the fabric of the building. This responsibility

on the part of the lay parishioners arose out of the thirteenth century diocesan statutes, which made a clear distinction between the nave and the chancel of the church. The nave became the responsibility of the congregation whilst the upkeep of the chancel was to remain the obligation of the vicar or rector (Davies 1968; Wright 1988; Brown 1996).The acceptance of this apportioned liability for the nave and its maintenance seems to have been taken up, on the part of the laity, with a good deal of enthusiasm. Fabric fund boxes were set up in the aisles and churchwardens were chosen to administer the funds raised.

> They administered rents and took charge of the monies left to the church for memorial masses and obits; they bought wax candles and oil for the church and paid the wages of minor church servants; they saw to the repairs etc (Platt 1981: 89).

Much of the money that the churchwardens handled came by way of the legacies of wills, the collection of fabric fund boxes and from the proceeds of specially organised fund raising events such as church ales. As a consequence much of this money was collected from the general population of the parish. This willingness to service the needs of the church may, in some part, stem from individual and collective acts of piety, which increased in popularity, particularly in the aftermath of the Black Death. "The generosity of the English people in the post plague period is contained in wills which survive in ever increasing numbers from the 1350s onwards" (Harper-Bill 1996: 45). Money continued to be given to the church for the remainder of the period, and it would seem that the maintenance and elaboration of the local parish church had, to some extent, taken on the mantle of an expression of local pride. This point is emphasised by the much-quoted case of the rebuilding of Bodmin church between 1469 and 1472, where the cost of the reconstruction was borne by 460 individuals and 40 guilds within the parish (Brown 1996). There is also the case of the parish church of Burneston, North Yorkshire. Here the tower and chancel were constructed in the late fourteenth century. The building of the tower was financed by several local wealthy landowners, including the Nevilles, and decorated with representations of their coats of arms. The building of the chancel was commissioned and paid for by the Abbey of St Mary, York. Both of these individual elements of the building stood independent of each other, separated presumably by a temporary building or an open space, for somewhere in the region of seventy years (the easternmost corner buttresses of the tower are still visible in the present nave). Finally the gap between the two was bridged by the

construction of a nave and side aisles in the mid-fifteenth century, which was paid for by contributions collected from the local population of the parish (McCall 1910). This communal effort and willingness to finance their part of the church clearly demonstrates how the parish church could foster an atmosphere of mutual achievement, thereby increasing the feeling of communal solidarity.

1.4 Communal identity

It was because the parish church was such a central element in the day-to-day spiritual and social lives of these late medieval communities that ordinary people were willing to provide for it so generously. It was these social attitudes, which provided the parish community with its communal identity, and it was the church, the arena where these social relations were acted out on a routine and regular basis, which took on the mantle of embodying the structure of society in a physical sense. Social identity is an important consideration within the study of the late medieval church and the people who employed these buildings. As will be discussed in chapter seven, these were closely bounded communities tied by a mutual acceptance of traditional values. The church was the symbol of these traditional values and acted as a stabilising factor in social relations. The allocation of space within these buildings was regulated in such a way that it mirrored social hierarchies within the parish community in general. The demarcation between the nave and the chancel was the initial distinction; however, the provision of space within the laity's area of the church, the nave, was also important. Private chantry chapels, guild chapels and areas restricted solely for the use of males, also tended to strengthen prevailing social attitudes.

When the importance of the church is considered in these terms there can be little doubt as to why the parish church received so much attention from the ruling classes. As a communal building it provided the ideal situation for the demonstration of their worldly authority. It was a building which was central to the community of the parish and which was attended on a regular basis. Therefore this demonstration of social position within this context was constantly repeated to as wide an audience as possible. What this suggests, is that in the face of a decline in their direct influence, brought about by the restructuring of feudal authority in the later fourteenth century (Fryde and Fryde 1991), the elite in society could, under the guise of pious

benefaction, demonstrate their worldly status and social position in more subtle ways. The elite, by manipulating the collective memory of the wider community through their association with the parish church, were able to reaffirm their authority by making the acceptance of it part of everyday experience. For example, in its simplest terms, the expenditure towards the local parish church undertaken by certain members of society, over and above the charitable bequest provided by the general population, acted as a direct indication of their own elevated social position. Also being associated with the building, which was at the same time the centre of the community's social and spiritual memory, meant that the position of wealthy families became linked to this memorial factor and therefore it served to strengthen their political claims. The addition to our understanding of later medieval society, which can be achieved by the contextual interpretation of this type of behaviour, is extremely important. The examination of the manipulation of the collective memory allows us to consider not only the motivations and attitudes of the elite but also it enables us to examine the reactions of those towards whom this demonstration of wealth and status was directed. A situation is created whereby, in order to fully understand the impact and effectiveness of this type of social activity, it is necessary to fully appreciate how these social messages were conveyed and received.

1.5 Collective memory

The importance of the parish church in the negotiation and re-negotiation of communal social relations was due to the fact that the actual physicality of the building itself acted as a mirror for social relations on a wider scale. However, this did not operate in isolation, as there was another factor in the acceptance and continuation of established social order; this was the collective memory. Social identity, for members of traditional communities, is governed by the remembrance of past collective experience (Noyes and Abrahams 1999). That is the ability to collectively call upon established methods and ideals in the ordering of the community. Placed within the medieval concept of agrarian time, memory ensured the maintenance of traditional roles, ordering society along accepted lines, which would ensure internal stability and limit tension. In simple terms, the collective memory guaranteed that each member of the community knew their place and what was expected of them. Of course, memories are not static, and indeed collective memory evolves as experiences

increase. However, the overriding feature of the collective response to memory was that it operated on the basis that it resisted change, and that any change which did occur needed to be absorbed impeccably into the fold of the collective.

What this thesis will demonstrate, is that by bringing together the diverse elements involved with the study of architecture, and relating them to the concept of the collective memory, a new way of looking at, and thinking about, buildings can be established. This will show how the consideration of architectural form can be viewed in such a way that it can answer questions relating to themes far removed from the strictly traditional interests of architectural history. Historic standing buildings, in whatever form they take, are a valuable archaeological resource, and their ability to transmit information across time is something which needs to be investigated in greater depth. It is the intention of this thesis, by means of the archaeological interrogation of the later medieval parish church, to highlight this proposition and to formulate a theory whereby these buildings are allowed to convey their intimate relevance to the people of the past.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Background: space and architecture

Throughout this thesis an emphasis will be placed on the ways in which the archaeological study of the late medieval parish church can be used as a tool of investigation, both into the way in which these buildings were employed and also how they can inform us about the operation of contemporary late medieval society. However, before examining the theoretical basis of this current study it will prove useful to invest in a brief overview of the theoretical background to the subject of social space and its archaeological application.

The study of buildings and their social significance is a subject which has recently become a particular area of interest amongst many archaeologists (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994; Johnson 1993, 1996, 2002; Graves 1989, 2000) and most of this work draws on wider examples of the study of architecture and space carried out in areas such as theoretical architecture, social geography and sociology. Therefore before considering the archaeological approaches to buildings and social space it will be necessary to take into account the research on which much of this work is founded.

2.1 Simmel and social space

The work of Georg Simmel provides a convenient starting point from which to examine more recent approaches to the study of social space. In his paper on the sociology of space (1997) Simmel considers the formation of space and the spatial boundary. He suggests that space is the outcome of a sociological function and that the boundary between spaces is not a, "spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially" (1997: 134). He specifically refers to churches when examining the formation of location within space, suggesting that they represent fixed pivot points within space around which social relations can occur. The fixed locations within space can then become, Simmel argues, a pivotal point for the social relations and the cohesion of the group (1997: 147). The term rendezvous is employed to denote the specific social encounters which are deemed unique in so far

as they are distinguished psychologically from the ordinary and everyday. This is due to their inherent "temporal and spatial determinacy" (1997: 148). It is with regards to the spatial associations of the 'rendezvous' that Simmel makes the important link between location and memory.

> Because it separates itself out like an island from the continuous course of life's contents, the rendezvous achieves a special hold on the consciousness, precisely on the formal elements of its time and place. Because it is more vivid to the senses, place generally exhibits a greater associative effect for recollection than time. And hence, especially when one is concerned with unique and emotion laden interactions, it is precisely the place which tends to be indissolubly linked to recollection, and thus, since this tends to occur mutually, the place remains the focal point around which remembrance weaves individuals into the web of interactions that have now become idealized (Simmel 1997: 149).

We can view the rituals and communal events centred upon the medieval parish church as being of this form of encounter and in turn can see how the building itself can be regarded as the pivot point around which the memory and the identity of the community was constructed.

Simmel also considers the question of the boundary in spatial terms, suggesting that an act of separation is only accomplished by first consciously recognising a connection between opposing spaces. He discussed the psychological aspects of bounded space and the fundamental role played by the doorway as an interface. The doorway, it is suggested, goes beyond the separation of inner and outer space; it also forms the link between the two.

> Precisely because it can also be opened, its closure provides the feeling of a stronger isolation against everything outside this space than the mere unstructured wall. The latter is mute, but the door speaks. It is absolutely essential for humanity that it sets itself a boundary, but with the freedom, that is, in such a way that it can also remove this boundary again, that it can place itself outside it (Simmel 1997: 172).

Simmel mentions the doors of Gothic or Romanesque cathedrals and how the architectural arrangement of descending orders of arches and columns acts as a channel for symbolic movement. This phenomenon is also alluded to by Michael Camille (1992) who discusses the return to classically inspired architectural forms and the rise of the Romanesque in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

> Whereas in the ancient world triumphal arches and amphitheatres articulated the centrality of imperial rule, for medieval people they became gates and passageways between psychological rather than political states. Romanesque art is one of entrances, doorways, westworks, narthexes, porches, capitals and cornices. As well as articulating boundaries and limits for those existing within, those persons outside the church were also addressed by these powerful images (Camille 1992: 56).

It is unfortunate that Simmel did not go on to produce more work on the nature of space as his philosophical and sociological reading of the subject may well

have been more influential. As it is we have to turn to the work of later social geographers to examine space and the theory of movement within time.

2.2 Tuan and the perspective of experience

The question of the formation of place is addressed by Tuan (1977), who suggests that the creation of place first takes place in the human mind and that the physical aspects of location are the result of the embodiment of feelings, images and thoughts converted into tangible material (1977: 17). Within this, Tuan recognises that divergent cultures ascribe different values to their world and as a result the ways in which place and space are created can also differ accordingly. However, he also argues that certain cross cultural similarities do in fact exist and that these are based fundamentally on the fact that "man is the measure of all things" (1977: 34). In Tuan's view, the creation of the material world reflects the individual and their personal position with reference to their surroundings and their social relations with others within the same context. This structuralist viewpoint is summed up in the statement that;

> Man, out of his intimate experience with his body and with other people organizes space so that it conforms to his biological needs and social relations (Tuan 1977: 34).

Tuan does however go beyond this purely logical view of the creation of space and a strong emphasis is placed on posture and bodily position. He suggests that space for the individual is divided according to the pivotal nature of the body itself. This idea proves to be useful in allowing a definition of spatial perspectives to take on a more symbolically orientated origin. The space occupied by the body is divided into differing regions, with relation to: frontal space, rear space, left and right, high and low. Each of these regions, according to Tuan, has its own symbolic value, whether good or bad, past or future and as an individual occupies space these regions alter as their position within that space changes. However, it is when the symbolic nature of regional space becomes frozen with the creation of physical place, through the agency of architecture that the situation and relationships become of paramount interest to the study of social space.

As buildings take on the symbolic regions ascribed to the human body they in turn become agents of control. Bodily movement within architectural space is to a lesser or greater degree limited and prescribed. Space within buildings becomes ranked, and as Tuan puts it, "the designed environment serves an educational

purpose" (1977: 112). The example is given of the medieval cathedral as a building which 'instructs'. It does this by a combination of factors all of which play simultaneously on the consciousness and the sub-consciousness. The physical presence and centrality of the building; the rituals associated with services; the stained glass; the quality of light; the statuary all are actually or subliminally registered.

> Imagine a man who goes into a cathedral to worship and meditate. He is reverent and has some learning; he knows about God and heaven. Heaven is that which towers over him, has greater splendour and is suffused in divine light. These are, however, only words. In an ordinary setting, when he tries to envisage paradise by the power of his imagination his success is likely to be modest. But in the cathedral his imagination need not soar unaided. The beauty of space and light that he can perceive enables him to apprehend effortlessly another and far greater glory (Tuan 1977: 115-6).

Tuan also examines the relationship between time and space. He considers the action of movement within time and suggests that this creates habitual pathways each of which are interspersed with moments of pause. It is these pauses within movement within time which constitute the creation of place. These locations then become "important places connected by an intricate path, pause in movement, markers in routine and circular time" (1977: 182). It is suggested that these 'stations' in the time space continuum can fix the past and in certain circumstances can become places of veneration. This, he suggests is often a deliberate phenomenon "to the extent that the effort is conscious it is the mind at work, and the mind - if allowed its imperial sway – will annul the past by making it all present knowledge" (1977: 191).

Tuan's work takes the study of space in a direction away from being merely the environment within which social action takes place to being an integral part of the framework of social institutions. This idea is taken up by later scholars, notably Anthony Giddens, who regard space as one of the elements of the structure of social life which have a profound effect upon the production and reproduction of society as a whole (Giddens 1984). However, before going on to discuss these adaptations on the work of Tuan it will be necessary to examine the continuing structuralist approach to social space which culminated in the work on 'space syntax' as outlined by Hillier and Hanson (1984).

2.3 Space syntax

The arguments employed in Hillier and Hanson's work on the *Social Logic of Space* (1994) are made most forthrightly. The authors propose that 'space syntax',

"the knowable property of a morphic language" allows for "spatio-temporal arrangements to exhibit systematic similarities and differences (1984: 48). It is argued that this reduction of architectural arrangements, and its relationship to social order, allows it to be seen as a detectable system. Therefore spatial arrangement and social organisation become patterns with a system and thus an understanding of a society can be gained through the consideration of the relationship between these patterns.

> *Combinatorial structures which, starting from ideas that may be mathematical, unfold into families of pattern types that provide the artificial world of the discrete system with its internal order as knowables, and the brain with its means of retrieving descriptions of them (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 48).*

The theory proposed by Hillier and Hanson is ultimately founded on the work of Emile Durkhiem and his theory of 'social solidarity,' within which they claim to have "found the missing elements of a theory of space" (1984: 18). This involves looking at the patterns of access between spaces within a building and the consideration of depth penetration within the structure. The findings are then presented as formulaic data which can be used in the production of penetration diagrams, which it is suggested, demonstrate how the spatial arrangement of a building mirrors the social relationships of those who built and use it. The problem with 'space syntax,' however, is located precisely within the general aims of the theory. This is the reduction of complex relationships both social and spatial down to observable patterns within a system. As the authors maintain: a syntax model must aim to do certain things, which is to represent "human spatial organisation in all its variability" and to "represent these elementary structures in some kind of notation or ideography" (1984: 52). It would seem difficult to imagine how it is possible to take something as, the authors suggest, variable as spatial organisation, let alone the infinitely more variable, and not totally space dependent, social structure, and condense them down into a series of mathematical formulae.

In principle the study of access and the connectedness of space would be a very useful tool to employ in the consideration of the medieval parish church. Indeed such questions are of vital importance. However, what we are dealing with when we examine church architecture is the relationships between individuals and groups and the building within which they operate. This is a complex mix and, although superficially, 'space syntax' could be employed to map the building in terms of its access and permeability it cannot be realistically employed to discover the true social worth invested in such structures.

2.4 Structuration and spatial theory

According to Giddens "the basic domain of study of the social sciences…is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time" (1984: 2). These social practices are the routinely enacted actions which constitute a discourse within a social structure. It is the fact that social practices are routinely performed which allows them to impact on the constitution of society. As Giddens points out the main point of Structuration Theory is that "the production and reproduction of social actions are at the same time the means of system reproduction" (1984: 19). With regards to the study of social space Giddens is concerned with the 'contextuality' of social life and the serial character of movement within time/space. In order to emphasise its importance he has devised a method of describing social interactions within a time/space framework. He employs the terms 'locale' to refer to the space which provides the setting for social interaction and 'regionalisation' as the "zoning of time/space in relation to routinised social practice" (1985: 272). Therefore, for Giddens, the 'locale' is the point in space time where the 'mobility' of an actor or actors is "curtailed for the duration of encounters for social interaction" (1985: 272). The regionalisation of space is the demarcations and boundaries, both physical and symbolic, which separate areas within the 'locale' of social interaction and within which actors can take on differing social roles. The context of social interaction makes specific spaces or 'locales' the points where routine social practices, governed by the awareness of the social rules which function within such, are carried out. These spaces then take on a relevant role in the constitution of social action and feed back into the collective construction of the structure. "Context thus connects the most intimate and detailed components of interaction to much broader properties of the institutionalisation of social life" (Giddens 1985: 272).

It is the importance of spaces as a transmitter of social practice which makes Gidden's concept of space geography attractive as a theory of social space. Unlike Hillier and Hanson, for whom the development and layout of a building speaks openly about the organisation of society, Giddens would argue that the notion of a building can only be described in relation to the practices which are connected with it and how these are perceived by society. This work allows for the study of architecture to be

seen as a structure of practice and therefore enables the thorough interrogation of buildings in their fullest social terms.

2.5 Archaeological approaches to social space

The production and employment of space is raised by Parker Pearson and Richards (1994) with relation to the prehistoric period. This of course is a problematic study area as the nature of the evidence is all too often subtle and ephemeral. This situation is recognised by the authors who suggest that "for some, the attempt to move from post-holes to symbolic orders is simply too difficult" (1994: 38). However, it is by virtue of the fact that the study of space and its employment in the construction of society is of such importance that it cannot be totally ignored. They suggest that the structuring of space exhibits "cosmological and symbolic principles" from the examination of which symbolic meanings can be extracted which will explain social definitions. In their case study of the Late Neolithic Orcadian house, it is argued that the layout of the structure is dependent on cosmological principles which in turn ordered and directed the domestic activities taking place within the space. As a consequence each of these domestic activities and the specific space where they are carried out are invested with symbolic significance. This then leads to a situation whereby space defines the domestic arena in a way which makes ontological sense to the individual engaged in its employment. The house became a "microcosm of the socially constructed world" (1994: 45) and as such can be seen as a method of interpreting wider social issues concerning past societies.

The emphasis on the importance of space in the constitution of society is referred to by Barrett (1994[a]) who employs the work of Giddens in his exploration of the social life of prehistoric Britain. He adapts the idea of 'time geography' indicating that social life is carried out along a pathway of serially placed encounters where social activity takes place. Like Giddens, he uses the term 'locale' to describe these locations and suggests that "the significance of each 'locale' is determined not only by what takes place there and then, but what has gone before and what comes after" (1994[a]: 74). For Barrett the importance of place is based on its "context within time" (1994[a]: 74). Barrett's analysis of material culture as text is an illuminating and useful argument in the field of architectural study. He suggests that texts are encoded with meanings which can be transferred from one discourse to another. In terms of a

building it may be the rules of access or direction of movement which is related to the individual. However, Barrett also suggests that these meanings can change over time and be given new emphasis as they "address the expectations of others situated in quite different horizons of interpretation" (1994[a]: 76). It is in this way that buildings, as material culture, can act upon the constitution of society and the memory of how to react when faced with a structure evolves and is adapted by society and in turn alters perceptions.

A contextual approach to the study of feudal space was taken by Saunders (1990) where he argued that space is fundamentally political and that spatial structures, by which he specifically means the structural layout of the early medieval village, reflect the contemporary social structure. He argues that the study of spatial structures "cannot be appropriately understood when divorced from the society in which they are embedded" (1990: 183). He draws on the work of Giddens and the duality of structure, suggesting that space is a product, a creation of social interaction, whilst at the same time the space itself played an underlying role in the reproduction of social practices and therefore in its turn shaped society (1990: 183). Saunders looked at the spatial patterning of the early medieval village of Raunds, Northamptonshire, and considers how its seemingly planned layout represents relations between peasant and landlord. Repeated reference is made to the exploitation of the peasant classes as a means of production and it is suggested that the rigid demarcation of space which was evident on the ground, was employed to reinforce rigid social boundaries. The regular plot size of peasant tofts; and the existence of communal streets and trackways, are viewed as elements of control. The placement of the two most important buildings of the village, the manor house and the church, are also viewed as part of this process, each of which, it is suggested, played a part in the formulation of a heightened sense of 'feudal surveillance'. The employment of space, in this context, it would seem, is of extreme importance in the construction and maintenance of authority. The fundamental emphasis of Saunders' argument is a strong one. That is, the interrelationship between "social relations and social structures can only be understood though careful examination, involving both abstract propositions and concrete research of historically specific social structures" (1990: 194).

Matthew Johnson, in his book *Housing Culture* (1993), takes the study of early modern domestic architecture in new directions. Drawing on, and expanding

upon, the work of scholars such as Deetz and Glassie he constructs an argument which shows that the development of the domestic built environment in early modern Suffolk reflected wider changes in social structure. The architectural detail of the houses within his area of study are seen as symptomatic in every sense of the wider social, cultural and economic changes affecting the region at that particular time. The idea of the 'closure' of space within the domestic sphere is directly parallel to the literal enclosure of the landscape, class polarization, cultural centralisation and the break-up of the pre-industrial community, which was happening at the time (1993). The proposition that buildings can be read as texts and used as a means of gaining insights into the wider contemporary social context, is investigated successfully by Johnson. It is demonstrated that the detailed study of traditional domestic architecture is more than the examination of one particular form of building layout, or group of stylistically similar structures. It is argued that the study of these buildings, when viewed critically, becomes the study of cultural beliefs and social practices (1993: 1).

The social space of the medieval parish church has been approached by Graves (1989, 2002), whose work in this direction develops from the Theory of Structuration as formulated by Giddens (1984). Graves views the liturgy of the church as a structure, "that is a set of rules and resources, constituted and reproduced by practice" (1989: 303), and that these practices as performed by the laity are what reproduces society. The point is made that social space, particularly in relation to the medieval parish church, is not two dimensional in character. The complex relationship of space and social action is emphasised and it is pointed out that position and location must not be viewed simply in plan and that elevation must also be considered as an important element of spatial quantification. The importance of this work lies in the fact that it recognises the inherent complexity of sacred space and fully appreciates the roles played by various groups in its production.

> Through the liturgy, and in particular the mass, the identity of local community with Christian community was made. Social identities were necessarily constructed within that framework and as a result...the church building must be seen to represent a domain of secular action defined by the Christian liturgy (Graves 1989: 301-2).

Graves also considers the question of secular patronage of the parish church and the extensive rebuilding which took place during the later Middle Ages. Reconstruction and structural addition are described as discourses which had several audiences. It is suggested that because regular worship continued whilst construction was taking place, the act of physically altering the accustomed space of the church would have

impacted immediately upon those who encountered it. This further suggests that it was not only the finished product which was important, but the actual action of alteration was equally socially relevant as a means of expressing local political power. Discussed with relation to reconstruction and embellishment is the question of the patronage of groups other than those of established manorial families. A vitally important point is made concerning the scale of building programmes undertaken by emergent groups such as merchants and others, "aspiring to gentry status" (1989: 313). The term 'time-depth' is used to describe the correlation between the instances of complete parish church rebuilding, initiated on the part of the emergent classes, and the piecemeal additions to church fabric carried out by those of established authority. Although Graves admits that this differential approach to parish church patronage is a "subtle point, and open to challenge" (1989: 314), it would seem to be the case that many complete reconstructions may have taken place at the behest of members of the emergent class, and it would seem that they were intended to convey a specific message. It is probable that these individuals wanted to draw a line under what had gone before and emphasise structurally their new found prominence politically; whereas the established landed elite wish to be seen as the inheritors of power and therefore stressed a process of continuity.

What is clear from the above is that the archaeological study of space has moved well beyond the functionalist interpretations of the structuralist school. It is now seen as a vital constituent of social construction, something which in itself is made and employed by individuals and groups, but which also acts upon those involved with it in their recognition of their selfhood and social identity.

2.6 A theory of architectural memory

The approach that is taken towards the study of the archaeology of the later medieval church in this thesis takes as its starting point many of the theoretical developments in archaeological and architectural theory developed over recent years. However, as will be discussed, a further dimension will be added to this work and that is the part played by memory in the structuring of society in the medieval period and also its influence on the development of the architecture of the period.

However, before any form of theoretical appraisal of the architecture of the late medieval parish church could take place, it was first necessary to establish a

workable data set, comprised both of standing buildings and relevant documentary evidence. This data collection process was carried out with the intention of providing a wide ranging pool of examples, which together would form the core material upon which the theory of architectural memory could be tested.

2.7 Methodology

Any form of archaeological investigation into the later medieval parish church has to be undertaken with the full understanding that this is a major and complex area. There can be no overriding explanation as to why a particular church or group of churches, in any part of England appear as they do today. These are buildings which have witnessed a steady development though time, and as such, their resulting form reflects changes in religious attitude, economic prosperity or decline and differences in regional and national architectural style and fashions. In view of the numbers of medieval churches which survive in England, it would have proved impossible, with regards to the core thrust of this thesis, to approach this research with a view to examining the whole of the country. Therefore, a representative sample of churches had to be chosen in order to fully illustrate the points to be discussed. The study area to be decided upon needed to demonstrate, as far as it is possible, all of the variations encountered in medieval church design and development found throughout the rest of the country. There was also, with a specific reference to the intended focus of the investigation, a requirement for the existence of a reasonable amount of documentary evidence pertaining to the churches themselves and also the history of the parishes with which they were associated. The availability of this information would then allow for the physical evidence to be placed within its historical context, and enable the fullest enquiry possible. Equally important was the question of surviving evidence from the period. The study area needed to contain a realistic amount of material available for a theoretically sound consideration of the evidence to be made. Although many regions and counties in England could have conformed to the criteria envisaged, the decision was taken to base the main focus of attention on the churches of Yorkshire.

The geographical area encompassed by the Yorkshire region, which contains over 600 medieval churches, ensured that a representative sample of church types could be confidently encountered. These range from extensive urban churches, such

as St Mary's parish church, Beverley, to smaller village churches as found at Well and Ainderby Steeple. The region also demonstrates a useful cross section of churches constructed at various dates throughout the medieval period. There are churches which have witnessed recurrent alterations throughout their history and others that demonstrate a degree of period specificity being constructed predominantly in one architectural style. An initial sorting process was used to establish which of the churches within the region would be suitable for further research. To do this a desk-based assessment of the churches of Yorkshire was carried out, looking at County Histories, monograph studies and regional journals, in order to establish the range and quality of the evidence available.

The question of church patronage was also an important consideration in the choice of specific examples of churches earmarked to receive further study. In order to gain a clear understanding of the theoretical issues raised, it was important that the sites under scrutiny represented, as far as practicably possible, the overall range of secular and religious involvement in their construction, elaboration and general control. Therefore, from the overall regional evidence a representative sample of 40 churches was chosen based on a documentary assessment of their date, and the extent to which they survive as medieval structures. This assessment took into account the extent of the material evidence relating to the later medieval period, the existence of evidence for the re-use of architectural material, particularly the retention of earlier doorways, in later building phases and also where possible the survival of documentary evidence relating to the church and the surrounding parish. This initial research raised certain questions, particularly with respect of the evidence of re-used material and the actual significance of this type of behaviour.

The next stage in the selection process was a programme of site visits. All of the churches identified in the initial desk-based assessment were examined in the field and a record was made of their fabric and architectural layout. These records were based on a pro-forma assessment sheet and a photographic record where applicable. This allowed for a record of the structural layout of the church, including its geographic location, its dedication and overall constructional details, the variations in dates between elements of the building and the evidence for period specific extensions and elaborations. Particular note was taken of the survival and position of medieval church furniture and fixtures, such as screens, tombs, brasses, fonts and stained glass. This information, along with any surviving documentary evidence pertaining to the

building, was then used as the fundamental base material with regards to the production of this thesis.

The information collated was also used as the basis for the selection of a number of specific churches which exhibited a greater degree of relevant information. These churches, received a greater amount of text based research with the examination of primary sources including *Archbishops Registers, Calendars of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* medieval building contracts, medieval wills, later *faculty* documentation and any other relevant textual evidence. Secondary sources were also taken into consideration, in particular antiquarian accounts such as Dodsworth's *Yorkshire church notes 1619-1631* (Clay 1904) and later church monographs published in local and regional historical and archaeological journals.

From this research, a coherent picture emerged as to the possibilities of the application of a specific theory of the 'memory of architectural space' as applied to the later medieval church in Yorkshire. There only remained the question of the selection of a number of core examples which could be presented as case studies. These needed to contain as much relevant information as possible in the form of both physical and documentary evidence. Three case studies were decided upon, each of which demonstrated differing perspectives of the complex relationship between the laity and the parish church. These case studies received a greater amount of theoretical scrutiny in order to demonstrate how memory and architecture can be regarded as coincidental within the context of the medieval parish church and its community, and also how the emphasis placed on that memory could be utilised by particular groups and individuals depending on the particular circumstances in which they found themselves.

The evidence for the re-use of earlier architectural material in later building phases in medieval Yorkshire churches is one particular point arising from this study which needed to be presented with a degree of intellectual clarity. The initial conclusion was to regard this re-use in purely economic terms, as a form of money and time saving exercise. However, as more churches came to light which exhibited this phenomenon, it soon became apparent that there lay beneath this a more subtle response; one that was based on deeper social considerations. Therefore, in order to test the validity of this theory and to act as a control, two further areas of investigation were taken up. These were the churches located within the counties of Northamptonshire and Suffolk. Both of these areas were initially chosen because they

contrast greatly in terms of their access and availability to quality building materials. The expectation was that, if the re-use of material within the context of later building phases of a church was to be regarded as an economic consideration, it was in the county of Suffolk, with its lack of readily available building materials, that this form of activity would be expected to be taking place. On the other hand, in the county of Northamptonshire which constitutes an area which was extensively quarried in the medieval period and where the availability of excellent quality building material was less of a problem, it would be assumed that re-use would be less prevalent. The situation in reality, however, was actually discovered to be the reverse. The re-use of material in Suffolk was discovered to be of little or no significance, whereas in Northamptonshire there is evidence that not only did re-use did take place, but in some cases material was re-used more than once. This discovery led to the formulation of certain questions regarding its importance. Of course the economic situation between the two counties has to be understood as having a bearing on the evidence. It may be possible that the status of Suffolk as a prosperous cloth producing region of the later Middle Ages meant that there was the wealth available to take advantage of the importation of building stone. This in itself addresses issues relating to conspicuous consumption of materials for display purposes. However, it seems impossible to imagine that at no point was the re-use of such a rare commodity not considered as being economically expedient, but it appears from the evidence that it was not.

What this evidence entails for the study of Yorkshire churches is that economic considerations for the retention and re-use of architectural material, while not being discounted absolutely, may be only a part of a process whereby the architecture of the parish church was employed and regarded as a metaphor for local issues primarily concerned with status, class and identity and it is these which will be considered in more detail in the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter Three

Historical Background

The following chapter is intended to act as a brief overview of the social conditions and major events which overcame England during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is not intended, however, to examine in detail every aspect of later medieval social and political history but rather to concentrate upon those events and movements which can be regarded as the primary elements of social and cultural change associated with the period. These events are focused upon because, as it will be argued, they had a direct bearing on the attitude taken towards the architecture of the parish church and the way in which it developed as a spiritual and social institution. The underlying argument, which will be emphasised throughout, is that the parish church as it appeared in the later Middle Ages came about as a direct consequence of the relative degree of anxiety and instability which was a hallmark of the period. The parish church in many ways became the focal point for the readjustment of society following the political, cultural and economic upheavals of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

It was stressed in the introduction that the exploitation and transformation of the later medieval parish church, whether in terms of its architectural style, its structural layout, or its administration and communal function, cannot be, and indeed must not be, viewed in isolation and that any attempt at a consideration of the archaeology of these buildings and their social significance must be made in the light of evidence pertaining to the social and cultural context within which they operated. It is for this reason that it is considered important to expend a certain amount of time discussing the principal social and economic conditions of the period and place the subject of the later medieval parish church within its historical circumstance.

The later Middle Ages were a time of extreme and seemingly relentless social and economic upheavals in England, and was a period which witnessed remarkable peaks and troughs in the fortunes of its inhabitants. There were regular harvest failures, the recurrence of the plague, disastrous fiscal policies, social unrest and almost constant warfare at home and abroad (Fryde 1996, Britnell 1993). The severe decline in the country's population from the late fourteenth century onwards, brought about by onslaught of the Black Death, eventually resulted in a readjustment of

traditional feudal methods of lordship and control. As the shortage of agricultural labour began to adversely affect the economic viability of the landed estates certain measures were introduced to alleviate the situation thus leading ultimately to a more flexible attitude on the part of landlords with regards to their exercise of authority. As a result, the political and socio-economic complexion of the country changed in such a way that greater individual freedom and mobility, particularly that of the peasant classes, became a prominent feature of the age (Bolton 1996).

Of course, when an assessment is made of the traumatic events that overcame the inhabitants of medieval England, the outbreak of plague in 1348, The Black Death, must figure highly in any estimation of the profound impact that these types of occurrences could have on the structure of society. In terms of its immediate effect on the building activity of the later Middle Ages the initial impact of the Black Death appears, from the evidence available, to have resulted in a period of stagnation. Many of the building programmes underway before the disease struck were abandoned, some of which were not completed until many years later.

> The rebuilding or the enlargement of many churches in progress at the time of the scourge had to be abandoned. Almost everywhere building was brought to a standstill and great churches like Patrington, Yorks, in an advanced stage by 1349, had to await completion in the early years of the next century. At St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, a big extension at the west end of the nave had been undertaken in 1330; the walls had risen 60ft when the work was terminated by the Black Death....Shortly after 1330 a scheme was embarked upon at St Mary's Newark, for extending the nave and aisles westwards so as to embrace the great tower which had just been completed. The masons were building the south aisle when the plague put a stop to further operations and forty years passed before the work was resumed (Cook 1954: 225-6).

It may be true that the initial affect of the plague of 1348 put a brake on the construction and alteration of churches in England for fifty years or so. However, the fact remains that the later medieval period witnessed an increase in the activity of programmes of church building, carried out in some cases on a massive scale. There is somewhere in the region of eight thousand medieval parish churches surviving in England today and it has been calculated that around six thousand of these buildings were either totally rebuilt or at the very least radically re-altered, in the perpendicular style, between the mid-fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries (Harper-Bill 1996). The question which has to be addressed is what caused this intensive period of church construction and refurbishment in the later part of the Middle Ages and was it only directly related to spiritual reflections? What is proposed here is an alternative source of motivation behind the erection and alteration of these buildings, one that is based to

a large degree on worldly considerations.

3.1 The Black Death

The consequences for English society of the devastating effects of the plague of 1348 were profound and far-reaching. In the short term the problems brought about for local communities, which in some cases may have lost up to 50% of their population were, to say the least, dramatic. The consequences of a major reduction of the working population in a mainly agriculturally based economy meant that fields would be left uncultivated, stock unattended and villages deserted (Bolton 1996). The longer term changes brought about by the onset of the plague, and its subsequent outbreaks in later years, resulted in a revision of social relations and a change in attitudes towards traditional feudal authority. These changes, as we shall see, were at the outset fiercely opposed. Nevertheless, fundamental change did occur as a direct consequence of the reduction in the labour force of the country. The peasants and tenants who survived the plague, and who had held labour obligations to the feudal landlords, now found themselves in a more advantageous bargaining position than that which had hitherto existed. The way in which the aftermath of the Black Death touched upon the most fundamental aspects of medieval culture must single out the years 1348-9 as being pivotal in the transformation of English society from one rooted within the confines and restraints of feudal lordship towards a more individualistic age of social mobility and negotiated authority.

The emphasis of the Black Death as a catalyst for social change has not always been the accepted view. As Rosemary Horrox points out, "In the course of the twentieth century historians became much less willing to ascribe sweeping cultural or psychological changes to the plague" (1994[b]: 230). Revisionist theory tended to downplay the level of deaths attributed to the plague years, suggesting, in some cases that contemporary accounts of mortality rates, collated from manorial court rolls for example, are inaccurate and unreliable (Horrox 1994[b]). Others, most notably Michael Postan, regarded the plague as an event which merely accelerated the inevitable. He suggests that the pre-plague levels of population had become unsustainable and that "Society was paying for its growing numbers by moving ever nearer to the margins of subsistence" (Postan 1972: 37).

> The part which the Black Death played in this decline was greatly aggravated by the high mortality in the late 1340s and was to delay the recovery from the demographic decline in the subsequent century or century-and-a-half (Postan 1972: 43).

Postan's main concern relating to demographic decline was its effects on the economy of the country and he states that the reduction in population and its delayed recovery "continued to dominate the economic situation" (Postan 1972: 44). The views of Postan, and also those who are referred to as "his followers," are commented upon by Horrox, who concludes that,

> Where they all agree is their insistence that the plague's contribution to the crisis was only superficial in the sense that the plague's effects (although possibly dramatic in themselves) were super imposed on deeper trends (Horrox 1994[b]: 243).

It may well be the case that the population of England was indeed on the verge of collapse during the early to mid fourteenth century and it may also be true that the arrival of the plague therefore only brought forward the inevitable. However, would this reduction in the surplus population, as one must view it, have occurred on such a dramatic scale? A reduction of perhaps 30-40% of the entire population within the space of two years must have been unprecedented and must surely had a profound impact on the social structure of the country. Of course accurate estimates of population levels for the medieval period are problematic due to the difficulties encountered with the availability of surviving documents and also what exactly was recorded. However, if we disregard for the moment the definite numbers involved and concentrate more on the actual sociological, economic and cultural effects of mass mortality we may gain a clearer insight into how the plague, both directly and indirectly, influenced and changed particular hard held attitudes and beliefs of the period. The question is how far could the fluctuations in population, without the impact of the Black Death, been managed and accommodated?

If indeed England was overpopulated in the period leading up to the mid fourteenth century how did this overpopulation influence the economic and social conditions of the time? The relatively high population of pre-plague England meant that the majority of productive land was settled and under cultivation. What land did become available was eagerly sought after and landlords were able to tenant out this land on their own terms. With regards to feudal authority the abundance of labour was definitely something which was in the landlords' favour. Under the circumstances of over competition for limited holdings the landowning classes were able to maintain

their control of the peasantry as "land hunger made it possible for landlords to retain traditions of serfdom which went back before recorded history" (Britnell 1993: 217). This created a situation whereby the majority of the population relied on a wealthy minority for their means of subsistence and it was this reliance which provided the fundamental underpinning of traditional feudal authority. Tenants would be unlikely to question the rights of their superiors when it was clear that they were a dispensable item of agricultural production, which could be easily replaced if the need arose.

The medieval peasantry can be defined as individuals who did not own the land that they farmed and were dependent upon their feudal landlord in order to maintain themselves and their household. They were deemed unfree in the sense that they were subject to certain rules and laws which restricted their "freedom of movement (between estates), freedom to buy and sell land and goods, freedom to dispose of their own labour and to leave property to their heirs" (Hilton 1973: 55). Tenants were also exposed to various fines and taxes, paid both in money and labour. They were expected to pay an annual levy and also to provide regular unpaid labour service on the lord's lands. In addition they were required to grind their corn at the lord's mill and to provide a proportion of the grain as payment for being allowed to do so. The primary purpose of these numerous rules of reliance, Hilton suggests, was to "ensure that peasant families were kept on the holdings and to guarantee for the lord payment of rent and performance of service" (Hilton 1973: 60).

Therefore, although overpopulation may well have proved divisive in the long term, it was for the moment being coped with. Had the population increased to beyond manageable proportions, no doubt further measures would have been introduced to minimise its effect. The onset of the plague on the other hand, produced a rapid change in the circumstances and resulted eventually in a total reversal in the fortune of the peasantry. In the long run feudal authority could not be maintained by traditional means.

We can view the later medieval period as an age of increasing instability which intensified from 1348 onwards. The tenor of the country changed dramatically, in such a way that for the landed elite it brought about a period of genuine crisis, one that had its foundation in the reduction of their actual political influence.

> The beneficiaries of economic and social changes were not passive recipients of economic trends. The decline of serfdom, the reduction of rents and the increase in earnings were achieved because people, collectively and individually, asserted themselves. The later fourteenth century was a time of intense social upheaval, which

> culminated in the peasants' revolt. The memory of that revolt hangs over the fifteenth century. The threat of popular rebellion, rent strikes and other forms of direct action were ever present, and from time to time carried out (Pollard 2000: 184).

The decline in the peasant population meant ultimately that the coercive power of the landlords was severely diminished and therefore they had to look to other methods of maintaining their achieved position.

3.2 The parish church in an age of crisis

This brings us to the question of the part played by the parish church in the later Middle Ages and how its development can by seen as a direct result of wider social issues. In order to address this and to derive the fullest amount of information, we need to approach the archaeology of these buildings in a contextual manner. Whilst discussing the creation of ritual monuments and their place in the negotiation of social relations, Richard Bradley makes the point that there is a tendency,

> For periods of insecurity or rapid change to be emphasised by a significant investment in ideology and sometimes the building of impressive monuments whose operation may have involved public ritual (Bradley 1987: 3).

With regards to prehistoric periods this analysis may work and indeed it may be the most theoretically sound argument to take in the light of the lack of firm evidence to the contrary. However, during the Middle Ages the building of ritual monuments, churches and chapels, for the most part has been regarded as an expression of religious spirituality. "The most obvious manifestation of the enthusiastic piety of late medieval England is the evidence provided by wills, Churchwardens accounts and above all by the surviving buildings" (Harper-Bill 1996: 22). To follow Bradley's line of argument however, we need to look for some detectable form of insecurity which was inherent in late medieval society. In the light of the evidence suggested by the survival of commemorative monuments, tomb inscriptions and wills, it seems natural to accept that it was brought about by the anxiety caused by the spectre of sudden death and the fear of divine retribution. This was a feeling which was intensified during the course of the period by the devastating outbreak of plague in 1348 and also by its sporadic re-occurrences over the following 150 years. Indeed for a long time this was, and in some instances continues to be, the accepted view of medieval religious sensibility. That is, piety being a phenomenon linked to the doctrine of purgatory and fuelled by spiritual considerations for the future of the immortal soul after death.

> Wherever one turns in the sources for the period one encounters the overwhelming preoccupation, of clergy and laity alike from peasant to prince and from parish clerk to pontiff, with the safe transition of their souls from this world to the next (Duffy 1992: 301).

Of course we need to appreciate that piety and spiritual insecurity may have played a substantial role in the mechanisms of charitable benefaction towards the parish church. However, for a more informative answer to the phenomenon we need to look beyond the accepted view and begin to think in a more critical sense about medieval pious motivations.

The Middle Ages have to some extent always been regarded as an age of intense individual and collective faith. The construction and elaboration of religious buildings is regarded as one expression of this faith and religious belief. However, some scholars have challenged this overriding assumption (Bossy 1983, Reynolds 1991). Susan Reynolds, for instance, has suggested that, "few historians of popular religion seem to wonder whether some medieval people maybe took all religious belief with a pinch of salt" (1991 26). What Reynolds is pointing to is the fact that to a certain extent the practice of religion may have been, for some, a social convention as opposed to a genuine expression of pious belief. Colin Richmond supports this view somewhat. He describes the process whereby, for the gentry in fifteenth century England, religious faith became a more introspective and private matter. It was a time when many people heard mass in private oratories and attended mass in the parish church less regularly. Indeed when they did hear mass in the parish church they tended to separate themselves from the rest of the laity in private pews. Their presence at mass became divorced from the communal experience and their isolation emphasised not only their move towards a more introspective form of religious devotion, it also served to highlight the social divisions between themselves and the majority of the congregation (Richmond 1984). If this is the case, and there was (without overstating it) a greater degree of religious scepticism than has hitherto been acknowledged during this period, whilst at the same time there developed a widening gulf between public and private devotion on the part of the gentry and aristocracy, what then accounts for the late medieval parish church being so widely and richly endowed? It seems that we need to think about the possibility that there may have been other driving forces behind the outward face of late medieval religiosity.

If we re-examine Richard Bradley's proposition that ritual monuments are born out of "periods of insecurity", it can be argued that we have in the later Middle Ages a period which conforms to any given criteria necessary to warrant the description of it as an insecure period of history. The Later Middle Ages can be regarded, for reasons outlined above, as a period of social flux and instability and a close examination of the archaeology of the late medieval parish church can be seen to reflect this. As has already been mentioned this was a time of significant church alteration, embellishment and rebuilding in the face of demographic decline and sometimes adverse economic fortunes. It was also a time of crisis for many of the people who inhabited it and for none more so than the landed aristocracy and gentry. For them the major crisis of the time was one of a reduction in authority brought about as a consequence of population decline and the subsequent reduction of a reliable labour force from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.

The situation prior to the fourteenth century was firmly in the favour of the landlords, as they could control the means of production to forward their own ends.

> Before 1348, and even more so before the famine of 1315/16, cultivable land or good meadows and pastures were scarce. Peasants competed fiercely with each other for such additional customary holdings, for contractual leases of tenements or for leases of demesne lands as lords were willing to concede to them. Unfree tenants with holdings would not in these circumstances lightly disobey their landlord and there was little danger of many servile peasants trying to migrate elsewhere. These were the social and economic constraints behind the persistence of serfdom (Fryde 1996: 12).

The general shortage of labour that resulted from the demographic decline following the plague of 1348 meant that landlords could no longer dictate the conditions of tenure on such a rigid scale. Compromises had to be arrived at in order for a landlord to retain his tenants. The greater availability of vacant tenancies meant that a dissatisfied individual was now able to move wherever the conditions of leasing land were more favourable. Land could no longer be farmed by traditional feudal methods and as a consequence the newly empowered labouring classes were able to forge a better deal for themselves. There was a moving away from the established labour rents and a move towards rents in kind and money (Katz 1989). The lord's demesne was for a time farmed by waged labourers who in turn were able to demand higher rates of pay for their services. Eventually the majority of larger demesne holdings were themselves leased to tenant farmers, as the cost of providing labour became too prohibitive.

These changes did not occur rapidly and some landlords attempted to retain

the old feudal terms.

> The harsh expedients employed by estate officers to maintain custom were themselves breaches of custom in tenant's eyes. One consequence of the oppressive policies which landlords pursued in these years was the widespread questioning of seigniorial authority. This in turn encouraged a mood of non co-operation (Britnell 1993: 218)

The implementation of new conditions of land tenure and the farming of the lord's demesne using hired labour altered the complexion of the relationship that had previously existed between landlord and peasant.

> Many of the problems facing landlords in dealing with their peasants arose directly out of the leasing of demesnes. The disappearance of the daily routine of the enforcing of labour services undermined the regular contacts between seigniorial officials and the servile tenantry. It became harder to ensure that the servile dependants would stay on the estate (Fryde 1996: 117).

The tenurial changes brought about by the restructuring of the feudal order resulted, as we have seen, in a reduction in the direct contact between tenant and landlord, or at least the landlord's official. It was also a time of a general amount of popular resistance; the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 provides an extreme example of this type action.

Many scholars have approached the changing social and economic structure which occurred in England in the Late Middle Ages, and many argue that there was a form of economic crisis, which resulted in the readjustment in the social complexion of the country as a whole. However, when the late medieval church is considered in this light it can be seen that there was an upsurge in building activity about this time, an increase that runs counter to the arguments dealing with fiscal downturn. The question must be: how is it possible that during a period of increased economic instability was there at the same time a flowering of English architecture which resulted in what later became known as the Perpendicular style? It must be recognised that the agricultural crisis that affected much of the country was not a general feature in all areas. Agricultural diversification, from arable to livestock, allowed individuals in some parts of the country to increase the economic productivity of their estates. This was particularly true of the great sheep rearing areas such as East Anglia and the Cotswolds. In terms of church building and elaboration it is no surprise therefore that these counties exhibit abundant examples of large perpendicular churches. The impressiveness and scale of these buildings can clearly be related to the prosperity of the wool trade, the parish church of Long Melford, Suffolk, being a particularly apt example. However, the prosperity of a region did not seem to have limited the

intensity of church building. It may be argued that to a certain extent the churches elsewhere may not match the great "Wool Churches" in terms of size and financial cost, but it remains the case that church building in all areas went ahead, seemingly regardless of economic restrictions. As Andrew Brown states,

> Regional differences in the economy may have had a more decisive effect on church building: in some areas reductions of churches began before the arrival of the plague and continued long after, but in other areas building programmes proceeded apace. In any case, the general effect of the plague on the economy and the ability to fund church building is not easy to assess. There may have been an overall decline in agricultural production yet an increase in per capita wealth (Brown 1996: 64).

The overriding proposition being made here is that benefaction towards the parish church can be regarded as an indication of the tensions which existed in later medieval society. It would appear that the major initiative, other than genuine piety, which underpinned such acts, was one of social control (Vale 1976). The land-owning classes did indeed experience a genuine crisis of authority as a consequence of the restructuring of society and the greater individual freedom obtained by the lower orders in the aftermath of the Black Death and its subsequent outbreaks (Bolton 1996). The direct authority of the ruling classes had been severely reduced and they were put under pressure from all sides. "Lordship had lost its coercive power in the face of depopulation and, it has been argued, of the long-term opposition of a restless peasantry intent on acquiring freedom and pursuing its own fortunes by hard work and individual enterprise" (Bolton 1996: 50). Furthermore the established landed aristocracy and gentry also came under a certain amount of pressure as a result of the new-found social mobility, which was another important development in the post plague years. As Rodney Hilton suggests,

> The fifteenth century was above all a period of upward social mobility. The chief manifestation of this mobility was that the old landed aristocracy - those of gentle birth - was being penetrated from below by the merchants and other rich commoners. This was why it was necessary to sharpen the distinctions of social boundaries as was done in sumptuary legislation (Hilton 1985: 246).

It will be argued that it was in response to this erosion of their direct power that the elite in society turned towards the parish church and by the embellishment, through the provision of chapels, memorials and other structural elaboration they attempted to demonstrate and thereby reaffirm their worldly position.

3.3 Church patronage and authority

To briefly return to Richard Bradley's suggestion that the building of monuments and investments in ideology may arise as a reaction to periods of instability and insecurity, we can begin to think of it in terms of conspicuous display in relation to church building programmes (Bradley 1987). Although Bradley's paper centres on ritual continuity and the re-use of prehistoric monuments in the early medieval period, the key elements of his argument can certainly be applied to the consideration of the later medieval parish church. Bradley mentions "ritual continuity which allows the past to serve the needs of the present (being) used to secure the status quo" (Bradley 1987: 3). This is a point which has to be considered, whereby the established landed families employed the fabric of the parish church to advertise and reaffirm their social position. They did this in order to establish a link between themselves and the endurable nature of the building itself through the provision of rich burial tombs and the conspicuous use of heraldry and other familial references.

However, it was not only the recognized landed classes who employed this strategy. Another feature of the new mood of opportunism of the later Middle Ages was the emergence of new families sprung from members of the mercantile and the professional classes.

> Upward social movement followed financial and political success. The routes to preferment through service, war, commerce and the professions for the talented but humble born were already well established. The ultimate goal was the acquisition of land, title and lordship and entry into the ranks of the gentry (Pollard 2000: 185).

These families used their wealth to purchase vacant estates and take their place amongst the lower aristocracy (Payling 1995). These groups also employed the parish church as a means by which they could signal their arrival and to some extent legitimise their claims to authority. As Bradley suggests "the ritual past may be one way in which particular groups establish their own position and put it beyond challenge" (Bradley 1987: 3). In order to do this the architecture of the parish church was employed in such a way that a link was established between those who wished to be seen as figures of local authority and the memorial status of the church itself. This was done in such a way as to make the transition appear as seamless as possible, as was the case with Thomas Witham, or alternatively by removing all traces of previous authority, as happened at Catterick, North Yorkshire (for both see chapter nine). This

operation could be accomplished by these groups through the strategic deployment of the weight of tradition and custom.

> Custom gives testimony to the enduring power of the past without revealing the specific nature of its heritage. The paradox is that the past is continually being updated as new realities present themselves. But improvisation is slow enough to be incorporated into custom imperceptibly, accommodating change under the guise of changelessness (Hutton 1993: 17).

This brings to the fore the connection between the employment of the parish church as a means of social recognition, on the part of those individuals who wished to be associated with it, and the concept of the collective memory of the inhabitants of a given parish. It was the collective memory which housed the traditions that coloured the lives of these people and being so, it was a method by which certain individuals and groups were able to influence social consensus in their favour.

> Practical traditionalising frequently provokes an elite epiphenomenon, a translation of community metacommentaries into hegemonic terms, which we call 'idealogical traditionalising'. It should not be surprising to find them in fact often making common cause with their communities of origin. In the first place, in provincial communities the resources of the elite are often less than their positions would ideally command: they have neither sufficient force nor sufficient capital to impose themselves entirely on their inferiors. Rather, the fortunes of a provincial class ride largely on the fortunes-and goodwill- of the common people (Noyes and Abrahams 1999: 90).

In essence it can be reasonably assumed that for the inhabitants of the medieval period it was customary to have authority figures within their midst and it was their place in the collective memory of the community which allowed the elite to survive as a credible political and social force.

Chapter Four

Social Space and the Medieval Parish Church

The main focus of this chapter is the consideration of the nature of sacred space within the later medieval parish church and the ways in which it was employed in the construction of social relations; how the consideration of the structural layout of the late medieval church, its external and internal divisions can be used to inform, and increase, our knowledge of medieval society as a whole. Particular emphasis will be placed on the liminal areas connected with these buildings, which can be considered as exhibiting particular physical and psychological potency. These are the crossing points within the space of the building, the thresholds betwixt and between spaces, areas which can be defined as possessing differing ritual and social values (Hetherington 1997). The most obvious example of this type of liminal zone is the church door itself, an area between the sacred interior of the church and the profane exterior, and this is a particular element of the architectural arrangement which will be focussed on in some detail. It is the concept of liminality as encountered in the context of the late medieval church which, it can be argued, played a prominent role in the negotiation of social relations within the community of the parish. The structural layout of the church building, and the boundaries thus created, functioned in such a way that they can be regarded as a reflection of contemporary attitudes with regards to the social relationships and tensions which existed within medieval society. Viewed in this way, the utilisation and allocation of sacred space can be seen to relate to the barriers and also the bonds that existed between individuals and groups within the medieval parish community. However, in order to fully investigate the concept of liminality, and what effect it had on the individuals and groups who built, paid for and employed these churches, it will first be necessary to consider the theoretical concepts surrounding the physical and ideological theories relating to the concept of social space.

4.1 The Theory of Social Space

Social space is a complex phenomenon and brings together various concepts which deal with the human condition, being a concept which is manifest both physically and psychologically. Space in its literal sense is much more than simply an

expansion or constriction of the physical sphere of existence. It is also contingent on the passage of time in order to create a "temporal/spatial interdependence" (Urry 1985: 44). Most importantly, when viewed as one component of the social world, it is space which is the starting point from which the notion of place is formed. As Yi-Fu Tuan observes,

> The ideas space and place require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space and vice versa. Furthermore if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place (Tuan 1977: 6).

Therefore, if movement within space/time creates pauses, which in Tuan's definition can lead to the creation of location, then it is the movement between locations which forms the basis for liminality. How then is location distinguished? In its simplest terms location can be explained as a feature in the landscape which elicits a response. These features can be either natural or manufactured and the location of the object is created by virtue of it possessing a position within time/space.

Movement is another important factor in the concept of liminality as it requires an individual to negotiate a path through both time and space. As pointed out, movement in time creates space, and pause within time and space is the condition which results in the creation of place. Therefore, human social existence can be regarded as a continuum, a journey through space, interspersed with pauses at various locations (Giddens 1985). This journey can be at times linear, at others cyclical, where places are visited and sometimes revisited. John Barrett, following on from the work of Giddens, uses the terms 'station' and 'locale' to describe these pauses in time/space and suggests that "these stations or locales are thus distributed serially and are interspersed by periods which are required by the individual both to separate these locales and to move between them" (Barrett 1994[a]: 74). It is these intervals, the transitional areas between places, which have to be negotiated by the individual, and it is the boundaries, the liminal areas between separate and sometimes quite opposing spaces, which can act on, and constrain an individual's actual and psychological freedom of movement.

Physically, these boundaries can be represented as borders between states or countries, the movement from a rural to an urban environment, or indeed, the passing from the outside to the inside of a building. The actual bodily movement across such a boundary or threshold carries with it a psychological adjustment, which in a similar

way, carries a diametrically opposed set of conditions. Movement across a boundary is marked by a transitional point, a liminal zone, which defines the change in the psychological orientation of the individual as the transition is made. Therefore, for the individual, movement between locations is not only affected by the repositioning of the body in space/time, it also evokes social and cultural awareness of the movements between socially defined spaces, that which is yours/mine, private/public, sacred/profane. If we consider, for the moment, the transition between the outside and the inside, a redefinition which is achieved by entering a building, it will be possible to examine in greater detail the idea of liminality, as will be discussed later with relation to the medieval parish church.

A building represents a real physical boundary between two opposing spaces and the impermeable nature of the walls of the building act as a barrier separating the outside from that which is within. However, Henry Plummer argues that walls can also be seen as dualistic membranes.

> The building enclosure thus becomes paradoxical, alternately acting as a limit that separates and indicates the distance between two spaces....and also as the very mechanism by which those same worlds communicate and passage occurs between them (Plummer 1993: 368).

The important point made in the above statement is the reference to the passage, which occurs between the interior and exterior spaces. This provides a clear example of the physical and psychological nature of liminal zones. As Plummer suggests, the building operates at two levels, one that separates and one that communicates. The point at which both of these conditions come together is the entrance to the building, the doorway. The doorway, the liminal area, creates in the building "a dialectical fabric capable of overcoming any overall polarisation and mutual alienation of inside and outside space" (Plummer 1993: 368). It is of course correct that the doorway can be seen as the agent, which brings together two opposing spaces. However, it must always be remembered that boundaries exist between spaces as a consequence of the opposing nature of the condition of space. Therefore any form of boundary, and in particular the doorway of a building, can also function as a barrier.

> The facade of a building represents the interface between indoors and outdoors in its simplest form. A powerful statement of it, such as can be found in the walls of a castle, can communicate the idea of an effective protective screen which may afford a high degree of privacy and seclusion to those who shelter behind it, but at the same time may strengthen the sense of exclusion for those who perceive it from the outside...By contrast a facade which appears to offer opportunities for passing easily between outdoors and

> indoors, while it may well be less effective as a protective screen is more likely to be more appealing to the outside observer because of its symbolic message (Appleton 1993: 74).

The boundaries between spaces are areas associated with pollution, risk and danger. In many societies the performance of rituals carried out in such transitional areas are enacted in order to protect the individual when crossing such boundaries. (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994). This is particularly true with respect to doorways which connect domestic or ritual space with that of the outside world. The spaces which are connected by liminal zones, are, by definition of the contrast which exists between them and the thresholds which connect them, seen as ordered space imbued with an inherent stability.

> Even more important from a social point of view is the partitioning of space, since boundaries contribute to the integration, or at least 'centripetality' of a society. Bounded space makes any social order more concrete and intensely experienced. (Lechner 1991: 197)

It is as a result of the specific contrasts which defines central and liminal space that the latter can be regarded as what have been termed 'representational spaces' (Hetherington 1997), that is, areas which are fragments of space that exist in an otherwise ordered realm of time/space social relations.

> Such sites, therefore, are not sites as such but temporal situations, events, which occur in particular places that open up possibilities of resistance within society to certain marginal groups or social classes (Hetherington 1997: 22).

However, Hetherington goes on to suggest that such spaces cannot be solely regarded as areas of resistance and freedom but also as "spaces of alternative modes of ordering; they have their own codes, rules and symbols and they generate their own relations of power (1997). It is also possible that as areas of independent action and expression, liminal areas are also the focus of counter resistance on the part of those in society who wish to impose their own values and codes of social order.

4.2 Liminality and the employment of sacred space

This then leads on to the consideration of the late medieval church which, as a building, represented the enclosure of sacred space in an otherwise profane world. However, as is often the case when discussing the concept of liminality, it is difficult to focus on one area as being typical. For example, the walls of the church can be regarded as the dividing factor between two opposing spaces, and the doorway can be seen as the threshold, or liminal zone, which acts as the interface between that which

is sacred and the profane. However, the church itself stands within a churchyard and again this area can also be regarded as having a differing sacred significance, between itself and that which surrounds it. The interior of the church is also segregated into areas of differential ritual and sacred importance by both physical and psychological thresholds all of which had certain symbolic significance. Although the main doorway into the building can be seen as the most vivid example of the concept of liminality when applied to the parish church, there also existed at the time other liminal areas throughout the whole building. The threshold between the nave and the chancel, for example, was an area which was given greater prominence in the medieval period by the provision of the chancel screen; this separated the sacred area inhabited by the clergy from the more secular nave. There were also other clearly demarcated areas within the main body of the church. Areas such as those given over to the location of chantry chapels and altars, for example, were again partitioned off from the rest of the church by the use of screens in order to create spaces which exhibited specific spiritual and social importance. In addition, the church as a whole was further divided into areas to the north and south, each with its own symbolic associations and ritual values (Graves 1989). Therefore, it can be appreciated that movement within the sacred space of the parish church is not a simple matter of negotiating one threshold, but, in fact, requires an individual to chart his or her course through a series of transitional encounters.

A further point, with reference to the medieval parish church, is how far an individual could penetrate into this sacred space (Hayes 2001). The fact that liminal zones can act as barriers as well as a means of communication had the effect of creating a hierarchy of space. In simple terms, this can be regarded as radiating outwards from the high altar at the east end with decreasing degrees of sacred gravity as it moved westward (Daniell 1997: 95). This division of space and the recognition of spatial hierarchy became a means of authorising and emphasising social differentiation and enforcing physical and psychological control.

> Such boundaries serve two main purposes; they act as physical barriers and as symbolic borders between the spaces assigned to individuals and/or groups; between that is, social units of space...Governing who may pass into or out of the space, and under what social circumstances this may occur (Harris and Lipman 1980: 419).

This limitation on access can be applied to many situations and many types of buildings. Crossing boundaries is an operation which always brings about some form of social response, either negative or positive.

> Buildings exercise control in terms of how different groups interact or are brought together. The layout of the building can therefore reinforce the differentiation of status influence and the potential for supervision and control and affect the potential for encountering others (Aspinal 1993: 334).

In the medieval period movement between parishes held with it the recognition that one was entering a different social context. An individual would be a stranger in a neighbouring parish, not strictly in the sense that one was unknown in the vicinity, but rather in terms of the circumstances of the allocation of rights of access that would be granted to the individual. The social consensus meant that movement would not be free, but rather allocated on the basis of appropriate modes of behaviour and conduct, the maintenance of which was ensured by social supervision. Also, within an individual's own parish, boundaries existed between specific social spaces, particularly in the home or the homes of others. Medieval towns are another example of an insular construct governed by specific rules of access. When one considers the walls of the medieval town as the boundary between opposing social spaces, one urban, the other rural, there exists a transitional zone between the two, which needed to be negotiated. As with all liminal zones the gates of the medieval town could also act as a barrier to certain marginalised groups. Lepers were one such group whose movements within the town were restricted and for whom the walls and gates acted as a barrier to social interaction.

Of course, any building, whatever form it takes, can be regarded as an important focus for the creation of location, with its own complex set of rules and social boundaries.

> We can say that awareness of social rules, expressed first and foremost in practical consciousness is the very core of that 'knowledgeability' which specifically characterises human agents. As social actors, all human beings are highly learned in respect of knowledge which they possess and apply, in the production and reproduction of day-to-day social encounters (Giddens 1984: 21-2).

However, in order to understand how this affected the spatial configuration of the medieval parish church, we need to focus in more depth on the ritual manifestation of the concept, the symbolic and communal associations that existed between the sacred and profane aspects of location, place and space. In terms of a communally important location, be it a temple, church or other form of ritual monument, it only remains significant with regard to the amount of communal action which is focused upon it. It may be argued that the creation of a central ritual location allows certain sections of a given society the scope to gain a means of ideological control by the manipulation of

communal sacred space. This may well be the case, and is a theory which will be considered; however, there must be an underlying driving force for the creation of central communal locations, which allow for this subversion to be effective.

It would appear that the creation of identity is closely linked to the concept of central places. The ritual activities which are associated with these types of locations are the building blocks of communal solidarity and strengthen the bonds of social relationships (Connerton 1989). Buildings, such as the parish church, which witnessed regular and routine ritual practices, become infused with the symbolic power to express social awareness. This situation is brought about because the central space, at its most fundamental level, is the result of the social practice focussed upon it, whilst at the same time social practice is the outcome of the utilisation of social space. "Structures are both the medium and the outcome of social practices. They are modified continually as the actions that constitute them change" (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994: 3). It is this modification of structure, and the manipulation of social practice carried out within it, which needs to be considered in more depth.

As mentioned earlier, the main areas of the architecture of the medieval parish church on which this chapter will focus are the liminal zones. These are areas where all of the elements of the social and symbolic nature of space come together. The most important area of the building in these terms is the church doorway itself. To cross this threshold involved an understanding that one was moving between spaces, which had their own set of rules and pre-conditions. This being the case, the liminal nature of the doorway acted not only as means of access, but also functioned as a barrier to those who were not fully compliant with the internal religious and social precepts. It was here that a great many, or at the very least symbolically significant elements, of the socially important rituals of the community, such as baptismal rites, marriages and funerals, were carried out. It is the fact that these rituals were being performed in a space which can be seen as a symptomatic consequence of tension and resistance that made them important to the construction of the social relations of the community. This was a contested space, the control of which became a feature of wider social interaction. This point is highlighted by the fact that a great many parish church doorways are situated beneath elaborate porches, many of which bear witness to the fact that they were erected by influential and powerful individuals connected with the parish. This form of provision is discussed in some depth in later chapters; however, the basic premise is that by providing the church with a porch that proclaimed the

wealth and social position of the patron, the appropriation of social space, and the associated activities which were performed within it, could be regarded as receiving a form of indirect sanction from the benefactor. The development of the form of the later medieval porch in England is an extremely interesting phenomenon with regard to the ways in which architecture was employed as a social tool. This period saw the rise in the complexity of the construction of the porch achieve its greatest extent. They were, on the whole larger than had previously been the case (Peters 1996). Indeed, many of the largest examples of porches of this date in England, such as at Woolpit and Yaxley, both of which are in Suffolk, have upper chambers. The upper chamber of the porch at Titchmarsh, Northants, may have been used as a private pew by the Pickering family. These larger porches truly reflect the nature of the parish church porch as a multi-functional space, both religious and secular.

> The upper chamber was used for the administration of justice, and was sometimes the treasury or monument room of the parish, occasionally also serving as an armoury. In the lower part parishioners frequently met for business transactions, and stalls were set up in them on the occasion of local feasts (Tyrell-Green 1924: 173).

There are many possible reasons as to why the parish church porch developed along the lines that it did. Patronage towards the fabric of the church can invariably be seen to have a pragmatic aspect connected with it and the building of a porch would benefit the patron in more ways than simply in a spiritual sense. Of course, the provision of a porch would be of great benefit to the local congregation and in religious terms this would be regarded as an act of pious charity which would gain spiritual recognition. On the other hand, such an action would have undoubted temporal benefits in terms of an individual's social standing and also that of their successors. In such ways the liminal space of the church doorway, whilst retaining its sense of independence and freedom, was brought under control and manipulated in order to underline and reaffirm social distance.

The employment of liminal areas within the church could, of course, be maintained when they served the purpose of the elite. The segregation of chantry chapels from the rest of the congregation would have heightened the sense of elite exclusivity, particularly by the employment of parclose screens which were visually permeable but no less effective as physical barriers to movement between spaces. In some churches there was private access to a particular chapel and again the prohibitive aspect of the threshold as a barrier would have been effective. At the parish church of St Andrew, Collyweston, Northants, the separation between the south

chapel, built by Lady Margaret Beaufort c1490, and the nave is accentuated by the fact that the floor of the chapel is considerably higher. Entry to the south chapel is gained through a separate doorway situated in its west wall, thus creating a totally private space. Therefore, although the inhabitants of the chapel could be viewed from the nave, their elevated position and their exclusive ingress would have reflected their equally elevated and exclusive position in society.

Another example, that of St Michael's, Well, North Yorkshire, will serve to illustrate how a single manorial family could, by the manipulation of space, become the central focus in a church. This example is provided by the examination of the chantry chapel situated at the east end of the north aisle of St Michael's.

This chapel, which was founded in 1399, does not protrude as far to the east as the Neville chapel situated at east end of the southern aisle. Therefore, it can be immediately suggested that its position is subordinate to that of the Neville's. There is an arcade of one arch connecting this north chapel with the chancel which allows for a direct view across the space of the chancel, and thus creates a visual connection between the two chapels. More importantly, in terms of the management of sacred space, is the fact that the north chapel is provided with a squint in its south east corner. Horsfall (1910) suggests that this squint was intended to provide a view from the chapel to the high altar. However, this is not in fact correct, as the squint does not look towards the high altar, but rather guides the view directly to the position of the altar at the east end of the Neville's chapel. In fact, the high altar cannot be seen from any conventional point in the north chapel. Therefore, it seems, that the focus of the attention of the individuals worshipping in this north chapel must have been, not the high altar, but the chapel dedicated to the Nevilles and all this implies concerning social barriers.

One of the most striking examples of this form of interior spatial segregation is found at the parish church of Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk, (figure 2) where the divisions are taken to their extreme limits. There are four chapels at Long Melford: one on either side of the choir; one to the north of the chancel and a substantially larger structure to the east. It is noticeable that the spatial seclusion of the chapels increases in relation to their date of construction. The Clopton chapel to the north of the choir, which dates to the later half of the fifteenth century, provides an interesting example of the way in which visibility and actual spatial connectedness

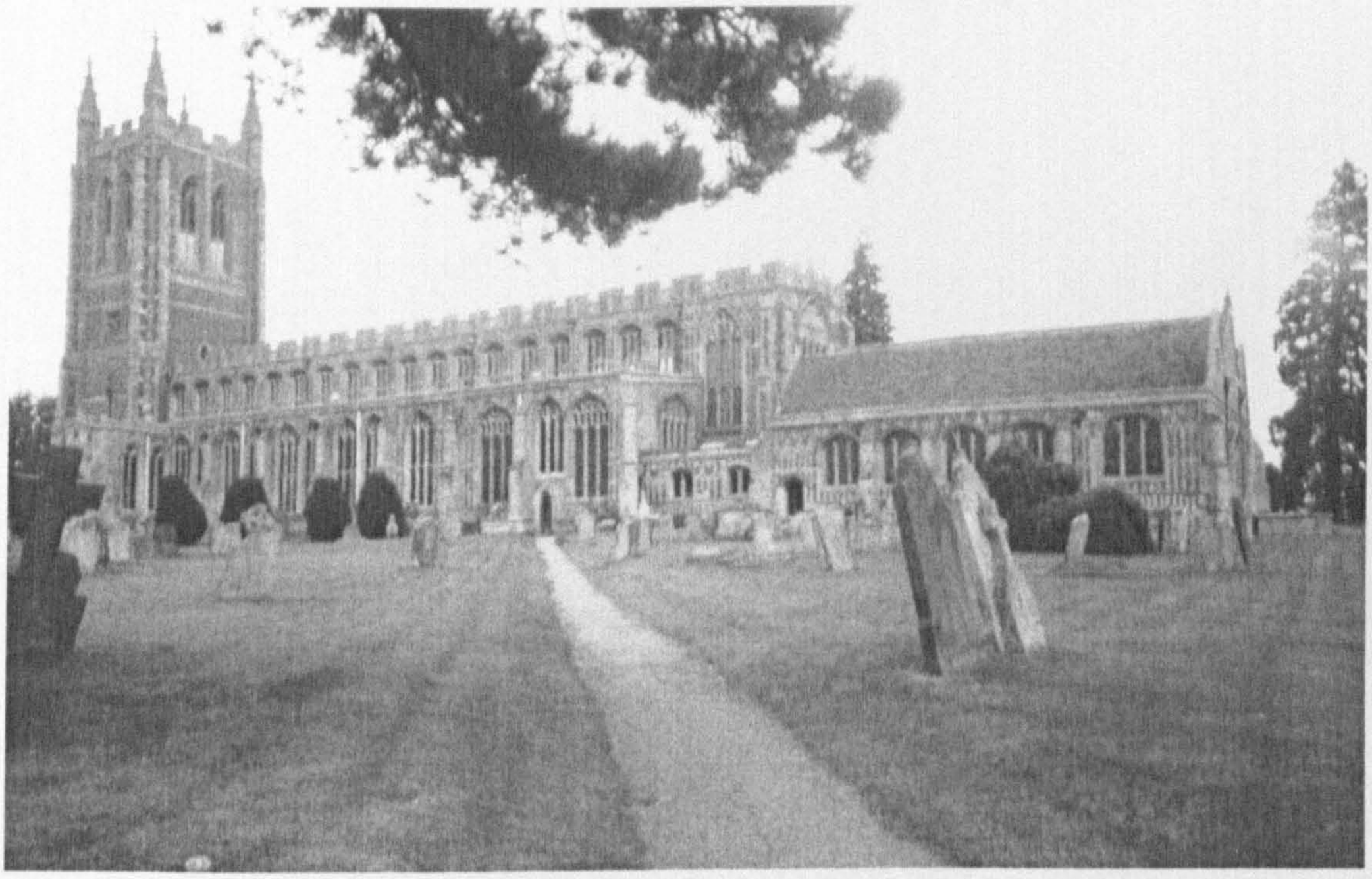


Figure 2, Long Melford parish church

were employed. Although the chapel is separated from the north aisle and the choir by parclose screens, there are doors to both which allows for a certain degree of intercommunication. However, it is clear that for the main inhabitants of the chapel, the Clopton family themselves, this contact with the church as a whole is a purely superficial feature. The Clopton's family home was Kentwell Hall 1km north of the church and they in fact entered the chapel through their own private door situated in the east end of the north wall of the building. In keeping with the rituals of entry into medieval churches, the doorway is furnished with a holy water stoup so that an individual upon entering the church could anoint themselves in recognition that they were entering sacred space. The remarkable thing about the stoup in the Clopton chapel is that it is incorporated into the corner of a monumental tomb bearing the effigy of William Clopton (d1446). Therefore, the symbolic and ritual actions undertaken by any individual entering this chapel had profound implications; first is the implicit privacy and separation from the general congregation which the chapel represents; second is the use of the holy water stoup and what it implied. This was that the individual was not only entering sacred space but more specifically space which is firmly under the control of one particular family. The very fact that the stoup is set within the tomb of a former family member meant that its use not only denoted

the observance of religious conventions but could also be regarded as symbolically communing with the memory of the ancestors of the family.

The second chapel, or Clopton Chantry as it is known, was constructed in the 1480s and it takes the concept of privacy and segregation one step further. This chapel is entered through the east wall of the original chapel and, thereby, alludes to a sense of continuity with the former. However, the later chapel is almost totally enclosed and spatially isolated. The entrance itself is a small lobby type arrangement where the individual is required to readjust the orientation of the body as progress is made through the door and, by doing so, makes the process of isolation all the more marked. Within the chapel, the only connection with the larger church is via an ogee arched opening in the south wall that gives into the chancel. Set within this opening is the tomb of John Clopton, (*dc.*1497) the founder of the chapel.

The third chapel with which the Clopton family are associated is the Lady Chapel which is situated at the east end of the chancel. Built in the 1490s, the only connection that this building has with the main body of the church is through a door in its west wall which gives access to the priest's vestry which is located at the rear of the high altar. The Lady Chapel, in essence, constitutes a completely separate building and, as such, increases the selectivity of access. Again, inside the chapel there is a division of space; the chapel proper stands at the centre of the interior space, surrounded by an elaborately decorated wall, pierced by double windows. This cloistered arrangement creates a distinctive centrality focussed upon the chapel altar and a more removed peripheral area which encompasses it. The building of this chapel was supported by a number of wealthy individuals from the Long Melford area, none more so than John Clopton himself, who in his will dated 1497 left the huge sum of £66. 13s. 4d towards its construction (Paine 1983). It is understandable, therefore, that the names of these generous benefactors are recorded for posterity in such a unique manner. They are inscribed in the very walls of the building they paid for. What we see in the construction of the Lady Chapel at Long Melford, takes the concept of privacy and the segregation of scared space to its extreme conclusion. These individuals, and their successors, did not have to enter the church at all in order to take part in religious services. They created a totally independent space in which to do so. What makes this point more prominent is the fact that they may have been invisible on the inside but their presence was writ large on the outside, for all to see, a point which must have made an impact.

The employment of overt self advertisement and its effectiveness in the maintenance of social distinctions will be discussed in depth in later chapters. Indeed, Holy Trinity is a church which resonates with this form of display. However, for the moment it will be sufficient to consider the words of John Clopton as recorded on the north wall of Lady Chapel at Long Melford.

'*Let Christ be my witness that I have not exhibited these things in order that I may win praise, but in order that the spirit may be remembered*'.

Chapter Five

Collective Memory

In his influential volume *The Realms of Memory,* Pierre Nora suggested that in the modern era there exist 'Lieux de Mémoire', sites of memory, where there remains a semblance of continuity with the past by association with features that survive from the past. He concluded that these sites of memory exist only because there are no longer any "Milieux de Mémoire, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience" (Nora 1998: 1). If these sites of memory existed in the medieval period where then do we look for traces of them in the present? We could of course examine the use of the 'Art of Memory', the techniques employed by medieval clerics to enable them to memorise and recount written texts such as have been discussed in the work of Francis Yates (1966). However, if we are to consider the proposal that memory was so pervasive and played such a fundamental part in the everyday experience of medieval life, then surely it will be manifest in all aspects of medieval culture. This view is also echoed by Mary Carruthers, who whilst discussing the concept of ancient memory, states that:

> It is my contention that medieval culture was fundamentally memorial, to the same degree that modern culture in the West is documentary. This distinction certainly involves technologies- mnemotechnique and printing- but it is not confined to them (Carruthers 1990: 8).

This assertion is certainly correct, although it is due to the fact that memory was so involved in the basic day-to-day functioning of medieval society that it becomes difficult to pin down and in many instances it is overlooked altogether.

This chapter discusses the concept of collective memory as it related the social organisation of parish communities of England in the late Middle Ages. It examines in some detail one particular aspect of its employment, that is the transference of memory to physical space and material objects. The intention is to look at the ways in which space and material culture were used in the mediation of memory and how they could take on a symbolic resonance related to the collective memory of a community. Also taken into account is the concept of memory as power, and in so far as it is possible, to consider how space and material objects could be manipulated in order to bolster claims of authority. The concept of medieval time is also considered in order

to go some way towards establishing the thinking which lay behind the importance of memory and that which made it so relevant to the period.

5.1 Collective memory

At its most fundamental level memory can be regarded as a mechanism for the retention of a personal past. This form of memory is something which, to a large extent, is particular to each individual, embedded within the consciousness and not usually conveyed to others. Memory is deeply entwined within the psychological processes which are concerned with the ability of humans to function as social beings. During the course of their everyday lives individuals are constantly in the process of remembering, and indeed forgetting, incidences and events which form their personal past experience. They are in a sense recalling and sorting past experiences in order to function successfully and negotiate the challenges of human existence and the social interactions which are encountered daily. Sometimes this process involves active remembering as, for example, when one remembers an incident or particular person from one's past; this information is then recalled and applied to a given present situation. Alternatively the memory process can be passive, as when one uses language or is reading for example. These are activities which are learned, committed to memory and then recalled subconsciously when required. Indeed it is this passive, spontaneous, memory, which makes up the largest proportion of the act of remembering.

> Memories embedded in our musculature, dreams, sickness, feelings and relations; memories expressed as preferences, attractions, aversions, anxieties; memories that give unconscious depth, range and force to our 'immediacies:' involuntary memories form our everyday lives and unexpected interruptions in them, although we seldom think about involuntary memories or recognise them when they happen. But they do happen (Scott 1999: 120).

However, it is the first of these, the active memory, which has a bearing on the concept of collective memory, in so far as individual recollections are governed by what is purposely remembered as well as what is allowed to be forgotten. Collective memory, unlike the memory ascribed to individuals, is a shared phenomenon and it is through the action of a collective memory that the accumulated experiences of a group's past are expressed. Collective memory, however, is not merely the sum total of a group's individual experiences. Rather it is constructed by the collective in order to express and relate shared past

experiences and to render them relevant to the present. The process operates in this way due to the fact that, "individuals remember, in a literal, physical sense. However, it is social groups which determine what is remembered and also how it will be remembered" (Burke 1989: 98). This selection, to a large extent, is controlled by the shared experiences and social and cultural factors which impact upon personal consciousness. Individual memories are acted upon and constrained by the social milieu within which an individual operates, to the point where personal recollections are coloured by one's relations with others. In Maurice Halbwachs' analysis, the memories of a group or community are linked by what he termed collective frameworks of memory (Halbwachs [1992]). This collective framework ties together the individual memories of a social group and it is, therefore, from the sum total of the related memories within this framework that the collective memory of a community is constructed.

> Collective frameworks are.... Precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord in each epoch with the predominant thoughts of the society. (Halbwachs [1992]: 40).

It is through social discourse and the sharing of past experiences that groups achieve the transformation from individual to collective memory (Bedell 1999). This is brought about by the process of the socialisation of memory and the creation of a shared perspective of the past (Gedi and Elam 1996). An individual's memory is a thing unique to the self, in the sense that it is a personal recollection of a past experience or event. This memory can remain personal even when shared with another because disclosure of one's own memory does not automatically make it the memory of another. However, if two or more individuals share a memory of the same event then a link in Halbwachs' framework is forged. This is because, "a memory can be social only if it is capable of being transmitted, and to be transmitted, a memory must first be articulated" (Fentress and Wickham 1992: 47).When these individual memories are conjoined through the processes of language for example, or some other media, which elicit a later response, there are within this certain common denominators, similarities in memory, which will be mutual to all. It follows then that if individual memory is formed in part by one's social relations, then the frameworks of memory will bring these together to construct a collective memory which reflects the shared experience of a society.

Collective memory therefore is constructed by a group from the relevant parts of the wider span of individual memories, and essentially this means that it is in effect inherently selective, with this selectivity being governed initially by the agency of the shared social experiences which have a major bearing on the group's collective awareness. However, the immediate sharing of experience can only be transmitted directly through one generation of active participants and therefore, in order to render the past experiences into that which shapes and consolidates a community, these memories need to become indelibly engraved on the group's future consciousness. This is achieved through the agency of social discourse, whereby the memory of the community is transferred into a transmittable media, be it oral tradition, ritual observances, written records or images and material culture.

> The character of these long-term memories is biographical, stressing the shared background within which those concerned can appreciate their common past. As such, these memories are part of culture and depend, in various ways, upon the physical setting for how people remember the course of events leading to the present. It is not just that individuals remember specific things or are reminded of the past by particular objects figured against a background of shared discussion of the past. Artefacts and the fabricated environment are also there as a tangible expression of the basis from which one remembers, the material aspect of the setting justifies the memories so constructed (Rodley 1990: 49).

This being said however, it has to be appreciated that memories are not static; they can alter through time and can take on, or be given, a differing weight of significance by future generations. As Peter Burke suggests, "we need to identify the principles of selection and to note how they vary from place to place or from one group to another and how they change over time. Memories are malleable, and we need to understand how they are shaped and by whom" (Burke 1989: 100). Further to this, we need to be aware of the fact that collective memory is not restricted to one particular past. Within a given community they may be several divergent social groupings each with its own comprehension of the communal past. "In its complex insubstantiality the past needs the buttressing of social consensus. Social negotiation and sometimes social coercion figure largely in establishing whose version of what happened will prevail" (Burrows 1999: 186).

5.2 Medieval collective memory

It is at this point where the relevance of the concept of collective memory to the later medieval parish community can begin to be discussed. As will become

clear, the past was an important commodity in the Middle Ages. Memory set the standards by which the present was judged and was the standard employed to legitimise claims of authority, lineage and communal membership. Social relations were inextricably linked with the remembrance of the past and the interpretation of that past in the present. It was the past, the community's understanding of its actual or perceived "history," which gave it a sense of continuity and social cohesion, in other words its traditions and traditional values. Tradition fuelled by the collective memory was the fundamental thing that held these small-scale parish communities together and provided them with their identity.

> The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity (Gillis 1994: 3).

In the absence of written records their permanence was manifest in their observance of values and routines of life directed from the past.

> Tradition often corresponds to the settlement and organisation of a society within definable geographical boundaries...The hold of the past is not only legal and cultural. It is also spatial. It is expressed in land and people, who are geographically placed, and may think they are divinely ordained to mirror a particular tradition. Churches monumentalise these relations in medieval Europe (Stock 1990: 162).

Tradition provided medieval communities with a tangible link to the past, a past that was relevant to the present in the sense that it acted as a guide to communal behaviour. Honorat Aguessy makes the point that

> The supreme rule is thus to do what the ancestors did and nothing else, so that even established innovation remains for a long time precarious. The function of traditionalism, as a social usage, which regulates behaviour, is to encourage conformity and maintain as best it can the repetition of social and cultural norms. The weight of the past thus seems more important than any other dimension of time. The primary concern is with the transition of codes and traditions (Aguessy 1977: 94).

Aguessy's reference to cultural norms suggests that they are transmitted through tradition. These norms are the social rules, by the observance of which individuals operate within a social context. It is the compliance with accepted roles and forms of normative behaviour, which provides for the social stability of a community by linking tradition, and therefore the past, to present action. Tradition provided medieval communities with a tangible link to the past, a past that was relevant to the present, in the sense that it acted as a guide to communal behaviour. This process comes about by what Hogg and Abrams call "referent informational influence" and leads to "intragroup consensus, agreement and uniformity" (Hogg

and Abrams 1998: 172).

> ... this process occurs in three stages; first, people categorise and define themselves as members of a distinct social category or assign themselves a social identity: second, they form or learn the stereotypic norms of that category; and third, they assign these norms to themselves and thus their behaviour becomes more normative as their category membership becomes salient (Hogg and Abrams 1998: 172).

In terms of the late medieval parish community there existed a distinct, yet overlapping, social stratification and hierarchy of social structure with the members of each sub-group conforming to their own implicit rules of social interaction. Whilst discussing the concept of disparate social memories Matthew Innes makes the point that "regions and localities, families and social classes, monasteries and lordships all likewise define collective action in the present with reference to shared views about the past" (Innes 1998: 6). However, these particular sub-groupings of memory did not exist in isolation. The very fact that parish communities were bounded in space and time allowed for the interaction of these differing perceptions of the past, which impacted one upon the other. Given the correct circumstances, this could lead to the emergence of a dominant discourse, one that was able to overshadow and influence the majority. As Jacques le Goff argues,

> Collective memory has been an important issue in the struggle for power among social forces. To make themselves the master of memory and forgetfulness is one of the great preoccupations of the classes, groups and individuals who have dominated and continue to dominate historical societies. The things forgotten or not mentioned by history reveal these mechanisms for the manipulation of the collective memory (le Goff 1977: 54).

It is exactly this situation that is found in the case of the late medieval communities where, it will be argued, the parish church acted as the focus of the collective memory. The church was, at the same time, employed by particular sections of society for self promotion which led to a manipulation of the collective memory of the wider community in order to legitimise individual claims to social position.

> It is the enduring nature of objects that allows them to proceed, often relatively unchanged, through the various periods of people's lives so that they can re-invoke the contexts of which they were once part...It is clear that the use of objects for remembering is both intended and has unintended features...The intended aspects need to be sought in social relationships and group differences. They are also reflected, however, at the level of individual actions when people seek to use objects to shape how others will remember them in years to come (Rodley 1990: 54).

The memorial value of the parish church, its monumentality, could be employed by the elite in such a way due to the effectiveness of the concept of what is termed 'prospective memory.' If we consider for the moment the phenomenon of church alteration and rebuilding witnessed in the later part of the Middle Ages and the increase and the elaboration of funerary monuments, we can see what Clare Gittings suggests is a "growing emphasis on the individual" (Gittings 1984: 33). A noticeable feature of the church rebuilding and extension which took place during this period is that references to the family through the display of coats of arms and individuals proliferate, not only through the media of effigy tombs and memorial brasses but also in window glass and other church furnishings. This increased use of the church as a vehicle for social recognition is one of the strategies employed in the process of memory construction and manipulation by the elite.

> Monumentality, for instance, always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message. It says what it wishes to say-yet it hides a good deal more: being political, military and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings mask the will to power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought. In this process such signs and surfaces also manage to conjure away both possibility and time (Lefebvre 1991: 143).

The association between the past of the community and its present became embodied in the physical presence of the parish church for two fundamental reasons. The first was the fact that the ritual significance of the building, being directly related to the memorial status of Christianity as a belief system, rendered it a memorial edifice. Essentially Christianity is a religion of remembrance, with the whole ritual of the mass and the canonical year being directed to the commemoration of the life of Christ, placed as it was in historical time.

> There is no prayer and no act of devotion which does not refer back, whether directly or indirectly, to the historical Christ: the historical narrative made flesh, an evocation of the central historical fact and the central religious belief of Christianity (Connerton 1989: 47).

It could be argued, therefore, that the notion of the parish church as being the repository for the collective memory of the community could stem from this idea of the constant use of memorial in terms of the mass and the repetitive rituals of the church. Second, there is the physical permanence of the building itself, its monumentality. The endurable nature of the structure linked, as it was, to regular use by members of the community past, present and future rendered it as a means of retaining and transmitting collective memory. (The permanent nature of the church is a debatable point, as many were altered or indeed totally rebuilt in the

late medieval period. This will be discussed later). Monumental structures, as indeed medieval parish churches can be considered, were the locations of regular communal activities, and as such can become deeply fixed in the consciousness of the community which employed them. "As marks in the landscape, they do not only alter the space in which they are built but also the times to which they refer. In each present, monuments signify both the past and the future" (Holtorf 1996: 120). It is this notion of the collective memory being, as it were, transmitted by the durability of the church as material culture which can be of the greatest use when attempting to interpret the architecture of these buildings in socio/religious rather than purely religious terms..

In his writings Georg Simmel approached the question of immobile artefacts and their effect on the social relations of groups associated with them. "Simmel points out that the physical immobility of an object relevant, say, to the means of achieving a goal, produces certain forms of relationships which are grouped around that object" (Werlen 1988: 169). This idea has a direct relevance, with regards to the medieval church, which can be regarded as a social artefact that was utilised on a routine basis by parish communities in carrying out actions that impinged directly on communal social relations. If the parish church was at the centre of these medieval communities then it was in a social sense as much as a spiritual one. The parish church and its associated churchyard acted as a central stage for the creation and enactment of social discourse.

> The immobility of a material object relevant to action thus obliges agents to go to it if they wish to utilise it in achieving a goal. This means that certain social relationships must be ordered around immobile material objects. The spatially defined location of the immobile material object thus becomes a socially important pivot of human interactions (Werlen 1988: 169).

This routine use of a spatially defined object would, by becoming linked with communal events, act as a focus for the collective memories of those communities who employed it. As Simmel puts it:

> Through habitual action, this or that, place acquires a special air of security for the consciousness. It usually has stronger associative powers for the memory than time, because it is more vivid to the senses...So that in the memory the place tends to be inextricably linked with that action (quoted in Werlen 1988: 175).

In the medieval period there was indeed a great deal of social interaction centred on the parish church. It was the scene of regular communal activities, both secular and religious in nature. These activities ranged from the ritual; masses,

funerals, baptisms etc and also the secular; the use of the church and churchyard as the location for markets, games and fairs. All of these activities, both religious and secular, were attended by the parish community on a regular and routine basis. They brought people together and therefore provided an arena for the playing out of social relations. In this respect, the acting out of rituals and important communal activities within the setting of a building which was at the heart of a settlement's identity, would give a certain degree of weight to the memorial factor involved in these social acts. The question needs to be asked why is this important?

The character of communities of the medieval period have come down to us through time as being comprised of groups of individuals gathered and held together by bonds of social interaction fuelled by the constraints of medieval feudalism. This, it is generally assumed, placed the members of that society in close association with each other working towards a common aim. This aim was providing for the prosperity of the village as well as that of their feudal landlord. The prevailing assumption is one of fairly stable communities united in their common interests. However, as one author has recently pointed out, this view of medieval rural society is one that is more couched in the romantic vision of 'Merry Old England' rather than in reality (Pounds 1994). It is suggested, rather, that the medieval village functioned, first and foremost, as a close-knit economic unit where tensions between individuals and groups of individuals were a constant feature of daily life. It is in these terms that the memorial value of the medieval parish church can be seen as a feature of this tension. This derives from the communal involvement invested in every aspect of what would otherwise be termed private life. For these communities surveillance was the key, the order of the day was to watch and be watched, as "almost the whole life of every villager passed in front of the eyes of his fellow parishioners, who kept close watch on one another" (Gurevich 1988: 79).

Social activity was of great importance, however, it was not only watching the activities of others that helped to provide for a stable community. These events and social discourses had to be remembered in order for this social surveillance to be effective. This is where the importance of placing these activities, such as marriages, the exchange of business contracts etc, which were intrinsically secular activities attended by the community as a whole, within the bounds of the most public building available, the parish church.

There is also inherent in the ceremonial ritual of church services a certain degree of repetitive action and a regulated use of space and time. The physical position assumed by an individual within the building was a direct reflection of that individual's position in society. This was also true in the case of the dead, where burial position, whether inside or outside the church, was related to the social ranking and mirrored that of the living. The later medieval tendency for burial within the church and the erection of memorial tombs and chantry chapels led to the competition for space and allocation based to a large extent on rank. It was this situation which led to the development of what Paul Binski has described as the "politics of space" (Binski 1996: 74).

This regulation and repetition, when carried out within a building which at the same time was being employed by a certain section of society as a means of stating their worldly position, tended to give weight and justification to the claims of the latter.

> Medieval memorial strategies capitalised on the potent combination of visual, liturgical, and physical elements in a sacred space; these could produce a heightened aesthetic, or synaesthetic, experience which directed memory paths. Through repeated experiences, the affective elements of the commemorative environment could cement recall of an individual or event- or even supplant an undesirable history with a new interpretation (Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast 2000: 5-6).

It was by being exposed to these claims during the course of their everyday activities that the elite impinged on the consciousness of lower ranking individuals in society. The repeated, albeit indirect, assertions made by the higher ranking in society and the acceptance of them by others in the community as everyday truths, played a pivotal role in the maintenance of a stable and ordered society. As John Barrett points out "Routine actions tend to operate as an empirical confirmation of a range of culturally derived expectations; ontological security is provided because the world is routinely experienced as working in the way it is expected to work" (Barrett 1994[a]: 76). This routine experience of the world is governed by memory, the memory of the weight of the significance of particular places and the events and actions that have previously occurred there. Also the memory of a location determines how one is expected to behave; whether it be a domestic house or a church, there is a certain predetermined way of reacting socially, based on rank and gender. The important point as far as the architecture of the medieval church is concerned, is to what extent material culture was constructed and employed in response to the concept of the collective memory?

It would seem therefore that there is a strong case to suggest that the architecture of the church acted as a repository for collective memory.

> It appears from research that people remember things better if they frequently revisit the places where the events happened, and that groups for whom certain memories are important sometimes make monuments of the sites that reinforce these memories (Bedell 1999: 21).

Important individual and communal events which took place here were given an extra sense of gravity by being performed within the sacred space of the church, the significance of which rendered them memorable. In this sense, the edifice took on the role of a mnemonic, an aid to memory, a means by which the material culture of the community could be employed in order to transmit the collective memory of past events to future generations.

5.3 Memory and the medieval concept of time

In order to fully understand the important part played by memory, and in particular the role of collective memory, in the social organisation of late medieval parish based communities, we need to examine in some detail the overriding frame of reference in which memory operated: time. It is the concept of time that allowed for the basic processes of memory to function and be orientated. It is however to the same degree that memory also provided the mental signposts to which the passage of time could be fixed. This may at first seem to be a rather paradoxical statement: that memory is dependent on time and that time results from memory. However, as one author has pointed out, "we talk of measuring time as if it were a concrete thing waiting to be measured; but in fact we create time by creating intervals in social life" (Leach 1961: 135). It must be appreciated that in the Middle Ages there was no universally accepted concept of the measurement and passage of time, although the Church's time, based on a linear sequence linked to the canonical year, was the dominant principle. Nevertheless, there existed at the same period other forms of the conceptualisation of time, some of which were more cyclic in character reflecting the concerns of individuals whose lives were tied to the repetitive aspect of the agrarian lifestyle, and the cycle of the seasons.

> Time, above all remembered time, is not a constant; it is given meaning in cultural contexts that change from social group to social group. Social groups tend to identify and legitimate themselves through systems of collective memory, that can vary not only in their interpretation of given historical events, but what events, what types of events, are seen as historically significant at all (Wickham 1985: 55).

The particular method or understanding of the movement, or otherwise, of time adopted by individuals and groups in the Middle Ages, was to some extent dependent on specific social and cultural factors. According to Gurevich, "in the Middle Ages there were differing attitudes to time, depending on whether the reference was to agrarian time, genealogical time, biblical (or liturgical) time, cyclical time or lastly, historical time" (Gurevich 1976: 236). The conceptualisation and measurement of time, whilst being conditioned by certain social circumstances, which related directly to the individual's experience, was also (in a similar way to the collective memory) subject to a dominant discourse and in the medieval period this governing view of the calculation and regulation of time was, like so many other areas of medieval life, under the sphere of influence of the Church. Ecclesiastical time was predominantly eschatological, in that it looked to the future as the culmination of spiritual life. For the Church, time was linear in its trajectory, moving inextricably from the moment of God's creation towards the end of the world and the day of judgement, which would effectively bring about the end of time.

Although the major preoccupation of the Church and its attitude was a concern with the future, the past and the impression and understanding of past events were also considered important. Indeed, the mass itself was a celebration of an historical event. Through the Eucharist, the crucifixion and sacrifice of Christ was re-enacted on a daily basis in thousands of parish churches through the agency of the parish priest.

> Nevertheless in its major thrust medieval Christianity remained firmly within an historicist cosmology. The mystery of transubstantiation lies precisely in its recreation of a unique act, which occurred only once and in historical time (Farriss 1987: 573).

As the past was the controlling factor governing actions in the present the Church authorities, by controlling time, and the remembrance of important ecclesiastical events, could also influence present actions. The actual concept of present, as it was considered in terms of the Church's teachings, was regarded as an intermediary stage between the life of Christ and the last judgement. The sense of the movement of time, for the Church, was viewed as operating on a different level to that of the pre-Christian era. The time of the Old Testament was an historical movement of time, a preparation period for the coming of the Son of God as the redeemer of Mankind. Through the actions of the prophets the way was

established for the birth and recognition of Jesus as the chosen one. The teachings of Christ established a new relationship between the people of the earth and God; a relationship, which once made could not change. Therefore, time for the Church remained the same after the death of Christ. The only change that could possibly come about was the end of the world and the fulfilment of the promise of eternal life. The preoccupation of the Church was the continuance of the spiritual life in the present. Time in this sense, whilst seen as a linear progression, was also viewed as a continuum where the duty of the Church lay in the preparation for the future rather than the redirection of the present.

In order for the Church's view of time to become the dominant concept it needed to become accepted as part of everyday experience among the laity. A social consensus was gained by the Church through the direct expression of ecclesiastical time as encountered by the lay worshiper written as it was, in the liturgy and through the agency of images, into the very fabric of the parish church.

The physical presence of the church acted as a metaphor for the concept of time as a linear system. It was full of signposts, which referred the viewer to time both in the past and the future. The physical act of moving through the space of the . church was, in fact, a symbolic expression of the movement of time towards an inevitable goal. Upon entering the building, the individual first passed the baptismal font, the place where they themselves, and all other members of the community, entered the fellowship of the faithful. It is at this point, through the symbolism of the immersion, burial and rebirth in the cleansing waters, that life, that is the spiritual life, began. On turning to face the altar the medieval worshiper would be confronted by the representation of the Doom, painted in graphic detail above the chancel arch. The Doom was a portrayal of the Last Judgement, an inevitable event that would take place at the end of earthly time. Between these two critical points the interior of the church was filled with illustrations of "historical" figures and events, which played a major role in the history of the Church (Graves 1989). These images, whether from the life of Christ or that of the Saints, were used to indicate the essential timelessness of the Church's teachings. "Iconography is a powerful cognitive map and the church expressed a cosmology through its textual references" (Graves 1989: 309). That is to say, that the past was used to inform and influence behaviour in the present, indicating that the life of Mankind was still dependent on the original relationship with God that was

established in the early years of Christian theology.

At the same time as these images were being relayed to the medieval viewer a memorial ceremony would have been acted out on the altar. The mass itself constituted a direct reference to an historical event, the sacrifice and death of Christ. Through the sacrament of the mass, the passion, sacrifice and resurrection of Christ was repeated daily at the altar. This again is not purely a reference to the past, it is also recognition that the past and the present are conjoined and part of the same epoch, between the coming of Christ and the end of the world. Time in this sense is not a true reflection of time at all. It was on the emphasis of existence in the profane world that the Church focussed. The passage of time was regarded as being only the vehicle which would propel the believer towards a rebirth and the promise of everlasting life in heaven.

This is not to suggest that other concepts of time were rendered unimportant or functionless due to the weight of the Church's influence. Indeed, there was inherent within the Church's idea of the irreversible single directional flow of time towards an inevitable end, regular periods, signalled by ceremonies and ritual occasions that were cyclical in their nature (Connerton 1989). These cyclical aspects of ecclesiastical time mirrored the more repetitive elements found in secular or agrarian notions of time. The Church could only remain as a dominant force behind this control of time and its regulation due to this direct comparison between the regularity of the events and dates in the Church's calendar and the cyclical conception of agrarian time (Gurevich 1976). The implication being that, to the medieval mind, time as an accurately measurable phenomenon was of little or no interest. In a society where the majority of the population were agrarian peasants, linked to the natural cycles of the earth by virtue of their position within society, natural concepts of time would inevitably figure highly in their behaviour and worldview. "Agrarian society lived according to the rhythms inherent in its natural surroundings. As in nature, so too in human life, there is a sequence of seasons - birth, growth, ripeness, withering and death - a sequence which regularly repeats itself from generation to generation" (Gurevich 1972: 142).

In this sense it is understandable that cyclical nature of agrarian time should provide the framework for the collective memory of medieval parish communities.

> Societies living within memory made no sharp distinction between the past and present. Temporal continuity was assumed by the repetition of rituals, by the transmission of collectively held values and by the stamina of tradition confronted with

> the force of change. These were societies whose memories were without a past in the sense that they lived in a present infused with the past; the past apprehended by memory only (Wood 1994: 127).

It is with reference to this that the Church's attitude to the cyclical elements found in ecclesiastical time can in some measure be linked to the traditions and thus the collective memory of these medieval communities. The important point is the central position the parish church took in the social and spiritual lives of the members of these communities. As has already been mentioned, the parish church was as much a social space as it was a religious and sacred one. Essentially the church was the hub of communal social relations, the central meeting place for community members. In a communal sense, the parish church reflected the identity and pride of the community as much as it stood for the spiritual well being of the inhabitants themselves. The church embodied much of the past social relations of the community.

> Villagers shared values and ideas which found expression in organizations and occasions involving a wide spectrum of the community. They attended services in church or chapel by compulsion, but from their participation in other voluntary parish activities clearly identified with the church as both a religious and social focus (Dyer 1994: 419).

It was a place where many of the traditional aspects of community life were linked to regular dates in the Church's calendar. The major festivals like Christmas and Easter, parish saint's days (particularly saints associated with local parish guilds), the annual Rogationtide procession or commemorative masses for the dead and so on, were all enacted on a regular basis and attended by some, and in certain cases the majority, of the population. "Memorial days and festivals punctuate the calendar and transform it from a linear progression into a repeated cycle" (Ben-Amos and Weissberg 1999: 299).

> While everyday disciplines of the body create the reality of social categories in the individual-class, gender, race-the calendar custom creates the collectivity as an objective entity that can be remembered. The characteristic elements of calendar observances-noise and crowding, music and dancing, masking and drinking, physical risk taking and the demarcation of community space- work powerfully on the bodies of participants and, furthermore, impose participation on all present. Unified in practice, the community creates a unity of feeling (Noyes and Abrahams 1999: 80).

This close association of routine religious observances and communal relations tended to forge a link between the physical presence of the building and the collective past of the community. The church acted as a social amplifier for traditional values by taking on, through the virtue of its durability of structure the,

"social meaning" of the community. These buildings acquired "a symbolic power field of social meaning through their associations, over time with group activities and experiences" (Stokals and Jacobi 1984: 319).

It is this association between the parish church, the events of the Church's calendar and the social activities of the community, which provides the incentive for the architecture of the building being associated with the collective memory of the community.

> This body of observances repeated from year to year on a given place constitutes a specific form of European collective memory: memory of the collective. Calendar customs are powerful sensory experiences undergone in common, consensual in both the usual sense and the etymological one: felt together. It is this experience in common that creates in important ways the European idea of community - a bounded group of people connected over time to a bounded place- and that therefore lies at the foundation of attempts to foster popular identification (Noyes and Abrahams 1999: 79)

The church acted as a mnemonic device, fixing important events in the memory of the local population. It is interesting to note how the church became the particular location mentioned in testimonies involved in certain legal cases. The usual approach was to link the event with a corresponding incident or action and thereby prove its validity by association. Particularly interesting examples of this type of oral testimony are provided by documents (discussed in some length in chapter seven) relating to the proof of age of the heirs to property (Walker 1973; Clanchy 1979). These cases are significant in the consideration of the concept of medieval memory and time because in their testimonies the jurors do not automatically associate the birth of an individual with a calendarical date but rather place the event in time by the association with a particular memory. When dates are mentioned as a reference to the birth it is usually Saints days that are used. Again it is the cyclical nature of time, Saints days being a recurrent yearly event, rather than a specific chronological date that is referred to. It is also important to note how there is also a tendency to link the memory of event to a specific location and thereby linking time and place. This sheds some light on the place of the parish church as being the social centre of the community and way in which its permanency of structure aided in the preservation of the collective memory.

Gurevich makes reference to family time, or genealogical time as being an important component of the conceptualisation of the medieval temporality. He suggests that "Feudal lords were deeply interested in genealogies, by means of which they traced their pedigrees back to distant, often legendary or semi-

legendary ancestors" (Gurevich 1972: 109). This preoccupation and concern of the aristocratic and gentry classes with regards to the perpetuation of their family line is something which is quite evident. The wealth of evidence of hundreds of parish churches demonstrates this fact, filled, as they sometimes are, with explicit reference to family's lineage, in the form of decorative motifs in windows or on tombs for example. However, it must be appreciated that it was not only the landed classes who were concerned with lineage. When the conditions which are necessary for the maintenance of a stable and ordered society are taken into consideration it becomes equally important for all members of a community. In the medieval period there were strict guidelines given out by the church that dealt with the issue of marriage between related parties. The issue of inter relatedness, or consanguinity, was calculated down to almost, under the conditions of these often closed communities, unrealistic degrees of prohibitive contact. These considerations, with regard to who is allowed to marry who, can also point in an anthropological sense to concerns relating to endogamous and exogamous marriage relations inside and between communities. The point is that there is very little evidence that survives to inform us of these anxieties, although there are some incidences of disputed marriages being brought to court on the grounds of consanguinity. In the case of marriage within the community, it can be seen that the memory of the genealogy of an individual was not limited to the land-owning class. An individual's ancestry, of whatever social status, was an issue in communal terms. This ancestry was not recorded by being written down, it was rather remembered by the individual themselves and more importantly, by the community as a whole. It is here that the idea of communal surveillance can be seen to have worked as a social force. It is this wider participation, in what in a modern sense would be considered private affairs, which points to the relationship in the medieval period between the collective memory of the community and events which were considered to be of communal significance.

Chapter Six

Memory, Death and Burial

The importance of memory in connection with the architectural development of the late medieval parish church is nowhere more graphically illustrated than in the efforts made towards the retention of the memory of the dead. The later Middle Ages marks the high point in parish church building, decoration and embellishment, and the general situation found across the whole of England at this time was that donations to the church, whether in the form of additions to the fabric of the building or the provision of liturgical equipment, carried some form of personal or familial reference. In such cases these pious donations can be regarded as means by which a memorial presence could be maintained within the sphere of local influence and knowledge. There was, on the part of the wealthy in society, an increased provision of elaborate funerary monuments which gradually took over a great deal of space within the church.

> The laity wove themselves into the liturgy. Their images too might appear in the church, in glass, in brasses and as effigies and etchings on tombs. Their names, or initials, were emblazoned in hangings, embroidered on cloths, embossed or engraved on vessels, paving slabs or stones, or carved in wood. As the saints had special days and celebrations, so too might the parish dead. In addition to their funerals, they had anniversaries, and had their names inscribed in books or on 'tables' and ensured that they were regularly read out (Burgess 2000: 64).

The interior of parish churches, in some cases, took on the resemblance of private mortuary chapels. Whole areas of the interior were turned over to the memory of a particular family. As one author recently suggests "later medieval churches were full of monuments to the deceased, so much so that it is possible to speak of a veritable invasion of the churches by the secular" (Hadley 2001: 144). This idea, however, of an invasion of the church needs to be approached with some caution. It may well be the fact that parish churches began to fill up with memorial tombs and chantry chapels. However, the term invasion seems to imply that they had little right to be there. The truth is that when a memorial was erected in the nave or aisle of the church it was erected in the space belonging to the laity. This was their part of the church, the part they maintained and paid for. In particular ways the church belonged to all the inhabitants of the parish, rich or poor, and this was the reason why it was

closely aligned to communal identity. The church and its fabric formed the focus of local pride and the majority of the population contributed to its upkeep and embellishment according to their means.

> Belonging to the local parish had of course deep spiritual roots. The ancestors had lived there; the majority of social and human ties bound a person to the parish where his or her body was going to rest after the end of this earthly existence. This microcosm determined the behaviour of the people who belonged to it and defined the structure of their thoughts and emotions (Gurevich 1988: 79).

What is important is how far this appropriation of sacred space within the bounds of the parish church by particular members of the community impinged on the lives of other spectators. More specifically, how far was the memory of the wealthy in society imposed upon their social inferiors?

It was vitally important that all Christians be buried in consecrated ground and for the majority of the medieval population of England this meant burial in the graveyard of the local parish church. Initially burial within the churchyard was the only option available as the early church authorities disapproved of burials within the church itself. The only concession made was for members of the clergy and the most powerful in society. However, by the later Middle Ages these restrictions were eased, probably in order to generate financial bequests (Houlbrooke 1998). Interior church burial now became a possibility for all, or at least those in society who were able to afford it.

It is these burials within the confines of later medieval parish churches that provide a great amount of evidence for the important place which memory took in the utilisation of these buildings. When approaching the subject of memory with regards to interior church burial in the late medieval period we need to be aware of certain factors. First, that there is no doubt that the remembrance of the deceased was of extreme importance. This is to say that medieval religious mentality and concerns for the salvation of the soul weighed particularly heavily on the consciousness of the medieval mind. This in itself would account for the conspicuousness of many of the late medieval funerary monuments found in England. An individual had to rely on the prayers of their family, friends and fellow parishioners in order to ensure their safe and successful passage to everlasting life. In this sense the tomb would act as a constant reminder to those who survived as to their Christian duty. Second, the place of the memorial tomb in the maintenance of power relations and the way in which the constant presence of the memory of the individual, and more importantly this memory

in conjunction with their surviving line of descent, would impinge on the local population of a parish. It is in this way that the collective memory of a community could become conditioned into the acceptance of a preordained hierarchical order. Thirdly there are the rituals and ceremonies which accompanied the burial of an individual of some social standing, not only the funeral service itself but also the rituals and services which in some cases would be repeated for a considerable time after the actual death of the person concerned. These services, chantry masses, obits and anniversaries would ensure that the memory of the individual would continue to make an impression long after they had ceased to be an active participant in communal affairs.

The late medieval period was a time which saw the organisation of the Church in England pass through a series of profound and deeply significant changes in terms of its organisation and its relationship with the laity. It is suggested that by the year 1300 somewhere in the region of half of the parish churches in England, buildings which had previously been under manorial control, were placed under the direction of religious institutions, such as Abbeys, Priories and Cathedrals (Morris 1989). The major reason behind this transference of rights from secular to ecclesiastical authority came about as a direct result of pious motivations. This led to an increase, from the twelfth century onwards, in the founding of, and benefactions towards, religious institutions by the wealthy in society. Through the financial endowment of the monasteries and religious houses manorial landlords would gain in return their remembrance in the prayers of the religious brethren or sisters. In Yorkshire, as in other counties at the time, the great religious houses were patronised by members of the leading manorial families, whose names were recorded in the obit rolls of the monks in order that regular prayers could be sung for the salvation of their souls (Hughes 1988). This pious benefaction worked to the mutual benefit of both parties. The institutions gained the financial support of the income of the parish but in such a way that also allowed for manorial landlords to retain a certain degree of control as in the retention of "the right to appoint priests and to take a share of the tithes" (Williamson and Bellamy 1987: 65). Also at this time religious institutions were the preferred burial places for the wealthy and leading families tended to patronise a particular monastery or abbey which became the traditional resting place of their family members

During the fourteenth century, however, there was a marked change of direction in the ecclesiastical authority's attitude towards the ownership of parish churches. The diocesan statutes of the thirteenth century ratified the clergy's responsibility regarding the maintenance and upkeep of the fabric of the church. These ordinances emphasised the duty of the religious community with respect to the furnishing and repair of the chancel of the church with which they were associated, whilst the upkeep and maintenance of the remainder of the church was given over to the parishioners themselves (Brown 1996). It would appear that this new obligation placed on the laity, regarding the upkeep of their parish church, was one that was eagerly embraced. This is evident by the fact that from the fourteenth century onwards there was a proliferation in church alterations and building throughout England.

In keeping with the new emphasis placed on group responsibility for the care of the parish church there was, by the later medieval period, an alteration in the attitude towards charitable giving and particularly on the part of the wealthy in society a change in the preferred choice of burial place. There was a redirection of patronage away from the religious institutions and more towards an investment in the local parish church. This was particularly evident in the urban centres where traditional loyalties to larger religious institutions such as cathedrals began to break down and townsmen turned towards a more communal based devotion. In York, for example, there was a marked decline in the numbers of the city's wealthiest individuals wishing to be buried in the Minster, "instead when craftsmen and merchants founded perpetual chantries the great majority preferred to express their aspirations through the medium of their parish churches" (Morris 1989: 371). This change in emphasis, which it could also be argued was fuelled by a loss of confidence in the established clergy to act as spiritual intercessors, led to a greater popularity for the founding of perpetual chantry chapels. The founding of chantries and other acts of charity directed towards the parish church were in effect institutions over which the benefactor had a greater amount of control. The act of looking towards one's own salvation received a substantial boost in the late fourteenth century with the outbreak of the Black Death. The outbreak of "1349 and the subsequent epidemics of 1361 and 1367 created a demand for offices, masses and anniversaries for the dead. The perpetual chantry which was exclusively devoted to intercession was better suited to meet this demand" (Hughes 1988: 39). It could also be argued that this intensified threat of sudden death created a situation whereby the concerns for the salvation of the souls of the departed

became a focus for collective communal action. If this is correct then it can be seen that there was a direct link between the conspicuous memorials devoted to the memory of the wealthy, and the readiness of their social inferiors and dependants to be implicated in the act of perpetuating that memory. In these terms the very act of remembering involved the acceptance of the established social order.

> Religion had a double function of compensating the suffering of the poor with promises of spiritual wealth, while simultaneously legitimising the wealth of the dominant class. One solution to the apparent contradiction of class solidarity versus social integration is thus to argue that by legitimatising wealth and compensating for poverty, religion unified society while also giving expression to separate class interests (Morris 1987: 80).

There are other implications of this type of memorial action. When an individual created a lasting memorial, be it in the form of a chantry chapel, the building of a church tower or other such structure, they embellished it with references to themselves and their family in the shape of heraldic devices. This is understandable in the context of good works being carried out by the wealthy in order that they would be remembered in the prayers of others. However, the display of one's family heraldry in the church, which was routinely used by the whole community, must also be seen as a deliberate endorsement of individual and familial social standing.

There are more facets to the concept of interior burial than simply burial position and the form taken by the funerary monument itself. Death and the provisions made for the soul in the afterlife were more complex than this. The whole ritual of funerals themselves and the post obit celebrations need to be considered in order to place memorial tombs and effigies in the context of religious and social attitudes of the time. One of the major factors which need to be considered in this sense is the chantry. Chantry masses were intended to speed the deceased through the pains of purgatory by providing regular services for the remembrance of the dead. They worked in such a way that they benefited both the living and the dead; the living gained from the spiritual efficacy of the mass itself whilst at the same time achieving the advantage of being able to perform a specific act of charity with regards to the condition and needs of the dead. The dead themselves gained the intercessory prayers of the living which, it was hoped, would accelerate their transition into paradise. The provision of chantry masses made by an individual before their death was frequently but not exclusively associated with a chantry chapel, the chantry itself being the masses themselves rather than the space within which they took place. However, chantry chapels are also extremely important elements involved in the whole context

of the memorial of the dead in so far as they allowed for greater involvement and intrusion into the overall spatial configurations of the architecture of the donor's parish church.

> The masses conducted by a chantry priest and purchased by a grandee could therefore evoke the close relationship between the nobleman and his local community, including his household, and would take place presumably after the lord had settled his accounts and paid his tenants' wages. They were organised so that the local community could participate in them and were often conducted at daybreak and sunrise so that the workers and servants could attend, those present were enjoined to pray for the soul of the founder of the chantry. No matter how much a Yorkshire nobleman was involved in other parts of the country, his name remained an integral part of the religion of his local community (Hughes 1988: 45).

To begin with, however, an examination of the memorial effects of funerary monuments needs to be considered. All memorials make specific reference to individuals and although it may well be the case that today we are in some instances at a loss to attribute identity to certain individuals represented in effigy form, in particular the earlier less elaborate examples, we may safely assume that their identity was known to immediate contemporaries. The fact that today later medieval memorials tend to be easier to associate with actual individuals is largely due to the fact that they contain a greater amount of information regarding the identity of the deceased and their familial connections. The major contributing factor regarding the known identity of any particular individual relies, to a large extent, on the use of heraldry, which can be cross referenced with existing documentary evidence. The very fact that this identification is possible in the modern period is an indication of how effective a vehicle the medieval tomb was as a transmitter of memory and identity in the past.

This storage and transmission of information across time is the basic function of all memorial monuments. Allied to this is the use of the memorial as a medium of social display and indicator of personal and family status and power.

> The design of the sarcophagus or reliquary as a house, often with intercolumnar space, filled with shapes or simulacra is intended to recall whatever was considered most significant. This could be the individual, the theological framework of death, or the socio-historical significance of the deceased for the community now framed by the commemorative construct (Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast 2000: 4).

With regard to the larger amount of information contained within the elements of the tomb itself, consideration has to be made as to the reasons why funerary monuments developed as they did.

> Heraldry indicated both selfhood and, more importantly, the bonds of blood and family alliance and affinity, which, unlike portraiture, belonged in the realm of the permanent... By the fourteenth century the tomb indicated the consequences of ties of affinity by

> developing family imagery, and there can no doubt that in this period we do see a confluence of various elements- portraiture, devotional imagery and affective elements tied to the idea of the family- which personalised the tomb (Binski 1996: 105).

Of course, the actual development of the concept of the individual in the later medieval period is an important consequence, which has to be recognised (Gittings 1984). Nevertheless, what is important with relation to the memorial significance of these more elaborate memorials, set as they often were within the context of a building or part of a building which itself was employed as a means of advertising status and power, is the question of what exactly was it that simulated the individuals who commissioned these monuments.

To answer this question we need to go back to the idea that at this time England, and indeed the rest of Europe for that matter, was in a state of recurrent crisis. The social, political and demographic upheavals which had occurred in the aftermath of the Black Death had changed the complexion of the social system in England and blurred the boundaries between individuals and social groups. The new opportunities for individual social development, particularly the new found influence of the peasant classes, which had materialised in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, had created a situation of social flux with all its attendant tensions and conflicts. What we see in the change in the provision for the dead, and in particular the concerted efforts made on the part of individuals to perpetuate their memories and more critically the memory of the family to which they belonged, is, it can be argued, a reaction generated in response to this new social climate. What is occurring here is that established families were attempting, by constantly referring to their lineage, to maintain their grip on the right to rule through the manipulation of communal memory in the face of a reduction in actual coercive power to do so. On the other hand, what will also become apparent is that in relation to the opportunities of social and status enhancement which were a consequence of the economic situation in the later Middle Ages, those individuals who experienced a rise in their own wealth and social position in society also came to employ similar strategies to legitimise and establish their own personal claims to power and authority.

Chapter Seven

The Parish Church as the Locale for Collective Memory

As has already been discussed, memory is a fundamental process of human consciousness and the ability to remember facts, places, things and events, enables individuals to function within a social context. With regards to medieval communities, because the past played such an important role in the configuration and understanding of the present, memory and the ability to communicate what was remembered formed the foundation of communal life. It can be argued, therefore, that the collective memory was the fundamental property which ordered the social relationships and interaction of the inhabitants of medieval village communities. In this sense it is of vital importance when approaching the archaeology of the late medieval parish church. The parish church, being situated at the spiritual and social centre of these communities, can be regarded as acting as a focal point for the embodiment of the community's shared past, present and future experiences. Through the action of regular and routine use by the members of the parish in the acting out of various rituals and events which had a direct bearing on communal relations, the church came to incorporate their social identity and self awareness. The social relations of late medieval parish communities were inextricably linked with the remembrance of the past and the interpretation of that past in the present. It was the past, the community's understanding of its actual or perceived 'history,' which gave it a sense of continuity and social cohesion, in other words its traditional values. The durability of the church as a physical monument acted as a means of stabilising and channelling this concept of communal identity from the past into the present and beyond.

> Monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a collective mirror more faithful than a personal one (Lefebvre 1991: 221).

The church's monumental status, and the fact that it was the focal point of the community, embodying the social relationships of the inhabitants, became the means by which the experiences of the community could be amalgamated and projected from the past and into the future.

The aim of this chapter is to examine in detail the proposition that the parish church can be regarded as being the locale for the collective memory of the later medieval community. It will be demonstrated that collective memory played a fundamental role in the ordering of communal social relations, in fact so much so that its emphasis touched upon almost every aspect of the day-to-day functioning of society. The question of how the church, as the focus of communal relations, came to be imbued with a memorial resonance will be addressed, as will how the architectural development of these buildings was influenced in relation to their intrinsic mnemonic function and the ways in which this memorial status was in tune with, and in turn could be used to regulate, social action. Memory can be seen as a fundamental force which underpinned the construction and maintenance of the social relationships between the members of the parish community. However, as will be discussed, the concept of communal memory, along with the memorial significance of the parish church itself, could be employed by members of the wealthy elite in order to consolidate their own particular social position. It will therefore be argued that the utilisation of psychological coercions, with reference to memory, became an important feature of relations between disparate social groups in the struggle for power, a struggle which was played out in the 150 years following the social and economic upheavals associated with the demographic depletions of the Black Death.

In order to link the concept of community and the collective memory with the archaeology of the parish church, the ways in which the architecture of these buildings reflects the aspirations, tensions and interactions of the various groups who were connected with it will be considered. The parish church was the location for a number of what can be regarded as important social rituals. These activities, baptisms, marriages, funerals etc. although performed to a greater or lesser degree under the auspices of religious authority, had a much more wide ranging social significance. The association between location and socially important rituals would result in the church as a whole, and particularly the spaces within the church which can be regarded as being more liminal in character such as doorways, taking on a mnemonic significance. Through the remembrance of social action, the church would come to embody the collective memory of the social life of the community. This collective remembrance of important ritual events was critical to the social cohesion of the community. Therefore the nature of the late medieval village community, and in particular the notion of what may be referred to as social surveillance and how this

related to memory will also be discussed in some detail. The socio-religious activities, which took place within the sacred space of the parish church, adhere to the concept of 'Rites of Passage' and in this sense, reflect the liminal locations within which they were carried out. Therefore in order to fully explore all of the concepts outlined above each of the three main life changing rituals associated with the sacred space of the local parish church, baptism, marriage and death will be discussed and critically analysed.

7.1 Tradition and the later medieval village community

The late medieval village was a complex institution with its own set of values, tensions, interdependence and expressions of solidarity. Fundamentally, seen in purely functionalist terms, the medieval village community, from peasant to landlord, operated as a close-knit unit of economic production, its most basic function being to provide a level of agricultural subsistence for the members of the community, whilst at the same time providing a varying amount of surplus production, which was then extracted by a higher authority. This type of agricultural system was founded upon varying obligations and duties, the smooth and effective operation of which was largely dependent on cooperative communal involvement (Vinogradoff 1892; Homans 1960; Dyer 1989). However, as with all social groups, tensions and intra-communal relationships played an important role in the make up of medieval village society and no matter how effective the agricultural production was and regardless of the fact that it relied directly on combined action, this alone could not ensure total social stability and cohesion. Victor Magagna makes the point that there has been a "tendency to presume that (rural) communities are inherently egalitarian" whereas in fact there are "usually places of hierarchy and inequality in which prestige, power and privilege are strictly regulated according to entrenched principles of selective distribution" (1991: 15). Therefore, in order for the village economy to function efficiently the members of the community needed to maintain a workable balance in terms of individual action and communal undertakings. This meant that specific rules of moral and behavioural conduct needed to be observed which regulated the counter effects of individualistic interests and motivations.

This code of conduct was based to a very large extent on the recognition and understanding of a set of prescribed modes of behaviour. "If society is to exist and not

dissolve in anarchy, the great majority of the members of society must act, in general and approximately, in certain ways towards their fellow members and fail to behave in other ways" (Homans 1960: 395). Consequently in order for an individual to be a fully integrated member of their community they had to be, or at least appear to be, fully compliant with the traditional rules and values of the body which made up the collective. To be seen to be otherwise was vigorously contested. In this sense it was tradition, the memory of the way in which society ought to function, which was important. The traditional way of life of these communities was also important in other ways. In the medieval period tradition was the very core of communal relations: it provided the members of such village communities with a sense of being and steadfastness, their sense of history and belonging. Anthony Giddens is of the opinion that "Tradition is more than a particular form of the experience of temporality. It represents the moral command of 'what went before' over the continuity of day-to-day life" (1994: 200). Village communities had "a local tradition of social identity that shaped the preferences of community membership. Strong communities will have a folklore of place that affects the ways in which group members categorise their primary interests and basic loyalties" (Magagna 1991: 19). To go beyond the boundaries of normal behaviour was to risk the stability of the community and to jeopardise what was thought of as the natural order of people and things. This natural order was something which should not be violated as it was understood to have been ordained by God in order that each individual could know, and be content with, their place in the divine scheme of things. Originating in the Early Middle Ages it was given a new emphasis in the fourteenth century, when it was considered, (following the disastrous plague years) that society was in danger of fragmenting (Dyer 1989).

In many respects the medieval village existed to a certain extent in isolation, with the greater part of its inhabitants being born, living and dying within the boundaries of the parish.

> Many – perhaps most – peasants...lived out most of their days (perhaps after moving around more as youths) in ancestral communities as small as a dozen houses but usually numbering a few hundred souls (Mullett 1987: 39).

It is also probably equally true to say that the vast majority of medieval villagers regarded themselves as a member of their village or parish first and foremost and as citizens of a country, shire or county second.

> It was precisely in the frame of this local molecule of the church that most medieval people spent their lives. Established and supported by both secular and spiritual

> authorities, the parish tended to supplant all other human associations. The ideological and moral control of the population was accomplished within it; one belonged to one's parish from birth to death even beyond. The infant received baptism here, thereby becoming a social-moral creature; the child and adult attended service here, listened to the sermon, confessed his or her sins, got married in the parish church and received the last sacrament from the parish priest. One remained bound to the parish even after death: no one was permitted to be buried outside the parish; bodies interred elsewhere were frequently exhumed and brought home (Gurevich 1988: 78).

Pride in, and loyalty to one's own village and solidarity with one's neighbours in the face of external forces were paramount. "To belong to a rural community was to belong to a specific place with a particular history" (Magagna 1991: 14). In order to ensure its economic survival the village community needed to present a united front to the outside world and in particular towards those who claimed direct jurisdiction over them. Indeed, "the classic form of contest between elite and community interests is linked to the range of struggles that grow out of claims to rule that are made by the landed aristocracies" (Magagna 1991: 29). Therefore, in order to maintain this unified façade there needed to be, within the social structure of the village a certain degree of normative behaviour based on an established code of conduct. Thus,

> "the perception of interdependence among members of naturally occurring groups often encompasses the culmative experience of earlier and current generations of members as well as their present plans and aspirations about their future activities and outcomes" (Stokals and Jacobi 1984: 307).

Any deviation from this rule could not be tolerated, and in order to ensure the recognition of this fact it was in the interest of the members of the community to maintain a close watch on the activities of their neighbours or what can be termed social surveillance.

7.2 Social surveillance

Social surveillance was an active and accepted part of everyday life for the members of medieval communities where "everybody's sin was a common concern of all parishioners" (Gurevich 1988: 79). Watching the affairs and activities of others, whilst being aware that oneself was also being watched, guaranteed that a satisfactory degree of social and behavioural consensus could be maintained. Hogg and Abrams discuss this form of social regulation in connection with the concept of intergroup relations, referring to it as 'normative influence' stating that:

> Normative influence results from the individual's need for social approval and acceptance. It creates conformity, which is merely public compliance .... of the group's attitudes, beliefs, opinions or behaviours. Normative influence arises under conditions in

> which the group (or individual) is perceived to have coercive power (i.e. the power to criticize, derogate, threaten, punish or enforce laws and regulations for which there are penalties attached to non-compliance or administer affection, praise and material rewards) Thus an important preoccupation for effective normative influence is the perception of surveillance by the group (Hogg and Abrams 1998: 166).

This close supervision of one's neighbours can be directly linked to medieval subsistence agricultural systems, medieval agriculture, being based on the open-field system, was reliant on the cooperative involvement of village members. Households were allocated narrow strips within these larger fields, and in order for the system to operate effectively their cultivation needed to be directly related to communal requirements. Shared responsibility for the production of specific crops, the maintenance of the fertility of the land and seasonal rotation was a binding factor in the agricultural system. There was a certain degree of economic cooperation and reciprocal assistance between individual members of the community, particularly during critical points in the agricultural year (Magagna 1991). However, it was also essential that this assistance be directed only towards actual members of the local community, in other words those who had a stakehold in the overall productivity of village. Therefore, in order for an individual to be able to partake of the benefits of communal initiatives community membership needed to be established. This is because in the face of external pressure to act otherwise "community members will struggle to reserve to themselves the power to decide what membership will mean and who can exercise it, especially in the cases of conflicting claims to scarce resources" (Magagna 1991: 30). This establishment and recognition of community membership relied on the fulfilment of a minimum degree of group consent as to the rights of an individual to claim affiliation. Being born within the boundaries of the parish to parents of that parish was one way in which group membership was assigned. In the same way admittance by marriage was also a recognised, although sometimes contested, method of group integration. However, group recognition was not simply a case of birth, marriage or, in the case of disengaging directly with the community, death. These important individual social movements were marked by socially relevant rituals, which emphasised this change in social condition. These rituals of incorporation and transition, baptisms, weddings and funerals, which have become known collectively as Rites of Passage (Van Gennep 1960), were intended to highlight the change in social status of an individual whilst at the same time conferring on them new social responsibility as part of the collective.

As mentioned earlier, in purely economic terms the medieval village could be regarded as a basic unit of production, but of course, it was more than this. Although agricultural production may have been its fundamental economic base, it was the shared memories and experiences of its members, their future aspirations and mutual sense of belonging, with reference to the past, which provided the rural community with its social consistency. Social surveillance played a major part in this process. Taking an active interest in the affairs of others did not immediately imply conflict; it could also foster a sense of community identity.

> Intragroup consensus, agreement and uniformity are generated by a distinct form of social influence responsible for conformity to group norms, called referent informational influence. This process occurs in three stages; first, people categorise and define themselves as members of a distinct social category or assign themselves a social identity; second, they form or learn the stereotypic norms of that category; and third, they assign these norms to themselves and thus their behaviour becomes more normative as their category membership becomes more salient (Hogg, and Abrams 1998: 172).

Gossip was one method by which social consensus could be maintained. Discussing the affairs of the community and its members was one way that information on the activities of malefactors could be disseminated and pressure brought to bear on them to mend their ways. It is through the action of gossip that the rules of society are made relevant to all. Singling out the failure of a particular individual or individuals to conform to the prescribed rules of society not only brought moral censure to bear in their case, it made the implicit rules of acceptable behaviour apparent to all those indirectly involved. However, discussing the affairs of the community need not necessarily be aimed at establishing behavioural conformity. Conversation is a social tool and discussion helps to build solid community relations by the process of mutual experience.

> Gossip is at its most effective when it is exact, and even when it is not, it is true to the attitudes of a given social group, that is to say it is meaningful to them...The feature that makes, or could make, gossip interesting to historians is the way that it defines group identity. Some of this talking is about shared memories...the socially relevant past, which legitimises or gives meaning to the present for the group, which commemorates it (Wickham 1998: 11).

It is the emphasis on shared memories which is of vital importance in this process. Memory is an extremely emotive force for individuals and groups. It can be common to all in respect of communal memory; however, it still maintains a reliance on the individual. This makes memory a susceptible commodity; collective memory can be built and manipulated dependent on what was considered important enough to be remembered, and indeed that which could safely be forgotten. If we consider the rite

of marriage, for example, it can be demonstrated that, on the one hand, the communal recollection of various marriage alliances was of extreme importance in the ordering of stable community relations. However, it can also be seen that for the powerful in society, the controlling of marriages or at least the impression that marriage was in some way sanctioned, was also a principal factor in the maintenance of power relations between the landed elites and their social inferiors. In both these cases the concept of communal memory played a central role. For the community as a whole the memory of who was related to who needed to be recorded in order for the safe accomplishment of future marital unions within the village. In the case of the landed elite, collective memory could be manipulated with relation to the mnemonic function of the space where marriages were conducted. The building of porches, replete with their coats of arms over the church doorway is one method whereby those with a vested interest in the social organisation of the village could impart their claims to authority on the traditional communal events, which were carried out in that space. Through the action of controlling the area traditionally employed by the community in the acting out of their major socially relevant rituals, landlords could repeatedly associate themselves with these ceremonies and offer the impression that they were influential in their fulfilment. This concept of psychological control would be particularly relevant in a period when direct manorial authority was in a process of decline.

7.3 Memory and ritual action

In terms of their relevance to social cohesion the very public nature of Rites of Passage meant that they involved the greater part of the community. This fulfilled two functions: firstly it conferred the recognition and approval of the group towards the eligibility of the initiate and secondly it made the process of incorporation socially memorable, fixing occasion and the individual in the collective experience of the community. These rituals were not only regarded as socially important but also carried a considerable degree of religious significance. This is seen in the fact that it was usual to celebrate them in relationship to the local parish church, and as John Bossy suggests ritual actions "tell us more of the social units which practised religion than the religion they practised" (Bossy 1973: 135). Paul Binski echoes this statement when he suggests that;.

> In assessing rituals we have also to recall that the historian or archaeologist has to make the rigorous distinction between what can, and cannot, be excavated; generally in considering ritual we are considering not belief as much as behaviour; not what people thought but what they did (Binski 1996: 51).

It is here that the connection between the memorial status of the parish church and the social relations of the village can be seen to be closely associated. These important social rituals were rendered more memorable by being routinely performed within the same space. The doorway of the church for instance, was the location which was involved consistently in almost every ritual. Marriage for example, was one of the major social activities which went towards building the collective identity of the medieval rural community. The social and familial ties brought about by the union of two individuals strengthened the communal bond within the village, forming a social structure which was conducive to a collective group consciousness. As with marriages, births were also accompanied by a certain amount of ceremonial activity in respect of the child's baptism. Again the rite of baptism was carried out, or at least part of the ceremony was carried out, at the church doorway. Therefore this further points to the way in which the ritual activities which had a direct bearing on social relations in the village could be associated with the church and in particular with a specific feature of the architectural arrangement of the building, i.e. the threshold. It was as a result of social surveillance that the church doorway, acting as a mnemonic device symbolising the social identity of the community, took on the role of a place of memory. It was the memorial nature of the architecture of the threshold of the church and the associated rites that had occurred there that would have acted as a referent, an aid to memory, for the local population. This memorial association would have counted greatly when considering matters which could potentially have such a profound effect on the social relationships of village members.

This close association of symbolic space and socially important rituals coming together on a regular and routine basis would cause areas of the church such as the doorway to take on a mnemonic significance. Through the remembrance of social action, the threshold of the church would come to embody the collective memory of the social life of the community. For example as in the case of medieval marriage, in order for the rules of community membership to be applied effectively the social relationships of the village population had to be remembered as they had a direct bearing on future action. Past events, such as marriage alliances or kinship ties were closely associated with the social stability of the community. They were fundamental

instruments binding together the village population. However, there was also a constant threat in terms of the tensions which could arise if mistakes were made regarding the interrelatedness of marriage partners or the claims made for property on the death of the head of a household. These conflicts would not only affect the individuals concerned, they would also impinge on the community as a whole and its effective social operation. Therefore, it was necessary for village members to closely monitor and become involved in any arrangements which could have a future bearing on communal relations. In the case of a proposed marriage, for example, they might actually attempt to intervene directly and prevent a union which they considered improper. The important point here is the part played by communal memory in this process, the way in which the memory of particular socially important events and in particular, with regards to the arguments proposed here, the linking of this communal memory with the structure of the community's social and spiritual focus, the parish church.

7.4 Liminal Space and 'Rites of Passage'

It is the concept of liminality (see chapter four) as encountered in the context of the late medieval parish church, which, it can be argued, played a prominent role in the negotiation of social relations within the community of the parish. Areas within the building, can be considered to be liminal zones, boundaries betwixt and between spaces, which can be defined as exhibiting differing ritual and social values. These boundaries were both a physical reality and a psychological construct and a consideration of their nature and in what manner they were employed can be used to inform, and increase, our knowledge of the later medieval parish community. The link between the liminal areas of the parish church and the community is further enhanced by the fact that many of the socio/religious rituals undertaken by the community were specifically focused on these liminal areas. Many of the ritual activities carried out in connection with the parish church can be regarded as falling under the category of 'Rites of Passage' and their social significance corresponds directly to the concept liminality as a component of social interaction.

To fully appreciate the connection between memory, space and ritual action it is essential to examine the work of the cultural anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep. Van Gennep's interpretation of the 'Rites of Passage' falls into three sequential categories. The preliminal rite followed by a liminal rite and finally the rite of

incorporation (Van Gennep 1960). These rites were regarded as purification rituals and as such were performed not only for the benefit of the individual concerned but also for the spiritual health and well-being of the whole community.

> They are held to be meaningful because rites have a significance with respect to a set of further non-ritual actions, to the whole life of a community. Rites have the capacity to give value and meaning to the life of those who perform them (Connerton 1989: 45).

It is not surprising to note, therefore, that as a result of this communal concern, these rituals were carried out in a very public manner, attended by a wider circle than a participant's immediate family and within the confines of an important communally focused location. It is within the context of the performance of these 'Rites of Passage' that both the psychological and the physical aspects of the concept of liminality and liminal zones are brought together, reflecting both the symbolic use of architecture and the social implications attached to such activities.

The concept of 'rites of passage' as interpreted by Van Gennep involves a number of rituals carried out at a particular time in the life of an individual and taking place at a particular symbolic location. As mentioned, these rites fall into three categories, which are preliminal, liminal and postliminal in complexion. The first is a rite of separation, whereby the individual is removed from his or her previous social situation; the second is classed as a rite of transition, a liminal stage, where the individual is held temporarily between their old and new social and psychological states; the third is a rite of aggregation were the individual is incorporated into the fold of the community and a recognition is made of their new social status.

With specific regards to medieval communities the parish church was the main focus for these rites and there was a specific use of the architectural arrangements of the building in their performance. It is particularly noticeable that in baptism, marriage and funeral rituals, the door of the church played a significant role in their fulfilment. The implication being that the liminal aspects involved with the rite were symbolically reflected with the transitional nature of the space where it was carried out.

> Van Gennep emphasised the significance of an actual physical transition in a rite of passage, the literal crossing over a threshold, accomplished in many rites by walking through a doorway. The passage is not just symbolic but a physical movement from one place to another, often from a profane to a sacred space (Muir 1997: 20).

In the rite of baptism for instance the infant was exorcised at the door of the church prior to being admitted for the ceremony that took place at the font. Baptism was according to John Carpenter, the fifteenth century Bishop of Worcester "the door of

all sacraments" (Davies 1962: 61). Marriages were also frequently performed at the doorway, witness Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*. Marriage was one of the major social activities which went towards building the collective identity of the medieval rural community. The social and familial ties brought about by the union of two individuals strengthened the communal bond within the village, forming a social structure which was conducive to a collective group consciousness. The threshold of the church also played a role in the funeral rite with the priest meeting the coffin at the doorway and anointing it with holy water before proceeding into the church for the Requiem Mass. In some instances the church doorway was also the preferred place of burial as in the case of John Baven whose will dated 1521 requested that "my body to be buried in the porch of the parissh church of saynt Paule of Wobourne" (Elvey. 1975: 330).

This connection between ritual action and specific ritual space in the medieval parish church is of critical importance with regards to the alteration of church fabric and the preservation of key architectural elements.

7.5 Baptism

Baptism, as it was understood in the late medieval period, was a rite which not only carried a considerable amount of spiritual importance but also had a significant effect on social organisation. As a sacrament baptism was a fundamental Christian requirement. Every Christian had to receive the sacrament of baptism in order to enter the community of the Church and to further partake in the rituals of the Christian religion, legally marry, attend holy mass, receive communion and be buried in consecrated ground (Bloch and Guggenheim 1981). When we talk of the Church in the Middle Ages it has to be fully appreciated what that term entails. In one respect the Church could be considered in institutional terms as the ecclesiastical body which made up the hierarchy of religious authority from the Pope in Rome down to the local parish priest. However, it can also be taken in a wider context to include all those who were baptised into the Christian faith, and of course during the period in question this membership was not open to negotiation (Swanson 1995). As everyone was indeed baptised, the Church in these terms could be seen to encompass the total population of Christendom. In this sense the people were in essence themselves the Church.

The Christian rite of baptism acted as a spiritual rebirth for the initiate in such a way that it separated the sacred from the profane aspects of the human spirit.

> The infant, far from innocent, had been brought into the suffering world because of Adam and Eve's primal sin of disobedience, the disobedience that brought lust, shame, pain and death to God's creation, the disobedience induced by the arch deceiver Satan. The sexual congress of the infant's parents compounded the sin, and the shivering little boy or girl brought to the font was, in fact, a corrupt piece of flesh and a dangerous emissary of the Devil (Muir1997: 21).

Baptism freed the infant from the state of Original Sin and also the polluting effects of its parents' copulation. With regards to the liminal status associated with 'rites of passage', baptism exemplifies all of the ritual significance that would be expected to form such a ceremony. The rite itself can be regarded as a passing of a symbolic threshold between two distinct psychological states. The ritual's fundamental basis was the symbolic death, burial and rebirth of the initiate graphically enacted at the font. The infant was symbolically buried in the holy water and then subsequently reborn as a new member of the Christian fellowship. It is for this reason that we may note that in the early years of the church, particularly in Italy, buildings, separate from the main body of the church, were constructed in which the rite of baptism was conducted. These baptisteries, modelled on the Roman mausolea of the third and fourth centuries, were domed buildings, often surrounded by an outer ambulatory, reflecting the connection between the rite of baptism and the concept of death and rebirth (Turner 1979). In Northern Europe, the baptismal font, situated within the church itself, replaced these independent baptisteries. The medieval font was an emotive and symbolic feature of church furnishings, carrying with it a number of evocative messages. Placed close to the main entrance, the threshold across which an individual gained entry to the sacred space within the building, it acted as a pivotal point in the symbolism of this area of the building. Any individual entering the building would have to pass the font and in doing so was supposed to be reminded of their baptism and their own particular place in the community of the Church.

As with other 'rites of passage', baptism can be separated into the three categories proposed by Van Gennep. The pre-liminal rite occurred when the child was brought to the door of the church. Here the priest had to carry out an exorcism before the child could be allowed to make the transition from the profane material world into the scared space of the church itself. At the door the priest sprinkled the child with holy water and anointed it with oil making the sign of the cross on its forehead, breast and between its shoulder blades. A mixture of salt and spittle was

placed in the child's mouth (The font of St Mary's, Ipswich, has the inscription *Sal et Saliva* carved on it) and the priest called upon the devil to leave the body of the infant with the words:

> Therefore, cursed devil, know now your doom, and give honour to the true and living God, to his son Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit, and depart from this servant of God (Name), because that same God and Lord Jesus Christ has deigned to call her to his holy grace and blessing and to the baptismal font by the girt of the holy spirit. And do not dare to violate, o cursed devil, this sign of the holy Cross + which we now make on her forehead. Through Him who shall come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire. Amen (Quoted in Duffy 1992: 280).

The exorcism was required to remove the power of the devil, and "dirty spirits, which the child had contracted during the process of childbirth and which must leave him through the ears and nose before he can be born again" (Bloch and Guggenheim 1981: 379). Through the performance of the rite of exorcism the child was rendered clean and harmless and was then able to pass into the church without posing a threat to the sacred nature of the space within.

The second part of the rite took place inside the church. This was the rite of transition, the liminal rite that suspended the child between his or her old and new state. At the font the child was physically removed from its parents (if indeed the mother was present at the ceremony as she too was now a polluted being and must therefore pass through a ritual of cleansing, known as churching, before being allowed to re-enter the church) and delivered to the celebrant, the priest. This removal from its natural kin marks the transition from being the child of its parents to becoming a ritual child of the community of the Church. In order to fully distinguish the change in its religious and psychological character the child was symbolically buried, and then reborn out of, the waters of the font. This symbolic death, burial and rebirth mark the renewal of the child as a spiritual being and washed away the stains of Original Sin. This spiritual rebirth is the ideological core of baptism and, according to Bloch and Guggenheim represents;

> The denial of biological birth and the ability of women to produce 'legitimate children' by first declaring childbirth to be polluting and then by replacing it with a ritual re-enactment of birth which involves giving other parents (Bloch and Guggenheim 1981: 384).

Indeed the final part of the rite, the aggregation, was signified by the priest handing the child, not to the parents, but to nominated godparents to be raised in the community of the family of God, thus signifying that the child was now a member of the wider Christian community. The relationship of the child to its new ritual parents

is an interesting one, which carries with it aspects of the concept of social surveillance similar to that which has already been discussed for marriage. In the same way as the ritual rebirth at the font replaced biological childbirth in the eyes of the Church, so godparents ritually replaced natural parents. The Sarum Use imposed the responsibility for the spiritual life of the child firmly upon the godparents and "prior to the Reformation, at least in theory, godparents took not only spiritual and educational responsibilities, but also physical ones" (Coster 1994: 302). That is to say, with respects to the spiritual well-being of the infant and its Christian upbringing, the godparents, by virtue of the statements that they provided on behalf of the child at the font with regards to the renunciation of Satan, were charged with specific spiritual responsibilities. However, "this role...also gave godparents their right to intervene in the lives of their spiritual children" (Coster 1994: 203). This meant that it was quite possible for a godparent to become involved in matters other than those of a purely spiritual nature, whatever this might be. On the other hand John Bossy is of the impression that godparentage was of less importance with respect to the child and more concerned with the relationships between the adults involved in the rite. In his opinion "the chief object in view was the creation of a formal state of friendship between the spiritual kin and the natural kin" (Bossy 1973: 133). However, with reference to the involvement godparents had in the secular lives of their spiritual children he does suggest that:

> One might deduce that, in this society, the kin-relation was taken as the model of all effective social relations, but that natural kinship itself was not considered as providing an individual with adequate social support (Bossy 1973: 134).

In this sense the rite of baptism went someway to strengthen the bonds of community relations by forming a bond between spiritual parents and their spiritual children and also between both sets of parents themselves. They became what can be referred to as ritual kin extending the kinship network across the whole spectrum of the community. This had the effect of reducing the capacity for divisive tension between individuals and groups within the close boundedness of the village neighbourhood. One did not feud with one's family.

With regards to its central place in the negotiation of community membership and social organisation, the rite of baptism, in a similar way to marriage, played a pivotal role in the development of communal identity. Through baptism individuals came to be incorporated into the spiritual community of the Christian faith whilst at

the same time the symbolic nature of the ritual, with its associated wider communal involvement, acted as an indicator of secular community integration. The fact that every individual born within a parish was baptised in the local parish church meant that there was a close relationship between the rite itself, the place where it was performed and the perceived history of the community. In the case of marriage it was the doorway of the church acted as a social mnemonic for the remembrance of past events. In a similar vein the church doorway played an important role in the performance of the baptismal rite with respects to the liminal aspects of the ritual.

However, it was the font itself, which was the major focus of baptism being the scene of the actual incorporation of the infant, and as such it can be looked upon as the symbolic embodiment of the physiological and social significance of the ritual. This point is taken up by Norman Pounds whilst discussing the social importance of baptism and the sanctity of the font for ordinary people in the late Middle Ages:

> At the beginning of their lives they had all been brought to the church to be baptised at the font which stood just within the main entrance. This was something more than a link with the past, for previous generations had all been dipped in the consecrated water of that font, and in the future their own children would submit, no less noisily than they had done, to the same ritual. It stood as a symbol of the continuity of life. They would never let it be destroyed, and if it had to be replaced, it would most likely be buried in consecrated ground (Pounds 1994: 263).

This ritual burial of fonts is an extremely interesting phenomenon and goes some way to illustrating the ritual importance of the baptismal rite. David Stocker concentrates on the ritual burial and reuse of fonts in Lincolnshire parish churches. He suggest that stone fonts appear to possess a 'special' status and that prior to the Reformation none seem to have been deliberately discarded or reused for profane purposes (Stocker 1997).

Stocker outlines two major types of symbolic burial of font stones: burial below floor level, which seems to have been the preferred method for font disposal in the earlier part of the period, and a later approach whereby the font bowl is deliberately left visible, either by being inverted and so employed as a 'base or plinth' for its successor or with the bowl left protruding from the ground and having a later font physically stood within it (Stocker 1997). His argument is that this ritual burial performed two basic functions, one of a more practical nature and the other purely symbolic. Firstly, it is suggested that the font, by being the receptacle within which the holy water of baptism was contained, became imbued with a special sanctity by association. This idea is emphasised by the special status afforded to the water used

for baptism. The water in the font was considered by the Church to have a particular and unique spiritual quality so much so that canon law forbade its use for any other purpose than that of baptism and to prevent abuses the font was provided with a lockable cover.

> It was the custom to fix covers to fonts in parish churches lest the hallowed water should be stolen and put to superstitious uses. At a synod of 1236 Archbishop Rich of Canterbury decreed that locked covers should be fixed to fonts and the parish priest should hold the key (Cook 1954: 194)

Even the water and the receptacles employed by lay people in emergency baptisms in the home were regarded as spiritually significant and the instructions were to consign the water to the purifying quality of a fire and to deliver the bowls and other vessels used to contain the water to the parish church for their continued use for liturgical purposes only. Therefore, in view of the high regard paid towards the water of baptism and its spiritual potency it should be expected that fonts would be treated with the utmost of respect and buried within the consecrated church. Secondly, Stocker argues that the burial of an earlier font below a new one, particularly when the earlier one is still visible, carries a particular symbolic message.

> In these cases the physical relationship between the two fonts must be seen, surely, as a deliberate symbolic juxtaposition, whereby belief in the cycle of death and rebirth through the death and rebirth of the font vessel itself. The new bowl is legitimated by standing, literally, on the shoulders of its predecessor. The new font should be seen as 'arising out of' the old, it is visibly a 'resurrection' of its predecessor (Stocker 1997: 19)

There are aspects of this burial and reuse which strongly parallel the symbolic reuse of earlier doorways in later parish church rebuilding. This is true, particularly in the sense that the old may well have been employed as a way of legitimising the new. As suggested by Pounds, there was a notion that the font was directly associated with the history of the community and therefore was looked upon as a symbol of communal identity and continuity, an idea which Stocker further indicates when he cites the case of Tattershall in Lincolnshire:

> At Tattershall, for example, a 14th century font bowl was used as the base for its later 15th century successor (although this later bowl has itself been replaced). The Tattershall case is made all the more intriguing by the fact that the church was completely (and expensively) rebuilt in the third quarter of the 15th century and therefore, the upturned 14th century font bowl would have been almost the only evidence visible to contemporaries indicating the ecclesiastical antiquity of the site (Stocker 1997: 19).

7.6 Proof of age documents

When exploring the relationship between communal memory and the rite of baptism there exist an extremely useful series of contemporary documents which can

provide a valuable amount of information relating the subject. The documents in question are those that relate to inquests of Proof of Age (Walker 1973; Clanchy 1979; Bedell 1999). These were investigations held to determine the age of an heir to land and property, which arose when an heir was found to be under the legal age when coming into their inheritance. In such cases any property that would have passed to the minor was to be held in wardship until they came of age, which for the knightly classes was 21 years. On reaching the required legal age the heir was obliged to prove how old they were in order to be able to take possession of their rightful property. This proof was provided by the oral testimony of a group of jurors, usually numbering either thirteen or fourteen male members, who would testify as to the correct age of the claimant. According to Walker "the jurors were not drawn exclusively from the knightly classes but included tenants of the manor, servants and townsmen who might possess the required information" (Walker 1973: 317). It is noticeable that in many of these testimonies the recollection of the baptism of the heir figures highly in the memories of the jury members. This memory of the baptism is usually further linked to some other event which took place on or near the same time in order to provide an actual date for the birth of the infant. In one case for example the testimony of the witness is recorded as follows:

> Richard de Beaulieu, 60 and more, bought a horse from Richard Corsoun at the chapel on the day and saw the baptism (Cal. Inc. Post. Mort. 1399-1405: 675).

In another:

> Henry de Penketh, 40 and more, was at the church to buy corn from Robert Wilkynson
> John de Andern, 40 and more, was at the church for a cockfight between John de Sikes and Robert del Heth (Cal. Inc. Post. Mort. 1399-1405: 677).

These accounts demonstrate how the association between the baptism of the child and various other contemporaneous events is an example of the way in which memory played a part in medieval life. They also, with reference to business transactions and sporting pastimes, provide some information as to the alternative, more secular, uses to which the church was put by members of the village community.

However, on further inquiry other interesting sets of conclusions can be deduced from these documents. This is the way in which the concept of the prospective memory was exploited by the parents of the child in order to engrave the recollection of the baptism on the minds of the local population. As in the case of medieval marriage ceremonies, the rituals surrounding baptisms were designed to capture the

attention of the local community in order that they might witness the event and to some degree legitimise it.

> Baptisms were events which gave notoriety in the medieval sense to the date of the birth of the heir. Many proof of age jurors remembered having seen 'the child lifted from the font' or having attended the party which followed (Walker 1973: 317).

Therefore in many cases the catalogue of events remembered by the jurors at a later date had been instigated by the parents of the baptised child themselves.

> Jurors remembered by a series of coincidences that linked the heir's birth to something the juror clearly recalled. But some of these recollections were not accidental; they were stimulated by the parent of the child or by others for the purpose of facilitating memory to ensure a later successful proof of age. The writing down of the date of the birth in a parish service book or chronicle or the giving of gifts to those who witnessed the birth falls into this category (Walker 1973: 314).

A Yorkshire Proof of Age case - that of Thomas Montfort, dated the 16th February 1405 - provides a good example of the overt ceremonial involved in the baptismal procession. One John Ellerton of Aldborough remembered that he, along with several other individuals, carried torches during the ceremony. Thomas Kyrkeby remembered seeing the infant Thomas being carried towards the church with four unlit torches around him, whereas Hugh Clergenet had the recollection of seeing four lit torches being carried away from the church. This action of drawing public attention to the ritual of baptism, or indeed any other form of socially important event, is discussed by Duby who suggests that such acts;

> Had to be public and had to take place before a large gathering whose members stored the recollection, and who were expected to bear witness later, perhaps, to what they had heard or seen – words and gestures, confined within a ritual in order better to impress themselves on the memory of the group for recounting at a later date. As they grew old, witnesses felt obliged to pass on to their children what they retained in memory, and that legacy of memories was handed down from one generation to the next (Duby 1994: 175).

The Proof of Age inquest itself provides an interesting example of the way in which communal memory could be manipulated, although to some extent the rightful heirs to property did rely on the testimony of witnesses to validate their claims. It must also be reasonable to assume, however, that such claims would not be left solely to the vagaries of memory. In fact, as Walker mentions, some jurors do testify to the fact that they were present when the birth of the child was recorded in the parish service book. It would seem more likely that these cases were intended to provide a form of insurance, an almost traditional form of recognition of the end of wardship. This can be detected when a number of such documents are considered together. Many of the testimonies provided by jury members contain recollections which

appear to stem from a stock of well used and apparently common associations. Testimonies from various dates and different regions have a tendency to refer to the witness sustaining some form of injury on the day of the baptism, perhaps breaking an arm or a leg. Alternatively many seem to remember the fact that a fire broke out in, or near, the church at the same time as the ceremony was being conducted. This commonality of testimony in itself does not detract from the significance of such documents. The fact remains that it was memory, and the act of remembering, which was paramount, not in fact whether, in some cases, the baptism or its associated events were recollected accurately. However, some testimonies do bear the mark of originality, such as that supplied by John Bene of Ravensworth, Yorkshire, who said that he remembers the baptism day of Ralph Greystoke because "in that year he made such an effort of lifting a tree in the park of 'Kyrkebyravenswath' that he ruptured his testicles" (Cal. Inc Post Mort 1399)

To pursue this argument it may be suggested that such cases, by the later medieval period at least, may have been more rooted in tradition rather than legal necessity. However, in this sense it may well be the case that these inquiries served a more subtle purpose, one that was directed towards social stability and the negotiation of power relations. As has been indicated, the jury members in Proof of Age inquisitions were drawn from a wide section of the local population including servants and tenants of the new lord. The thirteen or fourteen members of the jury would in all possibility constitute a varied cross section of the local community. Through their testimonies validating the claims and rights of the heir they would also, as a consequence of their acquiescence, at the same time legitimise his rights to claim jurisdiction and authority over themselves.

7.7 Baptism and authority

The individuals referred to in the Proof of Age documents are of course those drawn from the higher ranking members of medieval society. However, the idea of legitimisation, as far as membership of the local community is concerned, is something which touched all individuals. It was through the ritual of baptism that an individual first entered the realm of village society. Baptism can be viewed as a process of integration with decidedly secular overtones, and as such the ritual itself could be manipulated as a tool of social control. The major physical focal point of baptism, other than the church itself, was the font. As already mentioned fonts were

regarded as highly emotive objects which embodied the social identity of the community and it is therefore extremely significant, even when it is couched within ideas relating to religious piety, we consider the appropriation of the font as a means for status display through the vehicle of inscriptions and heraldic devices. It is noticeable in this instance that many of the surviving fonts in England which do show this type of evidence predominantly stem from the later medieval period. In a comprehensive list compiled by Cox and Harvey (1907) 49 out of the 59 major surviving examples of fonts which exhibit heraldic devices were found to date from the fifteenth century. These heraldic fonts range across the whole of England with a number of examples being found in Suffolk, at Blythburgh and Burgate; in Yorkshire, at Featherstone, Catterick, and Beverley and Northamptonshire where, according to the authors a:

> Particularly interesting font giving all the alliances of the old family of Holdenby, stood in the church of Holdenby, Northants, until a 'restoration' in the seventies (1870s) when it was broken up and buried beneath its modern successor (Cox and Harvey 1908: 170).

The significance of this employment of the font as a means for social display is evident when it is considered in conjunction with the symbolism of the rite of baptism itself. During the ritual the baptised infant was symbolically buried and then reborn out of the water of the font and thus became not only a member of the Christian faithful but also symbolically entered the earthly community. The overt display of an individual's coat-of-arms on the sacred font must have conveyed a powerful message to those present at the rite. The fifteenth-century font of the parish church of South Kilvington, North Yorkshire, for example, has the coat-of-arms of Lord Thomas le Scrope displayed upon it along with the inscription *Dominus Thomas le Scrope et Elizabeth uxor ejus* (Tyrrell-Green 1928). Similarly the fourteenth-century example at St Michael's, Well, North Yorkshire, bears the arms of the Lord Ralph Neville and his family's alliances (Cox and Harvey 1908). What these inscribed and decorated fonts indicate is the fact that the sacrament of baptism is being administered under the influence of the patronage of the individual who has donated the font. This is not to suggest that baptisms would not have taken place within these churches without the generosity and piety of the donor. Baptism was after all a fundamental requirement of the Christian faith and one which was at times strongly defended. The main point concerning font donation was the symbolic association between the liminal nature of the religious rite and its social connotations. When an infant was baptised in a font

which carried the familial device of the local lord the symbolic message must not have escaped the attentions of the local population of the parish. Through the agency of the patron's donation the child was not only being reborn into the fold of the wider Christian fellowship, it was also entering the localised world of the parish community headed by the patrons themselves. Even where the font did not contain any direct reference to a local leading family a similar message could be conveyed. In the parish church of Patrick Brompton, North Yorkshire, for instance the font is situated at the western end of the south aisle, the roof corbels of which carry four separate shields. Each shield, which at one time would have had armorial devices painted upon them, thus created an appropriated space within which the rite of baptism was taking place.

7.8 Marriage

When viewed in terms of a rite of passage, marriage can immediately be seen as a ritual which strikingly changes the social condition of the participants. By the act of passing through the ritual of marriage, with its associated three phases of separation, liminality and integration, the bride and groom arrived at a situation whereby their social position has changed. Henceforth they were expected "to behave with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding an incumbent of social position in a system of such positions" (Turner 1969: 95). However, it was not only the relationship between the bride and groom which was the concern of the rite; there was also the affect that their union had on other members of the community as a whole. Marriages involved the renegotiation of kinship ties and alliances. They also, in most cases, involved transference of property and wealth. "Every wedding meant a redistribution of status and economic recourses within the community, which might lead internal conflicts to change their course. At weddings, as well as funerals, fights were not uncommon. Being collective events, both were suitable occasions to settle old scores" (Spierenburg 1991: 67). Marriages were also a matter of some concern to medieval landlords. If, for example, a woman married outside the manor and moved to her new husband's home, the implication was that the manor would lose her labour service and the labour of any potential offspring. To counter this many landlords, in the late medieval period, imposed fines on marriage. Fines could be used to discourage marriage outside the village, and restrict peasant mobility, by imposing higher fines on those wishing to leave the village in order to marry, or by involving a second party to act as a pledge in respect of unpaid fines.

> Individuals purchasing licences to marry increasingly had to provide pledges who would not only vouch for the payment of the fines but also for the individual not marrying outside the manor...This served to put pressure on individuals, ensuring that they were not to break their ties with the manor whilst also providing the community with an incentive to keep tabs on the movement of their neighbours. After all pledges would not like to be held responsible for either an unpaid fine or missing bride or groom (Müller 1999: 180).

In the sense that marriage was an important element in the ordering of a stable society, it becomes increasingly apparent why marriages took place at the site of the church. If we consider for the moment that the rite of marriage was in fact a purely secular event, one that did not, until the early modern period, require the participation of the Church to make it legally binding, it is illuminating, in a social sense, that so many marriages took place within the setting of the most public building in the village.

> Medieval culture was largely an illiterate one, and public ceremonial, symbols and celebrations did not simply provide entertainment but also publicized important events such as marriages. Even in clandestine marriages the couples reported some sort of ceremony and ritual, usually in the presence of witnesses (Hanawalt 1986: 203).

The segregation of the ritual of marriage into three symbolic stages essentially marks the passage of the woman from her father's house to that of her new husband. The ceremony carried out at the church doorway played an important part in the marriage ceremony but was not the only scene of ritual activity. It was only the carrying out of the liminal aspects in this rite which was undertaken at the site of the church. As Nicole Belmont suggests the actual marriage has to be examined on a wider scale that is in terms of the marriage procession itself, the physical and symbolic journey taken by the bride. In a marriage the woman is given away by her father and then led to her new home by the husband and as Belmont suggests "the religious ceremony, enacted midway in this process, serves to ratify it. The woman does not marry; she is married. She does not accomplish an act; she undergoes a change of condition" (Belmont 1982: 2). The church's position in this procession can be seen to be a midway point, symbolically, between the two stages. It is significant therefore that the door of the church is the place mentioned most in relation to marriage services. The symbolism of the threshold is implicitly employed in the rite. It can also be argued that the parish church played this role in the proceedings partly due to the fact that it was a public building, which was the focal point for the community. As mentioned, marriage was a sensitive and potentially dangerous activity, and the union did not only involve the couple who were to be married but

was also of great concern to their respective families as well as the other members of the community. Therefore it was in the interests of the bride and groom and those of their families that the marriage should be conducted and ratified in the presence of the whole community. This communal involvement assisted in the avoidance, or future accusation, of any form of complication such as a prohibited degree of consanguinity for example. It was essential, therefore, that marriages were carried out in a very public manner and for this purpose the parish church, being the central focus of attention for village life, was the ideal point at which to mark the union, bringing together the social and spiritual aspects of the marriage.

> The rituals of marriage, procreation and divorce looked in two directions, towards other people and towards God, with the emphasis on the former. As these rituals demonstrate, God's role was largely to authenticate and guarantee the hard-won and potentially dangerous trust in others implied by the marriage bond. Although some of these rituals suggested divine sanctions for violating oaths, the people who employed these rituals were realists who recognised their value for attracting the attention of the community and who understood that the sanction of public opprobrium held greater immediate terror for potential violators than divine wrath (Muir 1997: 43-44).

Although solemnisation at church was not an essential requirement of a legally binding marriage, it would appear that many people, nevertheless, felt it was necessary to obtain the Church's blessing. Of course it may be reasonably argued that it was the Church authorities, who by actively promoting the idea of the sacramental nature of marriage, ensured that marriages were performed under their direction and authority. However, when one examines the possibilities that social surveillance played a major role in the formation and acceptance of matrimonial unions the ceremonial content of a church-centred ceremony can be regarded as significant. In terms of Church law on marriage, as outlined in canon 51 of the IV Lateran Council of 1215 (Leyser 1995: 107), all that was required to establish a permanent bond was the mutual consent of both parties made in the presence of witnesses. However, the problem for the Church, and indeed any other group concerned with the matter of an illicit union was that this relaxed approach was open to abuse. Therefore a course of action was introduced which went some way towards ensuring that only legally prescribed marriages were entered into. This involved a reading of the wedding banns, the announcement of the forthcoming marriage, on three consecutive Sundays or major feast days before the date of the ceremony. This had the effect of making the couple's intention, and presumably that of their families, to become man and wife a matter of common knowledge, and allowed for the involvement of the local community at the earliest stage in the negotiations. This communal involvement in the

marriage contract ensured that as long as no objection to the union was brought to light the marriage could not only go ahead as intended, but would also be safeguarded from contradiction in the future. The two basic principles, which were employed in this procedure, were social surveillance and communal memory.

> The priest was required to announce the marriage and investigate the couple's freedom from impediment. Detailed implementation of this ruling was worked out in subsequent years on a local basis. In England the reading of the banns [occurred] on three Sundays or major feasts...This procedure performed two broad purposes; it required the friends and neighbours of the couple to examine the past and report any impediment that prevented marriage; it protected the marriage in the future by increasing its publicity. Thus the reading of the banns not only tended to prevent the duplicity to which the couple might be tempted; it also helped them to avoid the dangers of ignorance and self-deception to which they were prone before marriage and after it (Sheehan 1971.235).

The publication of banns of marriage can be seen as an important element of the formation of a stable marriage not only in terms of the future relationship of the intended couple but also their corresponding affiliation to the village community. When, as Sheehan suggests, the members of the local community were expected to examine the past with regards to any impediment prohibiting the marriage we can see the connection between social surveillance and communal memory at work. In order for the members of such communities to actually retain such information the public nature and memorial aspects of past wedding ceremonies comes into play. It can be argued that it was not only the public nature of the marriage ceremony which made it memorable but also the close association with place that rendered it fixed in the social memory. In this particular instance it was the church doorway which can be regarded as the focal point for the social mnemonic. Fredrick Pedersen (1994) discusses a fourteenth-century court case, which touches upon the seemingly intentional avoidance of communal involvement in celebration of a wedding. The case which was brought before the York court by one Peter Hillard, provides an interesting example of how far social surveillance affected the establishment of a legally binding marriage.

On the death of her husband, Katherine Hillard, Peter's stepmother, wished for her dowry to be returned to her father. Peter, however, refused to do this stating that Katherine's marriage to his father, John, had been conducted within the forbidden degree of consanguinity. In court Peter claimed that the wedding ceremony which took place around the 11th November 1363, had been conducted under dubious circumstances. It was heard that the wedding itself took place very early in the morning, although certain witnesses appearing for Katherine attested that by the time

the marriage was finally solemnised the sun had actually risen. However, further evidence was heard from Peter's brother Thomas, who attended the wedding, and who stated that "the church had been boarded up with linens and surplices draped across the windows and that the doors had remained closed during the ceremony to prevent light from the candles escaping from the church" (Pedersen 1994: 139). Evidence was also heard from the chaplain who performed the marriage rite, Ivo of Riston, who said that he had read the banns concerning the intended marriage at dawn prior to the celebration of the union, and at that time no objections regarding the union were raised.

The convoluted methods employed by the couple must surely have been intended to avoid interference from the local community in the completion of a solemnized marriage. The fact that the ceremony took place at an unusual hour and was celebrated not by the local parish priest but by a chaplain would indicate that the couple were conscious of the fact that some parties may have raised doubts concerning the validity of the union. It emerged in court that not long after their marriage John and Katherine had "been denounced to the Archbishop by their parish priest, and the Archbishop had enjoined them to live as brother and sister" (Pedersen 1994: 139). They did, however, apply for a dispensation from Rome to allow them to marry. According to Pedersen;

> John and Katherine Hillard's elaborate attempts to avoid detection when they married... and their open attempt to gain a dispensation from Rome to marry despite their consanguinity show that they were not only aware of the canon law rules of consanguinity when they married but were also aware of how to challenge them and how to circumvent them (Pedersen 1994: 140).

What this case also demonstrates is the effectiveness of social surveillance in so far as the methods employed by the couple to shield their activities from the eyes and ears of the local population. Although in this case a marriage actually took place it was only by virtue of the fact that, apparently, the individuals present at the ceremony did not raise any objections. If on the other hand the marriage had taken place at a more regular hour and with the participation of their parish priest and been attended by the wider community, with their shared knowledge of blood relationships, the outcome would surely have been otherwise.

7.9 Death

There is a close link between what contemporaries saw as the fundamental nature of death and salvation and the process by which the dead were remembered by

the living. For the inhabitants of the Middle Ages death was not seen as a final act, the culmination of a life spent on earth; rather it was regarded as a change in state for the individual concerned. The disposal of the dead was a rite, which in common with the other rites discussed thus far, conforms to Van Gennep's concept of rites of passage. The initial rite of separation was instigated before the individual actually died. This involved a spiritual preparation for death with the administering of the sacrament of extreme unction and the ritual of anointing, symbolising the changing nature of the spiritual body. It was during this pre-liminal period that the dying person was expected to make their peace with the world, perhaps dictating a will and receiving visitors paying their final respects. After physical death there followed a transitional period whereby the individual was held in a liminal state between this world and the next and now the body of the deceased was taken from the family home, physically breaking the links with the earthly life, and removed to the church where it was symbolically met at the doorway before the celebration of mass. In his will Robert Benn makes specific mention of the door of the church:

> That the prior of Frieston and his brethren therof of their charity do meet my body at the church door after my decease and them to give me absolution, and so bring me into the kirk with prayer and devotion and to have for their labour $3^{s}4^{d}$ (Quoted in Gittings 1984: 26).

The burial of the body marks the final part of this liminal state where the dead person passes through the threshold of the grave and as one author suggests this may account for "the frequency of doorway and portal motifs on ancient and medieval tombs" (Binski 1996: 29). Actual burial position, both inside and outside of the church, could also be suggestive of the liminal nature of this part of the rite. Burials across boundaries are sometimes encountered perhaps in the porch of the church or between distinct areas of the interior as in the case of Roger Wodeword of Raskelf, North Yorkshire, whose will of dated 1346 committed his soul:

> to God almighty, St Mary, and All Saints, and his body to be buried in the high church of Esyngwold at the great door (M^{c}Killiam 1914: 130).

The final act of the death ritual is the post-liminal rite of integration whereby the dead individual makes the final transition to their new state and position in the afterlife and the survivors re-negotiate and reaffirm their temporal roles.

> Mortuary rituals derive from the natural human fear of death. When a death occurs strong fears and emotions are generated in those close to the deceased. Such emotions can be dangerous and disruptive. A death disrupts relationships, breaks the normal pattern of people's lives and shakes the moral foundation of society. There is a tendency for the bereaved to sink into despair, to neglect their responsibilities and to

behave in ways harmful to themselves and others. Group integration and solidarity tend to be undermined. Mortuary rituals serve to channel such disruptive emotions along constructive rather than disruptive paths. It relieves the anxieties generated by the events and restores a degree of equilibrium. It often does this partly by reaffirming and strengthening a belief in immortality of the soul or spirit and thereby gives assurance to the bereaved that they are not doomed to everlasting extinction (Hamilton 1995: 49-50).

7.10 The living and the dead

Death did not involve the total severing of the links between related parties; it did, however, change the future nature of that relationship in fundamental ways. "In the Middle Ages as in other epochs, death ritual was not so much a question of dealing with a corpse as of reaffirming the secular and spiritual order by means of a corpse" (Finucane 1981: 41). This new relationship was one that was based primarily on remembrance. There existed a reciprocal arrangement by which the living and the dead were mutually obliged towards each other (Gordon and Marshall 2000). This relationship, with its mutual aim of heavenly salvation was fuelled by the concept of purgatory. Purgatory had its roots in France where in the eleventh century thinkers such as Peter Abelard began to suggest that there might be more than two options for the soul after death. Up until that time there had been two possible destinations for the soul of the dead, heaven or hell. However, with the introduction of the notion of a third place for the soul, a place where the sins of the world could be absolved by cleansing spiritual fires, attitudes towards death and provision for the soul changed. The way to heaven could now be reasonably assured, however, there would inevitably be a certain amount of time spent in the pains of purgatory before the soul was pure enough to enter paradise. The important point was that this time spent in purgatory could be reduced by one's good works in life and also by the intercession, through prayer, of the living after one's death. This led to increased activity in benefactions towards the church, and the establishment of chantries to act as mechanisms intended to aid the soul of the benefactor through the purgatorial process. As Clive Burgess suggests, "penances, be they prayers, almsgiving, financial bequests to the clergy and churches or the commission of pious acts and services - good works in short - became well worthwhile and immensely popular" (Burgess 1988: 65-66). The fundamental basis of this process was dualistic in its function. The dead relied on the remembrance and prayers of the living in order that they might have a speedy deliverance from the pains and trials of purgatory as "the dead needed to be remembered, for the dead were

like the poor, utterly dependent on the loving goodwill of others" (Duffy 1992: 328). As for the living, their unqualified devotion to the memory and service of the deceased provided a means of accumulating good works on earth and their own means of safeguarding a degree of spiritual recognition in heaven. The memory of the departed was kept alive through the observance of services for the dead, chantry masses, anniversary lights and feasts such as All Souls. This as Clive Burgess explains;

> Provided for constant interplay between the living and the dead. Founders of the former (post orbit services) invariably specified that their masses were to be for the profit of all the faithful departed and of course, depended upon the living both to celebrate the masses and maintain the service (Burgess 1988: 67).

This link between the living and the dead is not something which is peculiar to the ideas concerning purgatory. The dead had always played a fundamental role in the village community; purgatory only gave this concept a further emphasis.

> Ancestor worship pre-existed Christianity among the German peoples and is one of the strands from which the custom of praying for the dead emerged. In a primarily oral culture, just as heralds were witness to aristocratic lineage and noble prowess, so the mass-priest embodied the memory of the ancestral souls and their spiritual deeds (Bainbridge 1994: 185)

To return again to the funeral: this in itself is an expression of this connection and the ways in which the role of the living with relation to the dead was negotiated. As with all rites of passage the emphasis of the rituals of death and burial mark the transformation of a person to a new social position and again this transformation held a degree of significance for the community as a whole. The death of an individual created a moment of tension within a community. It left a void in the social structure of the village that needed to be renegotiated and the "death of those individuals who led the most public lives created the greatest amount of disruption to the status quo" (Hadley 2001: 174). This concept of renegotiation is discussed by Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry who put forward the idea, based on the work of Robert Hertz (1960), that the problem for society in dealing with the death of an individual "stems from the fact that the deceased was not only a biological individual but a social being grafted upon the physical individual" (Bloch and Parry 1982: 4). The actions taken by society when dealing with the death of one of its members was in effect the taking back "of what it had given of itself and regrafting it on to another host" (Bloch and Parry 1982: 4).

> There are two phases to the mortuary rituals: a phase of disaggregation (represented by the temporary disposal of the corpse) followed by a phase of reinstallation (represented by

the secondary burial) from which the collectivity emerges triumphant over death. This dual process is mirrored in beliefs about the fate of the soul and the ritual condition of the mourners. It takes time for the collectivity to readjust to the death of one of its members, and this finds expression in the idea of a dangerous period when the departed soul is potentially malevolent and socially uncontrolled, and in the separation of the mourners from everyday life. The final ceremony, however, involves the reassertion of society manifested by the end of mourning and by the belief that the soul has been incorporated into the society of the dead and has settled down in the same way as the collective consciousness of the living has been resettled by the funerary ritual (Bloch and Parry 1982: 4).

With regards to the concept of a two-part funeral ritual we are faced with a problem in the medieval period, as there was no distinctive double burial process in operation. However, it may be the case that the two-part burial was replaced, or represented, by the removal of the corpse from the house, or place of death, to the church; in effect a removal from the profane world into that of the sacred. The final interment of the body within the actual grave could then be seen as the second burial and the culmination of the rite.

However, this renegotiation of the consequences of death did not mean that the dead were no longer regarded as effective members of the community; it was only that their relations took on a different form.

> Social reciprocity between the living and the dead, and the continued influence that the latter exerted over the former throughout medieval society. ...was possible because death was not envisaged as a full extinguishing of either body or spirit (Caciola 1996: 7).

The influence that the dead could have on the living community was, in a similar to the way in which their death could disrupt the social fabric, related to their social position in life. It was the demands made by the dead that they should be remembered which played a large part in this relationship. The more influential a person was in life gave them a better placed position to make stronger claims in death for the attentions of the living. This is not to suggest that some members of society gained a monopoly on memory, only that the articulation of that memory took on differing forms of representation. As mentioned earlier, burial position was one aspect of death that can be seen as symbolically important in terms of its liminal status. However, the location of the grave was also significant in other ways. All members of the Christian community had to be buried in consecrated ground. This meant that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, an individual was buried within the bounds of the graveyard of their local parish church. However, by the later medieval period it was not only the graveyard itself which was considered appropriate as a final resting place; the interior of the church too was a preferred location for certain members of

society influential enough to take advantage of it. "Burial in church was a mark of social and spiritual elevation. There were additional refinements. Generally speaking burial in the 'holier' sections of the church, from the choir eastward, was reserved for the greater figures only" (Finucane 1981: 43). It is probably the case that the idea of purgatory strengthened the importance of the choice of burial position as the interior of the church was regarded as more spiritually beneficial. It could also be argued that death created a situation whereby the concerns for the salvation of the souls of the departed became a focus for collective communal action in the terms of provisions made to the fabric of parish churches throughout England. As time in purgatory could be reduced through the intercessory prayers of the living, communal relations right across the social spectrum were emphasised and alliances strengthened by the performance of one's Christian duty. It has been suggested that in the later medieval period there was a reciprocal contract between the pious wealthy and the poorer members of the community who gained spiritual benefit by praying for them. It is argued that the poor were considered to be in the possession of an intrinsic blessedness and that this state provided them with distinct spiritual and social duties.

> If they had obligations it was to intercede the more effectively for the wealthy and the dead. In making satisfaction for other less spiritually advantaged souls they might prove their own charity (Burgess 1988: 69).

In this sense it can be seen that there was a direct connection between the conspicuous tombs and graves of the wealthy, which were intended to act as lasting memorials, and the willingness on the part of the poorer in society to be dynamically involved in the act of remembering them.

It would be too simplistic to suggest however that the prominence of burial position was only concerned with matters relating to the particular anxieties individuals felt for their spiritual salvation. Other motives have to be considered and one of these is the manipulation of memory itself. Prominent burial was only one of a whole range of strategies employed by the wealthy as means of perpetuating their memory. The interiors and exteriors of hundreds of late medieval parish churches were full of such memorial references. The straightforward fact is that all of the dead of the parish would be remembered in one way or another; however, it was important for those of the elite to be remembered in a particular manner befitting their station. The fundamental point is, although individual pride cannot be completely ruled out of the equation, it was not entirely for the benefit of themselves alone that they wished to

be remembered. The perpetuation of memory, particularly where it referred to lineages, was also an important consideration with regards to those who would follow them. Paul Binski touches upon this idea of the dead as a social force in the present when he says;

> Burial in a graveyard usually meant burial in association with a parish church, and parishes had themselves grown in North-Western Europe in tandem with the rise of Minster churches and manorial establishments founded by the laity. Even ordinary parochial burial thus exemplified quite basic relations to territory, and to power, in medieval society. These grew more complex as burial within churches became increasingly common.... The location of the dead either inside or outside mapped the order of the social elite as, in effect, a supernatural elite (Binski 1996: 56).

This point also brings to the fore the question of the distinction between burials in the graveyard, which we can safely presume were largely made up of the burials of the poorer in society, and the elite burials within the church. A consideration has to be made of the ways in which the overt self-promotion, which was an important element of these interior monuments, impacted on those of a lesser social position. Of course the basic religious and spiritual function of these monuments was to elicit a response from the living in the form of prayers for the deceased. However, how far can this argument be taken before it obscures other motivations of a more temporal character? As one author has recently suggested;

> The erection of monuments to the dead and the creation of chantry chapels and guilds impacted on the living in more than one way. In addition to providing commemoration and spiritual support for some, they also had an impact on those parishioners who did not have monuments or chantries and who were not members of guilds, since they took over so much space within the parish church (Hadley 2001: 175)

This seems to imply that the medieval peasant felt a certain amount of resentment towards those who cluttered their parish churches with expensive monuments which they themselves could not afford. This may well be the case; we will never know for sure exactly how their reactions were conceptualised. However, to assume that the display of worldly wealth was intended only to demonstrate social position in monetary terms is to oversimplify the subtle undercurrents of the whole operation of the appropriation of sacred space by the elite. What we are dealing with here is not just the demonstration of the right to power through the acquisition of material wealth, although this does, to some extent, go hand-in-hand with it. What these monuments are also referring to is the entitlement of power by ancestry and divine right.

The concept of the three orders maintained that there were those in society whose position of authority was sanctioned by God. It was simply a fact of life that

the ordering of society was seen in religious terms, based on the idea that the world was a mirror of the divine order. The inhabitants of the earth were placed in a hierarchical relation to one another in the same way as the realm of heaven was ordered under the overarching authority of God. By the endorsement of the divine order, and its re-enforcement through religious practice, the actions and aspirations of the population could be influenced into the acceptance of a divinely ordained ranking of society. It is suggested by Susan Reynolds that this concept of hierarchy would go someway to ensure that "everyone should be content with his lot, living and working harmoniously with his superiors and his inferiors, and do justice to each in his station" (Reynolds 1995. XIV: 11). Therefore it can be argued that, for the inhabitant of the medieval world, religious observance played a prominent role in cultural practice with group and individual actions taking place within the concept of an accepted, pre-ordained, and all encompassing set of rules which acted as a guide for social relations. In this respect the act of burial within the parish church, could involve, and therefore indeed should be expected to involve, more than just a demonstration of an individual's piety, faith and religious beliefs. Conspicuous display by means of elaborate and intrusive burial monuments should also be seen as strategies which were employed by certain sections of society as a means whereby hierarchical social relations could be enforced, reaffirmed and negotiated within the arena of a building which was the centre of communal identity.

7.11 The dead and communal identity

If then the interior of the church increasingly came to by looked upon as the most appropriate location for the interment of the social elite in later medieval society, what of the poor and their place in the exterior graveyard? The answer to this question is a difficult one as only a limited amount of evidence survives to furnish our understanding of the attitudes towards death of the medieval peasantry. We need to examine the medieval graveyard as an extension of the church proper; as a place which was employed by the laity for activities other than the burial of the dead. If we cannot, for want of the lack of hard evidence, gain a complete picture of the average medieval villager's concerns with the details of burial we may, by an examination of the attitudes expressed towards the graveyard, gain some insight into the links which existed at the time between the living and the dead of the rank and file of the parish.

Robert Fossier writes rather romantically concerning the relationship between the living and the dead in medieval rural society suggesting that the medieval peasant saw death as a 'passage' an "entry into life itself, or rather the period of waiting for the judgement that would determine their destiny for ever" (Fossier 1988: 28). He suggests that the dead were always present, like a dual village, residing within the fold of the community. "Until the sound of the last trumpet they wandered without repose, asexual and joyless, where they had lived, round the church where they had been baptised and where they had been buried" (Fossier 1988: 28).

The medieval graveyard, like the church itself, was a multi-functional space, both religious and secular in nature. It was a sacred area consecrated by the bishop in order that Christian burials could take place therein. It was, however, also regarded as a secular space, one that was used for a variety of purposes such as markets, fairs and the playing of games. The Major and Burgesses of the town of Appleby lodged a complaint to this effect which suggested that "the profits of their market was greatly reduced owing to the fact that trade was going to markets in other towns where markets were held in churches and churchyards without the Kings grant" (Cal Pat Rolls 1377-1381: 520). This secular aspect of the graveyard meant that it was a space where a great deal of social activity was carried out. Therefore it would be interesting to consider how attitudes towards the memory of the dead of the community fit into this scheme of secular activity. Could it be the case that the dead were in some way spiritually present as active members of the community subliminally interacting with the living? If this is true, we can regard the interactive function of the dead as an extension to the concept of social surveillance among the living themselves, with the past members of the village maintaining a watchful eye on present activity and help maintain an adherence to traditional modes of behaviour. In this sense it was the role of the dead through their claims on remembrance which aided in the forging of the communal identity of the village.

If the church was a major feature of the medieval village in terms of its memorial resonance then it can also be argued that the associated graveyard, the resting place of the ancestors, could fulfil a similar function. Jean-Claude Schmitt makes the point that "the proximity of the space of the living to the space of the dead was a major feature of the history of traditional societies and mentalities of Europe" (Schmitt 1998: 182). This is of course true when one considers the nucleated settlements of the high and later medieval village. As the site of the village became a

permanent feature in the landscape, forming a stable base for the construction of a settled community with particular territorial ties to the land they inhabited, so did the position of the dead of the community with relation to the village become a fixed reference for communal continuity. "At the dawn of the Europe of lords and villages, the cemetery sometimes preceded the establishment of a village. The dead grouped the living around them" (Schmitt 1998: 182). This close association between the village and its graveyard made the presence of the dead around the living a constant feature of everyday life as Schmitt goes on to say;

> Between the church and the village the cemetery was therefore an intermediary place, and it played a mediating role: the living had to go through it constantly, not only when they went to church but also when they went from one end of the village to the other"(Schmitt 1998: 183).

The graveyard was a familiar space utilised on a routine and regular basis by the members of the community for activities other than the burial of the dead. It is this aspect of the use of the graveyard by the members of the village community which may inform us about attitudes to their relationship with the dead. Unlike the interior of the church, where memorials to the dead remained a permanent feature from the late medieval period onwards, the graves of the less wealthy have been lost to us due to the fact that they were not provided with any form of lasting monument. This is not to say that the graves of recently deceased members of the medieval village community were not apparent to contemporaries, they may have possessed less durable grave markers or at the very least been made evident by a slight mound on the ground surface. The point is, whether visible or not, did the inhabitants of the medieval village hold the dead in their memory? It can be reasonably argued that they did and they did so because the dead formed the foundation of the community.

Remembering and celebrating the dead legitimised the claims of the living and as has been suggested, when dispersed medieval villages began to form more nucleated settlements, the dead by association with the church and its graveyard, formed the central focus of these new communities. As political and tenurial pressure prevented the expansion of the territories connected with these initial settlements, territoriality became more and more important. The dead were a proof of ownership, and as was the case of aristocratic inheritance, they were evidence of lineage. This was the debt that the living owed to the dead.

Much has been written concerning the reciprocal arrangement that existed between the living and the dead of the community with regards to prayer and

intercession (Bloch and Parry 1982; Burgess 1988; Fossier 1988). However, this for the most part focuses on the part played by the wealthy in society. If we look for a similar obligation owed by the poor to the poor then we need to examine the idea that the relationship between the living and the dead of the lower orders of society was based on something more than spiritual salvation. It appears that the use of the graveyard for secular activities was a means by which the living communed with the dead of the community and in doing so maintained the collective memory of the community intact. The contact between the living and the dead of the community was continually reinforced by the repetitive use of the churchyard for secular as well as religious activity. Schmitt makes the point that such activity may be linked to medieval ideas about the dead themselves and their continued interaction with the temporal world.

> They went by it (the graveyard) travelled through it and attended to leisure activities in it, activities that apparently had little relationship to death or the dead. At least this was the opinion of theologians and preachers, whose opinion sometimes differed from that of the simple curates. In particular the church constantly castigated dancing in churches and cemeteries as being 'pagan superstitious' or indecent. But can we not see in those prohibitions the sign of a competition between two types of behaviour, each of which in its own way sanctified the space of the dead? In the face of the church rituals, the young dancers stomping in rhythm on the ground of the dead communicated with their dead relatives and their ancestors. They danced in the cemeteries, as the dead themselves were believed to dance during the night (Schmitt 1998: 183).

Of course this is an extreme example of what can be considered to be taking place but what Schmitt is driving at is the familiarity with the dead that is apparent in the seemingly sacrilegious uses of sacred space by the laity. However, this use of the churchyard and indeed the employment of the church itself as a location for communal activity brings the concept of the collective memory and ritual space full circle. For the inhabitants of the Late Middle Ages there was no hard and fast distinction between the ritual and secular areas of life; both were equally important in terms of the fulfilment of a stable and ordered society. The structure of society was held together by the performance and remembrance of ritual action centred on the parish church, the fabric of which took on the symbolic expression of the communal identity of the village community. The parish church was the location and focus of the collective memory of the past and to know the past was to know the present and indeed anticipate the future.

Chapter Eight

The symbolic Re-use of Material in the Fabric of the Later medieval Parish Church

This chapter concentrates on the deliberate re-use of earlier architectural material set within the fabric of later churches or later building phases. This is a phenomenon which is frequently encountered in parish church architecture but has hitherto stimulated only a limited amount of discussion. The occurrence of this type of re-use raises certain questions regarding its actual significance and therefore it is proposed to examine this type of re-use and demonstrate that it was closely allied to the retention of the collective memory of the communities where it is encountered. Initially the link between architecture and memory and how the act of building itself can be regarded as an expression of the development of the memory of construction techniques will be considered. This will be followed by a discussion focussing more specifically on the incidence of the deliberate re-use of architectural material in later buildings and a consideration of what this may imply. A closer examination of this form of material retention will be discussed, concentrating to a large extent on the churches of later medieval Yorkshire. However, in order to illustrate certain points and to demonstrate that this form of behaviour is not restricted to a single region, mention will be made of churches from other areas of England, particularly in the counties of Northamptonshire and Suffolk. The re-use, or perhaps what would be more correctly termed as the repositioning, of church doorways will be examined in particular detail as this is an aspect of this type of activity which provides the greatest amount of physical and theoretical material for debate. Lastly two short case studies will be presented in order to bring together the examples and theories and place them in a more specific historical context.

8.1 Memory and architecture

As has already been discussed the parish church was such an important part of social life in the Middle Ages that the building itself can be regarded as acting as

a metaphor for the collective identity of the community as a whole. This relationship between the community and the parish church can be seen to be reflected in the treatment of the architecture of these buildings over time and this in itself can be linked to the influence of the collective memory. It was noted earlier in chapter one that the collective memory is not static and does indeed change over time as group experience increases. It was also suggested that the fundamental characteristic of collective memory is that it resists, wherever possible, major change and that when changes in experience do occur they are dealt with in such a way as to make the whole appear as a continuum, a natural progression, with new experiences being absorbed seamlessly into the fold of the collective. The actual physical architectural arrangement and development of the medieval parish church can also be viewed in a similar way. The structural composition of many medieval parish churches can be seen to have changed as new building styles were adopted and as the building was extended and altered over time. These new forms of architectural expression were integrated into the body of the structure, whilst at the same time others were removed, whereas the position of the parish church as the centre of communal worship remained largely intact.

Through this process the overall physical dimensions and appearance of a given church could alter radically. It may have been enlarged through the addition of aisles, chapels or a tower with the possibility of each of these new elements exhibiting a contemporary architectural style. In other more unusual cases, such as at Bulmer, North Yorkshire, the proportions of the church may well have been reduced. Some medieval parish churches in Yorkshire demonstrate the gradual acquisition of new stylistic elements graphically. St Mary's, Wath, for example, is in essence an aggregation of different phases of building, dating from the very earliest Romanesque of the Anglo-Saxon or Norman period right through to the perpendicular of the later Middle Ages. In some instances, as at All Saint's, Skelton, York or St Helen's, Ainderby Steeple, there is a break in the chain of development with the building of a church principally in one contemporary architectural style.

Insofar as these are buildings which have received a great deal of investment over a long period of time, every medieval parish church readily lends itself to a large amount of architectural interpretation. This form of structural analysis has been the mainstay of church studies for many years and will no doubt

continue to dominate the subject for many more to come. The vast majority of medieval churches in England can be regarded as templates of style, fashion and regional variation in architecture. They are physical demonstrations of how these elements evolve over time. In a similar way to the formation of the collective memory of a group, the architecture of the parish church may be regarded as a record of the accumulation of experience and knowledge, conceived of mentally and expressed structurally. Parish churches, and their structural components, should not only be regarded as records of one particular point in architectural or cultural history but also as the products of a gradual build up of experience and understanding. To a degree they all exhibit an element of past relatedness, that is the building, as conceived of in one particular present, is to some extent influenced by the buildings of its past. In many instances, this relationship between the past and present in the architectural development of a church is quite evident. The structural layout of the building for example is something, which to a large degree was fixed. A particularly relevant example of this is the relationship between the chancel and nave. Driven by liturgical, religious and secular needs these were the two basic unchanging requirements of a medieval religious building. There may well have been developments which saw the physical dimensions of the spaces change with relation to each other or indeed the intentional separation of them both through the insertion of chancel screens. Nevertheless, regardless of when a particular church was built, rebuilt or radically altered in some way, this fundamental arrangement between chancel and nave remained. The other major elements of medieval parish churches, towers, side aisles and porches (which again are not all products of one particular architectural period), may or may not be represented in every church, yet when they are present they tend to conform to certain understandable criteria of form and spatial configuration. The history of the architectural development of the medieval church on the whole is one of innovations in style and fashion confined within the limits of formal requirements.

> The form of the parish church remained stable because it was designed to meet the needs of people at worship, and those needs did not change. The congregation needed to connect with God and to one another. The form of the church was right for the work. Details did change because people wanted the church of their parish to symbolize their collective success. They banked extra wealth into a communal building that marked their progress. The church changed to fulfil their needs for pride. In meeting two needs at once – building and symbolizing community – their church simultaneously displayed patterns of continuity and change (Glassie 2000: 70).

Continuity in architectural form and employment of basic understandable building configuration is again closely allied to the concept of continuity of collective memory. Traditions and customs play a large part in the maintenance of memory within the collective and in the same way tradition in architecture plays a similar role in the continuance of defined building practices. Glassie suggests that "no building is entirely new. If it were it would be utterly incomprehensible" (2000: 70). This points towards the idea that every newly constructed building is in effect an extension of buildings from the past and that even if this relationship is not evident physically, it is at least true psychologically with the construction being based on traditional ideas and techniques. "No matter how grandiose or revolutionary the creation, there must be some tradition, some presence of the common and continuous" (Glassie 2000: 70). Again if we continue to pursue the analogy of memory and architecture of the later medieval parish church we can perhaps connect the latent traditionalist elements concerned in the act of building with the processes involved in the evolution of collective remembering. The collective memory is something which is to a large degree built upon itself. The range of the collective memory of a society grows and develops as the range of experience of the group itself increases. Memory changes over time as the input of individual memory, which is itself coloured by social discourse, impacts upon and is incorporated into the collective experience. According to one interpretation of the concept of the development of the collective memory:

> The act of conceptualisation still takes place in the minds of individuals within society where they go through processes of socialisation, exchange views and ideas and form common notions (which subsequently may be referred to as collective). Society, according to this description, is an arena of contest between rival notions. Ideally the better notions should win out and lead the field, if not immediately, then in the long run. In reality though, social dynamics are at work by which, often enough, certain individuals or a group of individuals, powerful and presumptuous enough, take over and assign themselves as the spokesmen of the so-called society (Gedi and Elam 1996: 39).

In a similar way the architecture of the medieval parish church can be seen to have developed over time as it passed through successive waves of innovations, influence and stylistic developments. However, as pointed out, each new form of building relied on, or was a direct consequence of, what went before and therefore carried with it a residual reference to the past. A conspicuous example of these processes at work can be gained from early building contracts where specific mention is made of existing building to illustrate what is required of the mason

with regards to the new building work being commissioned. An example of this can be found in an agreement made in 1425 between four parishioners (presumably churchwardens) of Walberswick, Suffolk and two local stone masons for the erection of a tower at the church. Within the wording of the contract, the masons are instructed to refer to the towers at Dunstale and Halesworth as examples of how the commissioners envisaged the finished tower at Walberswick to appear.

> Richard and Adam shal make or do to make a stepel □efere to the churche of Walburesyk fornsaid with foure botraes and one vice and tqwelfe foote wyde and sex foote thikke the walles and wallyng the tabellyng and the orbyng sewtly after the stepel of Dunstale well and trewely and competently, a dore in the wast also good as the dore in the stepel of Halesworth and a wyndowe of two dayes above the dore sewtly after the wyndowe of thre dayes of Halesworth (in Salzman 1952: 500).

The erection of the tower at Walberswick was a product of one particular location and took place within the background of one individual period in the architectural history of the church. However, there was, by implication of the fact that elements in its design were consciously borrowed from other buildings in the area, an underlying sense of continuity in its construction. Whether the decision taken to draw on other examples of church tower design in the area was aesthetically motivated or located more in the realms of local pride and inter-communal rivalry is open to question. The fact remains that plagiarism was, according to Richard Morris "an important means by which stylistic ideas were transmitted from one area to another" (1989: 306). The construction of the tower at Walberswick clearly demonstrates how architecture can be seen as an activity which constantly draws upon itself for inspiration.

This form of imitative activity in medieval building was not restricted to religious architecture alone. It was also an element present in the construction of vernacular buildings and Salzman provides two examples which deal with purely secular building programmes. The first is an agreement for the building of three houses in Friday Street, London, dated 1410. Here the builder was specifically told that the timber framing of the building should be in accordance with that used in the buildings belonging to Robert Chichele in Soper Lane. The second example deals with the building of a bridge over the river Swale at Catterick, North Yorkshire. Here the bridge at Barnard Castle, Durham, was to provide the prototype for the new construction. In many ways, the building of a bridge can be regard as a similar undertaking as the building or elaboration of a parish church. Both activities were considered as acts of pious benefaction intended as an aid to

people in their daily lives. The patrons of such a building program, who in this case consisted of the heads of leading gentry families in the area, would possibly gain remission of their sins in the form of an indulgence for having provided such an socially and economically important structure. They would also acquire a certain amount of prestige from their endeavours and it is possibly for this reason that so much emphasis was laid on the form of construction. The interesting point regarding the building of the bridge at Catterick, however, is the way in which a functional structure can illustrate the ways in which architectural forms and designs could be copied and adapted and still remain within the confines of the traditional. The newly constructed bridge at Catterick was not intended to be a replica of that at Barnard Castle; rather it was meant to incorporate practical elements of its design. This form of imitation in terms of a functional structure would seem to represent a pragmatic course of action and would ensure that the structure performed in the manner it was intended. This was based on the knowledge and experience of building techniques, in this instance bridge construction, gained through time and manifest in one particular structure. The bridge erected at Catterick was a product of its time and situation. It was also, like all building projects, the physical culmination of a world of experience and knowledge brought together at one precise moment. The act of building was in many ways an act of memory. The act of constructing a building is the physically manifested conclusion of experience and knowledge whereas similarly the collective memory is the psychological culmination.

This brings us back to the consideration of the affinity between the collective memory and the architecture of the parish church, the basic underlying proposition being that parish churches themselves do not change. That is in the sense that the fundamental function of the space remains intact in so far as it is a reflection of the needs and aspiration of the society which utilised it on a regular basis. However, it is also obvious that the character of the architecture itself did develop through time and the structural from and decoration, the peripherals of the structure, did indeed take on differing attributes to suit the contemporary needs of society. The central point to this is how was society reflected in this change over time and what, if any, was the direct influence of individuals and groups upon this process?

8.2 The symbolic re-use of architectural material

The association between memory and parish church architecture as discussed so far points to the fact that constructing buildings, such as parish churches, like the construction of a collective memory, is the product of a process. Whatever is shaped at a particular point in time is the consequence of a collection and sorting process of previous experience. A loose comparison may well be enough to satisfy the suggestion of a link between memory and architecture yet it does not go far enough. Architecture, as with all forms of artistic endeavour, is a discipline with relies to a large extent on cognitive processes, and the link between cognition and memory is not so startling a revelation as to excite new inquiry. What is important, however, is the consideration of the extent to which the memory of a building from the past was intentionally preserved in the fabric of the new. It is this central point which will now be addressed. The relationship between these buildings and the collective memory of the community within which they existed was so important that we need to examine the rebuilding, alteration and embellishment of these building, by whom it was carried out and what bearing, if any, this had on the local community. Thought also has to be given to what was altered and removed during the rebuilding process and more importantly what was retained, moved and re-used; and the reasons behind this.

> Although our main interest is the very fact of survival, we cannot ignore motives and might therefore speculate whether the prominence of some re-used pieces in wall or a lintel does not carry the implication of approval or even pride (Greenhalgh 1989: 155)

This takes the question of the continuity of structural form beyond the realms of tradition and architectural conservatism towards something more socially significant.

Many of the later medieval churches of Yorkshire, and indeed elsewhere in England, contain evidence within their fabric for the re-use of architectural material from earlier phases of the same building or indeed in some cases earlier demolished buildings on the same site. The re-use of earlier material encompasses all areas of construction including the recycling of basic building stone as walling material, foundations and rubble fill the re-use of sculptural stone both in specific settings as for example in the repositioning of a doorway or window and the less straightforward redeployment of architectural fragments where their original

function has been disregarded. David Stocker has examined the evidence for the re-use of architectural materials in the county of Lincolnshire and has arrived at a three point definition to explain the process.

> Broadly speaking, there have been three categories into which most cases of the re-use of stone in buildings can be placed: casual re-use, functional re-use and iconic re-use. The mechanisms at work have apparently been the same at all periods up until the present day (Stocker 1990: 84).

Initially the re-use of serviceable building materials may be viewed in purely practical terms, being regarded as evidence of cost or time saving exercises. This form of re-use equates to Stocker's definition of casual reuse where "the original function of the stone is disregarded in its new use" (1990: 84). This definition deals with the re-use of building materials in situations where the decoration or original function of the fragments has no actual bearing on its redeployment. Stocker discusses the practice of deliberately obscuring the fact that a fragment has been re-used as constructional material by turning the decorated face of a stone inwards towards the core of the wall. Recently Eaton has challenged this interpretation of casual re-use stating, with reference to employment of Roman material, that,

> It does not allow for the possibility that a Roman inscription or carving could be placed in non-visual contexts—in a foundation or other inaccessible location, for instance—yet still be infused with meaning (Eaton 2000: 134)

Eaton's argument although difficult to justify, cannot be simply dismissed on this basis. There may have indeed been processes in place in the past for the retention of material in these types of specific symbolic contexts. It does, however, go beyond what may reasonably be presumed regarding this form of re-use and therefore it would seem to be more profitable to concentrate on areas of deliberate recycling which can be viewed as embodying conscious decision making.

This leaves Stocker's other forms of re-use, functional and iconic. His definitions are dealt with as separate issues in the sense that the functional re-use of material implies that it is a feature of economic recycling whereas the iconic retention of earlier architectural elements suggests that there are symbolic considerations to be taken into account. Eaton, again makes the point that there has to be a rethinking of these definitions in so far as it is often extremely difficult to distinguish the boundary between functional and iconic re-use. What is proposed in his revision of Stocker's tripartite model is the implementation of a

dualistic classification which considers practical re-use as opposed to meaningful re-use.

> I propose to replace Stocker's model for describing and interpreting re-use....Firstly, the descriptive element is now clearly divorced from the interpretive. Secondly, the motive for re-use has been simplified to two straightforward categories: 'practical' re-use, where the inspiration was one of economy, convenience, professional preference or technological necessity; and 'meaningful' re-use, where exploitation arose from an appreciation of the material's age-value or esotericism (Eaton 2000: 135).

Eaton's proposal takes the consideration of re-use into new territory, one where there is little distinction in motivational terms concerning the redeployment of architectural material in later building programs. This is an important step to take, albeit one that itself is open to criticism. Eaton's two tier model of practical and meaningful re-use is only arrived at by dividing Stocker's classification of casual re-use and deploying it selectively based on subjective decisions. What we need to be able to establish is where the boundary falls and therefore when and in what context to apply this revised definition. It may well be sufficient under certain circumstances to suggest that there was a conscious effort to incorporate earlier architectural features and fragments into later buildings based on the appreciation of their age and symbolic significance. However, what is also needed is a theoretical framework which can be used when attempting to establish the existence of this phenomenon in actual terms. This is where the concept of the collective memory comes in to play, with memory being the agent of recognition with regards to the important place a building, or selected element of a building, held with regard to later social relations.

The Re-use of doorways

With this in mind if we now go on to consider the parish church of the later medieval period in Yorkshire we can see that memorial re-use is a recurring feature in many of these buildings. The focus here is upon the question of the intentional preservation of the past as it related to the re-use of structural elements within the fabric of later church building programs and whether this is an indication that there was an intentional maintenance of the memory of these buildings. Where evidence of this form of re-use occurs it can be suggested that it was reliant upon a contemporary understanding of the particular social significance embodied within particular architectural elements of these buildings.

One of the most notable instances of this form of preservation found in parish churches is the re-use of doorways. In Yorkshire, for example, there was a widespread preference during the later part of the Middle Ages for church doorways to be retained and repositioned during the course of church extensions and alterations. This can be seen at a number of churches spread out across the county such as at Catterick, Easingwold, Northallerton, Lastingham, Ricall and St Mary's, Beverley. Initially this re-use may be regarded as a matter of economic expediency, it being more cost-effective to re-use rather than to construct a new entrance. This accords well with Stocker's definition of the functional re-use of architectural material which defines it as,

> Those pieces which have been re-used for the purpose for which they were originally cut: doorways re-used as doorways, for example, or windows re-used as windows (1990: 90).

Of course there is a certain amount of validity contained within this assertion; however, the variety of grades of buildings where earlier doorways have been retained tends to suggest there is something more than simply economic practicality at work. In another instance Stocker contends that conservation in the past should be considered "as a human activity, an aspect of human behaviour, which can be read in the physical effects brought about by those human actions on structures and landscapes" (1997: 6).

In these terms St Mary's, Beverley, for instance (albeit not a rural church) provides a useful example of an extremely wealthy church, with many rich and locally influential patrons, where this type of re-use took place. Extended and lavishly embellished over many years, the fabric of St Mary's did however retain the original twelfth-century doorway from the earliest phase of its development. This earlier south doorway, positioned within a later outer arch, was reset into a thirteenth-century south aisle wall. The question is why was a doorway such as this retained in a building, which being so generously endowed, would appear not to have suffered from a lack of building funds? The answer to this lies at the heart of the concept of the connection between architecture and memory.

> The collective recounting of a shared past and the commemoration of events which may be prior to each individual's own experience, is not only sustained by the world of objects and artefacts, but is, in part, shaped through the way in which the world of things is ordered. The displacement of objects from one context to another is not always haphazard, but is often deliberate (Rodley 1990: 52).

In the case of St Mary's it is probable that the doorway was retained in order to provide a reference to the building's age with regards to the exercise of local authority. Within the town of Beverley there was a constant tension between the ecclesiastical authorities of the Minster church, located in the town, and the leading Guilds and townsmen whose interests were centred on the parish church of St Mary's. It was the Guilds and rich merchants of Beverley who paid for the alteration of St Mary's, and it was also these individuals and groups who employed the parish church of St Mary's as a means of displaying their group solidarity in the face of exterior influence.

> If we may judge by the evidence of the wills of the Beverley merchants and craftsmen of the fifteenth century, St Mary's seems to have been much more popular with them than was the Minster. It was indeed only natural that they should show a preference for the town church which they could call their own in a manner which was hardly possible with the great Minster, with provost and chapter of its own, invariably drawn from the ranks of the greatest ecclesiastics and state officials of the day, and its large staff of clergy...So they seemed to have showered gifts of money, plate, vestments, images, endowments of lights and chantries, etc., on St Mary's to a much greater extent than they did on the Minster (Bilson 1918: 359).

As a socially important piece of architecture the doorway of St Mary's would act as a focal point for the local community. As has been discussed in chapter three, symbolically the threshold of a church is an extremely important space, it being that which separated two spheres of the world, the sacred from the profane. It is also the point which was associated with a large amount of social interaction, the remembrance of which constituted one of the building blocks of communal identity. In the case of St Mary's the retention of such a socially important object would signal and thereby focus communal solidarity. The doorway's antiquity would act as a metaphor for the deep roots of the parish community and this would be important in the face of external opposition imposed by the Minster church.

The question of communal solidarity was discussed with relation to the concept of social surveillance and how the doorway of the church could act as a social mnemonic enabling the retention, by association, of socially important ritual events and actions which took place at the threshold of the parish church. However, it is not only the prescriptive aspects of communal memory with regards to the mnemonic function of the church doorway, which is important. The very association of this particular space with the performance of socially important events, which effectively formed and bonded the community over time, would have tended to transfer these spaces into areas which embodied the social identity of the community. It is for this

reason, it would appear, that many earlier doorways were actually retained within the fabric of later church alterations. If we consider further the situation, as it appears in Yorkshire, and elsewhere, it is apparent that not only is there evidence that doorways were actually conserved and reset within later building work; it is also the case that many early doorways exist in situ in parish churches which were subsequently extended and altered in other areas. What is being referred to here is the existence, for example, of south doorways from say the Norman period (with which Yorkshire is particularly well endowed), surviving in churches which have seen some form of building activity over the period of their existence but which however seem to have respected the original entrance of the building. Many examples of this form of structural conservation can be referred to, the Norman doorway of the parish church of All Saint's, Pickhill, North Yorkshire, being a particularly fine example, or the Norman doorway of St Mary's Kilburn. An interesting development of this type of retention is found at Harringworth, Northamptonshire, where the fourteenth-century south doorway of the parish church has not only been retained but has also had a later fifteenth-century entrance inserted into it. At Castor, also in Northamptonshire, the entrance of the church is in the form of a twelfth-century Round Headed doorway of two orders. However, within this a third inner order was later inserted in the thirteenth century.

This retention of doorways in parish churches tends to suggest that they held a greater significance for the local population than has hitherto been appreciated. However, there is a problem in attempting to surmise which individual, or what group, actually made the decision with respect to the preservation of the entrance. Was it a result of public pressure brought to bear on the person, or persons, responsible for extending, or rebuilding the church, which ensured their survival? Or was it, as may be suggested in some cases, a result of the realisation on the part of a certain individual or group, that the retention of the doorway would provide an opportunity to implement a form of social control? When the architecture of the doorway is found to contain a direct reference to a particular individual or family then the assumption can be formulated that this was a consequence of direct influence. Evidence for this type of activity can be seen at the parish church of Collyweston, Northamptonshire, where the early fifteenth-century south doorway includes the arms of Sir William Porter. William Porter is described as a 'man of humble beginnings' who made his fortune and purchased the manor of Collyweston around 1415 (Leland

1960: 92). It would seem in this instance the doorway was being employed by Porter as a means of signalling his arrival as the new lord of the manor. By investing in the fabric of the local parish church Porter was making a specific point as to the legitimacy of his authority. Generally speaking the familial references more commonly found in relation to the doorway of the church appear on the fabric of porches, which surround them. At St Anne's, Catterick, North Yorkshire, (figure 3) for example, the outer arch of the porch is surmounted by the arms of the de Burghs, the local leading family who built the church, and also by those of two other families with whom the de Burghs were closely associated by marriage, the Askes and Lascelles. Similarly, at Holy Trinity, Wensley, the arms of the Scropes are positioned over the entrance to the north porch, which is the main entrance to this church. Again these heraldic devices were intended to convey a precise message with regards to lordship and the appropriation of sacred space.

It would appear that in some instances a certain amount of trouble was taken to preserve the church doorway. At Patrick Brompton, North Yorkshire, the original late twelfth-century doorway, which was transitional in style, was replaced in a new south aisle constructed in the fourteenth century. The interesting point here is the fact that the formerly Round Headed, late twelfth-century, doorway was reconstructed in its new setting with the voussoirs of the arch reconfigured to form a contemporary pointed arch. At Great Addington, Northants, the doorway of the original aisleless twelfth-century church was reset in a newly constructed south aisle in the thirteenth century and covered by a porch at the same time. Later, when a new doorway was inserted into the church in the fourteenth century, the porch was extended slightly and the original twelfth-century doorway was repositioned in its outer face. The same re-use of an original twelfth-century doorway as the outer arch of a later fifteenth-century porch is encountered at the parish church of Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire.

The link between community and the church doorway can be further emphasised by the consideration of the case of the north doorway of All Saints, Easingwold, North Yorkshire. Prior to the Reformation All Saints, although situated within the diocese of York, was under the patronage of the Archdeaconry of Richmondshire. It was during the time in office of two successive Archdeacons, Thomas Dalby, 1388 to 1400 and Stephen le Scrope, 1400 to 1418, that the original church was demolished and completely rebuilt. Of the earlier structure only the west window of the nave and the north doorway survived. The retention of the north

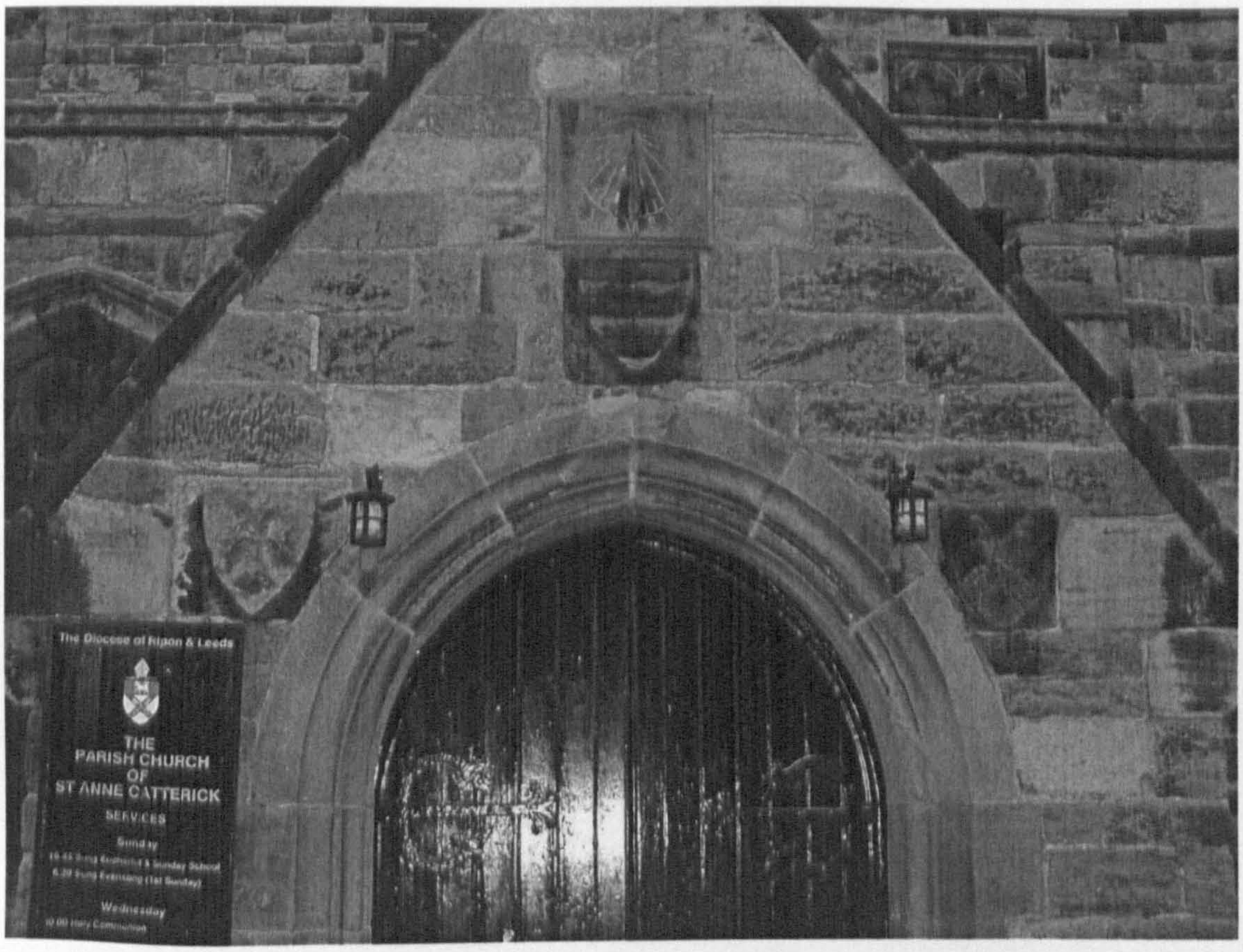


Figure 3, Armorial shields, Catterick

doorway is made more intriguing by the fact that it is known by the name of the 'Raskelf door', Raskelf being a village situated some distance to the north west of Easingwold. There is a church in the village of Raskelf: however, in the late medieval period it existed as a dependent chapel of the church at Easingwold. This dependency would mean that the villagers who lived there would have had to use the mother church for services other than Sunday mass. Important rituals, particularly baptisms and funerals, the performance of which would have incurred a fee, would have been carried out at Easingwold parish church. Therefore the major church rituals, which would have had an impact on the social relations of the inhabitants of Raskelf, were carried out, one must presume within the space of the north doorway of All Saints. The use of a particular doorway by the inhabitants of a satellite community is discussed by Gervase Rosser who mentions the fact that:

> It appears to have been normal for different areas of the parish to bury their dead in different quarters of the graveyard. Within the church the living disposed themselves variously according to trade, social status and not least-district of residence…Sometimes a particular door into a parish church has been known by the name of a particular hamlet lying in the same direction, which may also indicate that parishioners assembled inside in territorial groups (Rosser 1991: 187)

As the village of Raskelf was in fact within the diocese of York it fell outside the direct ecclesiastical influence of the parish church of Easingwold. Therefore, it may have been the case that the retention of the doorway was intended to bring to the attention of the residents of the village that, whilst they were in the parish of All Saints they were under the sway of the Archdeaconry of Richmondshire. This point may have been further emphasised by the fact that the arms of the Archdeacons were displayed, carved into the jambs of the windows in the north aisle. If, as Rosser suggests, the inhabitants on that side of the church took up position on the same side of the church on which their village lay, then the armorial device of the Archdeacons would act as a constant reminder as to the fact that spiritually they were under his direction. This situation, whereby the name of an outlying village or hamlet is reflected in the name of the church door also appears at Barton le Street, North Yorkshire, where, before the rebuilding of the church in 1870, there was a door known as the Coneythorpe door (Thompson, 1911).

In order to illustrate more fully the points raised so far, two short case studies will be presented both of which are examples of the form of re-use already referred to. The aim of these case studies is to place the re-use of material within its social and historical context and thereby demonstrate the significance of this form of behaviour. The first case involves the consideration of the removal and replacement of a church doorway which retained its original function as the main entrance to the church. The second is less straight forward and is cited in order to illustrate that the retention of material can take many forms and be assigned to different motives.

8.4 St Michael's, Well, North Yorkshire

The vast majority of the fabric of the present church of St Michael's, Well, North Yorkshire, dates from the fourteenth century and owes its existence to the substantial alteration and extending of an earlier building which was carried out by the Neville family. These alterations, which include the building of a large south chapel (figure 4), the construction of a clerestory and the lengthening of the chancel, all bear the mark of the Nevilles. The church contains memorial slabs and brasses dedicated to members of the family in the chantry chapel and the chancel and the stained glass windows carried the Neville coat of arms, some of which survive and others which were recorded in the seventeenth century.

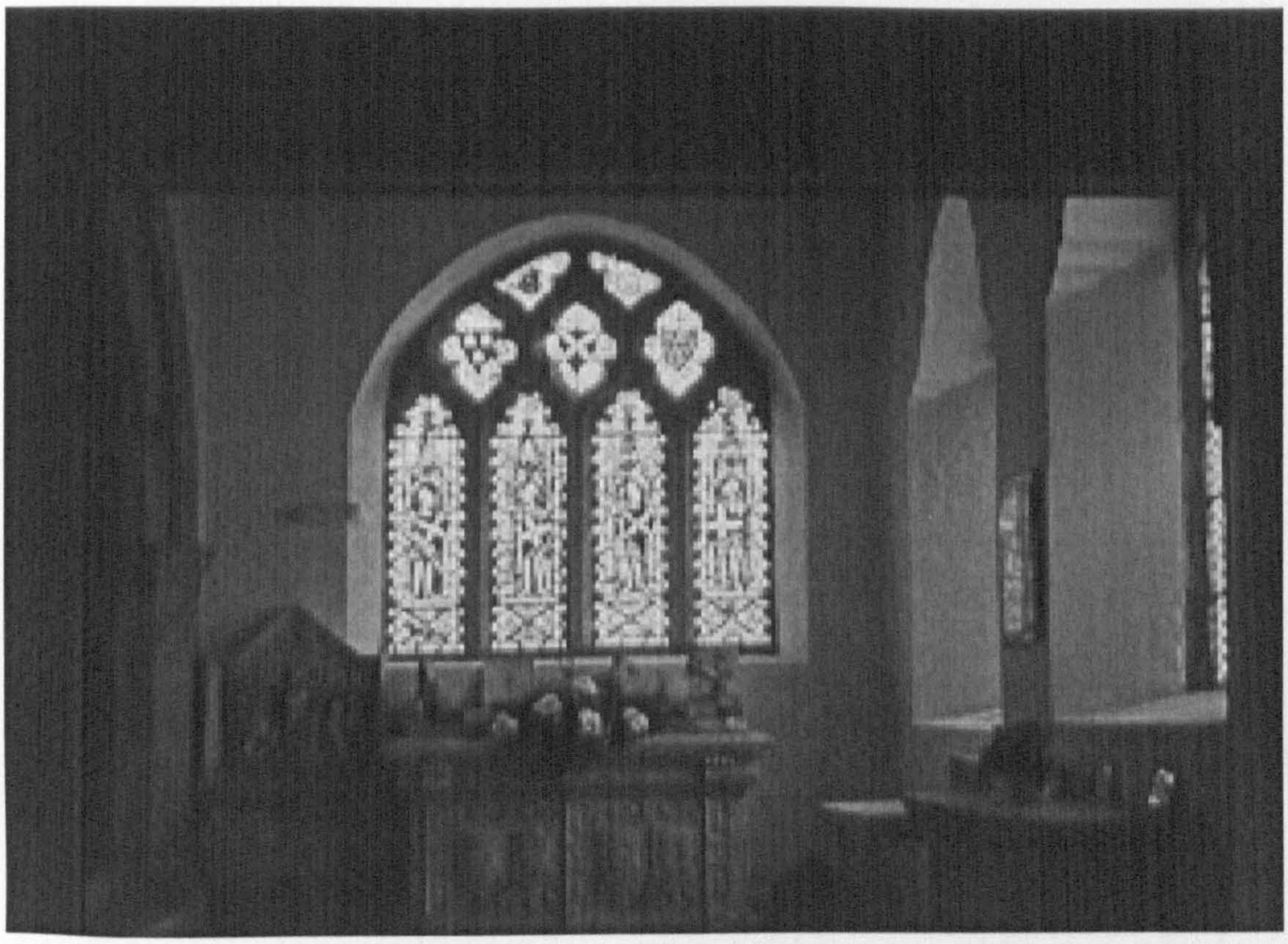


Figure 4, The Neville Chapel, Well

The entrance to the church of St Michael's is a good example of Norman architecture. It is a round headed doorway of three orders of roll mouldings and with nook shafts in the jambs (figure 5). This particular Norman doorway, however, is not found within a wall of the same date as it was moved out reset on the exterior of a new aisle that was added to the church in the fourteenth century. Certain alterations, which included the building of a south aisle, were carried out on the church by Ralph Neville, Lord of Middleham, sometime around the mid fourteenth century. When Neville inherited the manor of Snape and Well his immediate action on gaining control of the estate was to extend and refashion the local parish church. In doing so he not only provided himself, and his heirs, with a means of earthly intercession, a place in which prayers could be sung for his and his family's soul's safe passage through purgatory; he also, it can be suggested, by the very act of radically changing what had become a familiar focus of local community identity, engraved his and his family's authority, in no uncertain terms, on what had now become his property. It is interesting, therefore, that within the general scheme of the extreme alteration of architecture of the church and the consequent readjustments in social relations, the twelfth-century south doorway of

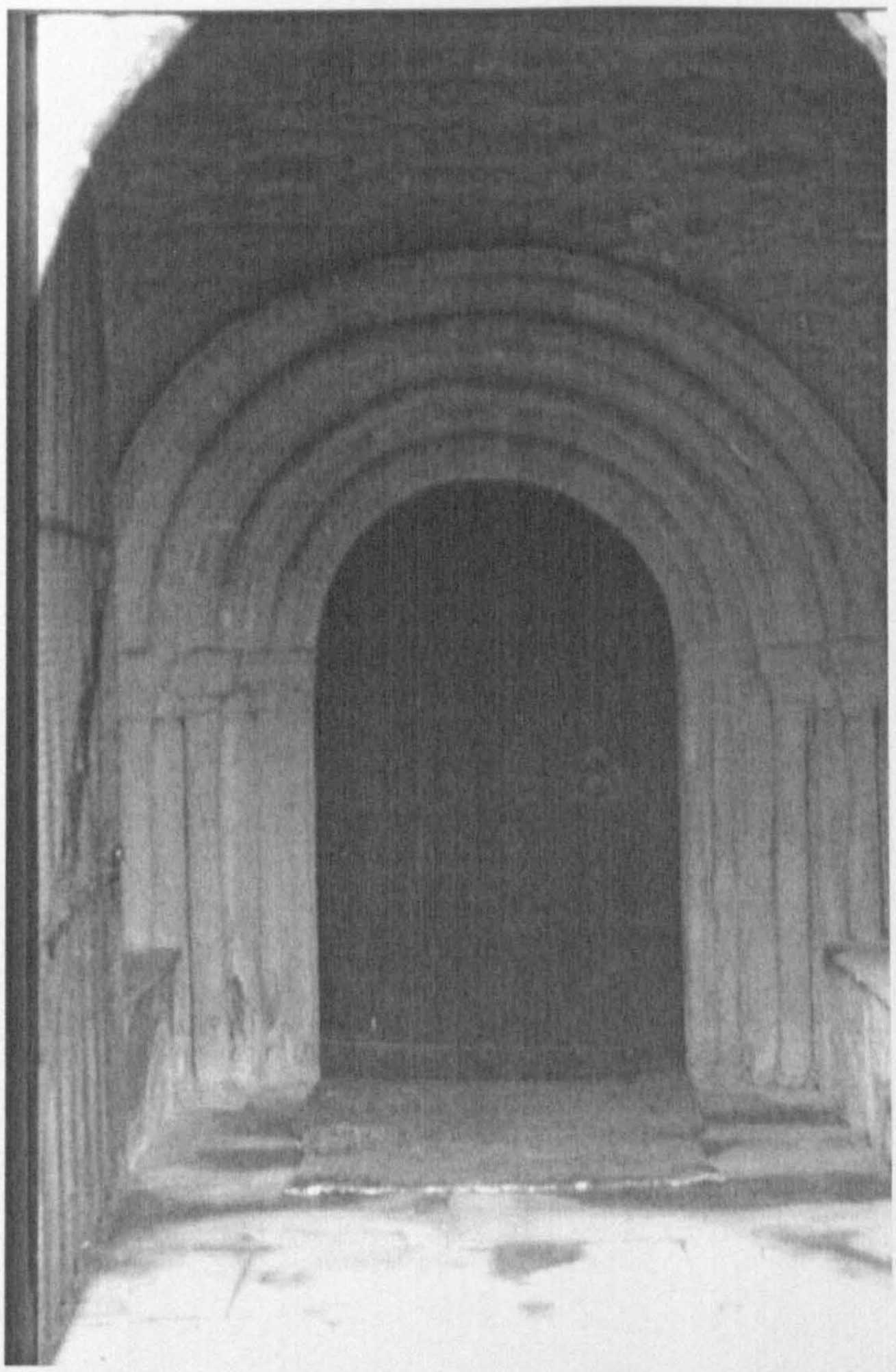


Figure 5, The south doorway, Well

the church was retained and reset in the newly constructed south aisle. It would seem that this was an intentional replacing of an important piece of architecture in terms of its memorial value. The doorway as an accepted focus of communal social practice and therefore symbolically important as an indication of the continuity of community relations within the parish, was employed as a tool of social control. As a result of the retention of this particular part of the original building the doorway acted as a focus for those passing the threshold of what was now ostensibly a new church. Through the action of creating a link with the past, in the form of a communally important location, the doorway, and its symbolic function, acted as a constant reminder to all who used it, that the power invested in the current landlord lay in lasting and established feudal authority. As already mentioned, it could be suggested that the re-use of a decorative doorway was a purely functional consideration, a form of money

and time saving exercise. However, with regards to St Michael's, it is revealing that all other traces of an earlier church on the site, if not removed, were heavily disguised, even up to the point where the piers of the nave arcade, connecting the nave and the new south aisle, were reworked and refashioned in order to make them appear to be contemporary with the later alterations. The question must be, why when so much trouble and expense had gone into creating a church in the latest Decorated style, was the twelfth-century doorway left unchanged? The reason must be significant and related to the interplay between the collective memory of the community and its manipulation by higher authority as a means of social control. The church of St Michael's as altered and extended in the fourteenth century, exhibits certain features which strongly suggest that the architectural arrangements of the building were actively used as a means of demonstrating the social hierarchy which existed at the time. The use and appropriation of space within the building was purposefully manipulated in order to emphasise social differentiation and to convey a specific message concerning the concept of medieval lordship and worldly position.

8.5 St Peter's Woolley, West Yorkshire

The parish church of St Peter's, Woolley, West Yorkshire (figure 6) exhibits certain elements of the re-use of earlier material within its fabric, the consideration of which provides an interesting example of this form of practice. The predominant area of interest encountered at Woolley is the re-use and resetting of the tympanum and one shaft from the original twelfth-century doorway of the church. As mentioned earlier the retention and repositioning of doorways is a feature that is found in a number of Yorkshire churches. However, the situation at Woolley differs from these in the fact that here only certain specific elements of an earlier doorway have been retained. Also that their re-use is not in a position where they continued to function as part of an entrance to the church. Rather they have been reinstated within the body of the building as part of the entrance to the rood loft stair. In addition to the retention of the tympanum and shaft there is further evidence found within the church for the re-use of architectural material. This is located in a chapel which is situated at the north side of the chancel. This particular chapel was built in the late fifteenth century to replace an earlier structure which stood on the site. Within the fabric of this chapel

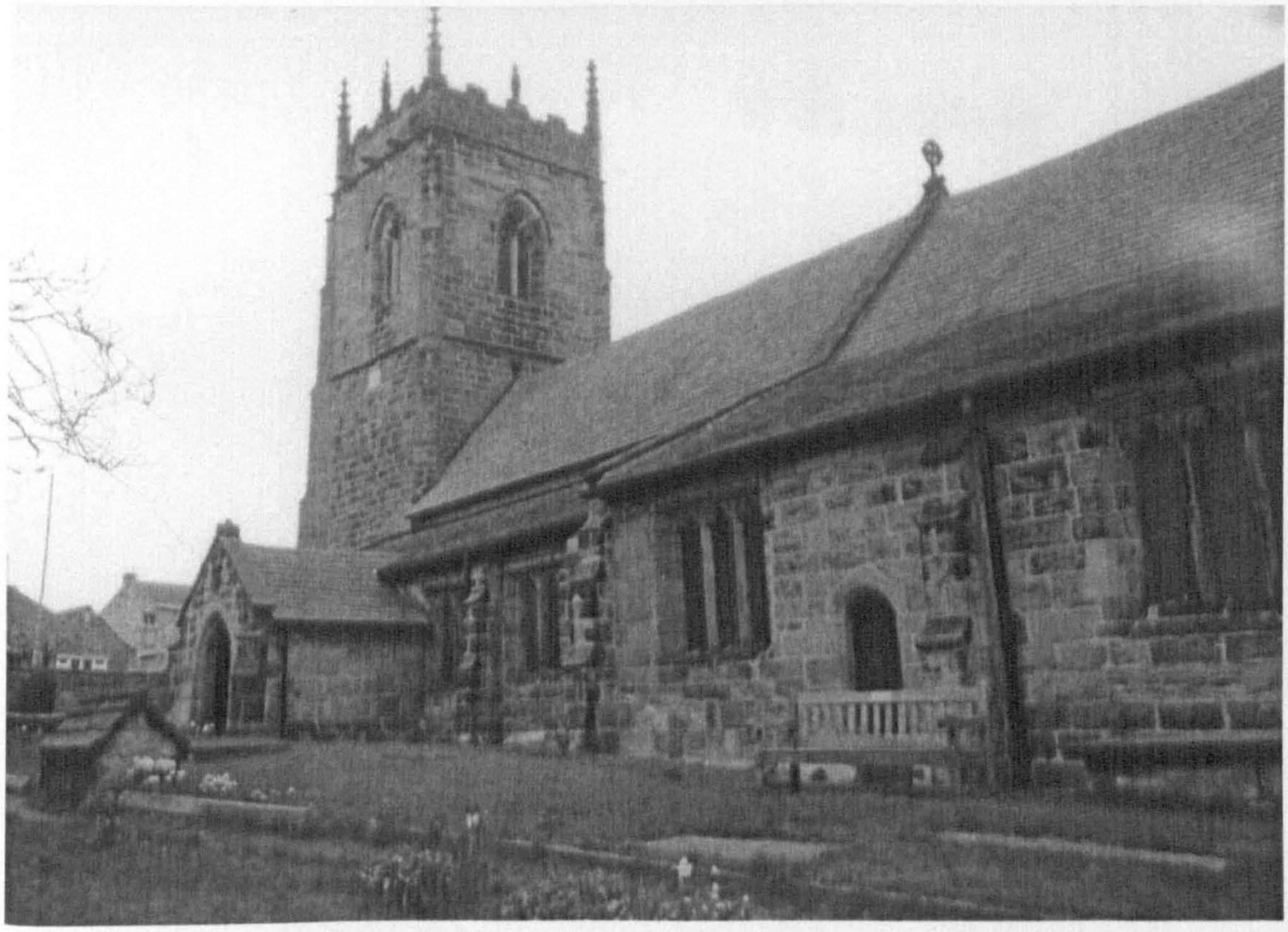


Figure 6, Woolley parish church

certain architectural fragments relating to the earlier structure have been retained and it would appear strategically re-used in prominent locations.

The parish church of St Peter's as it appears today is predominantly of one architectural period of construction. According to Walker (1924) the church was completely rebuilt in the later medieval period, the duration for the construction lasting from around 1470 to sometime in the 1530s. The church consists of a chancel of three bays, and a nave of four bays, north and south aisles, a western tower and south porch. There are two chapels situated on the north and south sides of the chancel and extending as far east as the latter. In terms of the architectural history and development of the church little evidence remains. Documentary references as well as the evidence provided by the tympanum and shaft of the original door suggest that there was a chapel on the site in the twelfth century and that this was a dependent chapel of the church at Ryston. Walker states that this earliest phase of the building was a two cell construction comprising of a chancel and nave only. However, this is pure conjecture on his part as no actual physical evidence for the plan of the church remains. An aisle was added to the north side of both the nave and chancel during the course of the thirteenth century, the evidence for which is provided by a semi-octagonal respond of Early English style situated on the north side of the chancel pier.

In 1350 William de Notton obtained a licence to endow a chantry in the church of Woolley. The chapel, which was dedicated to St Michael, was constructed on the north side of the chancel replacing the earlier thirteenth century chancel aisle. The licence allowed for the alienation in mortmain of certain lands in the district, including at Woolley, to the Prior and convent of Monk Bretton to find a chaplain,

> To celebrate divine service daily in Wulveley church, for the good estate of the King and Queen Philippa and their children, and the grantors and their children, and their souls when they are dead (Cal Pat Rolls. 1350: 17).

No further structural additions were made to the church until the later part of the fifteenth century when a major programme of rebuilding was commenced upon. According to Walker's rather romantic account,

> The twelfth century church, with thirteenth century additions, seems to have satisfied the parishioners for another century or so, but when the country became more settled after the Wars of the Roses a large rebuilding scheme was entered upon. Whether the old church was destroyed by fire, or became unsafe, or it was the desire of the people to have a larger church in the fashion of the day, it is now impossible to say, but whatever the reason, the work was undertaken in definite stages, and spread out over a comparatively long period, probably half a century, although it would seem to have been fairly continuous, and carried out by the same band of masons, as similar masons' marks occur in the tower, nave and arcades, and in the chancel (Walker 1924: 293).

It is during the course of this late fifteenth-early sixteenth- century rebuilding work that we find the evidence of the re-use of earlier material taking place. One of the areas within the church where this takes place is in the rebuilt north chapel, which was constructed by one Richard Woodrove sometime around 1487. The Woodroves acquired the manor in 1377 when John Woodrove purchased the lands which had previously belonged to William de Notton. Subsequent members of the family added to this property increasing their prominence and which eventually resulted in them becoming the leading gentry family in the area. The Chapel, and indeed the church of Woolley still retain many references to the Woodrove family within its fabric. There is a bell which bears the inscription + *dns ricardus wodfuf miles, I.H.S* (Walker 1924), a great deal of the surviving window glass has heraldic devices illustrating the arms of Woodrove impaling those of families with which they were connected by marriage and there are shields on the roof of the chapel bearing the same device.

Although the chapel was rebuilt by the Woodroves, and was essentially a statement which signalled their pre-eminence in the district, it also contains specific references to the past within its fabric. This is found in the re-use of certain elements from the earlier chapel in the construction of the new. It is quite possible that much of

the stonework from the fourteenth-century chapel was re-used in the building of the later fifteenth-century structure. This type of re-use falls within Stocker's area of casual re-use and therefore is much more difficult to comment upon. However, there are two architectural fragments present within the interior walls which are obviously the result of a deliberate re-use and considered positioning. The first is a fourteenth-century square window head with three ogee headed lights with trefoil cusps. This is built into the lower portion of the north wall of the chapel and appears to have functioned as some form of aumbry or closet used for holding liturgical equipment. The second is a single piscina (figure 7) which has been inserted into the north side of the eastern respond of the chancel arcade and which appears to be made in part from a re-used fourteenth-century window head. The very fact alone that these re-used items appear in such prominent positions within the chapel and are associated with spiritually important functions immediately suggests that there is more connected with their re-use than simply convenience. In the scheme of the rebuilding of the chapel, or indeed the complete church as it was taking place consecutively, the manufacture of such minor (architecturally speaking) items such as these surely would not have stretched the finances of the patrons of the work. The answer must be that these architectural fragments from the earlier building were retained due to them having some form of symbolic value. This is where Stocker's category of iconic re-use can be seen in operation. It is probably true to say that these pieces made a reference to the past and the building from which they originated. The chapel itself had, for many generations previously, been the sacred space within the parish church connected with the leading family of the community. Initially it was the de Nottons, as founders of the chapel, who were then followed by the Woodroves who came into possession of the manor in 1377. The reconstruction of the chapel by Richard Woodrove during the later part of the fifteenth century marked a new architectural era for the chapel, which was in keeping with the developments taking place elsewhere in the church as a whole at that time. However, it would appear that Richard wanted to signal the ancestry of the new building by giving it a direct reference to its past history in the shape of these re-used fragments. This no doubt was also intended to draw attention to his own

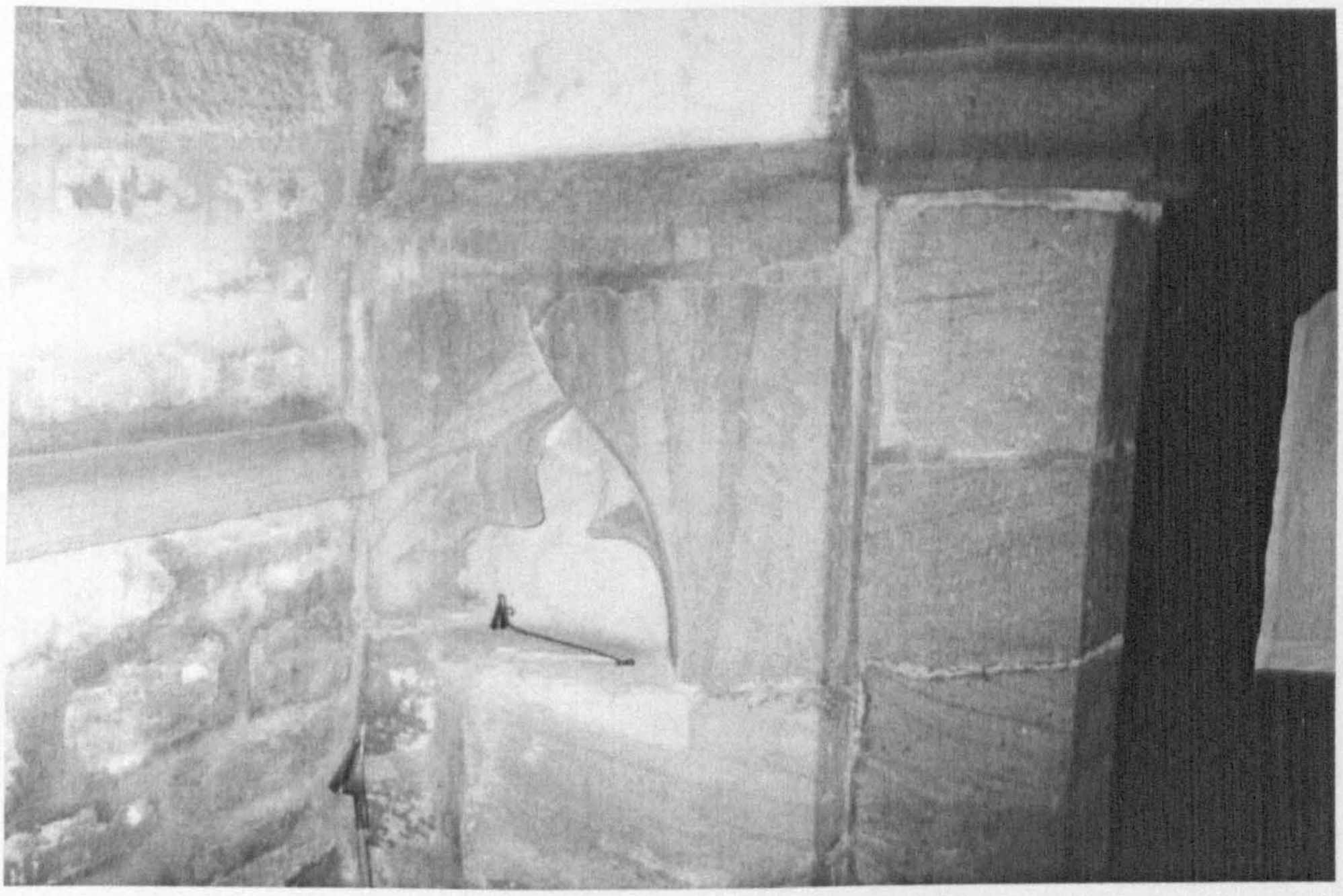


Figure 7, North chapel piscina, Woolley

ancestry and the rights of his family, which had occupied this space for over a century. The memory contained within the building's fabric was deliberately utilised and redeployed to make a specific statement concerning authority and lordship.

The other surviving example of re-use which is contained within Woolley parish church is concerned with the repositioning of the twelfth-century tympanum and door shaft found built into the doorway of the rood loft stairs (Figures 8 and 9). The tympanum, which originally filled the space at the head of a round headed doorway, bears a sculpture in low relief depicting the *Agnus dei* (The Lamb of God) surrounded by a frame of trailing floral design, similar to Anglo-Saxon vine scroll. The single shaft, which has been built into the angle of the rood loft stair as it returns to the north, is inscribed with a spiral roll moulding. This particular example of re-use would seem to be related to the retention of doorways found in other churches in Yorkshire, in so far as it is an example of the deliberate retention of an extremely symbolic piece of architecture. However, the situation at Woolley is somewhat different in that the doorway has been repositioned within the building and not retained as the main entrance. This raises several questions relating to the actual significance of the retention of an earlier doorway in this particular position.

The argument has already been put forward in terms of the re-use of doorways which maintain their primary function as the main entrance to the building. However,

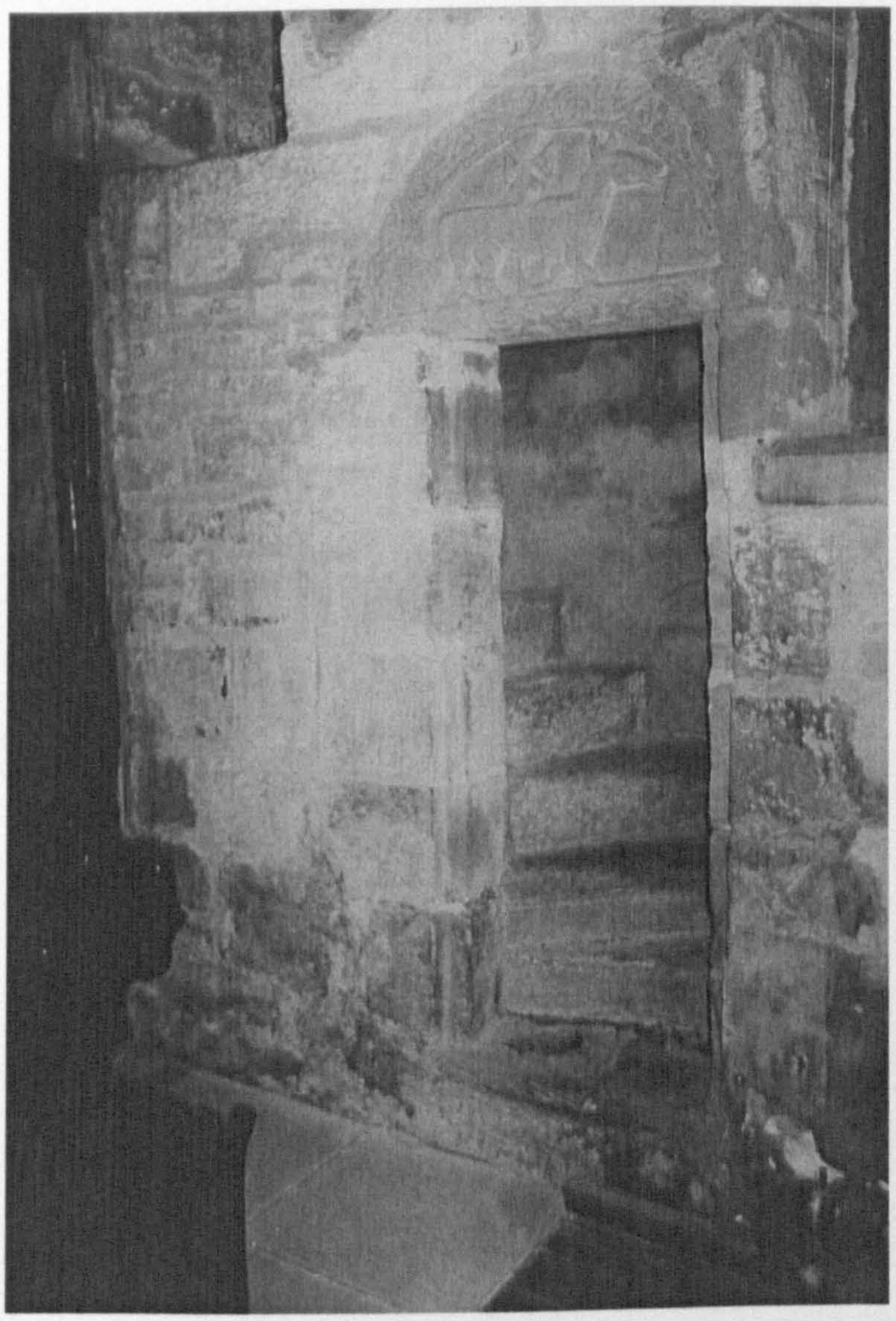


Figure 8, Rood stair door, Woolley

at Woolley the situation has to be approached rather differently. The fact that the doorway has been re-used suggests that the symbolic value of the original doorway of the church was fully recognised by those who were undertaking the restoration of the building in the early sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the question needs to be addressed as to why this particular feature of the earlier church was not treated in a similar way to other examples of re-use found in other churches in the region.

One explanation may be the fact that the rebuilding of the nave and the addition of a south aisle was a communal undertaking rather than the product of a commission of a particular individual or family. In his will dated 6th October 1487 John Woodrove, the father of the founder of the north chapel in the church, left £10 to the fabric of the church. Money was also bequeathed by one John Weatley who left 6s

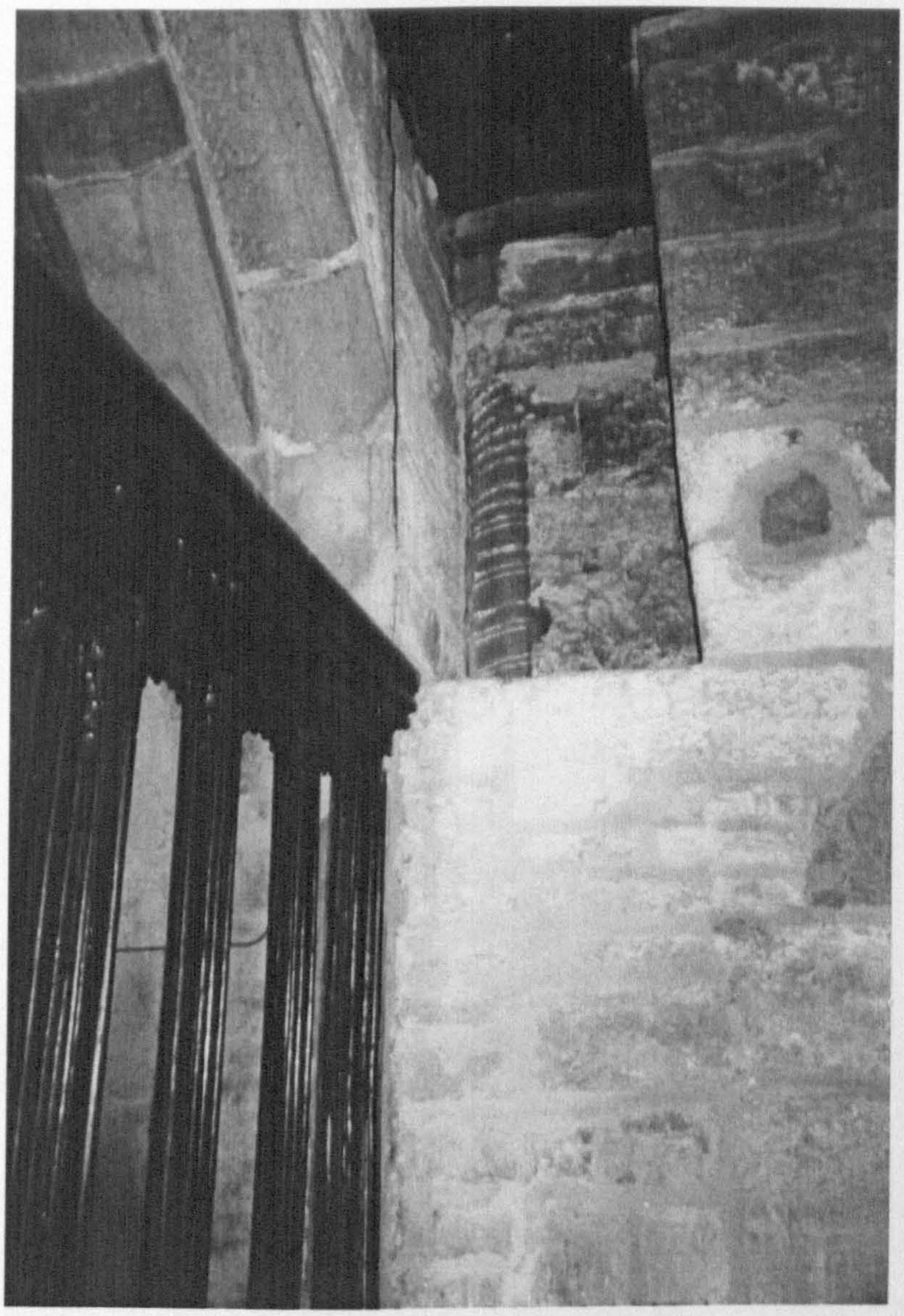


Figure 9, The twelfth century door shaft, Woolley

8d to the repair and '*sustenation*' of the nave of the church of Woolley (Walker 1924). Weatley's coat of arms also appeared in one of the windows of the south aisle.

It was, according to Walker, when the south aisle was built, sometime between 1515-1525, that the original doorway of the twelfth-century church was moved, the fragments of which were repositioned within the fabric of the newly built rood loft stairs. This choice of location is also significant in terms of the spiritual importance that the rood itself took in the later Middle Ages. The chancel and the high altar was the focus of the ritual of the mass, however, this sacred space would have been rendered almost entirely invisible from the nave by the provision of a screen, the evidence for which can be detected in the stone work on the west side of the chancel arch. The screen, placed as it was in front of the chancel, a part of the building which

had already been lengthened, served to heighten the sense of the mystery of the Eucharist and therefore elevate the status of those who were active participants in the mass. It thus increased distance between the clergy and the spiritual needs of the laity which led to the erection of roods and rood lofts above the chancel arches of later medieval churches. For the congregation the clergy became increasingly remote, playing a diminished role in their spiritual lives. The rood with its image of Christ sacrificed and its associated saints became the focus of the laity's veneration. It was the heavenly saints, not temporal priests, who became the intercessors for the ordinary worshiper.

The rebuilding of the nave and the addition of the south aisle at Woolley would allow for a certain degree of communal expression on the part of the parish members who financed the construction. If the doorway of the original church was, as has been argued so far, of particular importance to the retention of communal memory then it is understandable that its retention would have been of paramount interest to those concerned with the alterations. The fact that the original doorway was not retained as the main entrance to the building may reflect certain fundamental practicalities. Judging by the dimensions of the surviving tympanum (0.95m x 0.51m) the narrow twelfth-century doorway may well have been considered too restrictive to act as the major entrance to what had become a rather more substantial building. At St Cuthbert's, Fishlake, West Yorkshire, for example, the highly decorative Romanesque doorway was retained as the principal entrance when a south aisle was added to the church in the fourteenth century, with the doorway being moved out and reinstated in the newly constructed aisle. This particular doorway, however, is a rather more substantial structure than that found at Woolley and its size, decorative aspect as well as it memorial connotations would possible have jointly contributed to its re-use in its present position. There is one other alternative explanation for the process by which the doorway at Woolley came to be reset within the building rather than retained as the main entrance. The fact that only the tympanum and one shaft from the original doorway have survived tends to suggest that by the late fifteenth century it way well have been in a poor state of repair. If this was the case and only the two elements which were retained constituted viable building material the nature of their survival is made all the more remarkable. The repositioning of this twelfth-century sculptured tympanum in such a prominent location within what was predominantly a new built fifteenth-century church points to the fact that these were items which were of some

importance. Their significance and the reason for their re-use it would seem must lie in their memorial property. The position taken up by the tympanum in particular would have rendered it visible to the whole congregation as they took part in daily church services. It would have acted as a constant reminder as to the antiquity of the church and therefore that of the parish community itself. More critically, by signalling the remembrance of the socially important events that had been performed in association with it, the tympanum would have embodied the collective identity of the community with reference to the past. Essentially it was the collective memory of the community which was being preserved at Woolley not a curious piece of architectural history or indeed a serviceable fragment of useful building material. The retention and re-use of the Romanesque tympanum within Woolley parish church at the end of the fifteenth century can be viewed as a symbolic gesture intended to function as a physical reminder of the stability and continuity of the community and act as a constant reminder of its collective history.

Chapter Nine

Case Studies

9.1 Introduction

When we examine the architectural components of almost any of the later medieval parish churches in England we can usually detect the influence of particular individuals or groups who have impinged on the resulting design and appearance of these buildings. In some cases, such as at Catterick, North Yorkshire, it is found that a certain wealthy individual or family financed the erection of an entire parish church, upon the fabric of which they imparted their personal identity in the form of armorial devices and other direct familial references. Alternatively it could be that the members of a locally influential family paid for the alteration or extension of a significant portion of the church, such as the erection of a tower or construction of a chantry chapel, in which case the resulting changes would again carry particular personal signifiers and would result in the creation of a lasting memorial to those concerned. As Andrew Brown suggests;

> Later rebuilding certainly continued to be affected by secular concerns. The initials of Sir Thomas Trenchard, boldly stamped on the new tower built at Charminster, Dorset, in the early 16th century, made a none too discreet statement about local lordship (Brown 1996: 67).

It is also quite possible, as was often the case particularly in more urban areas, that the parish church benefited from the combined efforts of the community as a whole each contributing their own particular share of the cost in order to ensure that their parish church remained an object of local pride and communal devotion. An often cited example of this new found collective effort are the 460 individuals who financed the rebuilding of Bodmin church in the fifteenth century and whose names are recorded in the churchwarden's records of the parish (Brown 1996). Many of these individuals, it has to be imagined, were from the poorer sectors of society and their monetary contributions, by definition, must have been small. Nevertheless contribute they did, and their act of charitable giving demonstrates not only their piety but also, it would appear, their willingness to be involved with a project that can be regarded as direct communal action. This demonstrates the part played by the parish church as a

principal communal focal point, which helped to foster a sense of group recognition and collective identity. The parishioners of these churches were "ready to find the money for luxuries, towers and porches, pinnacles and decorative buttresses, clerestories and battlemented roofs. And they would mind the cost less if they improved upon and substantially upstaged their neighbours" (Platt 1981: 93).

It could also be argued that this cultural process afforded the wealthy of a given community, by the direct comparison of their ability to provide for and embellish the parish church, when gauged against that of the collective actions of the rest of the congregation, the opportunity to demonstrate their individual status and position within the context of a communal act. In this way the recognition of status and class differentiation could be played out through the provision of what was ostensibly an act of charity.

When we consider closely the motivations connected with parish church rebuilding and alteration which took place during the later half of the medieval period one thing seems to stand out above all else. This is the overriding desire for the vast majority of individuals and groups involved to be recognised for their contributions. The level of recognition required varied, it would seem, in direct relation to the level and extent of the contributions made. So, for example, that at one end of the spectrum we detect individuals like John Clopton, a rich Suffolk merchant, whose major personal contributions to the parish church of Long Melford, Suffolk are graphically reflected in the fabric of the building, which is boldly emblazoned with his familial devises, with his likeness pictured in window glass and his name inscribed on its walls. At the other end we have the individuals whose smaller contributions went towards the rebuilding of their local parish church, and whose only earthly reward, other than that concerned with maintaining a sense of communal pride in one's local church, was to appear in the parish Bede Book. This would ensure that their pious donations would be reflected in the prayers offered by the future congregation for the salvation of their souls. The connecting factor between all of these acts, both great and small, is piety, albeit, in some cases outstandingly conspicuous deeds of pious giving with particular added social advantages. This process would also seem to suggest that the laity's willingness to actively invest in provisions for their own salvation may stem from an increase in divisions which were developing between themselves and the clergy. This is particularly evident in the urban centres where traditional religious loyalties to larger religious institutions, such as cathedrals and

priories, began to break down and townsmen turned towards a more communal based devotion. In York, for example, there was a marked decline in the numbers of the city's wealthiest individuals wishing to be buried in the city's Minster where, "when craftsmen and merchants founded perpetual chantries the great majority preferred to express their aspirations though the medium of their parish churches" (Morris 1989: 371).

This more pro-active and personal involvement on the part of the laity in the upkeep and embellishment of their local parish churches and the opportunities which the provision of benefactions to fabric afforded, namely graphical demonstrations and confirmations of worldly status, prestige and identity, both personal and group, is a complex subject on which we need to concentrate in more depth. Although we do have, in many cases, a tangible record of the fruits of their efforts in the churches which they built and paid for, yet all to often, we have very little information regarding the lives of these individuals themselves, what motivated them and what they thought about themselves or their neighbours. This is why we have to attempt to read the record of their lives from what they have left to us in the shape of surviving buildings, their ornamentation and embellishment. In order to do this we inevitably have to work with varying amounts of relevant information with regards to individual cases. This is due to the differing degrees of surviving evidence from the past. What needs to be done is to ensure that we look at every available thread of this evidence in order to build up a framework of past experience and intentions.

What has to be maintained is the proposition that the basic motivations and aspirations of people's lives in the later Middle Ages are detectable in the basic form, decorative embellishments and the overall architectural arrangement of their local parish church. However, in order to arrive at justifiable conclusions relating to how the architecture of the church reflects the social structure of the later medieval parish community it is essential is that we examine every aspect of the evidence available relating to the archaeology and history of these culturally important buildings. To facilitate this process of interpretation, with respect to the rate of survival found across a wide range of sites, it is necessary to examine, in the first instance, a number of certain particularly well documented case studies. These are individual parish churches which exhibit a wide breadth of relevant material evidence, such as a high rate of architectural and documentary survival, which can be examined in order to arrive at base level conclusions, which can then be applied judiciously to other less

well endowed contemporary examples. Through this process the underlying premise that the parish church, by means of its association with the process of the development of a collective memory, can be regarded as a metaphor for wider social relations within later medieval parish based communities can be considered on a wider scale.

With this premise in mind it is intended to present three separate case studies which address the issues raised so far. Each of the cases will deliver the evidence as it is encountered in relation to a particular Yorkshire church. These churches have been chosen on the basis of the criteria outlined above and also because they engender certain significant differences in terms of the individuals concerned with their development. In, for example, the case of the parish church of Holy Trinity, Wensley, here the main protagonists in the architectural development of the church were the members of the le Scrope family, an established feudal dynasty whose employment of the fabric of the church can be seen as a means by which the memory of pre-established family status, honour and lineage could be perpetuated. This preoccupation with status and lineage is also a factor detectable in the case of St Anne's, Catterick. However, the family who were actively involved in the developments, which resulted in the total rebuilding of this church, were using the fabric as a vehicle of self promotion to assert their newly established place in the social structure of the local community. At St Helen's, Sheriff Hutton we encounter an individual who can be classified as one of a new breed of professional men whose claim to status and wealth was based on administrative duty to the state and not on the ownership of land or martial prowess. However, we see the same reaction to the treatment of the parish church as detected in the other two cases: that is the attempt to manipulate the memory of the local population with reference to traditionally recognised modes of lordship.

However different the individuals concerned in these cases appear, there are certain consistent factors in their efforts and treatment of the parish church. Superficially this can be attributed to the fact that they all shared a common aim - that is spiritual salvation - and that benefaction towards the parish church was the major method by which this was achieved. This of course has to be taken into consideration; nevertheless, there remain subtle undercurrents inherent in their behaviour which points to the fact that there was an understanding on their part that memory, and more

importantly the manipulation and promotion of a favourable collective memory, was a critical factor in determining the acceptance of lordship and authority.

9.2 Richard le Scrope and Wensley parish church

Richard Lord Scrope d 1403, of Bolton Castle, North Yorkshire, was a prominent statesman in the fourteenth century who eventually rose to the position of Lord Chancellor in 1378. It was Richard who rebuilt the castle at Bolton in Wensleydale, North Yorkshire, obtaining a licence to crenellate his dwelling in 1379 (Cal Pat Rolls. 1377-81: 369). He was also a man who fully entered into the conduct required of a medieval warrior knight and according to McCall, "from the conflict at Crecy and for the next forty years, there was scarcely a battle of note at which he did not distinguish himself" (1910: 177). The illustrious career of Richard le Scrope has to be looked upon in the context of an age where personal and family honour was of paramount importance. The respect and renown that Richard was able to amass during his lifetime was regarded as being carried on, almost in a genetic sense, through future generations of the family.

> For a long time before it was possible to justify the powers and rank of bureaucrats in terms of the real usefulness of their functions, their authority had to be based on noble titles, privileges and the rights- which were themselves based on the bearer's personal qualities and valour (these were very distinct from the qualities that were necessary for the accomplishment of actual functions), or on the qualities of their ancestors whose merits were imagined to live on in them. Nothing shows more clearly the extent to which it was necessary during this period to appeal to the memory of society in order to obtain an allegiance that was later legitimised by stressing the usefulness of the service rendered and the competence of the magistrate or functionary (Halbwachs 1992: 121-2).

It was therefore of extreme importance that the memory of Richard's life was perpetuated, by both himself and his descendants, and any threat to its preservation should be dealt with effectively. If, as has been argued thus far, the parish church was an important vehicle for the carrying of the memory of the past into the future then there is no clearer exponent of this type of employment of the building than the le Scrope family. The emphasis which Lord Richard le Scrope himself placed on churches and other religious institutions as a means of self promotion can be gauged based on the reading of an extremely relevant set of documents concerning himself and his familial credentials. The documents in question relate to the dispute which arose in 1385 between Richard le Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor and is centred around, as has already been mentioned, which of the two families held the right to bear the coat of arms *azure a bend or* (Hughes 1988). In order to settle this

disagreement a number of inquiries were held throughout the country where members of the clergy and the nobility who held pertinent information as the rightful ownership of the arms were encouraged to make their depositions in defence of one party or the other (Hughes 1988). The depositions recorded, in favour of Richard, concentrate on the long established employment of the armorial device by the le Scrope family. They therefore offer an insight into the amount of energy which was expended by such families regarding the advertisement of their lineage and the various forms that this took. It also informs us of just how much material evidence has been lost in the interim. The depositions give us a vivid impression of the overwhelming enthusiasm that families like the le Scropes, and no doubt others such as the Nevilles and the Percys, attached to promoting their presence and status across as wide an extent of the region as possible. An example of this is the fact that as late as the nineteenth century the arms of le Scrope remained in existence in no fewer than twenty churches in the north of England (Pollard 1990). However, judging by the evidence given to the inquiry provided in 1385 by William Troy, canon of Aske, they were even more abundant in the later part of the fourteenth century. In his deposition to the court William stated that the arms of the le Scropes were present, in the form of stained glass windows and wall paintings, in at least forty different churches. Added to this the le Scrope coat of arms was also present in all the major religious houses of Yorkshire (Hughes 1988),. which demonstrates the amount of patronage the leading families of the region bestowed on these prominent institutions.

One of the depositions heard by the court at York in 1386 came from Simon de Wensley, (figure 10) the priest of Holy Trinity church, Wensley, the advowson of which was held by the le Scropes. The testimony of Simon is remarkably illuminating with regard to the amount of familial references to the le Scrope family which were evident in and around the parish church of Wensley (figure 11) in the later fourteenth century. It also gives some indication as to the significance of time as a measure of memory in the medieval period and how the passage of time was regarded as significant with regards to the justification of authority. A complete translation of the deposition is given in McCall's *Richmondshire_Churches* (1910) and it constitutes such a valuable example of the issues in question that it is well worth relating in its full extent.

> Sir Simon, parson of the church of Wynneslowe, of the age of sixty years and upwards, said certainly that the arms, azure a bend or, appertained to Sir Richard Scrope, for that

they were in his church of Wynneslowe, in certain glass windows of that church of which Sir Richard was the patron, and on the west gable window of the said church were the entire arms of Sir Richard Scrope in a glass window, the setting up of which arms is beyond the memory of man. The said arms were also in divers other parts of the said church, and in his chancel in a glass window and in the east gable also were the said arms placed, amongst the arms of great lords, such as the King, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord of Neville, the Earl of Warren. He also said that there was a tomb in his cemetery of Simon Scrope, as might be seen by the inscription on the tomb, who was buried in the ancient fashion in a stone chest, with the inscription *Cy gist Simond le Scrope,* without date. And after Simon Scrope lieth one Henry, son of the said Simon, in the same manner as his father, next the side of his father, in the same cemetery. And after him lieth William, son of the said Henry Scrope, who lieth in the manner aforesaid beneath the stone, and there is graven thereon, *Ycy gist William le Scrope,* without date, for the bad weather, wind and snow and rain, had so defaced it that no man could make out the remainder of the writing, so old and defaced was it. Several others of his lineage and name were buried there, one after the other, under large square stones, which being so massive, were sunk into the earth. So that no more of the stone than the summit of it could be seen; and many other of their sons and daughters were buried under great stones. From William came Henry Scrope, knight, who lieth in the abbey of St Agatha, armed in his arms, azure a bend or, which Sir Henry was founder of the said abbey; and Sir William Scope, elder brother of Sir Richard that now is, lieth in the same abbey, with the same arms depicted but not painted. The said Sir Simon placed before the commissioners an albe with flaps, upon which were embroidered the arms of the Scropes entire, the making of which arms and the donor were beyond the memory of man. He added that the patronage of his church of Wynneslowe had always been vested in Sir Richard Scrope and his ancestors bearing the name of Scrope beyond the memory of man; and that the arms, azure a bend or, had always been reputed to belong to him and his ancestors, and he never heard the contrary; he had never heard that the arms had been challenged, or of Sir Richard Grosvenor, or any of his ancestors (McCall 1910: 173-4).

There are a number of points in Simon's deposition, which need to be analysed. First of all the accuracy of Simon's testimony has to be considered. He was presented to the rectory of Wensley church by Richard himself in 1361 making him in effect Richard's man. The alb, which was presented by Simon as evidence, was embroidered with the armorial device of the le Scropes; this alone would suggest that there was a close connection between himself and the family. The endowment of vestments emblazoned with the heraldic device of the donor was not an uncommon feature of the late medieval period. It is claimed, for example, that Henry lord Scrope

had in his possession, for the use of his private chaplains, no fewer that 120 copes



Figure 10, Brass of Simon de Wensley

each emblazoned with religious symbols and his coat of arms (Pollard 1990). This type of arrangement is fully in keeping with the medieval attitude towards service and duty to one's superiors.

> In an age of strict allegiances wearing the badge of one's lord or patron was commonplace and expected of those who wished to advance their cause. The higher up society one looks, the more important was the appearance of heraldry and personal badges in the regalia and livery of individuals and their entourage (Soden 1994: 163).

Simon himself sprung from a leading local family in the area, the de Wensleys; and although not as prominent as the le Scropes, he nevertheless must have felt a certain amount of natural duty and local pride with regards to the position of his Lord. This, it could be argued, must have amounted to an important consideration for him when making his testimony. However, this being said, the surviving evidence from the

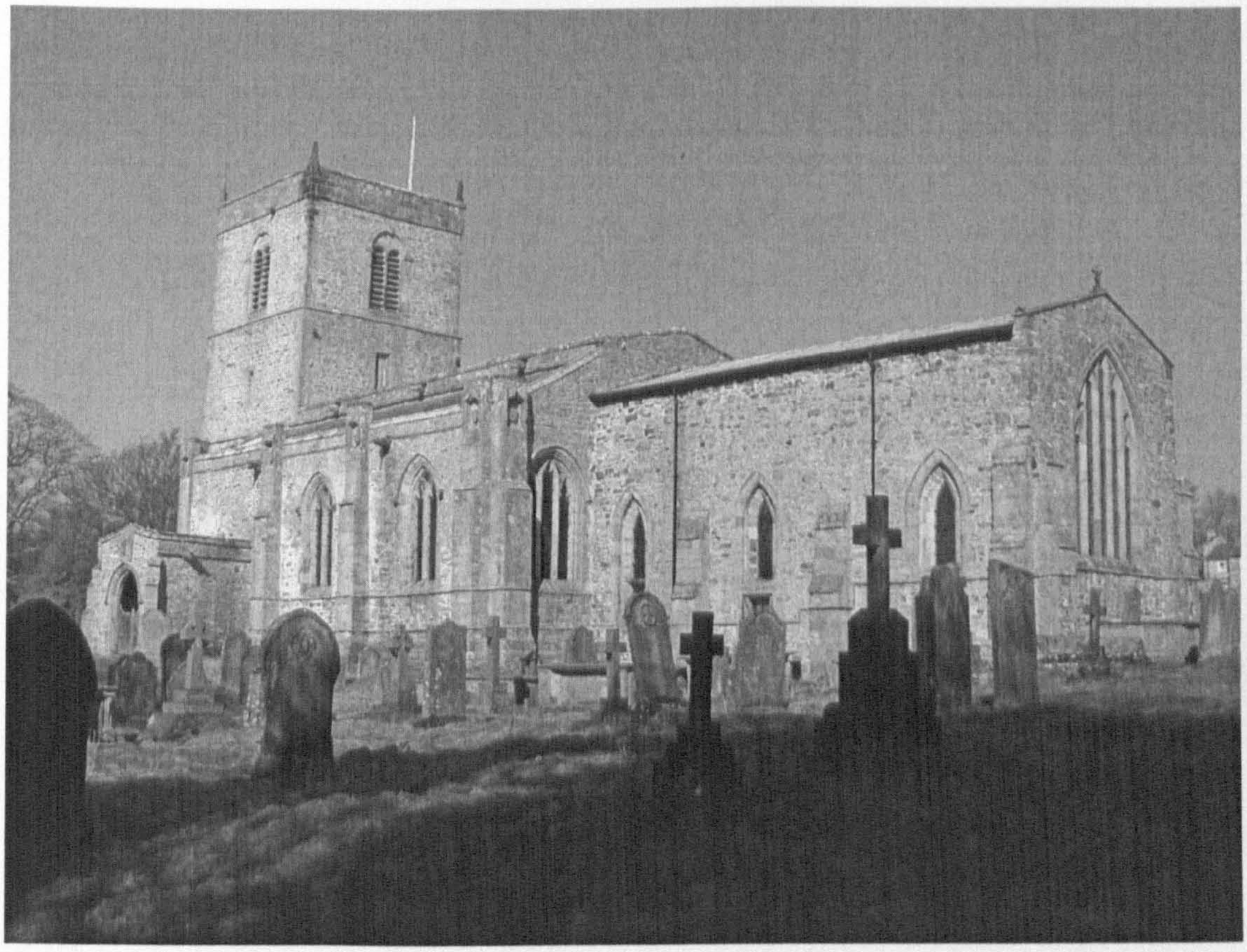


Figure 11, Wensley parish church

fabric of Wesley parish church would suggest that there was some truth attached to Simon's deposition. Although there is no contemporary evidence for the existence of the arms of le Scrope found in the church today, that is to say no evidence directly relating to the end of the fourteenth century, there are, however, numerous references to the family which date from the early part of the fifteenth. Although the major supporting evidence, the window glass, has largely disappeared four armorial devices do appear in the east window of the chancel, however, none of these point to a date before 1405 (McCall 1910).

With regards to Simon's statement that there were a number of memorial grave slabs in the churchyard this again is difficult to verify due to survival. There are a number of fragments evident in the present cemetery which do appear to date from the medieval period. However, a direct link to the le Scropes cannot be verified. When considering the evidence provided by Simon de Wensley it might be fair to assume that it would have been foolish of him to make exaggerated claims in the face of the court as these could, it must be supposed, have been easily verified.

It is interesting to note the emphasis which was laid on time and memory in Simon's deposition. The fact that the tombs of Richard's ancestors, who it was said had been buried in the *ancient* fashion, were said to have sunken into the earth and had been defaced by wind and weather implies that they had lain there for a great many years. This demonstrates, that to the medieval mind, the passage of time with regards to the establishment of a household and of course with particular relevance to this case, was indeed vitally important. The familial references to the le Scopes, it was said, had existed at the church beyond the memory of man, and the reading of the deposition would suggest that the le Scropes had always been a presence. This is borne out by the fact that Simon states that patronage of the church had always been in the possession of Sir Richard le Scrope and his ancestors, which of course was not strictly correct as the advowson of the church was held by the de Ingoldsby family until 1318 when it passed to Henry le Scrope, Richard's father. It could be argued that Simon was merely emphasising the point that the le Scropes were an ancient and long established family and that a strict adherence to the truth was not a general requirement or alternatively it may well be the case that the communal memory with regards to the le Scropes had become embellished, like the church they patronised, and re-written anew to suit just such an occasion.

Through their benefaction towards the church, the donation of the alb embroidered with their arms mentioned by Simon for example, and their provision of memorial tombs and window glass, the le Scropes had effectively preserved their memory and transmitted it into the future. As Holtorf points out;

> Rulers do not only usurp the past but also the future; they want to be remembered for what they have achieved for the whole community. Political power is legitimating itself retrospectively while it is immortalising itself prospectively (Holtorf 1996: 121).

Throughout his life Richard le Scrope consolidated his future remembrance and the protracted dispute with Sir Robert Grosvenor gave him the opportunity to strengthen it further. In conducting his case he was relying on the renown and memorial collateral built up by his ancestors whilst at the same time he was actively in the process of ensuring that his own memory and renown was itself projected into the future for the good of his soul and the future good estate of his lineage. It is in this respect that we find the ties of mutual obligation unifying the living and the dead manifest at its most basic level. The practical realities of memorial and remembrance,

no matter how it was couched in religious sentiment concerning the welfare of the departed, came in the end to have real temporal value when the need arose.

Following the successful defence of his family's honour, the judgement of the court finding in his favour in 1390, Richard le Scrope then set about further strengthening his demands on the prospective memory of his family and the regional community. In 1400 he commenced on the ambitious project to convert the parish church of Wensley into a collegiate church under a warden and as many fellows as might seem expedient. These were also to provide no fewer than six chaplains for his domestic chapel in his castle at Bolton. He obtained the original licence to found this college from Richard II, and this was later ratified by Henry IV. Although Richard's plans for the collegiate foundation were never fully carried out, he did found a chantry chapel in the church in 1398, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (York Chan Sur [Surt Soc] 104, 499).

Richard was finally laid to rest in 1403 in his ancestral burial place of Easby Abbey, near Richmond. It may well have been the case that he was planning to be buried in the new found collegiate church at Wensley although we can never know this for certain. However, if this was indeed his intention it would indicate a further employment of his personal presence persisting in the area.

What is important in this case is what we can infer from Richard's actions and why he expended so much energy and expense at this time on the perpetuation of his and his family's memory. One of the reasons behind his enthusiasm may have been the impetus provided by his disagreement with Grosvenor. Although it was expected of major landlords of this period to patronise their local church and religious institutions to some extent, Richard le Scrope seems to have taken this to its extreme! Of course the question of religious sensibility has to be considered, this being a far too important element to leave out of the equation. Richard, it could be argued, was providing for the salvation of his soul through charitable acts that would aid the transition of his spirit from this world to the next. However, one other important point needs to be considered.

During his lifetime Richard le Scrope lived through some of the most turbulent and difficult times of the Middle Ages. Born in 1341 he would have experienced the changing fortunes of the peasantry in the years following the Black Death in 1348 and being a statesman and advisor to the King he would have been closely involved with the political events of 1381, the Peasants Revolt, with all that it entailed for the

political situation in England at the time. Although his estates in the North of England may well have been less affected, if at all, by the popular uprisings of the period, than those of his associates in the South and Midlands the idea that such movements could appear anywhere must have been a concern.

> Henceforth the upper classes of English society lived in dread of another upheaval and saw it coming in every manifestation throughout the 1380s and long beyond then (Fryde 1996: 6).

Richard's attitude towards the maintenance of his presence in the parish may have been more concentrated owing to the fact that, for the most part, he was an absentee landlord who spent a great deal of time away from his estates in the service of the king. He alluded to this fact in his last will and testament where he stressed his disquiet concerning "his moral negligence as a landlord and willed that those tenants in Richmondshire who had infertile or enclosed fields or no houses to live in were to receive a mark each" (Hughes 1988: 53). Heraldry, among other strategies such as the prayers for the good estate of the living members of a family as well as those of the dead, the constant familiarity of the lord's emblems worn by his officials and priests and the fact that the church in which they worshiped, for all intents and purposes, functioned as a memorial for the lords of the manor, would constitute a constant presence in the daily lives of the peasantry and continually reiterate his authority over them and what was theirs.

9.3 The de Burghs and Catterick parish church

The history of the parish church of St Anne's Catterick, North Yorkshire (figure 12) and its association with the de Burgh family, provides an illuminating example of how the architecture of the parish church could be employed as part of the process of the legitimisation of the authority of a newly established dynasty within the confines of a rural community. What makes Catterick so useful as an example of the way in which the architecture of the parish church could be manipulated is dependent on two reasons. First, is the fact that the church, which was completely rebuilt in the early years of the fifteenth century, appears today (with some minor eighteenth-century alterations) much the same as it did when de Burghs first became actively involved with the structure. Second, is the survival of a great deal of documentary evidence relating to the family and their activities in the locality. One remarkable document in particular stands out as being of the greatest importance with regards to

the de Burghs' association with the parish church and their motivations concerned with its rebuilding. This is an original contract detailing the proposed building of a new church at Catterick, dated the 18th of April 1412. The contract, which was written in English, was drawn up between two members of the family, Katherine de Burgh and her son William, and a local master mason, Richard of Crakehall, and provides a detailed description of the building work required by the commissioners, how long they anticipated the work to take and exactly how much they expected to pay as a result.

The village of Catterick is situated some five miles south of the market town of Richmond, North Yorkshire. The village is formed around a central green with the river Swale to the East and the Great North Road (the modern A1) to the west. The village is at the centre of a large parish which contains several other smaller townships including Brough (Burgh), Hipswell, Colburn and Tunstall. The parish church of Catterick, St Anne's, stands on higher ground some slight distance to the north east of the village green. As it was constructed in the fifteenth century the architectural style of the church is perpendicular, although executed in an extremely provincial manner. The basic layout of the church is a Chancel, a nave of four bays with clerestory above, north and south aisles a vestry, western tower and south porch. Some alterations were made to the church in the mid eighteenth century; these included the raising of the roof of the nave, aisles and chancel, the insertion of new clerestory windows and a two small windows over the chancel arch and east window of the chancel. There is no chancel screen present but there are the remains of early parclose screens at the east end of both the north and south aisles. At the west end of the nave is a large fifteenth century black limestone font, which before 1851 stood under the tower vault. The font is octagonal in shape with concave faces bearing shields with armorial devices carved on them. The church represents a remarkable example of fifteenth-century architecture which, when considered in tandem with the contemporary document detailing its initial construction, form the basis for a rich area for study. The rebuilding of the church at Catterick marked the beginning of the high point in the fortunes of the de Burghs yet as a family they did not spring from illustrious predecessors.

> The story of the de Burghs between 1270 and 1574 is the story of the rise of one family and the prosperity and decline of a second. The first rose from the peasantry in circumstances and by means no doubt deliberately forgotten, and by prudent management and assiduous accumulation of land they pushed themselves into the ranks

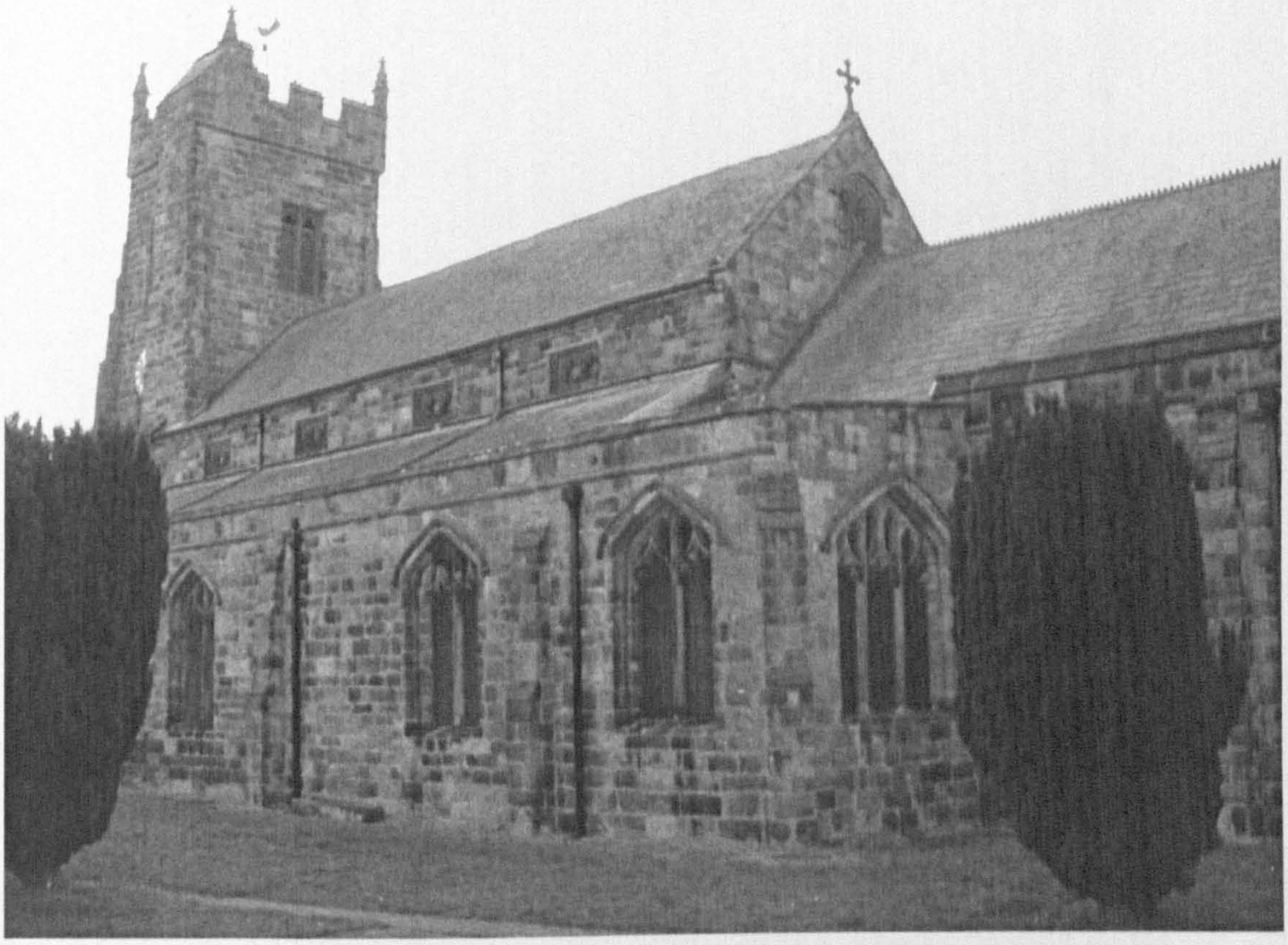


Figure 12, Catterick parish church

of the gentry. The second established themselves firmly in the county community of Richmondshire (Pollard 1978: 21).

The name de Burgh was not new to the district of Catterick, in fact there appears to have been two distinct families with this name who had been in residence in the nearby village of Burgh for some considerable time prior to the fifteenth century. Documentary evidence seems to suggest that in 1287 two individuals bearing the name de Burgh held land under tenancy in the village (Pollard 1978). However, by 1301 at least, when for tax reasons an assessment of a fifteenth of the value of the movable goods of the inhabitants of the village was made, the two families of de Burgh along with the Master of the Hospital of St Giles were assessed as the three most prosperous residents in the village. As Pollard suggests, it seems that during the course of the thirteenth century the heads of the two families of de Burgh had emerged simultaneously from the peasantry and by 1300 "were established as the leading laymen resident in the village. But already by acquiring a moiety of the manor (probably sometime around 1287), the line of William de Burgh had established a pre-eminence which was to become a dominance before the end of the fourteenth

century" (Pollard 1978: 8). Therefore the situation as it appears at the start of the fourteenth century is that there were two distinct families of de Burgh present in the village of Burgh both of which, it would seem, were doing quite well and prospering in terms of their property acquirement.

It is during the course of the fourteenth century that the fortunes of the families begin to develop in separate ways. This is particularly true in the case of the line descended from William de Burgh whose rise to prominence in the locality resulted eventually in them becoming one of the leading gentry families in the Richmondshire area during the later Middle Ages. The most important change in the fortunes of the family, however, comes initially from an outside influence. It was by the result of a lucrative marriage between the heiress of the family holdings and an individual named Richard de Richmond that de Burghs began their ascendance. Richard, a merchant of Richmond, north Yorkshire, who owned several properties in the town, was in all probability already a wealthy man when he entered the family of de Burgh by his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of William de Burgh. William was the last male member of that particular line of de Burgh family and therefore Elizabeth was his sole heiress and any man who married her was set to acquire a control of William's property. Therefore in 1346 William "settled the descent of the manor of Burgh and its appurtenances in Burgh and Thornburgh on his daughter Elizabeth, Richard de Richmond her husband and the heirs of their bodies" (Pollard 1978: 8). Richard's marriage to Elizabeth would have made sound business sense which benefited both parties and it is not too cynical to regard this match as such because during this period many such arrangements were based on financial return. What Richard gained from this marriage was not only a control of the estates held by William, his father-in law, but also, presumably, the means by which he could increase his own particular social standing by moving into the circles of the Richmondshire landed gentry. This would be an important consideration of a man such as Richmond as in terms of the political structure of England at the time was concerned there was more power and influence to be gained from holding lands in the countryside than there was to be had possessing wealth in the towns (Mertes 1988). The de Burghs in their turn gained much in return and as Pollard puts it "the principal architects of the family's rise into the county gentry appears to have been Richard de Richmond" (Pollard 1978: 8).

Having gained the control of the de Burgh estates by his marriage Richard then went on to consolidate his new found position through the purchasing of additional lands in the area. In 1372 he added to his property the holdings in Burgh formerly belonging to the Marmions and the manorial rights that went with it. He then went on to purchase all of the properties belonging of Roald de Burgh, who was the heir of the second line of de Burgh in the area, and which included lands in the nearby settlements of Scorton and Cleasby as well as in the village of Burgh itself (Pollard 1978). It was through the employment of his wealth and influence that Richard de Richmond came to control the whole manor and interestingly at the same time managed to eliminate any complications that could arise from the presence of a second family of de Burghs in the vicinity. What Richard achieved, and it was of vital importance in the later medieval period, was the establishment of a firm foundation for his descendants based on the ownership of property. The ownership of land brought much in its wake. It meant much more to the inhabitants of the later Middle Ages than simply the accruement of material wealth; it was valued above all as a way of assessing prestige and honour which the authority over others gave an individual. For a medieval merchant such as Richard the move from successful town dweller to landed country gentleman was a far greater step socially than materially. Wealth was one thing but the ownership of land could be used as the basis for political influence (Mertes 1988).

It is presumably for this reason that we find in such cases there appears to be an increased effort brought to bear upon establishing and legitimising claims to authority which this type of move would bring. The rise of the Paston family is a case in point. Or as will be discussed later, the efforts made in this direction by Thomas Witham of Sheriff Hutton. There is a fundamental link which can be made between the activities of such individuals once they have attained their new found place in a community and their appeal to the collective memory of that community in order that their position can be truly justified. In the case of Richard's descendants there was a conscious effort made by them to alter and to readjust the memory of the established social order of the local area. This however, is not something that can be achieved immediately but rather has to become a part of a process. The construction of the collective memory is something which is paradoxically constant yet inconstant. The core of the concept is the retention of communal identity which adheres to a set of primary objectives with regards to the maintenance of normative behaviour and

observance of tradition and custom. However, at the edges collective memory is blurred and can be manipulated. New, or should we say alternative, ways of regarding the past can be written into the fabric of the communal consciousness as long as they are made to appear as part of a natural progression. Or alternatively when a major change occurs in the life of a community this is in turn absorbed into the fold of the collective consciousness by a process of aggregation, building the acceptance of such a change into the memory of the community by a subtle manipulation of routine behaviour and reference to past experiences.

The first instance of this type of action taking place at Catterick is detected in the fact that Richard's son John (*d.* 1412) retained his mother's name of de Burgh and by doing so signalled the continuity of his line of descent from the original lords of the Manor. This is a direct appeal to the collective memory of the local population, both elite and peasant, who would have found it less difficult to place the name of de Burgh in the recognised social order than it would have adopting, what was effectively a newly established family originating from a Richmond merchant. In this sense it was John de Burgh, by adopting his mother's name, who can be regarded as the founder of a new line of the de Burghs in Richmondshire. Although Richard de Richmond, by his business acumen and his property speculation, had laid the foundations for the fashioning of the family, it was John de Burgh and particularly those that followed him who created the dynasty and indelibly inscribed their identity and memory on the surrounding area.

After the interventions of Richard de Richmond and the prosperity and property which he brought, the de Burghs could be now considered a wealthy and locally influential family.

> It is abundantly clear that by the fifteenth century, perhaps following the death of Richard de Richmond in c1385, the de Burgh family was fully established in the ranks of the country gentry of North-west Yorkshire. An annual income of, something over £50 a year drawn from all sources placed them in the same economic bracket as for instance the Clervauxs of Croft. And despite any economic difficulties which affected them they remained within this charmed circle of the local elite for at least a century (Pollard 1978: 10).

The major factor which demonstrates the new found prominence of John de Burgh as a member of the county gentry was his marriage to Katherine Aske, the daughter of another county landlord. In doing so John forged an alliance between his own family and that of Aske which was as important to the life and fortunes of a gentry family as the land they owned. Marriage alliances brought prestige and created

a climate of mutual recognition as well as service obligations being placed upon both of the parties involved (Payling 1995). What the marriage between John and Katharine indicated, for the de Burghs at least, is that they had entered the wider circle of influence that was the county gentry and they had arrived as a political entity in the region.

It is upon the death of John de Burgh in 1412 that we see the rise and political development of the de Burghs come to its concrete conclusion. This was brought about by the decision taken sometime early in the fifteenth century to demolish and rebuild the local parish church of St Anne's, Catterick. This is the ultimate act of the family's bid to secure its place in the hierarchy of the local gentry families and indeed to surpass most of them. It was also something which gave them the opportunity to establish a lasting memorial to themselves in the future. The implications of this act are profound and are deeply imbedded in all that can be regarded as the ways in which members of certain sectors of society manipulated the architecture of the parish church to forward their own agendas.

The ambitious building programme undertaken at Catterick by the de Burghs in 1412 clearly marks a watershed in the ways in which the members of the family considered their place in the local community and is critically important to our understanding of the way in which the elite in society utilised the architecture of the parish church as a vehicle of self promotion. The demolition and rebuilding of St Anne's, tied together with the existence of the documentary evidence concerned with it, allows for the consideration of a number of questions concerning the nature of lay involvement and investment in religious buildings in late medieval England. These questions relate to attitudes regarding lay patronage of the church by the wealthy and the demonstration of status through the manipulation of sacred space. Added to this is the concept of the medieval church as a metaphor for communal identity and memory, and as such, an arena where social relations were reaffirmed and negotiated but also manipulated in order to arrive at selected aims.

It is not known exactly why a completely new church was regarded as a necessary requirement in the village of Catterick at the time. It may well be the case that the decision was taken because the original parish church was in a bad state of repair and was literally in danger of falling down or it may have been due to some other practical consideration the reasoning behind which we will never know. However, the important point in this particular case is the fact that the new church,

and a completely new church, was commissioned and built by the members of a single local family.

Impressive building programmes were not a unique phenomenon in later medieval England yet the complete demolition and rebuilding of the parish church was not the usual course of action. Catterick, however, is not itself unique in the fact that it was a new church paid for by a single family; such cases do exist elsewhere as for example at Whiston, Northamptonshire where a church was commissioned by Antony Catesby and his wife. It is nevertheless an extremely uncommon occurrence for this date. The more usual course of action taken by the gentry and nobles of the country was concentrated on the extension and elaboration of their local parish churches adding aisles or chapels or in some cases towers, although even these were sometimes carried out on a grand scale; the construction of the nave and tower at Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire in 1434 which was financed by Richard, Duke of York, being one extreme example of this type of activity. The vast majority of large scale church building and extension undertaken in the country at this time, however, was paid for by local subscription and joint benefactions. This form of finance was the case with the rebuilding of Bodmin church in Cornwall, or the reconstruction of the nave of St Mary's parish church, Beverley. This alone makes the work of the de Burghs at Catterick all the more remarkable and when put into the context of the rise of the family from relatively humble beginnings to the point where they felt this form of action was appropriate, sheds a great deal of light on the question of how the parish church could be employed as a means of social recognition and legitimisation.

In essence what Katherine de Burgh and her son William did at Catterick by building a new church, was not too far removed from what other wealthy individuals in the country were involved in at that time. The main distinguishing factor was, as has been stressed, the scale of the project. In providing the village population of Catterick with a new parish church, the de Burghs were in one respect indulging in an act of pious charity, going some way towards ensuring they received spiritual benefits in heaven derived from their accumulated earthly wealth. On the other hand, however, they were drawing particular attention to the extent of that wealth and at the same time making a positive statement concerning their own precise position within society and also within the hierarchy of the local landed gentry. Close consideration of the contract which was drawn up between Katherine, William her son and the mason Richard of Crakehall, along with the form and decoration of the building itself, clearly

demonstrates that what the de Burghs envisaged was not merely the building of a church to the greater glorification of God. What they also perceived of, designed, and had built, was their own particular church to the greater glorification of themselves.

The contract for the demolition and rebuilding of the church at Catterick, like other such documents from the period, outlines the work to be carried out, how long it was expected to take and its total cost, whilst at the same time allowing for unforeseen interruptions to the pace of the work brought about by pestilence or war (Cook 1954; Salzman 1952). The new church, which incorporated in its fabric some of the material of the earlier building, was erected within the same churchyard a little distance to the south of the original. In the wording of the contract, the mason, Richard of Crakehall, is instructed to...

> take downe and ridde of the stane werke of the alde kirke of Katrik after the tymber be tone downe. And he sall cary and bare alle the stane werke of the alde kirke to the place whore the newe kirke sall be made (Raine 1834: 7).

The contract also gives us a valuable insight into just how much involvement, other than financial, the patrons of such buildings programmes had in their particular project. The document provided detailed instructions to the mason with regards to the layout and design of the new building. These instructions consider such basic items as the building's internal dimensions, the location of altars and the number, positioning and structural design of the windows. The only major additions that followed this initial phase of construction, were the building of the tower, south porch, the vestry and a chantry chapel on the north side of the chancel.

The construction of the church can be followed by referring to the initial instructions of the contract and it can be seen that the overall plan of the church was laid out with the intention of making substantial additions to it at a later stage. If we concentrate first on the church as it first appeared in 1415, the wording of the contract provided specific instructions for the initial construction phase of St Anne's. The church at this time was to consist of a chancel, nave, with a clerestory above, and north and south aisles only and the contract contains clear instructions as to the internal dimensions and also the precise positioning of all the windows. It is an important point, however, that the south doorway (figure 13) of the church is not of the same architectural style as the rest of the building. The structural design of the south doorway shows that it dates from the fourteenth century and was executed in the Decorated style indicating that it came from the original church and was reset in the

fifteenth-century south aisle at the time of the rebuilding. The tower and south porch followed this initial phase and according to McCall, "no long time elapsed before the contemplated addition was made" (McCall 1910: 21). The interior of the tower has a ribbed and vaulted roof similar to those found locally at Bedale and Burneston and it is possible that the same mason, Richard of Crakehall, was responsible for the erection of the towers here also. The southern aisle, which contains at its eastern end a chapel and the memorial and effigy of Sir Walter Urswick, which was taken from the original church and re-erected in this chapel, was extended in the mid fifteenth century and an arcade of one arch was opened up through the south wall of the chancel. At the east end of the north aisle was a Lady chapel within which were buried John de Burgh, the husband of Katherine, and their son William. This northern aisle was itself extended some time around 1490 to create the chapel of St James. This chapel, which extends further to the east than that on the south, also has an arcade of one arch connecting it to the chancel, and is the burial place of another William de Burgh (*d.* 1492), the founder of the chapel, Elizabeth his wife, and yet another William their son (*d.* 1508). This final form of the church is very much as it appears today; the only significant structural differences which exist are the raising of the roof and the refashioning of the clerestory windows which occurred in the late nineteenth century.

The importance of the parish church of St Anne's is that it provides a vivid example of the extent to which lay patrons were involved in the allocation and manipulation of sacred space within the churches they supported. The building of an entire church by a single family can be viewed with reference to the late medieval practice of charitable giving, albeit on an outstandingly generous scale. However, it can also be seen as a clear demonstration of manorial power, the power to change and re-order what was a familiar focus of communal life. It can be inferred that the construction of an entire church, and the way in which the sacred space within it was manipulated and appropriated by the de Burghs, were intended to convey a specific message to the community of Catterick and the surrounding district. It can be argued that this conspicuous display of wealth was carried out in order to signal the de Burgh's arrival and their new found position in local society.

Although St Anne's is not totally unique insofar as it is a church which was completely rebuilt in the late medieval period, others do exist, Burneston, North Yorkshire being one example, the rebuilding at Burneston was, however, carried out

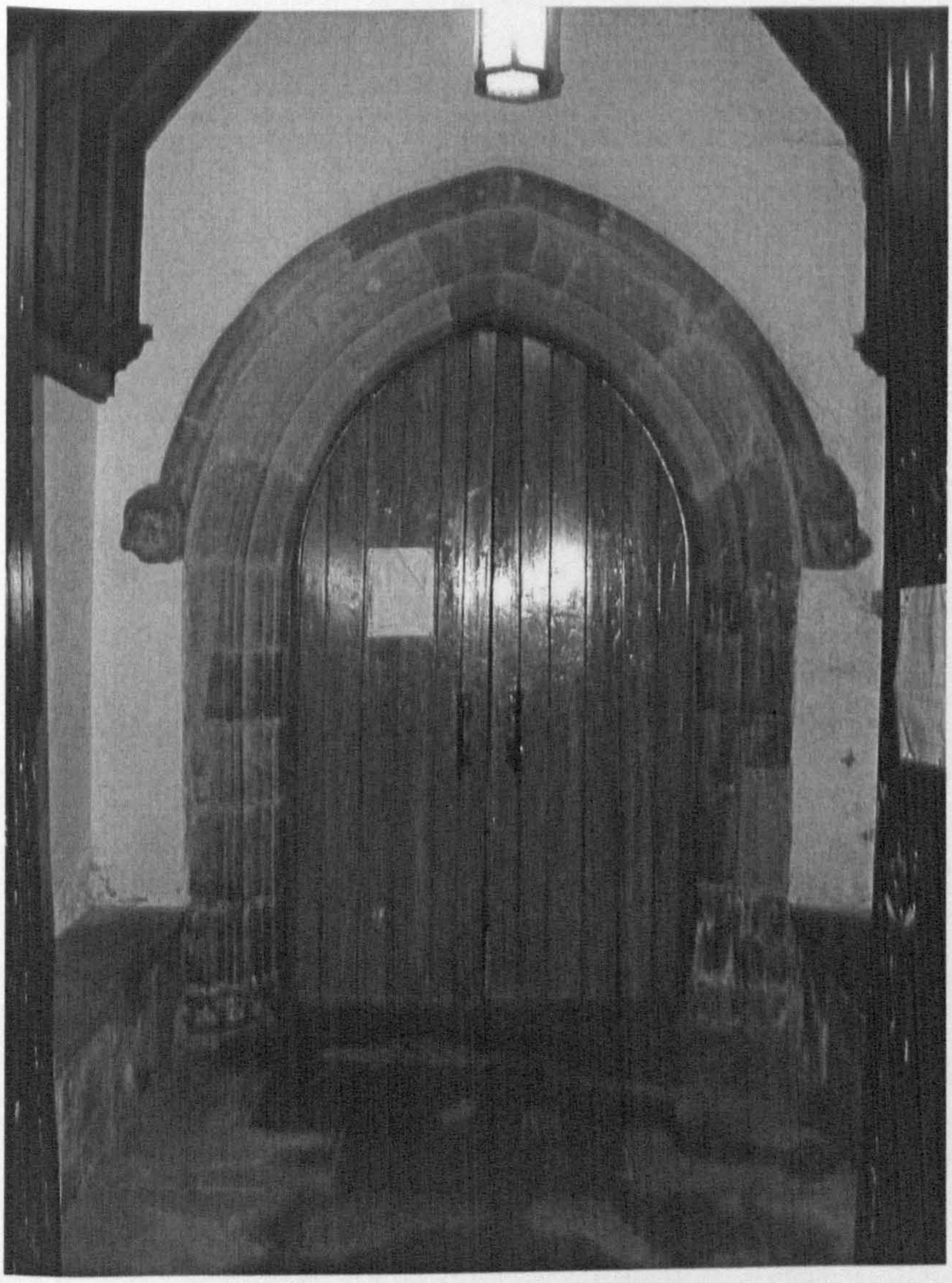


Figure 13, The south doorway, Catterick

on a piecemeal basis with the tower, chancel and nave being constructed by different patrons.

The general principle discovered in the examination of church fabrics is that they tend to be conglomerates of architectural fabrics, dates and styles. Why then, if this is the general pattern, did the de Burghs not simply alter and extend the original church of St Anne's? The answer to this question lies at the heart of the concept of the manipulation of the collective memory of the local community and the architecture of the parish church being exploited by the wealthy elite in order to further and consolidate their own position. The total rebuilding of this particular church, it can be argued, provides the clearest indication that sacred space was consciously and actively employed by this newly established family as a means of promoting the acceptance of their achieved social position through the agency of lay patronage.

If we consider for the moment the example of another church in the region of Catterick which was radically altered upon the arrival of a new landlord it will help to explain the situation. When Ralph de Neville inherited the manor of Snape and Well, in the mid fourteenth century, he immediately used the alteration and readjustment of the parish church in the village as a means of stamping his authority on that which had now become his property. The Nevilles were one of the most securely established and influential families in the north of England at the time, and already possessed estates at Brancepath and Raby in Durham and Sheriff Hutton in North Yorkshire. (Pollard 1990) The fact that de Neville inherited the manor from his grandmother indicated that he was already in possession of family connections in the area. What the control of St Michael's afforded him was the opportunity to found yet another chantry chapel to the memory of himself and his family, with the addition of being able to convert the manor house into a charitable hospital with similar considerations in mind. These actions, as we have seen, were an accepted part of religious behaviour on the part of the landed aristocracy at that time. However, as mentioned earlier, this kind of pious benefaction also allowed for the display and recognition of his overlordship and authority locally. In view of Ralph de Neville's already established power base, the alterations, rather than complete rebuilding which were carried out at St Michael's reflect his new position as lord of the manor. His was the ability to change that which was the focus of local communal identity whilst at the same time clearly demonstrating and maintaining his familial links with past.

If we now consider the circumstances leading up to the rebuilding of St Anne's we discover a different situation. The de Burghs as a family had no such illustrious lineage. The de Burghs being a wealthy yet relatively new family, in terms of their social standing in the Richmondshire area, intentionally radically altered the parish church of St Anne's in order to firmly establish and legitimise their new-found social position. This theory can be justified by considering the architectural evidence of the church in conjunction with the information provided by the surviving contract.

If we first think about the repositioning of the church within the churchyard we can see that this in itself would have had profound social implications. James Raine, writing in the early part of the nineteenth century, described how at that time the site of the old church could be "distinctly traced on the north side of the present fabric" (Raine 1834: 7). This moving of the church southwards would presumably have necessitated the disturbance of a number of burials in the graveyard, and

although this must have been an inevitable cost of reconstruction it can also be looked upon as a symbolic gesture. The graveyard was the resting place of the dead of the parish and the link between the living and the dead was of great importance in terms of the history and identity of the community (Fossier 1988: 28; Schmitt 1998: 183). Therefore the disturbance of the burial ground can be seen as a disturbance of the links between the living members of the parish and those of its past. This in itself could be regarded as a significant gesture on the part of the de Burghs in terms of their wish to be seen as the rightful heirs to the manor. The severing of the past and present within the context of the relationship with the dead of the community can be viewed as a metaphor for the readjustment of authority within the contemporary parish. Richard de Richmond's accruement of property locally and beyond had established the position of his descendants firmly within the realm of the landed gentry. Yet as has been discussed prestige and power was determined by other factors, one being lineage. In actual terms the lineage of the de Burghs' was not as illustrious as they perhaps might have wished and therefore the rebuilding of the parish church was the first move in the establishment of a redirected history of the family. The removal of the familiar in terms of the focus of parish identity with the demolition of the parish church provided the de Burghs with a clean slate on which to rewrite the past, and the disturbance of the graveyard can be viewed as a necessary but convenient part of this whole scheme.

There was also one other immediate and inevitable consequence of the total rebuilding of the church which would have had a significant effect on the routine observations of the local community and that is the suspension of religious services for the duration. It is of course not known how the local community reacted to this readjustment of what was essentially the centre of their social world although it is reasonable to assume that it was, at the very least, thought of as significant. When for instance, in 1437 the Abbot of Sherborne Abbey, Dorset, by altering the entrance to the abbey church, interfered with the traditional baptismal routine employed by the townspeople of Sherborne, the result was a riot and the attempted burning down of the abbey church (Fowler 1951). This potential confrontation was something that could be avoided by following the usual method of church extension and elaboration exercised by the majority of the gentry in England at the time. When for example an aisle or chantry chapel was added to an existing church there was an opportunity to conduct the operation without any major disruption to church services.

> The construction of aisles caused little inconvenience to parish worshippers, as the main building operations took place outside the church and the nave could be used almost without interruption. The external walls and buttresses of the aisle were put up first, a space being left opposite the nave door for the new portal in the aisle wall (Cook 1954: 98).

The clerical establishment must have raised some form of pastoral interest in the project at Catterick. However, the fact that the de Burghs felt themselves in a secure enough position to make such a momentous change within the parish may indicate their position with regards to local authority. This also may furnish us with some indication of contemporary attitudes towards the clergy and the provision of pastoral care during the later medieval period. McCall alludes to this when he notes that "it is remarkable that the Abbey and Convent of St Mary, York, to whom, as impropriators of the rectory the chancel belonged of common right, should not have been parties to the rebuilding" (McCall 1910: 18). This is however, in keeping with Andrew Brown's observation that in the later medieval period "parishioners began to infiltrate what might have been regarded as clerical space, taking over transepts or areas around the chancel for their own use" (Brown 1996: 66). It would seem, judging by the physical and documentary evidence, that this is exactly what occurred at St Anne's, where the de Burghs literally took control of the complete church inscribing it inside and out with their familial references and surrounded the chancel with their burial chapels. The significance attached to their building of the chancel, rather than this area being controlled by an outside religious institution, made it possible for them to appropriate this sacred space to the exclusion of all others. The parish church became for the de Burgh's their own memorial chapel: a means by which their prestige and renown could be advertised in the present and projected into the future.

> The proprietary attitude of the gentry of Yorkshire and elsewhere to the places in which they were buried is frequently observable, but St Anne's Catterick would seem to be the only church in Yorkshire which in its entirety was converted into a private mausoleum for the most prominent local family (Pollard 1978: 18).

The degree to which the original signatories of the contract to rebuild St Anne's, Katherine and William de Burgh, saw the church as a lasting memorial is evident in the fact that they made provisions in their initial instructions for further additions to be made to the building in the future. In the wording of the contract, for instance, Richard the Mason was given specific instruction to "schote (shoot) out tusses in the west ende for the makying of a stepill" (McCall 1910: 39). These blocks of stone, which are clearly distinguishable in the present day fabric (figure 14), were left

protruding from the west wall of the nave and were used to key the tower into the existing building when it was finally built sometime later in the fifteenth century. He was also directed to make similar structural provisions for the building of a vestry on the north side of the chancel. It was obviously envisaged, and indeed expected, that future members of the de Burgh family would wish to patronise the church, which for them would come to constitute their ancestral memorial.

Now we need to consider how the architecture of St Anne's relates to the concept of the manipulation of the collective memory and sacred space and the ways in which routine social practice was employed as a means of social control. It has already been pointed out that the amount of involvement that the de Burghs had in the initial design of the rebuilding of St Anne's indicates that they had motivations, other than those of a purely religious nature, connected with the project. As a newly emergent family the building of a complete church would have had a substantial impact on the opinions and conceptions of local society. In performing such an act of conspicuous display the de Burghs, as has been suggested, were signalling their arrival as a new force, both to those who could be regarded as their peers and also those who were their social inferiors.

It has already been suggested that the re-siting of the church would have had profound social implications. Now we need to consider in greater detail the effects the rebuilding had on the local community. The parish church, as has been indicated, was a building which was of the utmost importance to those who regularly employed the church as part of their routine religious and social practice. When we examined the case of St Michael's, Well, it was suggested that the medieval worshipper entering the church would be confronted by images and symbolic messages that conveyed the impression that the Neville's were not only the new manorial authority but were at the same time heirs to the authority of the past. The de Burghs on the other hand could not apply these preconditions and it can be argued that they had to construct their own position locally and consolidate it by wiping away all that had gone before. The rebuilding of the local parish church was the first move in this readjustment of power relations. However, social position, as it was recognised in the late medieval period, was not based on wealth alone; it had more to do with lineage and the recognition of that lineage. It was this concept that the de Burghs addressed by the employment of the church as an amplifier of their social aspirations.

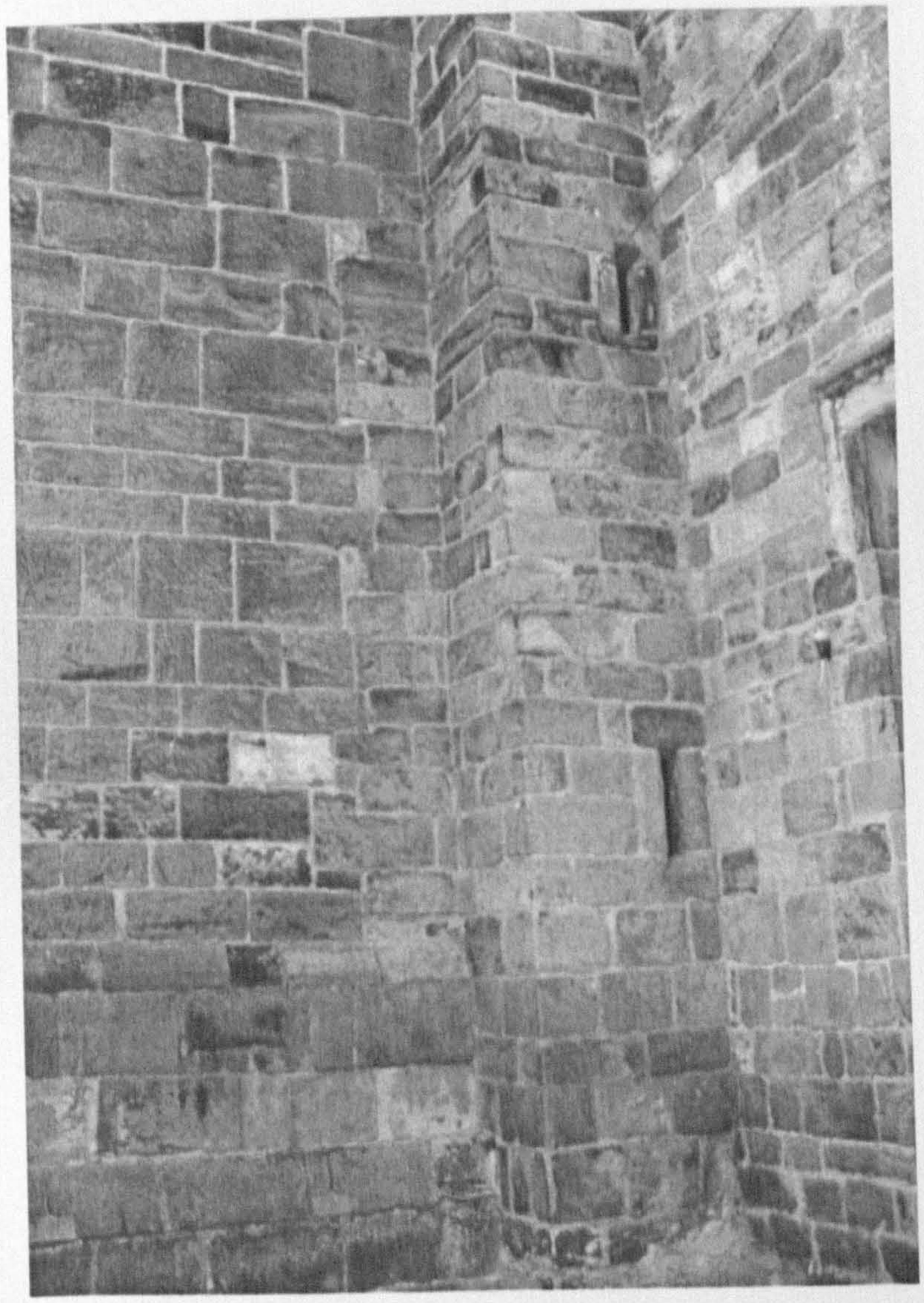


Figure 14, The south wall of the tower, Catterick, North Yorkshire

The parish church could be employed in this way because it was the scene of a great deal of communal activity both ritual and social, and this interaction was carried out on a routine basis. The ritual service of the mass, for example, has been described as not only a religious but also a social institution (Bossy 1983) and as such was an ideal location for the playing out and the negotiation of social relations. One of the focal points for this type of social discourse was the church doorway as this was the focal point of many of the ritual activities which took place within the parish. As has already been pointed out the south doorway of St Anne's was taken from the previous church and reset in the new building. This is crucial to our understanding of the way in which architecture and sacred space was manipulated in the late medieval period through the agency of the communal memory.

Unlike the rebuilding of the main body of the fabric at Catterick, the retention of the fourteenth-century south doorway of the original church did maintain a link with the past events of the community. The doorway of the parish church was one of the most important places in the social life of the inhabitants of a medieval parish. It was here that all of the main ritual events in the lives of the members of the community took place. These activities, such as the first stage of the baptismal rite, the conducting of marriages, the churching of new mothers or parts of the funeral ritual were all of vital importance to the social well being of the community. The doorway of the church was a location which would have resonated with memorial references of community identity, a form of aid to memory for the remembrance of the communal past. However, the de Burghs, by the action of providing the new church within which this older doorway was situated, and more symbolically significant, by building the south porch (figure 15) to enclose it, appropriated the sacred space that this doorway occupied and therefore indicated that they by implication controlled its use. The porch, judging by the architect's drawings which appear in James Raines' 1834 monograph, formerly had "a semi-circular outer door doubtless brought from the old church" (McCall 1910: 23). The inference being that it may well have been in fact a Romanesque style doorway of the Norman period. However, as this outer doorway was replaced in the late nineteenth century this assumption cannot be verified, although it would suggest an interesting situation if it had been found to be the case. Set into the wall above the outer door of the porch are three sculptured armorial shields representing the households of de Burgh, Aske and Lascelles. Katherine de Burgh was formerly an Aske and Matilda her daughter-in-law was a member of the Lascelle family of Sowerby, near Thirsk, North Yorkshire. This display of heraldry in such a prominent position was intended to clearly demonstrate the authority and influence that these familial alliances brought to the de Burghs. The armorial shields would act as a constant reminded to anyone entering the porch, or indeed the church beyond, that the building and its use was under the influence of this particular family. In this way, the socially important activities which took place before this doorway and within the confines of the de Burgh's porch could be seen in some way as being sanctioned by the most powerful family in the parish. The important point is the affect this had on the collective memory of the community. The de Burghs could not of course in truth control the marriages, baptisms and funerals within the whole parish but they could, by an emphasis on their affiliation with the building of

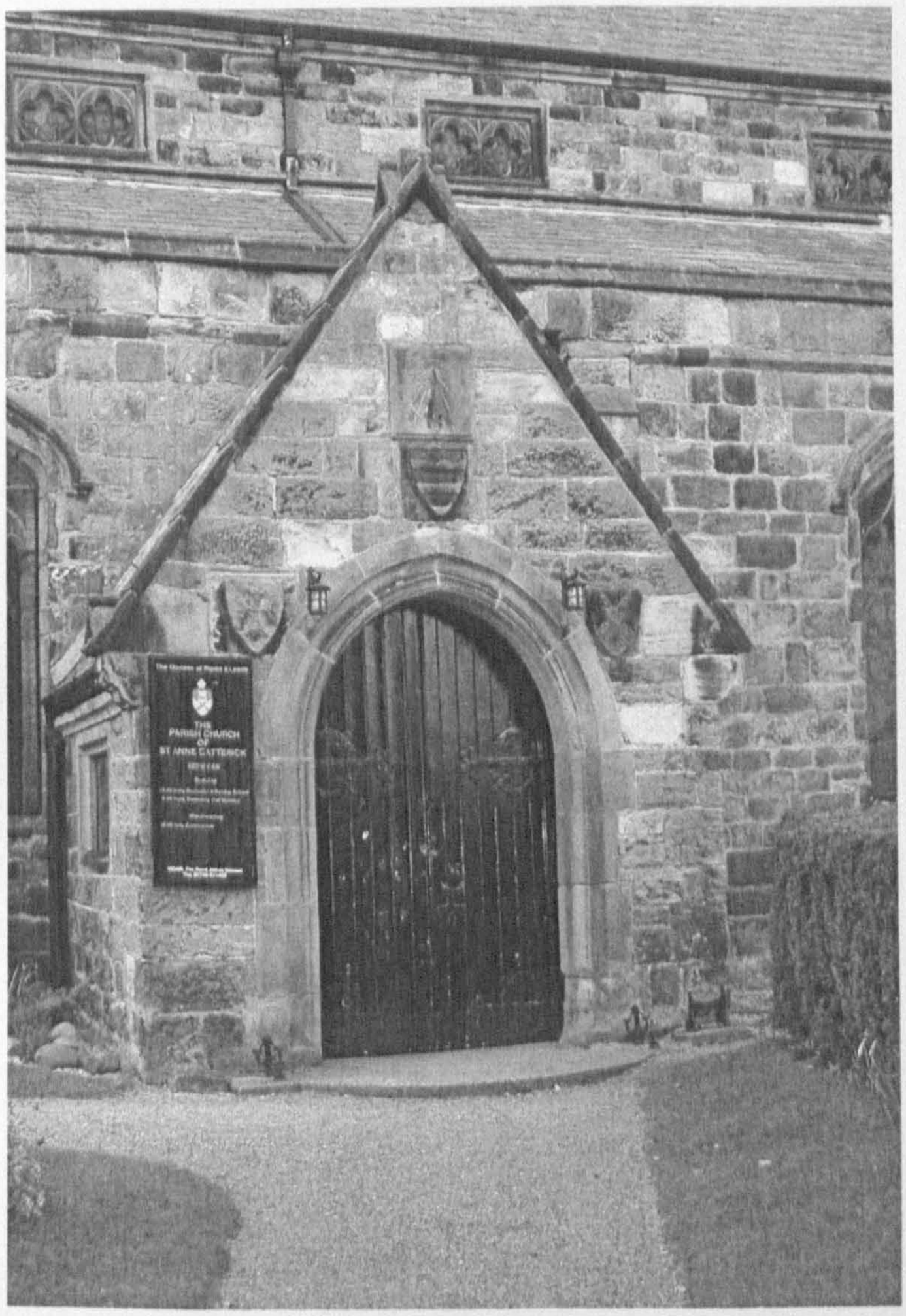


Figure 15, The south porch, Catterick

the church and the strategic application of their familial references, associate themselves in the memories of those of a lower social order in the community who were undertaking such activities.

The link between routine actions such as communal rituals and space has a strong influence on the collective memory. Space becomes charged with the memory of collective action and therefore can take on a type of mnemonic value for those individuals engaged in future actions (Simmel 1997). The retention of the original doorway maintained a memorial link with past communal action yet its new physical location redirected the memory of that action towards the present situation. It was in this way, by constantly signalling their authority by making it the focus of the location of past and present routine action that the de Burghs were able to use the sacred space of the doorway as a means of affirming and legitimising their lordship.

This considered use of armorial devices was continued on the inside of the building. It is known, for example, that the east window of the chancel, which now contains Victorian glass, in the medieval period contained the images of Katherine and Matilda de Burgh with "their armorial ensigns depicted upon their robes" (Dodsworth [Clay 1904: 235]). The images were accompanied by a prayer written in Latin, for the salvation and preservation of John, William, Katherine and Matilda de Burgh.

> Be thou the guide of John Burgh through all eternity.
> May Catherine be preserved from the thorn of the world.
> Oh holy one who shinest in light bless William Burgh
> May the Holy Spirit be a comfort to Matilda (McCall 1910: 24).

The position of this window at the east end of the chancel would again place it at the forefront of ritual activity. The window would have been visible to anyone attending services within the church and again the image of members of the family of de Burgh being depicted above the holiest of positions, the high altar of their church, would have had strong associative resonance.

The chief surviving piece of evidence for the use of heraldry within the church is the baptismal font (figure 16). Dating from the early part of the fifteenth century, it is an impressive structure, carved out of a single block of polished black limestone and carries around its bowl a number of sculptured shields. These shields bear the arms of the de Burghs as well as the initials W,B for William de Burgh. Also depicted are the armorial devices of several other families with which the de Burghs associated themselves: the Nevilles, Fitzhughs the Scropes of Masham and the D'Arcys of Colburn. The display of heraldry, as discussed previously, within the late medieval church was a very prominent feature and was one of the schemes used by these manorial families to advertise their status and worldly position locally. In the context of St Anne's the de Burgh's were addressing not only the local population but were clearly establishing the recognition of what can be seen as the start of a social network constructed through marriage.

The use of the font for this type of display is extremely important. As was discussed earlier the font can be regarded as one of the central features employed by the members of a medieval community in the process of communal membership and recognition. It was through the agency of baptism that a new member of the community was integrated into the collective. Again the concept of the collective memory would have a bearing on this activity as it is of vital importance that baptism



Figure 16, The de Burgh font, Catterick

and communal integration be remembered by the whole community. As the font was such a powerful indicator of new membership and past membership and the remembrance of such it was also a metaphor for communal identity. The symbolic appropriation of the font by the de Burghs through donation and the application of familial signifiers was a means of strengthening manorial authority through the ritual burial and rebirth which occurs with baptism.

The most expressive demonstration of the de Burgh's manipulation of sacred space is to be found in the two chantry chapels which were founded by the family and are situated at the east end of the north aisle. Katherine and her son William took the opportunity whilst rebuilding the church to instruct the mason to make provision for an altar at the east end of the north aisle. This chapel was to be the final resting place of John de Burgh (*d.* 1412), Katherine's husband. It is extremely interesting that in the

wording of the contract they stipulated that the window which was to be placed over the altar of this chapel was to be taken from north side of the original church.

> And also the forsaide Richarde sall take the wyndowe that stands now in the north side of the alde kirke and sette it in the este side of the north ele ouer the awter (McCall 1910: 39).

As this was the only window in the entire building which came from the original church and the fact that it was situated at the east end of the de Burgh's memorial chapel, this must be seen as being of symbolic significance. The reuse of this window, particularly in the situation in which it was placed, over the place of burial of the founding member of the later branch of the de Burghs, can be seen as an attempt to create a direct memorial link with the original building and thereby legitimise the transfer of authority to them by its appropriation.

Buried within this first chantry, or Lady Chapel as it was known are, in addition to John, Katherine (*dc.*1427) and William (*d.* 1424) the co-signatories of the contract. Alongside these are several other members of the family including wives and children. This chapel constituted the de Burgh's private space inside the church, a physically demarcated area within which the memory of past members of the family was preserved. The privacy was maintained by the provision of parclose screens which separated the chantry from the rest of the aisle and nave. However, this privacy, although real in a spatial sense, was not actually visually exclusive. The oak parclose which surrounded this chapel, some of which still survives, allowed for visual access into the interior of the chapel. This is important in terms of the exclusion of individuals from certain prime areas within a building. By employing this type of screen to define their private domain, visual access was maintained with the congregation and the de Burghs could be seen but remained separate nonetheless, therefore the separation and the exclusion would have a greater impact.

Around the year 1490 the north aisle of the church was extended to create the chapel of St James. This chapel was jointly founded by yet another William de Burgh (d 1492) and Richard Swaldall (*d.* 1489). This extending of the north aisle appropriated even more sacred space to the de Burghs and the extending of the aisle brought the chapel of St James and the burials which were contained within it closer to the chancel. Symbolically this is important as Christopher Daniell explains...

> A medieval church can be described as a series of concentric rings. The most holy area was the high altar at the east end; the holiness lessening towards the west end and into the churchyard...Within the church, the east end of the church-nearest to the high altar- was the most desirable, followed by the rest of the chancel, and then the nave. In the nave

there were further divisions: altars, the font, rood screen and votive candles, which also acted as foci for holiness (Daniell 1997: 95).

The consideration of the positioning and employment of these chapels in social terms can be seen as a relatively straightforward example of the wealthy using conspicuous display as a means of demonstrating their position in society. However, what has to be considered in this case is the effort which was made by the De Burghs to associate themselves with the everyday activities and experiences of the parish community. The constant referencing of the family that took place when any form of ritual or socio/religious activity was undertaken has to be contrasted with the desire of the family to be seen to be slightly removed from the rest of the congregation within the church. The privacy of the chantry chapels would help to communicate this idea. The family was in one respect part of the congregation yet separate. Their chapel although part of the main body of the church also extended along the northern side of the chancel bringing them closer, and therefore more intimately involved with, the holy mysteries being performed on the altar. The spatial configuration of the parish church consisted of a series of boundaries and specific zones of sacred significance extending from east to west. What the de Burghs were able to bring about by their rebuilding of St Anne's Catterick was the opportunity to redraw these boundaries with reference to their own requirements.

The architecture of the parish church of Catterick was employed to convey a specific message and it did this by capturing the past, reconstructing it and presenting it in the present, and thereafter establishing a version of that present to be projected into the future. In these terms the parish church of St Anne's which we see today is the family of de Burgh. It is their collective memory brought together and constructed by them and given to the present as a memorial of their lives and achievements.

9.4 Thomas Witham and Sheriff Hutton parish church

The later Middle Ages witnessed a time of increased opportunity for secular members of the clerical professions to gain wealth and influence through the provision of their bureaucratic services. These professionals in many cases came to occupy important administrative and legal positions, posts that had previously been the reserve of members of the clergy. "The consequences of this transformation of the civil service were of no little importance, both immediately and in the long term, to

the crown, to the Church, and by the creation of a new social group" (Storey,1982: 101). As these men came to prominence they tended to adopt particular strategies to mark their achieved status, strategies similar to those used by members of the more established landed elite to advertise their wealth and status. The procurement of property was an important factor in their quest for status recognition, simply because land said more about a man than his actual material wealth (Pollard 1990). As Christopher Dyer explains; "The important characteristic of the aristocracy in any case was not the size of the income but the means by which it was obtained, that is by lordship" (Dyer 1989: 18). The ownership of land indicated the potential of an individual in terms of his political power and influence.

> Although many urban merchants were by the fifteenth century as wealthy or wealthier than members of the noble classes their lack of land continued to restrict their actual power as a political force. The power and prestige landholding could bring was in part mind over matter. Tenants followed their lord not merely because the noble family they adhered to could in many cases solve their problems and advance them, but because a very deep rooted assumption of English culture was that they could and should do so, an assumption held most strongly and forcefully by the nobility itself. The network of support and service upholding aristocratic culture was primarily based on landholding, which provided a power base and a source of wealth on which nobles survived and from which they drew meaning and purpose (Mertes 1994: 50).

The most interesting point arising from Mertes' argument is the statement linking power and prestige with an attitude of mind over matter (Mertes 1994). In her analysis, matter indicates the actual ownership of property, which entitled the possessor to extract particular forms of dues and services from those individuals over whom they had lordship, and mind was the commonly held opinion, which implied that the acceptance of such authority, was natural and expected. However, it seems that it was not sufficient only to be in the possession of an estate. There were certain obligations on the part of the landlord which had to be recognised. Good lordship relied on a reciprocal arrangement that was entered into between landlord and tenant, as well as with one's peers and superiors. The whole structure of late medieval society revolved around the concept of service with the social classes conforming to a strict hierarchical order of deference and superiority. Individuals were allocated their status based on the idea that earthly society mirrored the divine order, and God directly ordained a man's place within that great scheme. "This is not to say that social mobility was considered improper, let alone impossible, in the Middle Ages. It is true that some writers tried to argue precisely this, on the grounds that behaviour is dictated by the social class into which the individual was born: once a peasant always

a peasant; or, more potently perhaps, once a knight always a knight (Horrox 1994[a]: 61).

It would appear that, during this period, social mobility and the achievement of status was not simply a matter of employing one's wealth to acquire landed property and thereby enter the ranks of the gentry classes. The concept of the divine order ensured that a more complex situation existed, which drew on differing aspects of established modes of behaviour and cultural expectations. Entry into the landowning classes for an individual was a move into a distinctive cultural system, one that was governed by particular rules and principles. As the celebrated case of the rise of the Pastons demonstrates, the accumulation of wealth alone was not sufficient as a guide to lordship. The founder of the landed dynasty William Paston began his career as a legal professional and used his wealth and influences to secure a number of estates in the region of the village of Paston, Norfolk. "In the eye of the landed élite of East Anglia the Pastons were upstarts 'struggling newcomers among the gentry', regarded with jealousy and inviting attacks before they consolidated their position" (Fryde 1996: 152). William Paston had to employ all of his legal and administrative skill in the defence of his newfound social position and expended a great deal of his time embroiled in various legal disputes with his neighbours with regards to the ownership of particular properties. In an attempt to rectify the situation his son John in 1466, on coming into his inheritance, endeavoured to gain from the king, Edward IV, a document stating that the Paston family had been in the possession of a manorial court at Paston for many generations. It was to state that they "had been the lords of 'many and sundry bondsmen' and that they were 'gentlemen descended lineally of worshipfull blood sithen the conquest'. If this document was ever issued its contents were certainly pure invention" (Fryde 1996: 152). The problems encountered by the Paston family seem to stem from the fact that they emerged directly from yeoman stock without any association whatsoever to link them with a gentry family. As can be seen in John Paston's approach to a higher power they needed to be able to refer not only to their material wealth but also to the legitimising authority, which could only be supplied by reference to lineage and ancestry.

One method whereby this complication could be avoided was by entering into a speculative marriage. The key to a successful transfer into the landowning classes for a man of wealth was to associate himself by marriage with an already established family. In doing so, an individual could bypass the difficulties encountered by the

likes of the Pastons and also at the same time pave the way for the ascendancy of his own familial aspirations. It was by employing this method that a number of prominent individuals managed to secure a position in landed society through the application of their professional services whilst at the same time coupling themselves to the established social attitudes of the period.

One member of this newly created social grouping was an administrator to Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, an individual named Thomas Witham. Witham, a Yorkshire administrator, began his career in the service of the Neville family and later, due to the influence of his patrons, rose to the rank of Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1454 (Pollard 1990). Witham augmented his rise in social standing by gaining entry into the ranks of the landowning gentry by his marriage to Agnes the heiress of Sir William de Thweng of Cornborough, North Yorkshire. He then went on to use his new-found position and wealth to consolidate his position in local and regional society. In keeping with the popular trend of the period one method he employed to advertise his status was through pious benefaction towards the local parish church.

The major part of the manor of Cornborough had been in the hands of the de Thweng family since the mid thirteenth century, Marmaduke de Thweng being recorded as holding a lordship here in 1285. The manor descended through the male line down to William de Thweng, who in 1432 made a settlement of the manor in trust to his daughter Agnes, Thomas Witham's wife. On William's death in 1441 his widow Joan surrendered her remaining rights to the manor and so Thomas, through his wife, gained complete control of the de Thweng's ancestral holdings. To this acquisition Thomas also added the rights to an estate previously held by the Nevilles in Cornborough, which he had received before 1440 by the gift of Joan, Countess of Westmorland, in whose employ he had begun his career.

It was Witham's close association with Richard Neville, which seems to have been the key to his successful rise in the political sphere. According to Pollard, the Earl of Salisbury seems to have given over a certain degree of trust to Witham as an administrator who "gained the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer through Salisbury's influence in 1454, and was restored to that office for life in 1456"(Pollard 1990: 137). Not only were Witham's services appreciated by the Neville family alone, in 1462 his services to the state were also recognised by the King who made a grant of £20 a year for life to Thomas for services rendered.

> Grant for life to Thomas Witham from Michaelmas last, for his good service to the King and his father Richard, late Duke of York, of 201 yearly from the fee farm of the town of Scordeburugh and the manor of Walgrave and from 60 acres of land and the issue of the town (Cal Pat Rolls 1461-67: 74).

Through his aptitude as a legislator and his close alliance with the Nevilles, Thomas became an influential and powerful man who was closely involved with the majority of the leading families in the North of England at the time. His marriage to Agnes de Thweng not only provided him with further income from a landed estate but also gave him a general degree of status over and above that which would come from holding high administrative office. Thomas and his wife took up residence in the de Thweng family manor house at Cornborough, a mile north west of Sheriff Hutton, Yorkshire, and the site of one of the major residences of the Neville family in the North. At Cornborough, Thomas undertook the rebuilding the chapel of ease in the village around 1465 and this chapel was constructed to replace an earlier structure, which had, up until that point, provided a place of worship for the village community. The rebuilding of this chapel at Cornborough can be regarded as his first move to establish the memory of his lordship on the manor. The provision of a church by the lord of the manor in the village would seem to have been an established mark of lordship, something that would be expected of a landlord as a service to those under his direct influence. It is clear just how important this was in terms of a mark of authority due to the fact that Marmaduke de Thweng, in his will dated 1426 had bequeathed funds for the re-leading of the roof of the belfry and the fabric of the porch of what he termed as "his parish church of Cornborough" (Test Ebor [Surt Soc] 4: 412). Witham replaced this earlier chapel with a new building of his own and by doing so can be regarded as symbolically linking the memory of the previous lords of the manor with his own personal identity and authority over the building routinely employed by the local community. Witham further imposed his mark on the locality by obtaining a licence to found a perpetual chantry in "the chapel newly built by him at Corneburgh" in 1465. The wording of the licence demonstrates how the memory of the dead and the good estate of the living were inextricably intertwined in an atmosphere of mutual aid and reciprocal duty. The document states that the new foundation was to be called the Chantry of Thomas Witham, Esquire and that prayers were to be said for:

> The good estate of the King and the said Thomas and Agnes his wife and their souls after death and the souls of the King's father Richard Duke of York, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and Alice his wife and the relatives and benefactors of the said Thomas and

> Agnes and all for whom the said Thomas is in any way bound to pray (Cal Pat Rolls. 1461-67: 447).

As this document clearly shows Witham was, by the provision of this chantry, not only providing for his own salvation but was adding to the pool of prayers offered up for the souls of those individuals to whom he was materially indebted. In his will Thomas made further provision for the settlement of this debt by leaving "£20 to pay for prayers to be said for the souls of Ralph, first earl of Westmorland and Joan his wife, and Richard earl of Salisbury and Alice his wife" (Pollard 1990: 138).

Although related to the family of de Thweng through his marriage to Agnes, Witham, through his provisions to the fabric of the local church, was clearly in the process of laying the foundations of his own dynastic pretensions. Unfortunately for Thomas it seems that he died without issue and therefore he did not leave any immediate heirs on whom he could count to continue the familial legacy. Having said this however, the method by which later medieval service and mutual obligations operated did mean that Thomas was able to make, through the actions of the executors of his will, his own personal provision for the continuation of his memory after his death. The chantry which he founded at Cornborough was a means by which he was able to manipulate the prospective memory of the local population and their routine religious experience. As a consequence of his pious benefaction towards the chapel the name of Thomas Witham would thereafter have been heard at every Mass celebrated in the chapel ensuring that he remained a feature of the local collective memory long after his death. The remembrance of the dead in this sense acted as an extension of authority and the mutual obligations which are associated with authority and service. "By bestowing benefactions on the community through their testaments, the dead established a claim on the memory of the living, and explicitly or implicitly, and in a virtually contractual manner, required the counter gift of prayers for their souls in purgatory" (Gordon and Marshal 2000: 5). It is interesting to note, however, that Witham established the chantry at Cornborough at least ten years before his death, not an unusual phenomenon in the later Middle Ages, therefore his association with the benefaction can be clearly linked with his earthly objectives. The chantry and its Masses can be regarded as a strategy employed by Witham to ensure that his authority locally, and the memory of such, was firmly established in the minds of the parishioners, bearing in mind that his duties at court would have kept him away from

his Yorkshire estate for long periods at a time. The regular Mass could become in such circumstances a powerful tool in the maintenance of power and influence.

> The later Middle Ages seem to represent the high water-mark of the tendency to convert the mass from a public ritual offered by those present for themselves and the whole community of Christians, into a private ritual offered by the priest for the benefit of a specific group of individuals, living or dead. Hence the commemoration of the living and the commemoration of the dead, inserted at strategic positions in the canon of the mass, before and after the consecration. Originally inserted only in 'private', weekday masses, not in the public Sunday mass, these seem by the fourteenth century to have become universal in all masses, and so remained (Bossy 1973: 137).

If Witham's rebuilding of the Cornborough chapel of ease can be taken as a symbolic gesture intended to mark his authority and legitimacy in the local area, then his earlier building programme, that which concentrated on the parish church of Sheriff Hutton (figure 17), confirms his overall motivations. In accordance with his will dated 1475 Thomas Witham was buried in the church of Sheriff Hutton in the chapel of St Nicholas and St Giles on the north side of the church, within which he had founded a chantry as early as 1449. The inscription on his and his wife's memorial brass further indicates this benefaction towards the church recording the fact that they both now lay in the chapel with its associated vestry, which he had caused to be constructed.

> Vestibulum fieri qui fecit est ista capellam hic contariam sistere per petuam ffundans xpe Thome wytham Miserere Agneti sponse qui simul hic recubant scieqe.

As well as the memorial brass commemorating Witham and his wife Agnes, there are also in the north chapel two other monuments present. One, a representation of a recumbent knight bearing the arms of the de Thweng's on his shield, is possibly the effigy of John de Thweng. The other, an alabaster representation of a child, is reputed to be the tomb of Edward Prince of Wales, the son of Richard III, who died in 1484 aged eleven. It seems clear and perfectly understandable that Thomas Witham, in the mid fifteenth century, would wish to mark his arrival as an influential force in the area by rebuilding the de Thweng's ancestral chapel. This readjustment of the familiar, in terms of the rearrangement of the architecture of the fabric of the church would point directly to the corresponding reordering of authority in the area. However, it is also evident that it had to be carried out in such a way that it did not conflict with the established understanding of patterns of local lordship. In essence the communal memory of the local population needed to be considered so as to make the transfer of authority appear to be a natural progression whilst at the same time allowing for no ambiguity regarding the fact that a transference had actually taken

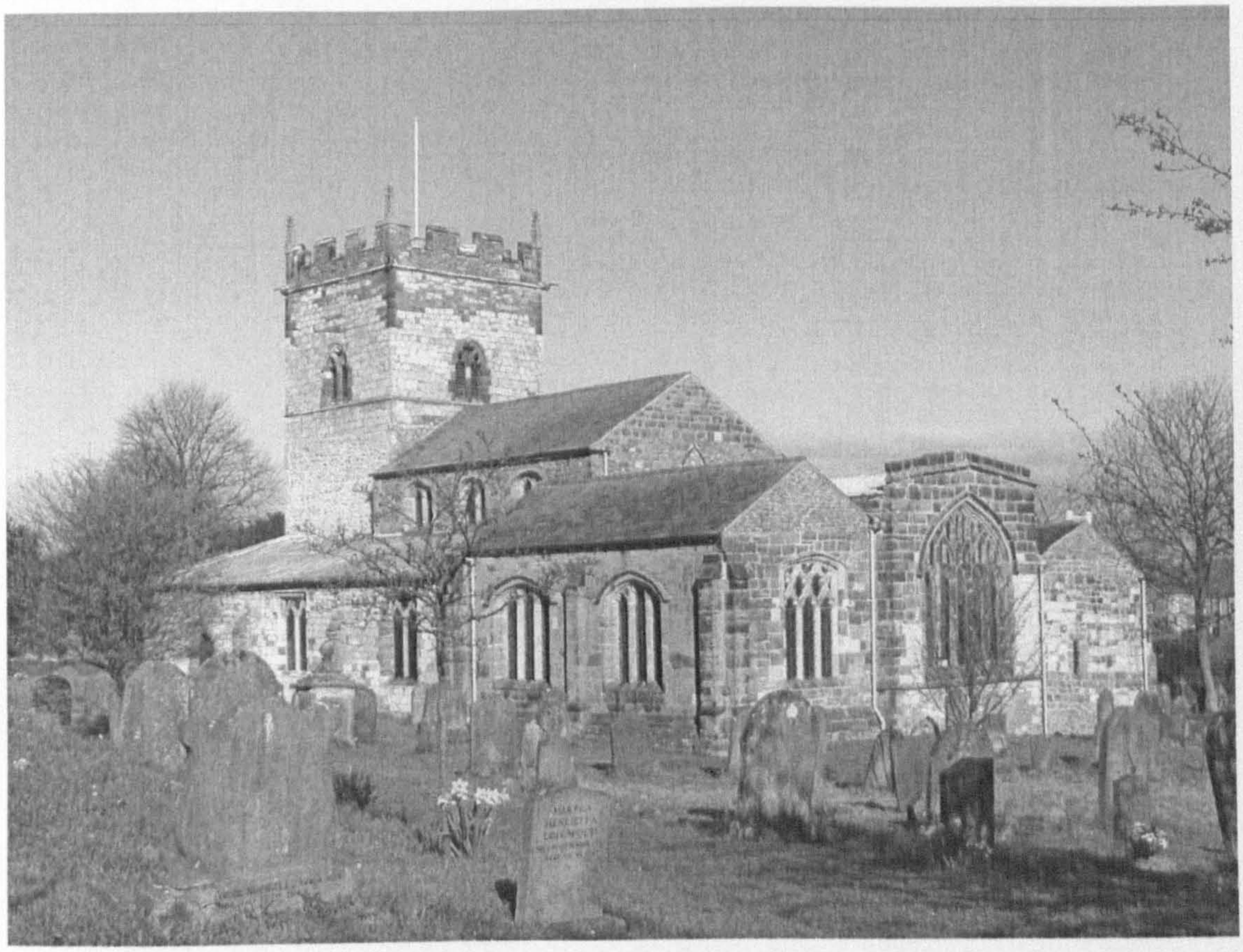


Figure 17, Sheriff Hutton parish church

place. To this end, if we consider Witham's reconstruction of the chapel at Sheriff Hutton we can see that the way in which certain elements of the construction of the building were employed suggests that there was a deliberate employment of the past as a means of justifying the present.

To begin with, there is the fact that the former east window of the earlier chapel was incorporated into the north wall (figure 18) of the later fifteenth-century chapel. The removal of this window was made necessary by the fact that Witham had a further chamber built onto the east end of the north aisle, in order to create a vestry. Witham's extension to the original layout of the de Thweng chapel not only demonstrated his ability to add to their original foundation, and presumably surpass it, but also demonstrated his piety by the fact that he was not only providing for himself and his family through his building programme, but was also providing charitable relief for the parish and chantry priests. This act of pious charity would be seen as something which aided the clergy in their work and through the clergy's ministrations the local congregation would also benefit spiritually.

The removal of the fourteenth-century east window of the original chapel can be

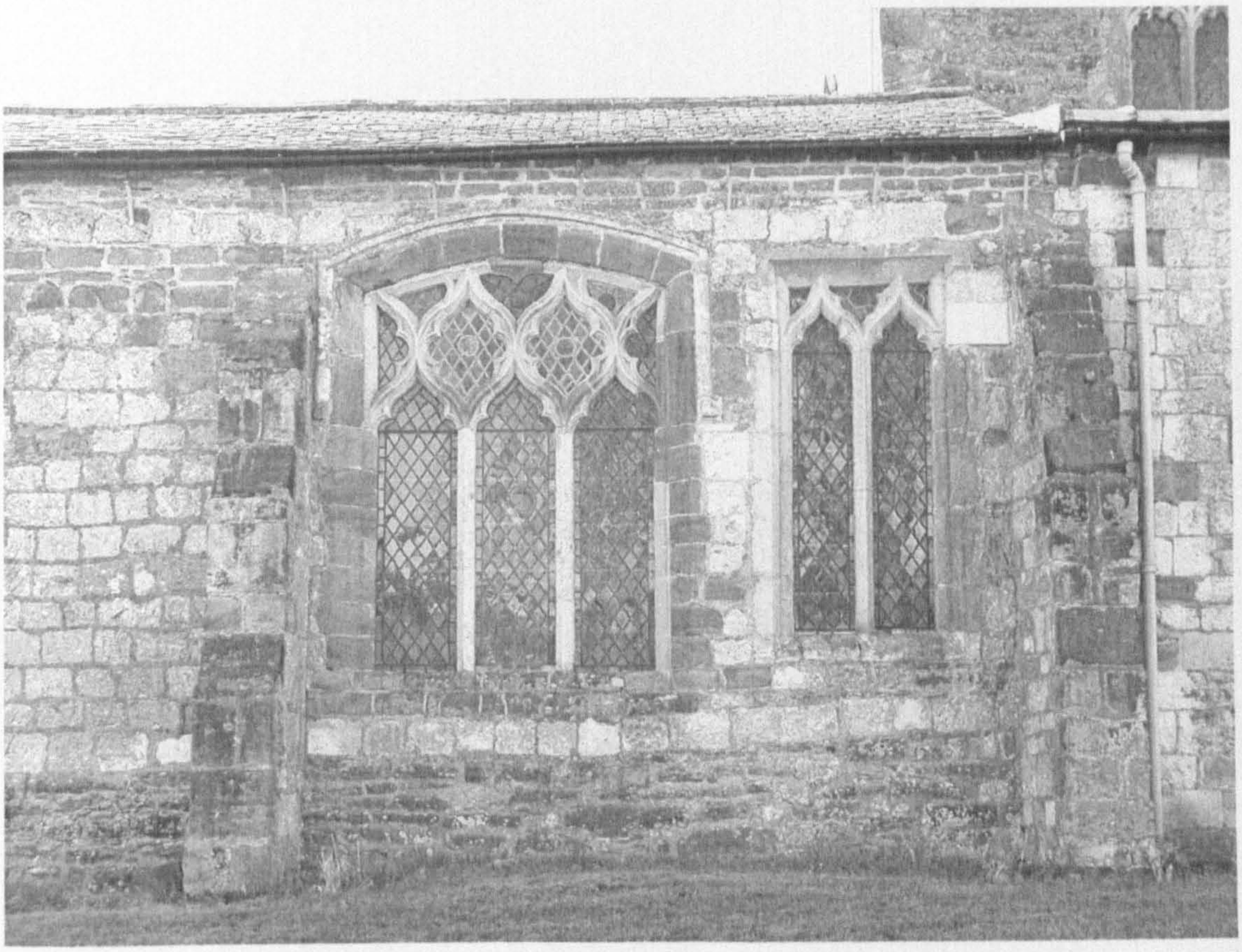


Figure 18, The re-positioned north aisle window

regarded as a necessary part of the construction of the vestry element of the building programme. It would seem unlikely that a window would be left in a position which gave visual access directly into an adjoining chamber. Its subsequent repositioning in the north wall of the chapel is somewhat less straightforward to understand. The reset window was incorporated into the wall of the chapel directly adjacent to an existing fourteenth-century window creating a span of five lights. It could be suggested that this had the effect of producing a well lit chapel compensating for the loss of illumination which would have inevitably resulted in the removal of the window from the east end. However, it could also be argued that this re-incorporation of the earlier feature of the chapel was an explicit attempt to point to a sense of continuity in the authority of the patrons associated with the space. Witham's rebuilding of the chapel was a mark of his achieved position in the parish. However, he had in turn to ally himself with previously established influence but in such a way as to make that transfer appear not only final but at the same time a natural progression. The new chapel had to be indisputably a symbol of Witham's status and control, set within the sphere of influence of the higher authority of the Neville family themselves. Yet at

the same time it had to appeal to the communal memory of the local population in order to gain their full recognition. Therefore it would appear that Witham deliberately employed the earlier features of the fabric of the building in order to legitimise his own social position.

The chapel itself is 4.40m by 4.10m built directly onto the northern side of the chancel and extending to half its length. It communicates with the chancel by means of a single arcade cut through the original thirteenth-century north wall of the chancel. However, it may well be the case that the chapel also extended some way to the west as is revealed by the evidence for a former parclose screen between the first two piers of the nave arcade. Further evidence of the original dimensions of the chapel is provided by the fact that the most western respond of the arcade which connects the south side of the chapel to the chancel has been altered by a recutting of its north eastern edge. This corner of the respond has been scalloped at an angle north west to south east so as to allow for visual contact with the high altar from a position in the first bay of the north aisle. The most basic indication of the symbolic intent associated with Witham's reconstruction of the de Thweng chapel is the position of his floor tomb slab itself. The tomb, which is manufactured from a slab of black limestone, measuring 2.10m by 1.10m, is situated directly in the centre of the floor of the east end of the chapel, and 1.00m from the east wall. Its size would have rendered it a visually imposing monument taking up most of the available floor space in the chapel. Set within the matrix of the limestone slab is a brass bearing the inscription quoted above and below this is set a brass shield depicting the arms of Witham impaling those of de Thweng. It would appear that the sandstone effigy of John de Thweng was repositioned to make room for the tomb of Thomas Witham and his wife. On examination it is evident that initially the effigy tomb had originally been intended to be viewed from all sides. The coat of arms emblazoned on the knight's shield is somewhat obscured due to the repositioning of the monument within the reveal created by the insertion of the former east window in the north wall of the chapel. If this repositioning of the effigy is actually contemporary with the refashioning of the chapel in the fifteenth century the location of the Witham memorial slab in the centre of the chapel is a probable explanation for this move. Again this demonstrates the redeployment of the past as a means to legitimise the present. The tomb of an earlier member of the de Thweng dynasty, one who may well have been the original founder of the chapel in the early fourteenth century, was not

actually disposed of to make room for those who followed but was rather intentionally retained whilst at the same time symbolically replaced as the centre of attention by the installation of Witham's own more fashionable memorial.

The appropriation of the lands, lineage and authority of the de Thwengs by Thomas Witham was emphasised in no uncertain terms through his employment and the appropriation of the architecture, both at the church of Sheriff Hutton and the manorial chapel at Cornborough. The ability to employ structures in such a way stems from the fact that patronage of the church was regarded as an essential element of personal status. Not only did Witham support the chapel of St Nicholas and St Giles in the parish church as well as the dependent chapel at Cornborough, he also left 20s for the rebuilding of the east end of the chancel and the completion of a southern chapel. In addition to these benefactions there also existed a private chapel in the manor house at Cornborough which was mentioned in his will as retaining certain missals and vessels which were to be used for services in the manor when weakness or bad weather prevented his wife Agnes from reaching the Cornborough chapel.

This idea of the privatisation of religious practice can also be detected in the will of Thomas's wife, Agnes Witham. In her will, dated 12th January 1490 she states that she desires her body to be buried "in the chancel of Synt Nicholas in Sherifhoton, in the tumb which my husband, Thomas is buried in". It is interesting to note that she refers to the chancel of St Nicholas, rather than to the altar of the chapel, almost as if the south chapel and the associated north aisle were regarded as a church in its own right. It may well be the case that to a certain extent they were.

Through the employment of his wealth Thomas was in a position to pay for perpetual masses for his soul's salvation therefore ensuring that his memory would also be perpetuated in a temporal sense. At the altar in the chapel at Cornborough for example, an obit was being celebrated to the memory of Thomas up until the suppression of the chantry in 1546, some sixty years after his death.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

It has been argued that the collective memory was a major influence on the social organisation of communities in the later medieval period. This is because the memory of past experience is something that allows humans to function as social beings, influencing their daily lives and activities. The concept of the collective memory has been brought together with theories concerned with architectural space, in order to demonstrate the links which exist between the two and the archaeology of the later medieval church was chosen as the medium by which this interrelatedness could be investigated. The employment of the medieval parish church, as a means of demonstrating this relationship, is based on two factors: the quality and abundance of the physical material evidence, in the form of standing buildings and also the fact that there is a large amount of documentary evidence relating to them. The availability of such abundant and relevant research material has facilitated in the production of a sound testing ground, against which the theory of architectural memory could be tested. It is envisaged that any conclusions drawn from this investigation could then become the starting point for future developments in this area of archaeological research.

As was stated at the beginning of the introductory chapter, one of the aims of this thesis was to demonstrate that the archaeological examination of the later medieval parish church has the potential to provide a greater amount of information about society in the past than has hitherto been appreciated. It was argued that the parish church could be seen as a mirror, reflecting the degree of social complexity which existed during the period. It was also suggested that in order to extract the fullest amount of relevant information, the study of these structures needed to be approached in a particular manner, one that moved away from, but without totally losing sight of, traditional architectural and art historical perspectives. It was argued that this type of approach would then allow for a contextual appraisal of these buildings to take place, locating them firmly within their contemporary intellectual and historical framework. The point of this statement was to emphasis the dualistic

relationship that exists between the archaeology and history of these structures, whereby the physical evidence represented by the fabric of the churches themselves could be considered alongside the documentary. This would allow for the critical interpretation of both sets of complementary texts, one written in ink on parchment, the other inscribed in stone and mortar. It is this form of reading of the architecture of the later medieval parish church which has formed the basis of this thesis, a reinterpretation of the actions of medieval communities as recorded in the building which formed the core of their social lives.

In order for this dual reading of the archaeology and history to be undertaken, it was first necessary to implement a new approach to its study. This was provided by the concept of the collective memory. Throughout, the intention has been to demonstrate the close relationship that exists between architecture and memory and therefore to formulate a theory which directly links the two. As stressed in the introduction, the underlying aim was to produce a theoretical framework for the understanding of the part played by memory in the social lives of individuals and groups. This theory could be adapted, if necessary, towards the study of other periods. The study of space and its relevance to archaeology was discussed in order to establish the background for the production of this research. It was also pointed out that the consideration of the memorial component of architectural and spatial studies has the potential to take the question of the social significance of space in a unique direction. One that could provide a great deal of profitable information, with regards to the issues concerning societies in the past.

Of course, this method of investigation, when applied to an historic period, could be regarded as a less troublesome proposition that that faced by the prehistorian. However, what needs to be remembered is that we are dealing with people and their reactions to particular contemporary situations. It was suggested that the proliferation of church building in England during the later part of the Middle Ages was a direct consequence of a critical situation brought about by the onslaught of the Black Death in the mid fourteenth century, and its later disastrous demographic and economic effects. It cannot be imagined that other peoples in the past did not share similar anxieties brought about by similar situations. Indeed, as Martin Carver (1998) has suggested, the Sutton Hoo burial complex may be linked to the pressure brought to bear on the pagan kings of Anglo-Saxon East Anglia by the rise of the Merovingian kingdoms in the former Roman province of Gaul and the introduction of Christianity

into England at the end of the seventh century. Could it be, as Carver suggests, that the construction of these burial mounds in the sixth century was in some way a means whereby a link between the then present and the past was formed and the establishment of authority was reaffirmed through the agency of a ritual monument? If this is indeed correct then we can see the employment of memory at work as a political tool in the past as much as it has become in the present.

The issues dealt with in chapter three, where the historical background of the period was investigated, were intended to demonstrate not only the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the later Middle Ages, but also how the consideration of the implications of crisis could act as a stimulus for the construction of ritual monuments. The term ritual monuments, when applied to the later medieval period may, in some quarters, be regarded as rather extreme; however, there is little readily discernible psychological distinction between one form of religious building constructed in one particular period as against that of another period. They all, it could be argued, were equally important to their contemporaries, in terms of their ritual significance. The main problem with this view, when applied to the medieval church, is due to the issue of familiarity. The parish church in England has entered the cultural make up of the English landscape (Morris 1989). It is a standard element of the traditional view of the English village, and as such, it is safe, solid and non-contentious. Nevertheless, this view does not diminish the role of the parish church as a ritual monument.

Re-thinking the significance of these buildings in these terms in no way diminishes the prominent position they hold in the development of English architectural history, this is surely assured. However, because it is an approach that is not unduly fettered by conventional methods of inquiry it does add an extra dimension to the possibility of fruitful research in this area. The later Middle Ages was a complex period in English history with political upheavals, economic fluctuations and major social reorganisation taking place. The parish church, as was argued, can be seen as mirroring this, not only in the increasing complexity of its architecture through time, but also in the multifaceted attitude taken towards it by its parishioners.

The use of ritual space was addressed in chapter four. Here it was pointed out, that the consideration of the nature of space and its social function is indeed an enormously complicated and complex subject, one that has been approached from many different angles. It was suggested that the connection between memory and

space would be a way forward in attempting to understand this complexity. Memory, it would seem, was one of the mechanisms employed by people in the appreciation and use of social space. Implicit in this is the idea of social surveillance, as discussed in chapter seven. The subject of social surveillance was put forward as a means of demonstrating how memory was something which was central to the lives of ordinary people in the later Middle Ages. This was an important aspect of this thesis, as the intention was, where practicably possible, to shed some light on the social attitudes of the rank and file members of the medieval parish community. The problem has always been the idea of textual bias in favour of the wealthy and powerful in society. As a consequence of this, there is a great deal more known about the actions and attitudes of the rich that those of their poorer contemporaries. However, the consideration of social surveillance and its connection to the collective memory, may provide a window into the lives of these under represented members of past communities. There are of course limitations, yet nevertheless, by the examination of the ways in which architecture and architectural memory was manipulated by the elite in society, some significant progress has been achieved in this area. It was important for the elites to understand the situation of their social inferiors and indeed to capitalise on this. Any decisions taken with regard to the alteration and embellishment of the parish church must have been viewed in the light of current political and social contexts. It is through a reversed reading of these elite motivations that we can come close to the substance of the actual social situation as it existed at the time.

One of the major pieces of evidence, with regard to memorial manipulation, was the role played by the doorway of the later medieval church. This is due to several key points: first is the fact that the importance of the doorway as a symbolic element of any building and particularly a church, has received little recognition in past archaeological or architectural writing; second, is the wider symbolic significance placed on the doorway and threshold; and third is the central place the doorway of the church occupied in the formation and maintenance of stable social relations. Doorways are crucial to our understanding of how buildings work as social amplifiers. It is the threshold of a building, or an enclosed space, which acts as a demarcation between that which is inside and that which is without. The doorway can be both barrier and crossing point, it can be controlled or open, it can effectively shut off space or alternatively act as a link between spaces. All of these possibilities can be encountered when looking at the function of the doorway. It is recognising which of

these forms a particular threshold exhibits, or more correctly how it is manipulated in order to act as a symbolic carrier of remembrance and meaning, which is important. Doorways control, however, as has been demonstrated for the medieval period, they also bring together by acting as an aid to memory. It is this dual function of the doorway and threshold that holds the potential for further research in this area.

However, thus far the primary role of memory has not always been fully appreciated for what it is. It has been demonstrated that the retention and transmission of memory was a fundamental part in the processes involved in the formulation of the material world in the past. This concept, no matter what the period, must come into play when we are dealing with archaeological features which are intended to transmit some form of message into the future. Architecture, as discussed, is one such form of memorial device, as are burials when marked in some way. The point is, however, that when we are dealing with these forms of archaeological features we have to take into consideration not only what the current interpretation tells us we can gain from looking at the remains of past societies, but also what those remains were intended to convey by those who created them. Human society is built in memory, so much so that this fact is easily overlooked.

The fundamental nature of memory makes the potential for the application of the theory of architectural memory very wide ranging. Individual buildings could be examined on the basis of what they may tell us about the people who built and lived in them. In some cases whole cities may by scrutinised in this way. Venice for instance, is a city which to a large degree is built on myth and memory (Rosand 2001). It truly is a city of memory; rising as it does, out of the sea and could hardly exists as we see it today without the influence and intended manipulation of the past. There are other potential applications of this theory. Colonisation for example may provide an interesting area for future research. How was memory used to establish and consolidate colonising communities? To take one example, the occupation of the Levant during the period of the Crusades; this may show a tendency for the manipulation of memory by an occupying power in the struggle for political control. Again the period range for this form of study is as wide as the history of colonisation itself. It is only a matter of detecting the use and manipulation of memory at work that differs.

There are many concepts highlighted in this thesis which can be seen as significant, not least the application of the concept of collective memory to the study

of medieval architecture. However, as suggested, the intention was to produce a theoretical framework which was adaptable, and into which the consideration of other periods could be fitted. This is not to imagine that the application of the theory to non-historic periods would be unproblematic: the data sets available may be less generous in their scope for interpretation. However, memory itself cannot be disregarded and wherever possible should be taken into consideration when the actions of individuals and groups are examined archaeologically. Memory is a fundamental process of human existence, with the past acting as a constant guide for actions committed in the present, and as such it always has a bearing on decisions and behaviour. Humans inhabit a world which resonates with memory, in the form of material culture and traditional modes of social interaction. All of this reflects the world view of a given society and it is therefore appropriate that every effort should be made to think about human existence, as encountered at one given point in history, in terms of its antecedents, and consider if there are detectable relationships present.

The concept of collective memory plays such an important part in the formation of human consciousness that it should constitute a central part of any archaeological interpretation. In terms of the construction of ritual structures the concept of the prospective memory is also of some importance. This has been demonstrated by Holtorf (1996, 1997), and to an extent has been expanded upon in this thesis. The question is, what are monuments intended to communicate into the future; how are they configured in relation to the passage of time, and in what sense do they reflect the wishes and aspirations of particular individuals or groups? These are questions that can only be answered when the full significance of the importance of the collective memory of a society is fully appreciated, and takes its place as a fundamental theoretical consideration of archaeological investigations. What the archaeologist needs to appreciate is that the prospective memory exists! The aim should be to interpret and understand this form of communication across time. In doing so the possibilities of investigation can be greatly expanded, in so far as material culture then truly does become a text imbued with readily discernable meaning.

Appendix

Architectural Descriptions

The church of Holy Trinity, Wensley, North Yorkshire

The Parish church of Holy Trinity stands on low ground at the western end of the village of Wensley, close to the banks of the River Ure, which skirts the churchyard on the southern side. The architectural arrangement of the church consists of a chancel, a nave of three bays, north and south aisles, north vestry, with a priest lodgings above, north and south porches and a three stage west tower.

The Exterior

The chancel, exterior

The south wall of the chancel has three thirteenth-century lancet windows with chamfered jambs of two orders and a hood mould above. The western lancet is carried lower and divided by a transom creating a 'lowside-window' at this point. The buttresses are three stepped and are carried up to a point half the height of the wall. A string course runs below the windows extending for the full length of the wall. There is a later quire door inserted into the wall below the central window. The east wall has a window flanked by two three stepped buttresses. The east window is of five trefoil headed lights under a two centred arch. The three central lights are carried up to the head of the arch; the outer lights are stopped short leaving a gap which taken up by a pieced trefoil. The string course below the window is carried across this wall. The north wall has one lancet window positioned close to the eastern end; it has splayed jambs and lack a hood mould. There is one buttress at the east corner and the string course is not evident on this side of the chancel. The chancel roof is low pitched and covered with lead.

The north aisle, exterior

The east wall has a fourteenth-century window of three trefoil lights, with pierced spandrels, set below a two-centred head with a hood mould above. There is a buttress

at the northern corner. The north wall has two fourteenth-century windows of two trefoil lights with pierced spandrels under a two-centred head. The hood moulds above are finished with stops in the form of human heads. There are four buttresses on the north wall with the western and eastern clasping the corner of the building. The three buttresses to the east appear to be contemporary with the building of the aisle, whereas the clasped buttress at the western corner if shallower and lacks a sloping step. This buttress dates from the restoration of the west wall of the aisle and the building of the tower in the eighteenth century. A string course runs below the level of the windows. The north door, which is the principal entrance to the church, is thirteenth-century in date and has been reset in the fourteenth-century aisle. It has two orders: the inner has a plain chamfer and the outer a hollow and nook shafts with round capitals. The head of the doorway is a two centred arch with a trefoil cusping. An outer moulding is carried up to form a pediment; however, the upper portion is truncated by the roof of the porch. The west wall has a single light round headed window inserted in the eighteenth century. There is a moulded cornice and parapet at the head of the wall below which there are two rainwater spouts carved in the form of grotesque figures.

<u>The south aisle, exterior</u>

The west wall has a single eighteenth-century window similar to that of the north aisle. The south wall has two fourteenth-century windows, which correspond in design and position to those on the north. The south doorway is contemporary in date with the building of the aisle and has a two centred arch with a continuous hollow chamfer. The doorway retains its original-fifteenth century oak door. There are four buttresses along this wall in the same configuration to those of the north. There is also a string course running below the windows. The east wall corresponds to that of the north aisle.

<u>The west tower, exterior</u>

The three stage western tower is eighteenth-century in date. There are two shallow clasping buttresses at the south west and north west corners. The lower stage has a two light west window with segmented heads below a round headed arch. Within the tympanum is a commemoration stone bearing the date 1719. The second stage has

small rectangular opening in its west and south faces. The third/belfry stage has a single louvered open in each face.

The north porch

The fifteenth-century north porch covers the main entrance into the church. The doorway has a continuous moulding with a hollow chamfer and a hood mould with head stops. There are three stepped diagonal buttresses at the exterior corners. It has a low pitched roof and in the gable above the door is a rectangular panel bearing the shield and arms of le Scrope. The interior of the porch has stone benches running along either wall.

The south porch

The south porch resembles the north porch in every aspect, other than it lacks the coat of arms above its outer door.

The north vestry

The fifteenth-century vestry is situated on the north side of the chancel. It is a two storeyed structure, with the lower having in the east wall a window of two trefoil lights under a square head. The upper floor, or priest's chamber, has a similar window on its east face. There is no doorway giving access into the vestry present in the exterior wall.

The buttresses

The buttresses which support the exterior wall of the north and south aisles date to the fourteenth century. However, this date only applies the lower portion of the buttresses as they were extended in the fifteenth century. The upper portions of the buttresses, which break the roof line, are topped by a square coping with an indented moulding. Below this each buttress has a shallow ogee headed recess, with an ogee hood mould above, within which is a shield bearing a coat of arms. The clasping buttresses at the western corner of both aisles are later reconstructions of the early eighteenth century. They do however; have the ogee recesses present in their upper portions.

The Interior

The chancel, interior

The chancel opens up to the nave under a thirteenth-century pointed arch with two chamfered orders on both sides. The responds are semi octagonal with moulded capitals. The bases are made up of two octagonal sections, the upper having moulding running around it, standing on a cubic base. In the north wall is a lancet window with a deep splayed rear arch. There is a small vestry doorway with a plain chamfer and pointed head. The three lancet windows in the south wall have roll moulded rear arches supplemented with dogtooth decoration and round nook shafts with bell shaped capitals in the jambs. Below the eastern window is a thirteenth-century piscina, with an octagonal basin set within a trefoil headed recess. Set between the two easterly windows is a thirteenth-century sedilia. This has a canopy of three pointed arches with dogtooth decoration running around them and down the jambs on both sides. The arches are supported by two round shafts with circular bases and bell shaped capitals below square abaci.

The nave, interior

The nave has an arcade of three arches both north and south. These are of two chamfered orders on both sides. The piers are octagonal with moulded capitals and bases of the same design as the chancel arch. The responds are semi octagonal with the same moulding as the piers. Separating the nave from the tower is a thirteenth-century pointed arch with two chamfered orders on both sides. The responds are semi octagonal with moulded capitals.

The north aisle, interior

The rear arches of the north aisle windows have two hollow chamfered orders. The north door, which is the principal entrance into the church, has a rear arch which extends to some way above the door opening with a plain tympanum. There is a cylindrical moulded string-course running along the length of the aisle wall below window level.

The south aisle, interior

The south aisle corresponds to the layout of the north aisle an all aspects except for the interior of the south door, which has a hollow chamfer running around the arch and jambs.

The Medieval Church fittings and furnishings

There is a fourteenth century memorial brass in the floor of the chancel bearing the image of a priest, Simon of Wensley, dressed in full vestments with a chalice laid on his chest. His head is laid on a cushion supported by angels and his feet are resting on two prostrate dogs. There is a large blue limestone slab positioned in the floor of the nave the inscription on which is very worn but which has been attributed to the late fifteenth century. In the wall of the north aisle there is a grey limestone sculptured memorial of 1525 with two figures in base-relief and a Latin inscription running around the edges.

There are remnants of fifteenth-century wall painting in the north aisle and on the nave arcade piers. All of the paintings present in the church are very faded and are difficult to see. The two clearest are on the north wall of the north aisle the first has part of a depiction of the story of The Three Living and the Three Dead. The figures have been truncated and only the lower parts are visible. There is an inscription written in English accompanying the images. The second paint has been interpreted as a representation of the story of St Eloi and the Demonic Horse, and clearly shows two figures, one carrying a bow and arrows, and the head of a horse. Two smaller painting are present on the eastern piers of the nave arcade. On the north is an image of St Michael and on the south Gabriel.

The chancel screen is fifteenth-century in date with pointed arches and cinquefoil cusping and an indented top-rail.

In the eastern bay of the north a parclose screen of c1510 encloses a chapel. There are a great many armorial shields depicted on the lower portion of the screen illustrating the house of le Scrope and their alliances and an inscription in English on the cornice. It is thought that this screen came originally from the le Scrope's private chapel in Easby Abbey, near Richmond and was translated to the parish church of Wensley after the reformation.

In the north aisle west of the main doorway is a wooden aumbry dating to the early fourteenth century. It is a free standing example of a vessel and relic cupboard more usually encountered as recesses in walls. It has two doors in its side and an almsbox attached to the front.

The choir stalls are early sixteenth-century in date, the ends of which have carved animal motifs and the arms of le Scrope and Tiptoft.

The medieval window glass

Very little survives in the way of medieval window glass in the church. In the east window of the chancel are four armorial shields depicting the arms of France quartered with those of England, the arms of Tiptoft, Scrope and Tiptoft impaling Dacre and Vaux and Scrope and Tiptoft with Fitzhugh quartering Marmion.

There are also a collection of non diagnostic stained glass fragments in the east window of the north aisle.

The church of St Anne's, Catterick, North Yorkshire

The Parish church of St Anne's stands on a platform of raised ground in the centre of the village of Catterick. The architectural arrangement of the church consists of a chancel, a nave of four bays, with clerestory above; north and south aisles, north and south aisle chapels, a north vestry, south porch and a west tower. Almost the complete church is the product of a single building program of the early fifteenth century; the only significant later additions to the fabric are aisle chapels the vestry and tower, all of which were completed by the close of the fifteenth century. The church did receive some minor alterations when restoration work was carried out in the mid nineteenth century.

The Exterior

The chancel, exterior

At the west end of the south wall of the chancel is a small priest's doorway with a pointed head and hood mould. There are two windows of similar design in the south wall. Both consist of two ogee headed lights with cinquefoil cusping above which are two trefoiled lights and pierced spandrels. The whole is under a four centred arch with a hood mould with plain return stops. Separating the windows is a two stepped buttress. In the east wall of the chancel is a large fifteenth-century window of typical perpendicular style, the lower portion of which has five ogee headed lights with cinquefoil cusping. The upper section is divided into ten smaller trefoil headed lights with the six central lights further sub-divided by horizontal indented transoms. The whole is under a four-centred arch with a hood mould with heads stops. Above the main east window is a round three light window inserted in the mid nineteenth century. The east wall is flanked by two diagonal two stepped buttresses with sloping heads.

The north vestry, exterior

The north vestry is of a single storey with an undercroft below ground level accessed by a stair. In the north wall is a square headed window with two trefoil lights there is a small doorway at the west end of the north wall.

The north aisle, exterior

There is a lateral buttress of three steps at the eastern corner of the north wall. The first two windows on the north side let into the north chapel. Both of these are of three trefoils lights under a square head. The western of the two, which is earlier in date, has a square hood mould ending in human heads. To the west of this window is a distinct break in the fabric of the wall indicating the extension of the aisle in the fifteenth century. To the west is a fifteenth-century window of two ogee headed lights with cinquefoil cusping above which is two trefoiled lights and pierced spandrels. The whole is under a four-centred arch with a hood mould with plain return stops. This is followed by a three stepped buttress to the west of which is a window of similar design to the previous one described, however, much later in date being a nineteenth-century insertion. There is a small north door with a pointed head and moulded jambs. At the western corner is a three stepped diagonal buttress. The west wall of the north aisle has a single light pointed window with cinquefoil cusping under a square head with a square hood mould. There is a chamfered plinth running at ground level along the complete length of the north wall. There is an ashlar parapet, stepped slightly out from the line of the wall head, capped with a ridged coping.

The west tower, exterior

The tower is of two stages with a battlemented parapet and pinnacles at each corner. There are two seven stepped buttresses at the north and south corners terminating below the parapet stage. In the four walls, at the belfry stage, are louvered openings of two pointed lights with trefoil cusping under a square head. Below this on the north and west faces is a small square opening. The west window has three four-centred lights with cinquefoil cusping above which are a further eight smaller trefoil lights set in two tiers of five and three. The spandrels are pierced and the whole is set under a four-centred head with a hood mould ending in plain return stops. On the east corner of south wall is a square tower stair turret. This projects out from the angle of the wall and finishes above the parapet level ending in a sloping roof. It is supported by a buttress which rises from the clerestory level of the nave wall. There are five small openings intermittently spaced up the height of the stair turret giving light onto the stair itself.

The south aisle, exterior

In the west wall of the south aisle is a single light pointed window with cinquefoil cusping under a square head with a square hood mould. At the corner of the wall is a three stepped diagonal buttress. The first window on the south wall is of two ogee headed lights with cinquefoil cusping, above which there is two trefoil lights and pierced spandrels. The whole is under a four-centred arch with a hood mould with plain return stops. The south door is fourteenth-century, reset in the fifteenth-century aisle wall. It has a two-centred head with two orders of a continuous quarter round chamfer. There is a hood mould of a scroll and hollow with stops in the form of human heads. East of the porch is a two stepped buttress then a window of a similar design to that at the west end. This is followed by a buttress of three steps, which marks the point at which the aisle was extended to create the south chapel. The eastern window of the south wall is of a similar design to the others and it is assumed that it was originally in the south wall of the chancel, being repositioned when the aisle was extended. There is a two stepped diagonal buttress at the corner of the wall. The east wall has a window of three ogee-headed lights with cinquefoil cusping, above which a four smaller trefoil lights and pierced spandrels. The whole is under a four-centred arch with a hood mould above terminating in plain return stops. It is thought that this window was moved eastwards to its present position when the south aisle was extended in the later fifteenth century. A chamfered plinth runs along the base of the aisle wall to a point 5.50m west of the east end. This marks the extent of the original south wall of the aisle, however there is no clear break in fabric visible above. The head of the wall has a similar parapet and coping as is evident on the north side.

The nave, exterior

The nave has four clerestory windows, north and south, all of which were inserted in the mid nineteenth century. These are of two quatrefoil lights set in a square moulded surround. In the east wall of the nave is a two light window with a hood mould, again this window is a later nineteenth-century addition.

The south porch

The south porch was heavily restored in the nineteenth century. There are windows in the east and west walls of the same date and similar design to those in the clerestory. The round headed doorway is also a nineteenth-century insertion. There are three fifteenth-century sculptured armorial shields above, and to either side, of the door head. These bear the arms of de Burgh, Lascelles and Aske. There is evidence of a scratch dial on the west wall. Inside the porch there is a holy water stoup recess in the east wall.

The Roofs, exterior

The roofs above the nave, chancel and the south porch date form the restoration of the church in the mid nineteenth century; they are of a steep pitch and covered with modern green slate.

The Interior

The chancel, interior

The chancel opens onto the nave under a low fifteenth-century four-centred arch of two chamfered orders. The responds are semi octagonal with moulded capitals. The bases are octagonal and stepped with projecting corners. In the north wall is a vestry doorway with a continuous wave moulding in the jambs and arch, above which is a hood mould with return stops. The east and the two south windows have chamfered splays of two orders, the inner plain the outer hollow. Also in the south wall is a double piscina set under ogee heads and a triangular headed sedilia with pinnacles with small gable finials and crocketed decoration. There is a small blocked opening in the west end of the south wall. There are late fifteenth-century arched openings in both the south and north wall giving onto the side chapels.

The nave, interior

The nave has a north and south arcade of four arches. These are fifteenth-century in date and have octagonal piers with arch, moulded capitals and bases of the same section as the chancel arch. Between the nave and the west tower is high four-centred arch with chamfered responds and no capitals. The quatrefoil clerestory windows and the three light window set above the chancel arch are nineteenth-century insertions.

The north aisle, interior

The rear of windows of the north aisle are of similar design to those in the chancel. There are two re-used fourteenth-century ogee headed tomb niches in the east end of the north wall. To the north end of the aisle is the chapel of St James.

The south aisle, interior

The south door has a square rear arch with a four-centred head. The windows of the aisle are similar in all points to those in the north aisle. The east window of the south chapel is a re-used window from the east wall of the aisle. At the east end of the south wall of the aisle there is a re-positioned fourteenth-century effigy set within an arched recess.

The west tower, interior

The tower has a quatri-partite stone vaulted roof below the first stage, with a circular opening in the crown covered by a wooden trap door. In the south wall is a small pointed door with plain jambs and arch which gives access to the tower stair.

The medieval church furnishings

The fifteenth-century font is positioned in the middle of the western bay of the nave. It is carved from black limestone and carries sculptured motifs around the bowl and the word *clarfon* around the stem. There are the remains of fifteenth-century oak parclose screens at the east end of both the north and south aisles. In the north aisle there are three fifteenth-century brass memorials, all of which commemorate members of the de Burgh family.

The church of St Helen and the Holy Cross, Sheriff Hutton, North Yorkshire

The Parish church of St Helen and the Holy Cross stands at the edge of the village of Sheriff Hutton east of the ruins of the fourteenth-century castle and close site of the earlier Motte and Bailey fortification. The architectural arrangement of the church consists of a chancel, a nave of two bays, with clerestory above; north and south aisles of three bays; north vestry; a three stage west tower and a modern west porch.

The Exterior

The chancel, exterior

The west wall of the chancel has a fifteenth-century window of five lights under a four-centred head. The wall from ground level up to a point directly below the window represents the remains of the thirteenth-century chancel west wall which was demolished and re-erected from this level in the fifteenth century.

The north vestry, exterior

The west wall of the vestry contains a plain square headed window with a single light. The north wall is similar in arrangement. The north west corner has a lateral buttress on the north side.

The north chapel, exterior

There are two windows in the north wall, both fourteenth-century in date. The first has three lights with reticulated tracery under a square head. The second is of a similar design but has only two lights.

The north aisle, exterior

The north aisle is divided into bays by four two stage buttresses. The two eastern bays have fourteenth-century windows of two lights under square heads. The eastern bay, which extends beyond the west wall of the nave to a point level with the west wall of the tower, has a small doorway with a pointed arch.

The south aisle, exterior

The south aisle is similar in all point to that of the north.

The south chapel, exterior

The west wall of the south chapel has two fifteenth-century windows both of which have three cinquefoil lights under a four centred head. The east wall has a fourteenth-century three light window with reticulated tracery under a square head, similar in design to that in the north wall of the north chapel.

The Interior

The chancel, interior

The north wall of the chancel has a thirteenth-century lancet window. This window formerly lit the chancel on this side but now communicates with the north vestry. To the west is the entrance to the fifteenth-century vestry. Beyond this is a fourteenth-century two centred arch opening into the north chapel. The chancel arch is two centred with two chamfered orders. There are no responds or columns and the arch dies into the east wall of the nave. On the south of the chancel, between it and the south chapel, is an arcade of two fifteenth-century arches with octagonal pier and responds with moulded capitals and bases.

The nave, interior

The nave has an arcade of two centred arches with two chamfered orders both to the north and the south. The northern has octagonal priers and responds with moulded capitals and bases, whereas on the south the piers have foliated capitals. The west wall is twelfth-century in date pierced by a fifteenth-century arch. In the upper portion of the wall is the original external wall of the twelfth-century tower. There is a small blocked twelfth-century round headed window and also remnants of the original roof line of the earlier building.

The north aisle and chapel, interior

The east wall of the north chapel has a doorway with a pointed arch which opens into the north vestry. The original fifteenth-century oak door with tracery panelling survives. The aisle extents for one further bay west of the aisle and ends at a point level with the west wall of the tower. There is a fifteenth-century arch connecting the aisle and the interior of the tower above which is a blocked twelfth-century round headed window.

The south aisle and chapel, interior

The south aisle corresponds to the layout of the north aisle an all aspects. The four centred arch between the south aisle and the chapel is a modern insertion. There is a small piscina in the east bay of the south aisle.

The west tower

The tower has three stages, the lower stages date to the twelfth century, whilst the upper/belfry stage was added in the early fifteenth century. The tower's western doorway is the principal entrance to the church doorway and dates to the early fifteenth-century. On its exterior it is covered by a plain modern porch. There is a small twelfth-century round headed window in the second stage of the west face. The upper stage has a two light opening present in each face. The tower is topped with an embattled parapet above a string course. There are pinnacles at each of the angles.

The medieval church fittings and furnishings

In the window recesses of the north chapel are two sepulchral monuments. The first is an effigys of a recumbent knight manufactured in freestone. The figure, which dates to c1300, is depicted dressed in armour, both of mail and plate, with angels at the head and bearing a shield with the arms of de Thweng. The second is an alabaster altar tomb with the figure of a child dressed in civilian clothes. On the front of the tomb is a depiction of the Holy Trinity with an angel and two saints on either side. On each end is a shield. A brass in the floor of the chapel commemorates Thomas Witham (d1480) and his wife Agnes and has a shield bearing the arms of Witham.

The medieval window glass

Some fragments of medieval window glass survive in the north chapel; these include a representation of the 'Sun in Splendour' and the image of an abbot with a crozier. There are three coats of arms in the north chapel windows: the arms of Neville of Raby; Neville of Thorton and Dacre.

There is a twelfth-century font, situated at the west end of the church below the tower arch. This is a plain bowl supported by a later hexagonal pedestal, possibly fourteenth-century in date.

Bibliography

Printed Sources

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. 1399-1405. (Public Records Office). London

Calendar of Patent Rolls (Her Majesty's Stationery Office). London
1350-1354 Edward III. Vol. IX
1377-1381 Richard II. Vol. I
1461-1467 Henry VI. Vol. VI

York Chantry Survey. Page, W. (1895) The certificates of the commissioners appointed to survey the chantries, guilds, hospitals, etc. in the county of York. 2v v2. Surtees Society.

Testamenta eboracensia. Vol 4. Raine, J. (1836) Surtees Society.

Secondary Sources

Appleton, J. (1993) Landscape and Architecture. In: Farmer, B. and Louw, H. eds. Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought. London: Routledge, pp. 74-77.

Aspinal, P. (1993) Aspects of Spatial Experience. In: Farmer, B and Louw, H. eds. Companion to contemporary architectural thought. London: Routledge, pp. 334-341.

Aston, M. (1994) Death. In: Horrox, R. ed. Fifteenth Century Attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 202-228.

Aguessy, H. (1977) Time and the Philosophies. Paris: Unesco.

Bailey, M. (1994) Rural Society. In: Horrox, R. ed. Fifteenth Century Attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 150-168.

Bainbridge, V.R. (1994) The Medieval way of Death: commemoration and the afterlife in pre-reformation Cambridgeshire. Studies in Church History No 10, pp. 183-204.

Barrett, J.C. (1994 [a]) Fragments from Antiquity: an archaeology of social life in Britain 2900-1200 BC. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barrett, J.C. (1994[b]) Defining Domestic Space in the Bronze Age of Southern Britain. In: Parker-Pearson, M. and Richards, C. eds. Architecture and Order: approaches to social space. London: Routledge, pp. 87-97.

Bedell, J. (1999) Memory and Proof of Age in England 1272-1327. Past and Present No162, pp. 3-27.

Belmont, N. (1982) The Symbolic Function of the Wedding Procession in the Popular Rituals of Marriage. In: Forster, R. and Ranum, O. eds. Ritual, Religion, and the Sacred: selections from the Annales-économies, sociétes, civilisations. Vol. 7, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp.1-7.

Ben-Amos, D. (1999) Afterword. In: Ben-Amos, D. and Weissberg, L. eds. Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Bilson, J. (1918) St Mary's Church, Beverley. The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol. XXV, pp. 357-441.

Binski, P. (1996) Medieval Death: ritual and representation. London: British Museum Press.

Blair, J. and Pyrah, C. (1996) Church Archaeology: research directions for the future. CBA Research Report No104.

Bloch, M. and Guggenheim, S. (1981) Compadrazzo, Baptim and the Symbolism of a Second Birth. Man (new series) 16, pp.376-386.

Bloch, M. and Parry, J. (1982) Death and the Regeneration of Life. In: Bloch, M. and Parry, J. eds. Death and the Regeneration of Life. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-44.

Bloch, M.E.F. (1998) How we think they think: anthropological approaches to cognition, memory and literacy. Oxford: Westview Press.

Bolton, J. (1996) The World Upside Down: plague as an agent of economic and social change. In: Ormrod, M. and Lindley, P. eds. The Black Death in England. Stamford: Paul Watkins, pp. 17-78.

Bossy, J. (1983) The Mass as a Social Institution: 1200-1700. Past and Present No 100, pp. 29-61.

Bossy, J. (1973) Blood and Baptism: kinship community and Christianity in Western Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Studies in Church History No 10, pp. 129-143.

Boyarin, J. (1994) Space, Time and the Politics of Memory. In: Boyarin, J. ed. Remapping Memory: the politics of memory. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 1-38.

Boyarin, J. ed. (1994) Remapping Memory: The Politics of Memory. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Bradley, R. (1987) Time Regained: the creation of continuity. Journal of the British Archaeological Association. Vol. CXL, pp. 1-17.

Brand, P. (1996) Family Inheritance, Women and Children. In: Given-Wilson, C. ed. An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 58-81.

Britnell, R.H. (1993) The Commercialisation of English Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Britnell, R.H. and Pollard, A. J. eds. (1995) The McFarlane Legacy: studies in late medieval politics and society. New York: St Martin's Press.

Brooke, C.N.L. (1989) The Medieval idea of Marriage. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown. A. (1995) Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brown, A. (1996) The Late Medieval English Church: parish devotion in buildings and landscape. In: Blair, J. and Pyrah, C. eds. Church Archaeology: research directions for the future. CBA Research Report No104, pp. 63-68.

Burgess, C. (1987) A Service for the Dead: the form and function of the anniversary in late medieval England. Trans Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society. Vol. 105, pp. 183-211.

Burgess, C. (1988) 'A fond thing vainly invented:' an essay on purgatory and pious motive in late medieval England. In: Wright, S. ed. Parish, Church and People: local studies in lay religion 1350 1750. London: Hutchinson.

Burgess, C. (2000) 'Longing to be Prayed for:' death and commemoration in an English parish in the later Middle Ages. In: Gordon, B. and Marshall, P. eds. The Place of the Dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.44-65.

Burke, P. (1989) History and Social Memory. In: Butler, T. ed. Memory, History, Culture and Mind. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 98-113.

Burrows, D. (1999) Time and the Mobile Body. Time and Society. Vol. 8, pp. 183-193.

Butler, T. ed. (1989) Memory, History, Culture and Mind. Oxford: Blackwell.

Caciola, N. (1996) Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture. Past and Present No152, pp. 3-45.

Carruthers, M. (1990) The Book of Memory: a study of memory in medieval culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carver, M.O.H. (1998) Sutton Hoo: burial ground of Kings? London: British Museum Press.

Camille, M. (1992) Images on the edge: the margins of medieval art. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.

Clanchy, M.T. (1979) From Memory to Written Record. London: Edward Arnold.

Clay, J.W. (1904). Dodsworth, J. Yorkshire church notes 1619-1631. The Yorkshire Archaeological Record Series. Vol. XXXIV.

Coleman, J. (1992) Ancient and Medieval Memories: studies in the reconstruction of the past. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connerton, P. (1989) How Societies Remember. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cook, G.H. (1954) The English Medieval Parish Church. London: Phoenix House.

Coster, W. (1994) 'From Fire and Water:' the responsibilities of Godparents in early modern England. Studies in Church History No 31, pp. 104-119.

Cox, J.C. and Harvey, A. (1908) English Church Furniture. London: Methuen.

Crouch, D. (1992) The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300. London: Routledge.

Davies, J.G. (1962) The Architectural Setting of Baptism. London: Barrie and Rockliff.

Davies, J. G. (1968) The Secular use of Church Buildings. London: SCM press.

Davies, R. (1996) Religious Sensibility. In: Given-Wilson, C, ed. An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 103-126.

Daniell, C. (1997) Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550. London: Routledge.

Dobson, B. (1984) The church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.

Douglas, D.C. (1968) English Historical Documents Vol. IV 1327- 1485. London: Eyre and Spottiswode.

Douglas, D.C. (1975) English Historical Documents Vol. III 1189-1327. London: Eyre and Spottiswode.

Duby, G. (1994) Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages. Oxford: Polity Press.

Duffy, E. (1992) Stripping the Altars: traditional religion in England 1400-1580. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dyer, C. (1989) Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: social change in England *c.* 1200-1500. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dyer, C. (1994) The English Medieval Village Community and its Decline. Journal of British Studies Vol. 33, pp. 407-429.

Eaton, T. (2000) Plundering the Past: Roman stonework in medieval Britain. Stroud: Tempus

Elvey, E. M. (1975) The Courts of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham. Buckinghamshire Records Society No 19.

Fairclough, G. (1992) Meaningful Constructions: spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings. Antiquity Vol. 66, pp. 348-66.

Farriss, N.M. (1987) Remembering the Future, Anticipating the Past: history, time and cosmology among the Maya of the Yucatan. Comparative Studies in Society and History Vol. 29, pp. 30-47.

Fentress, J. and Wickham, C. (1992) Social Memory. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fieldhouse, R. and Jennings, B. (1978) A History of Richmond and Swaledale. London: Phillimore.

Finucane, R.C. (1981) Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: social ideals and death rituals in the later Middle Ages. In: Whaley, J. ed Mirrors of Mortality: studies in the social history of death. London: Europa, pp. 40-60.

Fossier, R. (1988) Peasant life in the medieval West. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fowler, J. (1951) Mediaeval Sherborne. Dorchester: Longman.

Fryde, E.B. and Fryde, N. (1991) Peasant Rebellion and Peasant Discontents. In: Miller, E. ed The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Vol. 3, 1348-1500. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 744-819.

Fryde, E.B. (1996) Peasants and Landlords in Later medieval England *c.*1380-*c.*1525. Stroud: Alan Sutton.

Gedi, N. and Elam, Y. (1996). Collective Memory-what is it? History and Memory. Vol. 8, pp. 30-50.

Gergen, K.J. and Gergen, M.M. eds. (1984) Historical Social Psychology. London: Lawrence Erlbawn.

Giddens, A. (1984) The Constitution of Society: outline on the theory of structuration. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1985) Time, Space and Regionalisation. In: Gregory, D. and Urry, J. eds. Social Relations and Spatial Structures. London: MacMillan, pp. 265-295.

Gilchrist, R. (1995) Contemplation in Action: the other monasticism. London: Routledge.

Gillis, J.R. ed. (1994) Commemorations: the politics of national identity. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gittings, C. (1984) Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England. London: Croom Helm.

Given-Wilson, C. (1996) An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Glassie, H. (2000). Vernacular Architecture. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gordon, B. and Marshall, P. (2000) Placing the Dead in late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. In: Gordon, B. and Marshall, P. eds. The Place of the Dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-16.

Gregory, D. and Urry, J. eds. (1985) Social Relations and Spatial Structures. London: MacMillan.

Gurevich, A.J. (1972) Categories of Medieval Culture. London: Routledge.

Gurevich, A.J. (1976). Time is a Problem of Cultural History. In Gardet, L. et.al. eds. Cultures and Time. Paris: Unesco Press, pp. 231-245.

Gurevich, A.J. (1988) Medieval Popular Culture: problems of belief and perception. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graves, C.P. (1989) Social Space in the English Medieval Parish Church. Economy and society. Vol. 18, pp.297-322.

Graves, C.P. (2000) The Form and Fabric of Belief: an archaeology of the lay experience of religion in medieval Norfolk and Devon. BAR. British series. 311.

Greenhalgh, M. (1989) The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages. London: Duckworth.

Hadley, D.M. (2001) Death in Medieval England: an archaeology. Stroud: Tempus.

Hamilton, M.B. (1995) The Sociology of Religion: theoretical and comparative perspectives. London: Routledge.

Hanawalt, B.A. (1986) The ties that bound: peasant families in medieval England. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halbwachs, M. (1992) On Collective Memory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harper-Bill, C. (1989) Seminar Studies in History: the pre-reformation church in England 1400-1530. London: Longman.

Harper-Bill, C. (1996) The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death. In: Ormrod, M. and Lindley, P. eds. The Black Death in England. Stamford: Paul Watkins, pp.79-124.

Harris, H. and Lipman, A. (1980) Social Symbolism and Space Usage in Daily Life. Sociological Review Vol. 28 (2), pp. 415-428.

Hatcher, J. (1994) England in the aftermath of the Black Death. Past and Present No144, pp.3-35.

Hayes, D.M. (2001) From Boundaries Blurred to Boundaries Defined: clerical emphases on the limits of sacred space in England and France during the Later Middle Ages. In: Smith, T. and Brookes, A. eds. Holy Ground: theoretical issues relating to the landscape and material culture of ritual space objects. BAR. International series No 956, pp. 85-90.

Hetherington, K. (1997). The Badlands of Modernity: heterotopia and social ordering. London: Routledge.

Hertz, R. (1960) Death and the right hand. London: Cohen and West.

Hillier, B. and Hanson, J. (1984). The Social Logic of Space. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hilton, R. (1973) Bondmen made free: medieval peasant movements and the English rising of 1381. London: Methuen.

Hilton, R. (1985) Ideology and social order in Late Medieval England. In: Hilton, R. ed. Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: essays in medieval social history. London: The Hambleton Press, pp. 246-252.

Hogg, M.A. and Abrams, D. (1998). Social Identifications: a social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes. London: Routledge.

Holtorf, C.J. (1996) Towards a Chronology of Megaliths: understanding monumental time and cultural memory. Journal of European Archaeology. Vol. 4, pp. 119-152.

Holtorf, C.J. (1997) Christian Landscapes of Pagan Monuments: a radical constructivists perspective. In: Nash, G. ed. Semiotics of Landscape: archaeology of mind. BAR. International series No661, pp. 80-88.

Homans, G.C. (1960) English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century. New York: Russell & Russell.

Horrox, R. (1994[a]) Service. In: Horrox, R. ed. Fifteenth Century Attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horrox, R. (1994[b]) The Black Death. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Horsfall, T. (1910) The Manor of Snape and Well. London.

Houlbrooke, R. (1998) Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hughes, J. (1988) Pastors and Visionaries: religion and secular life in late medieval Yorkshire. Woodbridge: The Boydell press.

Hutton, P.H. (1993) History as an Art of Memory. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Ingram, M. (1981) Spousal Litigation in the English Ecclesiastical Courts *c.*1350-1640. In: Outhwaite, R.B. ed. Marriage and Society: studies in the social history of marriage. London: Europa, pp. 35-57.

Innes, M. (1998) Memory, Orality and Literacy in Early Medieval Society. Past and Present No 158, pp, 2-36.

Johnson, M.H. (1993). Housing Culture: traditional architecture in an English Landscape. London, UCL Press.

Johnson, M.H. (1996). An Archaeology of Capitalism. Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnson, M.H. (2002) Behind the Castle Gate: from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. London: Routledge.

Katz, C.J. (1989) From Feudalism to Capitalism: marxian theories of class struggle and social change. Westport, Conneticut: Greenwood Press.

Keen, M. (1990) English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500. London: Penguin Books.

Kümin, B.A. (1996) The Shaping of a Community: the rise and reformation of the English parish *c.*1400-1500. Aldershot: Scolar Press.

Leach, E.R. (1961) Rethinking Anthropology. London: The Atherstone Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) The Production of Space. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lechner, F.J. (1991) Simmel on Social Space. Theory, Culture and Society. Vol. 8, pp. 195-201.

Le Goff, J. (1977) History and Memory. New York: Columbia University Press.

Leland. (1960) The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1575-1543. Toulmin-Smith, L. ed. London: Bell, pp 91-92.

Leyser, H. (1995) Medieval Women: a social history of women in England 450-1500. London: Phoenix Giant.

Lindley, P. (1996) The Black Death and English Art: a debate and some assumptions. In: Ormrod, M. and Lindley, P. eds. The Black Death in England. Stamford: Paul Watkins, pp. 125-146.

Locock, M. (1994) Meaningful Architecture: social interpretations of buildings. World-Wide Archaeology Series No9. Aldershot: Avebury.

Magagna, V.H. (1991) Communities of Grain: rural rebellion in comparative perspective. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

McCall, H.B. (1910) Richmondshire Churches. London, Elliot Stock.

McKilliam, A.M. (1914) Easingwold. In: Page, W. ed. The Victoria County History: York, North Riding, Vol. II, London: St Catherine Press, pp.128-134.

Mertes, K. (1988) The English noble household, 1250-1600: good governance and politic rule. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Mertes, K. (1994) Aristocracy. In: Horrox, R. ed. Fifteenth Century Attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 42-60.

Middleton, D. and Edwards, D. eds. (1990) Collective remembering. London. Sage.

Morris, B. (1987) Anthropological Studies of Religion: an introductory text. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, R. (1989) Churches in the Landscape. London: Dent.

Muir, E. (1997) Ritual in Early Modern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Müller, M. (1999) The Function and Evasion of Marriage Fines on a Fourteenth Century English Manor. Continuity and Change Vol. 14 (2), pp. 169-190.

Mullett, M.A. (1987) Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. London: Groom Helm.

Nash, G. ed (1997) Semiotics of Landscape: archaeology of mind. BAR. International series No661.

Nora, P. (1998) Realms of Memory: rethinking the French Past. Vol. 1, New York: Columbia University Press.

Noyes, D. and Abrahams, R D. (1999) From Calendar Custom to National Memory. In: Ben-Amos, D. and Weissberg, L. eds. Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, pp. 77-98.

Outhwaite, R.B. ed. (1981) Marriage and Society: studies in the social history of marriage. London: Europa.

Paine, C. (1983) The Building of Long Melford Church: a sermon in stone. Lavenham.

Page, W. ed. (1914) The Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire. Vol. 2, London: Constable.

Pantin, W.A. (1955) The English Church in the Fourteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parker-pearson, M. and Richards, C. (1994) Ordering the World: perceptions of architectural space and time. In: Parker-pearson, M. and Richards, C. eds. Architecture and Order: approaches to social space. London: Routledge, pp.1-37.

Parker-Pearson, M. and Richards, C. (1994) Architecture and Order: spatial representation and archaeology. In: Parker-Pearson, M. and Richards, C. eds. Architecture and Order: approaches to social space. London: Routledge, pp.38-72.

Payling, S. (1995) The Politics of Family: late medieval marriage contracts. In: Britnell, R.H. and Pollard, A.J. eds. The McFarlane Legacy: studies in late medieval politics and society. New York: St Martin's Press, pp. 21-47.

Pedersen, F. (1994) Did the Medieval Laity know the Canon Law rules on Marriage? Some evidence from fourteenth century York cause papers. Medieval studies Vol. 56, pp. 111-152.

Peters, C. (1996) Interior and Furnishings. In: Blair, J. and Pyrah, C. eds. Church Archaeology: research directions for the future. CBA Research Report No104, pp. 68-75.

Pevsner, N. (1966). The Buildings of England: Yorkshire the North Riding. London: Penguin Books.

Platt, C. (1981) The Parish Churches of Medieval England. London: Secker and Warburg.

Plummer, H. (1993) Meeting Ground. In: Farmer, B. and Louw, H. eds. Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought. London: Routledge, pp. 368-377.

Pollard, A.J. (1978) The Burghs of Brough Hall, *c.* 1270-1574. NYCROJ 6

Pollard, A.J. (1990) North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: lay society, war and politics 1450-1500. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pollard, A.J. (2000) Late Medieval England 1399-1509. Longman: Harlow.

Postan, M.M. (1972) The Medieval Economy and Society: an economic history of Britain in the Middle Ages. London: Penguin Books.

Pounds, N.J.G. (1994) The Culture of the English People: Iron Age to the Industrial Revolution. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Raine, J. (1834) Catterick Church, in the county of York. London.

Reynolds, S. (1991) Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism. Trans of the Royal Historical Society Vol. 1, pp. 21-42.

Reynolds, S. (1995) Ideas and solidarities of the medieval laity : England and Western Europe. Aldershot:1995.

Richmond, C. (1984) Religion and the Fifteenth Century English Gentleman. In: Dobson, B, ed The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, pp.193-208.

Richmond. C. (1991) The English Gentry and Religion *c*1500. In: Harper-Bill, C. ed. Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 121-150.

Richmond, C. (1994) Religion. In: Horrox, R. ed. Fifteenth Century Attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 183-201.

Rodley, A. (1990) Artefact, Memory and a Sense of the Past, In: Middleton, D. and Edwards, D. eds. Collective remembering. London: Sage, pp.46-59.

Rodwell, W. (1981) The archaeology of the English church: the study of historic churches and churchyards. London: Batsford.

Rosand D. (2001) Myths of Venice: the figuration of a state. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Rosser, G. (1991) Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late Medieval England. Trans of the Royal Historical Society. Sixth series Vol. 1, pp.173-190.

Salzman. L.F. (1952) Building in England down to 1540: a documentary history. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Samson, R. ed. (1990) Social Archaeology of Houses. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Saunders, T. (1990) The Feudal Construction of Space. In: Samson, R. ed. Social Archaeology of Houses. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 181-197.

Schmitt, J.C. (1998) Ghosts in the Middle Ages: the living and the dead in medieval society. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Scott, C.E. (1999) The Time of Memory. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Simmel, G. (1997) Simmel on Culture: selected writings. Frisby, D. and Featherstone, M. eds. London: Sage Publications.

Sheehan, M.M. (1971) The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth Century England: evidence of an Ely register. Journal of Medieval Studies Vol. XXXIII, pp. 228-263.

Smith, T. and Brookes, A. eds. (2001) Holy Ground: theoretical issues relating to the landscape and material culture of ritual space objects. BAR. international series No 956.

Soden, I. (1994) The Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction: statement and implication in the art of St Anne's charterhouse, Coventry. In: Locock, M. ed. Meaningful Architecture: social interpretations of buildings. World-Wide Archaeology series No9. Aldershot: Avebury, pp.147-166

Spierenburg, P. (1991) The Broken Spell: a cultural and anthropological history of pre-industrial Europe. New Bruswick: Rutgers University Press.

Stokals, D. and Jacobi, M. (1984) Traditional, present oriented and futuristic modes of group environment relations. In: Gergen, K.J. and Gergen, M.M. eds. Historical Social Psychology. London: Lawrence Erlbawn, pp.303-324.

Stock. B. (1990) Listening for the Text: on the usage of the past. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Stocker, D. (1990) Rubbish Recycled: a study of the re-use of stone in Lincolnshire. In: Parsons, D. ed. Stone: quarrying and building in England, AD 43-1525. Chichester: Phillimore, pp. 83-101.

Stocker, D. (1997) Fons et Origo: the symbolic death, burial and resurrection of English font stones. Church Archaeology. Vol. 1, pp. 17-25.

Storey, R.L. (1982) Gentlemen Bureaucrats. In: Clough, C.H. ed. Profession, Vocation, and Culture in Later medieval England. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 90-129.

Swanson, R.N. (1989) Church and Society in Late Medieval England. Oxford: Blackwell.

Swanson, R.N. (1995) Religion and Devotion in Europe *c.* 1215-1515. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tanaka, S. (1994) History Consuming Pasts. Journal of narrative and life history. Vol. 4 (4), pp. 257-275.

Thomas, K. (1971) Religion and the Decline of Magic. London: Penguin Books.

Thomson, J.A.F. (1983) The Transformation of Medieval England. London: Longman.

Thompson, A.H. (1911) The ground plan of the English parish church. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. (1977) Space and Place; the perspective of experience. London: Edward Arnold.

Turner, V.W. (1969) The Ritual Process: structure and anti-structure. London: Routledge.

Turner, H.W. (1979) From Temple to Meeting House: the phenomenology and theology of places of worship. The Hague: Mouton.

Tyrrell-Green, E. (1924) Parish Church Architecture. London: SPCK.

Tyrrell-Green, E. (1928) Baptismal Fonts- Classified and Illustrated. London: SPCK.

Urry, J. (1985) Social relations, Space and Time. In: Gregory, D. and Urry, J. eds. Social Relations and Spatial Structures. London: MacMillan, pp. 20-48.

Van Gennep, A. (1960) The Rites of Passage. London: Routledge.

Van-Houts, E. (1999) Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900-1200. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Vale, M.G.A. (1976) Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry 1370-1480. Borthwick papers No50.

Valdez del Alamo, E. and Pendergast, C.S. (2000) Memory and the Medieval Tomb. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Vinogradoff, P. (1892) Villainage in England : essays in English mediaeval history. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Walker, J.W. (1924) The Manor and Church of Woolley. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal Vol 27, pp. 251-312.

Walker, S.S. (1973) Proof of Age of Feudal Heirs in Medieval England. Medieval Studies. Vol. XXXV, pp.306-323.

Werlen, B. (1988) Society, Action and Space: an alternative human geography. London: Routledge.

Whaley, J. ed. (1981) Mirrors of Mortality: studies in the social history of death. London: Europa.

Wood, N. (1994) Memory's Remains: les lieux de mémoire. History and Memory: studies in representations of the past. Vol. 6, pp.123-149.

Wickham, C. (1985) Lawyers Time: history and memory in tenth and eleventh century Italy. In Mayr-Harting, H. and Moore, R.I. eds. Studies in Medieval History presented to R H C Davis. London: Hambleton Press, pp. 53-71.

Wickham, C. (1998) Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry. Past and Present. No 160, pp.3-24.

Williamson, T. and Bellamy, L. (1987) Property and Landscape: a social history of land ownership and the English countryside. London: George Philip.

Wright, S.J. (1988) Parish, Church and People: local studies in lay religion 1350 1750. London: Hutchinson.

Yates, F. (1966) The Art of Memory. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan.