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Civil Service: English Parochial Architecture, 1150-1300

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

by

Megan Rae Bernstein

2019

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Civil Service: English Parochial Architecture, 1150-1300

by

Megan Rae Bernstein

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Meredith Marie Cohen, Chair

Local parish churches were the most ubiquitous permanent structures of the English Middle Ages, but they are now the most poorly understood. Previous scholarly engagement with the topic has largely privileged formal over social concerns, and has perpetuated the assumption that medieval parochial architecture simply derived from that of larger, more important churches. My dissertation, "Civil Service: English Parochial Architecture, 1150-1300," aims to challenge this assumption by proposing the parish church as a distinct genre, examining its emergence and codification in response to the changing needs of the medieval laity. This project, which arises from a survey of over 450 buildings across Britain, rejects a disciplinary emphasis on royalty and prelates in order to read the traces of daily lay life in the fabric of local church buildings. It argues that the changes it identifies in the architectural typology of the period were driven by

social, economic, and spiritual factors, particularly the emergence of a new gentry class and the solidification of the doctrine of Purgatory.

Chapter 1 establishes the progression of the parish church to 1150, explaining the process that lead to the development of the parish as a discrete genre of buildings. It argues for a "parish church mode" motivated by architectural decorum. I establish set of formal characteristics that become understood as acceptable for parish churches and continue to be used throughout the parish church, regardless of how grand or lavish a building was intended to be. Chapter 2 is dedicated to new spaces built for and by lay people in parish churches, aisles and transepts; it argues that low-level members of the local gentry used their patronage of parish churches to establish themselves socially. A discussion of purgatory and the parish church shows how the nascent doctrine of purgatory which was being solidified in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries impacted parish church design, expansion, and ritual. In Chapter 3, I respond to the persistent claim that parish churches are imitations of friary churches by looking closely at the chronology of the friars' first decades in England and the distinctions between these buildings and parishes.

Most medieval laypeople left little evidence of their lives. Few of their homes survive, and only a small percentage of their names can ever be gleaned from written sources. Archaeology has shed some light on the average medieval lifecycle, but without documentation, the society of the non-elite remains largely a mystery. I employ a focus on "total history" inspired by the Annales School, and draw from theories of space and the everyday to centralize the laity in the dynamic space of the parish church. My dissertation interrogates architecture for insight into the daily pulse of an English village during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and

considers the parish church as both the backdrop for and end result of contemporary social and religious paradigm shifts.

The dissertation of Megan Rae Bernstein is approved.

Michael T. Davis

Stella Elise Nair

Dell Upton

Meredith Marie Cohen, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

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Parish Churches and Churches in Parochial Use

1. Felmersham, Bedfordshire

2. Buckland, Berkshire

3. Stewkley, Buckinghamshire

4. Duxford, St. John's, Cambridgeshire
5. Hauxton, Cambridgeshire
6. Trumpington, Cambridgeshire
7. Wisbech, Cambridgeshire

8. Astbury, Cheshire
9. Frodsham, Cheshire
10. Great Budworth, Cheshire
11. Nantwich, Cheshire

12. Barton, Cumbria
13. Cartmel Priory, Cumbria
14. Holmcultram, Cumbria
15. Lanercost Priory, Cumbria

16. Melbourne, Derbyshire

17. Ottery St Mary, Devon

18. Greensted, Essex
19. Navestock, Essex
20. Rivenhall, Essex

21. Amney St. Mary
22. Bitton, Gloucestershire
23. Deerhurst, Gloucestershire

24. Boldre, Hampshire
25. St John's Winchester, Hampshire

26. Kilpeck, Herefordshire
27. Ledbury, Herefordshire
28. Ocrop, Herefordshire

29. Berkhampstead, Hertfordshire

30. Brook, Kent
31. Cliffe, Kent
32. Crundale, Kent
33. Doddington, Kent
34. Hythe, Kent
35. Stone near Dartford, Kent
36. Westwell, Kent

37. St- Michael-on-Wyre, Lancashire

38. St Mary de Castro, Leicester, Leicestershire

39. Algarkirk, Lincolnshire
40. St Peter, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire
41. Bicker, Lincolnshire
42. Boston, Lincolnshire
43. Fiskerton, Lincolnshire
44. Freiston, Lincolnshire
45. Grantham, Lincolnshire
46. Kirton-in-Holland, Lincolnshire
47. Long Sutton, Lincolnshire
48. Moulton, Lincolnshire
49. Sleaford, Lincolnshire
50. Stow, Lincolnshire
51. Sutterton, Lincolnshire

52. Burgh-next-Aylsham, Norfolk
53. Castle Rising, Norfolk
54. Cley-next-Sea, Norfolk
55. Snettisham, Norfolk
56. Walsoken, Norfolk
57. West Walton, Norfolk

58. Brixworth, Northamptonshire
59. Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire
60. Slapton, Northamptonshire

61. Bamburgh, Northumberland
62. Haltwhistle, Northumberland
63. St. Nicholas, Newcastle, Northumberland

64. Newark, Nottinghamshire

65. Bampton, Oxfordshire
66. Iffley, Oxfordshire
67. Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire
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69. Tickencote, Rutland

70. Acton Burnell, Shropshire

71. Brent Eleigh, Suffolk
72. Little Wenham, Suffolk
73. Wissington, Suffolk

74. Chaldon, Surrey

75. Aldingbourne, Sussex
76. Clayton, Sussex
77. New Shoreham, Sussex
78. West Chiltington, Sussex
79. Winchelsea, Sussex
80. Worth, Sussex

81. Curdworth, Warwickshire
82. Ettington, Warwickshire
83. Bishopstone, Wiltshire
84. Potterne, Wiltshire
85. Standlych, Wiltshire

86. Dodderhill, Worcestershire
87. Powick, Worcestershire
88. Ripple, Worcestershire

89. Adel, Yorkshire
90. Halifax, Yorkshire
91. Hedon, Yorkshire
92. Howden, Yorkshire
93. Hull, Yorkshire
94. Patrington, Yorkshire
95. Scawton, Yorkshire
96. Sherburn in Elmet, Yorkshire
97. Skelton, Yorkshire
98. Swine Priory, Yorkshire
99. Wharram Percy, Yorkshire


Dumfries
United Kingdom
Durham
North Pennines AONB
Middlesbrough
Lake District National Park
North York Moors National Park
Isle of Man
Yorkshire Dales National Park
A1(M)
Liverpool
M62
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M18
Sheffield
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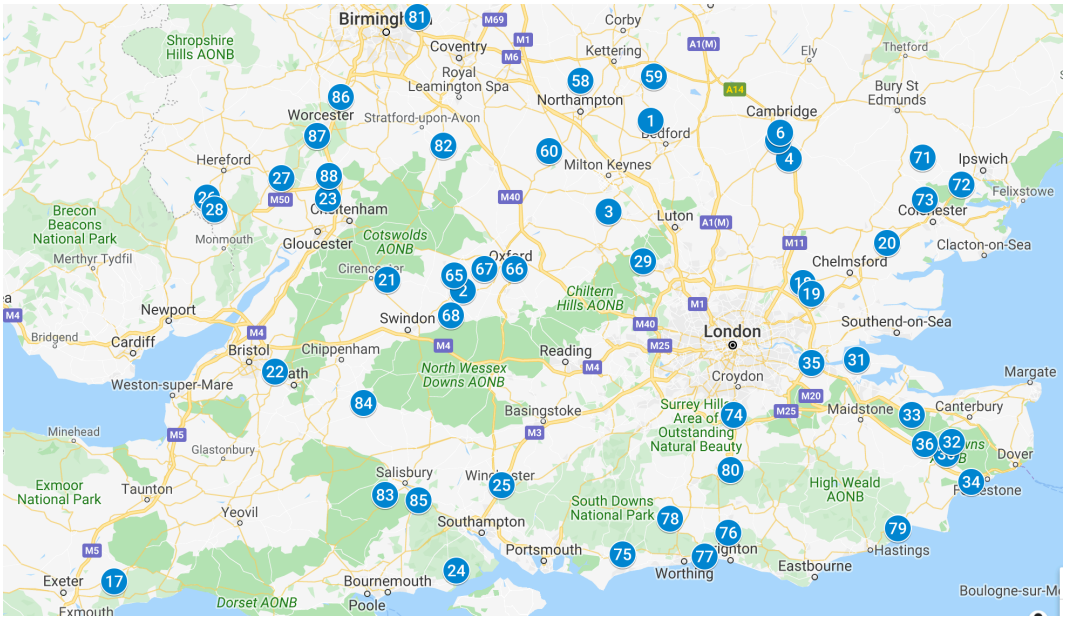
Shropshire Hills AONB
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Royal Leamington Spa
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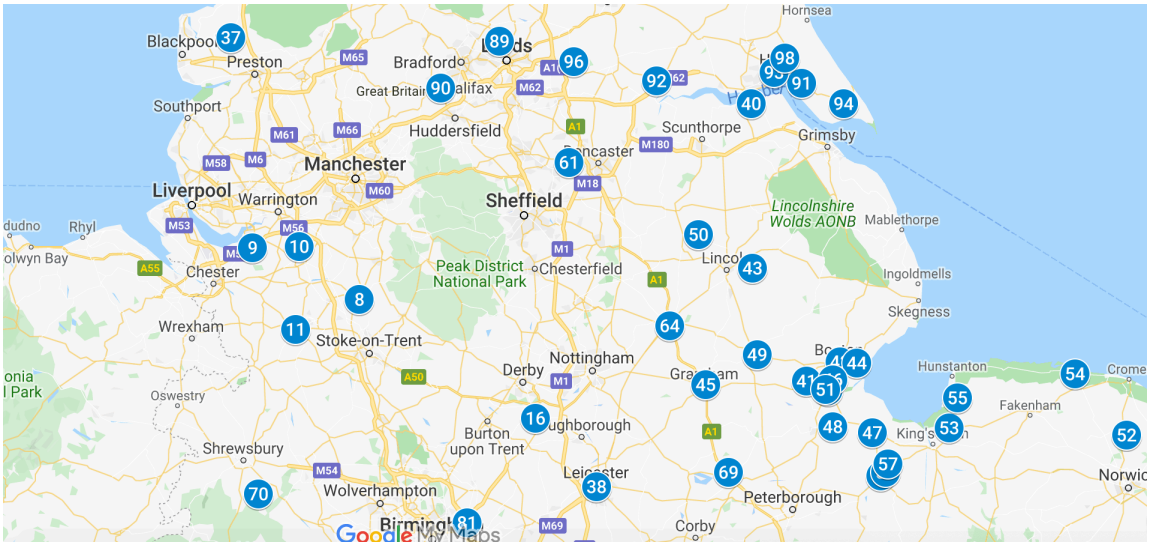
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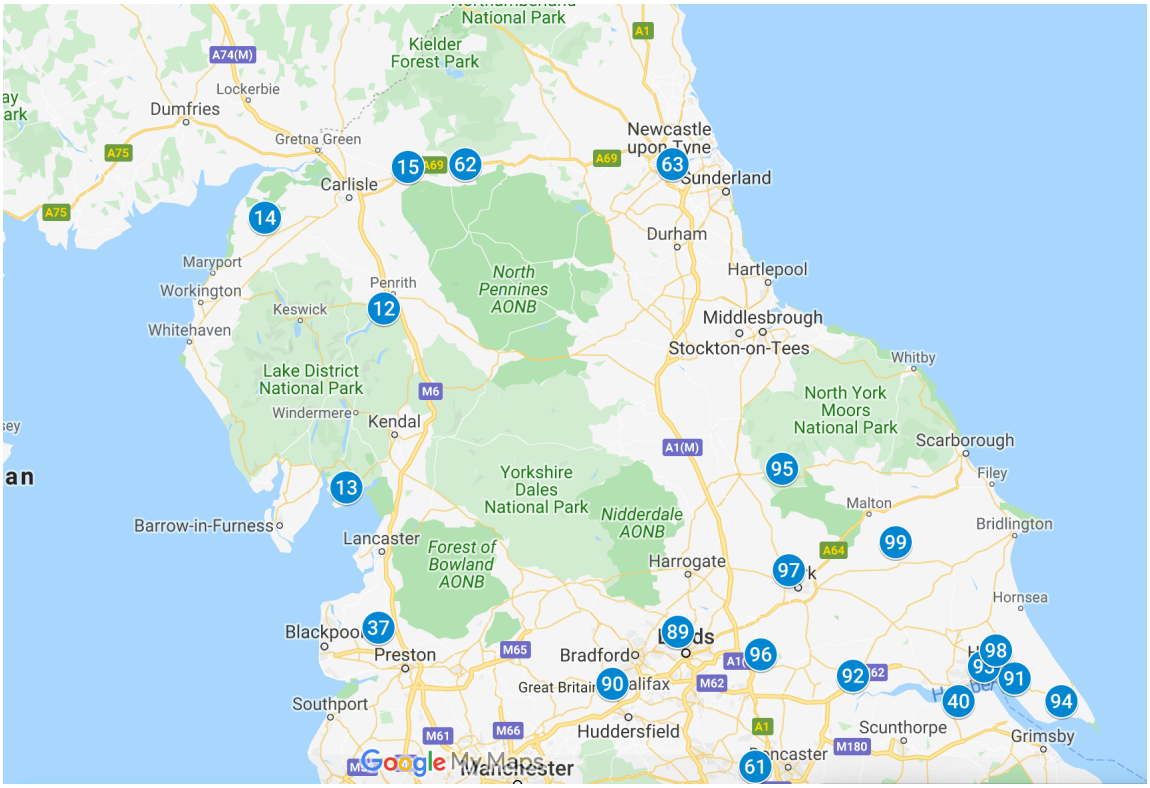
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although writing a dissertation is, perhaps, the most solitary part of pursuing a doctorate, I've never felt alone because of the support of beloved friends and mentors. My first thanks must go to Meredith Cohen. I feel extraordinarily privileged to be her first Ph.D. student. Meredith models rigorous scholarship, generosity, and patience, and gave an enormous amount to this dissertation and to my formation as a scholar. The lessons I've learned from Meredith at her kitchen table, climbing the galleries of Notre-Dame Cathedral, in Dodd Hall, and on the other side of Skype calls that stretched continents and coasts will always be a source of strength. Meredith has always known when to push me, but with care and compassion that helped me persevere through the most difficult obstacles. I could not have asked for a better advisor, and I am so thankful to Meredith for playing such a crucial role in my journey.

My doctoral committee was an architectural history dream team. Stella Nair taught me about spatial theory, inspired me to share her enthusiasm for construction, and offered me invaluable career advice. Dell Upton's seemingly limitless knowledge extends throughout the field of architectural history and urbanism, his dedication to the everyday and vernacular offered key insights to this project. When I took Michael Davis' Chartres Cathedral course at Mount Holyoke College as an MA student, I had no idea that I would still be working with him nearly a decade later—his knowledge and generosity continue to astound me. His comments on this dissertation were both incisive and kind. It has been a great pleasure to have him on my committee. Though not a member of my committee, I would be remiss not to include Kris Tanton, now at the Université de Montréal, who was one of my first instructors at UCLA, and has since become a mentor and friend.

Valija Evalds' Smith College course on monasteries led me to studying medieval architecture as a vocation; she deserves much of the credit for where I am today. Brigitte Buettner nourished my nascent interest in medieval art, and I am grateful for her continued support. The late Pat Skarda has been in my thoughts throughout the writing of this dissertation. Her investment in me at a time when I needed it will never be forgotten. Pat's perennial email sign-off, "In the cause," serves as a pedagogical maxim that I strive to fulfill in her honor. Colleagues and professors at the University of Kansas, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and the Yale Institute of Sacred Music have all contributed to my training. Sally Promey deserves special mention for her magnanimity. Years after graduating from Yale, Sally continues to offer opportunities and care, for which I remain grateful.

A project like this one would be impossible without the financial generosity of institutions. I was the recipient of Edward A. Dickson History of Art Fellowship funding at various points throughout the Ph.D. program. The Graduate Division at UCLA granted me a Dean's Scholar Award at the beginning of my time at UCLA and a Dissertation Year Fellowship towards the end. The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, the Department of Art History, and the Center for European and Eurasian Studies at UCLA all contributed to conference funding, as did the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Technology, Science, and Art (AVISTA) and Southeastern College Art Conference. The Center for the Material and Visual Cultures of Religion (MAVCOR) at Yale provided financial support and resources for a photographic expedition to churches of the Lincolnshire Fens. The British Archaeological Association offered scholarships to conferences in Aberdeen, York, Shrewsbury, and Poitiers where I had the opportunity to visit medieval sites with expert colleagues. The research for this project was primarily conducted from 2015 to 2017 during a

Kress Institutional Fellowship, which I spent in residence at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London.

While in London, I found intellectual homes within the walls of the Institute at Somerset House and among the members of the British Archaeological Association. Conversations after seminars and (especially) over pints taught me at least as much as I learned in lecture theaters and libraries, and it was one fateful night in Aberdeen where John McNeill (aided by Julian Luxford and Richard Plant), led me to the topic of the parish church. Tim Tatton-Brown gave me critical advice at an early stage of the project, and Philip Lankester generously advised me on Cogenhoe. I've learned a tremendous amount visiting churches with the following colleagues: Sarah Cassell, Carol Cragoe, Lloyd de Beer, Jana Gajdošová, Agata Gomółka, Sandy Heslop, Kate Hundley, Peter Ledger, David Lermon, John McNeill, Jeff Miller, Tom Nickson, Richard Plant, Zach Stewart, Charles Tracy (and the whole East Anglian church crawling group), as well as the leaders and delegates on BAA summer conferences. Audiences at Kalamazoo, Leeds, the Medieval Settlement Research Group, BAA Cambridge and Shrewsbury, and the Oxford Architectural History Seminar provided attentive feedback. The speakers at *Towards an Art History of the Parish Church, 1200-1399* fulfilled my fantasy of an art historical conference dedicated to the topic of this dissertation, and also contributed to my thinking on the topic.

Our common interest in parish churches brought James Alexander Cameron and me together. I'm enormously thankful for his collaboration, willingness to drive me around to churches at the most absurd times of year, hospitality in Lancashire, and the many meals he cooked for me all over England. Much of what I now know about medieval architecture was learned from or with James. His impact in my intellectual formation is obvious in the footnotes of this dissertation. Most importantly, I'm grateful for his friendship.

Thank you to my fellow graduate students and friends at UCLA for their support and humor over the years, in and out of "the Grounge," especially Kristina Borrman, Julia McHugh, Mark Pawlowski, Zach Rottman, Miranda Saylor, Tori Schmitt, Lakshika Senarath Gamage, Lauren Taylor, and Hannah Thomson. I'm grateful to Alessandra Amin for her editing and assistance throughout much of this project. Liz Searcy was there for me at a critical time towards the end of this process, which I'll never forget. Jamin An's friendship has been a source of sustenance and levity throughout the PhD; I'm grateful for his phone calls, our weekend writing retreats, and for literally opening his home to me when I unexpectedly returned to Los Angeles. Sarah-Neel Smith and I never met while we were students at Smith College together, but we've more than made up for that error on both coasts; I am thankful for her confidence in me, excellent advice, and perpetual willingness to scheme.

Emily Floyd provided thoughtful edits for much of this dissertation and housed me in London during a critical period of its completion. She has been a wonderful friend, important interlocutor, and my favorite travel companion—from Algarkirk to the Andes, Byblos to Bicker. Fuchsia Parker hasn't read a word of my writing, but has been with me every step of the way. Jules Hynes came into my life during the final stage of this dissertation, but she provided motivation without which I may never have reached its completion.

Marina and Kim Amin have always loved me like their own—their care has sustained me throughout this project. My parents, Arlene and Myron Bernstein, have encouraged me and my intellectual endeavors for my entire life—their unwavering support has made my scholarly vocation possible. Harper did precious little to help materialize this dissertation, but her presence has improved my life in myriad ways.

I wish to express my final appreciation to the caretakers of the parish churches I've spent the past four years visiting, studying, writing, and thinking about. I am grateful to the keyholders who met me in their churches, or welcomed me on their door stoops in search of a key. And I extend a heartfelt thank you to those churchwardens and community members (past and present) whom I wish I could thank personally for their efforts caring for these incredible buildings. It is to them that I dedicate this dissertation.

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Introduction

This dissertation addresses a class of religious buildings in medieval England, a remarkable majority of which continue to be in use for their original purpose: ministering to the spiritual needs of lay people. Unlike monasteries and friaries, which were largely destroyed or deconsecrated during the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-41) of the Henrician Reformation, parish church fabric has suffered little at the hands of Protestant reformers and have continued to provide services with few interruptions since the Middle Ages.[1] A decline in church attendance, ongoing since the twentieth century, threatens the maintenance of some parish churches, but the lion's share of these buildings remain in parochial use.[2]

This tenacious building form may have weathered the Reformation unscathed, but the examples we know today bear witness to generations of alterations, renovations, and restorations undertaken in response to the changing needs and priorities of parishioners and clergy, as well as developments in popular conceptions of architecture and heritage. In a metamorphosis that has spanned over a thousand years, one period, the mid-twelfth through the late thirteenth centuries, distinguishes itself as particularly formative in the development of the parish as both building and institution. During this time, as I will demonstrate, the evolution of lay spaces fundamentally changed the way English people related to their spaces of worship socially, economically, and spiritually.

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[1] While church fabric was frequently not changed, it was often badly neglected. See James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1962), 2–4.

[2] On the issue of church attendance and redundancy, see for example Simon Jenkins, "England's Churches Can Survive – but the Religion Will Have to Go," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2015; Harriet Sherwood, "Attendance at Church of England's Sunday Services Falls Again," *The Guardian*, November 14, 2018.

Although local parish churches were the most ubiquitous permanent structures of the English Middle Ages, they are now among the most poorly understood. Previous scholarly engagement has largely privileged formal over social concerns and has perpetuated the assumption that medieval parochial architecture simply derived from that of larger, more important churches. Due partly to the sheer number of churches, scholars have tended to approach them very generally, failing to consider broader architectural trends, changes in theology, or social environments. In this dissertation, I attempt to return people and practice to these buildings, retrieving their status as lively centers of spirituality and sociality.

There are challenges to this approach: medieval laypeople left little evidence of their lives. Church registers did not begin recording the names of parish community members until Henry VIII's vicar-general, Thomas Cromwell, ordered it during the Reformation.[3] Few of their homes survive, and only a small percentage of their names can be gleaned from written sources. Archaeology has shed some light on the average medieval lifecycle but the society of the non-elite remains poorly understood.[4] Thus, I primarily use their architecture to gain insight into the lives of the laity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and consider the parish church as both a catalyst for and a result of contemporary social and religious paradigm shifts.

I propose that the parish church is a distinct building type by examining its emergence and codification in response to the changing needs of the medieval laity. This project, which

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[3] The earliest known English parish register begins in 1508. Even after the order to keep registers in 1538, many parishes did not comply. The demand was reissued under Edward VI in 1547, revealing that parish priests were not doing a suitable job in keeping registers. Will Coster, "Popular Religion and the Parish Register, 1538–1603," in *The Parish in English Life: 1400–1600*, ed. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat Kümen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 96–97; Norman John Greville Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Queen Victoria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 288.

[4] On the life cycle, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012).

nearly 100 buildings across Britain, rejects a disciplinary emphasis on royalty and elite clergy in order to read the traces of daily lay life in the fabric of local church buildings. I argue that the changes it identifies in the architectural typology of the period were driven by social, economic, and spiritual factors, particularly the increase in lay agency that accompanied the pastoral reforms of the period. As the laity gained greater control of its churches, so too did individuals begin to assert more power over their temporal and spiritual destinies. The emergence of a new gentry class heralded new, if limited, conceptions of social mobility, and the solidification of the doctrine of purgatory opened new avenues for ensuring the safety of one's soul.

Historiography

Since the first half of the nineteenth century, parish churches have captured the interest of historians, archaeologists, and antiquarians. The literature on parish churches can be categorized broadly in four phases: Ecclesiologists in the nineteenth century sought to study and conserve parish churches and are responsible for considerable efforts to maintain these buildings, but also adapted them to fit their conception of the Middle Ages. In the early twentieth century, scholars used a descriptive, formal approach to discuss parish churches. We can observe a more empirical approach as well as an interest in landscape and the parish church's place within it from the middle of the twentieth century. Since the 1990s, efforts have been made by scholars to contextualize the parish church, considering not only form but function and the social aspects of the buildings.

Much of our knowledge of these buildings, not to mention their preservation, derives from Victorian-era clerics, amateur archaeologists, and historians from two groups: the

Cambridge Camden Society and what would eventually become known as the Ecclesiological Society.[5] The Cambridge Camden Society was a group begun by Cambridge undergraduates that aimed to revive interest in medieval ecclesiastical architecture in England.[6] In 1841, the Society began to publish a journal called *The Ecclesiologist*. The Society counted among its members scholars and clerics concerned with ritual and architecture. Their impact was significant, and its results were not limited to the British Isles, but were felt in America, France, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Tanzania, India, Turkey, and elsewhere.[7] In England, the Society advocated for new church constructions to follow medieval models, as well as the preservation of medieval churches, and efforts to make existing medieval churches hold up better to their rigorous standards. Many a Perpendicular east window, for example, was replaced with Early English lancets in accordance with the Society's preferences. The Ecclesiological Society's journal was last published in 1868, after which the group went dormant. A second group identified itself as a successor to the first, initially called the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society and later referred to again simply as the Ecclesiological Society. Rather than legislating how parish churches should be, the second Society was devoted to nonprofessional study of "worship in 'all its material developments.'"[8]

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[5] Warwick Rodwell, *The Archaeology of Churches* (Stroud: Amberley, 2012), 18–22.

[6] On the Society, see White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*; Brad Fisher, "Ecclesiology and the Deep Chancel: From Cambridge to New York," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47, no. 3 (1978): 313–31.

[7] Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture; an Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968); G. A Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c. 1840-70* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale, 2013).

[8] Trevor Cooper, "'The Non-Professional Study of Ecclesiology: 125 Years of the Ecclesiological Society," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 32 (2004): 3.

Francis Bond and A. Hamilton Thompson dominated the scholarship on ecclesiastical architecture in the first decades of the twentieth century. Bond was an ecclesiologist and architectural historian who wrote a series of books on church architecture and fittings.[9] Bond's work is of enduring importance, but his oeuvre has been best summed up as "a *tour d'horizon* rather than an intensive survey."[10] Thompson, who spent most of his career as professor of medieval history at the University of Leeds, is perhaps best known for his work on military architecture, but it is his *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* that is the first work to consider the development of the parish church that this dissertation explores.[11] Like Bond's work, Thompson provides impressive observations and examples, but does little interpretation, and does not examine the social causes behind architectural change.

The middle decades of the twentieth century were comparatively calm in comparison with the enthusiasm for church archaeology and study prior to World War I. In the introduction to his 1983 report, "The church in British archaeology," Richard Morris wrote about the paradox of the current state of the study of churches:

> Whereas today we are better technically equipped than ever before to take advantage of opportunities for investigation, we have lost something of the sense of urgent curiosity which lay behind, and indeed provided a moral justification for, the practice of church archaeology by antiquaries in the 19th century.[12]

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[9]Among Bond's books are: *Gothic Architecture in England* (1906), *An Introduction to English Church Architecture from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century*, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches*, *Fonts and Font Covers*, *Wood Carvings in English Churches: I. Misericords,* and *Wood Carvings in English Churches: II. Stallwork, Thrones, and Chairs*

[10] James Alexander Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England" (Ph.D. Diss., The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2015), 22.

[11] A. Hamilton Thompson, *Military Architecture in England During the Middle Ages* (London: Henry Frowde, 1912); A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: University Press, 1911).

[12] Richard Morris, "The Church in British Archaeology," Research Report (London: The Council of British Archaeology, 1983), viii. It should be noted that there are two scholars named Richard K. Morris

He further adds that "most insidious of all is the belief that almost everything worth knowing about churches is already known," when in fact "past study has usually concentrated on the visible and most easily accessible parts of the standing fabric, with the result that questions of origins have been ignored, the development of the church in its earlier phases has been over simplified, and liturgical history has been neglected."[13]

Morris' attempt at mobilization was heeded, in a limited way. Though there have been a number of high-quality studies of elements of parochial architecture since the 1980s, many of the problems that he identified in the literature have persisted, with scholarship that lacked depth, sustained interest, and balked at approaching difficult topics like liturgy with new approaches that might shed light that documents cannot. In 1999, Paul Binski published an article, tellingly titled "The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem." This "problem" for Binski is the daunting level of evidence, and the "paralysis of enquiry" that seems to have stemmed from it. He points to a considerable amount of work that has been done on the parish church, but notes that "the professional structures and reward systems of the art historical academy are certainly in part to blame for this paralysis of enquiry" and that it has been "social, cultural, and religious historians" who have contributed most of the literature on the topic.[14]

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whose research is relevant to the scope of this dissertation. I will refer to the archaeologist (most frequently discussed here) as Richard Morris, and the architectural historian associated most with work on molding profiles as Richard K. Morris.

[13] Ibid., viii.

[14] Paul Binski, "The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem," *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999): 1.

The dearth of documentary evidence, the comparatively few churches that have been surveyed and had measured plans made, and the quantity of examples—are described by Peter Draper in a chapter devoted to the parish church in *The Formation of English Gothic* (2006).[15] According to Draper, more adequate statistical surveys are needed in order to further study of the topic. This call to arms is something that has, in recent years, begun to be addressed and will be detailed below.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Carol Davidson Cragoe (née Carol Foote Davidson) and Lawrence Hoey made a number of important contributions to the topic of parish church architecture. Cragoe, a student of Draper's, wrote a dissertation titled "Written in stone: architecture, liturgy, and the laity in English parish churches, c.1125–c.1250."[16] Completed in 1998, Cragoe's thesis is the most sustained, book-length approach to the English parish church that exists to date. This is an impressive and valuable study that I will refer to throughout this dissertation, however I believe that there is still more that can be said about the parish church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Cragoe's most important contribution to the study is probably her widely-cited 2010 article on parish church maintenance.[17] Lawrence Hoey wrote a collection of articles addressing the parish church, and it is in the pages of his work that we begin to see the parish church as a site of innovation and creativity, a place of dignity of its own, not

[15] Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 177–78.

[16] Carol Foote Davidson, "Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy, and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125- c.1250" (Ph.D. Diss., Birkbeck, University of London, 1998).

[17] Carol Davidson Cragoe, "The Custom of the English Church: Parish Church Maintenance in England before 1300," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 20–38.

borrowed from "greater" churches.[18] According to Hoey's contemporaries, he was in the process of writing or was planning to write a book on parish churches, but this project was never realized due to his untimely death.

The contemporary historiography shows a resurgence of interest on the topic of the parish church. Dissertations by James Alexander Cameron on sedilia, Helen Lunnon on church porches, and Zachary Stewart on East Anglian churches, as well as Gabriel Byng's book on church funding have addressed the topic.[19] Sandy Heslop led The Norwich Parish Church Project, studying the 58 extant and lost parish churches of Norwich. Sally Badham's book, *Seeking Salvation: Commemorating the Dead in the Late-Medieval English Parish* uses probate evidence (predominantly surviving from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) to discuss death and memory in the medieval parish.[20] Nigel Saul brought his expertise on knights to *Lordship and Faith: the English gentry and the parish church in the Middle Ages*, to discuss the involvement of the gentry with the parish church.[21]

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[18] See Lawrence Hoey, "Stone Vaults in English Parish Churches in the Early Gothic and Decorated Periods," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 167 (1994): 36–51; Lawrence Hoey, "Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: C.1180-c.1260," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 115 (1995): 45–70; Lawrence Hoey, "The Early Gothic Parish Church Architecture of Nottinghamshire," in *Southwell and Nottinghamshire: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Industry*, ed. Jennifer S. Alexander, vol. 21, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 1998); Published posthumously is a collaboration between Hoey and Malcolm Thurlby: "A Survey of Romanesque Vaulting in Great Britain and Ireland," *The Antiquaries Journal* 84 (2004): 117–84.

[19] Helen E. Lunnon, "Making an Entrance: Studies of Medieval Church Porches in Norfolk" (Ph.D. Diss., University of East Anglia, 2012); Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England"; Zachary Stewart, "The Integrated Interior: Parish Church Architecture in Eastern England, c. 1330-c.1550" (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 2015); Gabriel Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[20] Sally Badham, *Seeking Salvation: Commemorating the Dead in the Late-Medieval English Parish* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2015).

[21] Nigel Saul, *Lordship and Faith: The English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

In addition to these scholarly texts, publications of a different genre entirely needs mention. The *Buildings of England* series, conceived as England's answer to the German Dehio series, was begun by German emigré architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner in 1950s. This series is indispensable for both scholar and weekend churchcrawler alike. The series, initially published by Penguin and now offered through Yale University Press, surveys all significant buildings in England in county-by-county gazetteers. The first entry under any village or settlement is, if one exists, the parish church. The guides, at first written entirely by Pevsner but completed and now regularly revised by a cadre of architectural historians, are mainly descriptive, and only rarely cite from academic literature on the building. However, they are a terrific resource to the scholar of English architecture, particularly for the purposes of planning and surveying features within a particular region. Volumes from the *Buildings of England* series functioned as the starting point for the investigations undertaken for this dissertation, since they are the most complete record of parochial architecture and its features in England. More to the point, they are often the only literature that exists on a given building. They are cited frequently within these pages.

Scope

It has been variously estimated that between eight and nine thousand parish churches in England survive containing some medieval building fabric.[22] This vast number and the lack of precise data can be credited with some of the gaps in the scholarly literature noted above. The

[22] Binski, "The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem," 1; Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 3; Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 176.

research for this dissertation was conducted during visits to more than 450 of these buildings throughout the country.[23] I selected churches to visit based on the survival of building fabric from the period of this dissertation (1150–1300). Using these key examples as a starting point, I used their various locations to spur a broader look at each region by visiting other churches of all medieval periods in the vicinity. This broad approach enabled me to survey regional materials and features, and to observe the architecture of the earlier and later periods. Due to the paucity of documentary sources (discussed below), an archaeological approach to building fabric formed the basis of this study.

While it would be impossible to completely catalogue all English parish churches, I have attempted to intervene in the scholarship by addressing broad questions that are relevant throughout English parishes, rather than on particular local concerns (which have been better served by antiquarians and twentieth-century scholars). These churches, though it is their commonalities and the relationships between them that are highlighted in this dissertation, are unique. Case study approaches which examine individual histories of churches have been useful to me in the preparation of this study, but my aim here has been to consider parish churches as a class of buildings that are in and of themselves worth of art historical attention. Though there is some tension between the two approaches, I believe that broad and focused studies function in tandem to express the differences and commonalities between the members of building type. The buildings considered at length in this dissertation tend to be either indicative of broad

[23] Nearly 100 parish churches (as well as numerous cathedrals, abbeys, and friaries) are discussed specifically within this dissertation (see List of Churches in Parochial Use Mentioned in Text and Maps, xx). The full breadth of buildings visited, however, inform the conclusions drawn herein (see Appendix, 447).

characteristics throughout parish churches in general, or, in some cases, exceptions that pose questions to or prove rules.

This study has been limited to the study of medieval England, though parish churches were the center of local worship throughout Christendom. At present, most work on parish churches is siloed by national schools.[24] This is unavoidable—the current scope of this dissertation, which examines only England, is broad enough to pose challenges to the researcher. It is my hope that this dissertation can contribute to greater knowledge, and towards a broader comparative effort in parochial scholarship in the future.

Methodology

The vast majority of scholarship on medieval architecture has focused on cathedrals, castles, and other high-status buildings. Their links to wealthy, powerful people have ensured relatively good documentation and preservation, not to mention a host of lavish architectural and decorative features. This dissertation, however, is concerned with local churches, humbler spaces where ordinary lay people attended Mass and received the sacraments that marked the phases of their lives in the eyes of the Church. By placing the emphasis on a class of buildings that has been overlooked by scholars, I also prioritize people whose lives we do not see reflected in written documentation, making a populist intervention in the field of medieval architecture. To

[24] Although some pan-European exceptions to this statement exist, their geographic breadth necessarily leads to considerable generalization. J. E. A Kroesen and Regnerus Steensma, *The interior of the medieval village church* (Louvain: Peeters, 2004).

this end, I draw from the spatial theory of Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre, the theory espoused by the *Annales* school of "total history," and archaeology.

Lefebvre's notions of space as socially constructed are elaborated in *The Production of Space*. He identifies three kinds of space: perceived (spatial practice), conceived (representations of space), and lived (representational spaces).[25] These terms are useful in considering the parish church, because they contribute to the whole of what can be understood as civic space, and to the overall complexity of defining and engaging with civic space. For Lefebvre, the not-always perceptible "representations of spaces" were the ones that defined Christian thought: the Earth, heaven, hell, and purgatory.[26] He considers "spatial practices" to be roads, both the local roads of the village, and the great ways like the Camino of Santiago de Compostela, and the roads that bisected Europe, taking crusaders all the way to the Levant.[27] Finally, as Lefebvre writes: "[r]epresentational spaces, for their part, determined the foci of a vicinity: the village church, graveyard, hall and fields, or the square and the belfry. Such spaces were interpretations, sometimes marvelously successful ones, of cosmological representations."[28] It is these representational spaces which are the subject of my dissertation.

Lefebvre's spatial theories have been built upon and worked over in the past four decades by scholars in various fields.[29] In particular, scholars have highlighted the malleability of space,

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[25] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1974), 38–39.

[26] Ibid., 45.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] On the contributions of medievalists responding to Lefebvre's theories, see Meredith Cohen, Fanny Madeline, and Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Introduction," in *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories, and Imagined Geographies*, ed. Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 1–17.

for example, in the church with the erection of screens.[30] Furthermore, the role of gender and spatial access has been elucidated.[31] My dissertation is concerned with the ways in which the developments in parish church architecture during the period in question give us insight into the lived space of these buildings, as they existed for medieval people of the lowest classes, and the emerging local gentry. The developments in parochial architecture were, as I argue in this dissertation, driven specifically by the needs and desires of the laity, rather than doctrinal or structural imperative. I argue that through studying these architectural and spatial shifts and the ways people used and shaped space, we are better able to understand the concerns of the lay people that occupied these spaces, and thus that this study contributes to a social history of the lay people of medieval England.

Robert Forster defines total history as "the integration, even on the level of the micro-village study, of many levels of analysis incorporating the skills and tools of an array of ancillary disciplines," among them sociology, anthropology, linguistics, geography, demography, and economics.[32] The purpose of this methodology is, namely, to consider "the whole range of human activities in the place of a mainly political history."[33] The interests of the Annales accord well with the evidence available for rural parishes, as is demonstrated by some of the early writings of its founding members. Lucien Febvre's early and influential essay, "Une question

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[30] Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, eds., "Introduction," in *Medieval Practices of Space*, vol. 23, Medieval Cultures (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), ix–x.

[31] Ibid., x; Cohen, Madeline, and Iogna-Prat, "Introduction," 8; See for example Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994); Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Women's Space: Patronage, Place and Gender in the Medieval Church* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

[32] Robert Forster, "Achievements of the Annales School," *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 1 (1978): 58. Ibid.

[33] Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: Annales School 1929-1989* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 2.

mal posée" of 1929, examines lay religion to reconsider the previously-accepted thesis that ecclesiastical abuses were the catalyst for the Reformation.[34] Marc Bloch's *Caractères originaux de 1'histoire rurale française* (1931) focuses on the way humans—of the agrarian classes, rather than the military ones—shaped the natural environment in rural France of the Middle Ages.[35] In *The Historian's Craft*, Bloch rebukes historians who had failed to question the banal documents of daily life, such as accounts, sales receipts, and buildings. "What religious historian could be satisfied by examining a few theological tracts or hymnals?" asks Bloch. "He knows full well that the paint and sculpture of sanctuary walls and the arrangement of furnishings of tombs have at least as much to tell him about dead beliefs and feelings as at least a thousand contemporary manuscripts."[36] While I acknowledge the important work done on the upper echelon of medieval English society and the buildings they occupied and patronized, in this thesis I seek to return the majority of the population—laborers, villagers, and the lower gentry—to the churches they built with their money, their ambitions, and their faith.

Use of Documents

For England's parish churches prior to the fifteenth century, these physical remnants of buildings provide the bulk of the "documents," because little written material survives that attest to the histories of parish churches. As Michael Clanchy has shown in his enduringly influential

[34] Lucien Febvre, "Une Question Mal Posée: Les Origines de La Réforme Française et Le Problème Des Causes de La Réforme," *La Revue Historique* 159 (1929): 1–73.

[35] George Huppert, "Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch: The Creation of the Annales," *The French Review* 55, no. 4 (1982): 511. Ibid.

[36] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 67.

book, *From Memory to Written Record*, in the period between the Conquest in 1066 and the death of King Edward I in 1307, written records become more common. Though the Norman administration, and in particular Domesday Book, ushered in increased documentary practices, in the period examined in this dissertation, these are still in their nascence, especially at the level of the rural village. Thus, this lacuna of written sources can be primarily attributed to the fact that writing and preserving documents in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was far less common practice than in the successive centuries.[37]

When they survive, records tend to reflect disputes. It is from these disputes that one can glean what is a matter of course. For example, a surviving inquiry from 1245 from the rector of the church of St. Peter in Winchcombe (Gloucestershire) asks the king if he will grant permission to lengthen the chancel of the parish church and expand the south aisle.[38] Ordinarily, this would have been of little interest to the king, but a local abbot was concerned that the expansion of the parish would reduce the ability of carts to enter the abbey grounds. Further concern was raised that the expansion might be disadvantageous to the town on fair days. The response received notes that the king permitted the expansion if the road to the abbey and the highway both remained at least 30 feet wide and 18 feet wide respectively.[39]

Medieval people also viewed some documents as ephemeral, which may also contribute to their absence. If bills of sale for building stone or other materials were recorded, they were

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[37] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), 19.

[38] L. F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 383.

[39] Unfortunately, the church of Winchcombe was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, so it is impossible to know whether the requested extensions were ever made to the church. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History*.

rarely saved for long.[40] For example, a record of sales of eels and herring from Ely made in the eleventh century was found in the twentieth century not because it was preserved, but because the parchment was reused in later book bindings.[41] As Clanchy has noted, it is likely that significant amounts of "day-to-day documentation" are not preserved due to their short-term value.

While there is more research on the fourteenth century and beyond, documentation for parish churches in the period covered in this dissertation, the late twelfth and thirteenth century, is scarce.[42] The earliest parochial fabric accounts were not written until the 1430s.[43] In the absence of building contracts and church documentation, we are left with a patchwork of documents that are all in some way valuable but need to be approached with skepticism. Most often documents contain assessed values for the purpose of taxation, and rarely do the documents contain anything specific about the buildings or how they were meant to look. The primary example of this is Domesday Book, a project initiated by William the Conqueror in 1085 which was intended to document the property held across England by county or shire.

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[40] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Carol Davidson Cragoe, "Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy, and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125- c.1250" (Birkbeck (University of London), 1998), 43–44; A comparatively large amount of research had been done on the later period of parochial architecture, particularly post-Black Death, Perpendicular architecture, due to the significantly higher number of salient documents. Gabriel Byng has done substantial work on these later parish churches. He has shown that the earliest building contract in England is from 1293 for a freestanding chapel that may never have been built in Southchurch (Essex). Gabriel Byng, "The Southchurch Chapel and the Earliest Building Contract in England," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168, no. 1 (2015): 131–41.

[43] Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, 45.

Domesday Book was a massive undertaking which Lewis describes as "an absurd project to record every last manorial goat in a record of all of England in a book as big as a bible."[44] For the purposes of this thesis, Domesday Book offers a sketch of England's religious landscape during the late eleventh century, recording at least some of its churches. However, while Domesday is an important resource, it not uncomplicated. A vast amount of scholarship has been undertaken assessing its use, value, meaning, and function.[45] Pounds has noted that Domesday Book provides only "a fitful light" and describes its contents as "highly erratic."[46] Some regions aren't surveyed, other areas are well covered, etc. For example, Morris has noted that only 186 Kentish local churches are noted in Domesday Book, while other ecclesiastical sources reveal that there were over 400.[47] Elsewhere, he has demonstrated that while at least nineteen Yorkshire churches retained Anglo-Saxon fabric until the twentieth century (based on the Taylors' survey), only ten of them are recorded in Domesday Book.[48] "One can nevertheless see in the ill-ordered entries in the Domesday Book an emerging system of parishes, each conforming more or less with a manor or group of manors. The bounds of no less than seventy-four Anglo-Saxon estates survive for the county of Berkshire. Of these, thirty-six can be identified almost exactly with a medieval parish or group of parishes."[49] Katherine French notes that only seventeen Somerset

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[44] C. P. Lewis, "Audacity and Ambition in Early Norman England and the Big Stuff of the Conquest," ed. Elisabeth van Houts, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 40 (2018): 43.

[45] For example, John Blair has recently noted that a post-1066 economic downturn is given undue attention because it is the moment captured in Domesday Book. *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 386.

[46] Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 32.

[47] Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1989), 141.

[48] Richard Morris, "Churches in York and Its Hinterland: Building and Stone Sources in the 11th and 12th Centuries," in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 191.

[49] Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 32.

parishes are mentioned in Domesday Book, a number which is preposterously low.[50] In spite of this, it should be said, however, the Domesday Book does not prioritize documentation of churches, but of property. Some churches are listed, but typically only when they are of substantial value.

To say that a church is not included in Domesday, therefore, is not in and of itself a meaningful statement. What might be ascertained from that, though, is that there may not have been a church in a particular settlement around 1086, that settlement may not have been documented at all, or it may have been worth too little to be deemed worthy of mention. If a church is mentioned in Domesday Book, it means that by 1086 there was a church standing of some value. The contents of Domesday Book can contribute to the Annales aim of "total history," but it cannot be relied upon for precision.

The long thirteenth century is sometimes considered a renaissance of church reform, with two international councils held at the Lateran in 1179 and 1215. Thirteenth century episcopal statutes from a number of English dioceses were produced in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The bishops who attended the councils had the responsibility of delivering the salient results to their dioceses, which resulted in numerous diocesan statutes including those from Salisbury (1217–19), Oxford (1222), Winchester (1224), Exeter (1225–37), Lincoln (around 1239), Worcester (1240).[51] There were, however, already statutes produced prior to the Fourth Lateran Council, like those coming out of the Council of Westminster in 1200. Thus we must heed C. R. Cheney's conclusion that the Fourth Lateran Council "was not the *fons et origo*

[50] Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 5.

[51] On the synods and statutes in general, see Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 27–56.

of all later legislation."[52] Nevertheless, the bishops who attended the Council clearly found impetus to bring its statutes back to their dioceses.

The Canons of particular interest from the perspective of the art and architecture of the parish church are Canons 19, 20, 21. Canon 19 is concerned with the cleanliness of parish churches: it prohibits the parish church from being used to store household goods, and commands that "the aforesaid churches, vessels, corporals, and vestments be kept clean and bright."[53] Canon 20 declares that "in all churches the chrism and Eucharist be kept in properly protected places provided with locks and keys" lest they be used for improper reasons.[54] Canon 21 says that lay people should confess their sins at least once annually, and receive the Eucharist at least once per year at Easter.[55] These canons, along with a number of others concerned with the level of education and payment and property of the parish priest, show that Innocent III's concerns were less to do with the physical building of the church than with its cleanliness and the fact that no sacrilege take place with the holy matter associated with the Eucharist. Parishioners are to receive communion and confess, but no provision is made to detail the ritual. Paul Binski has warned against "any type of art-historical enquiry which regards medieval Church regulation as an absolute point of reference rather than as a starting-point."[56]

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[52] C. R. Cheney, "The Earliest English Diocesan Statutes," *The English Historical Review* 75, no. 294 (1960): 29; See also C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government 1170-1213* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), 175–76; Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 152.

[53] Paul Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215: The Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215," The Internet Medieval Sourcebook, 1996, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 152–53.

Broader church laws, advice, and procedures were communicated to parish priests via pastoral manuals produced by bishops. Although the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council suggest that the low-level clergy lacked the education that Innocent III would have hoped for, and the writings of English bishops echo this dissatisfaction, it has recently been argued that they were more knowledgeable than has previously been assumed.[57] It is, of course, no coincidence that the perceived lack of educated clergy able to preach and deliver sermons shortly precedes the confirmation of the mendicant orders and their arrival in England. The friars, particularly within parish communities as I will discuss in this thesis, surely helped to bridge the intellectual gap between parochial clergy and the highly-educated members of the upper church hierarchy. While these manuals are concerned with issues of preaching and confession, and do not discuss the specificity of the church as building, they allow a glance into the goings-on within the churches. As Catherine Rider has argued, these manuals, along with other factors like the donation of candles, also elucidate the engagement of lay people in the thirteenth century, even though historians have previously thought of the engaged lay person as a characteristic of the fifteenth century. Her conclusion accords with what is seen in the architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, suggesting that a more nuanced approach to sources enables a more complete understanding.[58]

The *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291–2 is from the end of the period under investigation, and like Domesday Book, is useful but must be carefully considered. Ordered by Pope Nicholas

[57] Catherine Rider, "Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 329.

[58] David Postles, "Lamps, Lights and Layfolk: 'popular' Devotion before the Black Death," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999): 113; Rider, "Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals," 328.

IV, the *Taxatio* lists the value of parish churches and prebends in England and Wales. The taxation in question was, like the Saladin tithe of the 1180s, designed to fund expeditions to the Holy Land. All parishes should, in theory, but represented in the *Taxatio*, unless they were valued at under six marks (four pounds).[59] Certain institutions, namely houses of the Knights Templar and Hospitaller were exempt from the tax, so some benefices falling under the control of an exempted house are also missing from the *Taxatio*, which includes 8,085 parishes and 457 chapels.[60] For the reasons mentioned, these figures are not inclusive of all medieval parish churches. If a church is represented in the *Taxatio*, what can be gleaned is its value (which can be compared with others), as well as knowledge of whether it was held by a private individual, monastic establishment, the crown, etc. It does not tell us anything about the building per se, but useful inferences can sometimes be made from the information provided. One cannot, however, assume that a wealthy church would necessarily funnel its money into building projects; likewise, donations from individuals rather than church funds likely accounts for a significant amount of building activity.

Two sets of visitation records of parish churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral offer evidence about the state of some parish churches in 1249–52 and 1297. The visitations were a manner of inspection to determine what kind of shape a church was in for serving its functions.[61] The visitors whose reports formed the basis of these documents were less concerned with

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[59] Jeffrey H. Denton, "The 1291 Valuation of the Churches of Ely Diocese," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 90 (2001): 71. Ibid.

[60] Denton, "The 1291 Valuation of the Churches of Ely Diocese," 71; Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, 35. Denton, "The 1291 Valuation of the Churches of Ely Diocese," 71; Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, 35.

[61] The St. Paul's visitations are the only surviving ones from thirteenth-century England; visitations occurred, and documentation survives, more frequently for succeeding centuries.

describing the physical fabric of the buildings than they were with assessing the presence and quality of liturgical books, vestments, and other implements.[62] The visitation accounts are somewhat disappointing from an architectural perspective, but do allow a glimpse into the thirteenth century parish by showing what the bare minimum of liturgical books and accoutrements was, and the ways that the church hierarchy sought standardization of practices.

It is dangerous to impose assumptions based on later documentation onto the twelfth and thirteenth centuries based on the idea that later written documents codify practices already in place. For example, the office of churchwarden, the lay person responsible for administering the care of parish buildings and keeping records, was not official in this period, and although demand for lay care of churches becomes clear in episcopal statutes, there is no evidence that we can yet assign these responsibilities to churchwardens by the first half of the thirteenth century.[63]

Thus, a study of the twelfth and thirteenth century parish church requires an archaeological approach to peel away the layers of built and lived history in old buildings through surveying and measuring their fabrics, as well as investigating graphic sources that can attest to pre-restoration states.[64] With this approach, I seek to highlight the particular alterations made to the built fabric of churches to satisfy the requirements of contemporary theological belief, and the goals and desires to lay people who sought benefits from their encounters with

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[62] W. Sparrow Simpson, ed., "Visitation of Churches in the Patronage of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1249-1252," in *The Camden Miscellany*, vol. 9 (London: The Camden Society, 1895), x–xiv.

[63] Charles Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation in England: The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden.*, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research 7 (London: St Anthony's Press, 1954); French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*; Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*.

[64] On benefits and techniques of surveying standing fabric, see Richard Fawcett, "The Medieval Parish Church: Architecture, Furnishings, and Fittings," in *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 611–13.

both the spiritual as well as their earthly communities. Within this dissertation, the alterations most frequently discussed are those that deal with the addition of new spaces, or the alteration of existing spaces to fulfill new needs.

Chapters

The aim of this dissertation is to advance the discussion of parochial architecture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The existing literature on this topic has perpetuated a series of myths that result in an understanding of parish churches as lesser than other structures, diminutive, or imitative. Each of the three chapters takes as a starting point one of these myths or misunderstandings, correcting it based on available evidence, and enriching scholarly understanding of these poorly understood but ubiquitous buildings.

Chapter 1, "The Parish Church Mode: Defining the Type and Establishing Decorum" sketches the relationship between the parish church and its immediate predecessor, the "daughter" or local church. This will necessarily enter an established debate about the validity of the "minster model" of pastoral care, which will be revisited in the context of burgeoning parish culture. This chapter explains the processes that led to the development of the parish church as a discrete type of church building. Part and parcel of the development of that building type is the codification of its architecture. I show that by the second quarter of the thirteenth century, a set of norms were established that were motivated by a sense of decorum, or appropriateness, for this type of building, particularly in opposition to the so-called "great churches"—that is, cathedrals and major abbeys. I argue that parish churches were not poor imitations of great churches, but considered distinct by their builders and users.

Chapter 2, “The British Aisles: Lateral Expansion and the Development of Social Agency in English Parish Churches” delves deeper into the characteristics of this building type, examining aisles and transepts as new spaces built for and by lay people in parish churches. This chapter elucidates the ways parishioners negotiated and addressed purgatory in their churches, a theological concept which cohered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and conditioned parish church design, expansion, and ritual. This chapter argues that these spaces served as important social tools that enabled low-level members of the local gentry to legitimate their precarious social standing, and helped lay people develop an understanding of purgation as it gave them a sense of agency over their cosmic fates.

Finally, Chapter 3 responds to the persistent claim that parish churches are imitations of churches built for Franciscan and Dominican friars, by looking closely at the chronology of the friars’ first decades in England and the distinctions between these buildings and parishes. By considering the development of both parish churches and friary churches in England, I show that parish churches were already being built in ways that have been characterized as “friary-like” prior to the friars coming to England at all. Unravelling the morphology of both building types, I put an end to the problematic belief that parish churches were imitative of friaries, and instead reveal the parochial innovation and invention which has historically been denied this building type.

Notes on Sources and Nomenclature

Broadly, a parish church can be understood as a place where the sacraments are delivered to lay Christians, which during the Middle Ages included mixed-use buildings. Occasionally,

cathedrals and monasteries allocated a given space, such as a side aisle or appended structure, for use by a parish community.[65] These shared spaces accounted for a minority amount of the pastoral care administered in the Middle Ages, and are not included in this dissertation, where I focus on purpose-built structures.

The work of restorers, particularly of the nineteenth century, deserves mention here. In spite of the sometimes-frustrating post-medieval alterations made to these buildings, without the Victorian architects, clergy, and scholars who took an interest in these buildings, many of them would not stand today. Their marks can be felt often when visiting churches. While medieval taste generally led to rendered and painted walls, the restorers have often uncovered and made plainly visible their archaeological discoveries including earlier windows, blocked doorways, rooflines, and other pieces of past evidence that could have been rendered over or removed. For the most part, building campaigns or elements in this dissertation will not be dated any more closely than a quarter century, and I have frequently flagged the limits of our knowledge.

Most of the parish churches discussed in this dissertation remain in use by parish communities for regular worship and have done so since the Middle Ages. The result of this fact is excavations of parish churches have not been conducted except in cases of redundancy. Warwick Rodwell is a pioneer of modern church archaeology, and, along with other partial excavations, has done a full-scale excavation of St. Peter, Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire). This was possible because the church ceased to be in normal parochial use and was made

[65] On this, see David Lepine, "'And Alle Oure Paresshens': Secular Cathedrals and Parish Churches in Late Medieval Europe," in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. Eamon Duffy and Clive Burgess, 2006, 29–53.

redundant in 1972. St. Peter is now cared for by English Heritage.[66] Barton-upon-Humber is a fortunate example of an excavated parish church to rely upon, because it incorporates one of only a handful of surviving Anglo-Saxon tower-naves with later building.[67] However, a single fully-excavated church in a field of some 9000 buildings is slim evidence. The Barton-upon-Humber excavations are a precious resource for showing the below-ground archaeology of a parish church (particularly with regards to burials) but should not be made to stand in for all churches.

Within this dissertation, parish churches are typically referred to by the name of the village or town in which they are located. Dedication is given only when there is the possibility of confusion, as in the case of Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire), where there were two medieval parish churches, St. Mary's and St Peter's. Likewise, dedications are important for distinguishing churches in towns with multiple parish churches, as in Stamford where there were five, and London where parishes numbered over a hundred.[68] However, as Richard Morris has noted, "over 90 percent of all medieval parochial provision stood in the countryside," so the overwhelming majority can be referred to by village name alone.[69] Dedication may also be used

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[66] Redundancy, simply put, means that a church is no longer in regular parochial use. In some cases, like Barton-upon-Humber, an organization like English Heritage or the Churches Conservation Trust takes over the responsibility of caring for the building, which typically remains consecrated. In some cases, churches are put to alternative use or demolished. On the history and procedure of redundancy, see Rodwell, *The Archaeology of Churches*, 40–46.

[67] On tower-naves (also called turriform churches), see Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983), 141–44; Michael Shapland, "St Mary's, Broughton, Lincolnshire: A Thegnly Tower-Nave in the Late Anglo-Saxon Landscape," *The Archaeological Journal* 165, no. 1 (2008): 496–98.

[68] Not all of London's approximately 113 churches were in use throughout the entire Middle Ages, but based on the evidence Schofield provides, it is safe to suggest that over a hundred were in use throughout most of the period. John J. Schofield, "Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 45 (1994): 24.

[69] Richard Morris, "The Church in the Countryside: Two Lines of Inquiry," in *Medieval Villages: A Review of Current Work*, ed. Delia Hooke (Oxford: University of Oxford Committee for Archaeology, 1985), 47.

when significant discussion of a settlement may cause confusion when referring to the church (for example, the extant church at Winchelsea is referred to as the church of St. Thomas). However, many medieval church dedications are not documented until later than the period addressed in this dissertation, and some are known to have been changed.[70]

In parentheses following the first reference to a church, I have supplied the historic (also sometimes referred to as traditional, ancient, or ceremonial) pre-1974 county where a church is located. These represent the counties codified by the Norman administration, many of them based on pre-existing kingdoms. On a practical level, these correspond to the counties used in the *Buildings of England* series.

[70] On the unreliability of church dedications, see Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 38.

Chapter 1: The Parish Church Mode: Defining the Type and Establishing Decorum

Haltwhistle (Northumberland) exemplifies what I have termed "parochial decorum," that is, architectural appropriateness within and for the parish church in contrast with other types of contemporary church buildings. Haltwhistle was part of the parcel of land associated with the lordship of Tynedale given by Henry II to William, king of Scots in 1157 and appropriated to Arboath Abbey.[1] The church was, somewhat unusually, built on a virgin site, ex nihilo [fig. 1.1].[2] It is an unusual surviving parish church which is predominantly of a single period, the years around 1250; it is virtually unmarred by the remnants of an earlier age or the improvements of a later one. The church of Haltwhistle is composed of a nave with a two-story elevation consisting of four tall nave bays surmounted by a clerestory [fig. 1.2], and an unaisled chancel with a piscina and set of sedilia [figs. 1.3–1.4]. Typical of parish churches, Haltwhistle is entered from the south. At the west end, a bellcote rises above the simple Early English composition of two tall lancets and an oculus [fig. 1.5]. Because it was not substantially restored or adapted in the later Middle Ages, Haltwhistle provides a good example of what an ordinary church from the middle of the thirteenth century might have looked like.

By about 1220, English parish churches, by and large, conformed to a set of characteristics that made them recognizable as a group. This is not to say that they were identical; in fact, one would struggle to find a pair of parish churches that were alike in terms of structure or aesthetic character. However, by the third decade of the thirteenth century, the

[1] Jane Alison Cunningham, "Buildings and Patrons: Early Gothic Architecture in the Diocese of Durham, c. 1150-c. 1300" (Ph.D. Diss., Birkbeck, University of London, 1995), 350.

[2] Ibid., 96.

repertoire of potential architectural motifs employed in parish churches was more or less set, as many of the broader range of architectural motifs found in some parish churches were largely eliminated from new building projects. Throughout this chapter, and indeed this dissertation, I rely on the archaeological concept of "type" to discuss like buildings; I discuss codification as it happens within the local church in England, particularly in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. While I recognize the potential limitations of typologies and the fact that they can, as archaeologist James Ford warns, be "defined without any reference to the temporal and spatial coordinates of cultural history," I maintain that the concept of type is useful for considering the common characteristics of cultural products (parish church buildings) in the single political entity of medieval England, and in locating the differences between these types of buildings used for local worship, and other sorts of churches.[3] While the concept of type may to some extent flatten the differences among the thousands of buildings in the corpus of English parish churches, copious examples of case studies from throughout the country are used here to provide specificity.

This chapter examines the process that leads from the beginning of local churches in England to the definition of what a sense of parochial decorum, or appropriateness, in the thirteenth century. To establish this, I examine the evidence for the kinds of buildings that preceded parish churches for the provision of local worship, and the ways in which these related to so-called great churches—that is to say, cathedrals and major monasteries. Ultimately, I show that the agents involved in the building of parish churches (a combination of community

[3] James A. Ford, "The Type Concept Revisited," in *Man's Imprint From the Past: Readings in the Methods of Archaeology*, ed. James Deetz (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 59; For recent comments on the role of typology within art and architectural history, see Christopher S. Wood, *A History of Art History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 114–16.

members from all ranks of social hierarchy from peasant to gentry, as well as local and perhaps diocesan clergy) relied on an implicit sense of decorum in order to distinguish these buildings from great churches and fulfil the spiritual and social functions required by lay people.

Churches before 1150

This dissertation is primarily concerned with the parish church from approximately 1150 to the middle of the thirteenth century, the period which marks the beginning of the parochial system in England. Prior to the establishment of the system of parishes, an earlier system of minsters was responsible for delivering the *cura animarum* (the care of souls). These minsters were large churches, served by a number of clerics who also visited small, rural churches to perform Mass for local people. These smaller, non-minster churches did not have the ability to baptize and bury; here, I will refer to them as "local churches" in order to distinguish them from the parochial system not yet in place, though it should be understood that both minsters and their associated local churches obtained parochial functions by or in the twelfth century. In this section, I will briefly sketch the historical context of the minster system as it is currently understood and illustrate the pattern of development between late Anglo-Saxon minsters like Bampton (Oxfordshire) or Stow (Lincolnshire), and local churches (Raunds Furnells), and later Anglo-Norman, or Romanesque parish churches (Adel, Stewkley, and Barton).

There is relatively little concrete documentation to reconstruct the precise scope, locations, and functions of minsters, and a certain amount of regional variation also causes uncertainty. In spite of these lacunae, understanding the scope, locations, and functions of minsters is critical to envisioning the way pastoral care to the laity was delivered prior to the

development of the parish system with which this dissertation is concerned. In broad strokes, the pre-parochial system in England is thought to have been organized around the so-called "minster," a term that comes from the Latin *monasterium* and Old English *mynster* and is used "extremely broadly, to denote any kind of religious establishment with a church."[4] Unlike the English word "monastery," which also derives from *monasterium* but has a relatively clear-cut and established meaning, scholars have applied the term "minster" to a far more disparate group of buildings, and is, as Richard Morris has commented, a word whose "versatility…has sometimes acted to tease, if not confuse, modern historians."[5] Although a medieval term, its proliferation is due largely to the work of historian and archaeologist John Blair, who in the 1980s and 1990s edited and co-edited two volumes, *Minsters and the Parish Church: the Local Church in Transition* and *Pastoral Care Before the Parish.*[6] Blair's definition understands minsters as major or "mother" churches that acted as the administrative and spiritual anchor for smaller, local churches. Their "daughter," or local, churches were the predecessors to the parish churches of the high middle ages. During the minster period, which was perhaps as old as Christianity in England and lasted until around 1150 or 1200, clergy members were not permanently stationed at local daughter churches, and pastoral care was administered by visiting priests, who were based at the minsters and travelled out to local chapels to provide lay people with the *cura animarum*.[7]

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[4] John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.

[5] Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 128.

[6] John Blair, ed., *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988); John Blair and Richard Sharpe, *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).

[7] Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*; Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 130; Blair and Sharpe, *Pastoral Care before the Parish*; Davidson, "Written in Stone," 80–82.

The "minster model" or "minster hypothesis" dominated scholarship on medieval lay worship in the 1980s and 1990s but has since generated significant debate in Anglo-Saxon studies.[8] Criticism of Blair's minster formulation has largely focused on its rigidity, interpreting the hypothesis as a "one-size-fits-all" explanation for church practices across a number of regional divides. Opponents argue that we cannot know the extent to which church organization was systematized in the early Middle Ages, and Blair himself has ultimately advocated for its abandonment based on its narrow application.[9] Surely, minsters differed regionally, and cannot be expected to have been consistent throughout England; indeed, numerous examples suggest that minsters varied from place to place in their size, distribution, relative wealth, and number of priests.[10] Given this regional variance and the flexibility of the form, it would be unwise to generalize about the territorial expanse based on the examples that survived long enough to make it into documentation. Such examples are overwhelmingly found in the south and west of the country, including the kingdom of Wessex, which roughly encompassed the modern counties of Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. A rather late documented example of the shift is the case of Standlynch in Wiltshire which, in 1147, acquired the right to baptize, bury, and receive

[8] Eric Cambridge and David Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the 'Minster Hypothesis,'" *Early Medieval Europe* 4, no. 1 (1995): 87–104; D.M. Palliser, "Review Article: The 'Minster Hypothesis': A Case Study," *Early Medieval Europe* 5, no. 2 (1996): 207–14.

[9] In 2005, Blair revealed his dissatisfaction for the way the minster debate has continued and solidified, writing that he "never meant to create an inflexible model, destined to stand or fall in its entireity, but rather to suggest an explanatory framework which could develop, and if necessary change, with the growth of knowledge. For that reason, I hope the phrase 'minster model' can now be abandoned." *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 5.

[10] On wealth and number of priests, see for example Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 129; On settlement and distribution, see Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 152.

tithes, but owed a half mark of silver to the minster at Downton annually as Standlynch remained a daughter of Downton.[11]

While I acknowledge the pitfalls of Blair's framework, to fully discard the minster model altogether is to throw the baby out with the bathwater. Assuming a more pluralistic application of the term, the minster system's formulation of mother and daughter churches continues to represent the most accurate understanding we have of parochial organization in England between about 1000 and 1150.

While Blair has asserted that the administrative shift from the minster to the parish model happened gradually between 950 and 1200,[12] his completion date represents a very conservative estimate. I will argue here that major changes in local church architecture began around 1150, suggesting that the minster system had more or less vanished by then and that new approaches to church design and maintenance had already begun to emerge.

Much ink has been spilled in the process of codifying the minster church. Although I acknowledge the importance of understanding the system of pastoral care before the parish, the mysteries of the minsters have proven quite seductive to scholars, hindering analysis of parish churches. Perhaps more to the point, however, many minsters gained parochial function, and were fully integrated into the so-called parish system, providing architectural precedent for newly built churches staffed by resident priests. In her doctoral thesis, Carol Davidson Cragoe is extremely cautious about distinguishing church types. She writes:

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[11] M. J. Franklin, ed., *English Episcopal Acta: Winchester 1070-1204*, English Episcopal Acta 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1993), 73–75; Jonathan Pitt, "Minster Churches and Minster Territories in Wiltshire," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12 (2003): 58.

[12] Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*; Blair and Sharpe, *Pastoral Care before the Parish*; Cambridge and Rollason, "Debate: The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'"; John Blair, "Debate: Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England," *Early Medieval Europe* 4, no. 2 (1995): 193–212.

> By far the most serious problem with discussions of parish church architecture, however, is the inclusion … of churches which were not built to serve as parish churches. Although these buildings may serve as parish churches today, and indeed are some of the finest 'parish' churches architecturally, most of them began as collegiate or monastic churches, and their scale and planning often reflects their use by a religious community.[13]

Although Cragoe's attempt is admirable, there is also something lost in her efforts to distinguish among buildings, many of which are poorly documented, in the period during which they all functioned the same way, that is to say, as parish churches. Even the early minsters were significantly altered during their long lives, and they were altered to contemporary parochial standards to accommodate their use.[14] For example, Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), first recorded in 804, was an Anglo-Saxon minster church served by a monastic community [fig. 1.6].[15] In the mid-eleventh century, Deerhurst was in the possession of the local aristocrat Odda, who also built the nearby chapel of Holy Trinity, today referred to as Odda's Chapel [fig. 1.7].[16] After the Norman Conquest, it was demoted to serving just a parochial function, and contracted in size due to reduced needs. At present, it has arcades in the Early English and Perpendicular styles [fig. 1.8]. Although some fabric of the building is identifiably Anglo-Saxon and comes from a period when a stone building of this sort could be expected only for minsters and not for places of local worship, it now represents the adaptations necessary for later medieval parochial use.

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[13] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 66.

[14] On liturgy in the Anglo-Saxon period, see the work of Helen Gittos, particularly *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Liturgy: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[15] Ann Williams, "Thegnly Piety and Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Old English Kingdom," in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, ed. John Gillingham, vol. 24, Proceedings of the Battle Conference (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 15; On the liturgy at Deerhurst, see Arnold Klukas, "Liturgy and Architecture: Deerhurst Priory as an Expression of the Regularis Concordia," *Viator* 15 (1984): 81–106; For further comments, including the likelihood of simplified liturgy at Deerhurst, see Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, 8.

[16] Williams, "Thegnly Piety and Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Old English Kingdom," 15–17.

It is notable that this transitional period of roughly 200 years witnessed one of the most decisive events in British history: the Norman Conquest. Though it is tempting to see the Conquest as a major break from all that came before, in the case of the local church its impact was less violent than we might imagine, although the function and scope of local churches were affected, as at Deerhurst. The Normans enacted a major building campaign on English cathedrals; today, virtually no above-ground standing fabric from prior to the Conquest exists in English great churches. On the other hand, a comparatively substantial amount of Anglo-Saxon fabric still stands in what are now parish churches.[17] That the same level of wholesale destruction did not occur at local church level as it did at great church level suggests that the invaders were less concerned with erasing the past at the local level. For the average rural farmer, the shift in power that occurred in 1066 likely went unmarked. Certainly, masons did not wake up after the Battle of Hastings and automatically build in a different style.

While many pre-Conquest churches remained standing after the Norman victory, the new ruling class did exert some influence over the building of new local structures. In considering architectural shifts in the post-Conquest period, it is important to bear in mind that different regions adapted to the cultural norms of the conquerors to different degrees and at different paces. Richard Gem has noted that, while the rebuilding of cathedrals and major monasteries happened within a few decades, at a parochial level it was much more spread out. He notes that it is possible to find a fully "Norman" church in the southeast in the 1070s, while "Anglo-Saxon" identifiers might still be present in the north as late as the 1120s. On this point, Eric Fernie has commented that the "continuity of features which are Anglo-Saxon in origin in buildings

[17] This has been well-documented in cataloguing projects of Anglo-Saxon architecture by H. M. and Joan Taylor, and for sculpture in the regional volumes produced by the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture.

constructed after 1066 is only to be expected, given the shortage of craftsmen skilled in the techniques of Norman masonry which the building boom must have created, and the fact that Norman taste must have had a weaker impact at local levels of society."[18]

Clearly, the Normanization of sacred architecture was not consistent from region to region, nor was it uniform across different strata of building types. But what, exactly, separated these building types? What distinguished minsters from their daughter churches, and likewise, what was the relationship between minsters and cathedrals, the seats of the bishops whose responsibility it was to ensure the delivery of pastoral care to lay people within their diocese? It has generally been understood to be that while daughter churches served as spaces for community worship, they relied on minsters to satisfy a number of the needs central to Christians. They could neither bury nor baptize, and were not served by a resident priest, but one who visited from the minster. Francesca Tinti has shown that priests were few in number in the early Anglo-Saxon period, so they are unlikely to have visited their daughter churches on a weekly or even bi-weekly schedule.[19] In addition to priests going out into local communities, lay people would travel to the minsters with their babies and their dead in tow. Nigel Saul provides the example of Monkwearmouth, where graves for parishioners were separated from those of the monks, showing that the community was providing the sacraments to lay people.[20]

The Domesday Monachorum, which concerns the estates of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Kentish landowners, provides some insight into the organization and administration of the minster system. Using this document, Tim Tatton-Brown has mapped the

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[18] Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 208–9.

[19] Francesca Tinti, "Looking for Local Priests in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. S. Patzold and C. van Rhijn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 148.

[20] Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 22.

mother and daughter churches in Kent, explaining that the local daughter churches radiated out from the minster at Maidstone, arranged as if to orbit the larger church [fig. 1.9]. Maidstone provided pastoral care to these local churches, including Boxley, Detling, Thurnham, Aldington, Hollingbourne, East Sutton, Lenham, Boughton, Ulcomb, Leeds, Langley, Sutton, Chart, Headcorn, Frinstead, Gourdhurst, and Marden.[21] Unfortunately, the Domesday Monachorum is unique to Kent, so we do not have written documentation distinguishing minsters from local churches throughout the country. As is so frequently the case in the study of the Middle Ages, archaeology seems the logical route to understanding these churches in the absence of documentation, but we find ourselves on somewhat shaky ground trying to discern minster from local church based on material evidence alone. "It cannot be said," Pounds asserts, "that, as a class, they had any conspicuous features in common which might distinguish them from others," since "the elaboration of a church depends on local resources and the willingness of people to use them for the beautification of the church."[22] That is to say, there can be a significant amount of diversity in the appearance of minster churches.

Pounds' caution is understandable, but it is based largely on a small sample size and the implicit assumption that there was never a logic to minster structures. It seems equally presumptuous to suggest that the forms of local daughter churches were unique and almost arbitrarily designed, especially because some archaeological finds *do* indicate certain aesthetic and structural differences between mother and daughter churches. Contrary to Pounds' argument, I propose that minster and local churches can be seen to distinguish themselves architecturally;

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[21] Tim Tatton-Brown, "The Churches of Canterbury Diocese in the 11th Century," in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 108.

[22] Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 25.

the presence of porticae or a transept is often an indicator of former minster status, as is a central tower.[23] Furthermore, burial structures in the vicinity of these churches offer insight not only into the differences between their ranks, but also into the early architectural history of what we now know as the parish church.

The presence of a cruciform plan with a central tower can be read as positive proof of minster status, at least in the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods.[24] Central towers were popular in high-status churches early on, but in the eleventh century and beyond they are typically eschewed for western towers,[25] except in places where the central tower was a longstanding tradition.[26] All of the later pre-Conquest minsters discussed by Radford are cruciform with a central tower; indeed, he argues that Worth (Sussex) is *not* a minster, but instead a private monastery [fig. 1.10].[27] For Worcestershire, C. J. Bond notes that the five Norman churches which are cruciform but non-monastic are "very likely to be of minster

[23] Some exceptions to this rule will be introduced in the next chapter. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, 225.

[24] C. A. Ralegh Radford, "Pre-Conquest Minster Churches," *The Archaeological Journal* 130, no. 1 (1973): 120–40; Davidson, "Written in Stone," 246.

[25] Francis Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England: An Analysis of the Origin & Development of English Church Architecture from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1906), 229–30; Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 255.

[26] The reasons for this were both practical and liturgical; with the addition of nave aisles that became popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, buttressing the pressure of the tower became difficult, and caused the collapse of some towers, and unnerving cracks in many more. Another reason for the move away from central towers is discussed below: central towers necessitated a crossing, or a third space in the church. Once the altar moved from the east end of the nave or crossing into the chancel, the crossing was disruptive.

[27] The churches Radford classifies as later pre-Conquest minsters are: Stow (Lincolnshire), St. Mary in Castro, Dover (Kent), Great Paxton (Huntingdonshire), Hadstock (Essex), Repton (Derbyshire), Milbourne Port (Somerset), Canford (Dorset), and Bere Regis (Dorset). Radford, "Pre-Conquest Minster Churches," 137.

origin."[28] This includes Ripple [figs. 1.11–1.12], Powick [fig. 1.13–1.14], and Dodderhill [fig. 1.15–1.16].[29] Alternately, three-cell churches with central towers but no transepts may include minsters, but it is not assumed based on the plan.

When more space was sought in an Anglo-Saxon minster, it was added in the form of porticae, openings on the north and south of the nave that formed discrete rooms or chapels.[30] Some churches show evidence for only one or two porticae, like Worth (Sussex), but others, like Brixworth (Northamptonshire) had ten or more [fig. 1.17].[31] They seem to have been used sub-liturgically, for example as baptisteries, for private prayer, and maybe even for secular purposes as courtrooms.[32] Altars could be put in porticae, as in the poem of Æthelwulf called *De Abbatibus*, which includes a description of the narrator being guided through an ideal church in a dream:

> Proceeded along the walls of the great church and opened the porticus great and small: in each of these hung near at hand a censer of shining gold, and from these incense smoked to the Thunderer who sits on high; in all the porticus bright waxen lights were burning, honouring the altars with flaming donations.[33]

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[28] C. J. Bond, "Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire," in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 141.

[29] Ibid., 139.

[30] Transepts developed from porticae which are pre-Conquest lateral openings in a church nave; however, the distinction between the two terms is not always clear cut. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use transept to describe openings at the east end of the nave or in a crossing, and porticus to describe other openings, particularly at churches like Brixworth, where there are many.

[31] On porticae see for example: H. M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 13–14; Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 43–43.

[32] Mary Kerr and Nigel Kerr, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1983), 11–12; Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 42.

[33] Alistair Campbell, *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 60–61; David Parsons and Diana Sutherland, *The Anglo-Saxon Church of All Saints, Brixworth, Northamptonshire: Survey, Excavation and Analysis, 1972-2010* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 217.

That porticae were used as mortuary chapels and for burial is well documented. For example, Bede notes that the body of Saint Augustine was brought inside of the monastery church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Canterbury (later rededicated to Augustine himself) and "decently buried in the north porch thereof; wherein also were interred the bodies of all the succeeding archbishops except for two."[34] Likewise, porticae are specifically invoked in ecclesiastical law; the Council of Nantes (658) proclaims that "no bodies whatsoever are to be buried in church, but in the atrium or in a porticus or outside the church."[35] This implies that the porticus was considered a liminal space, distinct from the church itself, yet attached and accessible only from it, thus forming both a precedent for later intramural burial and expressing its difference from it. Still, it seems as though only important people (saints and clerics) are buried in a porticus. As mentioned above, only minster churches had porticae.[36] Many of the liturgical functions that occurred in a porticus could only occur at a minster church, particularly baptism and burial. One wonders whether the aisles that develop later (as discussed in Chapter 2) were inspired by the functions of the porticus once the local church gained responsibility for burial and baptism.

Archaeological evidence related to burial sheds critical light on the status of churches as they existed and shifted throughout the late Anglo-Saxon period. Burial was initially an exclusive function of minsters, so the rare practice of excavating and dating inhumations on a site can provide compelling evidence for the status of a church.[37] Returning to Saul's example,

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[34] Bede, J. A Giles, and Gerrish Gray, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Richmond: Tiger of the Stripe, 2007), 88, III.2.

[35] As cited in Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 43.

[36] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 68.

[37] In England, most parish churches remain in use; it is extremely rare to be able to conduct archaeological investigation on the interior of a church still in use. It is for this reason that the most complete excavations have been done at redundant churches (Barton-upon-Humber) and abandoned churches (Wharram Percy). For more on this, see Rodwell, *The Archaeology of Churches*.

we recall that lay people in the Anglo-Saxon period had to bring the bodies of the deceased to a mother church for burial; the capacity to perform burial rites was not understood to travel with itinerant priests, but to be bound to the specific locale of the minster. This began to change, however, around the tenth century, and tracing the extension of the right to bury to local churches is one way to track the morphology of the church system in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England.[38]

The shift from minster to parish church occurred over the course of more than two centuries, and evidence from this transitional period suggests that the presence of graves was an important aspect of defining the status of a church.[39] King Edgar's second code, issued at Andover in the 960s, reflects the emergence of non-minster churches that not only had the right to bury, but also posed a financial threat to the minsters by interrupting their stream of income through tithes. It states:

> [1.1] And all payment of tithe is to be made to the old minster, to which the parish belongs… [2] If, however, there is any thegn who has on his bookland [land vested by charter in Anglo-Saxon law] a church with which there is a graveyard, he is to pay the third part of his own tithe into his church. [2.1] If anyone has a church with which there is no graveyard, he is then to pay to his priest from the (remaining) nine parts what he chooses. (2.2) And all churchscot is to go to the old minster, from every free hearth.[40]

[38] On the transition from minsters to parish churches, see the essays in Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*; On the practice of preparing land for ritual activity as specific to Christianity, see Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, 39–40.

[39] Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 8; On the presence of the majority of Anglo-Scandinavian and cross-slab grave monuments at local rather than minster churches, see Aleksandra McClain, "Patronage, Power, and Identity: The Social Use of Local Churches and Commemorative Monuments in Tenth to Twelfth-Century North Yorkshire" (Ph.D. Diss., University of York, 2005), 83–84.

[40] Dorothy Whitelock, M. Brett, and Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke, eds., *Councils & Synods: With Other Documents Relating to the English Church: AD 871-1204*, vol. 1.1 (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1981), 97–98; See also Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 8; Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, 52–53.

Evidently, there was competition for bodies and the minsters' access to them, which is implied by King Æthelred's 1008 law code, which stated "if any body is buried elsewhere outside the proper parish, the payment for the soul is nevertheless to be paid to the minster to which it belongs."[41] Both Edgar and Æthelred's codes suggest a relationship between parish and minster, and imply that the burial could take place at the parish, but that the minster needed to be adequately compensated as well. By the tenth century, it seems that there was enough variety in practices throughout Britain that we cannot assume a church with inhumations was a minster.[42] Physical evidence in the form of carved tombstones reflects this dispersal of burials away from minsters.[43] However, Hadley and Buckberry note that before the tenth century, documentary sources were quiet about burial, suggesting that burial at the minster was more or less codified.[44]

The best evidence for how local churches in the Anglo-Saxon period expanded and functioned liturgically are the archaeological remains of Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire), a tiny church built of rubble on a lord's manor [figs. 1.18].[45] The church was eventually forgotten and demolished, its parochial functions having been redistributed into Raunds on the other side

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[41] V Æthelred c. 12.1 in Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, *Councils & Synods I*, 1.1:352; For analysis, see Dawn M. Hadley and Jo Buckberry, "Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 122; On the idea of competition and building for bodies, see for example Caroline Goodson, "Building for Bodies: The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome," in *Felix Roma: The Production, Experience and Reflection of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 51–80; and Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

[42] Hadley and Buckberry, "Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England," 121.

[43] Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 8.

[44] Jonathan Pitt, "Minster Churches and Minster Territories in Wiltshire," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12 (2003): 58.

[45] The original ca. 950 iteration was approximately 4m by 2.71m. Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 32.

of the valley by about 1200.[46] The building, no longer extant, was excavated to reveal the plan for a tenth-century church which was enlarged in the eleventh-century.

These excavations, particularly of the first church on the site, are important because they reveal some details about the "daughter church," the more typical precursor to the parish church. Its site at the boundary of a manor indicates that it was built for use by both the high-status family and those who farmed their land. The first church on the site was initially just a rectangular nave, but in the mid-eleventh century an eastern extension was added, making it a two-celled structure with another smaller (square or apsidal) terminating eastern extension with a bench where clergy would sit when not occupied performing the functions of the Mass.[47] We know that the altar was located within the nave thanks to a humble clay pot found in the ground that was used for the disposal of sacred ablutions—an early version of a piscina in England.[48] In addition to the pattern of growth that the building exemplifies, excavations at Raunds Furnells have revealed valuable information about burial in the tenth century. This was a small, local church built on manorial land, not a minster. Yet, there are burials there from the tenth century,

[46] That the church was abandoned is critical to our knowledge about this site. In most cases, these small early churches were expanded over the centuries, with the earliest phase no longer evident, except perhaps through excavation, which is simply not done to churches still in parochial use. The early redundancy at Raunds Furnells makes it our only example of an excavated local church of this date, but we should not mistake this rare evidence as unusual—what is known about Raunds Furnells might cautiously be interpreted as typical. On Raunds Furnells, see Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 149; Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard*, Archaeological Report 7 (London: English Heritage, 1996), 6.

[47] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 144; John Blair, "Review: Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard. By A. Boddington," *Archaeological Journal* 155, no. 1 (1998): 410; Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 87–88.

[48] David Parsons, "Liturgical and Social Aspects," in *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard*, by Andy Boddington, Archaeological Report 7 (London: English Heritage, 1996), 61; On altar placement, see H.M. Taylor, "The Position of the Altar in Early Anglo-Saxon Churches," *The Antiquaries Journal* 53 (1973): 52–58.

though they post-date the erection of the first church.[49] These burials were not ad hoc, but within a planned area of 40 by 30m, bounded on each side by ditches, with the earliest burials around the church and later ones expanding out towards the boundaries.[50] Raunds Furnells represents the seedling of a parish church as they are known in the later Middle Ages—a non-minster church catering to a local population which offered burial.

Aelfric's pastoral letter to Wulfsige III from the last decade of the tenth century delineates the different roles in the hierarchy of the local church, ranging from the *ostarius* or door-keeper to the *presbiter* or Mass-priest.[51] The same letter indicates the duties of the Mass-priest, as well as the books necessary for their vocation: "a psalter and a book with the epistles, an evangeliary and a missal, songbooks and a manual, a computus [used to calculate time, in particular the date of Easter] and a passional, a penitential and a reading-book."[52] In this early stage of the parish church's autonomy from the minster, such expectations needed to be clearly stated.

Aelfric's pastoral letter to Wulfsige III represents the ideals of clerical hierarchy and possession of church books. As Helen Gittos shows, it is harder to account for the realities.[53] What we know about these men is severely limited due to the poor survival of their books and liturgical objects—for example we cannot be sure of their facility with Latin, how they did or did

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[49] Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard*, 69–70.

[50] Elizabeth Zadora-Rio, "Changing Patterns of Churchyard Burial: Three Case Studies," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, ed. Martin Carver and Jan Klápště, vol. 2, Acta Jutlandica (Aarhaus: Aarhaus University Press, 2011), 517.

[51] Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, *Councils & Synods I*, 1.1:202–4.

[52] Ibid., 1.1:207.

[53] Helen Gittos, "Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti, Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 63.

not carry out their responsibilities, including the daily offices and delivering the sacraments, what they understood theologically, and whether they had assistants or needed to perform all the tasks of the Mass themselves. Nevertheless, we are able to ascertain some things about liturgical arrangements from architecture, particularly excavations; it is there that we need to begin in order to understand the trajectory of church-building in England and the eventual development of the aisled parish church.[54]

Material, too, might give us clues as to the status of a given church. Minsters were almost always built in stone earlier than local churches were, so it is plausible to suggest that most especially early stone churches were minsters. The date around which masons began building stone daughter churches varied throughout the country; in some regions, such as the limestone belt in Lincolnshire, good stone was abundant and used for building local churches from an early date. However, until the twelfth century, local churches were often built from wood and thus are mostly lost to us.[55] Gradually, churches transitioned to be primarily built from stone. The exception is Greensted (Essex), which has a nave built with split logs for which dendrochronologists have assigned a felling date after 1063 and before 1100 [figs. 1.19–1.20].[56] It is unclear how common this technique was, but according to Bede, the seventh-century church

[54] On the problems and advantages of studying liturgy through architecture and vice versa, see: Peter Draper, "Architecture and Liturgy," in *Age of Chivalry*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987); Richard Gem, "How Much Can Anglo-Saxon Buildings Tell Us about Liturgy?," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 271–90.

[55] On evidence of wooden churches, see Cecil A. Hewett, "Anglo-Saxon Carpentry," *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978): 205; See also Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 148–49; Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 31.

[56] Ian Tyers et al., "List 80 Tree-Ring Dates from Sheffield University," *Vernacular Architecture* 28, no. 1 (1997): 142, https://doi.org/10.1179/030554797786050617.

at Lindisfarne was also made from split tree trunks.[57] On the other hand, Essex is unusually well-provisioned for unusual wooden structures; not only is there the nave of Greensted, but excavations at Rivenhall attest to the former presence of a timber church.[58] Additional timber survivals include the wooden window frames at Hadstock [fig. 1.21], and of a later date, the wooden arcade of Navestock [fig. 1.22].

Most of the transitions from wood to stone have gone undocumented, but owing to the importance in County Durham of the cult of St Cuthbert, we still have written evidence for the demolition of the wooden church at Chester-le-Street and its subsequent replacement in stone. Symeon of Durham wrote in his *Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham* that Aethelric, bishop of Durham from 1042 to 1056, demolished the original church at Chester-le-Street and replaced it with one built of stone "because the body of the blessed Cuthbert had once rested there."[59] This justification signifies an implicit value judgment between wooden and stone churches: to appropriately honor Cuthbert, Aethelric rebuilt the church in a different, more durable material. As churches became more permanent stone buildings, their social infrastructures solidified as well, beginning with the institution of resident priests.[60] Likewise, they eventually procured the rites of baptism and burial, which were previously administered at

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[57] Bede, Giles, and Gray, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, PAGE #? HE III.25; Hewett, "Anglo-Saxon Carpentry," 210.

[58] Warwick Rodwell and Kirsty Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977*, CBA Research Report 55 (Chelmsford: Chelmsford Archaeological Trust and the Council for British Archaeology, 1985), 85–90.

[59] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio Atque Procursu Istius, Hoc Est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie = Tract on the Origins and Progress of This the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 171, iii 9; William M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 55.

[60] The survival of a small number of liturgical books and inventories has enabled scholars to begin to understand the localization of priests. See Tinti, "Looking for Local Priests in Anglo-Saxon England."

the minster. Materially, this is evidenced by the proportionately high number of extant Romanesque fonts: most churches acquired these when they began to baptize, and did not replace them later in the Middle Ages.[61]

The simple plan at Raunds Furnells is also seen in many later churches. These were two- or three-celled structures which included a nave and an eastern extension, with the possibility of a central tower. The basic features are a stone altar table either under the "chancel arch" or just to the east of it, a pillar piscina to act as a drain for extra sacred ablutions, and clerical seating at the far east end. Adel (West Yorkshire) exemplifies this plan [fig. 1.23].[62] Stylistic dating suggests that Adel was built in the 1150s or 60s. The church is composed of two cells: nave and east end. The nave is taller and wider than the east end; the junction of the two cells is a decoratively carved arch of four orders facing the nave, decorated with carved mask-heads [fig. 1.24].[63] The arch, along with the south door and exterior corbel table are the most decorative parts of the building. We cannot yet call Adel's east end a "chancel" since the arrangement (and lack of piscina on the south wall of the eastern cell for disposal of sacred ablutions) suggests that the altar was still to the west of the eastern cell.

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[61] On the correlation between lithic fonts and the "Great Rebuilding" of c. 1050–1150, see Carolyn Twomey, "Romanesque Baptismal Fonts in East Yorkshire Parishes: Decoration and Devotion," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and Its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa Foster, Julia Perratore, and Steven Rozenski (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 310–12.

[62] Though there is documentary evidence associated with the church at Adel regarding it being given to Kirkstall Abbey in 1172, there was a second, undated charter that may have either pre- or post-dated it, possibly changing its meaning. Regardless or who owned it and when, however, it must have been finished by 1172, but how long before that is unknown. William Farrer and Charles Travis Clay, eds., *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 6, The Paynel Fee* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 79; George Zarnecki, "A Group of English Medieval Door-Knockers," in *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture*, Studies in the History of European Art (London: The Dorian Press, 1979), 112; Peter Ryder, *Medieval Churches of West Yorkshire* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, 1993), 29.

[63] For detailed descriptions of the sculpture, see Wood, "St John the Baptist, Adel, Yorkshire, West Riding," The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland, 1999, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/576/.

Stewkley (Buckinghamshire), dated by Pevsner to the third quarter of the twelfth century, is an example of a three-celled church, with a crossing to support a tower [figs. 1.25–1.27].[64] We can discern something about how the church functioned through reading its fabric. Stewkley's gothic mural piscina over an earlier bench (curiously not mentioned by Pevsner), suggests that the east end was not built as a chancel initially, but that it was adapted to suit the eastward movement of the altar, reflecting the increasing exclusivity of the rite of the Eucharist, and creating additional desire for witnessing the moment of transubstantiation [fig. 1.28].[65] One also imagines that the move eastward and use of intramural piscina, rather than an awkward free-standing pillar piscina may have been desirable.

Barton (Cumbria) has an unusual feature in the crossing: an extra cut-out arch over the crossing and chancel arches [figs. 1.29–1.30]. Inside of the crossing, there is a slim stepped Norman window on the south side, ideally placed to light the altar which would have been situated in the center of the crossing [fig. 1.31]. The south wall's exterior wall is now interior, owing to the construction of an aisle in the thirteenth century. By then, the altar had retreated into the chancel, which was lengthened in the fourteenth century [fig. 1.32].[66]

Indeed, the definition of parish churches as seen in these Late Norman examples coincides with the levying of royal taxes, which show the parish church was a defined unit in the second half of the twelfth century. In 1166 Henry II ordered a tithe to fund crusading ventures in the Holy Lands; this tax was to be self-assessed, and the money was put in chests provided to the

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[64] Nikolaus Pevsner, Elizabeth Williamson, and Geoffrey K. Brandwood, *Buckinghamshire*, Buildings of England (Yale University Press, 1994), 645.

[65] Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 89.

[66] Matthew Hyde and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 144.

parishes, under three locks, to which the priest and two parishioners held the keys.[67] During another crusade two decades later, the parish became the unit of taxation for the more regulated "Saladin Tithe," named for the Ayyubid caliph whose defeat it was intended to fund.[68] These were the first taxes in England based on the ownership of moveable property rather than land, which was previously taxed in the geld.[69] The fact that the parish was the unit by which people were organized, combined with the fact that the church itself was the location where the tax was collected, is indicative of the thorough hold of the parochial system by at least 1166, as well as the complete ubiquity of it. It is clear from its role in financing military excursions that the parish had an identity on a national level by the middle of the twelfth century.

Local churches like Raunds Furnells did not have the lateral spaces (porticae) that minster churches did. Adel and Stewkley are Anglo-Norman Romanesque parish churches, much like Raunds Furnells, but on a larger scale. In these, we see development in the location of the altar, which moves from the nave, to under the chancel arch, and then finally to the east end of the church in the chancel. The chancel was the primary architectural development of the late-Norman parish church. This reflects a period more focused on the demands of the priest and his activities than it does the lay use of the church, the latter being the primary subject of this dissertation.

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[67] See MCLXVI-VIII, Gervase, monk of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury: the chronicle of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs (Longman & Co., 1879), 198–99; Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 419; Fred A. Cazel, "Financing the Crusades," in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. Harry W. Hazard and Norman P. Zacour, vol. 6 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 126–27.

[68] Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216*, 419; Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 4.

[69] Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings: 1075-1225* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 167.

Coming to terms with the great church

The parish church has been the subject of a troubled historiography with what Peter Draper has called a "tacit assumption that parish churches are simplified versions of larger, more ambitious churches with the vocabulary not well understood or well executed."[70] Numerous studies, ostensibly of parish churches, have focused not on this genre of buildings precisely, but on the ways that they conform, or attempt to conform, with "greater" churches.[71]

The so-called "greater church" or, more commonly, "great church" is a term that appears in the literature throughout the twentieth century. It was likely coined by the prolific architectural historian, Francis Bond (1852–1918). Bond defines the greater church as "a convenient term for churches of monks and canons, cathedrals, and collegiate churches, excluding small ones, and also excluding parish churches."[72] The term is further taken up by Harry Batsford and Charles Fry in their *The Greater English Church* of 1940. In spite of the title, the authors use "greater" and "great" interchangeably in the text. Batsford and Fry write that "the greater churches, as they are called in this book, for want of a better collective name, were almost invariably constructed on a larger and grander scale than their workaday parochial relations."[73] They distinguish great churches from their counterparts as places where "a community of men or women, largely

[70] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 175.

[71] This view has been critiqued in the past two decades. See for example: Hoey, "Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: C.1180-c.1260"; Davidson, "Written in Stone," 64–65; Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 175.

[72] Francis Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), xxiii.

[73] Harry Batsford and Charles Fry, *The Greater English Church of the Middle Ages*, 2d ed., rev, The British Heritage Series (London: B. T. Batsford, 1940), 1.

withdrawn from the world, could offer in the seclusion of their choir a continual round of worship and intercession undisturbed by the duties and distractions of secular life."[74] By this definition, one is led to believe that a great church can be understood as any church with a pulpitum blocking access to the liturgical choir where a religious community (cloistered or uncloistered) could worship unfettered by the laity.

Christopher Wilson further refined the term in his *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130–1530* (first published in 1990). This book does not actually limit its scope to Gothic cathedrals; instead, the monuments discussed are best described as cathedral-scale, and include monastic and collegiate churches. He writes that "since the buildings which form this uppermost stratum of Gothic architecture include hardly any features specific to their different institutional functions, and since influences passed freely between them, it is logical and appropriate that they be considered as a single category, namely the 'great church.'"[75] Crucially, Wilson identifies the "great church" as distinct from the parish church in every case except one.[76] Wilson describes the characteristics that great churches mostly possess:

> The constituent elements of the great church type may be enumerated as follows: a cruciform plan, with a nave longer than the other three arms; a nave and possibly also other arms built to the basilican scheme, that is with side aisles and a higher and wider central vessel receiving direct lighting from a clearstorey; a middle storey of some kind between the clearstorey and the arcades separating central vessel from aisles; masonry

[74] Ibid.

[75] Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 7.

[76] It is worth remarking upon the fact that Wilson's book covers no English parish churches aside from Bristol's St. Mary Redcliffe, "England's one cathedral-like parish church." St. Mary Redcliffe was completed in the late-fifteenth century, far outside the scope of this thesis, and as such will merit only this brief comment. It is a large, exceptionally fine parish church with pretensions outside of the genre of English parish churches; as Wilson notes, it reflects a knowledge of continental "burger cathedrals" in places where its Bristolian merchant patrons traded. Although it differs dramatically from the typical English parish church, Redcliffe nevertheless is parochial in one important way: it has a two-story (or perhaps two-and-a-half story) elevation.

> vaulting over all or most of the aisles and central vessels; longitudinal division of the arms into a series of (in theory) uniform spatial units of 'bays' articulated as a system of linked arches and cylindrical shafts; an eastern termination of complex plan, most commonly an apse with an ambulatory and radiating chapels; and one or more towers integrated into the main body of the church, usually over the centre of the cross (the crossing) or on the west façade of the nave.[77]

Wilson's definition helps us to establish a negative definition of the architecture of a parish church. The parish church does not have a three-story elevation, vaults, an ambulatory or radiating chapels. We add to this the fact that unlike great churches, which typically have western entrances, parish churches are generally entered through a southern doorway or porch. Scale is not mentioned in Wilson's definition; although tiny great churches are rare, some parish churches, particularly from the late-thirteenth century and on, are on a cathedral-esque scale: St. Nicholas, Newcastle (Northumberland) [fig. 1.33], Boston (Lincolnshire) [fig. 1.34], and Hull (East Yorkshire) [fig. 1.35] are examples. Wilson's definition also excludes any mention of form or function, and thus does not consider any differences in liturgical or social need between great churches and parish churches; this dissertation endeavors to remedy this by focusing on lay use of parish churches.

Batsford and Fry's dichotomy between great and parish churches suggests the great church is a self-evident category, while Wilson can be accused of cherrypicking. In reality, neither Batford and Fry nor Wilson do justice to function, patronage, history, and use, nor to the variety of structures that muddle distinctions between great and parish churches. Lesser monastic establishments might be considered of a "middle rank." The relationship between these buildings and parish churches has not been seriously considered, largely because this group suffered the most during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Abbeys that were not large and powerful enough

[77] Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530*, 7.

to be upgraded to cathedrals by Henry VIII (St. Albans, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Oxford, and briefly, Westminster) were largely destroyed or allowed to fall to ruin. Fortunately, many of these have been excavated so that they are well known in plan, but frequently not in elevation. The surviving ones are typically the houses of Benedictine monks or Augustinian canons. The best survivals are those that were adopted into parochial use; some examples are Lanercost Priory (Cumbria) [fig. 1.36–1.37], where the nave survives roofed though the choir is ruined, Cartmel Priory (Cumbria) [fig. 1.38–1.39], and Freiston (Lincolnshire) [fig. 1.40–1.41]. Cistercians and Carthusians favored remote locations where lay communities were unlikely to form around their monasteries, though there are some exceptions such as the Cistercian abbey of Holmcultram (Cumbria) [fig. 1.42–1.43], and the Cistercian nunnery Swine Priory (East Yorkshire) [fig. 1.44–1.45], both of which are now in parochial use.

Show some decorum: against an imitative model in the English parish church

Parish churches have been sidelined in scholarship largely because they have been viewed as less important or less interesting than cathedrals and other great churches. This implicit view continues to be perpetuated by parish churches which lay claim to epithets which suggest that the only way to be considered significant is through comparison with cathedrals.[78]

[78] For example, Bunny (Nottinghamshire) is sometimes referred to the "Cathedral of the Wolds," and Churchtown St. Helen (Lancashire) is called the "Cathedral of the Fylde." Brauston (Northamptonshire) is referred to as "Cathedral of the Canals," and Cranbrook (Kent) as "Cathedral of the Weald." Grinton (North Yorkshire), Kirkby Stephen (Cumbria), and Kirkby Malham (North Yorkshire) are all sometimes known as the "Cathedral of the Dales." Though these are largely nineteenth- and twentieth-century epithets reflecting a misunderstanding that a "cathedral" refers to a large church rather than the seat of a bishop, it is interesting that a common way to exalt the size or beauty of a parish church is to suggest that it is cathedral-like.

Despite claims to the contrary, the parish church is not, however, merely derivative of the great church, but should instead be considered a genre with its own history and internal logic.

Although parish churches are not derivative of great churches, they are not entirely unrelated, either. Instead, as I shall demonstrate, the relationship between the genre of the parish church and that of the great church is mediated by *decorum*, defined by Paul Crossley as "the suitability of forms to the aims and ideals of the institution."[79] Suitability, in this case, does not entail functional appropriateness, but rather an awareness of which stylistic elements befit the *status* of a given building; following this logic, a parish church would express, through its architecture, deference to a cathedral, in much the way a subject would, through his comportment, express his deference to the king.[80] The idea of decorum has been particularly well borne out in Peter Draper's work on cathedrals, especially with regards to Salisbury Cathedral and the so-called "episcopal style."[81] Draper tests its application briefly to other types of medieval buildings, including parish churches, in *The Formation of English Gothic*, and I build on his comments here. In particular he writes that the diminishment of parish church ornament

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[79] Paul Frankl and Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture* (Yale University Press, 2000), 28.

[80] This idea of a building's style fitting its status is found in numerous examples. Kimpel and Suckale have argued that the abbey church of Mouzon was deliberatively conservative (referencing the older cathedral of Laon) so as not to compete with the more local and more recent work at Reims Cathedral. Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *L'Architecture Gothique En France 1130-1270*, trans. Françoise Neu (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), 293; Michael Davis argues that the parish church of Notre-Dame-des-Menus in Boulogne-Billancourt exemplifies architectural decorum fitting to its station even though it was the subject of the elite patronage of Philip IV. Though Davis suggests that the task of designing the church was given to a mason of status perhaps exceeding that of a typical parochial commission, even in the hands of an elite mason, the parish is "stripped of exactly those signs—four-light tracery compositions, exterior gables, and statue niches—that mark episcopal and royal buildings." Michael T. Davis, "Splendor and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290-1350," *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (1998): 55.

[81] The episcopal style is coined in Peter Brieger, *English Art, 1216-1307*, Oxford History of English Art 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 1–15; It is further considered in Virginia Jansen, "Salisbury Cathedral and the Episcopal Style in the Early 13th Century," in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. Laurence Keen and Thomas Cocke (London: British Archaeological Association, 1996), 32–39.

between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "is a reflection of the wider reform movement in the Church and that it indicates a different view as to the appropriate appearance of a parish church within the wider context or a broad hierarchy of building types."[82] This tendency toward streamlining church architecture with attention to decorum resulted from an experimental phase of building, begun in the twelfth century and tapering off in the thirteenth. This decorum should not be mistaken for austerity or necessarily economic constraint; parish churches continued to be built in a range of budgets, from humble to lavish, for the reminder of the Middle Ages. Although a dearth of documents regarding parish church finances before the fifteenth century prevents the elaboration of specifics regarding spending, the standing fabric reveals ostentation in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century building that exceeds the "cathedral-like" motifs that are abandoned within parochial contexts early in the thirteenth century.[83]

Parishioners and clergy were not trying to make their parishes look like little cathedrals. They were eager to show a familiarity with the latest fashions in tracery or sculptural details; the two-bay north arcade at Fiskerton in Lincolnshire, for example, pays homage to its diocesan cathedral of Lincoln with its shafted column and fine foliate capital and responds [fig. 1.46–1.47].[84] However, the desire to express distinct parochial identity is everywhere evident in the parish church. One example of this involves Elias of Dereham, a canon of Salisbury Cathedral who was in charge of the building works for the new cathedral from 1220 until his death in

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[82] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 227.

[83] On parochial financing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the likely involvement of parishioners, see Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 284–85; For the later Middle Ages and the dearth of documention for parochial finances in the high Middle Ages, see Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*.

[84] Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *Lincolnshire*, Buildings of England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 279.

1245.[85] Tim Tatton-Brown writes that his prebend,[86] Potterne (Wiltshire) must have been built by Elias of Dereham himself "as one can see instantly that it resembles a miniature Salisbury Cathedral, with its crossing tower, large transepts, pairs and triplets of lancet windows and shafts of Purbeck marble." [figs. 1.48–1.49][87] Although Tatton-Brown is correct in identifying the Salisbury-esque characteristics of Potterne, I question the attribution of it as a "miniature Salisbury." [fig. 1.50] Potterne is in every way a parish church, albeit one that borrows decorative elements from the cathedral. It is unvaulted, and has a single-elevation—in fact, it is unaisled. Even for Elias, the impresario behind Salisbury Cathedral, as well as the figure documented to be in charge of Henry III's building projects at Winchester Castle and Clarendon Palace,[88] the parish church occupies a very different register—one that is governed by architectural decorum, and shares more in common with the ordinary church of Haltwhistle than with Salisbury Cathedral.

The parish church of Skelton near York (North Yorkshire) is attributed to cathedral masons from York Minster under the patronage of the treasurer of the Minster, Richard Haget [figs. 1.51–1.53]. While there is no explicit evidence that the treasurer paid for the church to be built, he established a stipend for the first priest at Skelton, a Robert of Leeds.[89] The transepts of York Minster were built during the episcopacy of Archbishop Walter de Gray in the period of ca.

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[85] John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, 2nd ed. (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1954), 81.

[86] A prebend is a cathedral benefice, the endowments of which are given to support a member of the cathedral chapter. See Stephen Friar, *A Companion to the English Parish Church* (Godalming: Bramley Books, 1996), 358.

[87] Tim Tatton-Brown and John Crook, *The English Church* (London: New Holland, 2005), 58–59.

[88] Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, 81.

[89] Christopher Wilson, David E. O'Connor, and Michael A. J. Thompson, *St Giles Skelton, a Brief Guide* (York, 1978), 1.

1220–1250.[90] Compelling similarities between the transepts at the Minster and Skelton have caused scholars to accept that the same masons were responsible for both.[91] Among these are the molding profiles of the arches and capitals of the west wall, which are nearly identical to the north transept of the Minster [figs. 1.54–1.55].[92] The church is a "bijou" building of unusual quality and completeness. As Christopher Wilson has commented about the church, "for once we can look at a medieval architect's design carried out in accordance with his original intentions and left virtually free from later alterations."[93] In spite of Skelton's proximity to the architecture of York Minster's transepts, it is built in line with parochial decorum. Unlike the transepts, which have three-story elevations, are richly molded and polychromatic with the use of Purbeck marble. Skelton has only a single-story elevation, is entered not via the west façade, but through the south porch, and it is unvaulted. Eschewing the foliate ornament in the Minster, the predominant decorative motif of the church interior is the comparatively austere motif of nailhead. In spite of these conventions which separate the parish church from the related cathedral, it is clear from visual observation that it is of the highest quality.[94] The masons were obviously capable of building in great church scale and mode, but they have not done that at Skelton, either by their own choice, or at the behest of their patron.

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[90] On the chronology of transept building at York Minster, see Lawrence Hoey, "The 13th-Century Transepts of York Minster," *Gesta* 25, no. 2 (1986): 227.

[91] Early commentators made the romantic suggestion that Skelton was built using leftover materials from the Minster, but given an absence of evidence to prove this theory, it has been rejected. Wilson, O'Connor, and Thompson, *St Giles Skelton, a Brief Guide*, 1; Christopher Norton, *St. William of York* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 58.

[92] Wilson, O'Connor, and Thompson, *St Giles Skelton, a Brief Guide*, 2.

[93] Ibid., 1.

[94] In particular, Wilson has pointed to the quality of the magnesian limestone ashlar which is of "a quality normally found only in the greater medieval churches." Ibid.

The north aisle at Grantham (Lincolnshire) is an example of a parish church compared with cathedral-scale building, namely the Lincoln Cathedral Angel Choir (1256–80) [figs. 1.56–1.57]. However, it is notable that its linkages with the Angel Choir are limited to particular features not disparate from what is in the realm of parochial vocabulary. As Mary Dean has noted, the features reminiscent of Lincoln are "banded diagonal shafts and some good foliage sculpture," as well as the wide reconstruction of the north aisle [fig. 1.58].[95] Once again, it is decorative elements and motifs, rather than the presence of genuine great church characteristics that define this comparison.

The parish church is not merely derivative of the great church; it is a group of buildings that should be considered a genre with its own history and internal logic. The relationship of this genre to the great church is not one of imitation but is mediated by the notion of decorum I will discuss in the remainder of this chapter.

Characterizing the parish church: norms & innovations

By the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the genre of the parish church had developed to include expectations about what was necessary and appropriate for this type of building. As mentioned above, the distinction is not primarily related to finances, as a great many parish churches were built significantly larger than necessary to fulfill their needs, and with expensive and elaborate decoration. Rather than stemming from financial limitations, the model of the parish church is primarily related to the perceived sense of "appropriateness" for this type

[95] Mary Dean, "The Angel Choir and Its Local Influence," in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. T. A. Heslop and Veronica Sekules, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 7 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1986), 94.

of building. In the remainder of this chapter, I will address the exceptional presence of great church attributes in parish churches: vaults, three-story elevations, and western entrances. I will show that each of these exceptional examples occurs in an early period of the existence of the parish church as a distinct building type, prior to the solidification of a grammar of parochial appropriateness, or decorum, which formed within and among the group.

The resistance to both vaulting and three-story elevations in English parish churches is particularly curious given that parish churches in France frequently have both. French Gothic architecture loomed large in England, where ideas were imported, though usually not deployed in precisely the same ways. Many English parish churches were owned by monasteries located in France or in the Duchy of Normandy, and communication, material exchange, and conflict between the two countries was frequent. There is a different, and perhaps more imitative, relationship between great churches and parish churches in France than in England, though French parish churches still appear to be more austere and smaller in scale than the cathedrals. But as we see at Saint-Séverin in Paris [fig. 1.59], Saint-Jacques in Reims [fig. 1.60], and Saint-Denys in Arcueil [fig. 1.61], Notre-Dame in Auxonne [fig. 1.62], Notre-Dame-de-la-Nativité in Donnemarie-Dontilly [fig. 1.63], a three-part elevation with vaults is possible, and indeed frequent. Even in Saint-Martin, Etampes, where the east end and first nave bay have a three-story elevation, significant space in the middle zone is maintained even when the triforium is unarticulated [fig. 1.64]. Not all French parish churches have three-story elevations, and in fact there are regions in France where three-part elevations are not the norm—southern and western France are quite different from northern France, and as Branner shows in *Burgundian Gothic*

Architecture, there is a strain of churches with two-story elevations with "large panels of solid wall between the arcades and the clerestory."[96]

Though more comparative research needs to be done on the role and form of parish churches in the two countries, I pose the initial theory that the divergence between French and English parochial architecture has a lot to do with the difference between triforia—the thin passageways typical in French great churches, and the wide galleries more frequently built in England, spaces large enough for people to use for reasons both spiritual and banal.[97] Gallery altars existed in English monastic and cathedral churches, but upper level chapels were infrequent in English parish churches, with exceptions like the tower chapel at the Romanesque church at Brook (Kent) [fig. 1.65], and porch chambers in the fourteenth century and later.[98] These upper spaces would also be used for storage, for singing during the liturgy, treasuries, maintenance.[99] This extra space was probably not necessary within the parish church, where relatively simple liturgy was used and spaces like treasuries were unnecessary. Three-story elevations may have been eschewed because they posed unnecessary expense.

Among these predominantly parochial features are sedilia, seating for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, located in the south wall of the chancel. As James Alexander Cameron has demonstrated, sedilia originate in the parish church.[100] The second predominantly parochial

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[96] Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1960), 72.

[97] True triforia in English churches are found somewhat infrequently. Even Westminster Abbey, touted for its Frenchness, has a gallery so wide that it was recently renovated to house a museum. Examples of English triforia include the choir of St Mary Overie (now Southwark Cathedral), and Malmesbury Abbey.

[98] On upper stories in parish churches in the fourteenth century and beyond, see Lunnon, "Making an Entrance," 58–63.

[99] Toby Huitson, *Stairway to Heaven: The Functions of Medieval Upper Spaces* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), passim.

[100] Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 110–60 and passim.

feature is the lateral, typically southern entrance, which parish churches generally employ instead of the western portals characteristic of great churches. As in the case of vaulting and three-story elevations, I will show that the deviations from this general rule tend to be in the twelfth century and early in the thirteenth, and that southern doors become codified as a part of the parish church mode.

Sedilia are particularly significant in the parish church interior. Along with piscinae and sometimes tomb niches, they are the most significant carved elements in a parish church, and though some were subject to iconoclasm, they survived the Reformation better than many church fittings due to their immobility. Cameron's extensive work on this subject shows that, while eventually adopted by some great churches, sedilia were invented in the context of the English parish churches.[101] This is due to the taste for squared-off east ends, which developed alongside the eastward migration of the altar, and the prevalence of blind dado arcades in Anglo-Norman buildings like Durham [fig. 1.66], Ely [fig. 1.67], and Peterborough [fig. 1.68].[102] These decorative arcades were not initially designed to distinguish between seats, but the forms lent themselves to being used that way, particularly because, unlike in French buildings with dado arcading, the plinth was often wide enough to serve as a seat.[103] This use of arcading, according to Cameron, is first seen in the uniquely English genre of centrally-planned chapter houses, like the earliest at Worcester Cathedral from the beginning of the twelfth century [fig. 1.69].[104] A clear example of the relationship of dado arcading to sedilia is Burgh-next-Aylsham (Norfolk)

[101] For sedilia in great churches, see ibid., 135–53.

[102] On the issue of squared-off east ends, see ibid., 107–9; James Alexander Cameron, "The Englishness of English Sedilia," *British Art Studies*, no. 6 (June 29, 2017), https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-06/jacameron.

[103] Cameron, "The Englishness of English Sedilia."

[104] Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 103–4.

from around 1220–30, where the sedilia are not demarcated from the arcading throughout the chancel [fig. 1.70].[105]

Like many changes associated with parish churches, for sedilia, the beginning of the thirteenth century seems to be a turning point in the solidification of conventions within the building type, showing a conscious development within the form. There are only a handful of Romanesque sedilia in parish churches, all of the single-niche variety.[106] The earliest "classic" sedilia (i.e. those with three seats separated by shafts) in the twelfth century occur in churches of ambiguous status, such as St. Mary de Castro, Leicester [fig. 1.71], which was a crypto-collegiate rather than a local church, and other churches associated with castles, like Castle Hedingham [fig. 1.72], as well as the early Cistercian abbeys.[107] However, as Cameron shows, unlike single-niche sedilia, which appear almost in isolation, "classic" sedilia are picked up quite quickly and widely.[108] Cameron cautions against understanding the emergence of "classic" sedilia as a single step from dado arcading, and argues that "the ideas of full dado arcading, sedilia within dado arcading, and sedilia as separate objects appear to be coexistent in English architecture throughout the thirteenth century."[109]

Why are sedilia a particularly parochial concept, if the earliest examples occurred not in ordinary local churches but those associated with castles and Cistercian houses? Sedilia as they emerge as functional objects only make sense where there is a wall to carve them into. Therefore, an unaisled chancel with no south aisle is required in order to provide the support necessary for

[105] Ibid., 111.

[106] Cameron, "The Englishness of English Sedilia," 91–93.

[107] Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 97–98.

[108] Ibid., 101.

[109] Ibid., 114–15.

sedilia to be carved into. This immediately excludes great churches with south chancel aisles. Ultimately, as Cameron shows, sedilia became desirable and sought after—some great churches received sedilia, like the wooden set at Westminster Abbey [fig. 1.73] and the four-seat sedilia built into Prince Arthur's Chantry in Worcester Cathedral (c. 1509–15) [fig. 1.74]—though they required a rethinking of the traditional parochial strategy of inserting them into the chancel south wall.[110]

Haltwhistle's sedilia reflect the newfound emergence of sedilia as an independent type of liturgical fitting desirable for parish churches. As Cameron notes, they are contemporary with the well-preserved Early English chancel, but "the fact that they ignore the rhythm and sill of the lancets demonstrates the independence of sedilia as a fitting."[111] Though they reach the height of their popularity in the fourteenth century, thirteenth-century sedilia are clearly understood as prestigious and desirable within parish churches, and are, as previously mentioned, a rare example of a "trickle-up" from parish to great church.

One primary difference between the normative parish church and the great church strikes visitors immediately: the parish church is nearly always entered from a lateral door. Parish churches typically favor a south entrance as the primary point of ingress into the church, although evidence of a blocked door on one side of the nave is common, for example at Acton Burnell (Shropshire) where the northern porch is used for entrance and a southern doorway has been blocked [fig. 1.75]. The general dispensation for a southern main entrance rather than one

[110] James Alexander Cameron, "Competing for Dextra Cornu Magnum Altaris: Funerary Monuments and Liturgical Seating in English Churches," in *Revisiting the Monument: Fifty Years since Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture*, ed. Jessica Barker and Ann Adams, Courtauld Books Online (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2016), 137–54.

[111] Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 121.

on the north seems to be a matter of preference, rather than of liturgical necessity. An oft-repeated legend suggests that parishioners who died by suicide were buried on the north side of the church; in practice, it seems more likely that the south side was preferred because it was sunnier.[112] Only a minority of parish churches are accessed from a western portal, whereas one struggles to name a great church—cathedral or abbey—that did not have its primary entrance in the west.[113]

The placement of towers within the parish church structure affects the location of parochial entrances and thus necessitates comment here. The parochial preference for a south entrance has to do with the frequent location of single towers centered at the extreme west of the church, as opposed to great churches, which generally opted for a twin-tower western composition after the Norman Conquest. In the eleventh century, as Cragoe notes, only churches with minster status had towers; there is no evidence of towers in tenth-century wooden churches, and stone local churches also lacked them.[114] Minster churches typically had towers positioned over the crossing, so central towers only occurred in cruciform churches that served to buttress them on all sides. Before the birth of the chancel, altars were located in the nave or under the crossing, but the emergence of chancels and eastward migration of the altar due to liturgical changes made central towers increasingly inconvenient, as it is difficult to see the altar from the nave when the crossing is in the way. Barton (Cumbria), for example, has Romanesque slit

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[112] On the limited canons surrounding suicide see Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (Routledge, 2005), 96.

[113] An exception to this is Durham Cathedral as it now stands; the original west front is now enshrined within the Galilee Porch at the west end, and due to the cathedral's location, the main entrance is now on the north side; given the cathedral's monastic status, it could also be accessed via the cloisters located on the south.

[114] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 244.

windows in the north and south walls of the crossing, which were situated in such a way that they could light the altar. This arrangement was ideal, because it meant that the tower emphasized the altar. Churches originally built with central towers in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries are typically the only ones that retain them later on, even if they are rebuilt. Western towers began to appear in local churches in the second half of the eleventh century,[115] and became, by a wide margin, the norm for English parish churches. Gerald Randall estimates well over 75% of churches to have them, and Cragoe's rethinking of his statistics, which include all churches in current parochial use, suggests that if only purpose-built parish churches were accounted for, the percentage could be significantly higher than 85%.[116] Some west towers have doors, but they are fairly uncommon.

McAleer's study of Romanesque façades does not systematically analyze parish church façades, a condition that he attributes to the too-vast sample. He notes, however, that most parish churches conform to a limited number of west-front formulae: a "simple west wall" or a western tower. McAleer has designated the type of western tower utilized by parish churches as a "tower-façade."[117] A tower-façade is a separate block appended to the western part of the nave, accessible from the nave by a wide arch known as a "tower arch." Rather than being set atop the nave, tower-façades are discrete volumes to the nave, and McAleer points out that they can easily be read as such because they are typically much narrower than the nave. According to

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[115] Eric Cambridge, "Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England: A Style and Its Patrons," in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), 145.

[116] Gerald Randall, *The English Parish Church* (London: Spring Books, 1982), 65; Davidson, "Written in Stone," 244.

[117] J. Philip McAleer, *The Romanesque Church Facade in Britain*, Outstanding Theses from the Courtauld Institute of Art (New York: Garland, 1984), 382.

McAleer, these are unique to parish churches, and probably existed at a large percent of parish churches as a continuation of a "Saxon habit, as west towers in the identical position were common during the pre-Conquest period."[118]

Melbourne (Derbyshire) has a Romanesque west front with an unusual feature: a twin tower façade, which in spite of the fact that it was never finished, communicates ambition and grandeur [fig. 1.76]. Like New Shoreham, it has often been suggested that Melbourne was not originally intended to be a parish church due to its ambitious qualities, like the twin-tower façade, clerestory wall passage, and west gallery above a vaulted ground story occupying the interior of the west façade. However, Richard Gem, conceding that Melbourne has many unusual features, concludes that "there is nothing to indicate it was ever intended to house a religious community" as the fantastic nave is "the precise converse of what we should expect to find in a typical monastic church (e.g. the simple unaisled nave of Kirkham priory…)." [fig. 1.77][119] Instead, he recommends that the Melbourne's showiness "probably reflect[s] an intention to impress and declare the status of the patron."[120] As for the identity of the patron, Gem advances the hypothesis that it was built by King Henry I who had a manor in Melbourne, for whom the western gallery might have served as a royal pew.[121] Other theories have to do with Adelulf, bishop of Carlisle. It should be noted that Melbourne is early; though it is not securely dated, it can be placed stylistically in the first half of the twelfth century, prior to the development of the parish church mode. Hence, while writers have sought to show that its anomalies prove it was

[118] Ibid.

[119] Philip Dixon, Christopher J. Brooke, and Richard Gem, "Romanesque Churches," *Archaeological Journal* 146: sup1 The Nottingham Area (1989): 28.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., 29.

not intended as a parish church, I argue that it was built before a parish church decorum had been established and thus that there is no reason for it to be dismissed as un-parochial.

As Carol Davidson Cragoe has suggested, the rare parish churches that did have decorated west fronts, such as Iffley (Oxfordshire) [fig. 1.78] and Castle Rising (Norfolk) [fig. 1.79], had patrons with significant architectural pretensions and a desire to imitate great churches.[122] Iffley, of the late-twelfth century, has long been thought to have been the donation of minor aristocrat Robert de St Remy or his daughter, Juliana, but recently has been reattributed to an even more powerful family, the Clintons, by Mark Phythian-Adams.[123] In spite of its showpiece west front, Iffley's patron did not dispense with the parochial custom of including a south door, which Jennifer Sherwood calls "even more exuberant" than the west doorway's decoration [fig. 1.80].[124] The south door at Iffley is finely carved with roses, chevron, and some figural sculpture on the capitals.[125] Was this retained as the door for primary lay use, in spite of the west front?[126]

Pevsner describes the west front of Castle Rising as "a swagger piece of Norman decoration."[127] The doorway level is rather plain, but above it are two orders of blind arcading, the first intersecting, with an oculus above. Although the porch on the south side of the church has been called Romanesque, Helen Lunnon has shown that it is rather a nineteenth-century

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[122] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 211.

[123] Mark Phythian-Adams, "The Patronage of Iffley Church—a New Line of Enquiry," *Ecclesiology Today*, no. 36 (June 2006): 8 and passim.

[124] Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Oxfordshire*, The Buildings of England (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), 659.

[125] IHP, "St. Mary's Church, Iffley, Oxfordshire," *Archaeological Journal* 4, no. 1 (1847): 221.

[126] Sherwood and Pevsner, *Oxfordshire*, 659.

[127] Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 2: North-West and South*, Buildings of England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 255.

invention.[128] The earliest extant porches are from the thirteenth century.[129] The south doorway that it covers is Romanesque, and compared with the west front, quite plain. Both Iffley and Castle Rising, as well as similar compositions like Stewkley, are unaisled, and all have steeply pitched gable roofs.

West fronts are comparatively less frequent in the periods during which the Early Gothic and Early English styles were in use. One exceptional example is the magnificent west front at Felmersham (Bedfordshire) from about 1220 or 1230, a neat Early English riff on the blind-arcaded Romanesque west fronts like Iffley and Castle Rising [fig. 1.81]. The doorway is flanked by blank arches containing subarches and quatrefoils at the top. Above the door are seven dogtooth-decorated blind arches, and atop that a window zone with a larger central window (replaced with Perpendicular tracery) with a lancet on either side. Pevsner remarks on the rarity of thirteenth-century west fronts, and concludes that Felmersham's has none of the "motifs which jar" seen even at Salisbury and Peterborough—"nothing to disturb one's quiet admiration."[130] The west front composition covers only the nave, unlike in great churches, such as the contemporary west front of Salisbury Cathedral, where the aisles are also treated to plentiful niches [fig. 1.82]. At Felmersham, the lean-to aisles have only small lancet windows. Felmersham was hospitable to a west front. It has an Early English central tower, making a west tower unnecessary. As the church was built in one go, however, the central tower was a thirteenth-century decision, rather than maintenance of earlier fabric as it often is elsewhere.

[128] Lunnon, "Making an Entrance," 96.

[129] Lunnon, "Making an Entrance."

[130] Nikolaus Pevsner and Charles O'Brien, *Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough*, Buildings of England (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 89.

Lenton Priory owned the church in the later-twelfth century,[131] though Pevsner acknowledges that that fact is not significant.[132] I agree, insofar as it does not necessarily explain the grandeur of the church. However, it does prove that an earlier church existed on the site, so perhaps although earlier fabric has not been retained, Romanesque tradition is replicated.

Humbler than Felmersham is Boldre (Hampshire), which has a west front that corresponds with the western three nave arcade bays added to the eastern three nave bays excavated from the wall of the earliest, unaisled iteration of the church [fig. 1.83]. The *Victoria County History* gives the date of the earlier arcade to c. 1130, while Pevsner considers it to be from c. 1175.[133] Boldre has only a south aisle at the west front, as a mid-thirteenth-century north chapel is just the length of the earlier nave bays [fig. 1.84]. An arch at the west of the north chapel now leads to a modern vestry; the Victoria County History establishes the possibility of a previously-existing north aisle.[134] This is plausible due to the fifteenth-century north wall which could have replaced an earlier arcade. The church is of the single-gable style, the south aisle roof descending almost directly from the nave roof rather than having its own gable or lean-to roof. Hence, the arrangement is that of a single central doorway headed with a pointed arch, with a string course above, followed by a bar-tracery window with three trefoil head subarcuations with a cinquefoil at the apex. Above that window is a significant blank zone. The south door is far east in the twelfth-century work. This was probably judged sufficient for continued daily use

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[131] "Parishes: Felmersham with Radwell | British History Online," accessed January 7, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/beds/vol3/pp59-63#h3-0003.

[132] Pevsner and O'Brien, *Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough*, 89.

[133] "Parishes: Boldre | British History Online," accessed January 7, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol4/pp616-623#h3-0003; Nikolaus Pevsner and David Lloyd, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Buildings of England (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), 113.

[134] "Parishes: Boldre | British History Online."

when the church was extended west, as it was not replaced with a door in the newer work. Instead, it gained the western door. Boldre likely did not have a tower until the early-fourteenth-century one on the south of the chancel was built; its unusual location is due to the fact that the church lacked a crossing tower and has a west front. The normative presence of western towers in parish churches can be posited as the primary reason for a lack of western portals.

Great church attributes in parish churches: vaults

Prior to the Conquest, vaults were used in England primarily in crypt spaces.[135] The Normans were architecturally ambitious, however, and used vaults in both ecclesiastical and secular contexts.[136] Although vaults became *de riguer* in cathedrals and are frequently used in monastic churches, only a minority of parish churches have any sort of vault. Romanesque parish churches are more likely than Gothic ones to have a vault, and while a majority of the forty-nine surviving apsidal parish churches have east-end vaults, some without apses like Iffley (Oxfordshire) [fig. 1.85] and Tickencote (Rutland) [fig. 1.86] do as well. Of the many thousands of parish churches "retaining work of the Early English and Decorated periods," Larry Hoey identified only about sixty that were in any part vaulted, or which showed evidence of former vaults or even intention to vault.[137] Most frequently, the parochial vaults that Hoey identifies (thirty-four of sixty) are placed over chancels. Other possible locations are a transept (Bishopstone, Wiltshire) [fig. 1.87], or a transeptal east aisle (Berkhampstead, Hertfordshire)

[135] Gerard Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England: Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the Conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest* (London: J. Murray, 1903), 127.

[136] Hoey and Thurlby, "A Survey of Romanesque Vaulting in Great Britain and Ireland," 117–18.

[137] Hoey, "Stone Vaults in English Parish Churches in the Early Gothic and Decorated Periods," 36.

[fig. 89], or the east bay of an aisle (Aldingbourne, Sussex) [fig. 1.89], or west tower (for example, Sherburn-in-Elmet, North Yorkshire [fig. 1.90] and Cliffe, Kent).

No English parish churches had vaults throughout; unlike in Jersey's twelve medieval parish churches or in many French examples, in English parish churches vaults are used only to punctuate space, not as a consistent ceiling strategy. In many of these placements, the vault goes over an altar, as in Aldingbourne, where the eastern bay of the south aisle has a miniature copy of the vaults in the south transept of nearby Chichester Cathedral [fig. 1.91] and Boxgrove Priory [fig. 1.92]. The addition of this to an otherwise unvaulted building serves to demarcate the space to house an altar. The thirteenth-century vault at Aldingbourne is later than the late-twelfth-century aisle that it is in. In 1227, the church, which was a prebend of Chichester Cathedral, was assigned by the Chapter to the Dean of Chichester; it was held by the deans of Chichester until the nineteenth century.[138] Ian Nairn suggests that the rib vault was "probably done by the masons from Chichester, as the cathedral held the advowson."[139] Although the advowson was simply the cathedral's right to choose the rector and thus cannot be considered definitive evidence of masons from Chichester, in this case it seems plausible, as the cathedral, priory, and parish are all within less than five miles of one another. The presence of a distinctive rib vault over one bay of the aisle at Aldingbourne seems to be a rare example of intervention from cathedral prelates who opted for a visual motif characteristic of great church, not parish church, architecture. No matter how unusual it is, however, it is only one bay; to vault the entire aisle would have been quite expensive, not to mention uncouth.

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[138] L. F. Salzman, ed., "Aldingbourne," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester* (London: Victoria County History, 1953), 134–38, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol4/pp134-138.

[139] Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Sussex*, Buildings of England (Yale University Press, 1965), 77.

Parish church vaults were by no means widespread, and Hoey's study also shows that the greatest distribution is in southern England, particularly the southeast counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire.[140] He asserts that there are fewer Early English and Decorated style parochial vaults than Romanesque, and that where and when they occur, they seem to be more common from c. 1180–1230 than later.[141]

Great church attributes in parish churches: elevation

Three-story elevations in English parish churches are even scarcer than vaults, and the corpus of parochial three-story elevations is small enough to discuss in its totality here. Virtually all English great churches possessed three-story elevations by the twelfth century, so the contrast between parish and great churches in this regard is quite stark. These are isolated experiments, rather than indicative of a greater trend. Parochial three-story elevations are virtually nonexistent after the first quarter of the thirteenth century as customs and decorum for parochial architecture come to be normalized in practice.

New Shoreham (Sussex) has both vaulting and a three-story elevation in its massive chancel, making it a particularly interesting case study [figs. 1.93–1.95]. The parish church of New Shoreham is unusual in a number of ways. Its dedication to St. Mary de Haura is unique, and refers to its seaside location as "de Haura," a derivation of "de havre," or "of the harbor." The six-bay aisled nave was mostly lost in the eighteenth century, with only one bay remaining by the time of Samuel Hieronymous Grimm's 1782 watercolor, *View of New Shoreham Church*

[140] Hoey, "Stone Vaults in English Parish Churches in the Early Gothic and Decorated Periods," 39.
[141] Ibid., 48.

taken from the Street abutting on the West Side of the Church yard ([fig. 1.96] BL additional MS 5673, item number f. 42 [no. 75]). Since its loss, the nave is represented only by the masonry fragments of the west wall. The nave was aisled, with thick piers; a clerestory window remaining on the south side shows that it had at least a two-story elevation, though blank space between the arcade and clerestory window provides the possibility that it might have had a three-story elevation like the choir. Michael Norman has advanced the tentative suggestion that the nave aisles could have been vaulted.[142]

What remains of New Shoreham is its five-bay, aisled chancel [fig. 1.97]. Notably, the piers on the north and south sides are of dramatically different designs: on the north side are alternating round and octagonal piers with stiff leaf capitals, and on the south, compound piers. In spite of the diverse appearances of the north and south arcades, they are close in date to one another. While Ian Nairn attributes this to "a change in the direction of the masons' lodge," Peter Draper argues that it is a reflection of "an inventive and exploratory period" prior to 1200.[143] The differences at New Shoreham continue in the second story; on the north gallery there are paired openings in the three western bays, and later, single trefoil openings in the two eastern ones; the south side has large, single openings.

The chancel is difficult to accurately phase, largely due to the aisle walls, which have Late Norman (ca. 1160) blind arcading as well as arcades that appear to date to the last decades of the twelfth century. Sally Woodcock has argued that the extant aisle walls reuse material from a previous, aborted build, which she believes simplifies the overcomplicated proposed building

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[142] Michael Norman, *The Church of St. Mary New Shoreham* (Shoreham: The Vicar and Churchwardens of New Shoreham, n.d.), 2.

[143] Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, 280; Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 97.

chronology.[144] While her argument for reuse is plausible, it seems to complicate, rather than simplify, the phasing. The large nave had been completed and was standing by the point Woodcock is discussing, so while access to the liturgical east end would be desirable, the church could have certainly been used throughout a protracted building period. When building with aisles, rather than adding them later, it makes sense for the earliest fabric to be the aisle walls, followed by arcades. Yoshio Kusaba's proposed building chronology runs from about 1165 to 1210/15, and appears to be the most sensible approach. He argues that the outer aisle walls came first (north around 1165, and south to follow around 1170), and were connected with the eastern wall of the transepts. Following this, the arcades (south and then north, both up to string level below the triforum) were built. A third phase in the sequence was completed by a master mason familiar with the post-1187 building at Chichester Cathedral, and includes the high vaults, clerestory, and flying buttresses.[145]

The leading debate about New Shoreham has been over who was responsible for the building of New Shoreham's impressive, vaulted, three-story chancel. It has been conventionally thought that it was built by a member of the Briouze family and that the choir was intended to be given to the monks at Sele, with the nave for parochial use. Sally Woodcock argues that there is no positive evidence for this, nor is there any mention of St. Mary de Haura being anything other than a parish church. I add to this debate an analysis of style and composition. A three-story parochial elevation is incredibly rare in England. It is worth mentioning that many middle-rank

[144] Sally Woodcock, "The Building History of St Mary De Haura, New Shoreham," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 145 (1992): 100.

[145] Yoshio Kusaba, "On the Choir of the Church of St. Mary at New Shoreham: Its Chronology and Stylistic Sources" (Unpublished Paper presented at the Fifth Annual Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians, Université Laval, Quebec City, 1985).

monastic structures have two-story elevations, like Boxgrove, also in Sussex. Although it is tempting to believe that New Shoreham is simply an extraordinarily fancy, exciting, and experimental parish church, the stylistic evidence and comparanda suggest that it was perhaps intended for monastic or mixed parochial and monastic use.

Another example of a three-story parochial elevation occurs in Hedon (East Yorkshire) [figs. 1.98–1.99]. Hedon was port town in the East Riding, and reached the height of its prosperity in the late-twelfth century.[146] Similar to Hythe, Hedon was silted in and far surpassed by a nearby port town with easier access to the Humber, Kingston-upon-Hull.[147] At one time, John Leland tells us, Hedon was populous and wealthy enough to support three parish churches, but only St. Augustine's stands today.[148] Its Early English transepts have three-story elevations on their lateral walls [figs. 1.100–1.101].

The south transept, from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, is a generation earlier than the north: the façade with its individual lancets is early Early English, compared with its counterpart on the north which is mature Early English. A nineteenth-century woodcut shows a large Perpendicular window as the termination of the south transept [fig. 1.102].[149] The south elevation of the transept in the woodcut suggests that it has been maintained, if not in individual stones, in effect. The Hedon transepts originally had eastern aisles (evidenced by blocked arcades) that were demolished along with the chancel's south chapel, which extended out of the

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[146] E. H. M. Ainslie, *The Church of Saint Augustine, Hedon. "The King of Holderness"* (Hedon, 1936), 1.

[147] C. R. Elrington, ed., *A History of Yorkshire East Riding*, vol. 5, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 168; Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 144.

[148] John Leland, *Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, trans. John Chandler (Stroud, Gloucestershire: A. Sutton, 1993), 548; The other churches were St. Nicholas (to the east), and St. James (to the south). Nothing of them survives. Ainslie, *The Church of Saint Augustine, Hedon. "The King of Holderness,"* 3.

[149] Ainslie, *The Church of Saint Augustine, Hedon. "The King of Holderness,"* 3, 6.

south transept's east aisle [fig. 1.103]. The south transept was almost completely rebuilt by George Edmund Street, who worked on Hedon between 1868–76 (after having been appointed a Diocesan Architect by the Archbishop of York).[150] Street delivered a paper to the Society of Antiquaries about Hedon in 1870, which was published posthumously; here he asserts that "every thirteenth-century stone has as far as possible been marked and restored to its old place… I have attempted to restore the whole façade as nearly as I could to its old state."[151] It is likely that Street had little evidence for the previous appearance of the southern façade, however, and he restored it to his taste and an idealized version of the period's architecture; there is no evidence to suggest that his restoration was purely archaeological. The north transept is later than the south, and aside for the roof and gable containing a rose window (Street's invention), Street says the exterior is in "very perfect condition."[152]

The south transept is the earliest fabric in the building; this is unusual, as transepts are generally treated as subsidiary spaces. To what was it appended? Though there is no remaining evidence of earlier fabric, Street proposes that it was "undertaken in order that the older building might not be removed until there was some portion of the new church ready for the use of worshippers."[153] Given the building chronology, this is almost certainly true. One wonders whether the entire building, or at least transepts and chancel, were intended to have three-story elevations. Did Hedon have ambitions beyond those of a parish church, obscured to us now after the abrupt termination of the original building campaign? Or was the choice of a three-story

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[150] Arthur Edmund Street, *Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A., 1824–1881* (John Murray, 1888), 51.

[151] George Edmund Street, "The Church of St. Augustine, Hedon, Yorkshire.," *Archaeologia: Or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 48 (1884): 191.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid., 188.

elevation intended to glorify a subsidiary space for liturgical use? The composition is also surprisingly reminiscent of the east-end elevation of the middle-rank Augustinian Brinkburn Priory (Northumberland) [fig. 1.104].

Though technically a dependent chapel of the parish church of Saltwood, Hythe (Kent) [figs. 1.105–1.106] functioned as a normal parish with its parishioners able to receive all sacraments associated with traditional parishes; the major functional difference was that the priest was referred to as the "parish chaplain."[154] Because it was used in every way as a parish church, it is included in this study. Hythe's Early English chancel is of three stories (arcade, gallery, clerestory), and was intended to have both aisle and high vaults, though it was not completed with a stone high vault until Pearson's restoration of the 1880s [fig. 1.107].[155] Likewise, Pearson finished the north chancel elevation to match the south side. Though at this time pre-restoration images have not been located, in an 1889 essay on the church by Scott Robertson, a canon of Canterbury Cathedral and frequent contributor of "descriptions of buildings" to the pages of *Archaeologia Cantiana*, it is noted that "the architect who designed its magnificent chancel," in addition to the unfinished vaulting plan, "was not able even to complete the north wall of St. Leonard's so fully as he did the south wall."[156]

Why was Hythe's chancel built with such unusual features within the realm of parish church architecture? Geographic and economic context provides some clues. Hythe was, along with Hastings, Romney, Dover, and Sandwich, one of the original prosperous "Cinque Ports" in

[154] Scott Robertson, "St. Leonard's Church, Hythe," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 18 (1889): 403.

[155] Ibid., 404.

[156] Ibid.

the Middle Ages.[157] These towns, all on the southeast coast of England, were responsible for discharging royal ships, acting both defensively as well as providing cross-Channel transit. In return for their service to the Crown, they were granted significant freedoms of self-governance, ability to levy and evade taxes, and independent jurisdiction. In the context of these freedoms, it is unsurprising that the church is unusually fine and that an unusual elevation was experimented with, a similarly experimental elevation in a similarly prosperous place even a decade later probably would have been deemed unacceptable. One might look at the church of Hull, built in the 1290s, also in a major port city, where the size and scale are impressive, but a conservative two-story elevation was chosen [fig. 1.108].

The chancel elevation at Hythe has been compared to the choir elevation at Canterbury Cathedral from the 1170s and 80s, though stylistically it can be dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[158] The archbishop of Canterbury was the patron of Saltwood and thus Hythe, which is the basis of Hoey's assertion that "it was quite likely the archbishop who paid for the reconstructed chancel and who may have inspired, directly or indirectly, the connection with Canterbury."[159] The Hythe connection with Canterbury was noted in print as early as 1889 by Canon Robertson.[160] The major similarity between Hythe and the Canterbury choir is the middle story, which in both locations features a pair of openings, each with two arches.[161] The three

[157] Katherine Maud Elisabeth Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935).

[158] Hoey, "Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: c.1180-c.1260," 48.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Robertson, "St. Leonard's Church, Hythe," 409.

[161] Hoey, "Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: C.1180-c.1260," 48.

story elevation and (aborted) plan to vault the chancel places Hythe in a very unusual category for parish churches, made all the more unusual considering it was technically not even of parochial status.

The prosperity of Hythe and its Canterbury connection can be levied as explanations for its quirks, but many churches had ecclesiastical patronage and resisted these "great church" markers. One example of that is Stone-next-Dartford (Kent), which in the 1260s was built by masons from or inspired by Westminster Abbey likely under the patronage of the bishop of Rochester, Laurence de Santo, who also had a manor to the west of the church.[162] In spite of the bishop's patronage, which encouraged the use of metropolitan decorative motifs, the church had neither three-story elevation nor vault [fig. 1.109–1.110]. Likewise, Grantham (Lincolnshire), the prebendal church of two canons of Salisbury, was the locus of an aborted rebuilding scheme from the 1260s. The middle six bays of the north aisle are from this campaign, which would have demolished the twelfth-century church and widened the aisles had it been carried to fruition.[163] The abandonment of the plan resulted in the clerestory being lost in favor of a sharply pitched wooden roof. The significance of this failed campaign was its modesty of form: Grantham was architecturally ambitious, and its patrons were wealthy canons with a broad sphere of influence, yet it was intended to have only two stories. By 1260, it seems that anything more for a parish church was inconceivable.

The three-story elevations at New Shoreham, Hythe, and Hedon seem to be isolated experiments, not indicative of any larger trend. Two of the three are in the south, unsurprising

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[162] Paul Crossley, "The Nave of Stone Church in Kent," *Architectural History* 44 (2001): 203.

[163] John McNeill, "The Church of St Wulfram 3: Architecture, Patronage and Context," in *The Making of Grantham: The Medieval Town*, ed. David Start and David Stocker (Sleaford: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire, 2011).

given the much higher number of parochial vaults in the south-east, according to Hoey. It is noteworthy that these experiments are all early; I have found no examples after about the 1230s. After these, the closest we can find to a three-story elevation in a parish church is something like the nave of Ottery St. Mary (Devon), where a middle level has niches, not openings [fig. 1.111]. Ottery St. Mary, though, is exceptional insofar as it was Bishop Grandisson's college. It has often been called a miniature Exeter Cathedral, and is a sort of parody of great church and parish motifs. Other alternatives are the Perpendicular churches at Great Budworth [fig. 1.112] and Astbury in Cheshire which share similar two-and-a-half story elevations. At Astbury, a small blank middle story with traces of a painting of St. George and the Dragon suggests that a painted program for the middle level was either planned or fully executed there, more of a spoof of the idea of a triforium rather than a true middle story [fig. 1.113]. In both Astbury and Great Budworth this level is clearly articulated, but is unusual enough that Pevsner struggles to describe it at Astbury, referring to it simply as "horizontal staves one at arch-apex level, the other at clerestory-sill level."[164] These later examples reflect an awareness of what is expected for parochial elevations by the time the parish church as building type was solidified, and a self-conscious subversion of that expectation.

Conclusion

This chapter began with Haltwhistle, which typifies ordinary parish churches at the middle of the thirteenth century. As this chapter has demonstrated, parish churches of this style,

[164] Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard, *Cheshire*, Buildings of England (Yale University Press, 1971), 65.

with their characteristic decorum, emerged in response to the demands of pastoral care, particularly related to baptism and burial, that demanded a move away from the dispersed minster system. This led to the development of a discrete building type with meaningful differences with other church types, namely "great churches."

The result of this shift towards a distinct building mode eventually resulted in the "parish church mode" which is repeated *ad infinitum*, at least until the Reformation. Stylistic development in tracery and other decoration of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles follow essentially the same shape that the parish church of 1240 or 1250 does, featuring an aisled nave with a one or two-story elevation, square-ended chancel, and southern entrance, all surmounted with wooden roofs. Parish churches can be supersized—made to hold a much larger volume of space, like Boston (Lincolnshire) or Hull (East Yorkshire)—but it is only the size, not the features, that can be called cathedral-like. Parish church architecture is part of the overall parochial identity. Many parish communities were quite wealthy in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, but they channeled their money into decorative features like beautifully painted rood screens, elaborately carved wooden angel roofs, and glazing rather than building fabric—things which unfortunately have been more subject to the whims of reformers and the environment than stone buildings.

I return here to the comment by Draper that I referred to earlier in the chapter. Draper argues that the "change in demeanor" of parish churches in the thirteenth century is "a reflection of the wider reform movement in the Church."[165] Certainly the background of reform had an impact on church building in some way, but the extent and directness of this impact should be reconsidered. First, it seems necessary to consider what is meant by "reform." William

[165] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 227.

Campbell, in his recent book on pastoral care in the English Church, shows that the term needs to be approached with care, namely because the medieval meaning implies the "restoration of a former state" rather than the modern understanding of reform as progress.[166] Given the complexity of this term, I find it useful to think of the "reforms" related to parish churches more along the lines of "codification."

With the emergence of the parish system over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries came the reality that many parish priests, often poorly educated, were essentially left to their own devices in administering pastoral care to villages. Manuals for pastoral care, termed "pastoralia" by Boyle, were one of several means by which the church sought to remedy this isolation and convey information to these priests.[167] According to Boyle, while in 1179 at the time of the Third Lateran Council, there were hardly any pastoral manuals available, by Fourth Lateran (1215), there were about a dozen, which anticipated even more contributions to the genre after the council.[168] For parish churches, perhaps the most direct impact of the various reforms happening in the thirteenth century was the gradual acquisition for parochial clergy of a special class and identity, and with it the resources to help them perform their function.[169]

Although I hesitate to suggest that the late-twelfth-century parish church was essentially a free for all, its combination of characteristics was a habitual practice still emerging, not yet fully codified. This is evident in the quirks I have shown in this chapter, like vaults and three-story

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[166] William Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 7–8.

[167] Leonard Boyle, "The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Filippo Liotta (Siena: Nella Sede Dell'Accademia, 1986), 45–56.

[168] Ibid., 46.

[169] Ibid., 48.

parochial elevations, both great church motifs anomalously imported into local churches. I also do not mean to suggest that pastoral literature was making prescriptions to clergy about how their churches should look, but rather that the parish church was a total environment that increasingly became codified by its agents, lay and ecclesiastical. Finally, the expanding role of the laity, which began to be codified around the time of Fourth Lateran in 1215, inextricably altered the parochial landscape in terms of patronage and the maintenance of buildings, a topic further explored in the following chapter. The notion of decorum enables us to see how parish churches fit into the broader landscape of ecclesiastical architecture, and the ways in which they were built to deliberately reflect their identification as churches for and by lay people.

Chapter 2: The British Aisles: lateral expansion and the development of social agency in English parish churches

In the centuries following the emergence of the parochial system of pastoral care, communities adapted their church buildings to suit their spiritual and social needs. Due to the virtual absence of written documentation concerning church building in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, close examination of building fabric is our most reliable evidence for what happened. This chapter examines the lateral expansion of parish churches from 1150 to 1300, which is characterized by the addition of aisles to the church nave. It begins by mapping the way local churches developed both formally and institutionally prior to the twelfth century, before tracing the evolution of the aisle as the primary addition to parochial architecture from the mid-twelfth century onwards. I argue first that the parish church plan of an aisled nave and unaisled chancel, which became normative during this period and was maintained and expanded until the Reformation, was built to answer the needs and desires of the laity, rather than the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The gradual shift from the minster-type administration to the parish system (discussed in Chapter 1), which was largely complete by the second half of the twelfth century, initiated a change in parochial financing, which necessitated lay involvement in the care and keeping of the church. The architectural evidence shows that the laity were willing and eager to gain agency within their parish, which in turn benefited them both spiritually and socially.

Second, I argue that the expansion of the social hierarchies, particularly the development of a lower, local class of gentry, had an indelible impact on the parish church's physical form. This class of land-owning knights, who were not noble but held some regional power, used the parish church as a place to assert their newfound status. Indeed, the relationship between the church building and local gentry was symbiotic; the architecture required the patronage of this

rising class, and the church in turn provided a location for the legitimation of their station in society.

Even as class shifts added new rungs to the social ladder, an increasing doctrinal emphasis on purgatory—a third, middle place between heaven and hell that marked a stopping off point for souls after death, and the corresponding belief that deeds and donations could reduce one's stay in its cleansing fires— left many looking for the stairway to heaven. One of the forms that this stairway took was the emergence of aisles in parish churches. The addition of aisles to parish churches was partially motivated by the gentry's increasing demand for chantries, which secured both prestige for this burgeoning class in life and care for their souls in death. A "chantry" can refer both to the contract that stipulates provisions made for masses to be said after one's death, and to the physical chapel where such activity takes place. In this case, early chantry masses could often be satisfied by putting a new altar at the east end of a nave aisle where a priest could say mass; these spaces became increasingly elaborate over time.

I will show that aisles were a convenient place for this and other lay-driven activity. Furthermore, intramural lay burial, which gained legitimacy during this period, was confined to marginal spaces within the church. Aisles were thus an ideal location for intramural burial, ultimately granting these marginal spaces considerable importance, particularly for lay people. Finally, I consider mural niches framing the chancel arch, a strategy used in a significant minority of churches that lacked either the funds or space to build aisles, but still sought the functions they provided. The imitation of an aisle in form and function with the mural niche, I argue, affirms the significance of aisles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Church ownership and maintenance

Shifts in church ownership help to illuminate the relationship between the laity and the parish church building. After the Norman Conquest, many stone churches were founded as chapels on manorial property. However, by the twelfth century, reform initiated by the papacy looked unkindly on this practice.[1] The reformers criticized the potential for, and likelihood of, abuse inherent in a system where lay lords owned church property, passed it down to their heirs, and profited from tithes.[2] The result was that, in the twelfth century, many lords granted their churches to monasteries. This meant that an institution, rather than an individual, could be rector of a church, assigning a vicar or chaplain the day-to-day pastoral duties associated with the parish.[3]

The writing on the wall about lay ownership of churches is evident in the examples of churches surveyed by B. R. Kemp; as the twelfth century wore on, the language used in charters shows increasing ambiguity about which rights the lay lord still maintained and was able to grant to the monastery.[4] While we should not entirely discount the idea that these gifts were pious donations, the environment in the wake of the Gregorian reforms was increasingly inhospitable to lay ownership of churches, so offloading them to monasteries perhaps seemed like the path of least resistance, spiritually and legally. Kilpeck is an example of this [figs. 2.1–2.3]. It was built by Hugh fitzNorman, lord of Kilpeck Castle which lay just to the west of the church [fig. 2.4], in

[1] Canons from the 1090s published by Pope Urban II as well as documents by his successors mark this shift. Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 68.

[2] On this issue throughout Europe see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 923; Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 68.

[3] Pounds, *A History of the English Parish*, 42.

[4] B. R. Kemp, "Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31, no. 2 (1980): 135–37.

the 1130s, and was given to Gloucester Abbey (now cathedral) in 1134; given the short period of time between construction and donation, this was presumably always Hugh's intention.[5]

Local churches became the established units for secular administration, particularly taxation, as early as the seventh century.[6] Virtually all lay people would have contributed a percentage of their income to the parish church, and in exchange would have had rights to baptism and burial at the parish.[7] Pounds has traced the emergence of the parish as locus for secular administration to sometime in the twelfth century, noting that while the manor was the basic unit for Domesday Book in 1086, by the Saladin Tithe of 1188, the basic unit had shifted to the parish.[8] While the laity shared financial responsibility for the church throughout the Middle Ages insofar as their tithes funded church maintenance, they did not make decisions for the care of the parish building and grounds.[9]

In a 2010 article, Carol Davidson Cragoe explained the important shift from clerical maintenance of the entire church building to the nave being controlled by lay community.[10] Cragoe dates the first rumblings of change around parochial responsibility to the period between the third and fourth Lateran Councils (1179 and 1215 respectively). During this

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[5] Lionel Cust, "Kilpeck Church," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 5 (1915): 88; James King, "The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed," in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Hereford*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, XIV (Leeds: Maney Publishers, 1995), 89–90; Malcolm Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2000), 37.

[6] According to Pounds, the first law making lay contributions to the church mandatory was made by Ine of the West Saxons (688-c. 726) who called for "the payment of ciricsceattas or 'church-scot' at Martinmas." *A History of the English Parish*, 29–30.

[7] Ibid., xiii.

[8] Ibid., 4.

[9] Cragoe, "The Custom of the English Church," 22–24.

[10] Cragoe, "The Custom of the English Church."

intermediary period, a number of mentions are made about the division of responsibility between priest and parish members—although the dominant responsibility still rested on the clergy members during this period.[11] In the instances where responsibility was shifting onto the laity, however, it was, as Cragoe writes: "generally in conjunction with the clergy rather than as lay people acting independently of the clergy."[12]

The canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the Oxford Council of 1222 suggest dismay about parish churches not being adequately cared for. Canon 19 of the Fourth Lateran Council insists that household goods should not be stored in parish churches (suggesting the pervasive abuse of these spaces), and Canon 20 requires that the Eucharist and chrism be kept under lock and key, which will be further discussed later in this chapter.[13] The Oxford Council was probably more significant for local churches in England, and "formed the basis of the local law of the English Church."[14] Among other mandates linked to interests in standardizing practice and insisting on clerical training, the Oxford Council required visitations to churches by the archdeacons of their diocese.[15] In the wake of these concerns came Bishop Peter des Roches' 1224 statutes, which clearly state that the chancel *should* be repaired by the rector, and that the "body of the church"—that is, the nave—should be "repaired" by the parishioners.[16] This is a

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[11] Ibid., 10.

[12] Ibid., 11.

[13] Halsall, "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215: The Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215."

[14] Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 152.

[15] Ibid.; On visitations, see Ian Forrest, "The Transformation of Visitation in Thirteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 221, no. 1 (2013): 3–38.

[16] F. M. Powicke and Christopher Robert Cheney, *Councils and Synods: With Other Documents Relating to the English Church, 1205-1313*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966): 125-37. The salient passage, translated by Cragoe states: "If a rector of any church is unwilling to repair the chancel, our officials are

custom that probably did not begin in 1224, but that was already beginning to take hold as common practice in England; textual evidence from the Continent shows this shift happening in the last decades of the twelfth century. Cragoe's main argument addresses the long-held idea that responsibility for these matters was thrust on parishioners by clergy who were seeking to be freed from financial responsibility, instead presenting evidence proving that the laity sought these responsibilities actively, and that clerics were not always comfortable renouncing these matters.[17]

This division can be visualized by examining Cley-next-the-Sea (Norfolk) [fig. 2.5] and Bamburgh (Northumberland) [fig. 2.6]. The chancels and naves at each are dramatically different in scale. At Cley, the chancel was heightened by the clergy to allow for the big Perpendicular window at the east end, yet it was still eclipsed by the parishioners' two-story nave with its "vivacious" and "delightful" clerestory of alternating cinquefoils in cusped circles and two-light windows.[18] Conversely, at Bamburgh, the nave with its "roofs so flat as to be almost invisible," is dwarfed by the chancel of about 1230.[19] The comparison between Cley and Bamburgh is instructive because it illustrates the different responsibilities of the laity and clergy; Bamburgh obviously had an enthusiastic and rich rector, while Cley's lay patrons far outshone the rector, either in ambition or finances.

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to repair it without delay out of the goods of the church. The same is to be done in churches where the books or vestments are deficient, if the rectors, having been reminded, do not wish to provide for such things. *The parishioners are to be compelled to repair the body of the church according to what they hold.*"

[17] Cragoe, "The Custom of the English Church," 13.

[18] Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East*, Buildings of England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 433. In contrast with his exuberance about the nave, Pevsner refers to the chancel as a "postscript."

[19] Nikolaus Pevsner et al., *Northumberland*, Buildings of England (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 152.

These disparities seem to be related to the proliferation of churches and resulting breakdown of the minster system. Because the decline of the minster system resulted in the decentralization of tithing, it drastically reduced the number of people contributing tithes to a single building, as well as the shift from manorial chapel to parish church. Revenues from tithes were, in many cases, redistributed to monastic establishments, which maintained the advowson for many parish churches and appointed stipendiary chaplains to provide pastoral care.[20] The stipend was fixed, and typically low compared to the overall worth of the parish, the vast majority of which was subsumed into the monastery's coffers. The rector, not the chaplain, was responsible for the church building, and was often akin to an absentee landlord, generally disinterested in the maintenance of the church structure. All of these factors precipitated the policy that gradually solidified from the beginning of the thirteenth century on, in which the laity of the parish took responsibility for the care of the "church" or nave, and the rector retained responsibility for the eastern extension of the church, or the chancel.[21]

The administrative shifts to the parish system, already in their nascent stages in the late twelfth century, as well as increasing lay responsibility for the nave, contributed to the emergence of certain changes to the form of parish buildings throughout the country. Primary among them, as already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, are the addition and enhancement of lateral spaces, primarily nave aisles and transepts.

Early aisles

[20] Cragoe, "The Custom of the English Church," 25–27.

[21] Ibid., 27–38.

The addition of aisles to local churches can be connected to the gradual shift from the minster to parish system and its concomitant change in patronage. Once the local church gained new roles, particularly providing burial and baptism, different configurations of space were necessary. Furthermore, shifts in church ownership and changes in social status coincided with the emergence of aisles, suggesting that what might initially seem like a simple way to gain more space had much broader meaning. Despite the seeming importance of aisles in relation to the emergence of the gentry and the codification of purgatory, the scholarly literature has not yet satisfactorily explained why aisles became *de rigueur* in parish churches when they had not previously been.[22] How were aisles used and by whom? How did these functions change over time? The examination of aisles in parish churches that were built *ex nihilo*, as well as the addition of aisles to extant structures, helps to answer these questions.

Aisled churches before the late Norman period are rare, but there are some significant examples. One is Wing (Buckinghamshire) [fig. 2.7], which has thick arcade piers that a number of scholars, including Eric Fernie and the Taylors, have argued date from before the Conquest. Richard Gem registers skepticism that they are original to the building, believing instead that they date from a second campaign in the late Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman period.

Though numerous late Norman churches (including Adel, Stewkley, and Iffley, all discussed in this dissertation) are never laterally expanded, many churches in this period do benefit from the addition of aisles. In the late Norman period, parish church builders expanded the nave laterally adding arcades to support aisles. An example of this is Walsoken (Norfolk) with its arcade of alternating circular and octagonal-piers and supporting rounded arches

[22] Draper expresses similar concern. Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 184–85.

decorated with a chevron motif and Norman scalloped capitals [fig. 2.8]. In nearby Lincolnshire, Freiston [fig. 1.41] and Long Sutton [fig. 2.9] share similar Norman arcades.[23] Moulton (Lincolnshire) has piers of a similar date, but its arches are pointed rather than round, suggesting that it is slightly later; 1189–99 has been suggested as the likely time frame of construction for Moulton.[24] The addition of aisles is specific to the parish church; all Norman cathedrals (with the exception of York Minster) were entirely rebuilt with aisled naves rather than adding aisles to the existing structure, but as Adel [fig. 1.25] and Stewkley [figs. 1.26–1.27] evidence, many Anglo-Norman Romanesque parish churches were not built with aisles.

The aisled nave in parish churches became popular quickly, and lay communities sought to add aisles to churches that had not been built with them. Lawrence Hoey surveyed all 360 surviving parish churches in Kent from that period. He notes that 160 of them have evidence of reconstruction done in this period, and of those, 110 benefited from the addition of aisles.[25] Many of the churches from this period (like Walsoken, Long Sutton, and Moulton) retain their Norman arcades, but their Norman aisles were expanded in the next century, so that they became, in many cases, close to the width of the central vessel. In Grantham (Linconshire) [figs. 1.56–1.57], this happened in the thirteenth century. The church is composed of a nave and two aisles all very close in size: the nave is 7.82 meters wide, and the aisles are 7.72m (north) and 7.11m (south). The aisles were probably expanded to this width in the third quarter of the

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[23] Givans notes that there is some discrepancy between the style of the architecture and the later date of a document for a donation towards construction from around 1180. "Investment in Local Church Fabric in the Lincolnshire Fenlands c. 1150-c. 1210: Moulton and Whaplode," in *King's Lynn and the Fens: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, ed. John McNeill, 31 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2008), 228 fn. 30.

[24] On this, see ibid., 218.

[25] Lawrence Hoey, "Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: c.1180-c.1260," *Archaologia Cantiana* 115 (1995): 45–46.

thirteenth century; as Pevsner observes, the four-light windows on the north side are "an almost direct copy from the Angel Choir at Lincoln, begun in 1256 and completed in 1280."[26] [fig. 1.58] This is echoed in Mary Dean's analysis of the regional impact of the Angel Choir, where she points to the ambitious scale of the north aisle at Grantham, as well as the similarities in the tracery patterns between the parish and cathedral.[27]

There is evidence at Grantham of the appearance of the late-twelfth-century church prior to the expansion of the aisles in the form of round clerestory arches that have been filled in but that are still visible over the present pointed arcade.[28] Frodsham (Cheshire) has Late Norman north and south arcades from about the 1180s, indicating that it had aisles at that time [fig. 2.11]. The north aisle was expanded in the fourteenth century to be 5.72m wide, nearly the width of the 5.78m nave. Eltisley (Cambridgeshire), with its arcades and aisle walls both from around 1200 is in the minority of churches that retain their first expansion [fig. 2.12].[29]

Aisles do not necessarily go in pairs. Some churches have one, and in many of the cases where there are two, each aisle was built in a different period. Some of the most jarring examples of this are Wisbech (Cambridgeshire) [fig. 2.13] and New Shoreham (Sussex) [fig. 1.93]. Peter Draper has noted that generally north aisles were added earlier, owing to the disruption that an added aisle would bring to the south entrance.[30] However, Hoey's study of parish church architecture in Kent shows that of the 110 churches that gained aisles between 1180–1260 in the

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[26] Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, 317.

[27] Dean, "The Angel Choir and Its Local Influence," 94–95.

[28] On the phasing of Grantham, see McNeill, "The Church of St Wulfram 3: Architecture, Patronage and Context," passim.

[29] Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire*, Buildings of England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 478–79.

[30] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 184.

county, twenty-one had only north aisles built and twenty-five only south, causing us to question the validity of Draper's assertion.

Crundale (Kent) [fig. 2.14] and Chaldon (Surrey) [figs. 2.15–2.16] were not built with aisles but gained them at a later date. The remote church of Crundale was initially composed of two cells [fig. 2.17], with an Early Norman date indicated by a surviving window high on the north nave wall whose functionality was curtailed by the added aisle. In the Late Norman period, an aisle was added to the north side [figs. 2.18–2.19].[31] The foundation date for the church is unknown, but it was given to Christ Church Priory, Canterbury around 1150, according to a confirmation by Archbishop Theobald of a gift from Eustace of Mustrel. The document reads: "we grant the said church to the cathedral priory at Canterbury and the monks as part of their own *mensa* [table] for the food of the convent, and we confirm this to them forever."[32] It is consistent with the standing fabric of the church that at least the chancel and nave were standing around 1150 when the church was offered to the monks at Canterbury, but we cannot be certain of whether its north aisle had yet been built by that time.

The Crundale north aisle is unusually narrow by the average standards of parish churches: it is less than two meters wide, approximately a third of the width of the nave. Not only is it tiny, but its arcade was constructed by excavating the existing wall, rather than knocking out the wall and erecting new columns. This was the simplest way of adding an aisle to a church; space is gained, but parishioners were spared the endlessly boarded-up church during

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[31] For a short history of Crundale, see Mary Berg and Howard Jones, *Norman Churches in the Canterbury Diocese* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), 160.

[32] Trans. Crosby: "Et nos consequenter eandem ecclesiam ecclesie Cantuariensis et monachis in cibum conventus ad propriam mensam eorum concedimus et eis in perpetual confirmamus possessionem salva dignitate archiepiscopali." Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the "Mensa Episcopalis"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18.

construction, as the exterior aisle wall was probably constructed before anything was removed. Besides the small width and crude construction of the aisle, another sign that it is early, showing insecurity on the part of either its builders or patrons, is that the roofline was not altered in response to the addition of the aisle, so the single gable causes the ceiling to be very low. Given the early date and the vagaries of the remaining documents, we cannot know whether the aisle was built under the ownership of Eustace of Mustrel or of the monks of Canterbury, or perhaps it was the initiative of the parishioners that sparked it. Its patronage thus uncertain, any judgment about whether or not finances played a role in the size and character of the aisle is difficult to assess.

The church at Chaldon (Surrey) has existed since at least the time of the Domesday Book, but aisles were added to it later.[33] Like at Crundale, the aisles are slim: the south aisle is 1.99m wide, and the north is 1.94m [fig. 2.20]. Chaldon is famous for the painting on its west wall (datable by style to the last quarter of the twelfth century or around the year 1200) depicting heaven, hell, and a ladder in between; this iconography will be discussed in depth later in the chapter. For now, it suffices to say that the composition of the painting fits well within the space allotted; it has not been compromised by the addition of the south aisle, suggesting that it may postdate the addition of the aisle or has been added around the same time as the aisle [fig. 2.21]. Like at Crundale, the Chaldon roof gable of the central vessel is extended to cover the aisle.

The narrow aisles exemplified at Crundale and Chaldon were typical of early examples. The exterior walls at these churches are lucky survivals that offer evidence of the early expansion of parish churches. Though Crundale and Chaldon are both in the south-east of

[33] Anna Powell-Smith and J. N. N. Palmer, "Chaldon," in *OpenDomesday*, n.d., https://opendomesday.org/place/TQ3055/chaldon/.

England, these examples of early forms of small aisles need not be dismissed as a purely regional characteristic. The lancet window on the west wall of the south aisle at St-Michael-on-Wyre (Lancashire) is evidence that the same impulse can be found clear across England in northern Lancashire [fig. 2.22]. There the exterior wall is lost, but a blocked lancet window and a corresponding seam are found on a much larger aisle with a Perpendicular window.[34] Unlike Chaldon or Crundale where the early, skinny aisle was retained either because further construction was deemed unnecessary or unaffordable, St-Michael-on-Wyre is evidence of the common parochial trajectory of widening the first aisles.

The case for aisles

As we have seen, aisles became common features of parish churches beginning in the twelfth century. In this section, I explain why so many parish church patrons desired this additional lateral space, arguing that two major reasons contributed to lateral expansion. As Cragoe has noted, previous authors on parish churches have treated the addition of aisles as an inevitability for the building type, but I argue that there are particular religious and social reasons for this typical expansion.[35] The first are issues related to doctrine and religious practice: the development of the doctrine of purgatory, and the attendant introduction of chantry Masses for the dead and intramural burial, and related developments in Eucharistic theology. The second is

[34] William Farrar and J. Brownbill, eds., "The Parish of St Michael-on-Wyre," in *A History of the County of Lancashire*, vol. 7 (London: Victoria County History, 1912), 260–67.

[35] For an example of this narrative of inevitability, see for example Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England: An Analysis of the Origin & Development of English Church Architecture from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries*, 223–25; Davidson, "Written in Stone," 230.

prestige, specifically the gentry's desire for a space of conspicuous self-presentation for performance of social legitimacy.

Earlier scholars assumed that aisles were used for processions, although Cragoe and Draper have recently dismissed this theory.[36] While the dead were processed into the church, no version of the Office of the Dead or related *ordos* mandate that the deceased be processed into the church in a particular way.[37] Evidence generally points to processions taking place outside the church rather than within the aisles. The episcopal acts provide evidence of processions that moved from the local church to its diocesan mother church and there is also evidence of processions within the boundaries of individual parishes and churchyards. At Rogationtide, for example, there were processions around the parish boundaries,[38] and at Hythe (Kent) there were processions around the church and churchyard until the master mason boldly decided to build his massive church all the way to the easternmost boundary of the yard, not leaving space for the necessary path for procession required by the Church. The significance and importance of the processional path at Hythe underneath the easternmost part of the chancel is revealed by the extreme diligence of Hythe's mason in ensuring that a path would remain accessible despite his choice of how far east to situate the chancel [fig. 2.23].[39] Although the maintenance of an exterior processional path was a requirement for the church, this does not seem to have extended

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[36] Warwick Rodwell and James Bentley, *Our Christian Heritage* (London: Guild Publishing, 1984), 64; Ryder, *Medieval Churches of West Yorkshire*, 31; R.J. Brown, *The English Village Church* (London: Robert Hale, 1998), 88; For a skeptical view see for example Davidson, "Written in Stone," 230; Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, 185.

[37] On the late-ninth-century Sacramentary of Saint Denis, see Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 40–43.

[38] See Davidson, "Written in Stone," 50–51.

[39] On chancel passageways in general, see Katherine M. Boivin, "The Chancel Passageways of Norwich," in *Norwich: Medieval and Early Modern Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. T. A. Heslop and Helen E. Lunnon, 38 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2015), 307–23.

to the interior of the church; we find no evidence of any kind of interior processional liturgy at the parochial level that would have involved the aisles.[40]

Since the explanation that aisles were established to facilitate liturgical processions cannot be sufficiently substantiated, we now turn to the often-repeated theory that the addition of aisles was in response to population growth and the need for larger nave spaces.[41] Historical geographer L. G. Proudfoot compared population estimates with the growth of parish churches in Warwickshire, and, while acknowledging that his observations may have been coincidental, he argues that church growth seems to correspond with population growth.[42] Cragoe characterizes this study as problematic and representative of historical geographers grasping at straws to find ways of determining population numbers in England in the face of a lack of evidence between the Domesday Book (1086) and the late thirteenth century, when lay subsidies provide evidence for population. Certain assumptions in Proudfoot's study, for example, the idea that "each building campaign was rationally planned" to accommodate population, do prove problematic as a mode for determining population.[43]

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[40] John Harper and a team of researchers and clerics performed comparative late medieval liturgy at Salisbury Cathedral and St. Teilo's parish church, reconstructed at St. Fagan's National History Museum in Wales. St. Teilo originated in the late twelfth century, but is presented by the museum as it would have looked just prior to the Reformation, approximately 1530. The reenactments performed were meant to reflect that historical moment, rather than of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Harper reports that in some iterations of the Mass, the clergy processed into the south aisle, however this seems to have been an experimental choice rather than mandated by any documented practice. John Harper, "Enacting Late Medieval Worship: Locations, Processes and Outcomes," in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*, ed. Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson (London: Routledge, 2016), 43.

[41] For example, see J. Charles Cox and Charles Bradley Ford, *The Parish Churches of England* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), 26.

[42] L. T. Proudfoot, "The Extension of Parish Churches in Medieval Warwickshire," *Journal of Historical Geography* 9, no. 3 (1983): 231–46.

[43] Ibid., 232.

Beyond disciplinary sniping, though, perhaps the simplest reason to question the population growth theory is that aisles were built even wider after the massive depopulation of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century.[44] One example is the tall, airy nave of Newark (Nottinghamshire), which sits between an Early English west front and crossing [fig. 2.24]. The new nave was evidently planned by around 1310, when there is evidence of a fabric fund for a chapel that was consecrated in 1315. According to W. D. Wilson, the south aisle wall was built by masons from the Heckington school; it can be inferred that a complete rebuilding of the nave was intended from that date, but it remained incomplete at the time of the Plague in 1349.[45] Although it lay dormant for several years after, it was eventually completed to the original plan in spite of the losses that had occurred. The Plague's consequences were devastating, but the survivors benefited from a redistribution of wealth, and churches enjoyed patronage in commemoration of the dead. While the beginnings of the Perpendicular Style are seen in the decades prior to the Plague (for example at Gloucester Abbey), its proliferation after the Plague was aided by its simpler forms (less difficult to build) and relative cheapness.[46] We might

[44] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 229.

[45] Thomas M. Blagg, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Newark and the Churches of Holme and Hawton* (Newark: F.M. Dawson, 1906); Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *Nottinghamshire*, Buildings of England (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 184; W. D. Wilson's argument set out in the unpublished University of Manchester Ph. D. thesis, "Flowing Tracery in Lincolnshire, 1300-1380" (1978, ch. 3, p. 62) is reproduced in M. R. Petch, "The Raughton Family Influence on the Curvilinear Style," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 58 (1986): 47; On the Heckington School work see also Mary Markus, "The South Aisle and Chantry in the Parish Church of St Bridget, Brigham," *Architectural History* 39 (1996): 29.

[46] Phillip Lindley, "The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and Some Assumptions," in *The Black Death in England, 1348-1500*, ed. W. M. Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1996), 133; Paul Slack, *Plague: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 44–45.

attribute the enormous Perpendicular parishes of the later Middle Ages at least partially to this development.[47]

There are some examples of parish churches whose aisles were built and then closed up during the Middle Ages. While the expansion of a church seems to have little correlation to population growth and the precise size of the congregation, numerous churches exhibit a lateral shrinking with the closing off of aisles. This may indeed have some correlation with population decline, which happened in certain highland areas in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries due to climate change and environmental factors.[48] These decreases in the size of churches are difficult to discuss with precision because the arcades are frequently filled in with stonework that lacks defining stylistic qualities that could aid in the assignment of approximate date; thus, some blocked arcades may be post-medieval interventions. There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that this was a medieval practice, though it tends to be from the later Middle Ages, for example at Wharram Percy [fig. 2.25].[49] The rationale for these contractions was likely to have been motivated by the financial problems of dwindling communities who may have been unable to pay for repairs and upkeep to existing structures. When the scale of existing structures was no longer necessary to support the needs of the worship community—that is to say if aisle-end chantries were not in use, for example—then a community may have elected to truncate the church.

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[47] On demographic shifts resulting from the Black Death, see for example Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages*, 13; On the impact of the Black Death on English art and architecture, see Lindley, "The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and Some Assumptions."

[48] Colin Platt, *The Architecture of Medieval Britain: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 143.

[49] Graeme J. White, *The Medieval English Landscape, 1000-1540* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), 178.

Secondly, and I think more crucially than population as evidence for lateral expansion, is the issue of sight as it relates to the Mass. The elevation of the host, which ensured congregants visual access to the Eucharist after the moment of transubstantiation, seems to have been in practice in northwest Europe relatively early in the twelfth century, although lay people generally took communion only once per year.[50] Windows of certain Romanesque churches in England, like those in the chancel of Rivenhall (Essex) [fig. 2.26] and those under the crossing tower at Barton (Cumbria) [figs. 1.29–1.32], may have been deliberately splayed in particular directions in order to light the altar at specific times, perhaps to highlight the Eucharist for viewers.[51] Peter the Chanter, writing in the late-twelfth century, discussed the practice of sacramental viewing, that is, seeing, rather than taking the Eucharist, as he mused about whether priests who were in a state of sin should be permitted to view the elevation since it constituted a substitution for taking communion.[52] In the late-twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth century, there was significant debate and discussion among clerics and scholars about the consecration of the Eucharist; they attempted to theorize the precise moment of transubstantiation, and sought to highlight that moment for the congregation in a range of ways designed to arouse all the senses. Perhaps most central to this, however, was the gesture of elevation. Miri Rubin has identified the earliest text that explicitly refers to this gesture in a statute from the synod of Paris of 1198 to

[50] For twelfth century evidence, see Gerard G. Grant, "The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy," *Theological Studies* 1, no. 3 (September 1940): 228–50.

[51] On Rivenhall see Rodwell and Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977*, 133; Tom Nickson, "The Parish Church Illuminated," in *Towards an Art History of the Parish Church, 1200-1399*, ed. James Alexander Cameron and Meg Bernstein (London: Courtauld Books Online, forthcoming).

[52] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 63.

1203 convened by Bishop Odo of Sully. The statute is concerned in particular with the precise moment when the host should be raised, and states:

> It is ordained to priests that, when they begin the canon of the mass, at *Qui pridie*, holding the host, they should not immediately raise it too high so that it can be seen by the people; rather only keep it in front of their chests when they say *hoc est corpus meum* and then they should raise it so it can be seen by all.[53]

In the post-Interdict years, Archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton's (archbishop 1207-1228, Interdict ended 1214) statutes show "concern for the conduct and appearance of Eucharistic ritual."[54] As Aden Kumler has noted, in contrast to the seemingly less influential later statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council, Langton's statutes were repeated throughout the thirteenth century, showing that the desired performance of the Eucharistic ritual and the laity's comportment during it was put in writing in the early-thirteenth century and maintained throughout the period covered by this dissertation.[55]

With regards in particular to the comportment of the laity, Langton writes: "Let the laity be admonished that they should comport themselves reverently at the consecration of the Eucharist, and let them kneel especially during that time when, after the elevation, the sacred host is dispensed."[56] Subsequent English statutes of the 1220s and 30s, including one from an

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[53] Odette Pontal, ed., *Les Statuts Synodaux Français Du XIIIe Siècle*, vol. 1: *Les Statuts de Paris et le Synodal de l'Ouest*, Collection de Documents Inédits Sur l'histoire de France, Section d'histoire Médiévale et de Philologie 9 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1971), 82, c. 80; Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, 55.

[54] Aden Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 114.

[55] Ibid., 115; See Binski for observations on the lack of any surviving set of English statutes containing the full decrees of Fourth Lateran Council. Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 152.

[56] "Moneantur autem laici quod reverenter se habeant inconsecratione eucharistie et fiectant genua maxime tempore quando post elevationem hostia sacra dimittitur" F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods: With Other Documents Relating to the English Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

unidentified diocese of from around 1225, specify that parishioners should venerate the moment of elevation by looking and bowing, while on their knees and joining their hands with fellow congregants.[57] Additional contemporary factors contributed to interest in the mystery of the Eucharist and may have helped increase parishioners' desire to see it: canon 20 of the Fourth Lateran Council mandated that the Eucharist had to be stored under lock and key.[58] This greater restriction made moments of access for the laity more privileged.

Within aisled parish churches, viewshed analysis, the practice of establishing what is visible from a given location, has established that one would only be able to see into the chancel where the Mass was being celebrated from the far west end of an aisle.[59] The moment of the elevation of the Eucharist was the climax of the Mass, and lay people were meant to see it.[60] Though chancel screens would, in the later Middle Ages, significantly block visual access, in the thirteenth century such screens were still low and symbolically, rather than visually, excluded the laity.[61] In practice, the moment of witnessing the elevation of the Eucharist may have looked something like what is represented in an early-fourteenth-century illumination from an Anglo-Norman text meant to edify lay people about how to comport themselves at Mass (BnF MS

1966), 33; Translation in Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England*, 115.

[57] Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, 57.

[58] "Medieval Sourcebook: Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215," Fordham University, Internet History Sourcebooks, accessed November 4, 2018, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp.

[59] Simon Roffey, "Constructing a Vision of Salvation: Chantries and the Social Dimension of Religious Experience in the Medieval Parish Church," *Archaeological Journal* 163, no. 1 (2006): 122–46.

[60] Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, 55.

[61] Carol Davidson Cragoe, "Belief and Patronage in the English Parish before 1300: Some Evidence from Roods," *Architectural History* 48 (2005): 35–36; On a history of screens prior to the thirteenth century, see Jacqueline Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca.1200-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 17–19; Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith*, 162.

13342, 46v-47r) [fig. 2.27]. In this opening, we find a priest at the altar, elevating the host to the bleeding cross; behind him a server holds a tall candle, reflecting the extensive recorded provisions for illumination during the elevation. Male lay people kneel in the chancel. The crossing, where a bell is being rung to mark the moment of transubstantiation, carries across the gutter, and on the other side of the crossing, the rest of the congregation kneels, the huddled crowd all facing the altar. As Jacqueline Jung has elucidated, the screen (not visible in this image, but implied by it), functions not as previous scholars had imagined, to "separate and exclude" lay people from the Mass, but rather is a spatial divider that "fulfilled a wide variety of incorporative functions."[62] While the dividers in English parish churches of the thirteenth century did not contain substantial iconographic programs for the appreciation and edification of the laity, they acted as framing devices which concentrated their gazes eastwards, prompting desire to permeate the screen and enter the chancel both visually and literally.[63]

Schematic as this is, it represents, at least in theory, what was meant to go on during the central moment of the Mass.[64] An aisle would be wholly unsuitable to view the crucial moment of elevation. The north aisle from the parish church of Orcop (Herefordshire) exemplifies the problem [figs. 2.28–2.30]. The aisle was added in the early-thirteenth century and was never

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[62] Jacqueline Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (2000): 622–24.

[63] Jung, "Beyond the Barrier"; Jacqueline Jung, "Seeing Through Screens: The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame," in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2006); Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca.1200-1400*, passim.

[64] And indeed, it probably does; as Miri Rubin has argued, historians of peasant culture are quick to assume that they were simple and folksy, unable to comprehend the big ideas like transubstantiation, but in reality the reputation of the bad peasant church-goer needs to be questioned. Miri Rubin, "What Did the Eucharist Mean to Thirteenth-Century Villagers?," in *Thirteenth Century England IV: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1991* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992).

expanded, so it gives an impression of the width of early aisle additions. From the exterior, we can observe that the roofline is shared by the central vessel of the nave and the aisle, making the aisle itself low and dark. Were the parochial nave truly crowded, the majority of parishioners would not have been able to watch the elevation of the host. Were the parish responding to population increase, it would likely have built to the west so that a direct view of the chancel would be possible, but, westward expansion in the parish church was rare. As Peter Draper points out, a major reason for this is the typical location of towers in English parish churches to the west of the nave.[65]

So what is the function of small aisles like the ones at Crundale and Chaldon? Crundale's north aisle is perplexing. It is only two bays long, and the massive pier in the middle and its lean-to roof and corresponding low ceiling render it extremely dim. Even from the most advantageous spot, it is unlikely that one would be able to see into the chancel from the aisle. I argue that doctrinal shifts regarding the status of the soul after death played a role in the development of nave aisles.

Purgatory and the laity

Just as the solidification of the doctrine of purgatory changed the imagined landscape of the next world, the spread in beliefs about the afterlife affected life on earth. Although the concept of purgation as a possible intermediary space, place, and/or time between the end of life

[65] One instance where westward expansion can be observed is Whaplode (Norfolk), to which three Early Gothic bays were added to the existing Transitional arcades; this is possible only because of the unusual location of the tower to the south-east of the church. Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*.

and the Last Judgement was not new in the twelfth century, it was then that it was elaborated upon, that its popularity grew, and that its eventual material consequences became apparent.[66] In *The Birth of Purgatory*, Jacques Le Goff showed that although the idea of an intermediary realm distinct from Heaven and Hell was not new, only in the second half of the twelfth century did purgatory as such come to be discussed as a specific place and entity. Le Goff shows, for example, that in the *Summa on Ecclesiastical Offices* (c. 1165), Jean Beleth, a canon of Notre-Dame in Paris, wrote that while some souls were believed to go directly to heaven or hell, "[t]here are others, in the middle, for which a recommendation of this sort must be made.[67] One of Peter Comestor's 1160–1170 sermons on the dedication of a church uses the phrase "*in purgatorio*," showing that the concept was in use at by 1170.[68] How exactly ideas about purgatory made it to English village churches in the last decades of the twelfth century cannot be certain, but it is likely that pastoralia, manuals written by bishops, archdeacons, and other members of the church hierarchy for parish priests, played a role.[69] According to Le Goff, the true triumph of the doctrine of purgatory was not with clerics, but with the populace, where it "scored a tremendous success."[70] The potential of redemption through prayers was exciting to lay people as it gave them the sense of having some control over their afterlives. It is therefore unsurprising that in the realm of the parish church evidence of belief in purgatory and a wish for purgation can be seen even from a very early date.

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[66] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991).

[67] Ibid., 233.

[68] Ibid., 154–55.

[69] Boyle, "The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals"; William Hopkins Campbell, "'Dyvers Kyndes of Religion in Sondry Partes of the Ilande': The Geography of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England" (University of St Andrews, 2007), 34–34.

[70] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 289.

A painting referred to in 1885 as the "Ladder of Salvation of the Human Soul and the Road to Heaven," and later by Tristram and Constable as the "Purgatorial Ladder" at Chaldon (Surrey) shows a remarkably early representation of purgatory [fig. 2.31].[71] Discovered during work on the church in 1870, the painting occupies the full width of the nave's west wall.[72] Divided into three registers, the painting spatializes purgatory as a ladder straddling heaven and hell. In the lowest register of the mural is the underworld, where otherworldy tormentors abuse fallen souls by cooking them in or over fires, stabbing them, and forcing dishonest tradesmen to endure a walk over the bridge of spikes. In the upper register, St. Michael weighs souls at the gates of Heaven (impeded by a meddling demon), and Christ stomps on a demon as he pulls souls out of limbo. It is not surprising to find a Harrowing of Hell image; in England, the Harrowing of Hell was known from Anglo-Saxon poetry and sermons and is found, for example, on the Lincoln west front frieze [fig. 2.32]. What is remarkable, however, is seeing the Harrowing scene in conversation with the central ladder at Chaldon, which constitutes a new iconography in the English context.[73]

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[71] John Green Waller, *On a Painting Discovered in Chaldon Church, Surrey, 1870* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1885); Ian Nairn, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Bridget Cherry, *Surrey*, Buildings of England (Yale University Press, 1971), 140.

[72] Like virtually all English wall paintings from the Middle Ages, the Chaldon mural was white-washed in the Reformation. It was rediscovered in the nineteenth century. The reemergence of the corpus of medieval wall paintings from under thick coats of paint has had an indelible impact on their state of conservation; most have lost their original pigment and retain what is essentially the underdrawing. It is clear from looking at the Chaldon Ladder painting that a (probably) nineteenth-century restorer "renewed" it slightly, particularly by touching up the faces and obscuring the genitals of the Lust figure. In spite of these "tweaks," the composition of the painting is itself doubtless genuine.

[73] There is a striking formal resonance between the Chaldon west wall painting and Byzantine representations of the Ladder of John Climacus, iconography that draws from the writings of the abbot of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, in the first half of the seventh century. John Climacus' ladder was apparently drawn from a vision of Jacob's Ladder and his text describes a monk's struggles with achieving virtue in the face of vices. Representations of the Ladder appear most frequently in manuscripts and only four times in monumental contexts. In images of John's Ladder, like the one at the Vatopedi Monastery on

No documentation exists to date the painting, but it has been dated on stylistic grounds to the last quarter of the twelfth century or c. 1200.[74] Although this iconography did not ultimately gain traction in English art, it seems no coincidence that in this late-twelfth-century period of social upheaval, during which a local gentry class was literally willing itself into existence, purgatory was pictured in this rather humble parish church as a ladder to climb. The parish church was, after all, a space for testing new forms of agency among those who glimpse the potential of ascending the social (and spiritual) ladder.

As the south aisle respond and lancet window attest, the aisle at Chaldon was added around the same time as this painting was executed. This suggests a link between the function of aisles and the laity's understanding of purgatorial theology—a link made clearer by the widespread proliferation of chantry chapels. Prior to the end of the twelfth century, most parish churches would have had only one altar—sufficient for a single priest fulfilling his requirements of saying Mass once daily. With the development of the idea of purgatory, however, increased

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Mount Athos (1312), angels aid climbers in the upper section, and in the lower half, shadowy, winged devils attempt, sometimes successfully, to pull them off the ladder. Monumental images of the Ladder occur only in monastic contexts, and the earliest is from 1211. On this iconography see Rossitza Schroeder, "The Salvation of the Soul and the Road to Heaven: The Representation of the Ladder of Divine Ascent in the Vatopedi Katholikon," in *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. Lynn Jones (London: Routledge, 2016). Given the contextual differences between the monastic context of the Byzantine images and their textual tradition, versus the unusual iconography at Chaldon, a rural parish church without monastic patronage, it seems unlikely that the visual similarities are any more than a coincidence; perhaps like John Climacus, the designer of the Chaldon mural was thinking about Jacob's Ladder.

[74] According to Flynn, all of the iconography present can be traced to earlier manuscripts and wall paintings in England or Europe, including for example the Utrecht Psalter, Winchester Psalter, and churches associated with Lewes Priory in Sussex. The exception is the ladder itself. Flynn disputes the idea that it represents Purgatory, instead suggesting that it is the only possible way to connote human agency in rising or falling from God. The presence of the ladder, however, is far from a foregone conclusion, and human volition is essential in an understanding of Purgatory; while I accept her dating and comparanda, I disagree with her interpretation of the ladder. K. N. F. Flynn, "The Mural Painting in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Chaldon, Surrey," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 72 (1980): 153.

demand resulted in a dramatic expansion in the number of daily Masses said in parish churches. Extra space for the multiplication of Masses (sometimes simultaneous ones) was thus necessary. As evidenced at Chaldon, where an altar was gained by the south aisle addition, the single vessel nave was no longer well suited to providing for the needs of its occupants.

Masses said for one's soul were thought to be the most efficacious means of expiating sin and reducing time spent in the purgatorial fires, so there was significant motivation to make space for such rituals. In response to this need, chantries were established in England by around 1200, predating the arrival of any friars in England by at least two decades. Howard Colvin defines chantries as "essentially an endowment for performance of Masses and other works of charity for the benefit of the souls of specified persons."[75] In the Middle Ages, and particularly in England, these chantries took an enormous variety of shapes. A chantry might merely be an endowment for a small number of Masses to take place at an already existing altar in a parish church or cathedral, but it could also refer to a stand-alone architectural space staffed by one or more clerics whose wages were derived from the endowment of the chantry. Chantries enabled people of means to commission anniversary Masses to be said for them at the smallest possible interval they could afford, with the intention to limit the amount of time they would be delayed in the purgatorial fires.

Lay practices with regards to death and commemoration are derived from parallel practices originating in monasteries. When a monk or nun died, he or she was listed in a written obit, generally with the date of death, so that he or she could be commemorated on specific

[75] Howard Colvin, "The Origin of Chantries," *Journal of Medieval History* 26, no. 2 (2000): 164.

anniversaries.[76] The wider monastic community might be asked to pray for the deceased member or offer Masses for his or her soul with mortuary or obituary rolls sent out to the other houses of the order; this practice of sending news of a religious person's death and request for prayers can be traced back to the eighth century.[77] One example of this is the mortuary roll that commemorates Mathilda, abbess of La Trinité in Caen (Normandy) who died in 1113.[78] Another example is the mortuary roll of Lucy, foundress and prioress of the Benedictine nunnery of Castle Hedingham, created around 1230 (British Library, Egerton MS 2849) [fig. 2.33]. Lucy's roll contains illustrated panels, including a Crucifixion, Virgin enthroned holding the Christ Child, angels drawing her soul up to heaven in a draped cloth (her soul is represented by a naked body wearing a nun's veil), and Lucy's funeral, with her body attended by clerics and her sisters. This roll contains inscriptions from the 122 monastic houses that it visited.[79] The circulation of obits and mortuary rolls demonstrates medieval Christians' belief in the spiritual benefit to be gained from the multiplication of prayers made possible by widely disseminating news of a person's death.

Initially, lay people sought similar treatment to the sorts of commemorative practices practiced in monasteries. Aristocratic classes sought monastic burial; families like the De Veres, the Despensers, and the Hastings had commitments to particular monastic houses which became

[76] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: The British Museum Press, 1996), 32.

[77] Teresa Leslie, "Mortuary Rolls as a Source for Medieval Women's History," *Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians* 14 (1993): 117.

[78] Ibid., 116.

[79] C. Wight, "Record for Egerton 2849," Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, British Library, accessed November 4, 2018, https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6342.

like family mausolea.[80] People of lesser social standing, however, could set up anniversary Masses, donate altar lights, or other, less costly means of monastic intercession for the dead.[81] In addition to providing prestige, the monks were thought of as being particularly spiritually efficacious, and had the infrastructure to perform perpetual masses for the souls of the deceased.[82]

Another contemporary means for achieving expiation from sin came in the form of indulgences. First documented in the mid-eleventh century and increasing in population and prevalence in the twelfth, indulgences were offered as spiritual credit to counteract sin.[83] The development of indulgences is intimately connected with the popularization of the doctrine of purgatory. Early examples were granted to crusaders, but as the years wore on, indulgences were granted for sundry actions, including building activity and attending mass in particular places.[84] Like the monastic practices described above that were coopted by lay people, indulgences brought agency for their own souls into the hands of the laity in the twelfth century and beyond.

These monastic commemorative practices began to spill into the realm of the parish church by the early-thirteenth century. For example, in 1235, a rector named William put lands

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[80] These families were buried at the monasteries of Earls Colne, Tewkesbury, and Abergavenny respectively. Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 72.

[81] Andrew Brown, *Church and Society in England 1000-1500* (Macmillan International Higher Education, 2003), 130.

[82] Ibid., 129–30; Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 25.

[83] For a general overview on the theology of indulgences, see Robert W. Shaffern, "The Medieval Theology of Indulgences," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006); On early indulgences in England, see Nicholas Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 23–58.

[84] Shaffern, "The Medieval Theology of Indulgences," 18; Meredith Cohen, "An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris," *Speculum* 83, no. 4 (2008): 840–83.

in the hands of his nephew who was to use the profits to complete various tasks in his memory at the parish church of Buckland (Berkshire), including distributing food to the poor, as well as "provide a light to burn on Sundays and feast days before the altar of St. John the Baptist and another before the statue of the Virgin Mary in the chancel."[85] The church of Buckland has not changed substantially in structure since the thirteenth century [figs. 2.34–2.35]; located as it is in Berkshire, it is part of a group of churches with transepts rather than nave aisles (these will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter).[86] Therefore, it is almost certain that the altar of St. John the Baptist, shown in the text to be subsidiary to the altar near the statue of the Virgin in the chancel, was located in either the north or south transept. The statue of the Virgin in the chancel was likely situated in its typical position to the north of the altar in the chancel; though precious little sculptural evidence survives, and virtually none in situ, painted examples remain for example at Little Wenham (Suffolk) [fig. 2.36] and Brent Eleigh (Suffolk) [fig. 2.37].[87]

In addition to funding lighting, parishioners increasingly sought to have Masses said in their name or that of a deceased family member. Chantry Masses, as they came to be known, could be held at any church, not only monastic ones. Significantly, as Nigel Saul has shown, in the early-thirteenth century, in large part due to the increased flexibility for the provision of intercession in the form of chantry Masses, the ties between gentry and monasteries began to weaken.[88] Laypersons established perpetual chantries, where a priest was hired to meet spiritual needs, in cathedrals and parish churches. Within the parish church, these were especially popular

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[85] Janet H. Stevenson, ed., *The Edington Cartulary*, 42 (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1987), 143, charter 547, ff. 195-6; Brown, Andrew D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 93.

[86] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Berkshire*, Buildings of England (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), 103–4.

[87] Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, 73–74.

[88] Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 73.

among the gentry and merchant classes. Chantries have been the subject of considerable research, and views of their beginnings have shifted considerably in the past century. In 1947, G. H. Cook wrote that "the earliest recorded chantries are those of Bishop Hugh of Wells at Lincoln Cathedral c. 1235 and of Bishop Stavenby of Lichfield c. 1238." More recently, scholars have shown chantries emerging earlier, both in great church and parochial contexts. Colvin proposes Ettington (Warwickshire) as an especially early chantry for Henry, son of Sewallis, who died in 1220.[89] Alternatively, Crouch offers Snettisham (Norfolk) where a chantry was established for Roger Rustein, baronial steward and knight, administered by Wymondham Priory (which was tasked with stepping in should the chantry priest leave or die). For our purposes, whether either Colvin or Crouch is correct matters little; what is significant is that the earliest chantries are set up around or just after 1200—prior to mendicants coming to England, showing that lateral expansion was not a mendicant innovation (this will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter).

Especially deluxe parochial chantry chapels could take the form of an entirely new building appended to a pre-existing church, like the fully-elaborated surviving Giffard Chantry at Boynton (Wiltshire) from about 1297, founded by Bishop Giffard of Worcester for the souls of his parents [fig. 2.42].[90] Cameron has compared the Boynton example to a second chancel, as it has sufficient liturgical furnishings in the form of sedilia and piscina, to act as one.[91] An effigy of

[89] Colvin, "The Origin of Chantries," 165.

[90] John McNeill, "A Prehistory of the Chantry," in *The Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. Julian M Luxford and John McNeill, British Archaeological Association, 2011, 19; Cameron, "Sedilia in Medieval England," 132–33; James Alexander Cameron, "From Hole-in-the-Wall to Heavenly Mansions: The Microarchitectural Development of Sedilia in Thirteenth-Century England," in *Microarchitectures Médiévales: L'échelle à l'épreuve de La Matière*, ed. Jean-Marie Guillouët and Ambre Vilain (Paris: INHA/Picard, 2018), 155.

[91] Cameron, "From Hole-in-the-Wall to Heavenly Mansions," 155.

Sir Alexander Giffard (or perhaps his father, Hugh), the brother of Bishop Giffard, predates the chapel, but was probably put in it at the time of building. Later members of the Giffard family also installed their tombs in the chapel, developing it into a veritable family mausoleum.

Other options existed within the parish church, however, for those less wealthy or powerful than a bishop. As the spread of the doctrine of purgatory created a demand for chantries, the number of daily Masses held in a parish church dramatically increased. High or solemn Mass (*missa solemnis*)—that is, Mass held in the chancel—could only be convened once per day, but low Masses (*missa privata*), including chantries, evidenced in numerous manuscript illuminations, required only a priest and assistant. The single-vesseled nave was no longer well-suited to providing for the needs of parishioners; more Masses required more altars, and aisles became a way to add space for them without interfering with the central vessel.

The presence of many surviving aisle piscinas demonstrates that there were originally altars located within side aisles. Piscinas are drains in sculptural wall niches, sometimes quite plain and other times richly decorated, where a priest could cleanse his hands and eucharistic vessels; their presence indicates the site of an altar. At Ledbury (Herefordshire), for example, a large niche was opened for the piscina and a hagioscope or squint was established so that the chantry priest could have a view into the sanctuary [fig. 2.39]. Similarly, the late-twelfth-century south aisle of West Chiltington (West Sussex) was provided a nine-foot long squint to enable a view into the chancel [fig. 2.40]. The frequent presence of hagioscopes suggests a desire to coordinate the elevation of the host in the side chapel with the elevation in the chancel. We know from documentation at Salisbury Cathedral in the fourteenth century that the members of the vicars choral were expected to space their masses in such a way that there was always a mass for

workmen, travelers, and other passersby to hear from dawn until 10 or 11 am.[92] It is unlikely, however, that such a rigid schedule was kept in parish churches.

A lucky survival in the *Liber de Ordinationibus Cantariarum* of a chantry certificate from 1271 at Sleaford in Lincolnshire is a rare example of documentation that can explicitly attest to the addition of aisles to churches as a chantry donation. Merchants Thomas Blount and John de Brecham built a north aisle onto the church of St. Denis in Sleaford, and endowed it with local land in exchange for "maintenance of the perpetual service of the chapel and altar."[93] Unfortunately, Sleaford was rebuilt in the 1330s, and the north aisle was lost, but we can see the provisions from the text. The commission involved supporting a chaplain and one assistant, and providing the books, vestments, liturgical vessels, and lighting, as well as building the space. The donors specified that the canonical hours should be kept as well as Mass said, and that their names should be mentioned in Mass. Furthermore, in addition to the activities which would take place in the north aisle, they noted that their chaplain should assist the parish priest with his duties, perhaps acting as deacon or subdeacon, when he was not otherwise occupied with their requirements.[94]

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[92] "The Cathedral of Salisbury: From the Foundation to the Fifteenth Century | British History Online," accessed August 4, 2019, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp156-183.

[93] The chantry was paid for in kind with "5 messuages in Great Lafford and Old Lafford with all their buildings and other appurtenances; and 1 carucate of our arable land and 2 bovates of meadow with the appurtenances in Haldingham, excepting 5 swathes; and a certain plot of meadow with the appurtenances in Old Lafford, which is called Oukeng, besides the other things which our of piety and devotion we propose to bestow or procure to be bestowed upon the same chapel and altar, or which any other person may desire to bestow." C.W. Foster and A. Hamilton Thompson, "Chantry Certificate, Sleaford," *Associated Architectural Societies Reports & Papers* 37 (May 1923): 92–100; The chantry is also summarized in Edward Trollope, *Sleaford, and the Wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn* (London: W. Kent & Co., 1872).

[94] Interestingly, the amount to be paid to the chantry priest is not specified. On assistance provided by chantry priests see Dorothy Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1971), 100.

Not only was an entire aisle of the church built at their request, but Blount and de Brecham also furnished it at their expense, and hired a priest to say Mass there, mentioning their names, presumably often with others of the community in attendance. This was set up prior to their deaths, and they say at the end of their request that they would continue providing for the material needs for the chapel throughout the rest of their days, after which time men of Sleaford entrusted with this responsibility would do it; there are contingency plans if those executors fail to complete their duties. Within the parish community, their contemporaries and succeeding generations would have certainly been aware of Blount and de Brecham's chantry and indeed would have been invited to hear Mass there. The public nature of this donation would have been desirable for the two merchants. They would have celebrated this foundation during their lifetime and after their deaths, not only would they have procured the prayers and pious thoughts of many members of the parish community, but they would also have solidified their social and economic standing within the community. The nave chantry chapel would act as a locus of community power and memory. Interestingly, and disappointingly, the chantry certificate makes no mention of where Blount and de Brecham wished to be buried, since they presumably would have wanted to be buried in their chapel.

The gentry and social status

Although the historiography of the Middle Ages has privileged those people best represented by surviving documentation—clerics, royalty, and magnates primarily—parish churches can tell us quite a lot about the lives of people who left fewer written traces behind. Though high-ranking clerics could occasionally have a particular attachment to a parish church,

perhaps in the place of their birth or perhaps a prebend given to them, in general it was the small emerging social group of low-ranking, land-owning knights who was responsible for acts of conspicuous display within the parish church. That the parish church was a locus of social display in the thirteenth century is clear both from the material and written record; in a thirteenth-century confessional manual containing text by Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, there is a reference to a layman avoiding come to Mass "out of shame, because he did not have beautiful clothes, or despised others who were filthily dressed because of their poverty and [did not wish] to sit next to them in the church."[95] The fact that this insecurity is given consideration in Grosseteste's manual suggests it was of significant concern to some parishioners who saw the parish church as a place where they would see and be seen. The shifts in parochial legislation, in particular lay responsibility for the nave of the church, are coterminous with the emergence of this new knightly class.[96]

As Jean Scammell has shown, before the late-twelfth century, a "knight" was someone who was temporarily in possession of armor, rather than a person with any intrinsic social value. Essentially, these knights—whom Scammell has termed "occasional knights" —were servile peasants when not required by their lords for military purposes. In the second half of the twelfth century Scammell observed a shift in the status of such men; they began to gain small amounts of land (either temporarily or permanently) and their own arms. Starting in the 1180s, *Chansons*

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[95] In Animetur primo, f. 170v (London, British Library, Additional Manuscripts 30508): "Si ab ecclesia vel dei officio se propter pudorem subtraxerit, eo quod non habuit pulchra indumenta, vel alios sordide indutos propter eorum paupertatem contempserit et juxta eos in ecclesia sedere." Translation in Rider, "Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals," 336–37.

[96] The precise definition and origins of the English gentry in the Middle Ages has been the subject of significant debate. For example, Peter Coss has argued against Scammell's formulation, which I have adopted here. For his view on a thirteenth-century emergence of the gentry, see *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 12, item.

de geste describe men being dubbed knights—which is to say, the person *himself* is intrinsically and permanently considered a knight, rather than knighthood being a temporary status held only when one was in possession of arms that were technically owned by the lord.[97] The late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries found this knightly class seeking changes in their image, thanks to the petty assizes of Henry II, whom Scammell calls "the gentry's midwife."[98] Novel disseisin, established in 1166, was one of four petty assizes established by Henry II. These royal writs represented the beginning of common law in England. Novel disseisin made it possible for an occasional knight who had lost possession of his land to act against the dispossessor to regain the land in a court of law without the involvement of an overlord.[99] Legal recognition of knights as an independent social class, as well as royal need to increase numbers of self-arming knights available to the king, helped to crystallize this shift.[100]

For their part, this new social group found ways of asserting their status. By about 1200, it had become common for knights to have seals, when it had not been so just forty years before.[101] They owned manor houses, which, according to Christopher Dyer, "resembled modern capitalist farms more closely than the larger units of production on the magnate estates."[102] They

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[97] Jean Scammell, "The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom, Knights, and Gentry, 1066–1300," *Speculum* 68, no. 3 (1993): 592–93.

[98] Ibid., 618.

[99] Ibid.; See also Natalie Fryde, *Why Magna Carta?: Angevin England Revisited* (Muenster: LIT Verlag, 2001), 68–69; Joseph Biancalana, "Petty Assizes," in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[100] Scammell, "The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom, Knights, and Gentry, 1066–1300," 606.

[101] Andrew F. McGuinness, "Non-Armigerous Seals and Seal Usage," in *Thirteenth Century England*, ed. Peter R. Coss and Simon D. Lloyd, Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1995), 167.

[102] Christopher Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 97.

engaged in social pursuits, including intermarrying within their class, sold land to one another, and witnessed charters with other members of their social group.[103] They spent their money building and outfitting parish churches.

Legislation regarding church upkeep and the social advancement of a new, local knightly class occur side by side. Likewise, the architectural development of the parish church, particularly the emergence of aisles, coincides with these shifts. It is my contention, then, that changes in the parish church's physical and economic structures developed hand in hand with the growing social class, and that in turn this class used inventive means in terms of architecture and commemoration to pursue legitimacy, thus influencing the development of the parish church.

Many of the surviving effigial tombs in parish churches represent members of the new knightly class struggling for recognition in the thirteenth century. As Rachel Dressler has established, military effigies follow the earlier clerical and royal effigies in their use of a distinct "costume" which asserts their social group.[104] In each case, individual features are subjugated to the direct assertion of station provided by clothing and equipment. The presence of military effigies in parish churches suggests that one of the ways in which they asserted their status was within the parish. As Dressler has noted, the knights used costume and poses to copy their social betters, even though their power and elite status was local. They could not compete with great magnates or barons. While they may not have been allowed or able to have their tomb effigy placed in a great church, they *were* able to be the "big fish" of the parish; it is no wonder then,

[103] Anne Polden, "The Social Networks of the Buckinghamshire Gentry in the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 32, no. 4 (2006): 371–94.

[104] Rachel Dressler, "Steel Corpse: Imagining the Knight in Death," in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 136–40.

that Tummers' survey of early secular effigies in England reveals that two-thirds of these effigies are found in parish churches.[105]

Local knights began to use heraldic devices for the visual communication of power and status in the thirteenth century. The outer walls of the east nave bays of Westminster Abbey from the middle of the thirteenth century display what is probably one of the earliest uses of heraldry in architectural sculpture [fig. 2.41].[106] The use of architectural heraldry becomes more common in the Decorated Style, including above the arcade spandrels in York Minster nave [fig. 2.42]. Spandrel shields occur later in the Middle Ages, as at Lavenham from the turn of the sixteenth century [fig. 2.43]. Otherwise, the use of shields has typically been consigned to the secular sphere and to monastic gatehouses, as at Butley Priory [fig. 2.44]. One heraldic capital at Great Budworth in Cheshire includes the Dutton family arms, which also appears on the tower [fig. 2.45]. Norton Priory was owned by the Duttons, so the inclusion of their arms seems to have been a nod to their patronage.[107] I am unaware of any evidence suggesting that the Duttons had a specific relationship to Great Budworth beyond their link with Norton. In any case, the prominent display of their arms shows their growing power as a social group.

Reminiscent of the Cheshire example is the church of Cogenhoe in Northamptonshire, which provides evidence of the ostentatious self-promotion of low-level gentry. The nave, rebuilt by Nicholas de Cogenhoe before his death in or before 1281, has north and south aisles [fig.

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[105] Henricus Augustinus Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 26–27.

[106] John Cherry, "Heraldry as Decoration in the Thirteenth Century," in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. W. M. Orme, Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium (Donington: Paul Watkins, 1991), 128–29.

[107] J. Patrick Greene, *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14.

2.46]. On both arcades, there are a series of sculpted capitals and grotesque faces [fig. 2.47]. The Cogenhoe arms occur on the capitals four times, and the other arms appearing on the capitals have been identified as belonging to other families to which the Cogenhoes were linked. Although it is not surprising to find heraldry within a parish church, particularly on tomb effigies and monumental brasses, heraldry is less frequently embedded in the building itself, particularly before the middle of the thirteenth century. The other shields seem to relate to families with whom Nicholas had forged relationships, or with whom he perhaps hoped to forge relationships through this lithic tribute. This use of shields can be likened to the painted ceiling from 12 rue des Clercs in Metz, now preserved at the Musée de la cour d'or [fig. 2.48]. The ceiling, discovered in 1968 during building work, dates from the fourteenth century, and visually proclaims the political connections of the owning family. The painted ceiling depicts the arms of the Holy Roman Empire and of the kingdoms of France, England, Bohemia, and Hungary, as well as of the two popes and of duchies surrounding Metz, alluding to a complex network of alliances. The Metz ceiling is certainly more sophisticated and extensive than Cogenhoe's capitals, but the use of heraldic devices as synecdoche for families operates in a similar way.

The west-facing shield on the south arcade at Cogenhoe is blank [fig. 2.49]. Since the Cogenhoe arms are oft repeated on the capitals, why not include them for a fifth time? Given its location and the fact that it is the only uncarved shield, I believe that it was left blank so that it could be carved or painted later when and if it was advantageous to Nicholas de Cogenhoe to express another alliance. The blank shield provides evidence that these devices weren't merely decorative, but that they were used thoughtfully and meaningfully. It is possible, although unable to be determined from the visual evidence, that some of the shields extant today were, like the

west-facing shield on the south arcade, left blank at the time of the initial building of the church and carved afterward to express the Cogenhoes' evolving alliances.

In the south aisle (but likely moved from its original location), is a military effigy of Nicholas de Cogenhoe bearing on his shield the same arms seen four other times in his church [fig. 2.50]. As Peter Coss has described them, the Cogenhoes were "hardly more than a one manor family," which is to say that they were not nationally prominent.[108] Nicholas' name appears in documents of gaol delivery, the presentation of prisoners at traveling courts, indicating that he was in essence a man of some local significance sometimes involved in judicial affairs.[109] Although Nicholas was not a major player on the national level, he had sufficient financial means to facilitate the rebuilding of the nave, presumably on his own, given the visual evidence in the church itself. In exchange for that financial commitment, he took the liberty of filling the church with reminders of his power, limited and local as it may have been. By including the arms of families with which the Cogenhoes had some association, Nicholas attempted to communicate his family's wider relevance, which was not limited to the village of Cogenhoe alone. For the viewers of the capitals, the precise families represented by the additional arms were probably inconsequential, but what they communicated was the supposedly larger-than-local connections of their village's most powerful family. Over the next century, in the same church, Nicholas' descendants used a similar tactic to their patriarch, acting as patrons

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[108] Peter Coss, "Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England," in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 58 fn72 .

[109] He also appears, on several occasions, to have been given wine and timber by the king. In 1279 he was the lucky recipient of a dozen live hares, evidently to stock a grove for hunting. Although he appears to have been in in the king's favor, his assignments were regional; he was one of the men Edward I would call upon for business in Northamptonshire and the region but does not seem to ever have had Westminster-based commitments.

for aisle expansions, for the construction of a chapel off the chancel, and the addition of a porch and the clerestory. These privately funded building projects were conspicuously related to the Cogenhoe family and they were enacted in a public space where villagers would have been constantly reminded of the importance of this local gentry family.

The prominence of military effigies in churches, including that of Nicholas de Cogenhoe, is a reminder that some of the most important lay interventions to parish churches were those associated with the eventual death of the patron. The commemorative practices that grew to characterize the parish church did not begin in that environment, but in the monastery, where laypeople had historically sought to be buried and treated with the same sort of commemoration given to the monks. This quickly became impractical, which facilitated the expansion of chantries—dedicated Masses said for a particular person or family—to the parish church. With a parish church in every village, it was much easier to accommodate the influx of requests for chantries than in monastic foundations, where even with round-the-clock clerical staff saying Masses time and space would have been limiting factors. The parish church, however, was more accessible and chantries in the parish church additionally provided a strong link between the deceased and their community. Still, only the wealthier echelon of society would have had the ability to commission chantry Masses, and eventually chantry chapels. What one was able to procure for commemoration after death roughly corresponded with one's social position within the community in life.

Aisles as places for burial

People in the Middle Ages were deeply concerned with securing a final resting place that was spiritually advantageous and would help them secure prayers long after their deaths while they worked their way out of purgatory. Therefore, they sought proximity to holy things and deceased people, and to members of the clergy.[110] Intramural burial for the laity was not permitted—or at least rarely permitted—before the twelfth century. However, gradually this shifted, first with clerics and royalty, and later with elite secular people being able to procure intramural burial in friary and parish churches.[111] The military effigies that I have already discussed, along with some effigies of priests, make up the bulk of thirteenth-century sculpted effigies in parish churches.

The benefits of intramural burial were two-fold. A prestigious, conspicuous location within the church was understood to serve as a perpetual reminder to clerics and attendees, who would then remember the deceased in their devotions, earning one credit against their time in the purgatorial flames. Second, as Nigel Saul has asserted, those buried within the church "were afforded a means of giving visual expression to their status: they found in burial a way of reproducing in death the separation of the ranks of society in life."[112] Though very few parish churches have been excavated, the ones that have been, like St. Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber

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[110] On burial *ad sanctos* see Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 23–49, especially 27, 32, 35; Peter Brown, "Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity," *Early Medieval Europe* 9, no. 1 (2000): 13; John Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011), 23.

[111] On mendicant burial in Italy, see Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City*, 160–66; On burial in English friaries, see Christian Steer, "Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010); Additionally, on burial for the "middling sort"—not just royalty and aristocracy, see Christian Steer, "Monuments of the Dead in Early Franciscan Churches, c. 1250-c. 1350," in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c. 1350)*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 405–25.

[112] Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 25.

(Lincolnshire), reveal just how prevalent intramural burial became. Warwick Rodwell and his team excavated 2750 skeletons at Barton, and estimate that there were about fourteen thousand in total.[113] Of the phase covering roughly 1150–1300, the burials uncovered by Rodwell and his team were for the first time located primarily in the aisles of the church as opposed to outside the walls of the church [fig. 2.51]. Given the seeming lack of burials in the central vessel during this period, we imagine that burial there was not permitted. As mentioned in chapter one, almost no parish churches have been subjected to a full excavation like St. Peter's, which, unlike many monasteries, have remained in use since they were built.

The location of burial, and the type of monument one had, indicated one's status.[114] Initially burial took place only outside of churches, but once grave slabs began to be brought inside and protected from the elements, sculptors began to make them with greater elaboration, as in a late-twelfth century-example from Halifax (North Yorkshire) [fig. 2.52].[115] Most intramural graves were marked only by a decorated slab, sometimes but not always recording the name of the deceased [fig. 2.53]. These slabs would form part of the floor of the church, indicating where someone was buried, though not necessarily preserving their names in perpetuity. Peter Ryder and Aleksandra McClain have studied such slabs in Yorkshire, and a survey of slabs in Gloucestershire churches is underway.[116]

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[113] Tony Waldron, *St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: A Parish Church and Its Community, The Human Remains*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 30–31 fig. 32.

[114] Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, 72–77; Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 25, 114–19.

[115] Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 26; "St John, Halifax, Yorkshire, West Riding · The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland," accessed November 4, 2018, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/1423/.

[116] Ryder, *Medieval Churches of West Yorkshire*; McClain, "Patronage, Power, and Identity: The Social Use of Local Churches and Commemorative Monuments in Tenth to Twelfth-Century North Yorkshire";

These types of slabs, which could be integrated into the floor of the church, were more common than life-size effigies, which took up significant amounts of floor space or occupied aisle niches, which were limited real estate in the church.[117] Slabs continued to be produced throughout the Middle Ages, and include examples like the Trumpington (Cambridgeshire) grave covers of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[118] By the end of the thirteenth century, monumental brasses fulfilled the same function, and were appealing for their ease of transport from London or the continent where many were made.[119]

Further expansion

Although the parishioners of Saint-Michael-on-Wyre probably kept their slender aisle until the church was mostly rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many churches expanded in the thirteenth century. St. John the Baptist, one of the thirty-eight parish churches recorded in Winchester in the 1291 *Taxatio* is a good example of this.[120] St. John's is a three-gabled church—each aisle has its own independent roof, rather than leaning on the nave's roof

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"Gloucestershire Cross-Slab Survey: Medieval Cross-Slabs," *Gloucestershire Cross-Slab Survey* (blog), accessed November 4, 2018, http://gloscross-slabs.blogspot.com/p/medieval-cross-slabs.html.

[117] On regional variation see Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 40–57.

[118] Ibid., 37, 44–45.

[119] On the early history of monumental brasses in England, see Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and Their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61–67; Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 44–45.

[120] Jeffrey H. Denton, "Taxatio," Taxatio, 2014, https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/.The Taxatio is an assessment for taxes of the parish churches and prebends in England and Wales in 1291-2. It was ordered by Pope Nicholas IV, and as such is sometimes referred to as the Taxatio Nicholai. The Taxatio is a fortunate, but imperfect, resource. For example, parish churches worth less than two marks were excluded. Still, it is an important source which gives us the medieval breakdown of diocese, deaconry, and archdeaconry at the end of the thirteenth century.

[figs. 2.54–2.55]. Probably owing to the limits of the site, which is hemmed in by the medieval road on the east and has a steep drop on the west, the church is not particularly long, but quite impressive in width. Although St. John's is first documented in the 1280s, its extant fabric suggests that a church had been on the site for significantly longer; one arcade capital is a trumpeted-scallop, and the remaining three display the reverse of that with concave flutes, a style contemporary around 1200 [fig. 2.55].[121] On the western wall of the north aisle, very near to the arcade, there is a blocked window contemporary with the arcade, indicating a very slender early aisle [fig. 2.56].

The south wall is datable to the second half of the thirteenth century thanks to its well-preserved Geometric window [fig. 2.57]. A three-light window on the eastern side of the screen on the north was described in 1884, as was "an early English window of remarkable design" on the south wall near the east end.[122] On the north side, two blocked Early English lancet windows with thirteenth-century painted figures were spared overzealous Victorian restoration as they were found only in 1958 during repair works [fig. 2.58]. The western window splays depict an uncanonized bishop, a saint carrying Christ (but potentially St. Anthony rather than St. Christopher), and at the top, a devil and flowers. In the eastern window, St. John the Evangelist and St. Peter look up at a now-destroyed Virgin and Child [fig. 2.59].[123] The combination of Early English lancet windows and the style of the painting locate the expanded north wall sometime in the last quarter of the thirteenth century—later, by less than a century, than the

[121] Pevsner and Lloyd, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 692.

[122] Francis Joseph Baigent, "On the Church of St. John, Winchester, and the Paintings Discovered on the North Wall," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, First Series, 9 (1852): 3.

[123] Robin E. N. Baker, "A Medieval Discovery," *Country Life* 124 (November 20, 1958): 1188–90.

scallop-capital. This addition soon after the initial construction suggests that the original aisle was quickly deemed too small for the needs of the space.

In the case of St. John's, the nature of the communities using the church could offer a partial explanation for the widened aisles. This community may have included the nearby Franciscan friars before they had built their own friary just inside of Winchester's walls between Middle Brooks, North Walls, and Lower Brooks,[124] about a third of a mile away from St. John's. The friary was established in 1237, and in 1238, Henry III swapped a house with Bishop Peter des Roches to provide the Winchester Franciscans with property.[125] Supplies for the foundations of the church were received in 1239, and in 1246 the church was still under construction.[126] Henry III provided fencing for the convent in 1259.[127] The hypothesis that the friars used the church and precipitated the addition of aisles would be unconvincing, though, were it not for a now-destroyed painting (documented by Baigent in 1852) of Christ on the cross flanked by Saint Francis and his uncanonized companion, Brother Leo [fig. 2.60]; an inscription on Francis' book reads: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."[128] Tristram regarded this painting as "an exposition of Franciscan teaching."[129]

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[124] Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, vol. 23 (Leicester: Leicester Archaeology Monograph, 2013), 344.

[125] Jens Röhrkasten, "The English Crown and the Franciscans in the Order's Early History," in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 66.

[126] O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*, 23:345.

[127] Röhrkasten, "The English Crown and the Franciscans in the Order's Early History," 69.

[128] "MIHI : AUTEM : ABSIT : GLORIARI : NISI : IN : CRUCE : DOMINI : NOSTRI : JESU : CHRISTI." from Paul's letter to the Galatians 6:14.

[129] E. W. Tristram, "Franciscan Influence in English Mediaeval Wall-Painting," in *Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art*, ed. A. G Little, vol. 19 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937), 10.

Franciscan subject matter is rare enough in the parish church context to render this worthy of mention. Did the Franciscans use this church? If so, did they require more space, or did their presence make the parish feel crowded, facilitating an extension? Alternatively, does the painting of St. Francis and Leo simply reflect a new local interest in the friars who took up residence nearby? Franciscans were not permitted to own property, so the idea that the Order may have financed the aisle extensions at St. John's can be dismissed. The wall painting scheme could feasibly have been financed by a single member of the congregation, or a group of them, and we need not assume that the entire parish maintained an affinity with the friars. When the English friars eventually built their own churches, they became sought after places for lay burial. For this reason, I am convinced that lay people from within the community may have chosen this iconography out of appreciation for the Franciscan message and the apparently close relationship between the Order and St. John's, either before or after the Franciscans had their own church. Though the Franciscan relationship to St. John's may never be fully understood, architecturally, its trajectory is quite typical: an initial early aisle that corresponds with the arcades, and a widening of that aisle when it is no longer able to fulfil the need of the laity. The widening can often be identified by the style of the arcades in relation to the style of the exterior walls and windows, as well as (in the case of both St. John's Winchester and St-Michael-on-Wyre) blocked-up windows that reveal the addition.

The unaisled parish church

By now I have shown the significance of the parochial nave aisle as a locus of lay piety and an effective site for permanent demonstration of social status. The aisled church is the

prototypical form of the thirteenth-century parish, and the addition of aisles to existing churches was common; few newly built churches were constructed without them. In spite of this, not all churches gained aisles and there is a significant corpus of unaisled parish churches that instead received mural niches on either side of the chancel arch. Francis Bligh Bond acknowledges these altar niches in *Roodscreens and Roodlofts* of 1909, and to the extent that they have been considered at all, it is primarily as part of the chancel arch or rood screen composition. These architectural gestures deserve further consideration as they were intended to imitate both the aesthetic and liturgical functions of aisles. These niches are significant because they housed altars (perhaps but not necessarily related to a chantry) in churches where aisles were too difficult or costly to construct, or space did not allow for them to be built. In the absence of aisles, these mural niches provided an alternative way for members of the gentry to fund Masses in their honor and diminish their time in purgatory.

These features, although found primarily in the southeast quadrant of England, do not seem to be limited to that area. There are niches on either side of the chancel arch at the church of Scawton (North Yorkshire), for example, where squints were added later to provide a view into the chancel [fig. 2.61]. As usual, one needs to exercise caution when determining whether a feature is regional or simply the result of poverty that made late medieval rebuilding impossible. Even so, areas like the Lincolnshire Fens, an area in which many twelfth- and thirteenth-century parish churches survive intact, offers no examples of mural niches that I am aware of. This is perhaps due to wealth during the period of construction that facilitated building large churches.

Sussex is particularly rich with these niches. Clayton is one of the so-called “Lewes Group” churches, richly painted by the same group of artists from sometime between 1080 and

1120.[130] At Clayton, rounded arches on either side of the chancel arch were excavated from the wall to form altar niches [fig. 2.62]. These are characteristically difficult to date due to the simplicity of the forms; they have no moldings or decorative details to suggest when they may have been constructed. The north niche cuts off the bottom of the painting above it, suggesting that the niches postdate the painting scheme, but by how long? Now-lost transeptal chapels, evidenced by scars, which were built in the eleventh or twelfth century (north) and thirteenth century (south), suggest that additional space at Clayton was desired, so it is possible to imagine that this small church at one time had at least five altars.[131]

Hauxton (Cambridgeshire), has niches on either side of the chancel arch that were added probably in the early-thirteenth century to the simple two-cell church [fig. 2.63]. The south niche houses a wall painting of Thomas Becket that was rediscovered in 1860 after having been bricked in to prevent destruction during the Reformation [fig. 2.64]. David Park dates it to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, probably contemporary or near contemporary with the niche itself. The north niche retains an architectural canopy, but no painting; it is supposed that it lost a saint often linked with Becket, for example St. Edmund—this seems especially likely due to the present dedication of the church to Edmund.[132] Also in Cambridgeshire is Duxford St. John, which has a niche on only the south side of the chancel arch [fig. 2.65]. The north aisle that exists today was added in the later Middle Ages. The use of a single niche can be explained by

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[130] David Park, "The 'Lewes Group' of Wall Paintings in Sussex," in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, ed. R. Allen Brown, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984), 201.

[131] L. F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Clayton," in *The Rape of Lewes*, A History of the County of Sussex 7 (London: Victoria County History, 1940), 140–44, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol7/pp140-144.

[132] The earliest recording of this dedication is 1498. A. P. Baggs, S. M. Keeling, and C. A. F. Meekings, "Parishes: Hauxton and Newton," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ed. A. P. N. Wright, vol. 8 (London: Victoria County History, 1982), 194–207.

the fact that it has a crossing tower. Unusually, there is positive evidence in two locations for the rood at Duxford in the form of a stair on the northeast wall of the nave [fig. 2.66].

A similar arrangement can also be observed at Castle Rising (Norfolk), where the dogtooth-molded niche on the south side of the chancel arch was partially effaced by the addition of Victorian transept on its right [fig. 2.67]. Sadly, the transept addition also destroyed the piscina, presuming one was provided for the mural altar. Perhaps more interestingly, though, is the fact that the right side of the altar-niche itself effaces the late Norman chancel arch, indicating that it was not an original feature of the building, but one contemporaneous with the early-thirteenth-century fervor for aisles. As the later south chapel suggests, space was not a problem at Castle Rising, so perhaps the choice to add an altar niche was motivated instead by funds. Castle Rising is quite an elaborate Norman church, with a formal west front [fig. 1.79], a relatively rare parochial feature that I discuss in chapter one; it is roughly contemporaneous with much of the chancel, but bears little resemblance to the nave's architecture.[133] This is probably because the nave was relatively recent, and the nave altar was added to fulfil a new need; perhaps it was added while the masons were on site for the Early English renovation of the Norman

[133] The Domesday Book entry for (Castle) Rising contains no mention of a church; the settlement was an offshoot of nearby Snettisham. This is not conclusive evidence that no church existed, but given the fact that no fabric from the church is stylistically dateable to before the second quarter of the twelfth century, it is plausible. The castle was built there sometime after 1138 by William d'Aubigny II. In 1139 William married Adeliza of Louvain, widow of King Henry I. With this marriage he became Earl of Arundel. His newly acquired social status and wealth must have been the impetus for him to build the impressive castle there. There was evidently a church or chapel that was enveloped by the new castle, and it was historically thought that the church of St. Lawrence was built after the castle was built to replace it. This theory has been called into question by Morley and Gurney, however no archaeological research has been conducted to support either claim. Beric Morley and David Gurney, *Castle Rising Castle, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology 81 (Dereham: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service, 1997), 2. The historic links between castles and parish churches is elucidated in O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London: Equinox, 2002), 110–32.

chancel. Similarly, Brook (Kent) has a pointed Gothic altar niche on the north of the chancel arch, in stark contrast with the rest of the Romanesque building [fig. 2.68].

These niches are not exclusive to English churches, and are sometimes found, for example, in Scandinavian parish churches.[134] Spandat (Jutland) has niches on either side of the chancel arch; the northern niche has painting in and around it [fig. 2.69]. The southern niche was pressed into service as a means to access the pulpit in a later period. Måløv (Zealand) exhibits similar niches [fig. 2.70]. Here, the impost block of the chancel arch continues across the eastern wall of the nave, split only by the niches, which seems to be evidence that they were a later insertion.

As a rule, altar niches were not planned as part of a building, but added when the combination of liturgical need and fashion necessitated it. The remaining evidence of church fabric shows that altar niches were virtually never constructed in addition to aisles, but rather installed as a replacement for them when they were impractical. They have developed in direct response to the increasing number of Masses being provided for the souls of the community in places where the construction of aisles was not feasible.

Although the primary position of these niches is at the east end of the nave on either side of the chancel arch, they are sometimes found in other spots as well. Niches excavated from the wall form the altars for the transepts of the aisled church of Ripple (Worcestershire) [fig. 2.71]. The transept is likely to be the earliest surviving part of Ripple, but the nave followed shortly after, so these were not necessarily executed instead of nave niches, but potentially in addition to them [fig. 2.72].

[134] I thank Line Bonde for introducing me to these Danish churches in her Leeds 2018 paper, and for providing examples.

Niches for altars are sometimes present within the great church context. St. Faith's chapel at Westminster Abbey is one such example: a sizeable niche on the eastern end of the chapel contains a painted reredos composed of a single figure of St. Faith depicted as a young woman holding her instrument of torture, the grill, within a microarchitectural frame [fig. 2.73]. On the north side of the niche, a Benedictine monk is painted looking up at Faith and sending a prayer in the form of a text scroll that extends over the void between his medallion and the saint. The painting may postdate the altar niche recess itself—the chapel (with its mixed function as vestry, sacristy, and treasure house) was likely completed by 1249 and takes its slightly awkward shape from its interface with the chapterhouse at the east of it. Unlike in Clayton, where the niche was clearly added after the execution of the painting, in this case it seems to have always been integral to the space. Further research is necessary to assess the utility of similar niches within great church contexts, but the fact that the St. Faith's chapel example is from the middle of the thirteenth century or later, certainly later than most of the examples I have come across in parish churches, leads one to wonder whether this was an idea borrowed from parishes.

Many niches were probably lost in rebuilding schemes. In many places, small Romanesque chancel arches were replaced with loftier, Gothic ones, and aisles were added at a later date as well. In Curdworth (Warwickshire) [fig. 2.74] and Slapton (Northamptonshire) [fig. 2.75], however, we see a different approach that adapts the Romanesque chancel arch rather than replacing it. In both examples, we see large hagioscopes with fifteenth-century tracery on either side of the narrow Romanesque arch—these enable a better view inside the chancel, especially if people draw close to them, satisfying a similar impulse to the squints carved post facto into the dado of the Stanton Harcourt roodscreen [fig. 2.76].

As the evidence presented in this section suggests, I propose that mural altars are a solution developed *within* the genre of the parish church, rather than being borrowed and adapted from elsewhere, and suggest that their utility may have been appreciated and brought into other building types subsequently. Moreover, their presence validates the importance of marginal space for lay piety in English parish churches from the late twelfth century, in spite of the tendency to imagine lay autonomy in the thirteenth century as a completely new development following the legislation that parishioners were responsible for the upkeep of the church's nave.

Parochial Transepts

As a coda to this chapter on aisles, I offer some comments on another lateral space within the parish church. A transept is a north-south extension to a church building that makes its ground-plan cruciform. Like stone vaults and three-story elevations, English medieval parish churches rarely included transepts in their architecture. This is in marked contrast with the so-called "great churches"—cathedrals and major monasteries—which were seldom built without them. This is certainly not to say that no parish church was built with a cruciform plan, but that this arrangement typically marks a high-status building, one with a patron (or patrons) whose architectural ambitions would be characterized as atypical within the genre.

It is, therefore, remarkable that four neighboring churches south-west of Boston, in Bicker, Algarkirk, Sutterton, and Kirton-in-Holland, in the Lincolnshire Fens were all built with transepts. Even more remarkable is that they all included aisles within these transepts, presumably for separate chapels: an even more high-status characteristic found typically in cathedrals. Why were these churches built with such a luxurious plan? I argue that parochial

ambition and competition inspired these features, since they were not required for parochial liturgy, but were still clearly a desirable feature.

The Fens is a marshy area in southern Lincolnshire, where between 1150 and 1300 considerable arable land was reclaimed from the marshes, and natural saltpans provided a lucrative economic asset, as did abundant fisheries. Salt was a desirable commodity, used not only to flavor food, but employed in the Middle Ages for its preservative qualities, was of tremendous importance.[135] This region, as a result of its relative prosperity in the high Middle Ages, is home to some of the most ambitious and precocious early parish churches, including tall free-standing towers, significant Romanesque architectural sculpture, and the addition of imposing twelfth-century arcades, aisles, and atypically long naves (see for example the seven-bay nave of Whaplode). This tradition of impressive parochial architecture continues in the thirteenth century, and the aisled transepts of Bicker, Algarkirk, Sutterton, and Kirton are a further manifestation of this impulse.

Bicker is the oldest of the group, and its nave is the earliest standing part of the church, stylistically dateable to the early-twelfth century [figs. 2.77–2.78].[136] However, some surviving Anglo-Saxon interlace sculpture alludes to a pre-Romanesque church which is corroborated by the Domesday Book's mention of one church standing by 1086.[137] It is, remarkably, only two bays long, which is especially surprising given the massive scale of its Norman piers with scallop capitals. The arches are decorated with thick round moldings, one order of chevrons, and an

[135] On the role of salt production in medieval England see Laurence Keen, "Coastal Salt Production in Norman England," in *Anglo-Norman England*, ed. R. Allen Brown, vol. 11, Proceedings of the Battle Conference (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1989), 133–79.

[136] Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, 142.

[137] Anna Powell-Smith and J. N. N. Palmer, "Bicker," in *OpenDomesday*, n.d., http://opendomesday.org/place/TF2237/bicker/.

outer order of billet. The nave arcade is surmounted by a contemporary, or near contemporary, clerestory, with one round opening per bay, surrounded by cushion-capital topped colonettes. Thomas Russo has pointed out that Domesday Book records twenty-two saltpans in Bicker. Substantial labor was required to mine these pans and the workers, in turn, required a place to worship.[138]

Moving eastward from the nave, we first enter a crossing built in the Decorated Style, identifiable from the molded capitals. Leaving this aside for the moment, further to the east is the Early English chancel. As Pevsner has observed, the three aisled bays of the chancel preceding the sanctuary area could be easily mistaken for a nave, if it were not for the two-bay Romanesque nave west of the crossing.[139] At the conclusion of the arcade in the east of the church, is a sanctuary projection that extends past the aisled portion of the chancel, where the sedilia and piscina are situated on the south wall [fig. 2.79]. The chancel is lit with an original Early English composition of three lancets in the east window, confirmed by original buttresses on the exterior. Retrofitted Decorated windows were later added to the north and south walls; the string course above the sedilia and piscina group was broken by the addition of the southern one [fig. 2.80]. The clerestory, formed of alternating oculi and lancets, is contemporary with the arcades.

The chancel aisle windows are of the Decorated Style, and almost certainly are evidence of an expanded aisle, probably done at the same time as the sanctuary Decorated windows, and perhaps the Decorated crossing as well. Malcolm Thurlby has argued that the "richly articulated,

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[138] Thomas E. Russo, "Romanesque Sculpture in Parish Churches of the Lincolnshire Fens," in *King's Lynn and the Fens: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. John McNeill (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2008), 202.

[139] Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, 456.

two-bay Norman nave with aisles suggests that the cruciform plan already existed" prior to the present crossing being built.[140] Carol Davidson Cragoe writes Bicker off as a "major-minor" church because it is cruciform and has a clerestory, suggesting that it was perhaps a minster, but I find this viewpoint limiting.[141] In the absence of proof that it was ever anything other than a parish church, I suspect it is unlikely to have served as a minster. Moreover, even if it were a minster, Bicker seems to set the standard for churches in its immediate vicinity.

Kirton-in-Holland is the other of this group mentioned in Domesday Book [figs. 2.81–2.82]. Remodelers in 1804–5 substantially changed this church, which previously had a crossing tower and transepts; at present, it has a west tower. This does not look at all strange to those familiar with the architecture of parish churches, where west towers are much more common. However, an 1803 engraving by William and Hilkiah Burgess attest to the pre-restoration state of the building, confirming this somewhat strange early-nineteenth-century change [fig. 2.83].[142] The church in its pre-restoration iteration was large. This scale was probably not necessary at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it has also been speculated that the crossing tower was in danger of collapse and taken down to avoid potential calamity. Within the present tower is a Norman portal, originally the west door of the church. It contains two orders of chevron (one point-to-point, one lateral), and the arch is slightly pointed, suggesting it is relatively late. Lore tells us that the first stone church at Kirton was built by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln (r. 1123–

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[140] Malcolm Thurlby, "Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England and Wales," in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, ed. John Gillingham, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 24 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 258.

[141] Davidson, "Written in Stone," 77.

[142] The engraving was printed in Bartholomew Howlett, *A Selection of Views in the County of Lincoln, Comprising the Principal Towns and Churches, the Remains of Castles and Religious Houses, and Seats of the Nobility and Gentry with Topographical and Historical Accounts of Each View* (London: William Miller, 1805).

48), which might give a date range for the portal, but there is insufficient evidence to back this claim.[143] The engraving shows without a doubt that Kirton had a central tower in the Middle Ages, but the style of what is visible is much later Perpendicular work. However, as the central tower, and thus transepts, are generally inherited from a previous iteration, it seems likely that Kirton always had one.

Sutterton was owned by Crowland Abbey [fig. 2.84]. They were lord of it in 1066, and tenant-in-chief in 1086, thus proving that a church existed on this site prior to the current iteration. Crowland held the advowson in the twelfth century.[144] The church has a five-bay Early Gothic nave [fig. 2.85]. It is surmounted by a Perpendicular clerestory, which gave the church considerably greater height; we can tell what the original pitch of the lower roof was by the roofline scar on the west side of the tower arch. The tower arch is itself Late Norman, with orders of chevron similar to those on the arcades at nearby Bicker (point-to-point, lateral). The rest of the crossing arches are of a later date, but the western respond of the north transept is of a similar, Romanesque design, proof that the transept dates from at least the same period as the crossing arch [fig. 2.86]. The chancel, memorable for its nineteenth-century tilework by Butterfield, is in the Early English style, lit with lancet windows [fig. 2.87].

Until a modern external stair was added to reach the tower, it could be reached only by ladder; thus, there was no rood stair in the Middle Ages, creating some ambiguity about the separation between nave and chancel. Although the south transept has been virtually all rebuilt,

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[143] See for example Thomas E. Russo, "St Peter, Kirton-in-Holland, Lincolnshire," The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland, accessed November 5, 2018, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/784/.

[144] Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 75; Katherine L. French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion After the Black Death* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 70–71.

the north transept, with the exception of its replaced Perpendicular north window, is of the thirteenth century [fig. 2.88]. Though externally the nave and aisles look to be of the Decorated Style, the arcades reveal initial aisles of the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century with their capitals.[145] This suggests that the transepts were added later than the aisles.

Algarkirk is approximately a half mile from Sutterton and is another cruciform church [fig. 2.89]. Russo has noted that this settlement is referred to as "Algare" in Domesday book, and the entry does not mention a church.[146] Later, "kirk" was added to its name. This is a likely indicator that it did not have its own church in 1086. Its nave is five bays long with early-thirteenth-century arcades; the Perpendicular clerestory is a later addition [fig. 2.90]. Large transepts with western aisles make the church feel unusually spacious [fig. 2.91]. The eastern crossing piers have stiff leaf capitals, but the western ones are waterleaf, suggesting a date prior to 1200.[147]

How were transepts used in medieval parish churches? They were certainly not necessary parts of the buildings. The primary use of transepts in parish churches seems to have been as additional space for the provision of altars. While the eastern end of an aisle would generally provide space for one altar, a transept could feasibly contain a number of them, particularly when an eastern transept aisle was available. At Patrington (East Yorkshire), three surviving piscinas in the south transept reveal where altars were situated [fig. 2.92]. From north to south, these

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[145] Nikolaus Pevsner, John Harris, and Nicholas Antram, *Lincolnshire*, The Buildings of England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 731.

[146] Thomas E. Russo, "St Peter, Algarkirk, Lincolnshire," The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland, accessed November 5, 2018, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/1349/.

[147] Waterleaf is England is traditionally dated to c. 1175–1200, after it came to England via the Cistercian milieu. For a brief explanation of waterleaf, see Ron Baxter, "Waterleaf and Flat Leaf Capitals," *Stories in Stone* (blog), February 20, 2017, https://medieval-sculpture.com/2017/02/20/waterleaf-and-flat-leaf-capitals/.

include one on the east wall of the transept, one in the central chapel that is built out slightly from the transept, and one on the south wall. However, this was not always the case; at Ripple (Worcestershire), the north and south transepts both have altar niches roughly in the center of the east wall, suggesting that there was only a single altar using that space.

The presence of a transept is almost inextricable with the issue of the tower; western towers became more prominent among parish churches in this period, perhaps because central towers were a liability, as is discussed in Chapter 1. Uffington's (Oxfordshire) spire collapsed in a storm in 1740, conveniently falling west. In 1746 it was rebuilt as it is seen today [figs. 2.93–2.94]. The nave survived mostly intact, but many churches were not so lucky; some communities were concerned enough about the possibility of a collapse that they opted for detached towers (for example West Walton in Norfolk [fig. 2.95]). In the case of the Oxfordshire churches at least, it seems that precedent reigned supreme, and that churches which previously had a central tower were often rebuilt with one. It is impossible to say for certain whether the choice to maintain a central tower in spite of the dangers and inconvenience was a nod to a perception of prestige implicit in them, or the choice to take the path of least resistance. Numerous Oxfordshire churches are aisleless and cruciform, bucking trends seen in the rest of the country.

Uffington, rebuilt wholesale in the middle of the thirteenth century, may be unique in its transept altar composition; in the south transept, there is a shallow compartment built into the wall and extending slightly past it, where an altar and piscina were situated [fig. 2.96]. On the north side, perhaps built after the south with the realization that another altar could be accommodated, two of these compartments have been added [fig. 2.97]. Parish church transepts can be compared, perhaps, to French buttress chapels, identical spaces specifically designed for

the provision of altars. Uffington is unaisled; the transepts provide essentially the same function to the community as aisles do in other places.

Acton Burnell (Shropshire) is an aisleless cruciform church built on the manor of Robert Burnell [figs. 2.98–2.99]; Burnell was native of Acton, but rose to prominence in Westminster at the court of Henry III, and under Edward I was made chancellor as well as bishop of the joint diocese of Bath & Wells.[148] Burnell was a powerful man and patron, who also built the Bishop's Palace chapel at Wells. The transepts are provisioned for single altars, each with one piscina, and are appended to the ends of the nave [fig. 2.100]. There is no crossing tower, and was none in the Middle Ages, though pre-restoration drawings show a simple, wooden bellcote [fig. 2.101], which was obviously removed by the time of this work-in-progress photograph from the late 1880s restoration by Fairfax B. Wade [fig. 2.102]. Although there were at least three altars in the church, there is no particular evidence for a chantry foundation, either for Burnell or any of his relatives; the oldest monument surviving in the building is the late-fourteenth-century monumental brass in the north transept.

Burnell was not alone among his peer group—late-thirteenth-century bishops—in initiating parochial building projects in their natal homes. Bishop Giffard of Worcester founded a chantry chapel at Boynton in Wiltshire in 1279 [fig. 2.103], and Bishop Bitton of Exeter founded a chantry chapel in Bitton in Gloucestershire in 1299 [fig. 2.104]. As John McNeill has noted, these are two of the earliest discrete chantry chapels, and are each appended to aisleless naves.[149] Although these were founded as chantries, it is worth mentioning that Boynton in particular is an

[148] John Newman, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Gavin Watson, *Shropshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 87.

[149] McNeill, "A Prehistory of the Chantry," 18–19.

unusual situation; there, the church is appropriated to the rector and the chantry; in effect, the chantry owns the church. Godfrey Giffard was bishop of Worcester, but his elder brother was Walter Giffard, himself once bishop of Bath & Wells, who was elevated in 1266 archbishop of York. Both brothers took turns as chancellor under Henry III, and Burnell was appointed as archdeacon of York under Walter in 1270. Walter Giffard, Robert Burnell, and Roger Mortimer were together the regents after Henry III died before Edward I returned from Crusade.

It is tempting to compare Robert's parish church project at Acton Burnell with the Giffard Chapel at Boynton; he was clearly operating in the same circles as the Giffard brothers, as bishops in royal service, but also in specific associations with York, Bath & Wells, etc. Others have remarked upon the fact that the Giffard chapel looks and functions as a second chancel to the church, with its fine gabled sedilia and piscina ensemble. Might Burnell have known of this project and had it in mind when he erected an entire church? Acton Burnell is an unusual example because it seems to have been primarily the work of one patron, constructed over a short period of time (similar to Skelton, discussed in Chapter One).

Thirteenth-century church maintenance has been clearly elucidated by Carol Davidson Cragoe, however the presence of a transept and crossing presents the question of to whose care the transepts were entrusted. This question is significant both as a practical matter and instructive in terms of the use and conception of these buildings. Determining the original location of the rood screen, the barrier which traditionally separated "nave" from "chancel," can aid in locating the division between responsibility for parts of the church. Frustratingly, the Lincolnshire group lacks archaeological evidence that can aid in determining the location of the rood. None of them have rood or tower stairs. At Duxford St. John, a church that was initially built without aisles and later expanded on the north only, there is a rood stair in front of the chancel arch, but also

indication that there was once a screen fastened to the arch between the crossing and chancel, suggesting perhaps a change in responsibility for the crossing during its long life. It seems as though the ownership of this central space, and therefore responsibility for it, may have operated differently in different churches, with disputes requiring a court judgment, however I have found no legal cases involving responsibility of the crossing or space under the tower.

Scholars have assumed that churches with transepts must have formerly had minster status, but Eric Fernie notes that this is unlikely due to the more than twenty cruciform churches in Northamptonshire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, arguing that these could not possibly have all been minsters.[150] In the case of the Lincolnshire group, the "minster" hypothesis is impossible, as construction of some of the churches postdate the end of the minster system.

Conclusion

During the period discussed in this chapter, the English laity gained unprecedented agency over the look and feel of their parish churches. They had also begun to experience unprecedented agency in their political and spiritual lives, as they observed or participated in the emergence of the gentry and absorbed the soul-saving potential of the doctrine of purgatory. These societal sea changes yielded not only new motivations, but also new spaces for the expression of lay piety, chief among the aisles of community churches. The significance of lay involvement in the design, upkeep, and use of these aisles lies in its ability to help us conceptualize, or perhaps reconceptualize, the lives of ordinary humans whose stories barely

[150] Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 225.

enter the margins of our written documentation. Some clerical sources might have us believe that lay people were bumbling, uneducated, un›‹interested in spiritual affairs, and always on the brink of heretical behavior; indeed, many historians have thus dismissed their lives as fodder for folklorists. Their churches, however, tell a different story. Through these old stones, we might understand members of village communities as empowered, aware, and concerned with the state of their churches. They can appear shrewd, even manipulative; they blur boundaries between spiritual and temporal wealth and use their social capital as means of exploiting the piety of their peers. Ultimately, a close look at the aisle of the English parish church reveals a silhouette of a culture in flux, suggesting different ways in which ordinary people made space for themselves in a changing world.

Chapter 3: Mendicant & Parish Churches

Mendicant and parish churches in England have long been connected in the historiography of both building types. In this chapter I untangle this connection, demonstrating their independent development, and argue that the causal relationship generally drawn between them has stifled scholars' understanding of both. Knowledge of the friary church as a building form has been vastly overestimated, and relatedly the story of its development has been considered a "closed case." This assumption rests on shaky foundations; firstly, there is a dearth of material evidence necessary to the systematic study of friary church architecture, and secondly, scholars have not adequately considered the source material from which common beliefs about the building type evolved over the course of the twentieth century. The perpetuation of basic errors in the understanding of friary church architecture has colored scholarship on the parish church as well. Bolstered by false confidence in the discrete legibility of the former, scholars have advanced notions of the parish church as essentially an imitation of the friary church. As I will demonstrate, however, the relationship between these building forms is far less straightforward than it has appeared in previous scholarship.

In this chapter, I will first address the historiography that has drawn parish and friary churches together, arguing that historians have largely replicated a theory based on illogical examples and a spurious timeline. Second, I posit a new model for the relationship between these buildings and their communities —a model built upon material evidence and attention to the establishment and expansion of the mendicant orders in England as they evolved between roughly 1221 and the middle of the thirteenth century—using primarily the evidence of the Dominicans, or Blackfriars, and the Franciscans, or Greyfriars. Ultimately, I will show that the

builders of friary churches may have looked to parish churches in their earliest years of development, since the characteristics often attributed to friary churches already existed there prior to the orders coming to England. Indeed, I will suggest, that English friaries may have looked to the parish churches that the communities used in the early days of the order as models. While I recognize that there may be a relationship between the churches of the large port cities and London Greyfriars in the early fourteenth century, I argue that it is a later development that reflects the minority of examples of both building types, and that a more complex and nuanced network is at play.

Historiography

A. W. Clapham first proposed the mendicant origins of the typical thirteenth-century English parish church in a 1913 essay called "Friars as Builders."[1] Clapham, then employed by the Royal Commission on Architectural Monuments for England, argued that the 1306 rebuilding of London Greyfriars was a prototype for parish church architecture across the country. At the time of rebuilding, he writes of Greyfriars, "a radical alteration is observable in the planning of the parish church, an alteration which, in view of its ultimate results, was almost revolutionary."[2] In particular he focuses on the fact that the typical model of towns having

[1] Eric Fernie, *Clapham, Sir Alfred William (1883–1950), Architectural Historian and Archaeologist* (Interactive Factory, n.d.), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32415; Alfred William Clapham, "Friars as Builders," in *Some Famous Buildings and Their Story; Being the Results of Recent Research in London and Elsewhere* (Westminster: Technical Journals Ltd., 1913).

[2] Clapham, "Friars as Builders," 250.

multiple parishes was abandoned and replaced with the practice of one massive church instead.[3] Clapham posits St. Thomas, Winchelsea of the 1290s [figs. 3.1–3.2] and Holy Trinity, Hull (from around 1300) [fig. 1.35]—both in new towns founded by Edward I (r. 1272–1307)—as the exemplifying the parochial impulse towards mendicant forms. Clapham links the patronage of Hull (Edward I and II) to London Greyfriars, the recipient of significant support from Margaret of France, Edward I's wife, and subsequent royal women. The unusual wealth and patronage associated with that foundation contribute to its differentiation from other friaries. Zachary Stewart has termed Clapham's assertion the "mendicant thesis."[4]

In the 1956 Oxford History of Art volume *Architecture in Britain: the Middle Ages*, Geoffrey Webb echoes the mendicant thesis in arguing that Holy Trinity, Hull "seems to be an early example of the influence of the Friars' churches on the architectural character of the parish church."[5] This idea is further supported in *The English Decorated Style*, the 1979 publication of Jean Bony's Wrightsman lectures from a decade earlier, where the author declares that St. Thomas, Winchelsea "no doubt reflected what was then the most current type of Friars' church in southern England."[6] He acknowledges that the evidence for friary churches is scant due to poor survival, but goes so far as to argue that scholars can compensate for the lack of knowledge of friaries through the study of parish churches. He uses Winchelsea as a synecdoche for all parish churches, implying not only that it is a typical parish church, but that from Winchelsea we might retrospectively deduce an entire architectural history for the friary church as a building

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Stewart, "The Integrated Interior," 21.

[5] Geoffrey Webb, *Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956), 172.

[6] Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed, 1250-1350* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 34.

type. Bony's conception of the relationship between mendicant and friary churches has been accepted in later literature.

Like that of the parish church, the literature specifically related to English friaries has developed in response to a small sample of buildings, in this case due largely to the issue of documentation. Because more detailed documentation is available for the London mendicant houses than for buildings in other parts of England, London dominates discussion, as is evident in recent work by Jens Röhrkasten and Nick Holder.[7] A. R. Martin's 1937 *Franciscan Architecture in England* and Father William Hinnebusch's 1951 *Early English Friars Preachers* remain the two major texts to deal with mendicant churches outside of the capital. More recently, Deirdre O'Sullivan has produced a catalogue, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, which gathers the known evidence on these buildings; at the time of writing, she is engaged in producing a second, interpretive monograph.[8] Though primary sources are scant and the secondary literature limited in scope, the contours of medieval mendicant churches are clear enough to demonstrate important divergences from parish churches.

Having sketched the contours of the scholarship on English friaries, we must return to the primary interlocutors whose interpretations have shaped the subsequent literature on the perceived relationship between friaries and parish churches. With regards to form, friaries are characterized by their spaciousness, practical for preaching to large urban crowds, and aisles

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[7] See for example Jens Röhrkasten, "The Origin and Early Development of the London Mendicant Houses," in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. T.S. Slater and Gervase Rosser (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Jens Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539*, Vita Regularis: Ordnungen Und Deutungen Religiosen Lebens Im Mittlealter (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004); Nick Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London: From Foundation to Dissolution* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

[8] O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*.

with thin supports to allow for unobstructed sight lines and act as support for wooden ceilings rather than vaulting. They are often associated with a "hall-type," that is to say three vessels in the nave of nearly equal height and single-story elevation, like the mid-fourteenth century church of Austin Friars in London, which was destroyed in 1940. In *The English Decorated Style*, Bony says very little about the parish church form, seeming to think it requires no further explanation. In his papers, now archived at the Getty Research Institute, there are some additional notes that help to clarify his thinking. He notes that because of Winchelsea, "we must make the whole Friar-Parish-Church syndrome go back a few decades earlier than has been done so far: in the 1280s at any rate."[9]

These off-hand remarks from such authoritative voices as Clapham, Webb, and Bony have been replicated in various publications and have acted as a deterrent to subsequent thought.[10] Indeed, they not only indicate that the case of the parish church has been closed, but that few have ever thought there was a case to be considered at all. However, it is necessary to revisit the issue to remediate the troubled historiography of the parish church, which has received less attention than it should have due to these comments. This thin corpus of secondary literature focuses on a limited number of buildings, with parish and friary churches used almost interchangeably to stand for all parish churches. The sample of buildings is not only small, it is also particular enough to render it virtually useless for the purpose of drawing wide-reaching, general conclusions. The majority of the buildings considered are urban churches, with little attention paid to their village counterparts; furthermore, many of these have been studied

[9] Jean Bony, "Jean Bony Papers, 1908-1997.," 1997 1908, Getty Research Institute Special Collections.

[10] Examples of this are numerous and include Nicola Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 63–64.

precisely for their unusual architectural features, and can hardly be understood to represent larger trends.

Indeed, the eccentric examples chosen by Clapham, Webb, and Bony ultimately cast doubt on the link they assume between friary and parish churches. A prominent model is the parish church of St. Thomas, Winchelsea (Sussex), which, as a touchstone for these authors, occupies an important place in the historiography of parish churches, however it is an unusual case within the category of English parish churches. In the late thirteenth century, Winchelsea was a new town, reborn after flooding necessitated a move from its original coastal location. Agents for King Edward I began buying up land for the new site in 1280, and building activity proceeded quickly given the wealth of the Cinque Port city.[11] As early as 1283 there was an order to apportion land for the church; scholars have generally placed the foundation date of the church of St. Thomas at the end of the decade, between 1288 and 1290, and Opačić gives a *terminus ante quem* as 1308, which is perhaps a closer match for its hall elevation, Kentish tracery, and molding profiles.[12] The church was built ex nihilo, on a large scale, and was one of only two churches built in the new town.[13] The king was the patron of the church of St. Thomas, at least in its Old Winchelsea iteration, and probably maintained this role at the time of the move.

The church of St. Thomas was an ambitious architectural undertaking that was never fully completed. The building is a massive hall-church chancel with a single-story elevation and three-gable roof structure, so that the aisles are virtually the same height as the central vessel. Its

[11] Zoë Opačić, "Novas Civitas: Edward I and the Making of New Winchelsea, Sussex," in *Setkávání. Studie o Středověkém Umění Věnované Kláře Benešovské*, ed. Jan Chilbec and Zoë Opačić (Prague: Artefactum, 2015), 302.

[12] Ibid., 307–8.

[13] The other church, dedicated to St. Giles, was smaller than St. Thomas; there are no remains of it.

three-bay arcade is supported by quatrefoil piers with Purbeck shaft-rings and decorative Purbeck colonnettes between the major elements. Kentish tracery windows, embraced by blind subarcuations, light the eastern ends of all three vessels. The nave of the church at Winchelsea was never built, but the massive chancel was spacious enough to serve the functions of both nave and chancel, especially because Winchelsea never seems to have become home to as many tenants as anticipated.[14] On the whole, this nave-less, hall-church structure differs substantially in its countenance from contemporaneous parish churches, with its unusual incomplete form and decorative pedigree coming from a royal milieu representing the most fashionable forms of the day, including glorious Decorated tomb niches in either aisle.[15] It therefore cannot be considered a representative example.[16]

Bony writes that Winchelsea "no doubt reflected what was then the most current type of Friars' church in southern England."[17] We can ascertain from his short comments that the features he refers to are wide-set aisles, thin piers, and a single-story elevation without a clerestory. Recently, however, Opačić has eschewed the idea that Winchelsea is a mendicant copy, showing instead the church "encapsulated everything that the most opulent and fashionable architecture of its day had to offer, and embodied the optimism, confidence and royal imprimatur of the new town."[18] She argues that in spite of the basic spatial similarities that Bony points to,

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[14] Opačić, "Novas Civitas: Edward I and the Making of New Winchelsea, Sussex," 318.

[15] On St. Thomas, Winchelsea's function as a lordly mausoleum for the Alard family, see Claude Blair, John Goodall, and Philip Lankester, "The Winchelsea Tombs Reconsidered," *Church Monuments* 15 (2000): 5–30.

[16] Opačić deftly shows that Winchelsea's referents were not the mendicant houses, but instead fashionable, and indeed, royal, secular architecture. Unfortunately, many of the secular halls no longer exist. "Novas Civitas: Edward I and the Making of New Winchelsea, Sussex," 317.

[17] Bony, *The English Decorated Style*, 34.

[18] Opačić, "Novas Civitas: Edward I and the Making of New Winchelsea, Sussex," 317.

the impression of the church at Winchelsea would have been substantially different from that of friary churches due to the "abundant use of marble, decorative tracery and sculptured corbels, together with stained glass and wall painting" which "must have created a decorative effect entirely different from the preaching naves of mendicant churches."[19] Rather, Winchelsea was in the milieu of Stone (Kent) [figs. 1.109–10], Howden (East Yorkshire) [figs. 3.3–3.4], and Nantwich (Cheshire) [figs. 3.5–3.6]—whose designs were indebted to secular halls such as the now lost ones in the bishops' palaces of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Exeter, and the surviving secular great hall built for Henry III at Winchester castle (c. 1222–1235) [fig. 3.7].[20]

The morphological arguments advanced by Clapham, Webb, Bony, and reproduced by subsequent scholars are considerably weakened by disjuncture in the chronology of the relationships they propose between friary and parish churches. The material evidence shows a shift in parochial architecture well in advance of the mendicant orders building significant, permanent structures in England, not only in response to the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth-century friary churches primarily discussed by Clapham, Webb, and Bony. London Greyfriars, rebuilt from 1306, falls late in the development of parish churches, which I have argued are beginning to develop as a discreet building type in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

In recent years Zachary Stewart has begun to question the mendicant thesis, particularly as it relates the large, open, integrated parish churches of East Anglia in the Perpendicular style.[21] The basis of his critique is the idea that previous scholarship that has connected parish

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., 308.

[21] The Franciscans first settled in London in 1224, and initially occupied domestic accomodations in Cornhill and in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles; the foundation date of their second site is 1225, but little is known of its architecture prior to the early fourteenth century when it was rebuilt. It is this

and mendicant churches has relied on absent, skewed, or limited evidence. On this, he writes: "one of the major problems in determining the architectural layout of a demolished building is that scholars are forced to work their way backward from surviving 'replicas' to lost 'prototypes', thereby opening themselves up to the possibility of incorrectly attributing any number of elements from the former to the latter."[22] It is my contention that Stewart's observant critique can be strengthened and extended with a more longsighted view of the problem that considers the development of the parish church, as a discrete group from the early days of the twelfth century.

Friars come to England: Chronology and Earliest Building

In 1221 at the Second General Chapter of his new order, held in Bologna, St. Dominic dispatched a group of twelve friars, led by Gilbert de Fresney, to England.[23] The formalized order, governed by the rule of St. Augustine, was young in 1221, having been confirmed by Pope Honorius III just five years earlier in 1216. The fourteenth-century Dominican chronicler, Nicholas Trivet, tells us that the band of friars was first received in Canterbury, where Gilbert impressed the archbishop with his aptitude for preaching and received his episcopal support.[24]

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fourteenth century iteration that looms large in the tangled historiography of parish churches and friaries. Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, vol. 23 (Leicester Archaeology Monograph, 2013), 225–29.

[22] Zachary Stewart, "Models, Copies, and Mendicants: The Etiology of the Late Medieval Parish Church in Historiographical Perspective," in *Towards an Art History of the Parish Church, 1200-1399*, ed. James Alexander Cameron and Meg Bernstein (London: Courtauld Books Online, 2019).

[23] William Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Vatican City: Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1951), 1.

[24] Ibid., 3–4; Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England*, 63–64.

Rather than settling in Canterbury, however, the brethren carried on, continuing until they reached Oxford, where they opened their first English friary.

The English provincial order expanded exponentially, multiplying each time the minimum number of friars needed to constitute a house was reached. Within the first decade of their establishment in England, houses had been formed in Oxford, London, Norwich, York, Bristol, Shrewsbury, and as far north as Carlisle in Cumbria. Although they seem to have been received fondly at first by English bishops, there was some amount of distrust of the friars and their mission, particularly among the regular monastic orders; famously, they were criticized by Matthew Paris, chronicler and monk of St. Albans. However, recent scholarship has reconsidered Matthew's distaste for the friars, and have recast it as a disappointment with the way they were unable to maintain the high standards of poverty so important in the early days of the mendicant orders.[25] Distaste for the friars among the regular religious orders is not surprising given their popularity and the competition for burial that ensued among the higher nobility who had previously left their bodies (and the financial resources associated with funerary rites) to monastic establishments.[26] In spite of this, the vitriol for the friars does not seem to have reached in England the heights that it did in Paris, particularly in university circles.[27]

Dominican statutes as early as 1220 insisted on the humility of the brothers' buildings. However, these first statutes make no mention of a church, saying only: "Let our brothers have

[25] Philippa M. Hoskin, "Matthew Paris's Chronica Majora and the Franciscans in England," in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. Michael J.P. Robson, vol. 14, The Medieval Franciscans (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 47.

[26] Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 76–82.

[27] On the secular-mendicant conflict of the 1250s in Paris, see Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 84–87.

moderate and humble houses so that they should neither burden themselves with expenses, nor that others—seculars or religious—should be scandalized by our sumptuous buildings"[28]

The Franciscans, popularly referred to in England as they Greyfriars after the color of their habits, followed shortly after the Dominicans. The General Chapter of 1224 in Assisi, which was the last presided over by Francis, decided to send a mission to England. This initial group of friars dispersed to Canterbury, London, and Oxford.[29] Much of what we know about the early history of English friaries comes from Franciscan chronicler Thomas of Eccleston, whose *Tractatus de adventu fratrum Minorum in Anglia* provides an account of his order's first forty years in England (circa 1224–1258).[30]

Although Thomas' individual accounts are not dated, the rough timeline they provide suggests that the Greyfriars first built their own church around 1250.[31] Prior to this, the friars did most of their preaching in parish churches and lived in wooden buildings, some of which they built for the purpose while others were pre-existing structures offered them by laypeople. These structures were not joined or even necessarily close together, as is suggested in Thomas's account of one Brother Solomon in the London house. Solomon, who had "an infirmity in one of his feet" and could not walk, "was unable to hear holy Mass, since the brethren did not celebrate

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[28] "Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri, ita quod nec ipsi expensis graventur, nec alii seculares vel religiosi in nostris sumptuosis edificiis scandalizentur." Translation by Richard A. Sundt, "'Mediocres Domos et Humiles Habeant Fratres Nostri:' Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46, no. 4 (1987): 398, 405.

[29] A. R. Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (Manchester: University Press, 1937), 3.

[30] Father Cuthbert, ed., *The Friars and How They Came to England, Being a Translation of Thomas of Eccleston's "De Adventu F.F. Minorum in Algiam"* (London: Sands and Co., 1903).

[31] Nick Holder, "The Medieval Friaries of London: A Topographic and Archaeological History, before and after the Dissolution" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), 77.

in the house, but went to hear Mass and to celebrate in the parish church."[32] Likewise, Brother William of London was "admitted to the habit in London at the time when the brethren had neither chapel nor grounds."[33]

As the Franciscans of London resided in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, it is probable that they worshipped in that church until their own was built, some two or three decades after they arrived in Britain.[34] It is likely because of this close proximity that, at the time of the Dissolution, St. Nicholas Shambles was deemed redundant and the parish became part of Christ Church Greyfriars, which by that date had a large and splendid building. St. Nicholas was never a large church. Excavations lead by John Schofield in the 1970s revealed a nave and chancel built between 1000 and 1150, with a later chancel extension to the east from between 1150 and 1250.[35] It is possible that the building of this eastern extension coincided with the friars' time as parishioners at St. Nicholas Shambles, but the archaeology of this church, which was demolished in the sixteenth century, resists an answer on this front. It is unlikely that the coming of the friars forced such a building project on the existing church, which is consistent with chancel extensions in contemporary buildings without an influx of friars, however tantalizing it is to imagine that the presence of ordained friars inspired the parish clergy to increase the size of the east end.

The friars became popular with the urban laity, who according to Thomas of Eccleston's accounts, were eager to support them. In 1225, Sir John Iwyn bought land and gave it to the city

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[32] Father Cuthbert, *The Friars and How They Came to England*, 144.

[33] Ibid., 146.

[34] Holder, "The Medieval Friaries of London," 77.

[35] John Schofield, "Excavations on the Site of St. Nicholas Shambles," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 48 (1997): 87–96.

of London to be used by the friars there because the brothers refused to own property as part of their vows. Another layman, Sir William Joyner paid for a chapel to be built there.[36] Similarly in Canterbury, Brother Thomas tells us that "Sir Alexander, Master of the Priests' Hospice, made over to them a plot of ground and built them a chapel sufficiently spacious and becoming for the time."[37] Their first chapels were simple; none survive, but Thomas of Eccleston describes the Franciscan chapel at Cambridge as "so very humble that one carpenter built it in one day, and in one day set up fourteen bundles of planks."[38]

Nothing remains of the earliest stages of mendicant building in England; as Thomas of Eccleston's accounts show, they first occupied borrowed accommodations, and then built plain and ephemeral structures of timber. The Greyfriars' wooden chapel in Oxford was demolished to make way for a permanent structure in the 1240s.[39] Around the middle decades of the thirteenth century they began to build rectangular, unaisled buildings.[40]

The Blackfriars remained at their first site in the town for less than two decades, moving to a site outside of the town walls in 1237 that offered more space and mitigated conflict with the parish community of St. Aldate's on whose land their property infringed.[41] The excavations conducted on the new site by George Lambrick and his team in the 1960s and 70s resulted in a good chronology of the building, even though virtually none of it is extant. The proposed timeline of building is instructive in showing what the friars prioritized in their thirteenth-century

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[36] Father Cuthbert, *The Friars and How They Came to England*, 151–52.

[37] Ibid., 151.

[38] Ibid., 153.

[39] Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England*, 13.

[40] Ibid., 14; O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*, 23:19.

[41] O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*, 23:276–77; Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, 6–7.

building projects. Lambrick explains that building began around 1236 or shortly thereafter, and the friars were able to move in by about 1245.[42] Much of the plan of the Oxford Blackfriars remains conjectural, but the excavation supports a mid-thirteenth-century date for the church, part of the western cloister range, and some parts of the eastern cloister range including the dormitory and chapter house. It seems that the first structures built on this new site were those most necessary for the daily life of the friars: the choir of the church, the cloister, the dormitory, and the chapter house. Debris in what would become the nave serves as proof that the nave of the church had not been begun when the friars started using the site. The nave was consecrated in 1262, a date that Lambrick accepts for the completion of the church.[43] The archaeology is corroborated here with the fact that the house of the Dominicans became a Studium General, a teaching facility that received students, in 1262, suggesting that the completion of the building on the site was necessary to support this new function.[44] Lambrick's excavations found burials in the nave, as well as more concentrated burials in the south aisle, however he was unable to date the burials (except in a few examples where the presence of printed floor tiles suggests a post-1330 date) nor did he supply evidence attesting to their gender or age.[45]

Oxford was an important town for the friars. It is the first place that the Dominicans settled, due to their commitment to learning and to the burgeoning university. The fact that there is development in the permanent structures of both orders in around the same time suggests the popularity and strength of the mendicant orders in Oxford of the 1230s and 40s. Unfortunately,

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[42] George Lambrick, "Further Excavations on the Second Site of the Dominican Priory, Oxford," *Oxoniensia* 50 (1985): 142.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., 143.

little can be said about whether these friaries were looked to during the subsequent building of houses elsewhere because so little survives.

The earliest surviving structures date from the third quarter of the thirteenth century These are the choirs of two friaries from the 1260s and 70s: the Blackfriars at Brecon in Wales, and the Greyfriars in Chichester, both in the Early English style. I will limit my discussion to these examples, because they are virtually the only surviving thirteenth century churches. Both of these structures survived the Reformation and Dissolution of the Monasteries thanks to later repurposing, the former as a college chapel and the latter as Chichester's guildhall.[46]

Brecon Blackfriars (now Christ College Chapel) was first documented in 1269, but probably built earlier.[47] It is difficult to date the surviving part of the church precisely based on its style, given its relative simplicity, appropriate for mendicants. The plan consists of nave (now roofless) with a north aisle, walking place (a path that enabled access to the crossing from the cloister), and choir to the east [figs. 3.8–3.12]. The claustral ranges, of which little survives, were the south of the church, with the cloister aligning with the nave and walking place. The choir measures 7.9 m by 19.8 m, and has a single-story elevation lit with lancet windows—eleven on the north, and four on the south sides, above the sedilia and piscina; the western part of the south wall abuts the claustral buildings and is windowless. The east window is composed of five grouped lancets. The sedilia and piscina have simple trefoil heads. There was originally a single nave; an aisle was added in another building campaign, possibly in the first quarter of the

[46] Likewise, Blackfriars in Gloucester became a private residence, and in Newcastle, the Dominican house was used by the city's guilds. Unfortunately, in the cases of Newcastle and Gloucester, while the monastic buildings offer excellent evidence, the churches are destroyed or have been too altered to read the fabric well. Fragmentary pieces of mendicant convents exist all over the country, and some of the remaining towers will be invoked here. In general, though, friaries were destroyed, or the simple buildings were easily adapted for second acts in the domestic sphere.

[47] O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*, 23:57.

fourteenth century.[48] Although friary churches have often been compared to parish churches, many of which have aisles added on in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, Brecon got one late, and at some priories, like Canterbury and Ipswich, the friars never added aisles.[49]

In Chichester, the Greyfriars founded their first site in 1242. In 1269 they moved to a new site as the first one was too small for their needs; the old site became the Hospital of St. Mary which was rebuilt in the 1290s, excluding the presence of original mendicant buildings there.[50] The extant building of the Chichester Greyfriars is the choir, and is situated within what is now called Priory Park [figs. 3.13–3.14]. Like in Brecon Blackfriars, what remains is a rectangular chancel. It has been suggested that the nave was at least begun subsequent to the building of the chancel because the west wall enclosing it is of a different building campaign than the other three. However, it seems not to have been completed—no nave was mentioned in the otherwise quite explicit inventory from when the house was dissolved in 1538.[51] There is no evidence of building west of the chancel in evidence today. The single-story choir was built using a combination of Early English and early Decorated Styles, and it was likely constructed primarily in the 1270s and early 1280s.[52] Rather than the regular lancets at Brecon, the north and south windows at Chichester use simple bar tracery, and are composed of two lancets with a quatrefoil at the head. The east window is formed of five grouped lancets, and confirmation of its veracity

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[48] Robert Scourfield and Richard Haslam, *Powys*, Buildings of Ireland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 442.

[49] Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, 137.

[50] O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*, 23:111.

[51] W.V. Crake, "The Chichester Grey Friars' Church, Now the Guildhall.," *Sussex Archaeological Collections, Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County* 51 (1908): 25.

[52] In 1283 Archbishop Peckham held an ordination in the church. *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1029.

can be found in Grose's 1784 engraving showing the interior in its use as Guildhall; the lancets are blocked, but present in their current form, in this image.

Unlike Chichester, Brecon's walking place survives.[53] Lay people were probably not able to see into the choir, particularly because of this feature, which prevents visual access to the choir except during the Elevation of the Host, a point which will be returned to later in the chapter. Some crossing towers survive where the rest of the buildings have been lost, for example in Richmond and King's Lynn. All that remains of the Greyfriars church in King's Lynn in Norfolk is the crossing tower, which has a slender opening, more compressed than the typical parish church chancel arch. The walking place offered the dual function of providing access to the cloister but also cutting off visual access to the choir which was used by the friars for their private Masses, not for their preaching activities.

This separation between choir and nave accords with Caroline Bruzelius's argument that after 1230 there is a tendency for mendicant churches to be conceived of as two "separate volumes": choir and nave.[54] The walking place can be understood as an English response to an international impetus in friary building. The choir was built first to accommodate the brothers, and choir screens functioned to temporarily enclose the building prior to completion of the nave, but also acted as "separator between the internal and external churches," that is to say, the areas for the laity and the friars.[55] Building the nave was subordinated to erecting the choir and could happen later, since preaching to the laity, the primary act of both Franciscan and Dominican

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[53] Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, 140.

[54] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City*, 24.

[55] Ibid.

friars, did not require the use of a church building.[56] The Dominicans (in 1220), followed by the Franciscans (1222) gained additional freedom of motion and the ability to preach anywhere by obtaining rights to use portable altars before they expanded their province to England— this enabled flexibility with their activities.[57] Although in practice, dedicated church buildings were not strictly necessary for the friars' preaching activity, the realities of the cold and damp English climate rendered interior spaces more necessary.[58]

Urban friaries and the problem of London Greyfriars

The friaries existed only in urban centers and market towns, not in villages. Nigel Saul points out that the preference of friars for towns and regular monks for the rural environment meant that the gentry typically favored monks in their donations and for burial, and burgesses favored mendicant houses.[59] Typically located in the countryside, adjacent to the properties of the gentry, monastic "communities formed part of the warp and weft of rural society, consolidating and strengthening local identities."[60] Mendicants, on the other hand, usually situated themselves in towns, further from the influence of landed society. Although all towns had at least one, if not many, parish churches—London had over 100 in the Middle Ages, and populous towns like York and Norwich had dozens—the majority of English parish churches were (and continue to be) in rural villages where they are unique and often at the center of the

[56] Ibid., 23.

[57] Ibid., 22.

[58] Martin, *Franciscan Architecture in England*, 11.

[59] Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, 81.

[60] Ibid.

settlement.[61] Webb and Bony argue that the patrons and masons of parish churches looked to friary church architecture as a model, and this thesis is plausible in cities around 1300, but in the first half of the thirteenth century it seems unlikely that village churches would manifest a conscious urge to imitate a form found only in towns. Comparatively, there were so many fewer friary churches than parish churches—approximately 135 by 1300, compared with many thousands of parish churches, many of which had already been built to a quite advanced state (with aisles) by the time the friars came to England.[62] For the vast majority of English people who lived outside of the towns where the friaries were set up, these would not have been a significant point of reference.

Perhaps the most famous of the friaries was also likely the most unusual, making it ill-suited to act as the stand-in for all friary churches. The Franciscan friary in London, most frequently referred to as London Greyfriars (or simply "Greyfriars") is not extant, but has dominated discourse on friary church architecture due to its relative abundance of documentation. Formal analysis of the building relies on considerable speculation; the documents left to us provide only sparse written descriptions and simplified graphic depictions. From a copperplate map from the 1550s, for instance, we can ascertain that it was a large building with relatively simple features, and little or no structural division between nave and chancel, but virtually every other detail escapes us [fig. 3.15]. For example, while it is more or less possible to ascertain the extent of the church and the placement of burials within and around

[61] On the number of medieval churches in London, see Schofield, "Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review"; For discussion of the medieval churches of Norwich, see T. A. Heslop et al., "The Medieval Churches of Norwich: City, Community & Architecture," The Medieval Churches of Norwich, accessed April 15, 2019, https://norwichmedievalchurches.org/.

[62] Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England*, 60–80.

it, there is virtually no evidence that can attest to its elevation, save for the ambiguous early-seventeenth-century "Plat of the Graye Friers," which takes the form of a combined plan-elevation [fig. 3.16].[63]

Like Winchelsea, Greyfriars' prominent place in the literature has led to substantial misrepresentation of English friary churches more generally. This is partially due to the fact that the available documents, though plentiful, are frequently contradictory and unclear, and the archaeology has not been sufficiently preserved to offer much additional insight. What *is* clear from the sources available to us, though, is the uniqueness of London Greyfriars in the corpus of friary churches in England. Greyfriars enjoyed the largesse of its royal patrons to a far greater extent than other contemporaneous friaries, which was manifest, for one, in its enormous size of 91.1m by 27.4m, third only in size in London after St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.[64]

Greyfriars began without its own church, but by the middle of the thirteenth century the friars had their own church, financed in large part by merchant and mayor William Joyner.[65] Nothing survives of this first church, but the Grey Friars Register helpfully specifies that when the new church was built, the first chapel became part of its choir.[66] Holder notes archaeologists

[63] See Holder on the ambiguities of this plan, which was created to resolve land disputes in the seventeenth century, not with the purpose of explicating the intricacies of the medieval friary. For example, Holder notes a part of the plan that could represent either tall Perpendicular windows or a Decorated rose window in the same spot. *The Friaries of Medieval London*, 78.

[64] Ibid., 96.

[65] Holder, "The Medieval Friaries of London," 84.

[66] Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London*, 76.

have excavated the site, but found little evidence save for some chalk foundations that clearly predated the fourteenth-century church.[67]

Royal patrons favored the mendicants, and the London house of the Franciscans was perhaps the most popular of all. In the early fourteenth century, Margaret of France (wife of Edward I, r. 1272–1307) and, as well as by her successor as queen, Isabella of France (wife of Edward II, r. 1307–1327, and mother of Edward III, r. 1337–1377)[68] provided funds to rebuild, or nearly rebuild, the friary church. The date 1306, when the foundation stone was laid following Margaret's initial donation, is the date frequently attached to the beginning, and perhaps design, of the church. However, even this cannot be accepted without caveat, as the Greyfriars Register (BL, Cotton Vitellius F xii, f. 322) notes that Henry le Waleys, a merchant and mayor of London, funded the new nave.[69] Henry died in 1302, and scholars have debated whether his nave was a completely separate project that preceded Queen Margaret's involvement.[70] Following the work of Hilda Johnstone, Nick Holder has noted that Henry le Waleys had a close relationship with Margaret's husband, Edward I, and his relation to the structure may have been advisory rather than financial; he may have encouraged Edward to extend royal patronage to the London Franciscans.[71]

The reception of royal patronage in itself was not unusual for the friars, either in England or on the Continent. In France, for example, Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) was an active donor to the

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Laura Slater, "Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London, c.1300–58," *Gender & History* 27, no. 1 (2015): 53.

[69] Holder, "The Medieval Friaries of London," 85; Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London*, 77.

[70] Holder, "The Medieval Friaries of London," 85.

[71] Hilda Johnstone, "The Chapel of St. Louis, Greyfriars, London," *The English Historical Review* 56, no. 223 (1941): 450; Holder, "The Medieval Friaries of London," 85.

mendicant orders all over the country, though the Franciscan Cordeliers and Dominican Jacobins of Paris received much more from him than their provincial outposts.[72] Louis's English contemporary, Henry III (r. 1216–1272), also provided financial support for the friaries, sponsoring provincial chapter meetings for both orders in 1240 and 1241, and became the principal benefactor of the Franciscan convents in Norwich and Shrewsbury.[73] Furthermore, as England's comparatively thorough records attest, the king made gifts to friaries across his territory.[74] During his reign, Henry made 300 grants to the Franciscans, three-fourths of which were gifts in kind: clothing, food, wood for fuel, and timber for construction, which was frequently culled from the royal forests.[75] He made similar grants to the Dominicans.[76]

Like Louis, Henry favored his capital's houses. In 1240, according to Jens Röhrkasten, the king gave the London Dominicans at Holborn "£10 for the building of their church," and by 1261 had disbursed "at least another £83 6s. 8d…to them for similar purposes."[77] In addition to these monetary donations, Henry gave them lead, stone, lime, and timber. The London Franciscans received similar royal gifts.[78]

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[72] Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 174.

[73] Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 204.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Steer, "Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540," 121.

[76] On Henry III's frequent grants to the Dominicans, particularly timber from the royal forests, see Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, 72–85.

[77] Röhrkasten, "The Origin and Early Development of the London Mendicant Houses," 87–88.

[78] Slater, "Defining Queenship at Greyfriars London, c.1300–58," 57.

Such gifts far outweigh average royal patronage for friaries outside of London, but they pale in comparison to the approximately £1320 pounds donated to London Greyfriars by Margaret of France.[79] That the Greyfriars received nearly fourteen times what Henry had allotted for Holborn's construction suggests that the project, and Margaret's patronage, were exceptional. Indeed, the importance of Greyfriars was affirmed early in the rule of Edward I, when in 1275 it accepted the body of Princess Beatrice, daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, and again in 1291 when Eleanor's own heart was buried there, likely at her own request.[80] Royal burials were themselves a kind of patronage, granting honor and prestige to the structures that housed them, and this is especially apparent in the case of Eleanor's heart. Her viscera and body were interred in two grand structures with elite connotations, the former in Lincoln Cathedral, near where she died, and the latter at the royal mausolea of Westminster Abbey. The decision to grant Eleanor this third burial elevates the status of Greyfriars, or indeed suggests that its status was already greatly respected by the royal family. If Eleanor was devoted enough to Beatrice to request her heart buried beside her, surely the choice of the princess's final resting place was not decided lightly.

Several scholars have suggested that the church of Holy Trinity at Kingston-upon-Hull (most often simply "Hull") may provide a good indication of how the friary church looked, because of its large nave with slender columns.[81] According to Nicola Coldstream, the pier form at Hull, a quatrefoil shape formed of four shafts with sunk chamfers, is among the earliest extant

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[79] Ibid., 56.

[80] Ibid., 58.

[81] Webb, *Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 172; Nicola Coldstream, "Kingdom of Heaven: Its Architectural Setting," in *Age of Chivalry*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 228.

examples of a type that would become common in parish churches in the fourteenth century.[82]

Coldstream argues that this form could have been copied from London Greyfriars, or, following Bony, some now-lost York friary.[83] She bases the claim that the London Greyfriars' piers were quatrefoil with quatrefoil bases (certainly not unusual characteristics in the early fourteenth century) on a plan drawn in 1902, supposedly after a pre-Great Fire drawing, but the link is tenuous.[84] Likewise, she cites a pier base recovered from the excavation site and brought to the Museum of London by Christopher Wilson, but fails to illustrate it; as of 2018, the museum is unable to locate the base. Stewart has highlighted the instability of the connection between Hull and Greyfriars, arguing that the divergent elevations—single-story at Greyfriars and two-story at Hull—is a bridge too far.[85] It does not help the circumstances that Hull is under-researched and poorly documented, thus preventing even remotely secure dating—anywhere from 1320 to 1370 has been proposed.[86]

Mendicant houses, and London Greyfriars especially, had little to do with the development of parochial architecture, even in the years after the mendicants had formed, established an English province, and began building their own churches. As Zachary Stewart has noted, in an essay on the "mendicant thesis," the more open-ended assertion of Paul Binski that

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[82] Though a similar form is used in Northern French Rayonnant buildings, including the Sainte-Chapelle as early as the 1240s, sunk chamfers do not appear in English architecture until the 1320s. Richard K. Morris, "The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c. 1250-1400: Part I," *Architectural History* 21 (1978): 32.

[83] Nicola Coldstream, "St Peter's Church, Howden," in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 1989, 113.

[84] Coldstream, "Kingdom of Heaven," 228; Coldstream, "St Peter's Church, Howden," 112–13.

[85] Stewart, "Models, Copies, and Mendicants."

[86] Stewart, "The Integrated Interior" fn. 62.

friary churches and ambitious parish churches were "mutually informing"[87] provides a better model for understanding "the parish church as a site for vibrant creative activity during the Late Middle Ages."[88] Establishing creativity and invention within the genre of the parish church subverts the typical paradigm, which posits a trickle-down relationship between the friary and parish, and as such speaks to the significance of parish churches as a generative, rather than imitative, architecture.

London Greyfriars is a frequently used example because of documentation, but its use is flawed in two ways. Used to exemplify a friary, it creates a false image of a typical one, because material evidence shows that it was much larger than the average friary and enjoyed royal patronage that was more direct and substantial than that provided to most friaries outside of London—and the financial benefits such a relationship entails. Understood as the lost mold of an extant parish church, we make assumptions that are not backed by the concrete facts we do have, perhaps overlooking important details in our quest to find something that has simply been lost forever. If we can lay to rest the troubled relationship between parish and friary churches, and in particular with Greyfriars, perhaps we sacrifice an element of clarity and a simple, explainable story, but gain a more logical, fuller understanding of how parish churches developed.

Points of view: comparing vision in the friary church with contemporary parishes

[87] Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style, 1290-1350* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 93.

[88] Stewart, "Models, Copies, and Mendicants," 16.

One of the primary differences in the architectural elaboration of the parish versus friary church has to do with vision and access within the building types. That the types have so frequently been conflated can be attributed both to the poor survival of English friary churches in general, and to the poor survival of liturgical furnishings (in particular, screens) in parish churches. In this section, I detail the evidence which allows for a more critical distinction between the two types, supplementing the extant building fabric with mendicant statutes, and continental examples.

Although the elaboration of architectural space by the Dominicans and Franciscans is nearly identical, as Erik Gustafson has shown, their respective uses of it is not.[89] In central Italian examples, Gustafson asserts that Franciscan churches were invariably divided into three units: lay nave, lay choir, and friars' choir. A *tramezzo* separates the lay nave from the lay choir, and although it blocked *visual* access from the lay nave into the eastern end of the church, it did not necessarily restrict circulation. This barrier instead indicated a change in disposition of space, marked by the presence of a large crucifix. Alternately, the author notes that the Dominican Constitutions were much less willing to let the laity enter the area east of the screen."[90] He attributes this to the diverse missions of these two orders; the Dominicans sought to maintain their authority over lay people to aid in their mission of maintaining orthodoxy, while the Franciscans "compelled the faithful to action."[91] The orders used their screens differently, but in

[89] Erik Gustafson, "Medieval Franciscan Architecture as Charismatic Space," in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, and Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 323–47.

[90] Ibid., 341.

[91] Ibid.

both cases, as we have seen, they are significant parts of the church, even though their poor survival has troubled our understanding of them.

That screens were an issue of international concern to the friars is apparent in the fact that the 1249 Dominican General Chapter in Trier mandated the following:

> …let the screens which are in the churches between the lay-people and the brethren be so arranged everywhere by the priors that on leaving and entering the church the brethren may not be seen by nor see the people; some windows however may be fashioned therein to be opened at the time of the Elevation of the Body of Christ.[92]

This statement implies that these screens already existed in at least some friaries, and that their use was simply being codified by the General Chapter, the main governing body of the Dominican Order, formed of friars from all provinces of the multinational order. This practice was begun by the Dominicans, but quickly adopted by the Franciscans.[93] The Dominican constitution from Trier implies also that by 1249 lay people were attending Mass within the friary church, as vision during the Consecration of the Host is being permitted.[94] The General Chapter clearly placed priority on ensuring that the friars' choir was a place of privacy for friars, but given that they were enabled a view in during the Elevation, it seems to also be significant

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[92] "Item. Intermedia que sunt in ecclesiis nostris inter seculares et fratres. sic disponantur ubique per priores. quod fratres egredientes et ingredientes de choro non possint videri a secularibus. vel videre eosdem. Poterunt tamem alique fenestre ibidem aptari ut tempore elevacionis corporis dominici possint aperiri." Benedikt Maria Reichert and Franz Andreas Frühwirth, *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (Rome; Stuttgart, 1898), 47, http://archive.org/details/actacapitulorumg01domi; Translation by Hinnebusch from the 1249 [not 1240, as is published in his book] Dominican General Chapter Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, 144.

[93] Sir Ernest Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation: A Study of the Growth of Representation in the Church During the Thirteenth Century* (Clarendon Press, 1913), 7.

[94] On this see also Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca.1200-1400*, 22–23.

that the moment of transubstantiation be specifically highlighted in order to underscore its importance.

From this legislation, it can be gleaned that the ideal screen within a friary context was visually permeable only at particular times orchestrated by the occupants of the choir. Though the statute says nothing about the material that should be used, one imagines that in the English context what is desired is closer to a pulpitum than rood screen. A pulpitum is "of solid construction," and functions to separate the monastic choir from the more public nave.[95] The pulpitum at Boxgrove Priory (Sussex) is still visible at the west end of the choir and forms part of the external wall as the nave was ruined after the Reformation [fig. 3.17]. Below the string course is the remains of the original pulpitum, which contains two small doorways on either side and a piscina-niche near the southern one which formed part of the nave altar ensemble.[96] This is distinct from the rood screens in parish churches, which were typically constructed of wood and able to be seen through. For example, the chancel screen at Gilson, of which only the top half survives, has large, paired trefoil-headed arches running across it; this would hardly have impaired the view into the chancel, especially for a person standing towards the eastern end of the nave. Similarly, the screen at Stanton Harcourt (Oxfordshire) [fig. 2.76] is solid at the bottom, but has trefoil-headed arches in the upper half, broken up by spindly columns with cross-rings.[97]

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[95] Richard Morris, *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: The Building Church, 600-1540* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1979), 144.

[96] "Boxgrove | British History Online," accessed June 3, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol4/pp140-150.

[97] For these and other early examples, see Cragoe, "Belief and Patronage in the English Parish before 1300: Some Evidence from Roods," 35.

The friars in England were (at least theoretically) subject to the same statutes as their brethren in Italy, France, Germany, or even farther afield. It is unsurprising, then, that the legislation on building and decoration for the orders, best elucidated by Richard Sundt, is fairly generic, requiring that the buildings have a particular type of character rather than prescribing the style. Dominican statutes as early as 1220 required that the friars have *mediocres domos et humiles* (moderate and humble houses), which fit both the financial concerns of an order committed to mendicancy but also reflected the desire of the Order to lead by example in their battle with the heretical views of the Cathars and Petrobrusians (followers of Peter of Bruys), groups that eschewed the need for church buildings. As Sundt notes, canon law made it impossible for the friars to dispense with churches altogether, so "their only alternative was to require that these and all other conventual structures be as simple and modest as possible."[98] As the order grew, increasingly specific regulations were established, particularly with regards to size. A constitution from between 1228 and 1235 adds to the original requirement of moderateness and humility that "walls of houses without a loft should not exceed 12 *pedes* in height and with a loft 20; the church [should not exceed] 30. Neither should it [the church] be vaulted in stone, except perhaps over the choir and sacristy."[99]

It is unclear to what extent evidence from continental friaries and images can help us to better understand the division of friary churches in an English context. *The Crib at Greccio* painting in the upper chapel of San Francesco in Assisi dating from the 1290s takes place in the choir of a church [fig. 18].[100] In the background, we see the inner side of a stone screen

[98] Sundt, "'Mediocres Domos et Humiles Habeant Fratres Nostri,'" 396–97.

[99] Ibid., 398.

[100] Donal Cooper and Janet Robson, *The Making of Assisi: The Pope, the Franciscans and the Painting of the Basilica* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 177.

permeated only by an open doorway through which we see a crowd of lay women looking into the sanctuary, but clearly not welcome beyond the screen.[101] Within the choir, friars and laymen surround the kneeling, haloed Francis who picks up a haloed, swaddled infant from its crib, which sits attended by an ox and a goat on the south side of the altar where Mass is being celebrated.[102] We see the back of a painted cross which hangs from the nave side of the screen, and a pulpit. Even though the subject depicts activity taking place beyond the choir screen, the painting is situated at the east end of the occidented church of San Francesco, near the main entrance, possibly because of the scene's appeal to the laity. Although the literary narrative of the Crib at Greccio places the scene outside, the Assisi artist places it in the choir of a Franciscan church, and joins it with the Eucharistic activity of the Mass.[103] Alternately, the *Verification of the Stigmata* scene also in the Upper Chapel supposedly took place in the Portiuncula according to a caption to the painting [fig. 3.19], but Rosalind Brooke notes that "the painted image above [the caption] seems to have transported the scene up the hill and into the Upper Church, identifiable by its rood beam—whose supporting corbels can still be seen today."[104] Though perhaps not typical of friary churches, San Francesco did not have a choir fully enclosed by a solid screen.

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[101] As Jacqueline Jung has noted, the women must crane their necks to see the action of the scene, but would have easily been able to witness mass being said at the altar from their position. *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca.1200-1400*, 71–72.

[102] Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "Lay Women and Altars in Trecento Siena," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 28, no. 1 (2008): 5.

[103] Kristen van Ausdall, "Art and the Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen van Ausdall (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 568.

[104] Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 391.

Italian friary churches differed from English ones in a number of ways, but one of the central issues is the existence and placement of towers. As previously mentioned, the crossing area in the friary church was often appropriated in England as the walking place, a zone for the friars to move unseen by lay people between the choir and cloister. The structure of Italian buildings, and seeming lack of priority for towers, minimizes the potential of the English arrangement, which was quite convenient for following the Dominican statute from the General Chapter in Trier of 1249.

Beginning in the thirteenth century in English parish churches, rood screens were used to create visual division between nave and chancel and demarcate lay and clerical space and their respective zones of responsibility.[105] The development of tall screens throughout Europe accords with practices regarding lay responsibility in English parish churches. As Jacqueline Jung has noted,

> although the boundary between nave and choir had been marked by some kind of structure—typically a low-lying wall or elevated beam—since Early Christian times, it was only during the second quarter of the thirteenth century that screens began to be erected in Western cathedral, monastic, and collegiate churches as tall, permanent architectural structures.[106]

Thus, we must heed Jung's warning that "the choir screen was central to the design and functioning of the [Gothic churches] whose architectural shells we so admire today—and central to the human communities that the architecture embraced."[107] Although the survival of screens in

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[105] On the development of the rood in England churches, see John Munns, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England: Theology, Imagery, Devotion*, Bristol Studies in Medieval Cultures (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), 120–37.

[106] Jung, "Seeing Through Screens," 188.

[107] Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca.1200-1400*, 2.

English parish churches is disappointing, the exceptional surviving screen from c. 1250 at Stanton Harcourt already mentioned gives a sense of what these looked like. Double doors at the center of the wooden screen open into the chancel, but four trefoiled lancets on either side also form open windows into the sanctuary. Further visibility is granted by shapes cut out of the wood at dado level. Although this screen might have prevented a clear view of the liturgy from the back, anyone wishing to see what was happening within the chancel could have, especially because medieval churches lacked permanent seating, and many congregants probably stood during services.

Stone screens are not unknown in parish churches, as at Little Wenham (Suffolk) fig. 3.20] and Ampney St. Mary (Gloucestershire) [fig. 3.21] which both retain stone walls (much shorter than the one in the Assisi painting) that may or may not have been supplemented with a superstructure, possibly made of wood. However, these stone screens seem to have not been popularized until the later thirteenth or fourteenth century, from which time many more examples survive. Another variation on the stone screen is the visually permeable variety at Westwell (Kent) [fig. 3.22], where a screen between nave and chance is formed of three trefoil headed arches, topped by two oculi. They visually demarcate nave from chancel, but the form of the screen does little to prevent determined parishioners from passing through into the chancel. As Larry Hoey suggests, Westwell is simultaneously sophisticated and austere, employing an unusual stone screen, chancel vaulting, and two stories in the east window, yet only the simplest

molding.[108] According to Hoey, "Westwell chancel is one of the most original designs in Kent, but it also has no close relations in either parish or great churches."[109]

Evidence of parochial screens, stone or otherwise, in the first half of the thirteenth century is limited. The 1249 Trier statute from the Dominican General Chapter suggests that screening was already being practiced in some churches; the legislation was intended to standardize, rather than propose, screens separating zones in friaries. Regardless, the character of English parochial screens in the thirteenth century, exemplified by Stanton Harcourt and Westwell, that mediates, rather than obscures, vision into the chancel, unlike in friary churches where views into the chancel were prevented or limited to particular moments during the liturgy. The visual permeability of parochial, as opposed to friary, screens impacted the way architectural space is used and experienced and highlights the vast differences between the two building types.

Hall churches

Continental friars frequently employed the form of the hall church, characterized by aisles of the same (or nearly the same) height as the nave, enabling the interior vessel to be lit by the windows of the aisle.[110] The hall church is distinguished from the basilica form, which, by definition, is a hall with "a high central space delimited by colonnades and illuminated by clerestory lighting."[111] The double-naved church of the Jacobins (Dominicans) in Toulouse,

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[108] Hoey, "Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: C.1180-c.1260," 64–66.

[109] Ibid., 66.

[110] On the early development of the hall church, see Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 91–93.

[111] Hazel Dodge, "Basilica," in *Grove Art Online*, 2010, https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T006715.

begun in 1229 [fig. 3.23], is perhaps the most famous of these, but the hall church form was adopted all over Europe, for instance at the Franciscan church of San Fortunato in Todi (begun 1292) [fig. 3.24], and Dominican churches at Retz (early fourteenth century) [fig. 3.25], Tulln (late thirteenth century), and Imbach (c. 1270) [fig. 3.26].[112]

Though use of the hall church form was by no means limited to the friars, it was particularly appropriate to the poverty-bound orders, because the hall church offered large spaces for preaching but at a lower cost than basilicas. As Hans Joachim-Kunst has noted, hall churches were "cheaper and quicker to build than a basilica because, not needing flying buttresses, the nave could be more simply supported."[113] Hall church architecture dispenses with the complexity of wall elevations altogether.

It should be noted, however, that not all continental friaries were hall churches. The Franciscan church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris, begun sometime after 1240, is no longer extant, but a c. 1795 drawing by Pierre-Antoine Demachy [fig. 3.27] showing its destruction shows an elevation that includes a clerestory, suggesting that it was not a hall church.[114] Likewise, the other major friary in Paris, the church of the Jacobins (Dominicans), was composed of two vessels unequal in width.[115] A drawing from the *Gallica Dominicana* shows a

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[112] Richard A. Sundt, "The Jacobin Church of Toulouse and the Origin of Its Double-Nave Plan," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 2 (1989): 185–207; David M. Gillerman, "S. Fortunato in Todi: Why the Hall Church?," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, no. 2 (1989): 158–71; Zoë Opačić, "Reduktionsgothik or 'Anti-Gothic'? Hall-Church Development in Fourteenth-Century Prague," in *Current Work in Architectural History* (Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, Birkbeck College, London: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2004), 13.

[113] Hans-Joachim Kunst, "Hall Church," *Grove Art Online*, n.d.

[114] Michael T. Davis, "'Fitting to the Requirements of the Place': The Franciscan Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine in Paris," in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, ed. Zoë Opacic and Achim Timmermann, Studies in Gothic Art (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 240.

[115] Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy*, 183.

tent-like roof structure that encompasses the north aisle which is lower than the main vessel; the cloister on the south precluded a second aisle [fig. 3.28].[116]

In spite of the popularity of hall churches, English friary churches were not, as far as can be gleaned from the evidence, hall churches. The form of the hall church was certainly known in thirteenth-century England. The choir of Temple Church in London from the 1220s or 1230s is a hall church [fig. 3.29], as is the Trinity Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral, begun around 1220 and consecrated in 1225 [fig. 3.30]. Even prior to these 1220s and 1230s hall churches in southern England, the Aquitaine region of Western France, ruled by the English crown from Eleanor's marriage to Henry II in 1154 and held by the crown until the end of the Hundred Years' War, was home to significant hall churches, such as Poitiers Cathedral, which was begun around 1160 [fig. 3.31].

The stone-vaulted Temple and Salisbury models of hall church were improbable within the context of English friaries and parish churches, which generally had wooden roofs.[117] However, single-story parish churches can sometimes have proportions inspired by the hall church. Grantham (Lincolnshire) is one such example [fig. 1.56]. John McNeill has shown that the composition now seen at Grantham was a compromise, one that resulted in what he calls "a wooden roofed 'hall church.'"[118] The quotation marks around "hall church" are used to imply an degree of strangeness to the idea of a hall church without stone vaults; while the church at Grantham does feature a single-story nave with aisles of nearly equal height through which light enters the nave, it represents an exception, rather than typical example, of the type. Instead of

[116] Gallica Dominicana, BNF, Gallia fol. Ld22 105.2 pl. 39, reproduced in ibid., 56.

[117] On stone vaults in parish churches, see chapter 1.

[118] McNeill, "The Church of St Wulfram 3: Architecture, Patronage and Context," 99.

having essentially no wall elevation (as in an example like Temple), Grantham has spandrels above the arches constituting nave walls.

The agents responsible for Grantham's c. 1260 rebuilding scheme (discussed in Chapter 2) clearly had the ambition to make the church massive, light, and wide. The nave is 7.82 meters wide (internally), and the aisles approach this width, measuring at 7.72 (north) and 7.11 (south). The nave is lit from entirely the aisle windows. This is the sort of scheme that Clapham, Webb, and Bony saw as developing in imitation of friary churches. Yet, in the 1260s, English friary churches were frequently aisleless.[119]

There is virtually no feature of the English friary church which was not already present in any number of parish churches. It is unsurprising that the two building types have been linked together because they do share a number of characteristics which distinguish them from great churches, in particular the preference for wooden roofs and the prevalence of single or double-story elevations. As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, parochial development in the twelfth and early thirteenth century reflects the preference for aisles within the genre, and the way those aisles expand from narrow spaces to ones approaching the width of the central vessel. Naves become more spacious in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a consequence of expanded lay responsibility for those spaces. Although, as I have shown in Chapter 1, vaults in a parish church context were more common in the Romanesque period, they were never a standard feature within the genre, so the idea that parishes were copying wooden roofs from friaries cannot be substantiated.

By the fourteenth century, parish and friary churches did share quite a bit, particularly in terms of their wide, open spaces and tall arcades. The photos of the church of Austin Friars in

[119] Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, 136.

London, which was preserved as the Dutch Church until it was destroyed in the Blitz of 1940 [fig. 3.32], could be easily mistaken for a parish church with its Perpendicular arcade comparable to innumerable parochial churches in and around London, including St. Helen's Bishopsgate, which did survive the bombing of World War II [fig. 3.33]. What I hope this chapter has shown, however, is that parish churches transformed as an architectural type prior to the construction of most friary churches in England. Although by the fourteenth century they may have been mutually informing one another, in the thirteenth century during the period within the scope of this dissertation, friaries cannot be credited with the development of parochial architecture.

Painted decoration in Friary and Parish Churches

Like architecture, the decoration of English friary churches exists in the realm of speculation. In the 1230s, John of Malvern condemned a Franciscan brother at Gloucester who had the audacity to paint the pulpit, defrocking him for his crime.[120] As in all such matters, one assumes that in the later period such transgressions would not have inspired such animosity.

Although Tristram noted that "whilst the psychological change created by [the friars'] teaching in the thought and life of the times was of great import, the Franciscans made no direct contribution to architecture, painting, and the allied crafts, as the monastic orders had done previously."[121] There are only a handful of parish churches where Franciscan imagery was employed in wall-painting schemes. At St. John in Soke, Winchester, a documented but now-lost painting discovered in the nineteenth century in the north aisle depicts Christ on the crucifix

[120] Brooke, *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, 310.

[121] Tristram, "Franciscan Influence in English Mediaeval Wall-Painting," 3.

flanked by Saint Francis and his uncanonised companion, Brother Leo; an inscription on Francis' book read: "MIHI : AUTEM : ABSIT : GLORIARI : NISI : IN : CRUCE : DOMINI : NOSTRI : JESU : CHRISTI."[122] [fig. 2.60] Tristram regarded this painting as "an exposition of Franciscan teaching."[123] A second scene shows Christ in judgement and in the middle register shows a Franciscan friar leading the souls of the righteous into heaven [fig. 3.34]. Franciscan subject matter is rare enough in the parish church context to render this worthy of mention. It is thought that the Winchester Franciscan friars maybe have used St. John's in some capacity before they had built their own friary just inside of Winchester's walls between Middle Brooks, North Walls, and Lower Brooks,[124] about a third of a mile away from St. John's. The friary was established in 1237, supplies for the foundations of the church were received in 1239, and in 1246 the church was still under construction.[125] The Franciscans could have continued using the church through the 1240s while their own space was constructed. Was the painting commissioned or made by the friars, made in memory of the community which had previously been based at St. John's, or simply representative of contemporary interest in mendicant spirituality?

St. John's in Winchester has hall-church proportions with a roof gable for each vessel. The present aisle widths postdate the arcades, which are composed of trumpet scallops stylistically datable to around 1200 [fig. 2.55]; these were likely in place two decades before the first friars landed on English shores. It is plausible based on the subject of the north aisle

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[122] "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" from Paul's letter to the Galatians 6:14.

[123] Tristram, "Franciscan Influence in English Mediaeval Wall-Painting," 10.

[124] O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers*, 23:344.

[125] Ibid., 23:345; Patrick Ottaway, *Winchester: St Swithun's "City of Happiness and Good Fortune": An Archaeological Assessment* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017), 318.

paintings and the chronology of the building that it was expanded during the friars' stint at the church. This would be in keeping with the sort of aisle expansion taking place in English parish churches in the thirteenth century, but the mendicant connection can only be speculated upon.

A second example of parochial representation of Saint Francis occurs at Doddington (Kent), where a window splay on the south wall of the chancel shows the tonsured saint, as Tristram has suggested, receiving the stigmata [fig. 3.35].[126] The church itself is mainly of the twelfth century, and the nave has a circa 1200 arcade and wide south aisle that appears almost like a second nave [fig. 3.36]. There is no building fabric contemporary with the painting, which has been assigned to the mid-thirteenth century. At mid-century, the nearest Franciscan friary to Doddington was in Canterbury, approximately fifteen miles to the east, so it seems unlikely that there was any direct connection between the parish and an actual community of friars. Was the painting simply a response to the popularity of Saint Francis? A second splay painting shows a bearded man, sometimes thought to be King Henry III. Do these paintings simply represent people who were famous within the cultural imagination? The dedication of the church, the beheading of St. John the Baptist, is unusual, but not represented in any extant painting.

High on the north nave wall of Wissington (Suffolk) is an early painting of Saint Francis, standing next to Brother Leo, who sits reading a book. Francis preaches to the birds in a tree to their left [fig. 3.37]. Another, badly damaged painting at Little Kimble (Buckinghamshire) also shows Francis preaching to the birds [fig. 3.38]. This painting, in a window splay on the north wall of the nave, is compressed and does not include Brother Leo.

With the exception of St. John's in Winchester which may be the product of an actual relationship between the parish and the Greyfriars, the bulk of these examples seem to reflect the

[126] Tristram, "Franciscan Influence in English Mediaeval Wall-Painting," 9.

broad popularity of the Franciscan Order, or at least of its titular saint, rather than any sort of interaction between parish churches and friaries. While the Doddington painting is located in the chancel, the Winchester, Wissington, and Little Kimble examples are all situated in the nave. We can attribute these placements to the newfound ubiquity of the mendicants, and in particular St. Francis, among lay people. Friars became increasingly visible in cities and towns from the time they first arrived in England; among ordinary lay people, friars preached their way into the social consciousness. It is notable that the examples of Francis paintings in this sample are found in nave aisles, while representations of Thomas Becket, another relatively contemporary saint, are found, at least in extant examples, often in altar niches (at Stow, Lincolnshire and Hauxton, Cambridgeshire).[127] St. Francis was perceived as a populist saint, making him an appropriate subject for lay space.

Conclusion

Although the mendicant orders were enormously influential in lay spirituality after they begun to arrive in England in 1221, they seem to have had little or no impact on the architecture of parish churches in England in the thirteenth century. The architectural developments of the orders happened slowly, owing to the vows of poverty and initial preference for ad hoc arrangements for living and worship. As Thomas of Eccleston tells us, in the earliest days of the Franciscan order in England, friars attended Mass in their local parish church, cementing early a link between the friars and parishes, but not one that favors the model of influence that

[127] I thank Michael T. Davis for pointing out that there is a painting of Becket's martyrdom in the north nave aisle of South Newington (Oxfordshire).

twentieth-century scholars have outlined. Rather than inventing new forms for building, the friars relied on existing ones. As I have demonstrated, the evidence of parochial wall paintings shows that lay people were aware of the friars, and given the locations of these paintings within nave aisles, we can deduce St. Francis was popular among them.

Meanwhile, as described in chapter 2, from the 1170s, developments in parochial architecture had been moving towards wide, aisled, light churches that have normally been attributed to the influence of friaries. As I have shown, the influence of Clapham and his followers have molded the study of parish churches in a form that is built from false assumptions. This chapter has attempted to allow the evidence for both building types to speak for itself to allow for more clarity about their individual development, which I have argued is not as intertwined as has been previously assumed.

Conclusion

In his 2010 book, *Building-in-Time*, Marvin Trachtenberg writes that though "building[s] remained… the lifeworld changed, bringing to the site new desires and needs."[1] Though it should come as no surprise that buildings have lives that continue long after their builders have packed up, when taking a historical view it easy to flatten the long lives of buildings by freezing them in time at the moment of design or completion. Parish churches confirm Trachtenberg's reminder particularly well. Even today, they are frequently in a state of flux, as communities struggle to make their inherited buildings serve them in the twenty-first century.[2] In the Middle Ages, these buildings were frequently adapted with additions and even subtractions—they were never, or rarely, have been considered complete. New desires and needs came from both the institutional church in the form of doctrinal or ritual shifts, as well as from the people who worshipped in them, whose interests were motivated by social and spiritual gains.

I have addressed the architectural and social shifts that occurred within the walls of the English parish church in the second half of the twelfth and throughout the thirteenth centuries. In spite of frequent adaptations made prior to and after, I have argued that in this period, in order to accommodate the needs and desires of lay users who gained unprecedented control over parts of the building, parish churches are physically transformed in significant ways: lateral expansions with aisles or transepts, the addition of aisles, and a dramatic increase in intramural burial.

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[1] Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), xiii.

[2] One recent example is the controversial addition of a toilet to a medieval parish church on Jersey "St Lawrence Church Toilet Row Is Settled," *Jersey Evening Post*, February 28, 2018, https://www.jerseyeveningpost.com/news/2018/02/28/st-lawrence-church-toilet-row-is-settled/.

Previous scholars have either overlooked parish churches, been overwhelmed by the sheer number of examples, or assumed an imitative relationship between this building type and others. This dissertation joins a small, but growing, body of literature that examines the parish church as its own entity, in relations beyond imitation with contemporary ecclesiastical architecture. Each chapter takes as its starting point a problem within the existing literature on parish churches and remediates it using evidence from buildings throughout England as well as textual sources when available.

Chapter 1 outlines the development of pastoral care and the buildings that housed it in the period preceding the middle of the twelfth century, arguing that as local churches gained rights to bury and baptize, they gained permanent priests and more elaborate and permanent stone churches. I show that while these churches took various forms at first, by the second quarter of the thirteenth century, a set of unspoken architectural norms had been established separating the parish church from the so-called great church. This correlates with the period in which lay people gained greater control of the church, thus contributing to the theme of lay agency and autonomy threaded through this dissertation.

Chapter 2 examines the lateral expansion of the parish church in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, showing that two primary factors motivated the addition of north and south nave aisles and transepts. The increasing importance of making the Elevation of the Host visible and the development of the doctrine of purgatory each had a major impact on how ordinary lay people used church buildings, and the sort of spiritual rewards they hoped to achieve within them. The expansion of a local class of gentry, meanwhile, rendered the parish church an ideal locus for assertions of power and prestige vis-à-vis burial and chantries.

Finally, Chapter 3 situates the parish church among a building type to which it has been frequently compared within the English context: friary churches. In this chapter, I show that the characteristics that this persistent assumption have been based upon are based on are misleading. Already in the twelfth century parish churches gained the proportions and openness that early twentieth-century authors considered characteristic of friaries. I interrogate the actual relationship between friars and parish churches, concluding that while there is some overlap in the thirteenth century, it is because parish churches accommodated friars for worship prior to them building their own friary churches.

I elected to survey all of England in effort to understand the way local churches all over England developed architecturally during my period. Throughout the process, I have mused on whether a regional case study or other approach would have been more effective. While a study with a sample size as large as the corpus of medieval parish churches in England may run the risk of being overly general at times, it is my belief that nuance would have been lost, and patterns missed, had I placed an artificial geographical limit on my subject. While regional differences can certainly be identified (for example, the prevalence of transepts, rather than aisles, in Oxfordshire), certain characteristics, like lateral expansion more broadly, can be traced throughout the country during this period, reflecting broad trends motivated by spiritual belief, social stratification, and architectural style.

The literature on English medieval architecture has paid greatest attention to monographic studies on major monuments—monasteries and cathedrals. In an effort to expand that focus, this dissertation recovers, broadly speaking a crucial church model for English medieval architecture. It also helps establish a framework for how to position parish churches

within that wider context, neither imitations of, nor in a vacuum and separated from, monastic and diocesan churches.

The geographic boundaries of this project will, I hope, enable future research by myself and others which considers English architecture in relationship to its Continental and Scandinavian counterparts. Scholars of England and of other geographies will, in the coming years, find it mutually beneficial to think about buildings for local worship across boundaries. I have only scratched the surface of this with limited forays into examples in France and Denmark, but I anticipate that the next frontier for the study of parochial architecture is a transnational approach. Future comparison between countries and regions will be enabled and prompted by today's work on parish churches.

The study of mendicant architecture deserves reconsideration both in England and internationally. This is particularly true with regards to the spread (or lack of spread) of architectural motifs with the orders. A more transnational approach will contribute to our knowledge of friars' architecture and enable scholars to better answer lingering questions. Did competition between friars and secular clergy play a role in the architectures of mendicancy and local worship throughout Europe? Why were English friars in search of local architectural models, with their general chapters providing only prohibitions, not prescriptions for their appearances? Why is the hall church form so frequently found in Continental mendicant churches eschewed in England with a preference for vernacular modalities instead? Further study and collaborations promise to shed more light on friary churches, whose poor survival in England has predicated little close examination.

Although I have been impeded by many of the same challenges that have prevented previous scholars from working on the twelfth and thirteenth century parish church, I have also

benefitted tremendously from inroads into the topic made since the 1990s, a current surge of interest in the topic, and the resources made available on the Internet by scholars and amateur "church crawlers" alike. It is my hope that in this dissertation I have provided a corrective to frequently repeated misinterpretations about the architecture and use of parish churches, enabling subsequent writers on the topic to move beyond these persistent misconceptions in order to develop a more complete and accurate body of knowledge on the subject. Equally, in this dissertation it has been my concerted aim to seriously consider the lives of lay people, particularly those whose lives are poorly documented in the written record. Studying the parish church unlocks non-elite and semi-elite religious and social experience, reconstructing the ways their communities coalesced around these key local centers of built and material life.



Fig 1.1 Haltwhistle (Northumberland), exterior, view from the south (photo: author)



Fig. 1.2 Haltwhistle (Northumberland), nave, south elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.3 Haltwhistle (Northumberland), chancel, view facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 1.4 Haltwhistle (Northumberland), sedilia and piscina (photo: author)



Fig. 1.5 Haltwhistle (Northumberland), exterior, west end (photo: author)



Fig. 1.6 Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), west wall of nave (photo: author)



Fig. 1.7 Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), Odda's Chapel (photo: author)



Fig. 1.8 Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), Early English nave arcade, Perpendicular clerestory (photo: author)

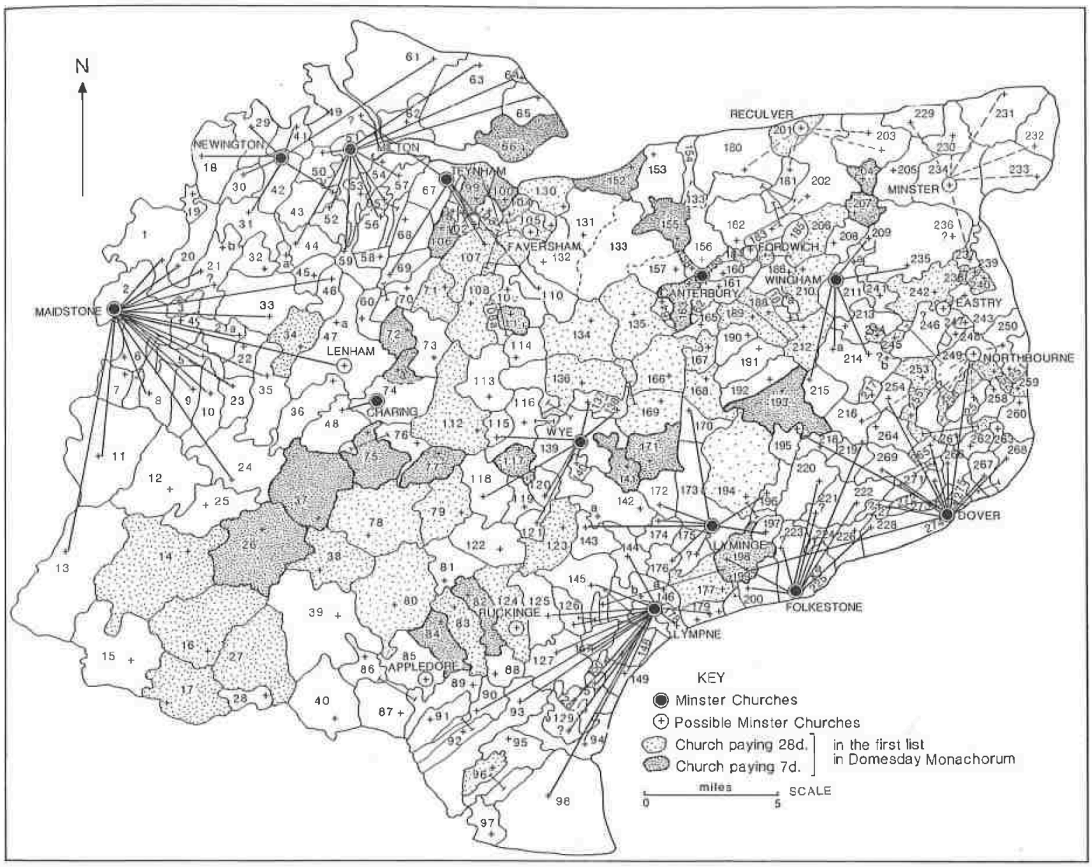

Fig. 1.9 Mother and daughter churches in E. Kent, Tim Tatton-Brown, "The Churches of Canterbury Diocese in the 11th Century," in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988).



Fig. 1.10 Worth (Sussex), nave with north and south porticuses (photo: author)



Fig. 1.11 Ripple (Worcestershire), exterior of chancel showing crossing (photo: author)

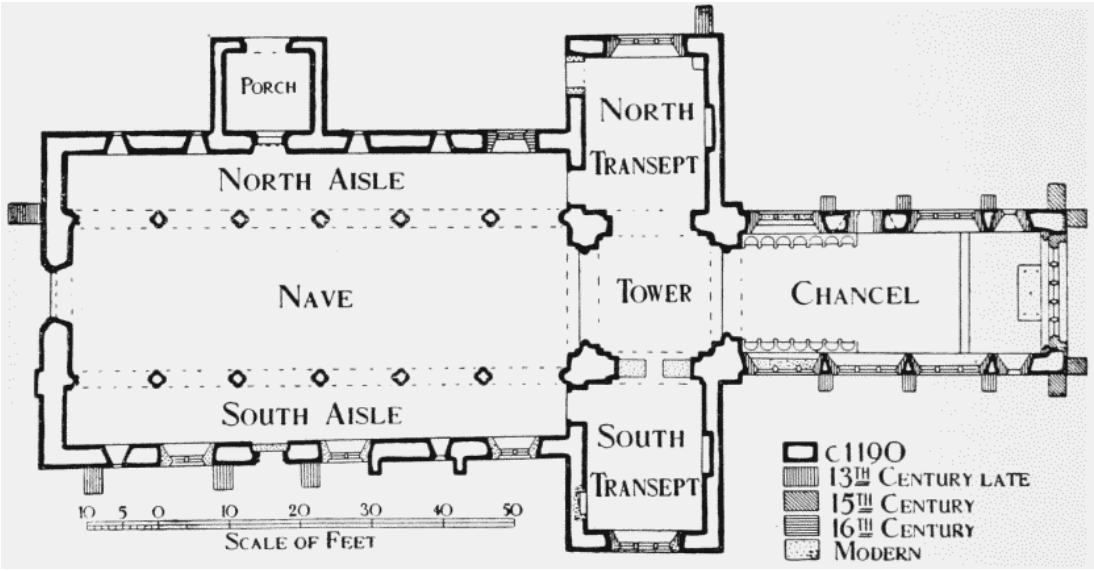

Fig. 1.12 Ripple (Worcestershire) plan, 'Parishes: Ripple', in *A History of the County of Worceste*r: Volume 3 (London, 1913), pp. 486-496.



Fig. 1.13 Powick (Worcestershire), exterior (Worcestershire & Dudley Historic Churches Trust)

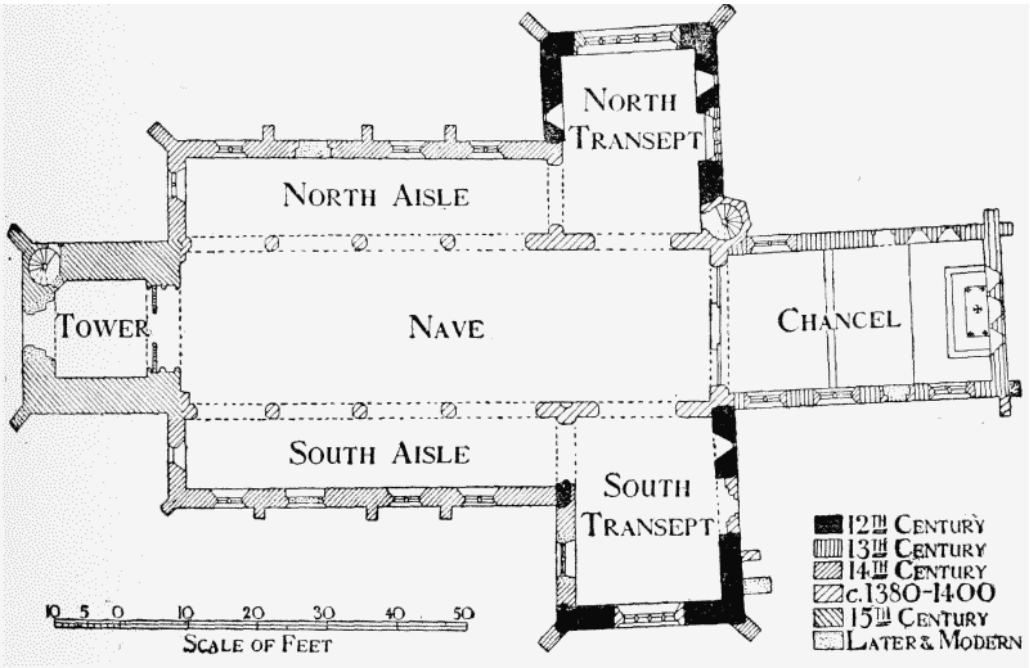

Fig. 1.14 Powick (Worcestershire), plan, 'Parishes: Powick', in *A History of the County of Worcester*: Volume 4, ed. William Page and J W Willis-Bund (London, 1924), pp. 184-192.



Fig. 1.15 Dodderhill (Worcestershire), exterior showing cruciform plan (Worcester & Dudley Historic Churches)

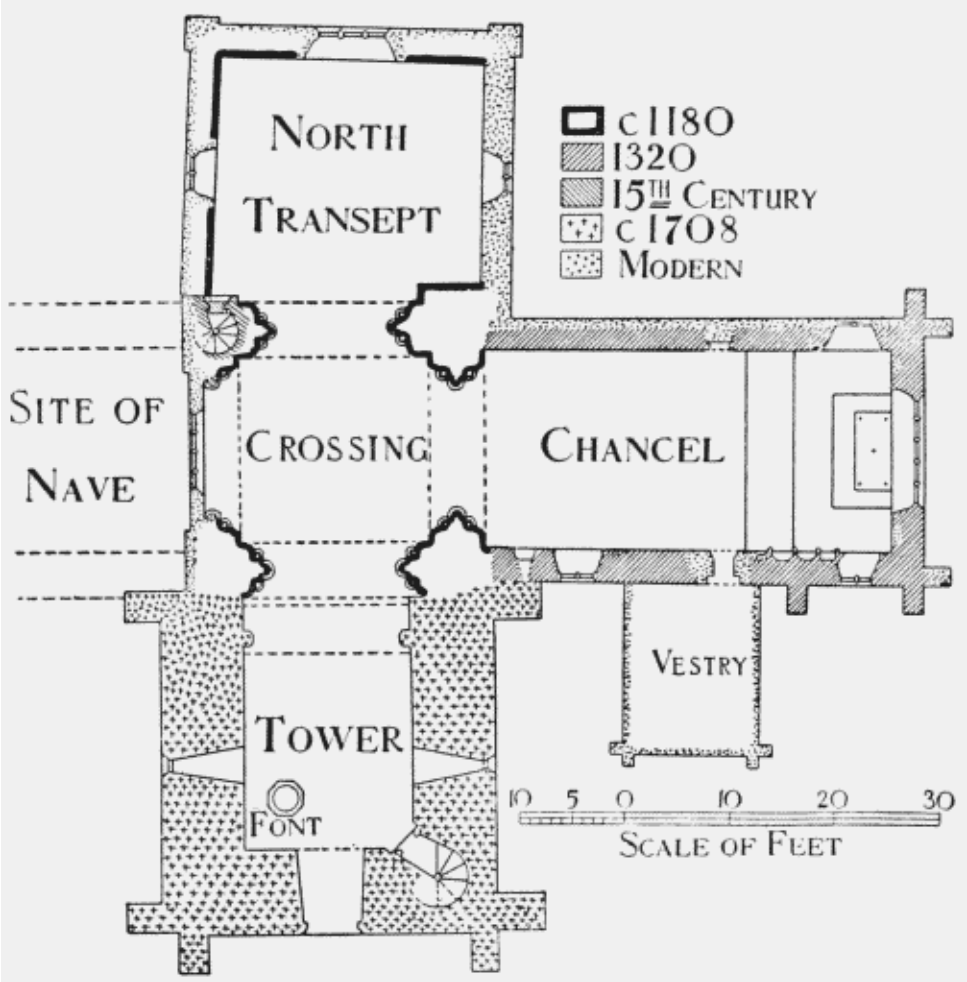

Fig. 1.16 Dodderhill (Worcestershire), plan, 'Parishes: Dodderhill', in *A History of the County of Worcester*: Volume 3 (London, 1913), pp. 58-69.



Fig. 1.17 Brixworth (Northamptonshire), nave facing east (photo: author)

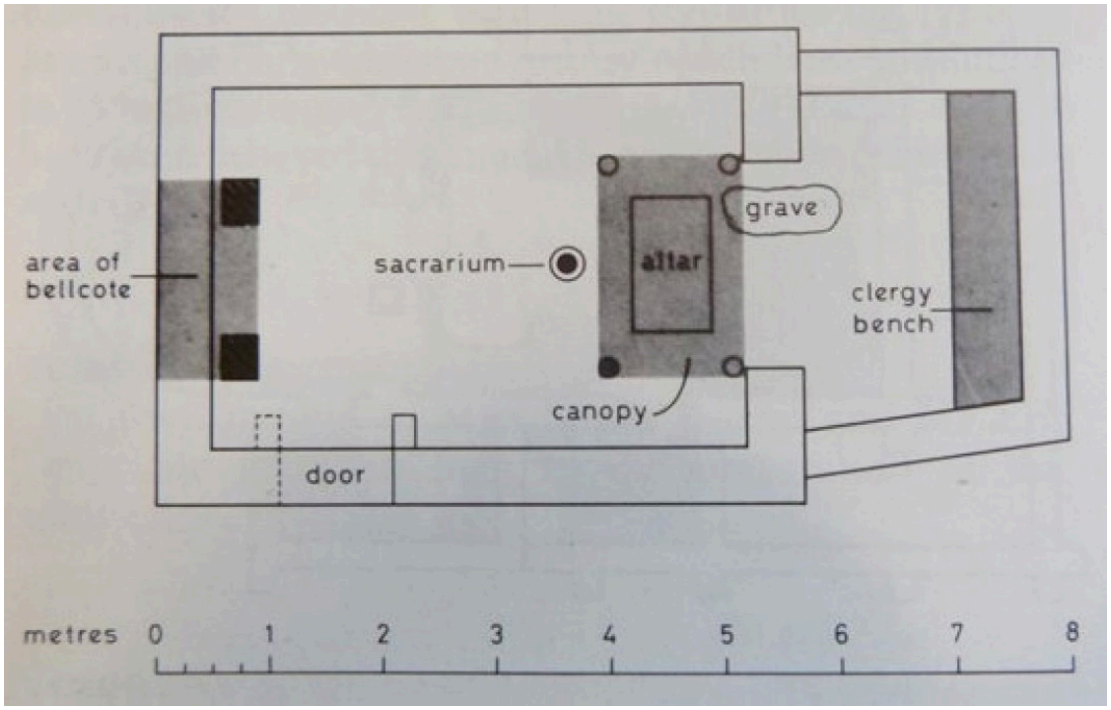

Fig. 1.18 Plan of Raunds Furnells Local Church (Northamptonshire), late 9th or 10th century, from *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard* by Andrew Boddington, Graham Cadman, and John Evans (London: English Heritage, 1996).



Fig. 1.19 Greensted (Essex), exterior, north nave elevation (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.20 Greensted (Essex), nave, south elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.21 Hadstock (Essex), north nave elevation, wooden window frames (photo: author)



Fig. 1.22 Navestock (Essex), nave facing east with timber south arcade (photo: author)



Fig. 1.23 Adel (Yorkshire), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 1.24 Adel (Yorkshire), nave facting east (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.25 Stewkley (Buckinghamshire), exterior, view from the south (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.26 Stewkley (Buckinghamshire), nave facing east (photo: James Alexander Cameron)

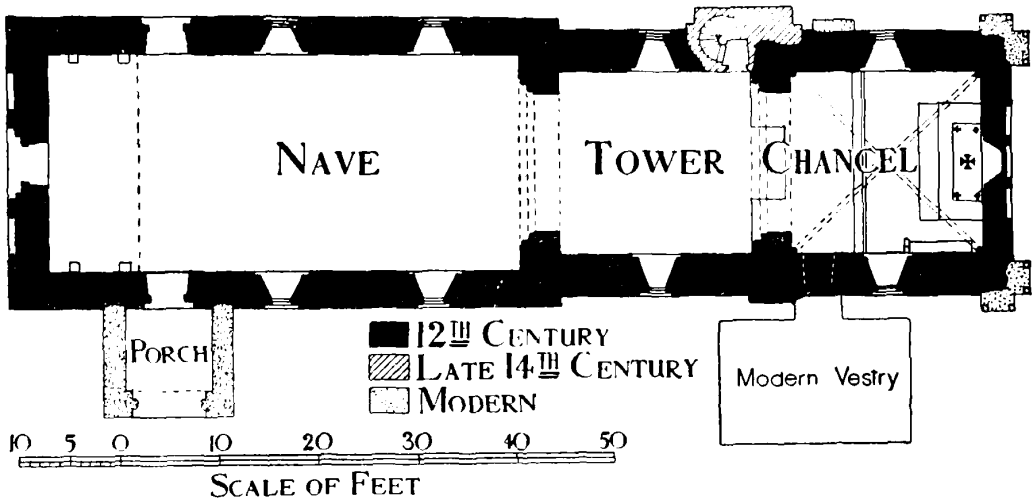

Fig. 1.27 Stewkley (Buckinghamshire), plan, 'Parishes: Stewkley', in *A History of the County of Buckingham*: Volume 3, ed. William Page (London, 1925), pp. 420-426.



Fig. 1.28 Stewkley (Buckinghamshire), eastern cell, thirteenth-century piscina above earlier bench (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.29 Barton (Cumbria), exterior, view from the southeast (photo: author)



Fig. 1.30 Barton (Cumbria), nave facing east to tower arch (photo: author)



Fig. 1.31 Barton (Cumbria), Norman window in crossing (photo: author)

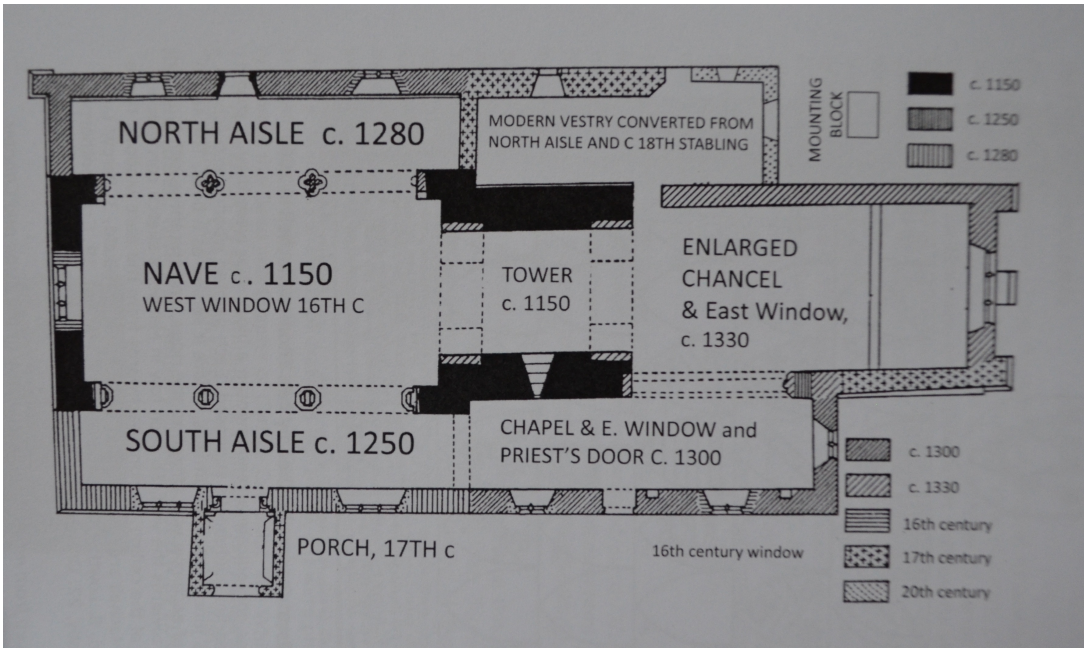

Fig. 1.32 Barton (Cumbria), plan (church guide)



Fig. 1.33 Newcastle, St. Nicholas (Northumberland), view of nave from south aisle (photo: author)



Fig. 1.34 Boston (Lincolnshire), nave facing east (photo: Jules & Jenny / Wikimedia Commons / CC BY 2.0)



Fig. 1.35 Hull (East Yorkshire), nave facing southeast (photo: author)



Fig. 1.36 Lanercost Priory (Cumbria), exterior south elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.37 Lanercost Priory (Cumbria), nave interior



Fig. 1.38 Cartmel Priory, exterior, south nave aisle, transept and tower (Flickr / Andy Hawkins / CC-BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 1.39 Cartmel Priory, nave facing east (Flickr / Steve Parkinson / CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)



Fig. 1.40 Freiston (Lincolnshire), exterior, view from northeast (photo: author)



Fig. 1.41 Freiston (Lincolnshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 1.42 Holmcultram (Cumbria), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 1.43 Holmcultram (Cumbria), nave facing west (photo: author)



Fig. 1.44 Swine Priory (Yorkshire), exterior (photo: Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture of Britain and Ireland)



Fig. 1.45 Swine Priory (Yorkshire), interior (photo: Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture of Britain and Ireland)



Fig. 1.46 Fiskerton (Lincolnshire), north arcade (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.47 Lincoln Cathedral, north nave arcade (photo: author)



Fig. 1.48 Potterne (Wiltshire), nave facing east (Nicholas Temple-Fry / Alamy Stock Photo)



Fig. 1.49 Potterne (Wiltshire), chancel (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.50 Salisbury Cathedral, nave facing east (Wikimedia Commons / Gaius Cornelius / CC BY-SA 3.0)



Fig. 1.51 Skelton (Yorkshire), exterior, view of the south (photo: author)



Fig. 1.52 Skelton (Yorkshire), exterior, eastern elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.53 Skelton (Yorkshire), interior (photo: author)



Fig. 1.54 York Minster, north transept elevation (photo: author)

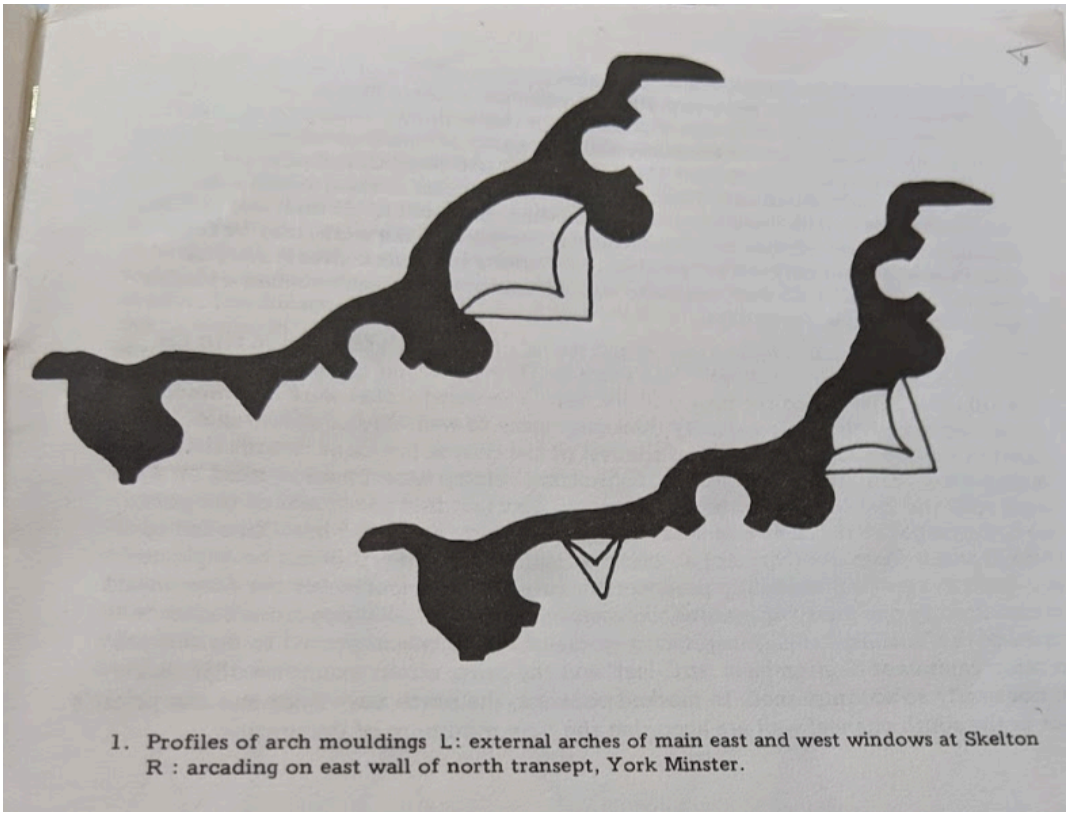

Fig. 1.55 York Minster/Skelton molding profiles, from Christopher Wilson, David E. O'Connor, and Michael A. J. Thompson, *St Giles Skelton, a Brief Guide* (York, 1978).



Fig. 1.56 Grantham (Lincolnshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 1.57 Grantham (Lincolnshire), north aisle (photo: author)



Fig. 1.58 Lincoln Cathedral, Angel choir, (photo: author)

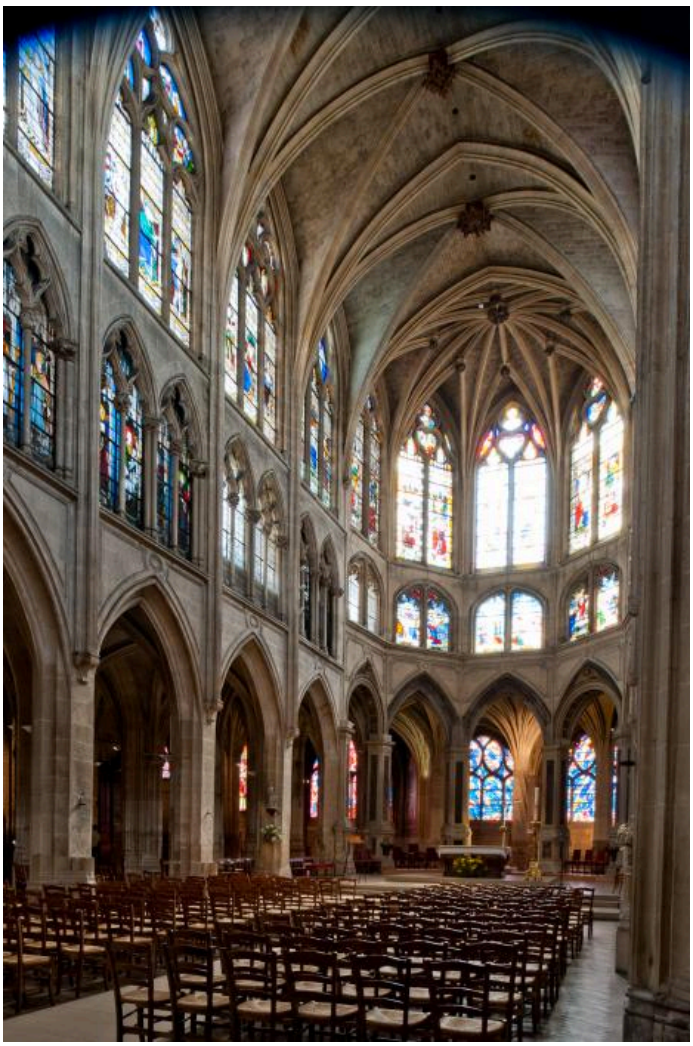

Fig. 1.59 Saint-Severin, Paris nave looking into the chevet (Mapping Gothic France, © Media Center for Art History, Columbia University & Art Department, Vassar College)



Fig. 1.60 Saint-Jacques, Reims, nave facing west (Wikimedia Commons / Philippe Alés / CC-BY-SA 4.0)



Fig. 1.61 Saint-Denys, Arcueil (Mapping Gothic France, © Media Center for Art History, Columbia University & Art Department, Vassar College)



Fig. 1.63 Notre-Dame, Auxonne, nave ((Mapping Gothic France, © Media Center for Art History, Columbia University & Art Department, Vassar College)



Fig. 1.64 Notre-Dame-de-la-Nativité, Donnemarie Dontilly (Mapping Gothic France, © Media Center for Art History, Columbia University & Art Department, Vassar College)



Fig. 1.64 Saint-Martin, Etampes (Mapping Gothic France, © Media Center for Art History, Columbia University & Art Department, Vassar College)



Fig. 1.65 Brook (Kent), tower chapel (photo: author)



Fig. 1.66 Durham Cathedral, blind dado arcading (photo: author)



Fig. 1.67 Ely Cathedral, blind dado arcade (photo: author)



Fig. 1.68 Peterborough Cathedral, dado arcade, south nave aisle (photo: James Alexander Cameron)

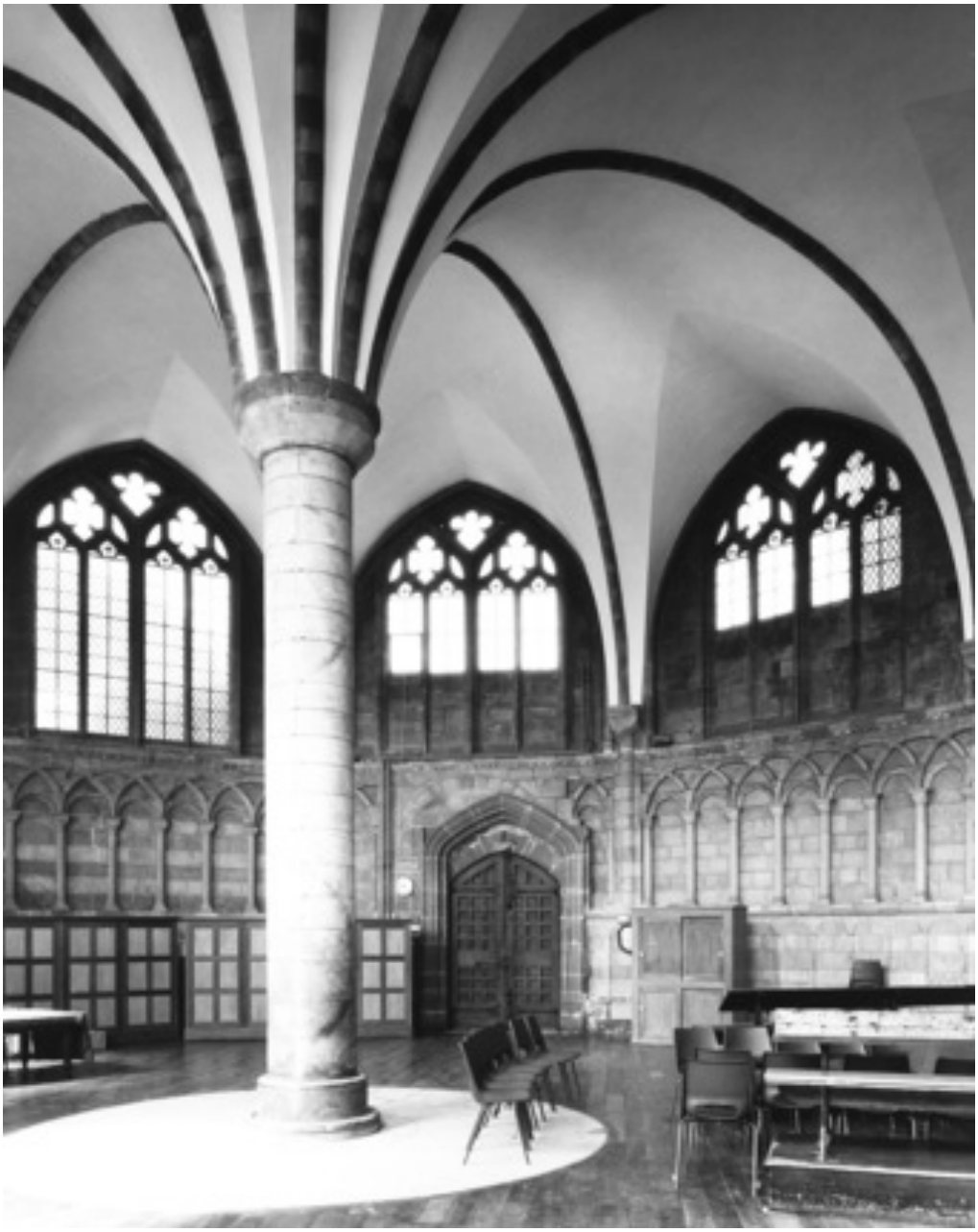

Fig. 1.69 Worcester Cathedral, chapter house (Courtauld Institute, Conway Library, London)



Fig. 1.70 Burgh-next-Aylsham, chancel (photo: John Salmon / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-2.0)



Fig. 1.71 Saint Mary de Castro, Leicester (Leicestershire), sedilia (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.72 Castle Hedingham (Essex), sedilia (photo: Acabashi, / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA 4.0)

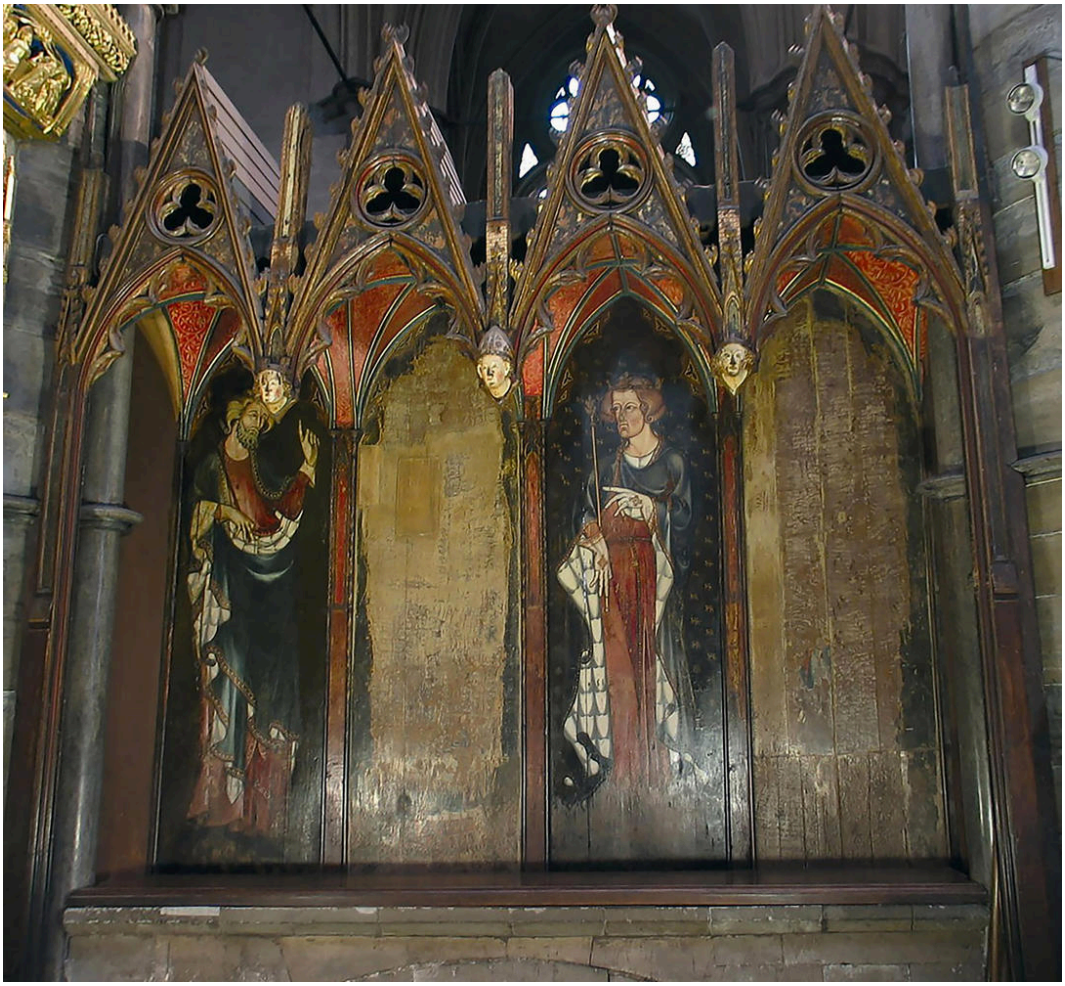

Fig. 1.73 Westminster Abbey, sedilia (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.74 Worcester Cathedral, Prince Arthur's Chantry (photo: Bob Embleton / Wikimedia Commons / CC BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 1.75 Acton Burnell (Shropshire), blocked south door (photo: author)



Fig. 1.76 Melbourne (Derbyshire), west front (photo: author)



Fig. 1.77 Melbourne (Derbyshire), clerestory passage (photo: author)



Fig. 1.78 Iffley (Oxfordshire), west front (photo: author)



Fig. 1.79 Castle Rising (Norfolk), west front (photo: author)



Fig. 1.80 Iffley (Oxfordshire), south door (photo: author)



Fig. 1.81 Felmersham (Bedfordshire), west front (photo: author)



Fig. 1.82 Salisbury Cathedral, west front (Wikimedia Commons / gailhampshire / / CC BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 1.83 Boldre (Hampshire), west front (photo: author)

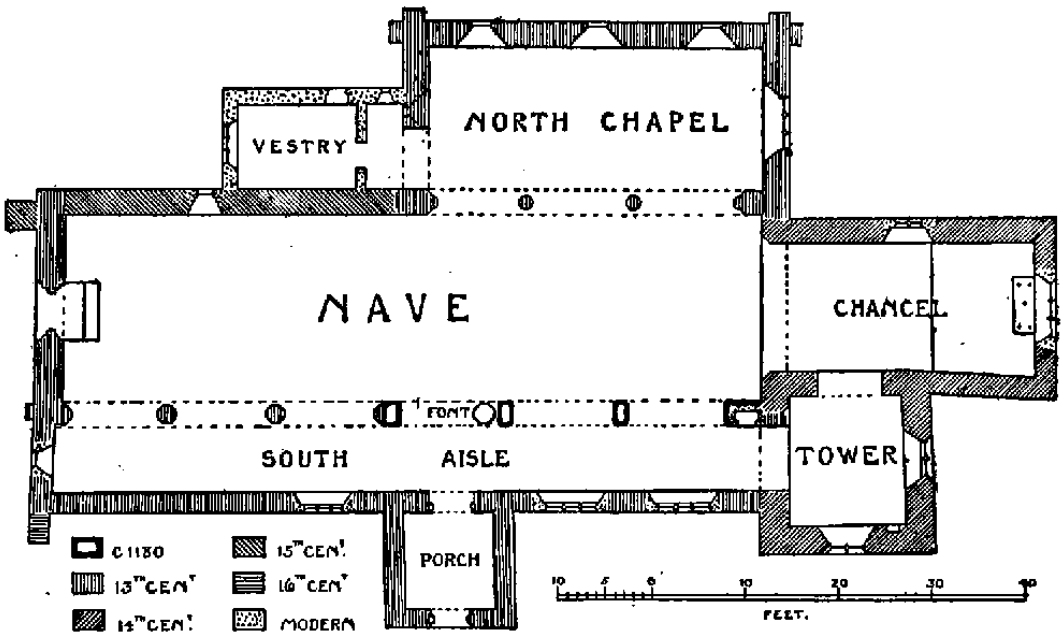

Fig. 1.84 Boldre (Hampshire), plan, from "Parishes: Boldre," in A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4, ed. William Page (London: Victoria County History, 1911), 616-623.



Fig. 1.85 Iffley (Oxfordshire), chancel vault (photo: author)



Fig. 1.86 Tickencote (Rutland), chancel vault (photo: author)



Fig. 1.87 Bishopstone (Wiltshire), vaulted transept (photo: Steve Dunn)



Fig. 1.88 Berkhamstead (Hertfordshire), transeptal east aisle (Rob Farrow / Wikimedia Commons / CC BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 1.89 Aldingbourne (Sussex), south aisle (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.90 Sherburn-in-Elmet (North Yorkshire), west tower vault (photo: CRSBI)



Fig. 1.91 Chichester Cathedral, south transept vault (photo: author)



Fig. 1.92 Boxgrove Priory, south transept vault (photo: author)



Fig. 1.93 New Shoreham, chancel facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 1.94 New Shoreham (Sussex), north elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.95 New Shoreham (Sussex), south elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.96 A south-west watercolor view of New Shoreham Church (Shoreham-by-Sea) in (West) Sussex ‘taken from the Street abutting on the West Side of the Church yard’ drawn in 1782 by S.H. Grimm, BL additional MS 5673, item number f. 42 [no. 75]

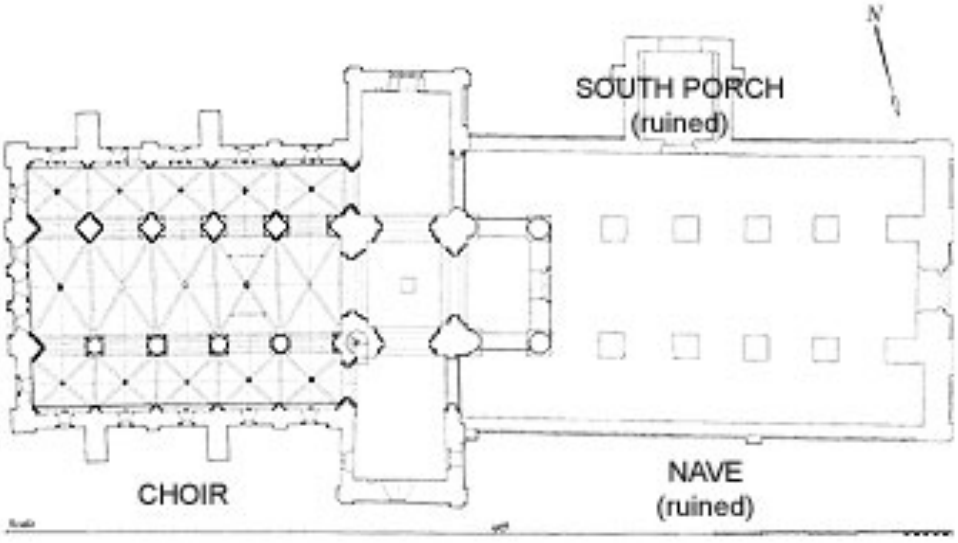

Fig. 1.97 New Shoreham (Sussex), plan (plan: Michael Norman / stmarydehaura.org.uk)



Fig. 1.98 Hedon (East Yorkshire), exterior (Wikimedia Commons / Andy Beecroft / CC BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 1.99 Hedon (East Yorkshire), nave facing east (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 1.100 Hedon (East Yorkshire), north transept (photos: author)



Fig. 1.101 Hedon (East Yorkshire), south transept (photo: author)

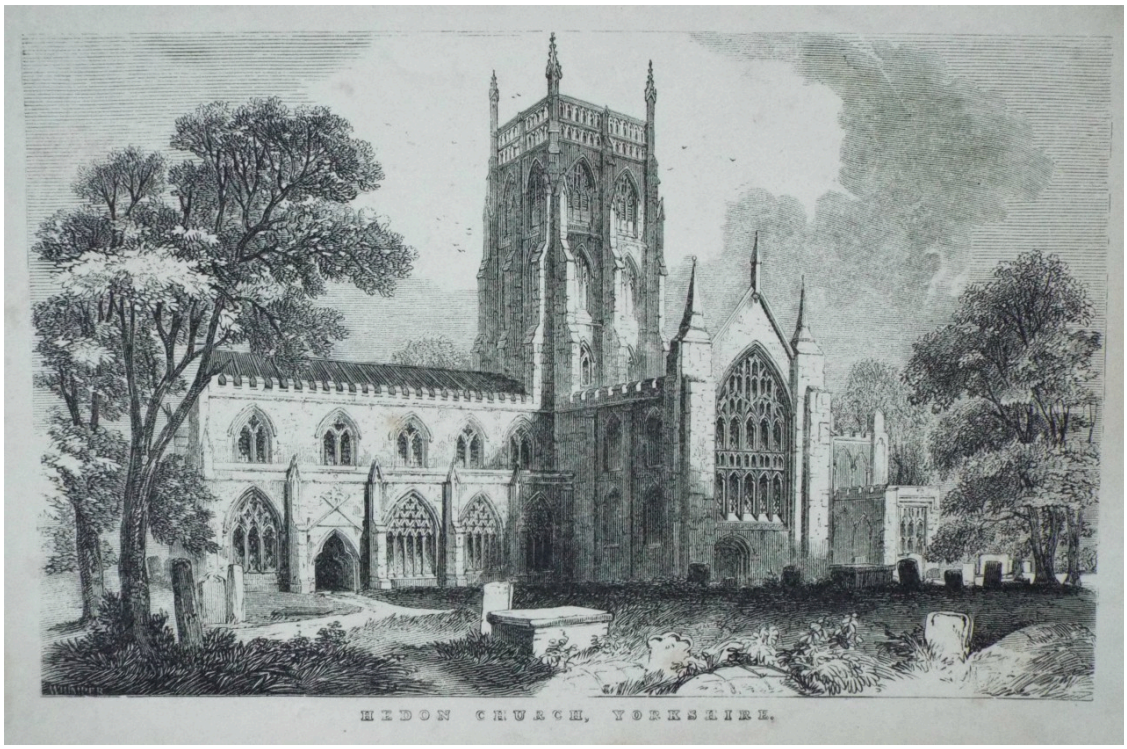

Fig. 1.102 South West Aspect of the Church of St. Augustine Hedon, by Roe, engraved by Newton (rareoldprints.com)



Fig. 1.103 Hedon (East Yorkshire), transept, blocked aisles (photo: author)

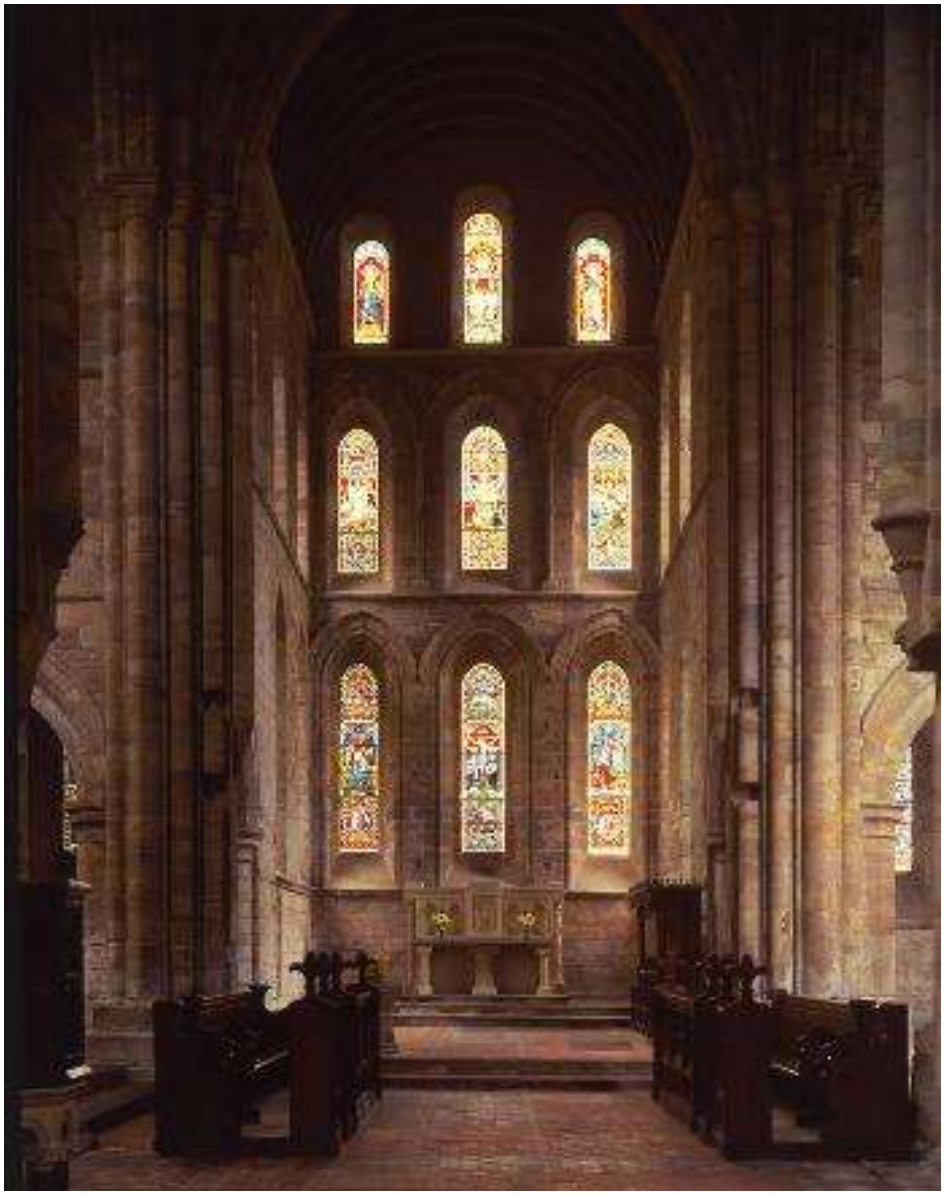

Fig. 1.104 Brinkburn Priory (Northumberland), eastern elevation (photo: English Heritage)



Fig. 1.105 Hythe (Kent), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 1.106 Hythe (Kent), interior (photo: author)



Fig. 1.107 Hythe (Kent), chancel north elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.108 Hull (East Yorkshire), nave facing west (photo: author)



Fig. 1.109 Stone (Kent), south exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 1.110 Stone (Kent), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 1.111 Ottery St. Mary (Devon), nave, north elevation (photo: author)



Fig. 1.112 Great Budworth (Cheshire), nave facing east (Wikimedia Commons / Jooperscoopers / CC BY-SA 3.0)



Fig. 1.113 Astbury (Cheshire), elevation with St. George and the Dragon painting (astburychurch.org.uk)



Fig. 2.1 Kilpeck (Gloucestershire), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.2 Kilpeck (Gloucestershire), interior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.3 Kilpeck (Gloucestershire), south portal (photo: author)



Fig. 2.4 Kilpeck (Gloucestershire), aerial shot showing church and site of castle (photo: author/Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.5 Cley-next-Sea (Norfolk) (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.6 Bamburgh (Northumberland), exterior (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.7 Wing (Buckinghamshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.8 Walsoken (Norfolk), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.9 Long Sutton (Lincolnshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.10 Moulton (Lincolnshire), nave, south arcade, facing west (photo: author)



Fig. 2.11 Frodsham (Cheshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.12 Eltisley (Cambridgeshire), north nave arcade (photo: author)



Fig. 2.13 Wisbech (Cambridgeshire), mismatched arcades (photo: author)



Fig. 2.14 Crundale (Kent), north wall of nave (photo: author)



Fig. 2.15 Chaldon (Surrey), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.16 Chaldon (Surrey), nave facing east (photo: author)

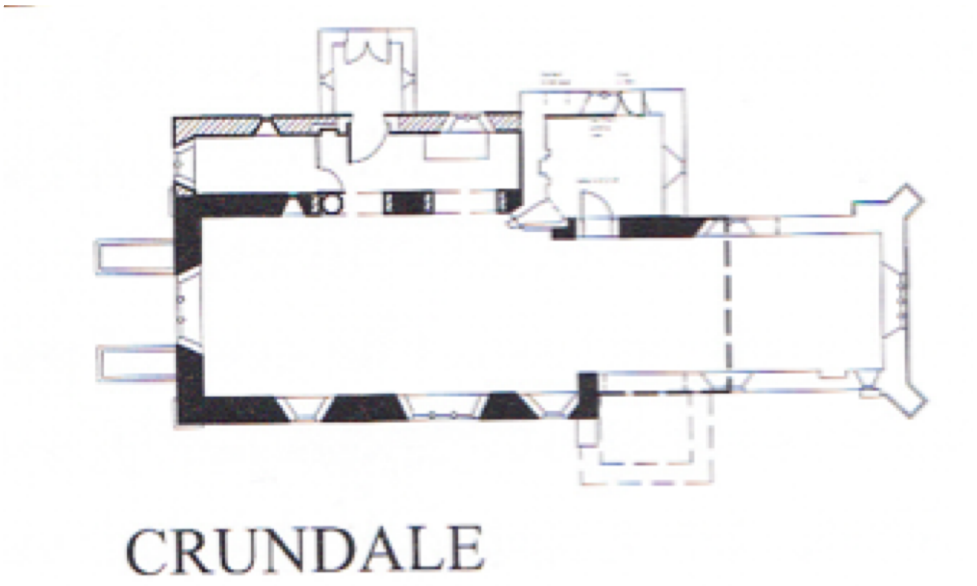

Fig. 2.17 Crundale (Kent), plan from Mary Berg and Howard Jones, *Norman Churches in the Canterbury Diocese* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009).



Fig. 2.18 Crundale (Kent), north aisle exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.19 Crundale (Kent), aisle interior (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.20 Chaldon (Surrey), nave facing west (photo: author)



Fig. 2.21 Chaldon (Surrey), west wall (author)



Fig. 2.22 Saint-Michael-on-Wyre (Lancashire), south aisle exterior (photo: author)

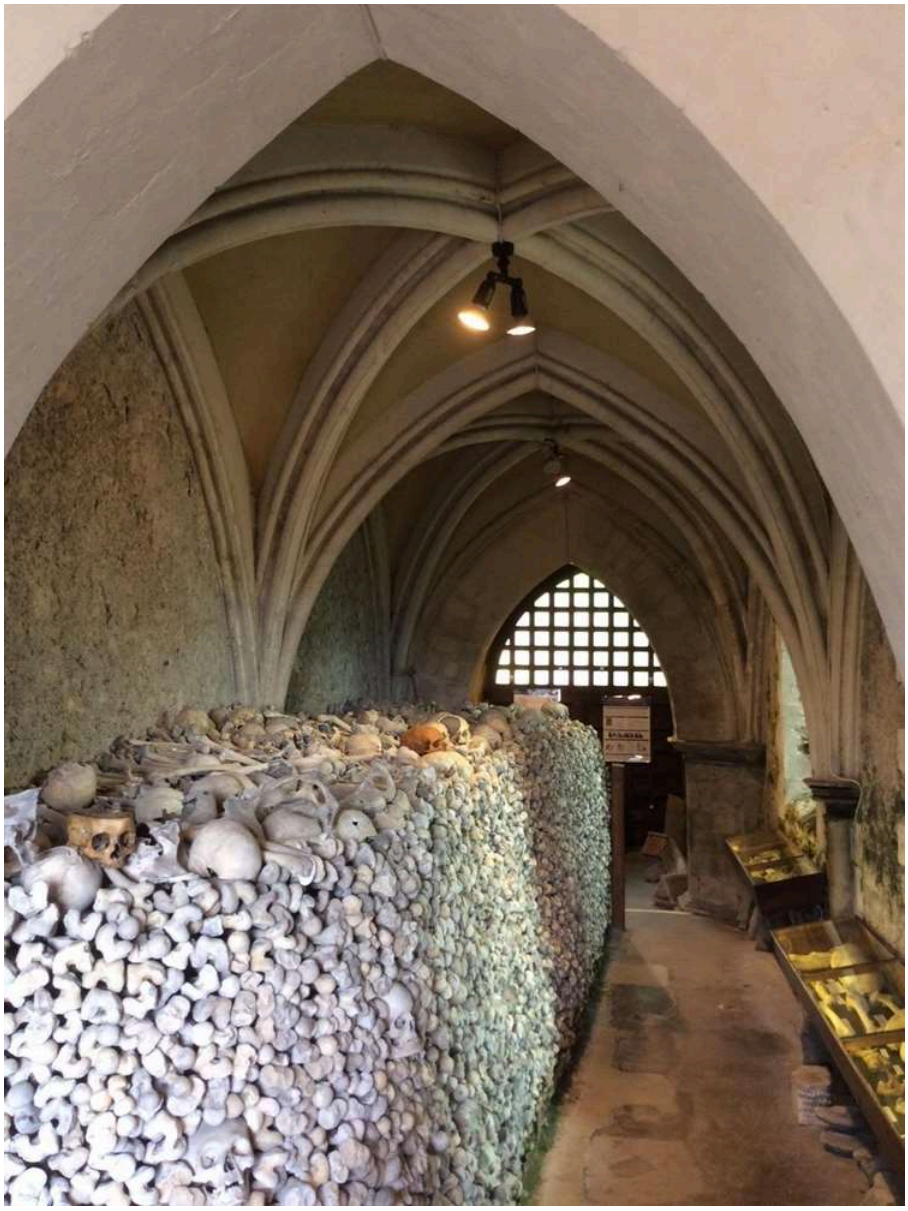

Fig. 2.23 Hythe (Kent), processional path (photo: Kentonline.co.uk)



Fig. 2.24 Newark (Nottinghamshire), nave facing east (photo: J.Hannan-Briggs / geograph.org.uk / CC BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 2.25 Wharram Percy (Yorkshire) blocked north arcade (photo: author)



Fig. 2.26 Rivenhall (Essex), chancel window (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.27 BNF Ms. 13342, 46v-47r



Fig. 2.28 Orcop (Herefordshire), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.29 Orcop (Herefordshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.30 Orcop (Herefordshire), view to chancel from aisle (photo: author)



Fig. 2.31 Chaldon (Surrey), Ladder of Purgatory (photo: Keith Heron / Alamy Stock Photo)



Fig. 2.32 Lincoln Cathedral, west front, Harrowing of Hell
(photo: author)

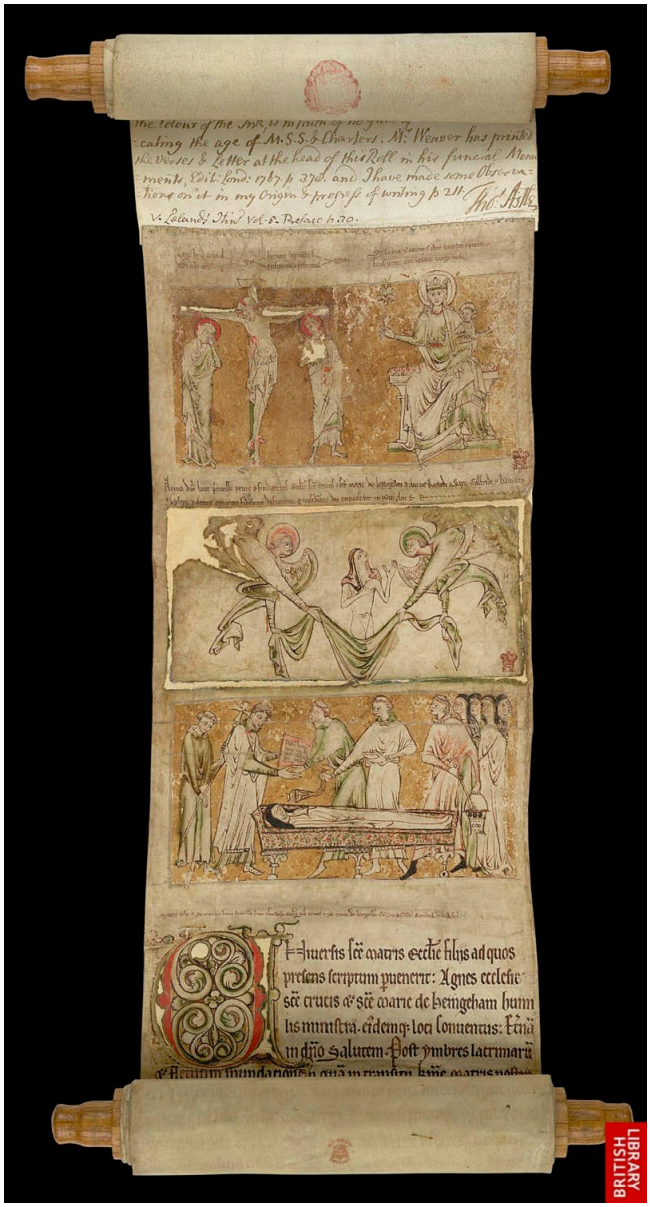

Fig. 2.33 Lucy roll, BL Egerton Ms 2849 (British Library)



Fig. 2.34 Buckland (Berkshire), exterior (photo: Ron Baxter/CRSBI)

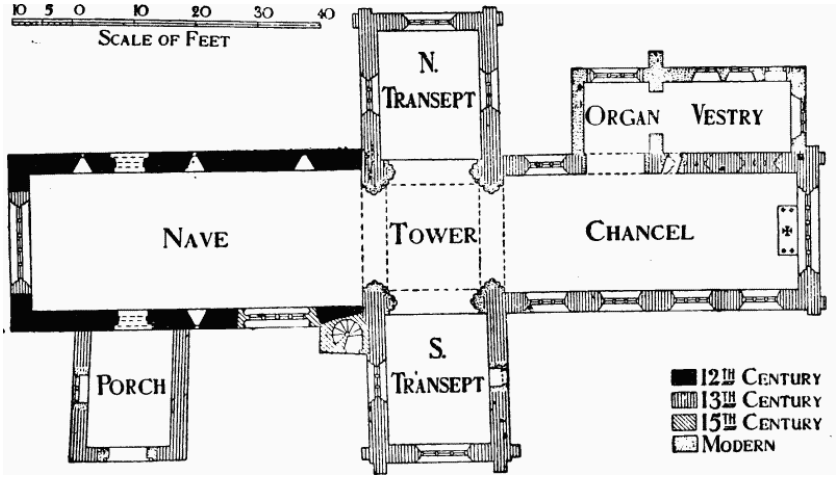

Fig. 2.35 Buckland (Berkshire), plan, "Parishes: Buckland," in A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 4, ed. William Page and P H Ditchfield (London: Victoria County History, 1924), 453-460.



Fig. 2.36 Little Wenham (Suffolk), chancel with altar paintings (photo: author)



Fig. 2.37 Brent Eleigh (Suffolk), altar paintings (photo: Flickr jmc – church explorer)



Fig. 2.38 Boynton (Wiltshire), Giffard Chantry (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.39 Ledbury (Herefordshire), squint from north chapel into chancel (photo: author)



Fig. 2.40 West Chiltington (West Sussex), squint (photo: author)

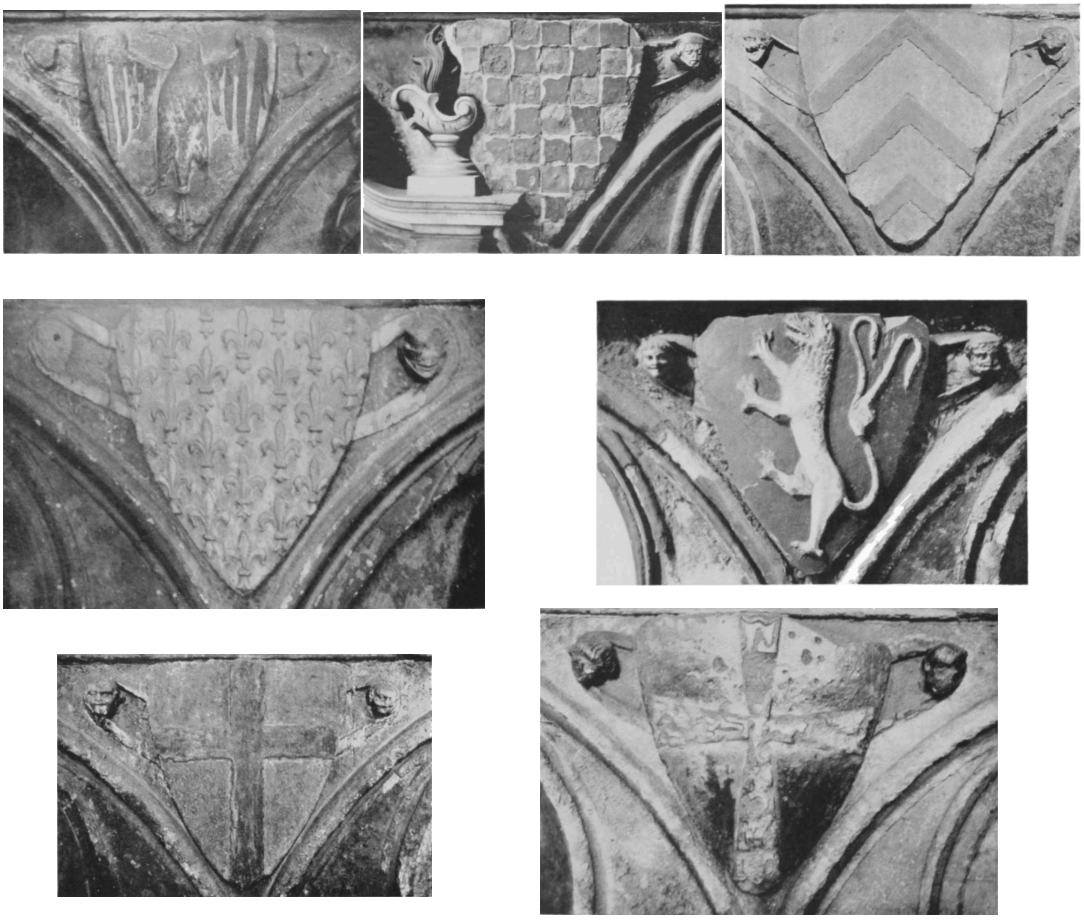

Fig. 2.41 Westminster Abbey, architectural heraldry in nave
An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Volume 1, Westminster Abbey. Originally published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1924.



Fig. 2.42 York Minster, architectural heraldry in spandrels (Flickr / York Minster / CC-BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 2.43 Lavenham (Suffolk), architectural heraldry, north nave elevation (David J. Green - towns / Alamy Stock Photo)



Fig. 2.44 Butley Priory (Suffolk), gatehouse (Flickr / Spencer Means / CC-BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 2.45 Great Budworth, Dutton capital (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.46 Cogenhoe (Northamptonshire), nave (photo: author)



Fig. 2.47 Cogenhoe (Northamptonshire), various capitals (photos: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.48 Painted ceiling from 12 rues des Clercs, Metz, now Musée de la cour d'or (http://musee.metzmetropole.fr/)



Fig. 2.49 Cogenhoe (Northamptonshire), blank shield (photo: author)



Fig. 2.50 Cogenhoe (Northamptonshire), Nicholas de Cogenhoe effigy (photo: author)



Fig. 2.51 Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire), burial plan, from Tony Waldron, *St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: A Parish Church and Its Community, The Human Remains*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).



Fig. 2.52 Halifax (Yorkshire), late 12th century grave slabs (photos: CRSBI)



Fig. 2.53 Ovingham (Northumberland), grave slabs (photo: CRSBI)



Fig. 2.54 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.55 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), interior (photo: author)



Fig. 2.56 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), west wall of north aisle (photo: author)



Fig. 2.57 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), geometric window, south aisle (photo: author)



Fig. 2.58 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), north aisle paintings (photo: author)



Fig. 2.59 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), now-lost Virgin and Child and censing angel above eastern window of the north aisle, from Francis Joseph Baigent, "On the Church of St. John, Winchester, and the Paintings Discovered on the North Wall," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, First Series, 9 (1852): 1–14.



Fig. 2.60 St. John the Baptist, Winchester (Hampshire), Francis Joseph Baigent, "On the Church of St. John, Winchester, and the Paintings Discovered on the North Wall," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, First Series, 9 (1852): 1–14.



Fig. 2.61 Scawton (North Yorkshire), mural niches (photo: author)



Fig. 2.62 Clayton (Sussex), mural niches (photo: author)



Fig. 2.63 Hauxton (Cambridgeshire), nave (photo: author)



Fig. 2.64 Hauxton (Cambridgeshire), Becket painting in south niche (photo: author)



Fig. 2.65 Duxford St. John (Cambridgeshire), nave (photo: author)



Fig. 2.66 Duxford St. John (Cambridgeshire), rood stair (photo: author)



Fig. 2.67 Castle Rising (Norfolk), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.68 Brook (Kent), niche north of chancel arch (photo: author)



Fig. 2.69 Spandat (Jutland), niches (photo: Line Bonde, The National Museum of Denmark)



Fig. 2.70 Måløv (Zealand), niches (photo: Line Bonde, The National Museum of Denmark)



Fig. 2.71 Ripple (Worcestershire), north transept niche (photo: author)

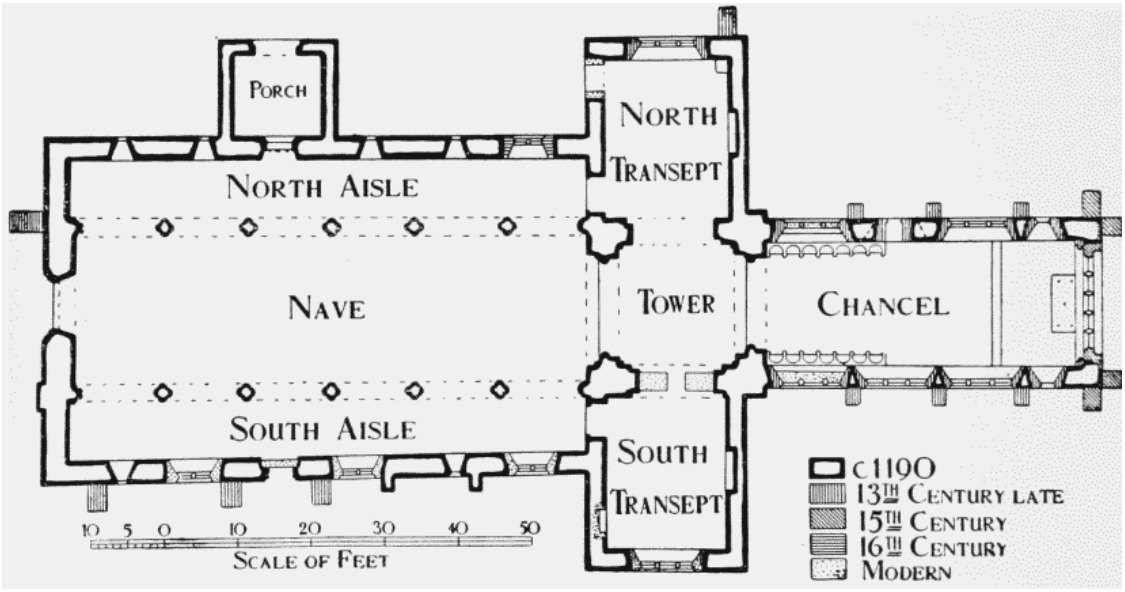

Fig. 2.72 Ripple (Worcestershire), plan, "Parishes: Ripple," in A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 3, (London: Victoria County History, 1913), 486-496.



Fig. 2.73 Westminster Abbey, St. Faith's Chapel (photo: James Alexamder Cameron)



Fig. 2.74 Curdworth (Warwickshire), niches (Geograph / Michael Garlick / CC-BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 2.75 Slapton (Northamptonshire), niches (Geograph / Jonathan Thacker / CC-BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 2.76 Stanton Harcourt (Oxfordshire), roodscreen (photo: author)



Fig. 2.77 Bicker (Lincolnshire), exterior (photo: author/Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.78 Bicker (Lincolnshire), nave, north arcade (photo: author)



Fig. 2.79 Bicker (Lincolnshire), chancel (photo: author)



Fig. 2.80 Bicker (Lincolnshire), sedilia group (photo: author)



Fig. 2.81 Kirton-in-Holland (Lincolnshire), exterior (photo: author/Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.82 Kirton-in-Holland (Lincolnshire), interior (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.83 Kirton-in-Holland (Lincolnshire), W & H Burgess, Fleet, near Holbeach, Lincolnshire, 1803 (georgianprints.co.uk)



Fig. 2.84 Sutterton (Lincolnshire), exterior (photo: author/Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.85 Sutterton (Lincolnshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.86 Sutterton (Lincolnshire), tower arch (photo: author)



Fig. 2.87 Sutterton (Lincolnshire), chancel (photo: author)



Fig. 2.88 Sutterton (Lincolnshire), north transept (photo: Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.89 Algarkirk (Lincolnshire), exterior (photo: author/Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.90 Algarkirk (Lincolnshire), nave (photo: author)



Fig. 2.91 Algarkirk (Lincolnshire), transept aisles (photo: Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.92 Patrington (Yorkshire), south transept (photo: author)



Fig. 2.93 Uffington (Oxfordshire), exterior (photo: author/Emily Floyd)



Fig. 2.94 Uffington (Oxfordshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.95 West Walton (Norfolk), detached tower (photo: author)



Fig. 2.96 Uffington (Oxfordshire), south transept (photo; author)



Fig. 2.97 Uffington (Oxfordshire), north transept (photo: author)



Fig. 2.98 Acton Burnell (Shropshire), exterior, west front (photo: author)



Fig. 2.99 Acton Burnell (Shropshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 2.100 Acton Burnell (Shropshire), south transept (photo: author)



Fig. 2.101 Acton Burnell (Shropshire), Plate 5 from *Pearson's Select Views of the Antiquities of Shropshire,* 1807 (Shrewsbury Museums Service)

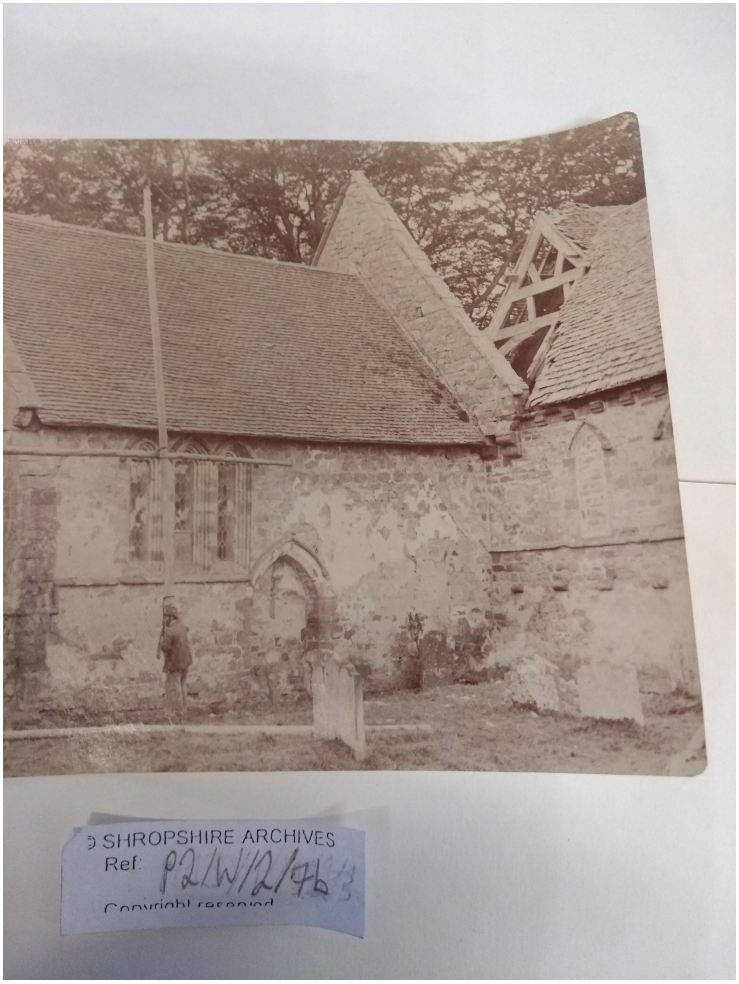

Fig. 2.102 Acton Burnell (Shropshire), north chancel wall and east wall of north transept, 1888/9, (photo: Charles Serjeanston, Shropshire Archives, P2/W/2/7b)



Fig. 2.103 Boynton (Wiltshire), Giffard Chantry (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 2.104 Bitton (Gloucestershire), Bitton chapel, pen and wash drawing from *Illustrations of Bittom*, compiled by Henry Thomas Ellacombe, early 19th century (Bath Central Library)



Fig. 3.1 St. Thomas, Winchelsea (Sussex), exterior view of chancel and ruined transept from site of never-built nave (photo: author)



Fig. 3.2 St. Thomas, Winchelsea (Sussex), interior of chancel, facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 3.3 Howden (East Yorkshire), exterior (photo: author)



Fig. 3.4 Howden (East Yorkshire), nave facing east (photo: author)



Fig. 3.5 Nantwich (Cheshire), west front (Geograph / Bill Henderson / CC-BY-SA 2.0)



Fig. 3.6 Nantwich (Cheshire), nave facing west (photo: author)



Fig. 3.7 Winchester Hall (Hampshire), interior (Wikimedia Commons)

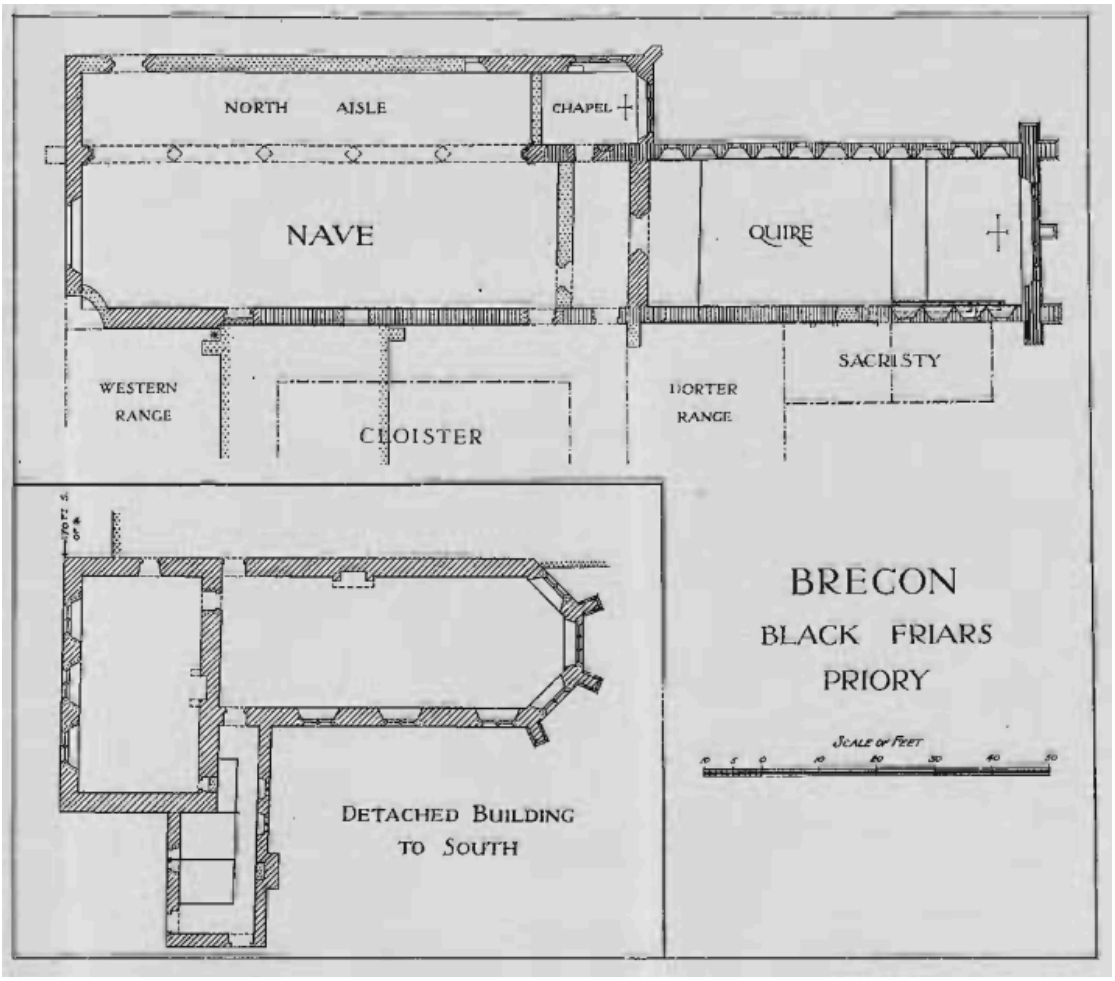

Fig. 3.8 Brecon Blackfriars, plan, from A. W. Clapham, "The Architectural Remains of the Mendicant Orders in Wales," *Archaeological Journal*, 84, 88-104.



Fig. 3.9 Brecon Blackfriars, view east from former position of nave (photo: author)



Fig. 3.10 Brecon Blackfriars, walking place (photo: author)



Fig. 3.11 Brecon Blackfriars, chancel (photo: author)



Fig. 3.12 Brecon Blackfriars, sedilia and piscina (photo: author)



Fig. 3.13 Chichester Greyfriars, exterior (photo: James Alexander Cameron)



Fig. 3.14 Chicester Greyfriars, interior (photo: James Alexander Cameron)

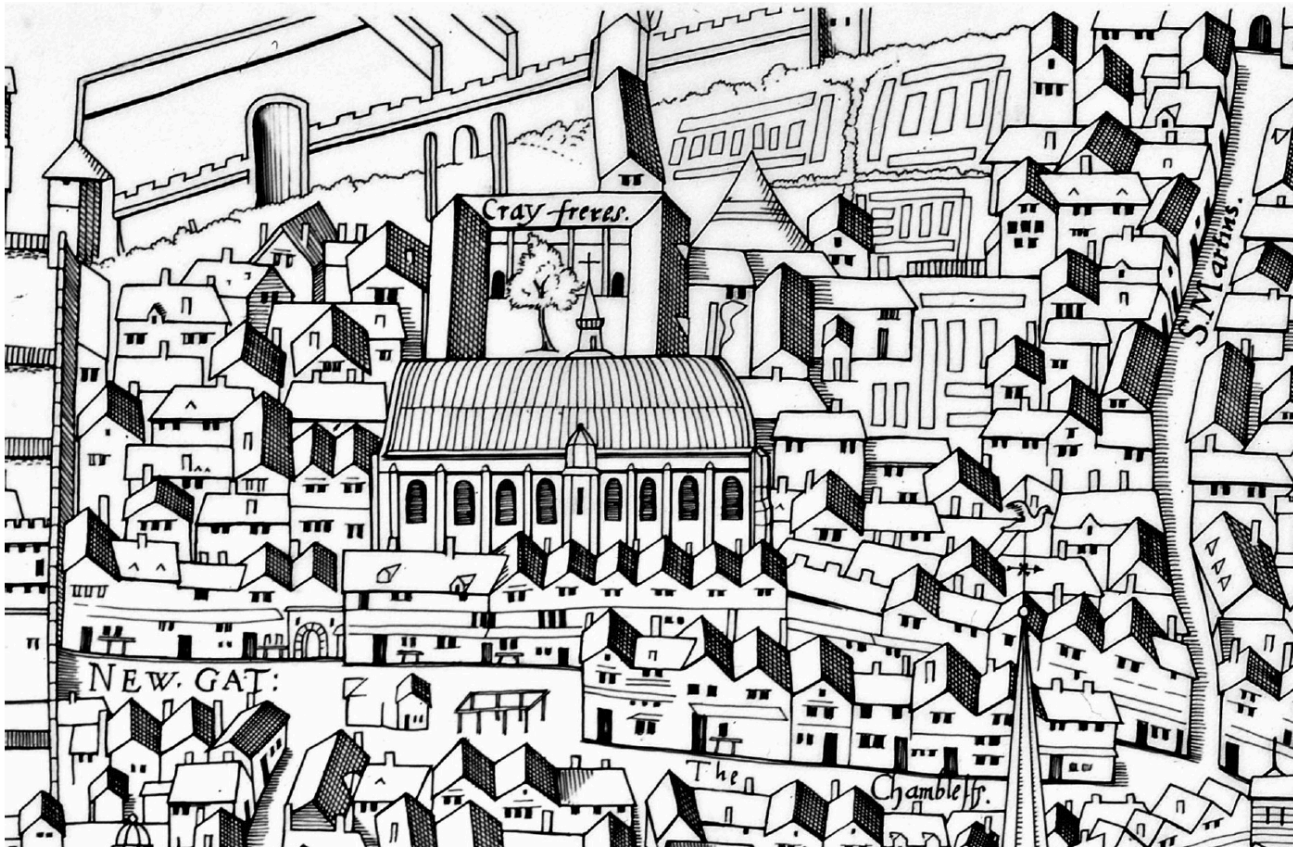

Fig. 3.15 Detail of the "copperplate" map-view of the 1550s showing Grey Friars shortly after the Dissolution (© Museum of London drawing from plate in Anhalt Art Gallery, Dessau)

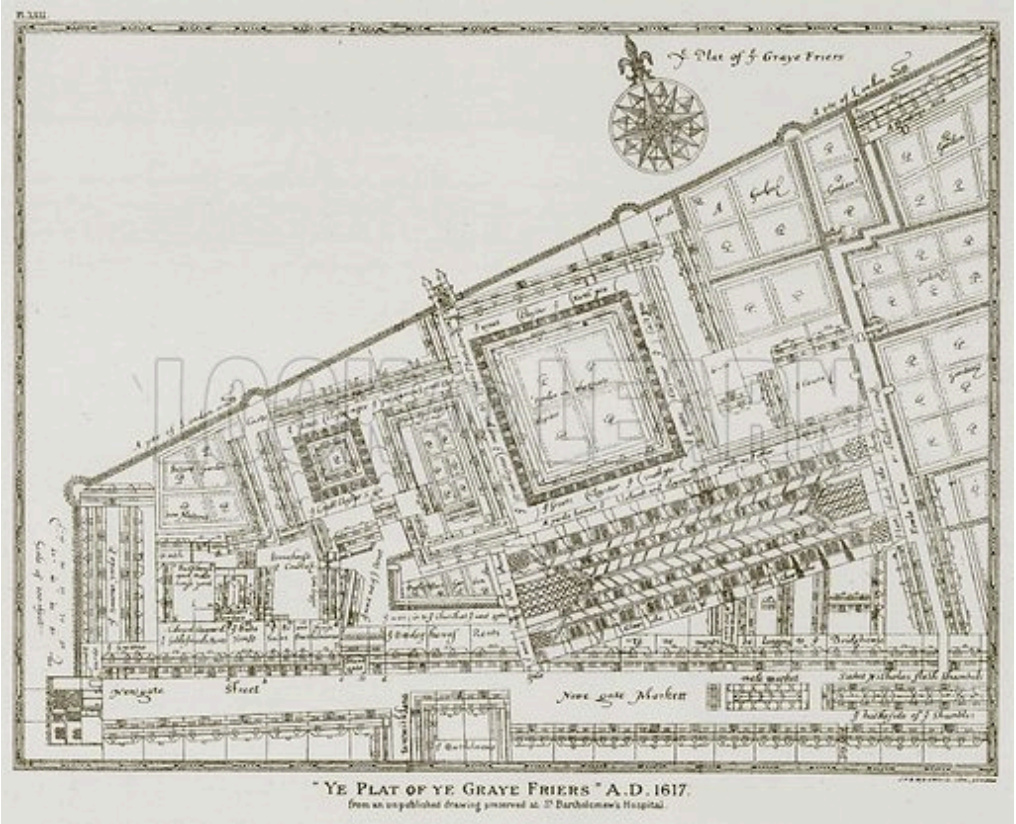

Fig. 3.16 seventeenth-century "Plat of the Graye Friers," St. Bartholomew's Hospital Archives, HC 19, f. 59



Fig. 3.17 Boxgrove Priory, pulpitum (photo: author)



Fig. 3.18 *The Crib at Greccio*, upper chapel, Basilica of St. Francis (Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 3.19 *Verification of the Stigmata*, upper chapel, Basilica of St. Francis (Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 3.20 Little Wenham (Suffolk), stone screen (photo: author)



Fig. 3.21 Ampney St. Mary (Gloucestershire), stone screen (photo: CRSBI)



Fig. 3.22 Westwell (Kent), stone screen (photo: author)



Fig. 3.23 Jacobins (Dominicans) in Toulouse, nave (Wikimedia Commons: Balmario)



Fig. 3.24 Franciscan church, San Fortunato in Todi, nave (Wikimedia Commons: Crompippo)



Fig. 3.25 Dominican church, Retz, nave



Fig. 3.26 Dominican church, Imbach, nave (Wikimedia Commons: Bsonne)



Fig. 3.27 Drawing of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, Paris, Pierre-Antoine Demachy (c. 1795)

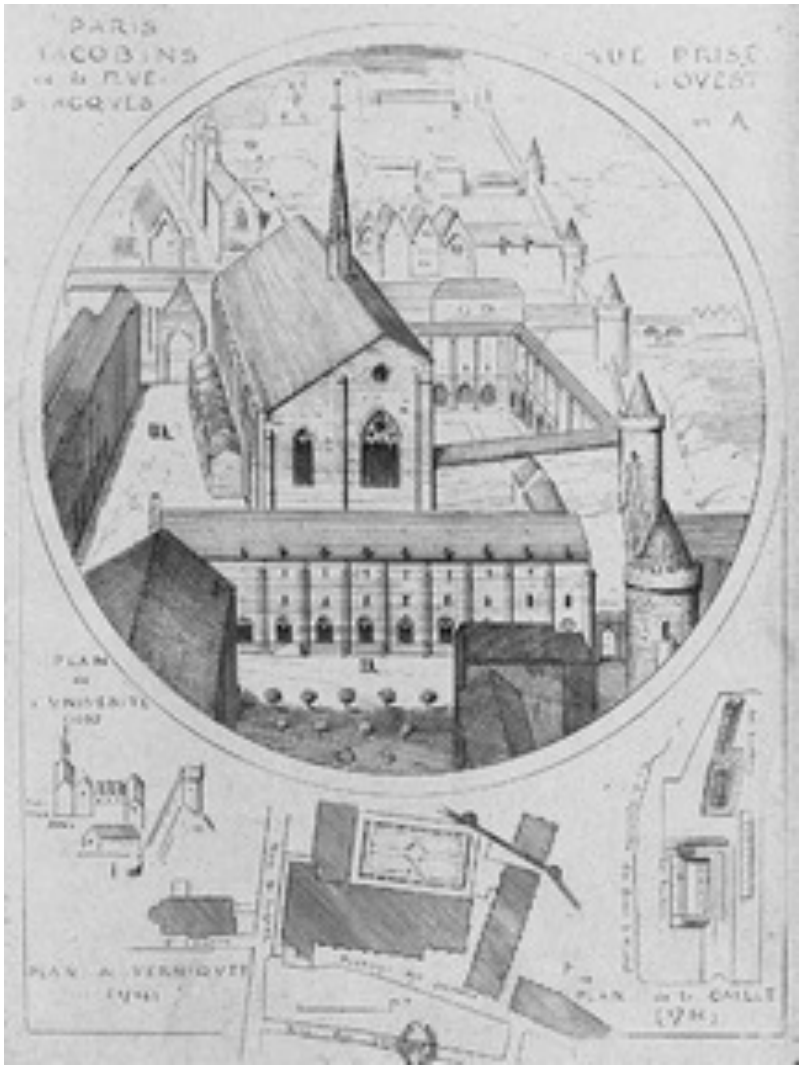

Fig. 3.28 Convent of the Jacobins, exterior from west, Gallia Dominicana. © BnF (Gallia fol. Ld22 105.2 pl. 39)



Fig. 3.29 Temple Church, London, choir (Wikimedia Commons: Diliff)



Fig. 3.30 Salisbury Cathedral, Trinity Chapel (Wikimedia Commons: Dilif)



Fig. 3.31 Poitiers Cathedral, nave (photo: author)



Fig. 3.32 Austin Friars, London, view from the south aisle looking northeast, destroyed 1940



Fig. 3.33 St. Helen, Bishopsgate, London, arcade (Wikimedia Commons: E A Sparks)



Fig. 3.34 St. John, Winchester (Hampshire), Franciscan friar leading souls of righteous into heaven (Baigent)



Fig. 3.35 Doddington (Kent), tonsured saint (photo: author)



Fig. 3.36 Doddington (Kent), c. 1200 arcade and wide south aisle (photo: Tudor Barlow)



Fig. 3.37 Wissington (Suffolk), St. Francis and Brother Leo (flickr: Simon K)



Fig. 3.38 Little Kimble (Buckinghamshire), Francis preaching to the birds, window splay on north wall of nave (Wikimedia: Peter J.StB.Green)