Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DOORWAY POSITIONS IN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL PAROCHIAL CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the positions of external church doorways of English medieval parochial churches and chapels in an attempt to show the significance that positioning had for the function and design of these buildings.

It shows that in the seventh to tenth centuries, churches tended to have a single external nave doorway at the west end of the building. A larger group of English churches built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries shows that the design changed in the eleventh century, new buildings tended to have two nave doorways, on the north and south sides of the nave in a laterally opposite position. A final group of churches that were built from the thirteenth century to the end of the Middle Ages indicates that new churches continued the two-doorway trend of the eleventh and twelfth centuries but often had western towers and doorways as well. A final architectural chapter examines chapels, which were different from churches as they had a different function and status. The evidence here shows that non-parochial chapels tended to have a single southern doorway while parochial chapels were often built with two nave doorways.

The thesis next examines the reasons for the changes in the doorway positions. It argues that there are liturgical reasons for the changes both at the turn of the eleventh century and again in the later thirteenth. Gender and clerical segregation are considered in relation to the provision of a second nave doorway in churches and parochial chapels. It is also shown that the widespread idea of the ‘Devil’s Door’ was only developed in the nineteenth century though it had roots in late medieval liturgy.

The study concludes that there is a link between the design and function of parochial churches and chapels with the number and attributes of their doorways.

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"An ox vos geyt tsu Oxford nokh kumt tsurik an ox"

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Abbreviations

AC	*Archaeologia Cantiana*
AJ	*Archaeological Journal*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
BofE	*Buildings of England*, Pevsner, et al + County (London, New Haven: Penguin, Yale University Press, 1954-2019)
CASSS	*The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CRSBI	*The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland*
DB	*Domesday Book*
HE	Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, eds. Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Society*
KAS	Kent Archaeological Society
MUP	Manchester University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
PASE	*Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*
PUBS	Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelælogical Society
Taxatio	*Taxatio Database*, eds., Jeff Denton et al., (Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, 2014)
TPBHRS	*The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record* Society
TTB Survey	Tim Tatton-Brown's Historical and Archaeological Survey, Canterbury and Rochester Dioceses, Kent Archaeological Society, website, Kent Archaeological Society, kentarchaeology.org.uk
VCH	Victoria County History
YUP	Yale University Press

Introduction

I.1. The Path to the Present Research

At the start of my research into English medieval churches, I recall driving along a remote country lane about ten kilometres north of Dover. I was en route to view the church of St Nicholas at Barfrestone (Kent). Arriving from the southeast my first glimpse was of a large, circular, mullioned window (Fig I.1). This style was very different from the usual pointed arch typical of twelfth-century churches.

Fig. I.1, St Nicholas Barfrestone (Kent), from the east, Google Earth

I approached the church on foot from the south, which faces the street below (Fig. I.2). Just as its circular east window was unusual so too were its two southern doorways. The larger, highly ornate one, is surrounded by an elaborate arch and carving (Fig. I.3). From what was then visible, it appeared to be the primary entrance into the nave. The other, much narrower, less adorned one, was for the chancel. The upper level of the church is also uncommon as it has a full-length blind arcade within which are narrow single-light windows: two for the nave,

two in the chancel. My initial questions were why this southern doorway is so ornate while the other is plainer, and why the chancel doorway is blocked. Was this just a continuation of blind arcading on the ground level? Walking around the church I also saw another doorway, this time on the north side of the nave, and it was also blocked (Fig. I.4).

Fig. I.2, St Nicholas Barfrestone, from the south

Fig. I.3, Barfrestone, south doorway

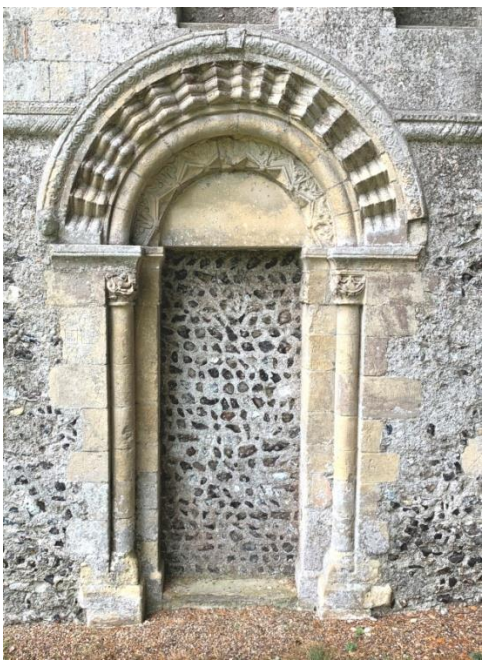

Fig. I.4, Barfrestone, north doorway

This raised the question of what this doorway's purpose was, on the other side of the church and not as easily accessible as the southern entrance. Moreover, why was this second nave doorway similarly sealed, and when and by whom?

When I compared the two nave doorways it was clear that the builders of the church chose to decorate the southern nave entrance in a grander style than the laterally opposite northern doorway. The church was, after all, constructed in a single building phase and so the variation is even more apparent. Not only does the southern nave one have two orders of carved columns, compared to one on the north, but it also has a series of fourteen carved scenes in its surrounding archway's outer order instead of the zigzag motif. The southern one has a very detailed carved tympanum yet the northern one is plain; was it a modern insertion? The two doorways are also different in size; the southern one is taller than the northern one by 18 cm and is also 13 wider. When I further compared the southern one with the chancel doorway (Fig. I.5)

Fig. I.5, Barfrestone, chancel doorway

I saw that the difference in size is even greater, the southern doorway is 43 cm wider and 41 cm taller.

I was intrigued by this deliberate variation in the scale and elaboration of the church's doorways. There had to be a reason for these differences. Was one of the doorways more important than the other? If so, then why? Who used them and how, for what purpose? Asking these questions was what connected me to this research. I was compelled to find answers.

I.2. Aims and Objectives

Originally, my research was focussed on identifying and explaining the blocking of doorways at English parochial churches and chapels. There surely had to be a reason for this very common phenomenon. I could find no academic writing on this subject and the literature only referred to the fact that a particular doorway had been sealed. It was rare to find a date for this in any literature, let alone reasons as to why. Initially I focused upon the diocese of Canterbury as it was a close drive from my London residence and Tim Tatton-Brown had conducted and published online a large survey of churches in the 1990s. At two British Archaeological Association conferences I discussed my research objectives with two types of participants, members of the academic community and non-academic church architecture enthusiasts. The reaction of the first group was politely dismissive. Among the second group, the phenomenon of blocked north doorway was certainly obvious to some, for they told me that they were the 'Devil's Door'. The feedback from both groups encouraged me to consider a much broader scope about church doorways, beyond just their blocking. I believed it should therefore also be about their variation in appearance and positioning.

As I cast my search wider to include the whole of England I discovered that the variation in doorways involved much more than just their differences in magnitude and appearance. Some churches had two nave doorways, one on the north and south sides, whilst others did not. Many were built with a western doorway alone. Others had doorways at the west and south, or west and north. Quite a few had only one doorway, usually on the south side. Others had a blocked doorway on the north or south side. Many had chancel doorways, some did not. I could find no answers in academic literature for these great differences. As such I was struck by not only the differences of their physical attributes but also by their positions. Why did some churches have different numbers of doorways? Was there a relationship between the doorways and the landscape in any way? Could there be a link to the local manor, the location of the community, to topographical features or to the churchyard? Could the differences be linked chronologically or geographically? Critically, if so, what might explain these changes over time, or from place to place?

The evidence I had assembled directed me to pose several fundamental research questions: (i) Did the position for doorways in newly built churches change throughout the Middle Ages? (ii) If so, when were doorway positions changed? (iii) Why did their builders place them where they did? (iv) Why were the doorways at a single church given different sizes and appearance? (v) Why were church doorways and their location important to the medieval community? (vi)What can we learn about medieval society from their church doorways and how they designed these buildings? Finally, (vii) What is significant about their positions and their changes over time?

This thesis investigates these questions and seeks answers as to whether there are patterns in the location of doorways and whether this changed over time. It also seeks to ascertain, if such patterns can indeed be determined, when and why such changes occurred. Studying this aspect of medieval church architecture will add to our understanding of the planning and building of parochial churches and chapels in the Middle Ages. It will also seek to understand how doorways were used and perceived by medieval communities as they approached, entered and exited the church, and as they worshipped inside. It will further address widely held popular belief about the negative associations between north doorways and the Devil.

I.3. The Significance of the Doorways of Medieval Churches

Doorways were a very important architectural feature of medieval churches. At church doorways priests celebrated a multitude of church rituals.[1] Just beyond the doorway, outside the church, people were exorcised prior to baptism. It is where they were married and the place where many chose to be buried. Doorways were also spiritually important for the members of the medieval community as they were the focal point for religious processions and other celebrations like the church dedication.

The sociological importance of doorways themselves was an aspect of Arnold van Gennep's1909 seminal work, *Les rites de passage*. He proposed that a society's rituals may be classed according to three basic categories: preliminal, liminal and post-liminal. He discussed some rites of transition which specifically identified doorways as a linking feature. He stated,

1. Helen Gittos, Liturgy, *Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 258-59.

> Precisely: the door is the boundary between the foreign and domestic worlds in the case of an ordinary dwelling, between the profane and sacred worlds in the case of a temple. Therefore to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world.[2]

Latin Christian practice associates a church doorway with salvation, as we read the Gospel according to John. Christ says,

> Ego sum ostium: per me siquis introierit salvabitur et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inveniet.
>
> I am the door: through me one will enter and leave and find pasture.
> John 10:9

The Vulgate uses *ostium* and not other synonyms such as *porta*, *ianua*, or *foris,* whose primary definitions carry implications of ‘door’ or ‘gate’, as opposed to ‘entrance.’ In Classical Latin, the word *ostium* specifically translates as a ‘door including the frame’ and not just the physical object that is opened or closed.[3] Christ is therefore the doorway to salvation.

The doorway has a further allegorical function in the Middle Ages. This has been very well explored in recent literature. For example, Jane Geddes says that in church dedication ceremonies, the doorway has “four attributes: it is the gate of heaven …; it is Christ Himself; it is a barrier to evil; and it has the protective power of the patron saint.”[4] In addition, Calvin Kendall states, the doorway is “Christ welcoming, forgiving, or judging those who come to Him.”[5] Moreover, it was the physical mechanism for transcendence. He further writes that “Passing through it, the Christian could be spiritually exalted.”[6]

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2. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge, 1960), 20-21.
3. P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* 2 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 2:1405.
4. Jane Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1999), 59, cited in Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*, 231.
5. Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church, Romanesque Portals and their Verse Transcriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 68.
6. Ibid., 98.

For these reasons, functioning as the gateway to Christ and salvation, doorways are especially important. It is thus fundamental to know what occurred at church doorways, when and why? Moreover, in the case of multiple doorways, we might question how each was used, whether they had different functions, and if one was more important than the others at any particular time. Finally, a recurring question is why there appears to be variation among doorways at any single church that was built in a single phase.

I.4. Methodology and Research Limitations

My research began seeking Kent churches whose doorways remained in their original positions since the Middle Ages. Locating such buildings is difficult as there are only a few sources to consult. I decided to employ strict selection criteria for my choice of buildings in order to assure the accuracy of my observations, analysis and later conclusions. In order for inclusion a church needed ideally (i) to be reasonably intact, with doorways that were not overly restored and whose positions had not been altered since the Middle Ages, (ii) to have a reliable well-dated ground plan, and (iii) to have been the subject of an archaeological survey or historical study. Most of the buildings I include in this thesis meet two or three of these tests. I decided to exclude many churches as some appeared to have fabric or construction restorations so new that I doubted the authenticity of their medieval doorways or of their positions. Some of the early churches are ruins, yet they left their physical imprint and so archaeologists have been able to study the remains and present viable ground plans. Other plans were produced by architectural surveys of surviving intact buildings.

I chose a date range from the year 600 to 1534. I selected the start of the seventh century as a starting point as from that date we have evidence of stone-

built churches in Kent from that time. I chose 1534 as the final date as that is the year of Henry VIII's *Act of Supremacy*, one of the important dates for the beginning of the English Reformation. I chose this lengthy time span to help identify changes more clearly. It is true that the time frame is arbitrary, especially as key changes were happening in the central Middle Ages. It seemed crucial to get a good understanding of the pre-Conquest period as much as possible to identify the changes that occurred from that time and afterward.

Within these guidelines in mind, I started with Harold and Joan Taylor's three volume *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*. It was the first survey I consulted and was essential to identifying viable churches for analysis. Further initial sources I used to locate extant medieval churches included Eric Fernie's *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* and *The Architecture of Norman England*. These then directed me to other architectural scholars and archaeological surveys. Tim Tatton-Brown's Kent archaeological survey from 1990-92 was very helpful in building an initial corpus of local Kent churches.[7]*The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain & Ireland* was an excellent resource for identifying eleventh and twelfth-century churches with intact nave doorways.[8]

I recognised that my study needed to expand beyond Kent if I were to accumulate a sufficient number of churches that met my selection criteria. It was then that I changed my focus to explore a comparison of two dioceses: Canterburyand a diocese from the north. I consulted the Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project for those dioceses.[9] It was somewhat helpful to identify

7. Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Diocese, Historical and Archaeological Survey 1991*, http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/00.htm.
8. *The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, www.crsbi.ac.uk.
9. *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/_main/hindex.php.

possible churches for inclusion. For this reason, I expanded my search to the whole of England.

With this new geographical range I consulted David Stocker and Paul Everson's *Summoning St Michael* which likewise helped locate possible Lincolnshire churches. I found these sources useful as they are archaeologically minded corpuses that helped me to locate possible churches with intact nave doorways in their original positions. Still, as my geographic range was all of England, I looked at as many publications as I could which identified and analysed medieval English churches. Within all of these sources were buildings that had been altered in the thousand years since they were built. In order to detect patterns my research required buildings that were mostly unaltered since their original construction. Only those whose doorways were positioned in the Middle Ages, and mostly unaltered, would be of any value to my research. These sources helped me to identify buildings with doorways modified after the English Reformation, especially during the great restoration campaign of the nineteenth century. Even though the church at Barfrestone was very restored in the nineteenth century, the location and dimensions of its doorways have not changed. I understand the potential problems such a church causes for my research. Despite its restoration it still remains valuable for my study as without the alterations the church at Barfrestone might not have survived to this day. Few, if any, remain in their original form since the Middle Ages. Restoration is a feature of their present existence and is a reality that architectural historians are required to accept.

As the body of possible churches grew, I searched through the online Archaeology Data Service website as well as the *Victoria County Histories* series

of books and the *British History Online* website. Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series and the *British Listed Buildings* online database were especially helpful to obtain further possible buildings for study. Numerous other secondary sources on county churches also expanded my research as I assembled the buildings for analysis. Google Earth and YouTube were also extremely helpful and saved me a great deal of time on site visits as these applications allowed me, as much as possible, to see the evidence for myself before planning my many journeys throughout England.

The corpus of churches I assembled in my research is not at all exhaustive but amounts to a sufficiently large quantity of possible buildings for each period in my study to determine if doorway patterns are evident. Still, it is a sizable collection of 177 churches and chapels that date from the seventh to sixteenth century all of which have a number of characteristics that make them suitable for analysis. They are located throughout England so as to reduce any chance of geographical bias.

As I am interested in finding variation among the individual doorways at each particular church, I took their measurements. These dimensions are an especially important aspect of the present research, separate from their appearance. I believe that their relative sizes and other attributes provide important signs of their importance at the church. I measured doorways with a laser device to assure accuracy especially when some are very tall and thus using a tape measure would pose a problem to accuracy. At all doorways I measured the widths between the jambs and then from the centre of the threshold to the base of the centre of the lintel or to the arch as close to the wooden plank door as possible (Fig. I.6).

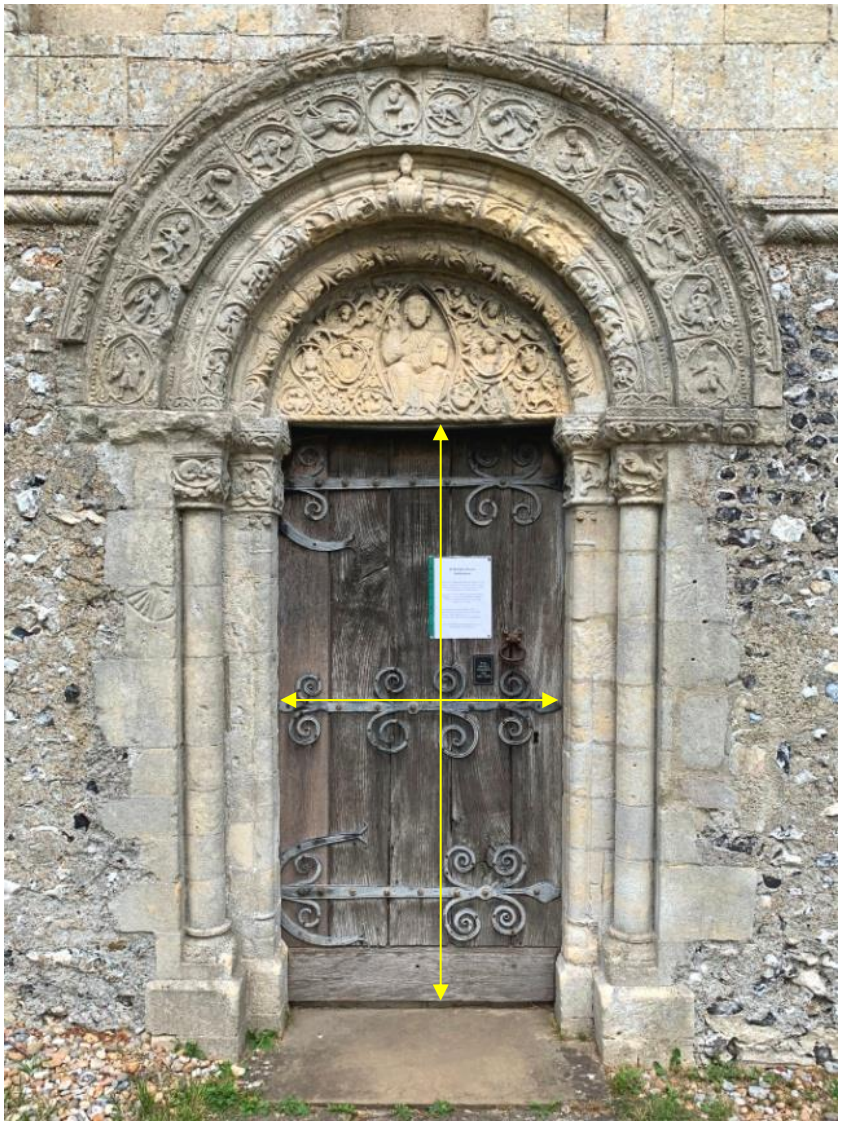

Fig. I.6, Method for Doorway Measurements

Finally, I assembled the research and divided the thesis into two basic sections. Chapters 1 to 4 are the architectural chapters which focus on the buildings themselves. Chapters 5 to 7 seek to analyse and explain the patterns identified in the first half. Chapter 5 addresses medieval liturgy, Chapter 6 looks at gender and segregation and Chapter 7 examines the 'Devil's Door'. Finally, in the Conclusion, I reconsider my initial questions, and address the findings of my research. I further include an Appendix which lists the 177 buildings and gives the sources I used to arrive at their dates and other features. I also suggest possible further areas for future research opportunities.

I.5. Historiography

The earliest modern scholarly writing on church doorways is from the nineteenth century notably by Thomas Rickman and Matthew Bloxam. They, like the architectural historians of the early twentieth century, such as G. Baldwin Brown, Charles Peers and Alfred Clapham, discuss doorways in their writing but only give brief statements about their locations.[10] They do not address the doorways in context. For early Anglo-Saxon churches, Brown said,

> Western entrances through western towers are the principal entry point for these churches,

and for later Anglo-Saxon churches,

> It is characteristically Saxon to place these, north and south, often just opposite each other, at the western end of the nave. One of them generally the north is now very commonly blocked.[11]

Francis Bond repeats this observation but adds a possible reason. He writes that,

> One of these may have been intended for the parochial Sunday procession; usually it is the northern of the two.[12]

Still, the writing is mostly art historical with much description of carving style and appearance. Numerous other academic writers follow these general ideas about doorway positions like George A. T. Middleton, A. Hamilton Thompson, and Frank E. Howard.[13]

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10. Thomas Rickman, *An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* (London: Longman Hurst, Rees, Orme, 1825); Matthew H. Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 10th ed. (London: W. Kent & Co., 1859) 21; G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England, Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the Conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest* (London: John Murray, 1903), 94-97; Charles R. Peers, "On Saxon Churches of the St. Pancras Type," *AJ* 58 (1901): 402-34; Alfred W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 95.
11. Baldwin Brown, 94-97.
12. Francis Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture From the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century* (London: OUP, 1913), 1:706.
13. George A. T. Middleton, *English Church Architecture: From the Earliest Times to the Reformation* (London: F. Griffiths, 1909), 15; A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: CUP, 1911), 36-45; Frank E. Howard, *The Medieval Styles of the English Parish Church* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1936), 83.

From about 1920, after the work of A. Hamilton Thompson, academic writing appeared to follow two branches in the study of medieval churches. One group proceeded along an art historical mode; the other, from the 1960s, focused upon design and functional approaches to the buildings from an archaeological approach.

George Zarnecki, one of the leading art historical scholars of the century analysed medieval sculpture, including the carving at church doorways. His work on Romanesque sculpture was transformative and established it as a subject in its own right, distinct from Anglo-Saxon history or Anglo-Norman architecture.[14] His work has been important for the dating of many of the churches in this thesis but it is mostly silent on the function of the doorways or their positioning. George H. Cook in *The English Medieval Parish Church*, focused upon the parish church's architectural features, analysing their attributes and classing them according to distinct categories such as Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Perpendicular. Cook builds upon the earlier work of Thompson and uses the style of the masonry, tooling, stone carving, design of arches, and windows to date the buildings and to remark upon the development of church architecture through the Middle Ages.[15] He provides very little on church doorways or their function. For example, of Norman churches he says,

> The main entrance to the Norman parish church was a doorway at the south-west of the nave, and where there was a western tower it was used solely as a belfry

14. Eric Fernie, "Zarnecki, George (Jerzy)," *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), accessed September 22, 2021, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2217296.
15. George H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London: Phoenix House, 1954).

and,

> the south door of the nave, usually the chief entrance, was framed in a thick projection of walling which gave the masons opportunity for elaborating the arch orders and their supports.[16]

Of the later medieval doorways he writes,

> Characteristic of Perpendicular doorways is the framing of the arch within a rectangular hood mould, the spandrels being filled with tracery, foliage or heraldic devices carved in relief.[17]

From the 1960s onward, archaeologically driven research approached doorways from a different perspective. Harold and Joan Taylor's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* was a significant contribution to the field which is extensively used in this thesis.[18] Their work focused on form and plan but also analysed church doorways, their positions and function.

Also in and after the 1960s further scholars including Martin Biddle at Winchester (Hampshire), Warwick Rodwell at Barton-upon Humber (Lincolnshire), Rosemary Cramp at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Durham, historically) and David Parsons at Brixworth (Northamptonshire) led the some of the most significant English archaeological projects in the second half of the twentieth century. Their work focused on the plans of many buildings including medieval churches, which located doorways, their possible positions and the function of the buildings.

Two further major archaeological projects that had great impact on my research are those at Wharram Percy (Yorkshire) and Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire). [19] Simon Mays, Charlotte Harding and Carolyn Heighway led excavations at Wharram Percy and produced an extensive understanding of many

16. Ibid., 86, 211.
17. Ibid., 228.
18. Harold M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo Saxon Architecture,* 3 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1965-1980).
19. Simon Mays, Charlotte Harding and Carolyn Heighway, *The Churchyard, Wharram A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, XI* (York: York University Press, 2007), 216-32.

buildings at the deserted village, its churchyard and a plan for the medieval church along with its doorways. However valuable such research was for this thesis, especially with regard to the churchyard, the authors did not indicate how the doorways might have functioned in relation to the other domestic structures or to the wider community.

Andy Boddington's archaeological work at Raunds, along with contributions from Michel Audouy, Andy Chapman and David Parsons, traced the history of the site and the churches at that location. He also found the position of its doorway, while David Parsons further suggested how the western space of the church might have been used; a factor that relates to the position of the doorway.[20] Also very important was the work of Warwick Rodwell who argued for the change in doorway positions associated with the use of western space in the nave for some liturgical rites.[21]

Within a church building context, a general focus among these church archaeology and history scholars has been to identify the form and plan of the medieval church. They include art historical analysis for aspects of their evidence but this is secondary to their search for the form and phases of building construction.

Eric Fernie traces the history of Anglo-Saxon and Norman churches from both art historical and archaeological perspectives.[22] Other architectural historians at the end of the century and into the new millennium expanded on the importance

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20. Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard* (London: English Heritage, 1996); Michel Audouy and Andy Chapman, *Raunds The origin and growth of a midland village AD 450-1500 Excavations in north Raunds, Northamptonshire 1977-87* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 64-66, 84-88.
21. Warwick Rodwell, *St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber: a Parish Church and its Community* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007-2011), 299-302, 352-53.
22. Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Batsford, 1983); Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

of church doorways. Carol Davidson Cragoe analysed a narrow period of English church architecture 1125-1250. She repeated the general conclusion of earlier writers about two opposing north and south nave doorways, but she, following Rodwell, also suggested liturgical reasons for their positioning. She writes,

> However, from the later eleventh century, most local churches, whether or not they had towers, were built from the outset without west doors. Instead, entrance to the church was, as at Kellington, through north and south nave doors. … It is possible, therefore, that the elimination of western doors in minor churches also indicates that the west ends of these churches too had begun to be used as liturgical spaces.[23]

Warwick Rodwell also argued that the western space at the west end of St Peter's church at Barton-upon-Humber may have been used as a baptistery.[24] If true, then the absence of a western doorway at that church in favour of laterally opposing north and south tower-nave doorways might have preserved the western cell from external disturbances.

Helen Gittos writes of the function of doorways within a liturgical context and their possible impact on Anglo-Saxon church architecture design,

> Where new buildings were constructed, many were designed to use the west end of the nave for a liturgical function rather than as the main door.[25]

Gittos goes further though in this context. She also suggests that the west end use of space for rites might date from the mid to later eleventh century. At that time the primary entrance into the church changed from the west end to north and south nave doorways. She also argues that the two-doorway form may have been based on gender.[26] This last possibility influenced my research into this theme.

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23. Carol Foote Davidson, "Written in Stone Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches c. 1125 – c. 1250," (PhD thesis, University of London, 1998), 208-16.
24. Rodwell, *St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber*, 299-302, 352-53.
25. Helen Gittos, "Sacred space in Anglo-Saxon England: Liturgy, Architecture and Place," (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2001); Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*, 177-79.
26. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*, 177-79, 201-02.

David Stocker and Paul Everson see possible links between tower doorways and churchyards.[27] However, their recent work on Lincolnshire towers was limited to one county and to two centuries. Recently, Margrete S. Andås also wrote on the importance of church doorways.[28]She linked the religious transformative rituals that had been expounded by van Gennep and other anthropologists with medieval church doorways, specifically those at the thirteenth-century cathedral at Trondheim, Norway. She argues that the doorway "becomes a symbol for the encounter with Christ."[29] It is ultimately the physical border between the sacred and profane in the medieval church; being, van Gennep's liminal and transitional threshold. The doorway is the physical mechanism that facilitates the transition. It is the church doorway that establishes the physical and spiritual link to Christ.[30] But Andås's research is focused on the cathedral and she does not discuss where rites were celebrated in parish churches.

Throughout all of the scholarly literature, I could find no substantial writing that answered my research questions. This compelled me to proceed with this present research. Architectural historians have explained where the primary doorway may have been in Anglo-Saxon churches but with only limited exploration of the reasons why there may have been a change in the eleventh century. The writing appears to suggest that from the eleventh century, churches had north and south nave doorways. Scholarship is also mostly silent on the position of church

27. David Stocker and Paul Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2006), 86.
28. Margrete Syrstad Andås, "Art and Ritual in the Liminal Zone," in *The Medieval Cathderal of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Constructions in their European Context*, eds., Margrete S. Andås, Øystein Ekroll, Andreas Haug and Nils H. Petersen (Turnhout:Brepols, 2007), 56.
29. Andås, "Art and Ritual in the Liminal Zone," 56.
30. Ibid., 54.

doorways built in the later medieval centuries, and I could find no solid writing that linked doorways with any liturgical rubrics. Gender was suggested as a reason for doorway positioning but without convincing evidence in support. Furthermore, although I found two recent articles on the 'Devil's Door' neither adequately addressed its origin or the reasons for its persistence of the idea.[31] One of my primary objectives in this research has been to find answers to these unresolved questions.

I.6. Definitions, Research Problems and Other Limitations

(i) Issues of Terminology

The churches I have studied were built throughout almost one thousand years of medieval English history. It is not possible to compare a building like the seventh-century church of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury (Kent) with the fourteenth-century church of St Mary at Stocklinch (Somerset). The Abbey church had a greatly different function as it served a community of clerics, the greater lay community, it had royal patronage, was a very complex building enveloped by porticus and was in its early period, the burial place for the archbishops of Canterbury. The church at Stocklinch, in contrast, was a much simpler building constructed to serve as a parish church for its local community. Besides their clear multi-faceted physical, functional and other differences, they were also from greatly different time periods. Stocklinch was a parish church or perhaps what one might call a 'local' church. St Augustine's Abbey was built several hundred years before the creation of the parish system and it was not 'local' but a major place of worship and at the centre of Kent's religious leadership.

31. See Chapter 8, note 12, above for articles by Nicholas Groves, and Robert J. Silvester.

So, with such variation, why should we study both forms? The answer is that if we are to understand the later medieval period one must comprehend the buildings that preceded them. By so doing, we can better see whether the churches of the eleventh and later centuries trace any doorway design features and positions from the first three centuries of stone built church architecture of Anglo-Saxon England. As my research includes these early buildings I am not seeking to compare them with the later period churches. Instead, I am seeking to detect if there is a pattern for the churches of the seventh to tenth century and, if there is one, what is it and why did it take the form that it did? Consequently, this thesis divides the evidence into logical categories to compare like with like. As a result, the title I use was derived after numerous iterations in order to address these issues. As most of the 177 buildings I assemble are from the twelfth century onwards, one could classify them as parochial churches or chapels. Some were not originally built as parish churches but in time acquired this function. Therefore, the greater number of buildings I analyse are parochial. Many of the earlier churches served this function in that they served the pastoral needs of their communities, if in a rather different way to later parish churches. It is for these reasons that in the end I settled for the term ‘parochial’ rather, than, say ‘local’.

Furthermore, I examine a small group of twelfth-century churches- five overall-which were originally minsters. They were neither ‘local’, like Stocklinch, nor parochial churches when first built, but they later became parish churches. For this reason they are included as a separate category within their chapter.

(ii) Physical Measurement Issues

Overall, I did not encounter any difficulties with measuring church doorways. In some cases the fabric of the doorway threshold appeared to have been heavily

restored in modern times which may have affected the accuracy of the dimensions of the medieval doorway. When this occurred, I made adjustments based on the surviving fabric at the jambs to align with what might have been the original base of the doorway. As I am not comparing doorway dimensions among churches but only the doorways at each church, these variations of original with repaired or replaced thresholds has little impact on the results of the study as a whole.

I did encounter some difficulties in obtaining measurements at several churches due to numerous factors that include: a threshold was obscured by an accretion of soil, vegetation and other debris and modern additions such as chimneys and downspouts. Others were inaccessible as they were within enclosed vestries or other rooms. Locked but see-through steel gates prevented direct access to some, but in those two cases the Pythagorean function of the measuring device provided assistance in estimating heights. At some churches, their doorways were blocked by later period alterations which left only vestiges of them. Still, if it was clear where their original doorways were then I made best effort estimates.

Modern alterations did not automatically disqualify a doorway from this collection. For example, the sealed twelfth-century north doorway at Barfrestone has original intact jambs which can be measured. Although its tympanum is probably a mid-nineteenth-century replacement I estimated where its original bottom level lay. In this instance, the new tympanum probably is in line with the existing original imposts as at the southern doorway. As such, I obtained a height for this doorway again estimating the original thresholds for this and for the southern doorway based on the probable positions of the original bases. In this

case, I include that church even though it has a sealed doorway as that modern alteration did not affect the relative comparison between the two nave doorways.

(iii) Other Limitations

In addition, although England is geographically a relatively small country, compared with Canada, my nation of origin, I drove in excess of 6,000 kilometres for site visits ranging from Kent to Devon and as far north as Alnwick (Northumberland). I searched ideally for clusters of buildings for expediency and to limit travel time, and to control fuel and accommodation costs but in many instances my journeys took me to far flung locations to view one church. Many of these diversions were unfortunately unproductive but necessary. Other locations visited beyond London were the county archives at Maidstone (Kent) and Chippenham (Wiltshire). As items had to be ordered in advance not all items were delivered as requested, which frustrated my attempts to read desired church records, architectural plans and faculties. Again, due to financial consideration I did not retain archive staff to sift through volumes of materials as they would not necessarily know what to look for and such fees are substantial. I had planned to visit further archives but was not able to do so due to time and financial considerations. Where possible, I asked churchwardens and vicars for assistance and this was often provided.

As much as further trips through rural England would have been productive, I had to cease additional site visits once I arrived at a viable quantum of buildings for my research purposes. By May 2021 I concluded my search for possible churches. I recognise that many other churches could have formed part of the corpus of this thesis. I accept that this group is, though sizeable, limited. Assembling an exhaustive list was not an objective of my research. Rather, it was

to survey enough relevant buildings built in the Middle Ages and to identify general trends. In this regard, I believe I accomplished such a goal. I also acknowledge the problems of making arguments and drawing conclusions upon limited data, and understand that when compared to the complete number of medieval parish churches in England my sample size is relatively small. It is necessarily so, however, since it is in relatively few instances that we can be certain of all of a church's original doorway positions, especially the further back in time one delves. Ultimately, I recognise that the patterns I present are, to an extent, tentative. With the limited sample, the conclusions I reach are the best I can achieve, but they are not definitive.

I.7. Potential Outcome of This Research

One of the objectives of this thesis is to provide greater understanding of medieval church design. We know to a great extent how the buildings were constructed but at times we do not know why they took the various forms they did. By analysing their doorways this research will hopefully present viable possibilities for their positions and function through the Middle Ages. The research seeks to further link medieval church form with its liturgy, to add further evidence for the use of church architecture as a feature of medieval gender studies, and, finally, to dismiss the commonly held notion of the 'Devil's Door' as a medieval creation.

Chapter 1: Doorway Positions in English Churches: Seventh to Tenth Century

1.1. Introduction

Overall, this Anglo-Saxon architectural period has a very limited number of buildings with reliable plans. Harold and Joan Taylor indicated that of all of their 267 surveyed Anglo-Saxon churches, "few have survived in complete enough state to settle their ground plans with certainty."[32] There are many reasons for this including the fact that many wooden churches have not survived. When they were built in stone, they were often significantly altered or entirely rebuilt which removed evidence of their original doorway positions. A further factor is that many were destroyed by Viking raiders or by other causes, natural or otherwise, like fabric robbing. In some cases all we have left are ground-level stone remnants. Still, in some locations, even these permanent vestiges are very useful. We can sometimes derive reliable ground plans from them which help us to understand where these founders placed their churches' principal doorways. Moreover, Taylor and Taylor identify only ninety-nine churches which have well defined plans.[33] For present purposes, working with this evidentiary limitation is difficult but not insurmountable; we do have just enough evidence to argue where builders placed their principal doorway in the churches of this period.

In this chapter, I selected thirteen Anglo-Saxon churches that were constructed from the seventh to tenth centuries on account of the fact that some of them have reliable ground plans. Others were the subjects of major archaeological

32. Harold M. Taylor and Joan S. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), 3:967. Since its publication scholars have evaluated the Taylors' original corpus and suggest that many that were labelled Anglo-Saxon are now thought to be post-Conquest.
33. Taylor, *ASA*, 3:974.

excavations upon which their scholars produced partial plans which suggest viable possibilities for the remainder of the buildings. My research found no further buildings from this period that met my selection criteria. Seven of the churches, built from the seventh to ninth centuries, were served by communities of clergy. They probably also had a pastoral function for the local lay community.[34] The same may possibly be the case for four of the six Anglo-Saxon churches built in the tenth century. Among the churches selected for that century, one is Canterbury cathedral, three are large royally sponsored monasteries, and two others are what may be loosely termed 'local' churches for lack of a better definition for such buildings. I refer to these later tenth-century buildings as 'local' churches, as their patronage, endowment, size, location and function are factors which differentiate them from the other Anglo-Saxon monastic churches and the cathedral analysed in this chapter. These buildings are those which Susan Wood would describe as 'lower or lesser churches'.[35] These churches predate the development of the parish system. In some cases, their mother churches may have given them some rights and privileges for ritual celebrations. The two tenth-century proprietary churches I discuss in this chapter are those located at Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire) and Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire). I suggest that each may be the type of lesser or proprietary church within Wood's definition, perhaps as assets of a greater minster or lay lord.[36]

From these buildings some patterns emerge, although it must be acknowledged that the sample size is small and biased in favour of greater churches. The principal doorway for minster churches built from the seventh to

34. Nicholas Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (London: YUP, 2021), 9-10.
35. Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 437-39.
36. Wood, *Proprietary Church*, 437-39; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 368-74.

ninth century was located at the west end of the nave. In the tenth century we simply do not have enough evidence to declare a pattern. However, I suggest that at the end of the tenth century we do have evidence that church design was changing. At this time, we see greater and lesser churches built with laterally opposing north and south nave doorways. I suggest, at the end of the chapter, possible reasons for the new design and change in the positions of doorways.

1.2. The Seventh to the Ninth Centuries

I analyse seven churches for this period as these are the only buildings I have found with reliable ground plans that show their definite or very probable original doorway positions. These churches are evenly spread throughout the three-century timeframe, and were served by communities of religious clergy, monastic or secular. Three are located in Kent, and one each in Essex, Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire. Their builders gave them all a western principal doorway.

One of the first major stone churches known to have been built in England after the Roman period is the early seventh-century minster dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul at Canterbury. In its initial seventh-century building phase, this church had multiple cells but a sole western principal doorway. Our knowledge of its position is based on the reliable ground plan produced by Frank Jenkins following his excavations of 1955-57.[37] He noted that its undisturbed original western foundations were well preserved which adds certainty to the west doorway's positioning. Richard Gem reconstructed Jenkins' plan which I present below (Fig. 1.1).[38]

37. Richard Gem, *Book of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (London: Batsford, 1997), 90-120.
38. Gem, *Book of St Augustine's Abbey*, 98.

The church has seven other internal doorways. One leads from the western narthex to the interior of the nave. The remaining internal doorways are much narrower than and only lead into the three north and three south porticus which were small enclosed spaces.

We are able to date the church with Bede's assistance. According to Bede, Augustine, after whom the later abbey was named, ordered the construction of this church in 598.

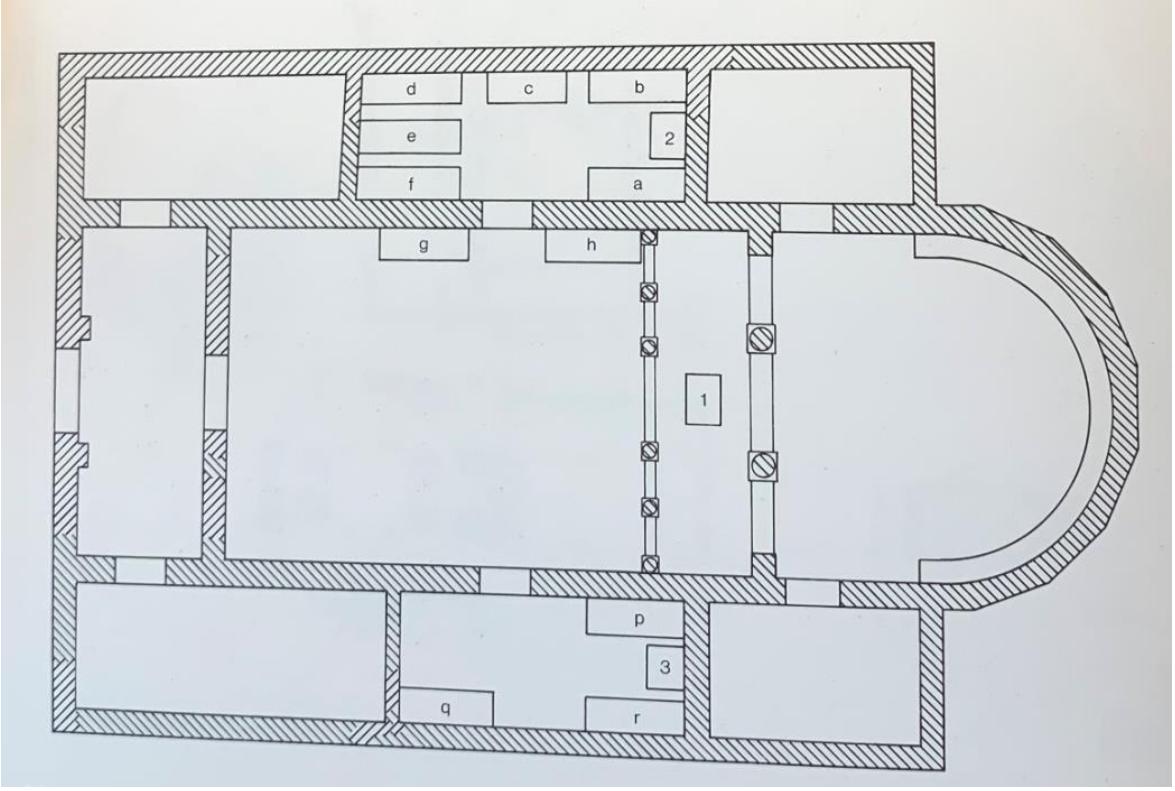

Fig. 1.1, St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, reconstructed planof the early seventh century church of SS Peter and Paul
Richard Gem reconstruction of Frank Jenkins plan 1957.
In the central north porticus, position 'a' indicates the burial location of St Augustine

It was a high status missionary church that served the archbishops of Canterbury and Kent's royal family. It was also the burial site of kings Æthelbert, Eadbald and eight archbishops including Augustine.[39] Bede writes that Augustine,

39. Richard Sharpe, "Goscelin's St. Augustine and St. Mildreth: Hagiography and liturgy in context," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series 41, no. 2 (October 1990): 502-08; Gem, *St Augustine's Abbey*, 90-101.

the first Archbishop of Canterbury oversaw its initial phase of construction beginning in 602.[40] He further states that the church had not been completed nor consecrated at Augustine's death in 604. Augustine was buried in its central north porticus (position 'a' on plan above) after its dedication. The possible date for his interment would be not later than 619 as the church was consecrated by his successor, Laurentius, who died between 616 and 619.[41] We therefore know that Saints Peter and Paul Canterbury had a principal west door and was probably built in the first decade of the seventh century and completed before the end of the second.

In the middle of the seventh century at Winchester (Hampshire) a great minster church was built by King Cenwalh, subsequently called Old Minster, on account of a later, adjacent tenth-century church called New Minster. The western doorway at Old Minster was the sole entrance into this later seventh-century church.Martin Biddle led a series of excavations at Winchester through the 1960s and 70s. He and colleagues state that the church's original foundations were robbed but left a lasting negative imprint of where its original walls were located. On this basis, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle was able to produce a reliable ground plan for the original building (Fig. 1.2).[42] Although the Biddles did not find clear evidence of the western doorway due to the fabric robbing they presume its western position.[43]

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40. *HE*, 1.33, 2.3, 4.
41. *HE*, 2 and 4; Eric Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 208.
42. Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, "The 7th century minster at Winchester interpreted," in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. Lawrence A. S. Butler and Richard K. Morris (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), 196-99.
43. Martin Biddle, *The Search for Winchester's Anglo-Saxon Minsters* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018), 67; Martin Biddle, email message to author, August 30, 2021, "Due to the very thorough robbing of the entire building in the late 11th century no trace of the actual structure of any of the doors of any period of Old Minster had survived."

The Biddles state that Old Minster was a multi-celled church with a nave, flanked by north and south porticus as well as an eastern cell or porticus.[44]

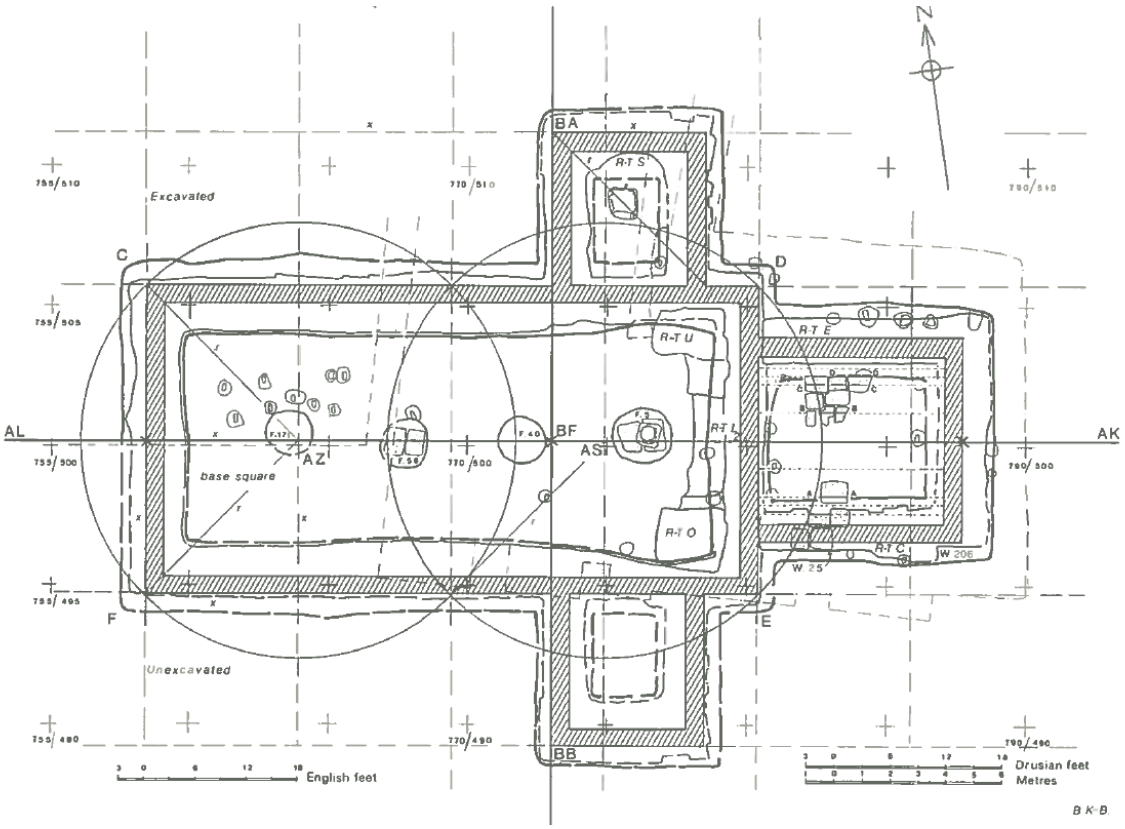

Fig. 1.2, Plan of Old Minster, Winchester in the Seventh Century

Just like for St Augustine's abbey at Canterbury, we partially rely upon Bede to help date the church at Old Minster. He mentions events at Old Minster several times for the year 635. He writes about the conversion of the West Saxons by Birinus and the translation of this saint's body to Winchester from Dorchester. For that year he also writes that King Coinwalch (Cenwalh) replaced Bishop Agilbert with Wini. Bede's dates of these events may be inaccurate, and we encounter uncertainty on Old Minster's founding as the *Anglo-Saxon*

44. Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle "Winchester: from Venta to Wintancaestir," in *Pagans and Christians – from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Lauren Gilmour (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 189-214; Kjølbye-Biddle, "The 7th century minster at Winchester interpreted," 205-08.

*Chronicle*gives a later date. First, it states that in 643 Cenwalh ordered the old church to be built in the name of Saint Peter. Later, it says that Old Minster became a cathedral in 660, with Wini its first bishop.[45] In light of the variation among these written sources, we can only narrow down Old Minster's final construction date to a possible range of 635 to 660.On the basis of the Biddle's evidence and upon these two written sources, Old Minster was at least, a mid-seventh-century royal minster church with a single western principal doorway.

Moving on to Essex, Saint Peter-on-the-Wall Bradwell is a mid-seventh-century church with, in many ways, a similar ground plan to Old Minster but on a smaller scale. Bradwell is a two-celled church with two porticus. These cells flank the far eastern end of the nave and abut the apse. These porticus align closer to the chancel arch whilst those at Old Minster are set slightly further west. The main difference from Old Minster is that, based on the excavations of Frederic Chancellor in 1877 (Fig. 1.3), Bradwell has not a square chancel but an apse. Charles Peers surveyed the site in 1901 and found and measured its western doorway at 1.524 meters wide, which he stated had been part of a western porch and later tower. He also found a doorway in the south wall but this led to the porticus. Furthermore, he recorded the fact that a modern owner of the church used it as a barn and removed about 3.5 meters from the middle of the north and south nave walls for a cart-way.[46] As such we cannot be certain that there were no doorways in the sections of the missing walls. Clapham updated Peers' plan in

45. *HE*, 3.7; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix, 2000), 27.
46. Charles R. Peers, "On Saxon Churches of the St. Pancras Type," *AJ* 58 (1901): 423-28.

1930 and produced a plan suggesting a single nave doorway at the west (Fig. 1.4).[47]

Fig. 1.3, St Peter's Bradwell-on-Sea (Essex) aerial view
Showing ground level remnants of apse and porticus
Go 4k Media, available at frame 0:36
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FbP_dMWDC7Y

Architectural scholars debate Bradwell's dating. While one school advocates 653 as a viable date for the church, the other suggests in or after 664.[48] Ultimately, both agree that this is a mid seventh-century building and the arguments advanced by each for further precision are beyond the scope of this thesis.

47. Alfred W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 1:22-23; Taylor, *ASA*, 1:91-92.
48. *HE*, 3.22; G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1925), 2:102; Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*,42; Taylor and Taylor, *ASA*, 1:91-93; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Batsford, 1983), 38; Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," 214-17.

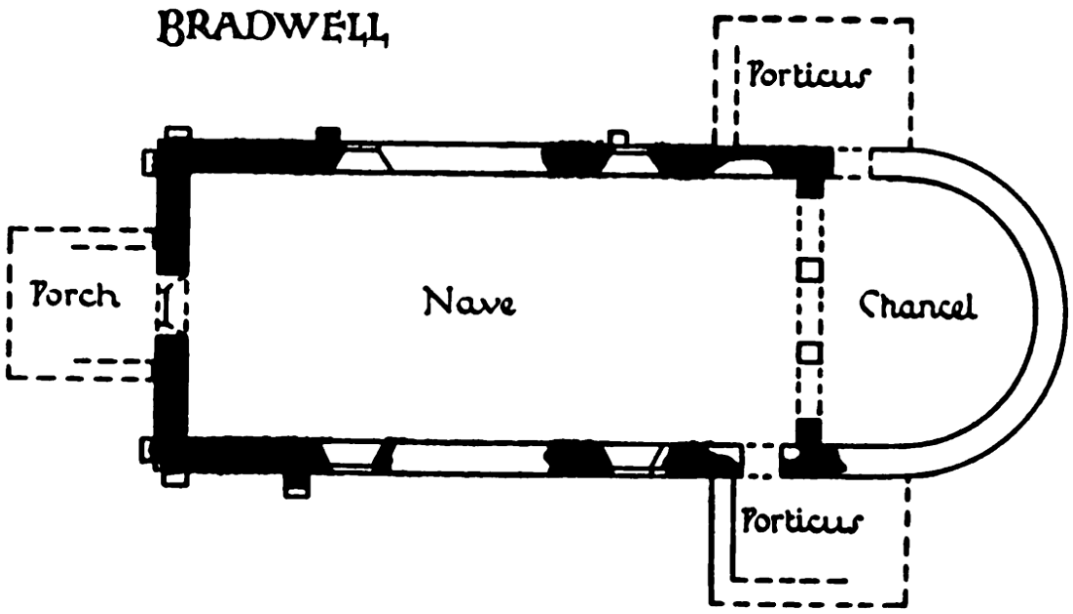

Fig. 1.4, Plan of Saint Peter-on-the-Wall Bradwell, Essex

Returning to Canterbury, we see that the later seventh-century church of St Pancras, now a ruin, was also built with a single western doorway. It is located approximately eighty meters to the east and slight north of SS Peter and Paul. Richard Gem updated the research of the earlier twentieth-century work of Hope, Peers & Clapham and Jenkins, all of which are used for present analysis of the church.[49] Hope's plan from 1902 remains valid and is the one used by Gem (Fig. 1.5).[50]

The plan shows the original and subsequent building phases, and that the church had a single exterior nave doorway at the west end. We are not able to date St Pancras with great precision as the church foundation date is not mentioned in any written extant sources. Therefore, in order to offer a possible

49. Gem, *St Augustine's Abbey*, 102.
50. William H. St. John Hope, "Excavations at St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury," *AC* 25 (1902): 222-37.

dating for the church, scholars are forced to rely heavily on evidence of seventh-century events and on the historical specificities of the church's artistic features.

Fig. 1.5, Plan of Saint Pancras, Canterbury, Kent, after W. H. St John Hope, 1902

We do know that this saint's cult was very popular in Rome at this time. As the Anglo-Saxons rarely dedicated churches to St Pancras in the seventh century Canterbury's link with Rome may be a factor in this dedication.[51] Bede provides some help narrowing down the possible date to circa 665. According to Bede, it was in this year that Pope Vitalian promised the delivery of the saint's relics to Canterbury.[52] Shortly thereafter, Vitalian ordained Theodore as archbishop of Canterbury in, or just after, 668.[53] These events suggest a possible dating of the mid-660s if this new church was purposely built to house the saint's relics. However, we cannot be certain of this as the possible dedication and transfer of relics may be later than its first construction phase.

51. Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," 211.
52. *HE*, 3.29.
53. Michael J. Swanton, ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 35.

Eric Cambridge's dating of the church is based on a comparison of its architectural features and those of other contemporary buildings. Based on this, he argues for a slightly earlier date: the first half of the seventh-century. He suggests the earlier dating based, in part, upon the Italian style of the church's buttresses. It also had pilasters along the door frame and paired buttressing at the exterior angles of the nave's west wall. Cambridge states that St Pancras Canterbury may be the first church in Britain to have these features. Its similarity to contemporary Ravennate churches suggests links to the Italian style in or after the 620s but certainly before the middle of the century.[54] If Cambridge is right, then we have a greater possible range of 620 x 665, but clearly mid-seventh-century.

The church was remodelled probably in the eighth century but its doorway remained in the west end. We are greatly aided in dating the church by the 1975 discovery of an Anglo-Saxon *sceatta* beneath the foundation of the south porticus. Scholars date the coin to circa 735.[55] This therefore provides a terminus post quem for the construction of the south porticus. Archaeologists found burial evidence within the chancel and south of the church containing at least three graves from the late seventh to eighth century. They also located a west porch which was added to the church's existing western sole entrance in this second building phase.[56] From collected evidence it seems that, because its nave

54. Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," 214-25.
55. Stuart E. Rigold and D. M. Metcalf, "A Check-List of English Finds of Sceattas," *The British Numismatic Journal* 47 (1977): 29, 38.
56. Richard Gem, "Architecture of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 735-870: From Archbishop Ecgberht to Archbishop Ceolnoth," *JBAA* 146, no 1 (1993): 31; Gem, *St. Augustine's Abbey,* 103; Leslie Webster and John Cherry, "Medieval Britain in 1975," *Medieval Archaeology* 20 (January 1976): 163-64; Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (London: YUP, 2005), 61-62; Richard Gem, "Reconstructions of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in the Anglo-Saxon Period," in *St. Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult*, eds. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell,1992), 59-70.

doorways only opened to its north and south porticus, St Pancras, from its foundation and into the eighth century, had a single western principal doorway.

Each of the previous four churches had a western principal doorway. We see this also at Reculver (Kent) but its original doorway design differs from the others. Reculver may be an exception, however, as it possibly had five external doorways originally: the western main entrance, two laterally opposing doorways midway along the north and south nave walls, and two eastern doorways leading from each of the north and south porticus. We have a good idea of Reculver's original ground plan as its walls at ground level survived its 1809 demolition. In its first construction phase, Charles Peers conducted excavations at Reculver in the 1920s and produced the following plan (Fig. 1.6).[57] The plan has its limitations as excavations were limited but it is still mostly reliable. Peers did not excavate beyond the north and south nave doorways of the original seventh-century building and we therefore have no evidence to determine whether there were any original structures of stone or even wood beyond these laterally opposing, possibly external, openings. He did study the area beyond each of the east porticus doorways and confirmed that they were external doorways which did not open into a further porticus or other enclosing structure. The builders altered the church soon after in a second construction phase leaving only a principal western doorway and the two east facing porticus doorways.[58]

57. Charles R. Peers, "Reculver: Its Saxon Church and Cross," *Archaeologia* 77 (1928): 242-45.
58. Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," 205-10; Harold M. Taylor, "Reculver Reconsidered," *AJ* 125, no. 1 (1968): 291-96.

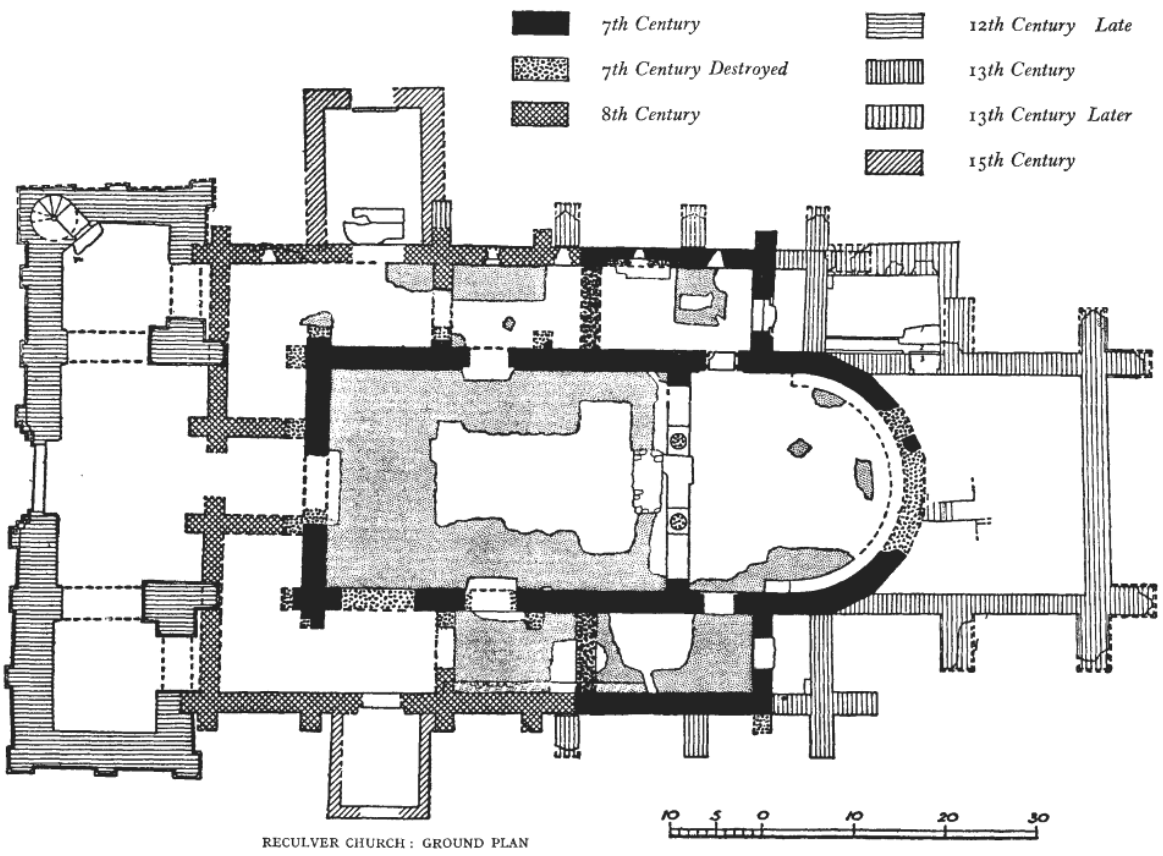

Fig. 1.6, Plan of Saint Mary, Reculver, Kent

We are able to date its first phase of construction with the help of a surviving charter. The document states that in 679 King Hlothhere of Kent granted land on the Isle of Thanet and at Sturry to Abbot Beorhtwald at Reculver.[59] The building itself may be a decade older as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that the minster church was built in 669 following King Egbert's grant of *Raculf menster* to the mass priest Bassa.[60]

At a site visit I measured the church doorways. The western doorway is 165 cm wide, the north and south nave doorways are each 122 cm wide, the north and

59. *The Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and Minster-in-Thanet*, ed. Susan E. Kelly, (Oxford: OUP, 1995); *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, S8, August 24, 2020, http://www.aschart.kcl.ac.uk/charters/s0008.html.
60. Demolition of St. Mary's Reculver 1809 in Churches and Institutions, *Reculver Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin* (Herne Bay: 1931), 5; Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 34; earliest charter see S.22 year 699 A.D. x 716 A.D. (Bapchild, Kent).

south chancel doorways are each 97 cm wide. We do not know the function of these narrow, porticus sized, exterior chancel doorways. Considering both their narrow dimensions and the sharp right-hand turn required to enter the chancel- not the nave- these are unlikely to be principal doors. I suggest that, due to its much greater width, the church's principal doorway, in both building phases, was at the west end. Whether the narrower nave doors are internal or external is unclear.

Peers, the Taylors and Eric Fernie have suggested that the three nave doors were external.[61] Their evidence is: (i) the doors are 122 cm wide (25 cm greater than its porticus doors), (ii) each door has exterior buttresses upon either side of the doors, and (iii) in the building's first phase of construction there appears to be no remains of a porticus or other structure into which these doors led (according to Peers' excavations and plan). I agree that the first phase of this church probably had two, external, mid-nave doorways but we have some evidence to suggest this might not have been the case. First, as Peers did not examine the areas beyond these mid-nave, lateral doorways we cannot rule out the possible existence of original porticus walls into which these doorways may have provided access. Second, Reculver's next construction phase began only ten years after it was first built.[62] This might suggest that Reculver's status quickly changed soon after its initial construction. Quite possibly, it became a more important religious centre than originally intended and thus became deserving of a more sophisticated plan, similar to that of the great minster at Canterbury to which it belonged. Third, in 690, King Wihtred appointed Beorhtwald, one of his

61. Peers, "Reculver: Its Saxon Church and Cross," 244, 'The nave had north, south and west doors'; Taylor and Taylor, *ASA*, 2:503-09; Fernie, 35-36.
62. Peers, "Reculver: Its Saxon Church and Cross," 250.

favourites, as archbishop of Canterbury which may have enhanced Reculver's status.[63] Considering his strong association with its mother church, Beorhtwald may have altered Reculver's function or status by copying part of SS Peter and Paul's design. As previously mentioned, the north porticus doorway, at the church of SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury, was 152 centimetres wide, its southern one was 122 centimetres; Reculver's are both 122 centimetres. Finally, other higher status churches do not have exterior mid-nave doorways, but only porticus doorways in those positions. The churches of SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury and St. Pancras (also coeval with Reculver) all have porticus doorways located midway along their nave walls and do not have any other lateral external nave doorways. I suggest that although the buttresses on either side of these doorways point to them being external, there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that these nave doorways might not have been as such originally. If they were, then Reculver with three external nave doorways, to the west, north and south would certainly be an exception to the design form of other seventh-century churches. We can be certain that its west doorway was its largest and therefore the probable principal doorway similar to the other buildings examined thus far.

Moving north, I argue that a new direction in doorway positioning occurs at the church of All Saints Brixworth (Northamptonshire). I consider Brixworth a key building as it is the earliest Anglo-Saxon church I have found where its principal doorway changed in the mid-ninth century from the west end to a southern entrance into the nave. We know this from the work of Michel Audouy, who led

63. *HE* 2.5. 'The grant from Hlothere, who held a council at Reculver, attended by Theordore and a large number of notables granted the Abbey lands in the western part of Thanet with all the pastures, marshes, woods and other easements belonging to them.'; Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), 76-80.

excavations at Brixworth in 1981-82.[64] Audouy excavated the northern side of the church from a point two meters east of the junction where the apse meets the choir, then along the north side of the nave to the north side of the narthex, continuing around the western side of the building to the southern side of the narthex. His team did not excavate along the southern range of the church. With evidence acquired by earlier researchers, he states that, “The results of previous investigations on the south side of the church...tend to indicate that a symmetrical arrangement existed there as well.”[65] David Parsons and Diana Sutherland relied upon his research, which they state “marked a watershed in the understanding of the chronology of the church and its site”.[66] With Audouy’s research and the earlier studies, they proposed a series of ground plans for the church’s history (Fig. 1.7). They state that the church had several construction phases concluding that its original entrance was at the west end and that porticus probably entirely enveloped the church. They agree with Audouy’s assumption that the southern range mirrors that on the north.[67]

Brixworth’s first construction phase, Period I, is best dated by the discovery of stone carving within the nave’s wall. Parsons and Sutherland state that these two fragments of cross-head sculpture were used as building material, and were built into the nave’s west wall. These carved remnants are dated circa 800, creating a probable terminus ante quem for the Brixworth’s initial Period I phase construction.[68]

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64. Michel Audouy et al., “Excavations at The Church of All Saints' Brixworth, Northamptonshire 1981–2,” *JBAA* 137, no. 1 (1984): 1-2.
65. Ibid., 34.
66. David Parsons and Diana S. Sutherland, *The Anglo-Saxon Church of All Saints Brixworth Northamtonshire, Survey, excavation and analysis 1972-2010* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 141.
67. Ibid., 160 (plan), 203.
68. Ibid., 142-43.

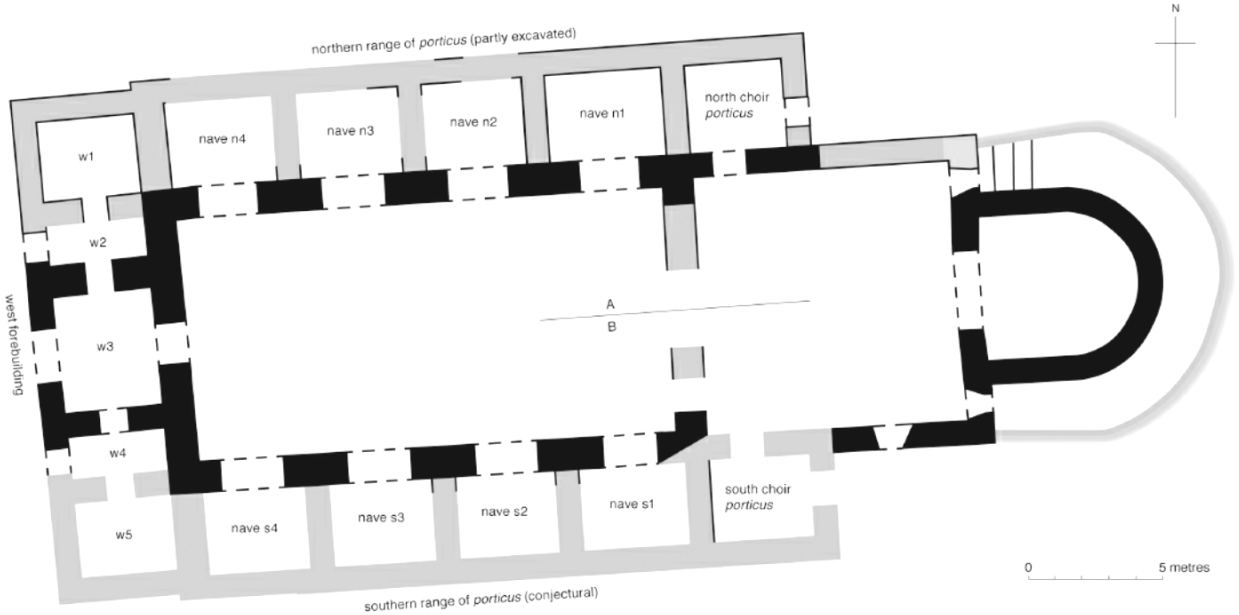

Fig. 1.7, All Saints' Church, Brixworth, Northamptonshire, Period I Ground Plan

All Saints, Brixworth, was probably a late eighth to early ninth-century minster that served a community of monks or priests.[69] Extant documentary sources provide no help in dating the church. We do know that Hugh Candidus wrote about Brixworth but he did so nearly five hundred years after it was built and unsurprisingly, considering the Viking occupation of Brixworth through the second half of the ninth century, there are no sources that predate the Conquest.[70]

Brixworth's original principal doorway in Period I was at the west end of the western forebuilding which led into cell W3 (Fig. 1.7). This western structure may also have had two additional narrower, secondary, external doorways on either side of the principal doorway, which opened directly into cells W2 and W4. The church also appears to have had an external, eastern doorway within the northern choir porticus, which, Parsons and Sutherland propose would have been also found on the south side of the church had that area been excavated.

69. Ibid., 1, 103, 143, 163-68, 232-33.
70. Paul S. Barnwell, "Documentary and Textual Evidence: Brixworth in History," in *Brixworth*, eds. Parsons and Sutherland, 220-22.

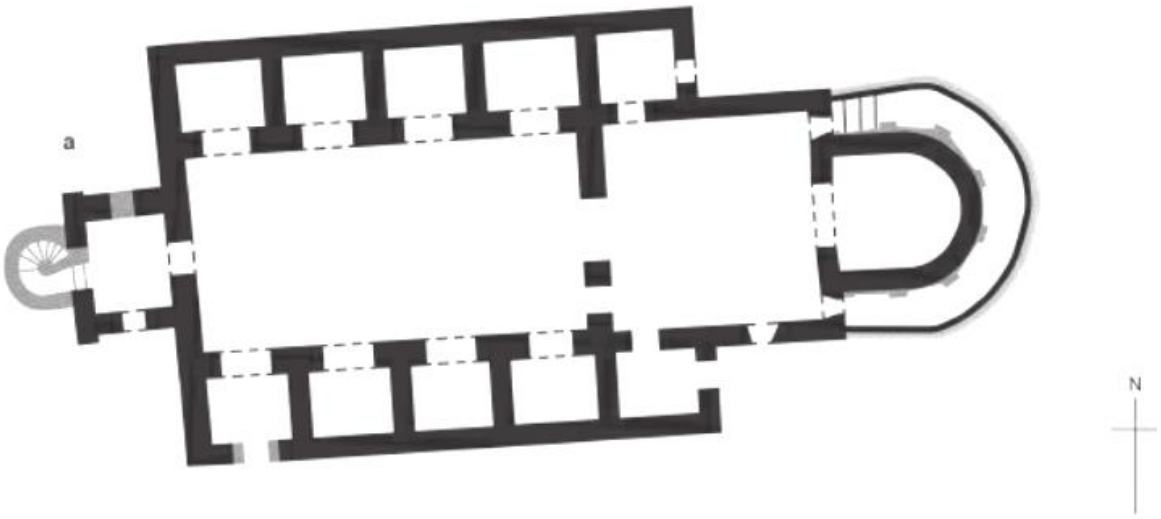

Fig. 1.8, All Saints, Brixworth, NorthamptonshirePeriod II Ground Plan

In the mid ninth-century, Period II church, most of the western forebuilding was demolished except for its central cell, W3 (Fig. 1.8).[71] Of that section, they reduced it to a single floor and constructed a new tower above with a centrally-placed, enclosed, tall spiral staircase. This staircase abutted the original western principal doorway which was then modified and used as the internal entrance to the new staircase. Due to this demolition and construction the church had no remaining principal external ground level doorways. As a result of these west-end changes, the builders refashioned a previous internal ground level doorway into an external one. The southern doorway that had previously connected cells W3 and W4 became the new doorway of the church's tower. They also sealed the opening between the former W3 and W2 cells favouring a southern doorway in place of an equally viable northern one. They then built a new external southern principal doorway that led into the former porticus, cell Nave S4 (in Fig. 1.7).[72]

71. Parsons and Sutherland, *Brixworth*, 179-87.
72. Ibid., 143, 233.

It is clear that the structural alterations at the west end of the Period I church changed the principal doorway position from the west to the new southern doorway in the Period II church. As I examine below, starting in the late eighth-century, the west end of churches became important to Carolingian church designers. At that time, their builders favoured the addition of western apses or other grandiose western structures, perhaps modelling the St Gall plan. Alternatively, as Richard Gem states, Brixworth may "reflect alike a similar stage in the development of West European thinking about the proper planning of major monastic churches and the accommodation of the liturgy within them."[73] The alteration of Brixworth's west end in Period II may have created new liturgical opportunities not only at the west end ground level but perhaps also at its upper levels; a practice that was likely occurring at this time on the Continent.[74]

Moving to an eastern Midlands church we see at St Mary's Deerhurst (Gloucestershire) a great variation in design from the earlier Anglo-Saxon buildings. Many scholars have studied this church in the past century including Philip Rahtz, Harold Taylor, and others (Fig 1.9).[75] We have little documentary evidence for the construction of the church of St Mary at Deerhurst and only indirect references linking possible patrons with this location.[76] Michael Hare's

73. Richard Gem, "The Liturgical Context of the Church," in *Brixworth*, eds. Parsons and Sutherland, 219.
74. Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 188-92.
75. Lawrence Butler, Philip Rahtz and Harold Taylor, "Deerhurst 1971–1974: the Society's research project on the archaeology of the English church," *Antiquarian Journal* 55 (1975): 346–65; Philip Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, 1971–73*, CBA Research Rep. 15 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1976); Philip Rahtz, Lorna Watts, Harold Taylor and Lawrence Butler, "St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: fieldwork, excavations and structural analysis, 1971–1984," *Society of Antiquaries London Research Report* 55 (Woodbridge: Society of Antiquaries, 1997); Philip Rahtz, *Deerhurst above and below ground, Deerhurst Lecture 2000* (Deerhurst: The Friends of Deerhurst Church, 2000).
76. Michael Hare and Maggie Kneen, "The Church of St Mary, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, in the Ninth Century," in *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 300-950*, ed. Paul S. Barnwell (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2015), 186-87.

recent research into its earliest patrons gives us some understanding of its patronage. He suggests that the builders may have been either Æthelmund, a lord of Hwicce, who probably died at the end of the eighth century before the church was built, or his son Æthelric who lived into the ninth.[77]

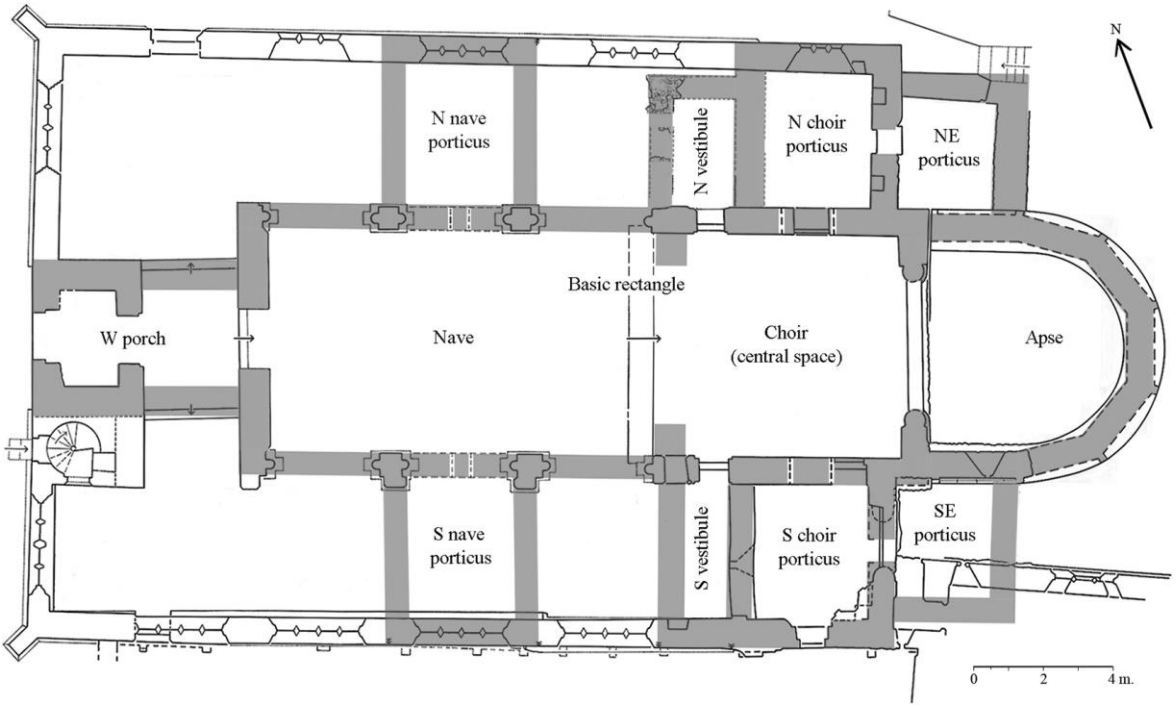

Fig. 1.9, St Mary, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire

Hare suggests that the church was mostly built in a single phase, unlike the six phases proposition of earlier researchers. Hare suggests many reasons for the single-phased construction, including that the butt-jointing construction method may have been used in tandem with bonded methods.[78] If Hare is correct then we may have a new understanding of the history of the church at Deerhurst.

We know that Deerhurst had a principal ground level doorway at the west end beneath and through a multi-level western tower. The church also had a secondary doorway on its south side close to the east end, which provided an

77. Michael Hare, "Deerhurst's Earliest Patrons: Æthelmund and Æthelric," *Trans.Bristol & Gloucestershire ArchaeologicalSociety* 130 (2012): 151-82.
78. Hare, "St Mary, Deerhurst," 197-235.

entrance into the southeast choir porticus. Hare suggests that the church had no other ground level external doorways. He dates this initial phase at Deerhurst to the early ninth century. He makes this conclusion partially based on the dating of the beast-head carvings which are found above the chancel arch, at the south choir porticus doorway, and at the second floor tower doorway which all date to the first half of the ninth century.[79] Maggie Kneen conceptualised a possible three-dimensional view based on Bryant's ground plan (Fig. 1.10).[80]

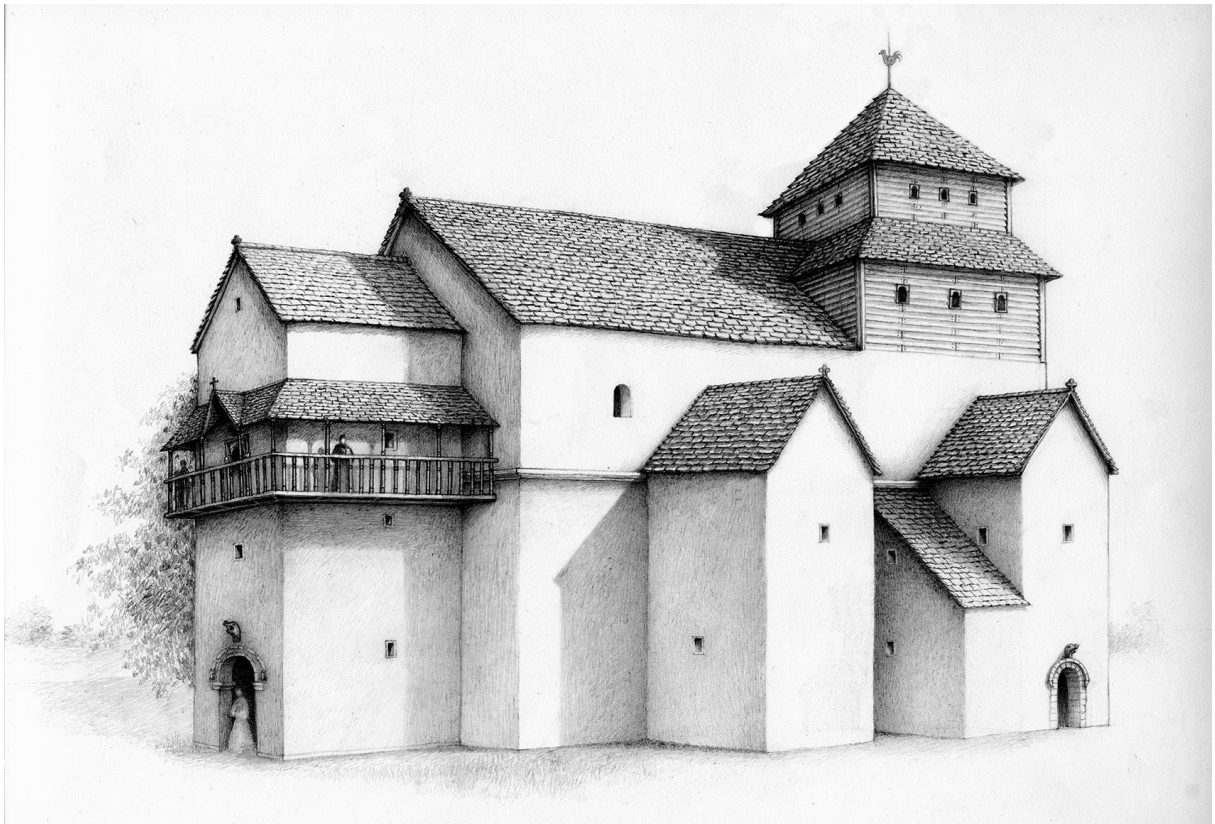

Fig. 1.10, St Mary, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, Mary Kneen

Hare suggests "that the surviving early church at Deerhurst belongs in large measure to a single building period and that it follows a coherent and consistent

79. Hare, "St Mary, Deerhurst," 215, 231-34.
80. Maggie Kneen, "Reconstruction of St Mary's church, Deerhurst, in the 9th century, seen from the south-west," in Hare, "St Mary, Deerhurst," 234.

design."[81] Hare's hypothesis for Deerhurst suggests that the church was indeed a tall stone-built church rising as high as 18 meters.[82]

1.3. The Tenth Century

In the first three centuries of Anglo-Saxon stone-built churches we see that their builders tended to construct them with a principal doorway at the west end. The doorway reconfiguration at Brixworth, perhaps by 860, may signal a similar change in doorway positioning in the tenth century. One of the problems in noticing a pattern for this time period is that we simply have too few buildings to analyse, without a significant amount of primary evidence. Because of this limitation, we are at present able only to make observations and suggest possibilities as to how doorways were positioned in churches at this time. It is only when we reach the eleventh and twelfth centuries that we have sufficient evidence to notice any definite patterns. Still, we do have some churches which provide valuable evidence for doorway positioning. This section analyses five, well-dated, tenth-century churches which are grouped into three categories based on their probable function. Three of these are high status churches, two were cathedrals and one was a monastic site. The remaining two churches were possibly proprietary or proto-parochial churches.

81. Hare, 233.
82. Ibid.

Summary of Tenth-Century Churches

Function	Location	Year	Status	Doorways	Special Features
Cathedral	Canterbury	900 x 970	Royal patron/ Archbishop, High Status	N? and S	Double apse West end cathedra
	Old Minster, Winchester (Hampshire)	Redesigned west end *c*. 975	Royal patron/ High status	W	Westwork bell towers, Extended west end
Monastery	St Oswald, Gloucester (Gloucestershire)	910 x 945	Royal patron, High Status, Secular canons	N and S?	Double apse, N and S central porticus
Proprietary Church or Chapel	RaundsFurnells (Northamptonshire)	mid10th century	Unknown lordship	S	Possible West bellcote very thick west wall
	Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire)	Late 10th century	Royal Patron?	N and S	Central nave bell tower

a) Two Tenth-Century Cathedrals

I analyse two Anglo-Saxon cathedrals which their patrons, the king, the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Winchester, substantially altered in the tenth century. These exceptional churches are perhaps that century's greatest English churches which we know of, that differentiates them from the others in this section. As cathedrals they were centres of ecclesiastical power in late Anglo-Saxon England, thus assuming different roles to the other buildings studied here. Because of their exalted status it is not really possible to compare these churches with others in this section. These cathedrals had holy relics of the highest level. They had the highest function and they were also great in size. Still, they may

have influenced the design of lesser churches built afterwards especially in the eleventh century.

Canterbury Cathedral, (Kent)

In the tenth century, the archbishop of Canterbury rebuilt its cathedral demolishing and replacing a substantial part of the previous church.[83] Kevin Blockley led excavations in 1993 and states in his 1997 archaeological report that the new church was built in three phases in the tenth century from 900 to 970. This time frame could quite possibly be narrowed down to 920 x 950. However, Richard Gem states that the date range is based on "little firm archaeological evidence...other than that one of its construction trenches was sealed by a hearth that gave archaeo-magnetic date of between 900 and 970 (95% confidence) and 920 x 950 (68% confidence) providing a *terminus ante quem*."[84]

Blockley produced ground plans for the tenth-century church, named Period 4A, B and C (Fig. 1.11). It is noted that excavations were limited and much of the tenth-century cathedral is interpretive.[85] The major phases are 4A and 4C which substantially changed the cathedral's ground plan. In building phases 4B, (Fig. 1.12) Archbishop Oda (942-58) re-roofed the cathedral, heightened the walls by twenty feet and executed some changes on the exterior wall of the south aisle.[86]

We do know that the new cathedral in Phase 4A had an aisled nave, an eastern apse and western rectangular gallery chapel. Later in the century the church was again remodelled. The new design probably placed the cathedra in

83. Richard Gem, "The Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Wulfred (805-32)," in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013), 29-38.
84. Ibid., 29; Kevin Blockley, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave Archaeology, History and Architecture* (Canterbury: The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1997), 111.
85. Blockley, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave Archaeology*, 105.
86. Gem, "The Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral," 29-30.

the western apse chapel signifying a ceremonial position for the archbishop who faced altars to the east.

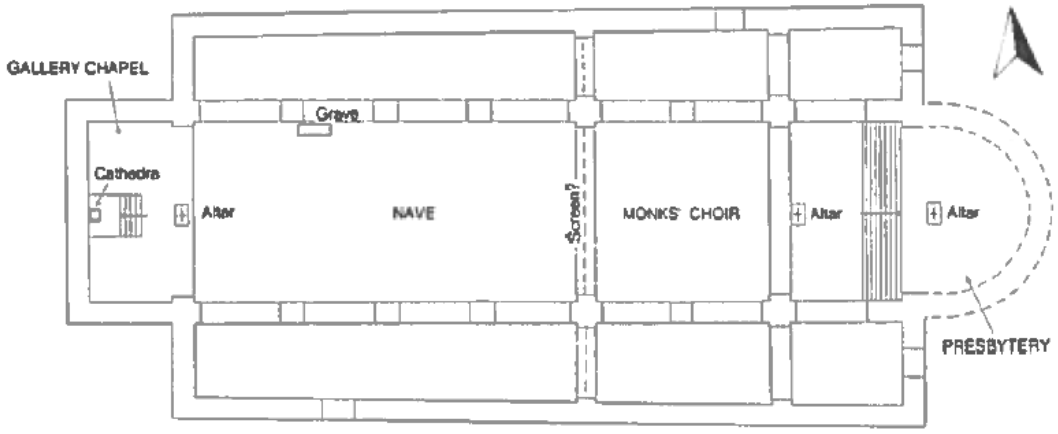

Fig. 1.11, Canterbury Cathedral (Kent) Period 4A

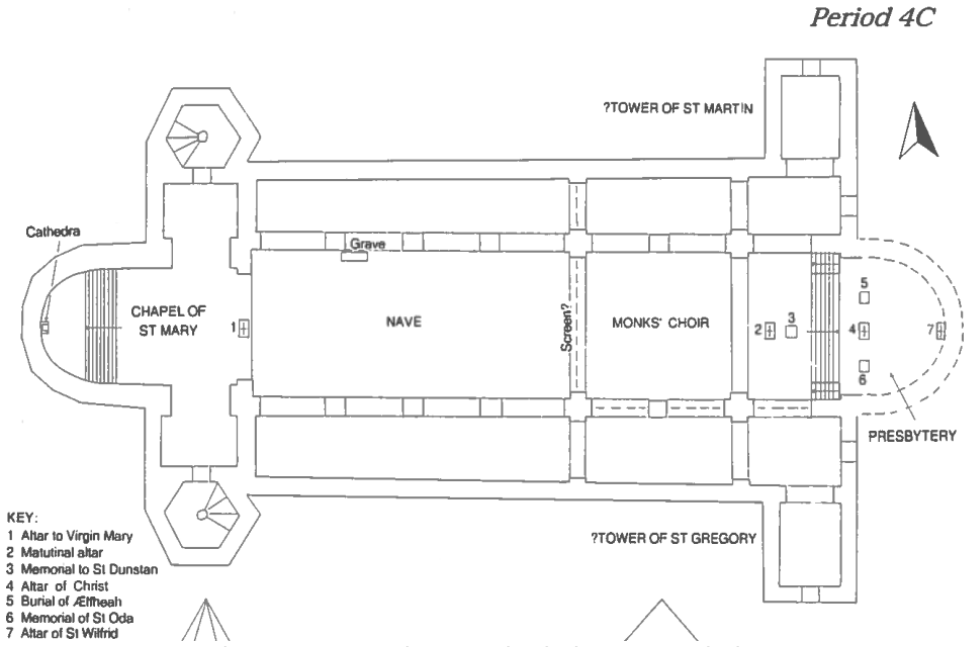

Fig. 1.12, Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, Period 4C

The monk, Eadmer, described the main entrance to the new cathedral as being in the south wall of the nave.[87] We do not know if the cathedral may have also had a northern doorway. Perhaps Eadmer chose to precisely only describe the principal doorway as it was more important than any other one at the

87. Blockely, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 100; Gem, "The Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral," 32.

cathedral. The location of the cathedra at the far west end would surely preclude any doorway in such a location hence the reasoned placement of the doorway at the side. It is very possible that Carolingian design from the late eighth to ninth century influenced Canterbury's double apse design between its two west end towers.[88] We did see that about fifty years earlier, the patrons at Brixworth refashioned their principal doorway position in response to the church's structural alterations at its west end and that area's new importance. Brixworth along with the new cathedral at Canterbury may be evidence for a new design in the English kingdoms which had already existed by the early ninth century on the Continent at such places like Cologne and Fulda (Hessen) and others, which I discuss at the end of this chapter.[89]

Old Minster, Winchester (Hampshire)

As discussed earlier, the Biddles state that Old Minster, Winchester was first built in the late seventh or early eighth century with a presumed original west doorway. In the ninth century King Alfred redeveloped Winchester as an urban centre and may have been the driving force for the creation of a new grand church which became New Minster after his death. Not to be outdone, the early tenth-century bishops of Winchester began a building campaign to upgrade the cathedral which lasted most of the century.[90] The redesigned tenth-century cathedral certainly eclipsed the New Minster, which, was just to its north. The

88. Blockley, 106-07.
89. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, 188-99.
90. Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle, "Old Minster, St Swithun's Day 1093"in *Winchester Cathedral 1093-1993*, ed. J. Crook (Guildford: Biddles, 1993), 13-20; Martin Biddle, "*Felix Urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform," in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), 123-40.

Biddles' plan for the tenth-century Old Minster identifies its walls and other features but its doorway positions are not clearly indicated (Fig. 1.13).[91]

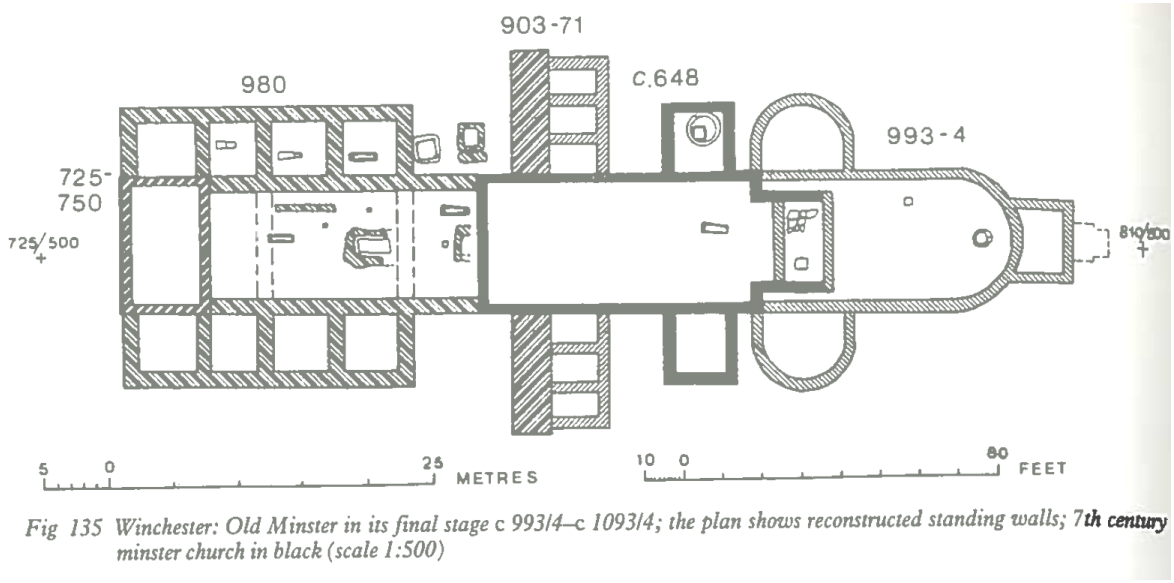

Fig 135 Winchester: Old Minster in its final stage c 993/4–c 1093/4; the plan shows reconstructed standing walls; 7th century minster church in black (scale 1:500)

Fig. 1.13, Old Minster, Winchester, Hampshire

Winchester's former bishop, Swithun, was believed to be buried in 862, about seven meters west of the central point of its seventh-century church's west wall on account of a grave, reputed to be his, was found at this location. Swithun was elevated to sainthood in 971 and became the patron saint for Old Minster. King Edgar was the patron of these alterations and a sponsor for the monastic reform movement and its late tenth-century text, the *Regularis Concordia*.[92]

KingEdgar, but possibly either of his successors, Edward (d. 978) or Æthelred (d. 1013) built St Martin's Tower and its westwork west of Swithun's burial site. The new west end of Old Minster internalised his former outdoor tomb which was then dedicated as a martyrium. In order not to disturb his remains, the builders constructed an ambulatory to allow people to move around the holy burial

91. Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle, "The 7th century minster at Winchester interpreted," in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M.* Taylor, eds. Lawrence A. S Butler and Richard K. Morris (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), 196-209; see note 12, above.
92. Kjolbye-Biddle, "Old Minster, St Swithun's Day 1093," 14-16.

site.[93] In this final building phase, they created a new principal doorway at the redesigned and enlarged west end of the church within its grand westwork. We see this in the Winchester Research Unit artist's conception in Figure 14, below. It is possible that the creation of the ambulatory around the centrally-placed martyrium removed the need for north and south nave doorways as people bypassed Swithun's location as they entered the building from the west. We do not know if Old Minster also had north and south doors, though it is possible. We are certain that its highly developed westwork originates in eighth and ninth-century Carolingian architecture discussed below which highlighted a new use and importance of the west end at major churches.

b) A Tenth-Century Monastery

St Oswald, Gloucester (Gloucestershire)

Saint Oswald, Gloucester, is one of the earliest examples of an Anglo-Saxon monastic church that was built with no western doorway but instead had one, possibly two, in the nave. King Alfred's daughter, Æthelflæd, was its royal patron. Saint Oswald's was built in the late ninth or early tenth century.[94] St Oswald's may be the earliest example of an English church using two nave doorways instead of a single west end doorway.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* helps date the church to the early tenth century. It states that in 909 Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) translated the relics of St. Oswald to the new minster at Gloucester.[95] Gloucester's burial evidence best

93. Ibid., 16; John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 163-64.
94. Carolyn M. Heighway and Richard Bryant, *The Golden Minster, The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1999), 36-38, 61-62.
95. Swanton, *ASC*, 94, The Abingdon Manuscript C says the relics were transferred to Gloucester, cf annal 641 (E).

dates the church. Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant led excavations at this site first in 1967, then 1975-78 and 1983.[96] They produced a plan that is based on excavations mostly on the north and west sides of the church (Fig. 1.14).[97] Their earliest discovered human remains have a date range of 910 x 945.[98] Radiocarbon analysis corroborates the earliest burials to, or just before, the early tenth century.[99] They state that the building's foundations remain evident throughout the excavated areas in: (a) the western apse, (b) the eastern wall at the north side of the eastern porticus, (c) along the south wall and west wall of the south porticus, and (d) at the west nave wall adjoining the western apse.[100] Their research also revealed that the western apse was an original feature without a western doorway. They state that the western apse,

> had foundations built of mortared rubble layered with earth, set in a foundation trench. Although the foundations are different from those of the main body of the church, the mortar of the apse and of the mortared part of the nave foundation was continuous. The apse was therefore added to the church after the church foundations were finished but before the standing wall was built and is an integral part of Period I.[101]

Their excavations found evidence for a north doorway positioned at the western end of the nave. This included a gap in the lowest course of the north wall and threshold stones which were placed (in Period 1B) inside the doorway that created steps to a lower external level.[102]

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96. Heighway and Bryant, *Golden Minster*, 47-48.
97. Ibid., 58.
98. Heighway and Bryant, *Golden Minster, 61-62.* Heighway and Bryant found seven generations of burials located in a confined space adjacent to/beneath the north transept constructed in 1120. They use 1120 as a reliable terminus ante quem for the seventh generation of burials. They state that these remains present a 175 to 210 year time span and arrive at a plausible first burial dating to 910 x 945.
99. Ibid., 61-62.
100. Ibid., 57-62.
101. Heighway and Bryant, *Golden Minster,* 57.
102. Ibid., 55.

Heighway and Bryant did not examine the area of a probable south doorway and presume its existence. Saint Oswald's, Gloucester indicates an important departure from the Anglo-Saxon church design of and before the eighth century.

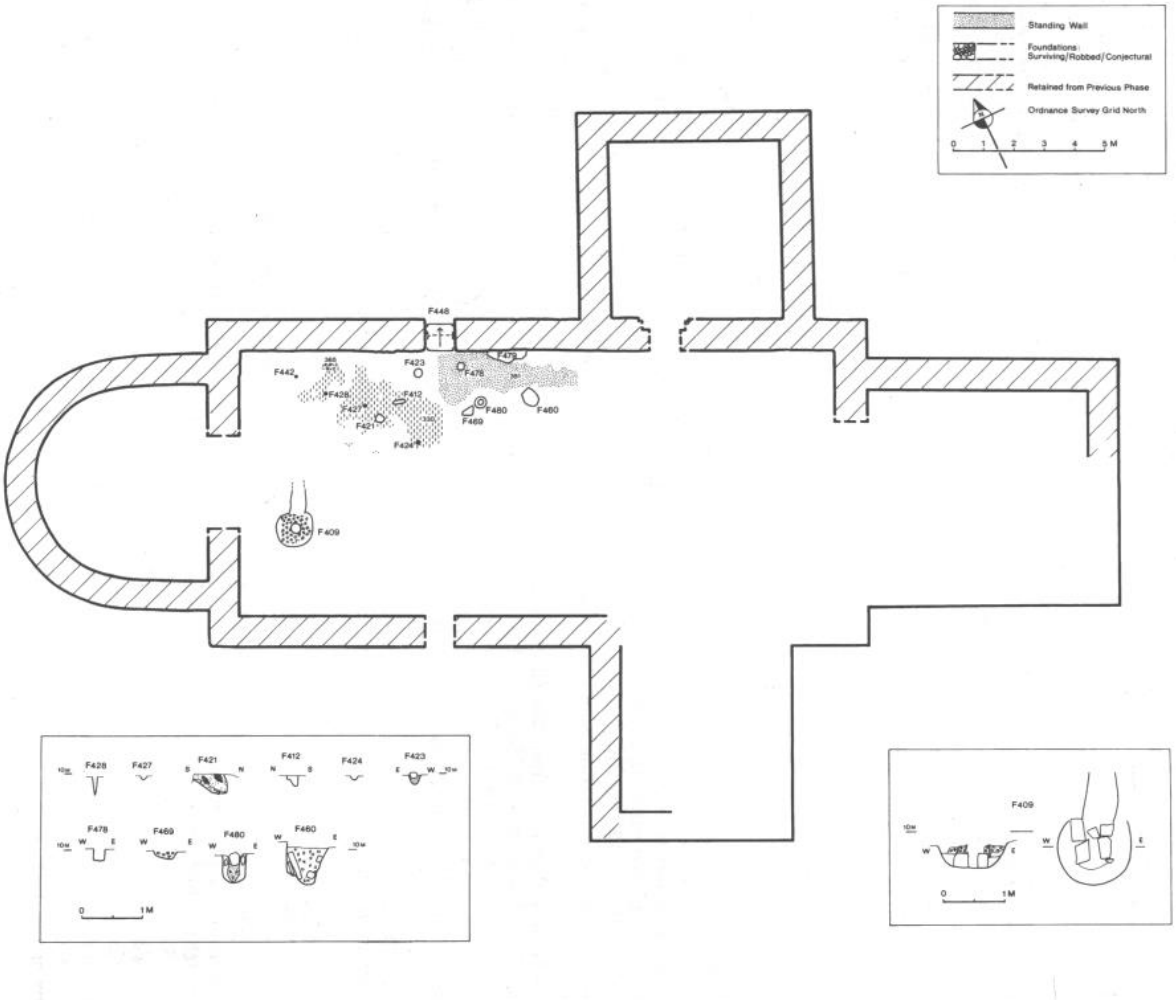

Figure 2.10 Plan of the Period IB church, showing industrial levels and bell-pit, and selected feature sections. Drawing: Jean Williamson

Fig. 1.14, St Oswald, Gloucester, Gloucestershire

St Oswald's ground plan has some similarities with that of Canterbury Cathedral, at least with the western apse and possible two nave doorways. Just as with Canterbury, I suggest it is probable that St Oswald's Gloucester's form has roots in ninth and tenth-century Continental design. This tenth-century church adds further evidence in support of the argument that by the end of the tenth

century churches tended to have north and south nave doorways instead of at the west end as in the earlier period.

c) Two Tenth-Century Proprietary Churches

This last group of two tenth-century churches, namely, those at Raunds Furnells and Barton-upon-Humber, may fall within the category of 'lesser churches' described by Susan Wood. They differ from the previous four tenth-century churches not only by their dimensions but also by function, patronage, liturgy, and who performed the services at these churches. As proto-parochial, lesser churches they probably served their immediate community as places of worship. They would also have been the most important civic building in the area, possibly used at times for secular needs. Although we cannot directly compare them with the other great churches of this chapter, we may be able to juxtapose their respective ground plans and doorway positions to see if there could have been any top-down influence.

Raunds Furnells, Dedication Unknown (Northamptonshire)

Andy Boddington led excavations at Raunds Furnells from 1977-87 and found a small two-celled tenth-century church (Fig. 1.15).[103] This church is not to be confused with its late eleventh or early twelfth-century replacement built in the same location, or with the neighbouring thirteenth-century parish church of St Peter. Few documentary records exist for the church at Raunds Furnells.

While the Anglo-Saxon charters do not refer to Raunds, Domesday lists it in two entries, albeit without a church.[104] A quitclaim deed for 1246 mentions a

103. Michel Audouy and Andy Chapman, *Raunds: The origin and growth of a midland village AD 450-1500 Excavations in north Raunds, Northamptonshire 1977-87* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 84-88.
104. *DB,* Northamptonshire, folios 4, 14.

Raunds chaplain but there is no certainty that this priest had a role at the rebuilt church.[105] We therefore rely upon archaeological evidence to date the church.

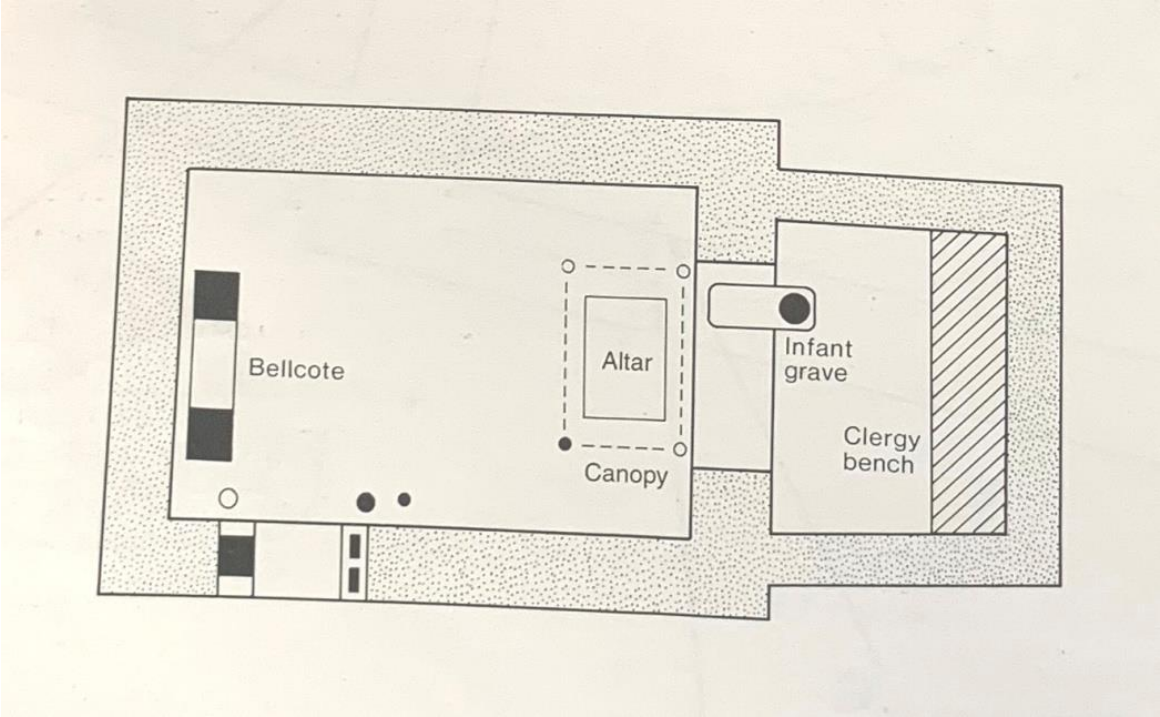

Fig. 1.15, Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire

Michel Audouy and Andy Chapman state that Raunds' best dating evidence for the earliest possible terminus post quem is derived from a sacrarium vessel and related pottery fragments found in a ditch beneath part of the church. They argue that the date of these shards is c. 900. However, they further state that the ditch was infilled and that the first church was probably built further to the west with a date no earlier than c. 950.[106] Audouy and Chapman also consider the burial evidence, further pottery, and other artefacts dating from this time to consolidate their argument for this mid-tenth-century date.[107] Before the end of the

105. The National Archives Website: Discovery: BCM D/5/65 William son of Jocelin de Schelvistone and Sir Gilbert de Segreave, n.d, Description available at http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/718519d6-089d-4c9f-8767-f5352672dfce (accessed May 5, 2019)
106. Audouy and Chapman, *Raunds,* 24-5, 84-5.
107. Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard* (London: English Heritage, 1996), 8-15, 72.

eleventh century, its builders added an eastern compartment to the original single celled structure.[108] It is probable that the church initially fulfilled the role of field chapel or oratory, before becoming, in the mid-tenth century, a church that served the manor and its neighbouring community. This seems especially likely when we consider its extensive coeval burials.[109]

Excavations revealed that the walls of the first phase of this building were about 51 centimetres wide. Even by later Anglo-Saxon church wall standards, on average about 76 centimetres, Raunds' walls were thin. Excavations also revealed that there were internal post holes at the west end of the nave. David Parsons argues that these holes, cut into the nave's floor stones, were likely anchoring features for supporting timber poles.[110] He proposes that these poles may have supported a bellcote at the west end of the church.[111] Supporting posts placed near the wall would have shared the weight of the bells distributing their downward and lateral forces away from the thin west wall. This proposed support structure did not run the entire length of the west wall. Rather, the addition began about 30 centimetres into the nave at the first post hole which may have acted like a door stop, then continued for approximately a further 183 centimetres along the west wall to the further post hole. Raunds' possible acquisition of bells indicates a change in status for the once private chapel or oratory. Parsons relates Raunds' function and its bells,

> From being initially a simple rectangular single-celled building, no more than a private chapel, it becomes, with the addition of a bellcote and a chancel with clergy seats, a fully fledged – though small proprietary church.[112]

108. Ibid.
109. Ibid., 8-15.
110. Audouy and Chapman, *Raunds*, 85.
111. David Parsons, "Liturgical and Social Aspects," in *Raunds Furnells The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, ed. Andy Boddington (London: English Heritage, 1996), 64-66.
112. Ibid., 65.

In its initial phase, its west wall had a sufficient width for the religious activities performed within. When its function changed in the mid-tenth century, or perhaps later when the eastern cell was added, Raunds' west wall may have been inadequate for functioning bells. The evidence suggests that post holes were added at the west end to support a bellcote. The construction of the timber supports for the possible bellcote would have altered and reduced the already small internal nave of this church. If the internal alterations did in fact reduce the internal space and blocked access to the nave's west wall then its internal bellcote structure would have made a western doorway impossible.

Boddington proposes altar positions at the chancel arch but not for a font. If the bishop gave Raunds license for burials he may also have allowed baptisms. Given the already very small size of Raunds' nave at three meters wide, we cannot presume there was a fixed font at Raunds. If the local priest did have such a license then he may have used a portable wooden or lightweight metal font.[113] We have no evidence where at Raunds he may have positioned such a font and celebrated the ritual; although, Paul Barnwell suggests that this may have occurred near the chancel arch.[114] If it were near that arch then the timber structure would not interfere with the space at the font.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the church at Raunds Furnells had a single doorway in its south nave wall and that it may also have had bells suspended at its west end. The internal supporting structure occupied much of the western part of the nave making a western entrance improbable.

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113. John Blair, "The Prehistory of Fonts," in *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England, 400-1200: Papers in Honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle*, eds. Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsay (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 149-77.
114. Paul S. Barnwell, *The Place of Baptism in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Churches* (Deerhurst: The Friends of Deerhurst Church, 2014), 1-11.

Saint Peter, Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire)

Warwick Rodwell directed extensive excavations of the church of Saint Peter, Barton-upon-Humber from 1978-84. The church, in its initial phase, was a three-celled building.[115] It had doorways on the north and south sides of its tower nave (Fig. 1.16).

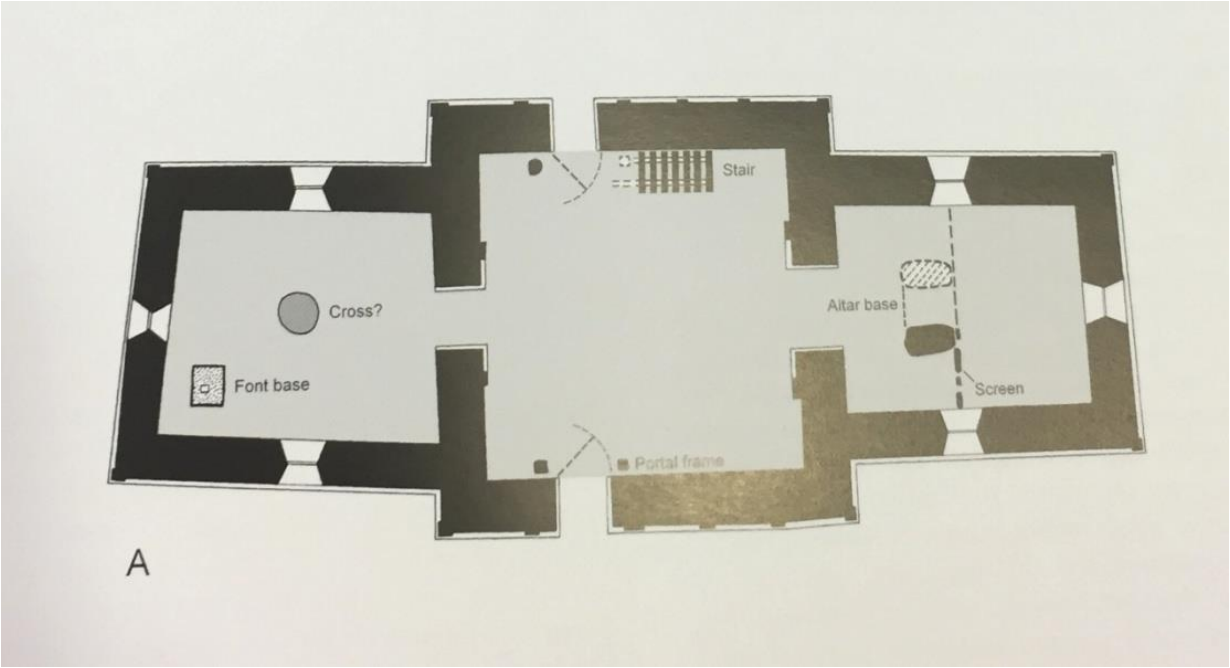

Fig. 1.16, St Peter Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire

Rodwell states that the best dating evidence for St Peter's is based on its burial remains. He concludes that the burial remains are "unequivocally cut by and resting beneath the foundation of the building…radiocarbon dated at 985-1035 with a 95% probability – helping to date the laying of those foundation stones at St. Peter's."[116]

The original tower and western chamber remain in place. The church's eastern chancel was rebuilt and replaced in later construction phases. Excavations revealed the original chancel completing the original Period 2 ground

115. Warwick Rodwell, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: a Parish Church and its community*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 251.
116. Rodwell, *St Peter's*, 354.

plan.[117] The original western cell was constructed at the same time as the tower-nave without a west doorway.[118] Rodwell argues that the western cell may have been used as a baptistry. He found a rectangular slab that supported a circular base in this western cell which suggests it may have been a base for a stone font.[119]

The church appears to have had at one time a western doorway but this was not a medieval insertion. In 1858, the church's patrons created a western doorway in the western cell only to be highly criticised by the greater community for this alteration. As a result of the outcry they sealed the western doorway in 1869-70.[120] Apart from the church of St Peter Barton-upon-Humber, I have found no earlier stone-built church which had laterally opposing nave doorways.

1.4. A Change in the Use of the Church's West End?

As we see, one of the patterns for churches built from the seventh to late ninth centuries is that they tended to have their doorway at the west end of the building. In the tenth century there appears to be a change in this pattern. Although the extant evidence is limited we do notice that builders were installing doorways in the north and south walls of the nave rather than in the west. I suggest that there may be two possible reasons for the mid-ninth and tenth-century change. The first is a new use of the west end of the building for many churches. Many have written on this feature. Charles McClendon, for example, analysed Carolingian period churches, some of which had elaborate westworks

117. Ibid., 2.
118. Ibid., 292.
119. Ibid., 299-302, 352-53; Barnwell, *The Place of Baptism*, 7, "The only certain instance of a baptistery in a porticus of such a date is at Barton-upon-Humber…and consists of excavated evidence for a font-base and soak away in the southwest corner of the floor of the western porticus."
120. Rodwell, *St Peter's*, 292-94.

used for various religious and secular purposes.[121] Helen Gittos expanded upon this and wrote on the development of the west end of Anglo-Saxon and Continental churches as places of ritual or other celebration from, and after, the end of the ninth century.[122] She referenced a wealth of previous research making a strong argument that from the ninth-century, new Anglo-Saxon churches were built with special west end spaces that were designed for various rituals or ceremonies.

McClendon and others suggest that the development of the west end as a ritual location for a monastic church first began in the late-eighth century. As a direct result of the celebration in a special west end space there may have been no need for a western doorway which might interfere with that zone. McClendon states that the church of Saint-Maurice d'Augane (Switzerland) 786 x 787 is the Continent's earliest known example of a double-apse church. The earliest double, or multi-apsed churches are found from the fourth century at Damous-el-Karita, Carthage (Tunisia) and the cathedral of El'Asnam in Algeria.[123] Other high-status churches follow this design change, including Cologne Cathedral 790 x 800, the redesigned abbey at Fulda (Hessen) *c*. 800 and Mainz (Franconia) 891 x 913, which had east and west apses and north and south nave doorways. The imperial abbey at Corvey (Saxony) is one of the most prominent mid ninth-century Carolingian churches. The royal abbey at Corvey did not have a western apse but instead a multi-storied and highly embellished westwork with twin towers at the

121. Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture* (New Haven: YUP, 2005), 158-60
122. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Space*, 194-204.
123. Heimo Dolenz and Hans Roland Baldus, *Damous-el-Karita* (Wien:Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut,2001), 174-202; Peter Grossmann, "Überlegungen zum ursprünglichen grundriss der kirche von Orléansville (Chlef,Algeria) und einbeitragzurentstehungder Christlichen basilika," *Antiquité tardive*21 (2013): 313-20.

west of a large multi-level atrium.[124] Its principal doorway was at its west end. It also had north and south atrium doorways west of the nave. This atrium was significantly more than just a western apse. It was a very large structure approximately twenty-five meters long by twenty meters wide supported by columns and archways. Sveva Gai, in her recent work on Corvey, states that the westwork may have been built as an imperial symbol designed to enhance the importance not only of the royal abbey itself but also the religious and secular events occurring within the atrium. Gai suggests that the atrium and westwork, appended in phases to the earlier church, had no specific liturgical function but rather may have been a location for monastic and lay burials (presumably of high-status people based on exhumed body dimensions), pilgrim accommodation and sanctuary.[125]

As we have seen, in the mid-ninth century Brixworth's builders blocked its Period I western doorway by adding the western stair turret and repurposing its west end. Similarly, the royal patrons of the monastery at Gloucester, and Canterbury Cathedral, built western apses and possibly built a pair of north and south nave doorways eliminating the need for a western ground-level entrance. Each of these prominent tenth-century English churches had a special status for its west end. Even New Minster's later tenth-century, highly embellished, northwest tower confirms this desire to highlight this end of the church. It is also the case that Gloucester and Canterbury had western apses and possible altars in

124. McClendon, *Medieval Architecture*, 158-60; David Parsons, "Sites and Monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Central Germany," *AJ* 140, no. 1 (1983): 308-09; Fritz V. Arens, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Statdt Mainz* (Mainz: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1961), 422-26; Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Space*, 188-97; Carolyn Heighway, "Painted Plaster and Sculpture from the Tenth-Century New Minster of St Oswald at Gloucester," in *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England, BAR British Series 216*, eds. Sharon Cather, David Park, Paul Williamson (London: BAR Publishing, 1990), 80.
125. Sveva Gai, *Die Klosterkirche Corvey: Geschichte und Archäologie* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2012), 629-38.

these areas.[126] Hare also suggests that the western tower at Deerhurst may have had a chapel with altars within the multi levels of this tower, as was the fashion on the Continent.[127]

Old Minster's tenth-century redesign is more complicated. Its royal patrons, perhaps in imitation of Corvey, redesigned Old Minster's west end with an elaborate multi-level westwork and twin towers, thus creating an Anglo-Saxon equivalent. The community at Old Minster buried the relics of St Swithun just beyond its west wall. Old Minster's tenth-century redesign retained the relics' position whilst maintaining a continuity of ritual tradition. The creation of Swithun's ambulatory and significant westwork heightened the importance of the west end especially at ground level. In addition, Elizabeth Parker writes that the Old Minster's newly fashioned west end may have been the site for the *Depositio crucis* procession as part of the Easter ritual.[128]

These churches are examples of a new direction in English church design that altered the west end's role for high status and monastic churches. West-end upper levels also were enhanced for rituals. Just as at Deerhurst, Hare suggests that its upper level chapels did not interfere with its original western ground level doorway. We do see the west end's importance continue in other eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon churches including, as Helen Gittos identifies, (i) Worcester Cathedral's west porticus where Wulfstan may have prayed, (ii) Sherborne Cathedral (Dorset) which may also have had a western chapel and (iii) Barnack's (Northamptonshire) west-end porticus chapel which still has its west-end carved

126. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Space*, 188.
127. Hare, "The Anglo-Saxon Church of St Mary, Deerhurst: A Reassessment of the Early Structural History," *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 136 (2018): 228-33.
128. Elizabeth Parker, "Architecture and Liturgical Setting," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas Heffernan (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 2005), 261-62.

ceremonial seat with possible aumbries at either side.[129] At the start of the tenth-century, then, and certainly by the end of the eleventh, great monastic or high status churches were enhancing and highlighting the importance of their west ends. A ground-floor western doorway into any of these churches might have interfered with a ground level ritual performance or other celebration. Deerhurst is a noticeable exception as it had a ground level western nave doorway; however, its western upper level may have had the more important ritual space than at the ground floor. As such, evidence shows that most builders of these churches did not create ground level western doorways at this time but instead constructed one or two nave doorways on the north and south sides of the church.

Similarly to these high status monastic churches and cathedrals, Anglo-Saxon proprietary churches may have also displayed a special use for their west ends. The tenth-century churches at Raunds and Barton-upon-Humber clearly functioned differently from England's great churches and I suggest no direct comparison is really possible especially as we have so few churches to consider. What is observed is that proprietary, or proto-parochial churches or chapels in the late tenth century may have avoided a western doorway not necessarily to create an internal space for rituals but rather to secure its western external space. Archaeological evidence, at both churches, shows that both communities performed burials, at times, right up against the exteriors of both of their west walls.[130]

We see a similar use of the external western space at the tenth-century church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon (Wiltshire). David Hinton, Jeremy

129. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Space*, 189-90.
130. Rodwell, *St Peter's*, vol. 2, Fig 30, 29-30; Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 53-54.

Haslam, and other scholars state that this church is an unusual building which was built to house the relics of King Edward the Martyr.[131] It was not like either Raunds or Barton-upon-Humber. At Bradford-on-Avon, the space immediately west of the western nave wall was used for burials. Excavations at this location revealed cist burials just west of the church which may perhaps also suggest that the mausoleum did not have a western doorway.[132]

A second factor that may have affected doorway placement at the west end was briefly addressed earlier at Raunds Furnells. At Raunds, there probably was an internal wooden bellcote support structure that may have interfered with the functioning of a western doorway. This may also have been the case at the late tenth or early eleventh-century church of St Mark, Lincoln. At St Mark's there were also the remains of a series of wooden post holes placed at regular intervals along the nave's floor running in a north-south direction.[133] These post holes suggest perhaps two possibilities: (i) that it, like Raunds, had an internally supported western bellcote, or (ii) it may have had an internal western gallery against the nave's west wall.[134] If the church had a western doorway then the gallery would need to be of such a height to allow the movement of people and processions beneath. It is possible such a gallery with a western doorway may not have been mutually exclusive. We do not know exactly what the post holes supported but in either case it may be that a western doorway may have been impracticable.

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131. David A Hinton, "The Anglo-Saxon Chapel at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire," in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, eds. Catherine E. Karkov, Karen L. Jolly and Sarah Larratt Keefer (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010), 319-39; Jeremy Haslam, "The Unfinished Chapel at Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire, and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Early Eleventh Century," *AJ* 170, no. 1 (2013): 292-97.
132. David A. Hinton, "Recent Work at the Chapel of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire," *AJ* 166, no. 1 (2009): 207-08.
133. M. J. Jones, (ed.) "Excavations at Lincoln," *Antiquaries Journal* 61 (1981): 92-100.
134. David Parsons, "Liturgical and Social Aspects," in *Raunds Furnells,* Boddington, 58-66.

1.5. Bells at the West End

(i) The purpose of large suspended bells in medieval churches

My second argument, applicable to proprietary churches, is that the there are structural consequences for the suspension and use of large bells that are positioned at the west ends of churches. We know that medieval churches used, for a multitude of purposes, bells of various sizes, from small handheld ones to some very large cast in bronze. My focus is upon the bells that were placed in a permanent location often within towers, bellcotes or bell turrets at local churches. By the ninth century Carolingian churches used large bells, which were often placed in towers.[135] Within an Anglo-Saxon context, Michael Shapland writes,

> Although not strictly necessary for the performance of the funerary liturgy, it has been noted in several studies that the right to bury the dead at a church may have been marked by the erection of a bell-tower. It is therefore conceivable that, in a number of cases, an entire tower-nave would be built for this purpose.[136]

The people in the churchyard, and beyond in the community, would need to hear bells for such religious or secular celebrations or other matters.

Tenth-century evidence I have found is in the *Regularis Concordia* which, among its other features, deals with daily liturgical and religious life and practice. It was probably written in c.970 by Æthelwold, who was bishop of Winchester in 963.[137] Two chapters of the Regularis Concordia pertain to death and the ringing of bells. Chapter 66 provides instructions for the death of a monk,

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135. John Arnold and Caroline Goodson, “Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells,” *Viator* 43, no. 1 (2012): 99-130.
136. Michael G. Shapland, *Anglo-Saxon Towers of Lordship* (Oxford: OUP, 2019), 155; Parsons, “Liturgical and Social Aspects,” 58–66; David A. Stocker and Paul Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2006), 81-82.
137. Lucia Kornexl, “The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English gloss,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 96-101.

> The body shall then be borne into the church with the chanting of psalms and the tolling of bells.[138]

This is followed in Chapter 68,

> When news is brought of the death of a brother of another monastery, well known and of the same confraternity…the bells shall toll.[139]

In the first passage the body is among the monastic community and bells are rung which only linked the announcement of the death of a monk with bells. There is no further indication that bells are used at the burial. In the second passage, the bells merely act as a means of announcing a death at another monastic community, and the body itself is not present. Moreover, if the deceased monk was not a member of their monastic community then bells are not rung but "only the *Commendatio animae* and one day's memory shall be offered."[140]

The later eleventh-century text *Decreta Lanfranci* c.1077, has clearer links of burials with the ringing of bells. It was a liturgical directory and regulatory text for the monks and their leading officials at a monastery.[141]

The text only provides instructions for the bells to toll upon the death of a monk. In chapter 113, *On the burial of the dead,* it states,

> When all this is done and the prayers finished by the community…while the priest goes around the body sprinkling holy water and incensing the body…After this the bells are tolled.[142]

After this the body is laid in the church, the ringing ceases and the bells are subsequently struck only three times, immediately prior to the funeral.[143] There is no rubric for the tolling of bells at the burial.

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138. *St Æthelwold, Regularis Concordia, Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation,* ed. and trans., Thomas Symons (Thomas Neslon and Sons, 1953), c. 66.
139. Ibid., c. 68.
140. Ibid., c. 68.
141. David Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke, eds., *Oxford Medieval Texts: The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford OUP: 2019), xv-xxix.
142. Ibid., chapter 113, 186-88.
143. Ibid., chapter 113, 189-90.

I have found no further English evidence for bell ringing at burials. For such references we have no option but to look to, and after, the thirteenth century for practice which might have been common in the Latin west. Two thirteenth-century examples provide some evidence for bell ringing and burials.For example, a French council of 1252 stated that,

> when a church is under interdict and therefore cannot celebrate mass if a parishioner dies they are simply to be laid out for obsequies,
>
> sine campanarum pulsatione, et cessantibus aliis solempnitatibus.[144]

A second is from Guillaume Durand Bishop of Mende in 1286, later known as Durandus. He also wrote on bells but almost three hundred years after Barton-upon-Humber was built.[145] Still, his metaphors may possibly reflect a continuity of a much earlier tradition. Of their role for the deceased or dying, he writes,

> Also, when someone dies, the bells should be rung so that when the people hear this, they will pray for him…They must be loudly rung when the body corpse is carried to the church, and when it is carried from the church to the burial place.[146]

Just when and where this practice first occurred in medieval Europe is not known.

David Stocker and Paul Everson, followed by Shapland, have also written about the use of bells within towers in English churches but not of their mechanics or structural impact.[147] Within the context of doorways another limitation of their research is that their examples are mostly relevant to the period of, and after, the eleventh century. As Stocker and Everson's focus is on Lincolnshire their data is naturally limited by the impact of the Viking occupation of the diocese in the ninth

144. Arnold and Goodson, 123, 'without the ringing of bells and with other formalities/elements of ceremony absent.'
145. Timothy M. Thibodeau, ed. *The Rationale divinorum officiorum of William Durand of Mend: a new translation of the prologue and book one* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 49-53.
146. Thibodeau, *Rationale divinorum*, 53.
147. Stocker and Everson, 81-92; Shapland, 20-33, 128-30.

and tenth centuries. Shapland's examples of the tenth century and earlier are also limited as only three of the buildings he studied have reliable plans showing their nave doorways. He does discuss Old and New Minster, Winchester and Barton-upon-Humber, all of which are case studies in this chapter. Beyond these examples, historiography is rather limited on the use and positioning of bells in Anglo-Saxon churches and the physical stresses that they create.

We do know that many churches hung such bells typically at the nave's west end gable, either in a bellcote or wooden turret. Higher status churches had western or central bell towers, while some churches actually had towers placed away from the church itself.[148] Paul Barnwell writes that some communities even hung bells in trees, such as those at St Mary's, Twyford (Middlesex) and St Peter's, Broom (Staffordshire).[149] In such cases, communities and the church builders may have been limited by finances or they might have chosen an alternative such as building a detached wooden tower. Alternatively, it may be that they feared that their church might not have withstood the structural stresses created by a western bell.

(ii) Structural issues of ringing suspended bells

Recent engineering studies state that the motion of church bells creates structural and harmonic forces potentially damaging to the building. Physical stresses from ringing are a function of their weight, height, and the number of bells suspended, their sequence of ringing, speed and direction, in addition to the

148. J. Philip McAleer, "Surviving Medieval Free-standing Bell Towers at Parish Churches in England and Wales," *JBAA* 156 no. 1 (2003): 79-103; Henry B. Walters, *Church Bells of England* (Oxford: OUP, 1912), 64-70.
149. Paul S. Barnwell, *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 300-950* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2015), 172.

nature of the fabric itself.[150] Jacques Heyman examined the effects of bell ringing on church towers. He states that their motion directly affects the fabric. The "presence of the openings indeed weakens the walls in their ability to carry shear."[151] Following Heyman's study, we understand that openings within the west wall, below where bells are hung, impact structural integrity. Removing the west doorway and reducing the number and size of western windows may be some of the methods available to physically protect the western wall and simultaneously allow for the use of west end bells. Although these studies examined either high angle swinging (62-68 degrees) or circular bell ringing (the latter, a feature of the very late Middle Ages/Early Modern period) we do know that even heavy cast church bells suspended at high levels in towers or at the apex or gables of their west walls will create structural stresses within those walls.

A fundamental question, then, is how large suspended bells were sounded at medieval churches? The historiography of church bells suggests at least four basic methods: (i) striking a fixed, immobile bell with a hammer from the exterior with a rope, (ii) striking a similar static bell's interior with a clapper pulled by a rope, (iii) swinging the bell which is affixed to a beam (headstock) along its horizontal axis by means of a rope attached to a lever, and (iv) swinging a bell using a wheeled system pulled by a rope.[152]

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150. Jacques Heyman, *The Stone Skeleton, Structural Engineering of Masonry Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 121-22; P. F. McCombie, "Rocking of a bell tower – Investigation by non-contact video measurement," *Engineering Structures* 193 (2019): 271-80; David Bru, Salvador Ivorra, Michele Betti, Jose M. Adam and Gianni Bartoli, "Parametric dynamic interaction assessment between bells and supporting slender masonry tower," *Mechanical Systems and Signal Processing* 129 (2019): 235-49.
151. Heyman, *Stone Skeleton*, 125.
152. John C. Eisel, "Development in Bell Hanging," in *Change Ringing: The History of an English Art Volume I, Its Development up to 1699*, ed. Jean Sanderson (Cambridge: Foister& Jagg, 1987), 18-27; John J. Raven, *The Bells of England* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906).

Of the fourth option, we know that circular ringing only developed in the later Middle Ages/Early Modern period and so cannot be applied to our concerns of the late tenth century doorway positioning. John Eisel states that the half-wheeled ringing method may have originated in the early fifteenth century; three-quarter wheels by the second half of the sixteenth, and full wheels after that.[153] This fact does not preclude the use of the three other pre-wheeled ringing methods of the earlier medieval period. The next question then, is did tenth-century ringers use a swinging motion for sounding their bells or were those bells static?

I suggest that earlier medieval bells could have been swung using method (iii). We see visual evidence of such an arrangement, with bells fixed to a headstock in a bell turret. The late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon illumination is within the Chatsworth Benedictional of St Æthelwold, which is dated to 971 x 984 (Fig. 1.17 and 1.18).[154] Æthelwold was the bishop of Winchester from 963 until his death in 984 and we may perhaps have the artist-monk's impression of both Old and New Minster at this time. Two buildings have weathervanes. Pope Nicholas I (858 – 867) decreed in the ninth century that this object was to be placed atop all churches.[155] The central one, above the church, is painted gold and may perhaps signify the cathedral. The other building is probably a second church if the Pope's order was followed. The second weathervane is darker (if fully painted) perhaps

153. Eisel, 20.
154. Raven, *The Bells of England*, 41.; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "The Benedictional of St Aethelwold and Anglo-Saxon Illumination of the Reform Period," in *Tenth-century studies: essays in commemoration of the millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), 169-83; Image from John Gage, "A dissertation on St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, an illuminated MS. of the 10th Century, in the Library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire," *Archaeologia* 24 (1832): Plate XXXII.
155. Edward Coode Hore, "Vanes and Weathercocks," *The Antiquary* 17 (1888): 201-05.

signifying a lesser status. That second building may be New Minster, but of course we cannot be certain.

What is clear from the image is that the artist-monk shows four (possibly five, one partially hidden above the others) bells suspended and attached to one or more headstocks in the bell tower, just as Eisel and Walters suggest they might be sounded by swinging. We clearly see their clappers beneath each bell. I doubt that each of these bells would be sounded by a group of bell-ringers within the belfry pulling on ropes attached to the clappers of each bell; but this is also possible.

Fig. 1.17, Chatsworth Benedictional of St Æthelwold Fol. 119 v

A thirteenth-century bell ringing method performed by swinging a headstock from side-to-side, is seen in the modern bells at the church of All Saints, Little Casterton (Rutland) (Fig. 1.19).[156]

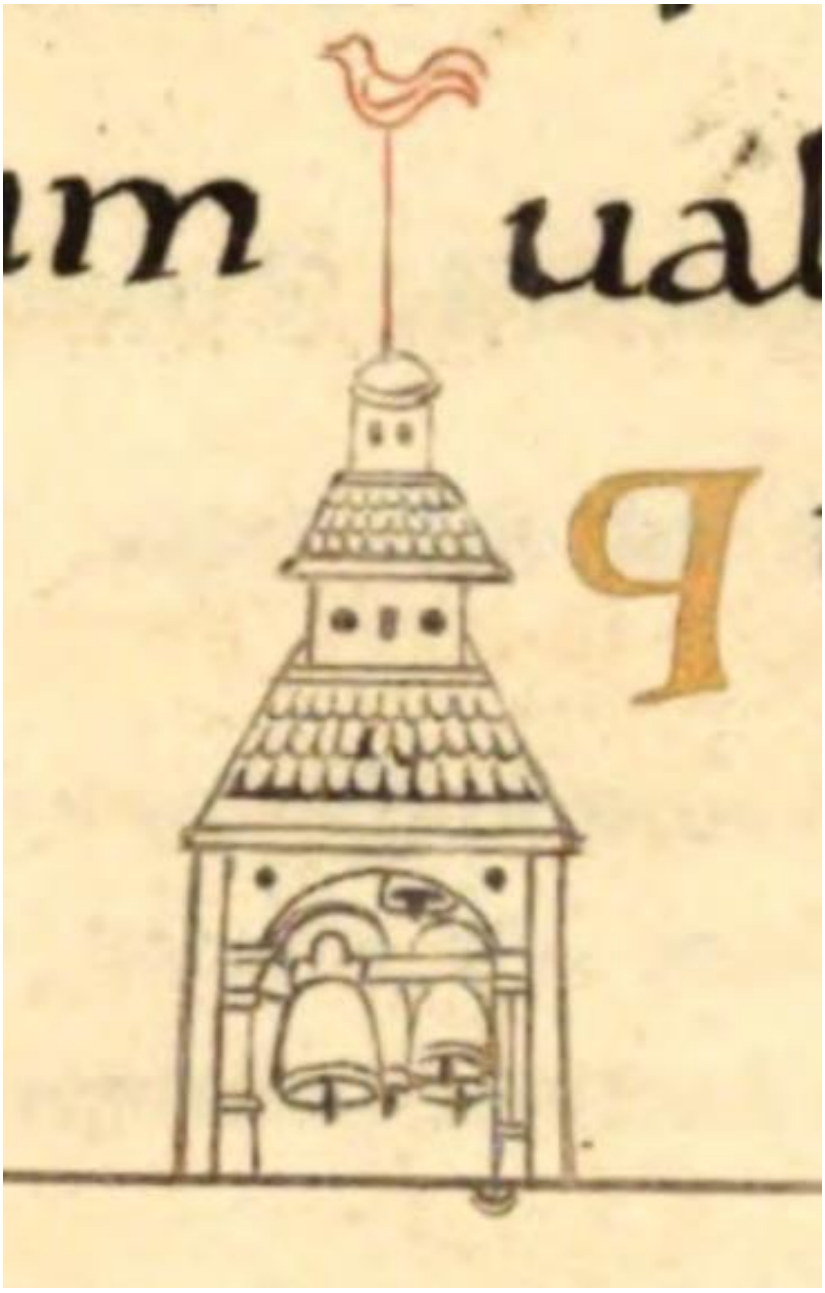

Fig. 1.18, Chatsworth Benedictional of St Æthelwold Fol. 119 v, Detail of bells, inset

156. Lionel Wall, “Little Casterton,” *Great English Churches* (blog), March 17, 2021, http://www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk.

I have not seen Little Casterton's bells in motion. The limit of the levers' possible motion suggests that they may reach perhaps at most a quarter-circle or 45 degrees of movement. Philip McAleer states that "bells hung stationary and, struck by a clapper or hammer pulled by a rope, would have relatively little strain on a tower."[157] However, he also states that, "Swing chiming with the bells attached to a beam...would have required a heavier bell frame yet not one as complicated as that for full circle ringing."[158]

Fig. 1.19, Little Casterton (Rutland) – 13th century
Modern bells to illustrate headstock swinging method
With permission,photo by Lionel Wall, Great English Churches

Notwithstanding the probable use of swinging bells in the late tenth century, and afterwards, we cannot assert that all churches used this method. The stationary bell struck by an exterior hammer or a pulled clapper within the bell may

157. McAleer, "Surviving Medieval Free-standing Bell Towers," 90.
158. Ibid., 90-91.

have been common especially in local churches whose patrons may have decided not to finance a more complicated framing structure within the church to make bell swinging possible. These medieval builders must also have had knowledge of the structural effects and potential damage caused by suspending large bells in their churches. They may have even constructed churches with detached bell towers in their yards (and, as above, in trees) perhaps to safeguard the nave against possible harm or even destruction.[159]

We do not know for certain that Raunds had a bell but it is very possible, especially when we consider that it its burials date from the mid-tenth to eleventh century in its Structural Phase 4 period. It is during this phase that the eastern cell or chancel was added and when, according to Boddington, burials begin in the churchyard.[160] We cannot be certain without corroborating evidence but it might be possible that Raunds' burials are linked with its new design in the mid-tenth century. Also, if it had a bell or bells there is no evidence to determine if, and how, its bell was sounded. If struck by an exterior hammer or clapped internally then its bellcote might not need to be so large. If David Parsons's western bellcote proposal is viable, then I would suggest accordingly that such an internal supporting structure might have been created to address the stresses of swinging bells as discussed by McAleer. If this is the case, then the builders at Raunds might have avoided a western doorway to protect the structural integrity of their church and quite also possibly as the structure within would block passage of movement through such a doorway.

159. For a list of such towers see McAleer, "Surviving Medieval Free-standing Bell Towers," 93-102.
160. Boddington, *RaundsFurnells*, 6-11.

The design form differs at Barton-upon-Humber. There we see that the builders created a central tower for the bells. At Barton, they avoided the stresses at the western wall. Instead, their central placement dissipated the physical force through the entire building: into the eastern and western cells as well as through the north and south walls of the tower. Furthermore, these stresses might also be reduced if they swung the bells simultaneously in opposing directions. Such arrangements are seen in multi-belled towers with some bells oriented in a north-south fashion specifically to counterbalance opposing directional forces.[161]

I suggest that lesser status churches could not merge a western doorway and window with western bells without potentially damaging the building if they did not substantially reinforce the west wall with buttressing or added width. Although the tenth-century local church evidence is limited to only the two churches at Raunds and Barton-upon-Humber, both churches support this hypothesis: Raunds had a thicker west wall and internal wooden supports for the bellcote or turret and Barton-upon-Humber placed its bells within the central tower nave. Both, then, were successfully adapted to bell ringing. We see many later examples where builders avoided western doorways when they suspended western bells. Examples include, the thirteenth-century churches at Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) (Fig. 1.20)[162], Manton (Rutland)(Fig. 1.21)[163] andLittle Casterton (Rutland) (Fig. 1.22).[164]

161. Bru, “Parametric dynamic interaction,” 235-49.
162. Walters, *Church Bells,* 59.
163. Ibid., 57.
164. Ibid., 58.

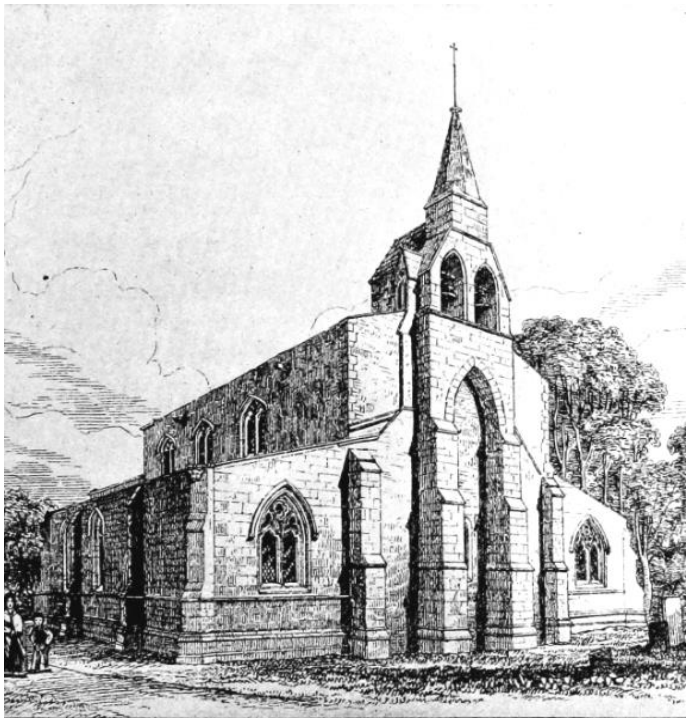

Fig. 1.20, St James, Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) by 1912

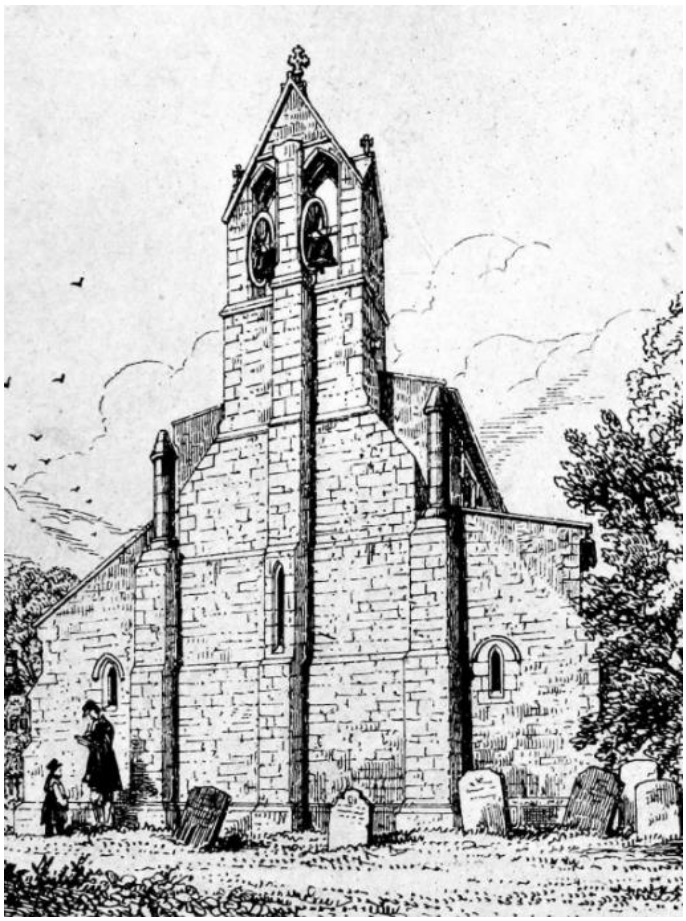

Fig. 1.21, St Mary, Manton (Rutland) by 1912

Fig. 1.22, All Saints, Little Casterton (Rutland) by 1912

In addition, the thirteenth-century builders of All Saints, Sutton Bassett (Northamptonshire), lengthened the nave and rebuilt and widened its west wall to support a pair of bells in a bellcote (Figs. 2.23[165], 2.24 and 2.25).

Fig. 1.23, All Saints, Sutton Bassett Northamptonshire

165. Swindon, Historic England Archive, RCHME Report NBR No. 107405.

Fig. 1.24, All Saints, Sutton Bassett, Northamptonshire, from the North

Fig. 1.25, All Saints, Sutton Bassett, Northamptonshire, from the West

Photos from Google Earth

1.6. Conclusion

There is strong evidence that Anglo-Saxon stone-built churches from the seventh to ninth centuries had their principal doorway at the west end. In this period, the builders of these churches retained this design throughout England. In the early tenth century, but probably as early as the mid ninth century at Brixworth, they changed the basic design form of this category of churches. The builders of the mid ninth-century church at Brixworth redesigned its earlier west end: the church no longer had a western doorway, and instead, like others to follow in the tenth century, adopted a new design which incorporated a multi-level celebratory space at the west end. Some churches had west end apses like at Gloucester or Canterbury Cathedral. At Old and New Minster the principal doorway remained as in the earlier period but they created a westwork, in the case of Old Minster, similar in nature to those we see on the Continent or an elaborate and highly embellished, multi-level, western tower. I suggest the new use of space in the west contributed to making the western doorway unwanted as it might possibly interfere with the ground level events at that side of the building. Although Old

Minster still had a western entrance, that doorway led into a formidable narthex structure, not unlike Corvey Abbey, with the nave still thirty meters to the east. Following this developing importance for the western zone, later ninth and early tenth-century monastic and high-status churches mostly abandoned the western doorway in favour of lateral nave ones that opened into one or both sides of the church.

The situation is different in the category of the lesser churches when compared with the previous high-status ones. As we have only analysed two such buildings there is no opportunity to make any broad conclusions. The first item to notice is that proprietary churches may not have had western doorways but rather openings into the north or south sides of the nave. Second, large scale burials provide evidence to suggest that what may have been private manorial chapels were possibly used as community churches. Third, when local churches were used for burials they probably required bells for a liturgical function. Fourth, if such a church had bells, their patrons probably needed to make sure that their use did not damage the building. In addressing this concern, builders may have created much larger western nave walls and bell housing structures which may have precluded a western entrance. We do not know if the western space of these lesser churches had any special importance; this contrasts greatly with the similarly dated monastic and other great Anglo-Saxon churches.

Chapter 2: Eleventh and Twelfth-Century English Parochial Churches and Chapels

2.1. Introduction

As seen in the previous chapter, few churches and chapels survived from the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period. This changed from the middle of the eleventh century, as a wide variety of patrons and communities built large numbers of stone churches throughout England. Most of these were built in stone and some remain in very much their original form. Even more buildings, across a wide spectrum of functions, survive from the twelfth century, including, but not limited to, private chapels or oratories, dependent community chapels, proto-parochial and parish churches, greater minster churches and cathedrals. This chapter will focus on the free-standing buildings that were, from their origin, estate or proprietary churches which were either proto-parochial or which became parish churches by the end of the twelfth century. Private chapels will be analysed as a group in Chapter 4, since, be it in rural or urban settings, they certainly had a pastoral role for the local medieval community. I examine them separately from churches as they were greatly different in function and form when compared with the parish church.

This chapter is divided into two sections: the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The first section analyses nine estate churches which retain their original doorway positions. The twelfth-century section is sub-divided into minsters and proprietary churches. I examine five minsters followed by thirty estate churches which ultimately became parish churches. The purpose of this chapter is to determine if parochial church doorway positions changed in the eleventh century from the form that preceded them, and, if so, how and why these changes occurred. The chapter

will consider, for example, geographical factors which might account for this change, and whether the change was particular to one moment of time in this two-hundred year period or if it was part of continuous architectural development.

2.2. The Eleventh Century

(i) Introduction

I identified nineeleventh-century English churches which maintain their original doorway positions. They are all located in southern England. The evidence clearly indicates that proprietary or estate churches tended to have two nave doorways typically arranged in an opposing north-south fashion. All of these churches but one are two-celled buildings. The church at Worth (West Sussex) is much larger than the others; it is multi-celled, with an apse and also north and south transepts.

Summary of Nine Eleventh-Century Churches

Location	Doorways	Function	Bells
Worth (West Sussex)	N, S, [W?]	Smaller Minster	Central bell tower
Corhampton (Hampshire)	N, S	Estate church	W bell turret
Boarhunt (Hampshire)	N, S (W only added 13th century)	Estate church	W bellcote
Hardham (West Sussex)	N, S	Estate church	Central bell turret
Clayton (West Sussex)	N, S	Estate church	W bell turret
Alton Barnes (Wiltshire)	N, S	Estate church	W bells within nave wall gable
Coln Rogers (Gloucestershire)	N, S	Estate church	
Stondon Massey (Essex)	N, S	Estate Church	W bell turret
Stopham (West Sussex)	N, S	Estate Church	W tower (17th c.)

Their Doorway Position Summary

Single Doorway	North and South Doorways	North and West or South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
0	9	0	1?

The churches are approximately dated from the mid to the end of the eleventh century with further details provided below. Four appear in the Domesday Book and although others are not mentioned we cannot be certain that they were not built before 1086.

As I will discuss below, these buildings have very similar architectural features and stone carving to one another. Of particular relevance is that in seven out of nine cases, their builders chose to vary the dimensions of their doorway pairs. Only at Worth and Boarhunt are the doorways approximately the same size. At all of the other locations, however, the north and south doorways do not have similar dimensions, with width variation ranging from two to five centimetres, in two cases, to twenty-five centimetres in the others. In the cases where dimensions are only very slightly different it would be difficult for anyone to recognise the variation. However at some churches the carving and other doorway features are noticeably different, like at Stondon Massey or Stopham.In such cases, the viewer would understand and perceive that one doorway is not the same as the laterally opposite. I suggest that these differences are deliberate and that their builders intended for the doorways to reflect differences in their importance and function.

Evidence is less clear as to how these churches were used and one must look for other architectural features that might have been important for the celebration of rituals such as fonts, porches and bells. Present-day bell configuration might not

be original as their wooden roofs have been repaired or replaced over the centuries which may have affected their bells' positioning. We cannot eliminate the possibility that church bells which now appear within a turret may have been arranged originally in some other manner or even not at all. For example, the present stone bellcote at Boarhunt replaced its wooden predecessor.[166] It is not known whether Boarhunt originally had a wooden bellcote at the apex of the west nave gable or a bell turret set further east of the west wall. We can also not be certain that burials occurred originally at these churches without corroborating archaeological evidence.[167] That they eventually did is clear from simple observation of their churchyards, but when this practice began is not known from extant records. Permanent, stone-built church porches in English parochial churches tended to appear as appended structures in and after the thirteenth century.[168] Likewise, fonts are moveable fixtures and so we cannot be certain that they are original to the building.

(ii) Eleventh-Century Estate Churches

Eight (perhaps all nine) of these churches may be examples- and a result- of the "Great Rebuilding" of the eleventh century.[169] Richard Gem observes that this was a building campaign undertaken primarily by the first two or three generations after the middle of the eleventh century.[170] Given that the parish church system

166. James T. Irvine, "Description of the Saxon Church of Boarhunt, in Hampshire," *JBAA, First Series* 33 no. 3 (1877): 368, n.2.
167. Rosemary Cramp presents some limited evidence of Anglo-Saxon grave markers and covers at a few locations in Northumbria. None has yet been discovered at any of the nine churches I selected. Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England* (Oxford: OUP, 1984), 5-13.
168. Helen Lunnon, *East Anglian Church Porches and their Medieval Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), 3.
169. Richard Gem, "The English Parish Church in the 11th and 12th Centuries: A Great Rebuilding?" in *Minsters and Parish Churches*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 21-30.
170. Ibid.

developed slowly, perhaps over at least two centuries from the late Anglo-Saxon period to the thirteenth century, we cannot conclude that these buildings were originally parish churches. Richard Morris suggests that many of the estate churches built at the end of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries may have been "created for the convenience of the people who lived some distance from the existing mother church".[171] The nine churches in this section ultimately did become parish churches, but at the time of their construction their patrons and priests may not have recognised their church as such. We can identify later medieval churches as parochial from their origin without the anachronistic traps that occur if we look back to the system's nascent years. By the end of the twelfth century, the English network of parishes and their churches was mostly developed.[172] As Gervase Rosser writes, "By 1300, it is true, every man and woman in the country had been assigned to a parish church, and was supposed to know which one."[173]

For the origin of the parish system, Blair writes of the parallel developments of established minsters and newer local estate churches from the tenth to twelfth centuries. As he states, although "the world of local parishes and parish churches might seem to spring fully formed into being when it emerges in twelfth-century episcopal documents, it had a long formation."[174] Through its development we see the simultaneous devolution of the minster pastoral and economic jurisdiction

171. Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Orion, 1989), 146.
172. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 141; Norman J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 3.
173. Gervase Rosser, "Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late-Medieval England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 1 (1991): 173-89.
174. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 426-27.

alongside an accretion of rights and privileges by the independent local estate churches as a partial consequence.[175]

These churches were built to last and were monuments to their founders and marked a permanence of their status matching that of the greater churches or minsters.[176] Apart from their common form, they also had different patrons although they were probably all of high status. The evidence shows that at this time they tended to build churches with north and south nave doorways and no western entrance.

(iii) Dating

Minor eleventh-century churches are difficult to date with any precision for several reasons. Firstly, we have few, if any, documents attesting to their construction. Secondly, we are reliant upon stone types and construction method analysis to date them; a method fraught with problems for this period. Thirdly, we may also create dating errors by relying on construction techniques independent of their context which may lead to false dating conclusions.[177] Fourthly, as almost every building was altered in some fashion through, and even after, the Middle Ages, many of the changes that would help their dating are simply not visible. In many cases excavation or other actions like removing plaster from walls would be needed to arrive at more accurate dates.[178]

Considering these potential pitfalls, we cannot be certain of the dates of these nine churches. However, some suggestions may be made. Domesday, for example, may somewhat help narrow the range for three, maybe four, of the

175. Ibid., 368-80.
176. Ibid., 410.
177. Gem, “A Great Rebuilding,” 21-30.
178. Paul S. Barnwell, “Churches Built for Priests? The Evolution of Parish Churches in Northamptonshire from the Gregorian Reform to the Fourth Lateran Council,” *Ecclesiology Today* 32 (January 2004): 9-11.

churches. The survey mentions those at Boarhunt, Corhampton and Clayton, thus establishing a reasonable terminus ante quemof 1086 for a church at each of these locations but not necessarily for these specific buildings. It states that there was a priest at Coln Rogers, but nothing of its church.[179] It is likely that Domesday simply omitted Coln Rogers' church. Another documentary source suggests Clayton may be dated prior to 1093. In that year, we know William de Warenne transferred Clayton's church to Lewes Priory.[180] I can find no other documentary sources for the remaining churches at Worth, Wickham Bishops, Hardham and Alton Barnes. Just where each appears on the eleventh-century timeline remains unclear. In those cases we must, with caution, fall back onart historical analysis.

(iv) Nine Case Studies of Eleventh-Century Churches

All of these churches share similar features suggesting eleventh-century construction. The following chart summarises some of them. Further details of these churches are provided below.

Eleventh-Century Churches and their Features

	Herringbone masonry	Splayed Windows x single xx double	Pilaster Strips	Narrow walls	Belfry-type double windows	Tall doorways	Long and Short work	Plain semi circular arches
Worth	x		x		x	x		
Corhampton			x	x		x	x	x
Boarhunt		xx	x	x				
Hardham		x		x				x
Clayton				x			x	x
Alton Barnes			x	x			x	x
Coln Rogers		x	x	x			x	x
Stopham		x				x	x	x
Stondon Massey	x	x						x

179. *DB*, "Corhampton," Hampshire folio 16; "Clayton," Sussex folio 23; "Coln Rogers," Gloucestershire folio 3; "Boarhunt-and-north-Boarhunt," Hampshire folios 9, 15, 17.
180. Louis Francis Salzman, ed., *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 7, the Rape of Lewes* (London: VCH, 1940), 140-44.

Worth is a greatly different church from the others in this section. It has a multi-celled form, with north and south transepts and an apse. The Taylors use the following plan, which is based on that produced by William H. Godfrey (Fig. 2.1).[181]

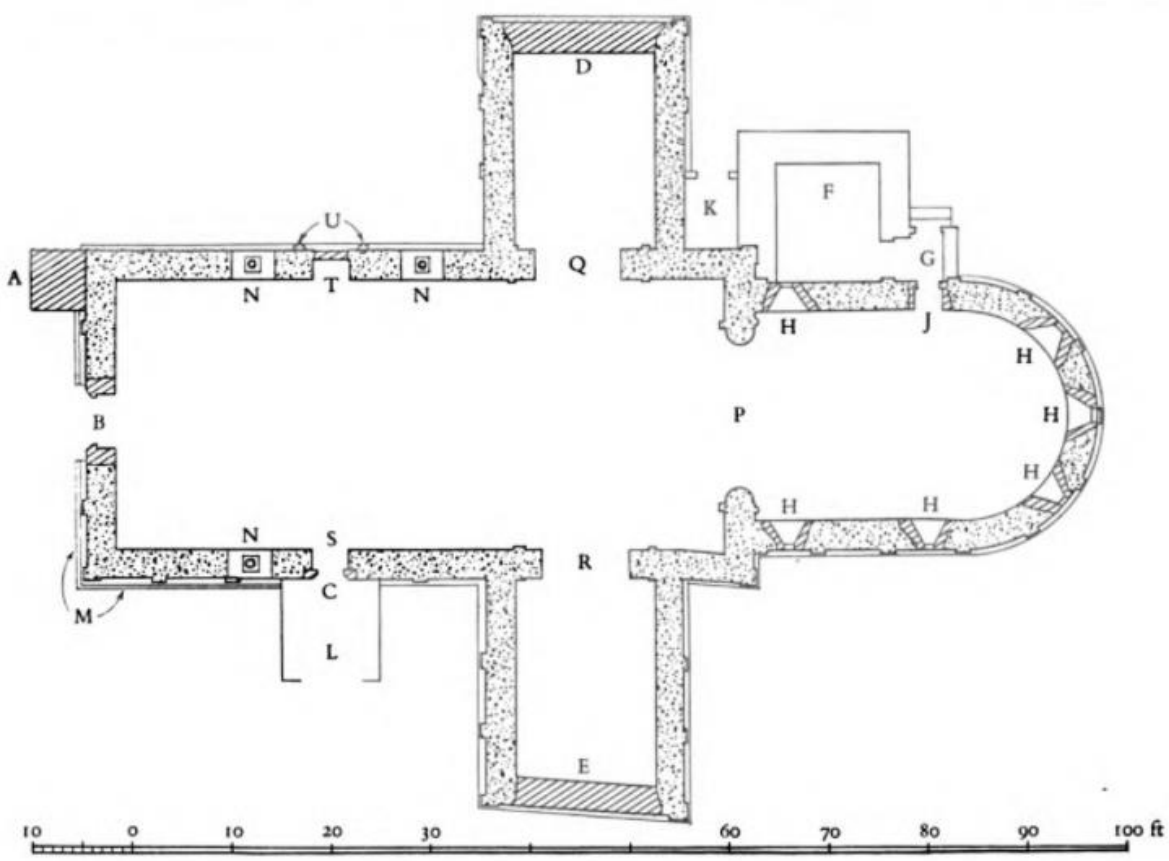

FIG. 353. WORTH, SUSSEX

General plan of the pre-Conquest church as it survives at present. The plan omits a number of later insertions of doors and windows which cannot easily be shown without hindering the clear representation of surviving pilaster-strips. The post-Conquest additions shown on the plan are; A, fifteenth-century buttress; B, thirteenth-century west doorway; C, fourteenth-century outer face to south doorway; D, E, thirteenth-century end walls to north and south transepts; F, G, modern tower and priests' doorway (1871); H, modern chancel windows (1871); J, modern doorway with window of type H above it; K, spiral stair to tower; L, modern porch (1886).

The principal distinctively Anglo-Saxon features of the church which appear on the plan are: the plinth which surrounds almost the whole church, particularly the double-stepped plinth M at the south and west; the many pilaster-strips, and the projecting long-and-short quoins; the double windows N on both sides of the nave; the great chancel-arch P; the two transeptal arches Q and R; the tall narrow doorways S and T. Outside the blocked north doorway T the broken lines U indicate pilaster-strips and a hood-moulding which formerly outlined the doorway but which have now been cut back to the face of the wall.

Fig. 2.1, Worth (West Sussex), Ground Plan

181. Harold M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *ASA* (Cambridge: CUP, 1965-1980), 2:689; Plan of William H. Godfrey in Salzman, "Parishes: Worth," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 7,* 192-200.

Worth's many architectural features such as its very tall nave walls, semi-circular chancel arch and windows, and south nave wall pilaster strips help date it to the eleventh-century. Its original eleventh-century doorways are very tall and narrow, and are plain with semi-circular arches and squared imposts (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3).

Fig. 2.2, Worth, south doorway interior

Fig. 2.3, Worth, north doorway interior

Its pilaster strips, double-light, semi-circular arch windows (Fig. 2.4) and chancel arch (Fig. 2.5), also with long and short work, are clear signs of the eleventh-century (Fig. 2.6).It has a western doorway but this is a thirteenth-century

addition.[182] I have not found any evidence to suggest that that Worth might have had an earlier western doorway.

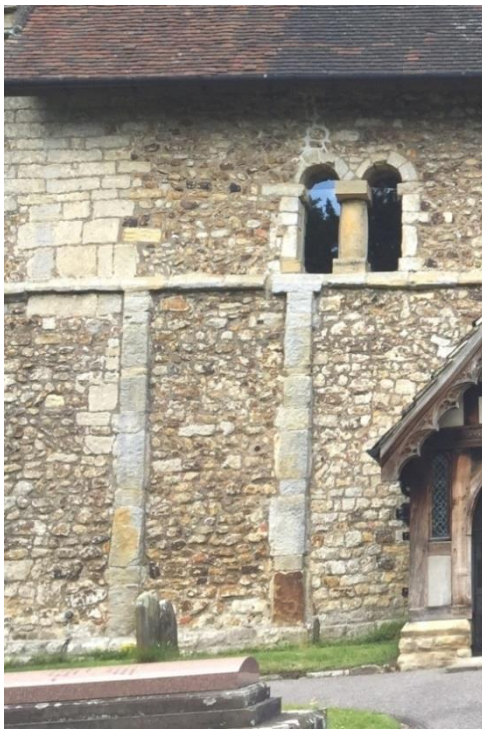

Fig. 2.4, Worth (West Sussex),south nave wall

Fig. 2.5, Worth, chancel arch

Still, relative with the others in this section, on account of its cruciform design, the greater height of its walls, its large well lit apse, and other embellishments, I suggest that Worth was more than an estate church and was possibly a smaller minster served by a community of clergy.

In contrast to Worth, the other buildings of this section were estate churches. The churches at Corhampton, Boarhunt and Clayton all have plenty of eleventh-century features and confirm Domesday's terminus ante quem. Corhampton may be one of the earlier churches of this group (Fig. 2.7).[183]

182. Frederick G. Aldsworth, "Observations on the Church of St. Nicholas, Worth, 1987-88," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 129 (1991): 39-44; Salzman, "Parishes: Worth", in *Sussex: Volume 7,* 192-200.

183. Taylor, *ASA*, 1:176-79; "Parishes: Corhampton," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 3*, ed. William Page (London: VCH, 1908), 246-54; Dominic Tweddle, "The Development of Sculpture *c.* 950–1100," in *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. 4, ed. Rosemary Cramp, (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 62-64; BofE, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 231-32; I.H.P. "On

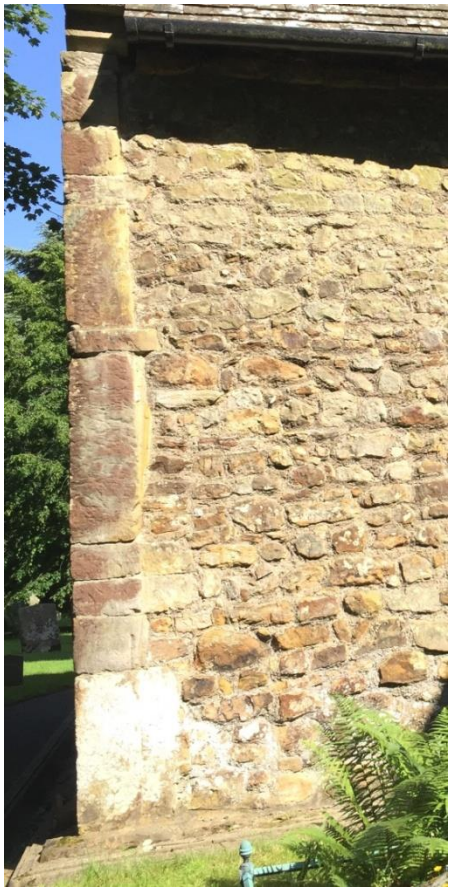

Fig. 2.6, Worth, north transept from the west

Its early eleventh-century northern doorway remains, though it is blocked. Its southern doorway was altered in the thirteenth century but the later builders did not remove some of its eleventh-century fabric. Each doorway is framed with pilasters (Fig. 2.8). Above both are further pilasters which protrude above the centre of the arch (Figs. 2.9, 2.10, 2.11).

There is a similar pilaster frame at the south doorway. My measurements confirm that the distance from the exterior pilaster frame to the centre is 2.43 metres for both doorways.Moreover the doorways are exactly laterally opposing.

Some Arrangements for the Hanging of Bells in Churches without Towers," *AJ* 3, no. 1 (1846): 205-13; John Hurst, (revised by Chris Maxse), *A History of the Saxon Church at Corhampton in the Meon Valley, Hampshire* (Corhampton: Friends of Corhampton Church, 2013), 15.

Horseman's plan, along with the vestiges of the southern doorway, strongly suggests that Corhampton'swas built with two laterally opposing nave doorways.

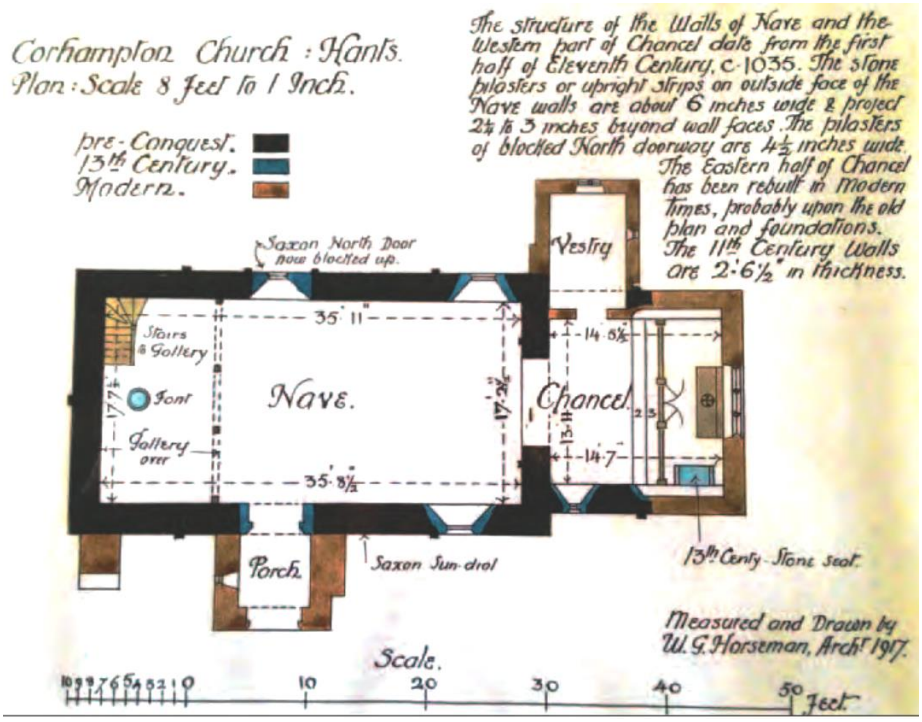

Fig. 2.7, Corhampton (Hampshire) Church Plan, W. G. Horseman, 1917

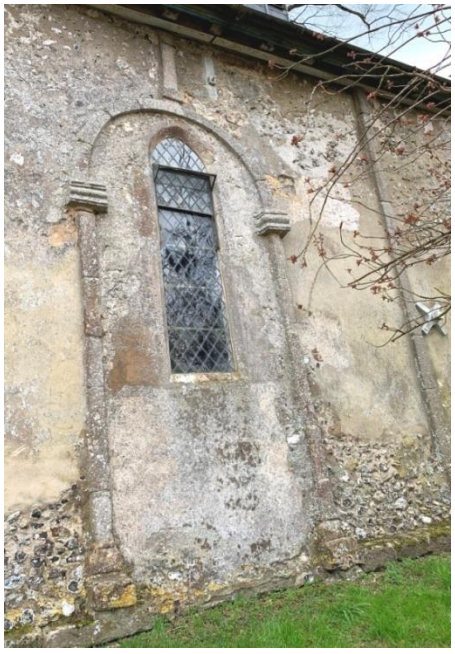
Fig. 2.8, Corhampton (Hampshire), North Doorway from the southeast

Fig. 2.9, Corhampton (Hampshire), North Doorway from the southeast magnified

Fig. 2.10, Corhampton, North Doorway

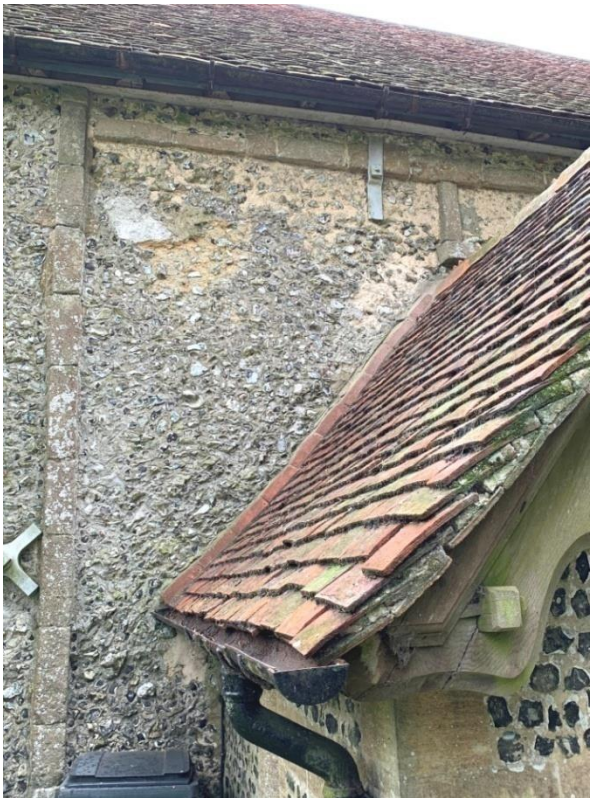

Fig. 2.11, Corhampton, South Doorway, Pilaster Framing

Dominic Tweddle dates Corhampton's *in situ* carving at the base of the west wall pilaster strip to the earlier part of the eleventh century. He argues that its *in situ* sundial is similar to those at the neighbouring churches of Warnford (Hampshire) and at St Michael, Winchester (Hampshire), themselves also built in the first half of the eleventh century.[184]

Similarly, Boarhunt is also likely to date from the early to mid-eleventh century. James T. Irvine produced a plan in 1877 which the Taylors used and updated in *ASA* (Fig. 2.12).[185]

184 Dominic Tweddle, Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, *CASSS* vol.4 (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 256-58.
185. Irvine, "Boarhunt," 367-80; Taylor, *ASA, 1:*77.

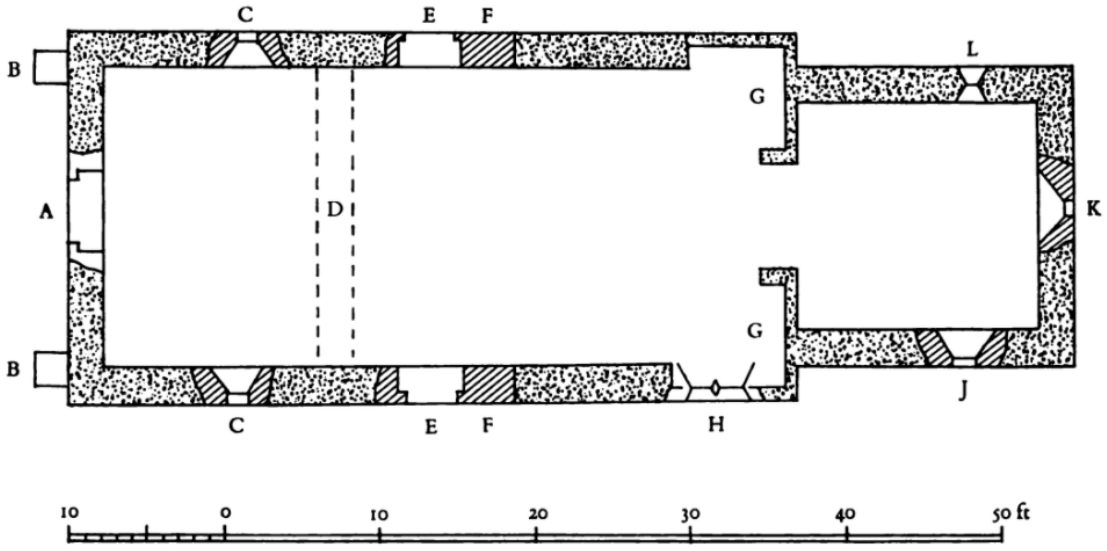

FIG. 34. BOARHUNT, HAMPSHIRE

A, modern west doorway, about 1840; B, modern buttresses of about the same date; C, Decorated windows; D, line of former cross wall, whose position was marked by 'internal quoining', and by signs of bonding; E, north and south doorways of Decorated period, now blocked; F, original north and south doorways of round-headed form: their outlines appear externally on the side walls, but they were blocked when the doorways E were inserted, and they are no longer visible internally; G, later medieval recesses for altars; H, late Tudor two-light window to light pulpit; J, medieval south window of chancel; K, medieval east window of chancel; L, original double-splayed round-headed north window of chancel.

Fig. 2.12, Boarhunt (Hampshire) Plan

Like at Corhampton the doorways marked E on Fig. 2.12 were built at the same time and are laterally opposite one another. Although the southern doorway was replaced in the thirteenth century, Irvine drew the outline of the original doorways (Fig. 2.13), which are now mostly obscured on the north nave wall but still somewhat visible on the south side (Fig. 2.14).

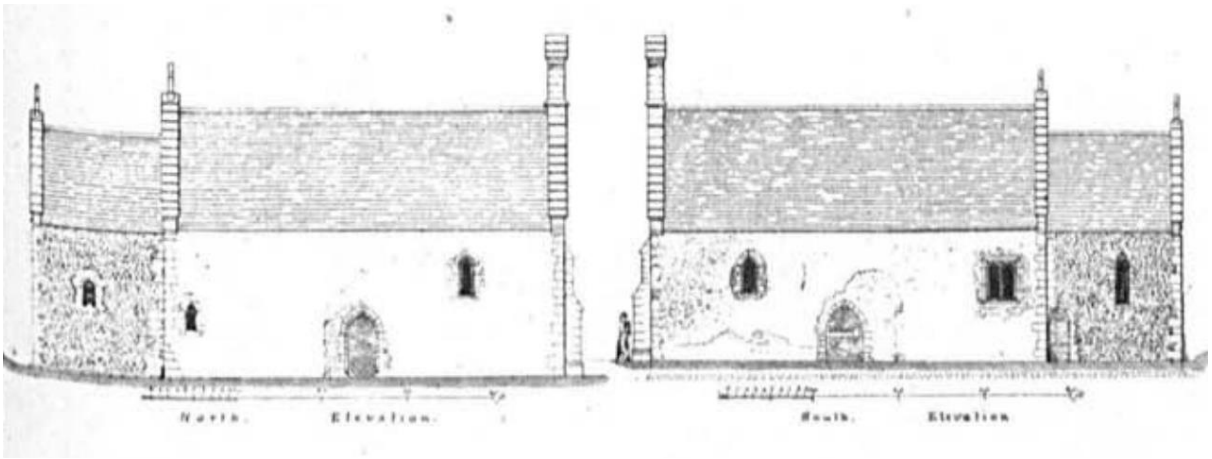

Fig. 2.13, Boarhunt (Hampshire), north and south views by Irvine 1877

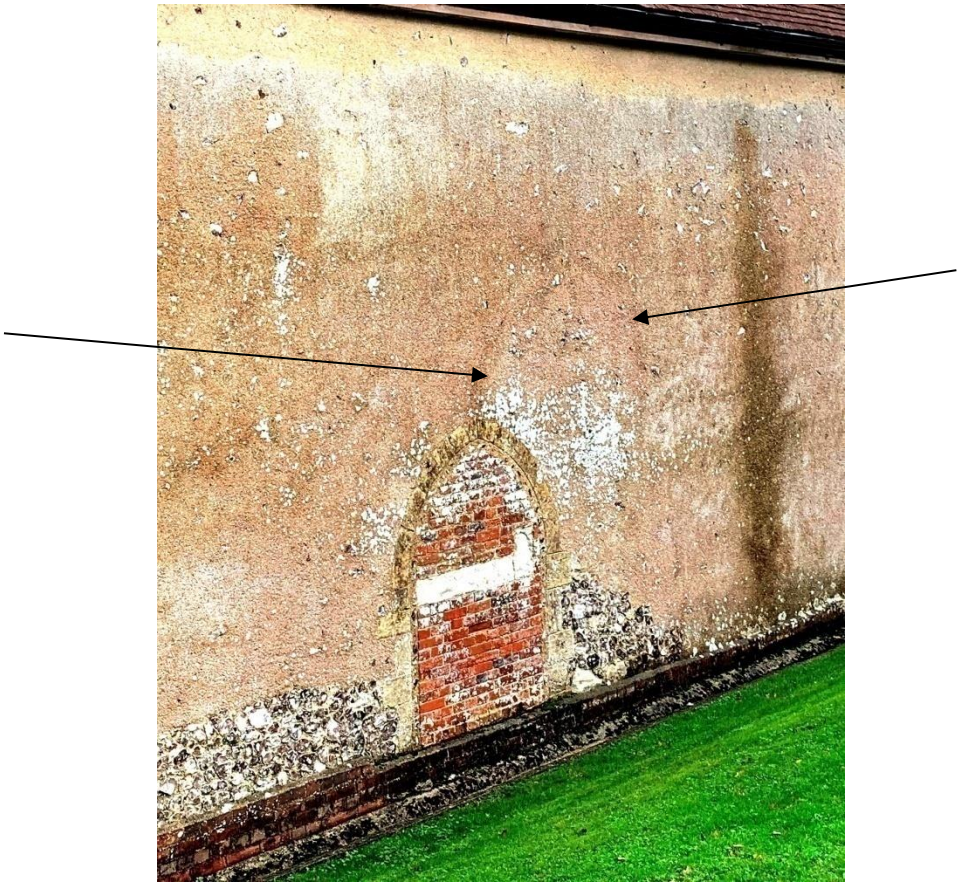

Fig. 2.14, Boarhunt(Hampshire), south nave wall from southwestshowing outline of original eleventh-century doorwaysimilar to Irvine's drawing of 1877

Its chancel arch (Fig. 2.15) and double splayed window (Fig. 2.16) also clearly support their eleventh-century dating. Michael Hare states that its internal nave and chancel quoins are "common in Hampshire and Sussex from the eleventh century onwards."[186] We cannot be certain that Boarhunt did not have an original western doorway but James T. Irvine dates the present one to 1842. He wrote about the church in 1877 and of the western doorway he stated, "the whole of its dressings are modern, and of Bath stone, executed thirty-five years ago."[187] We know the locations of its original north and south nave doorways as we can

186. Michael Hare, "A Note on the Anglo-Saxon Church at Boarhunt," *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 33 (1977): 81-83; Taylor, *ASA*, 1:76-78.
187. Irvine, "*Boarhunt*," 377.

still see their vestiges internally, through plaster, and externally, in the rendering.[188]

Fig. 2.15, Boarhunt (Hampshire), chancel arch

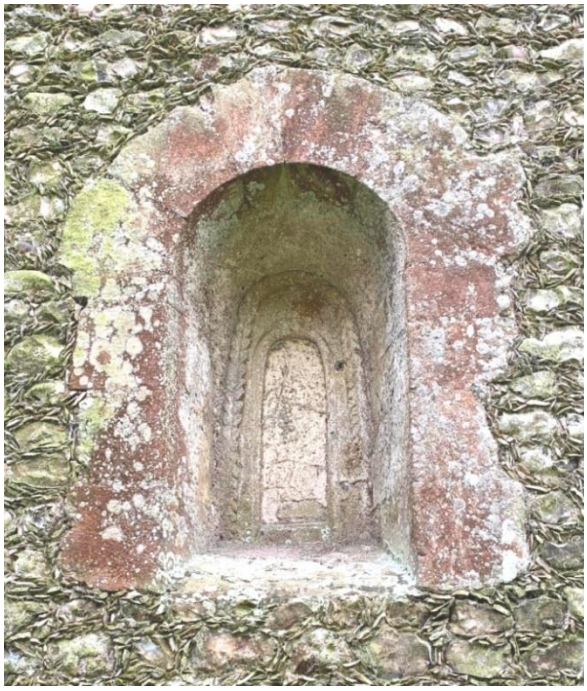
Fig. 2.16, Boarhunt, double-splayed window, north chancel

At Clayton we also have laterally opposing nave doorways and no western entrance (Fig. 2.17).[189] Clayton's massive quoins laid in side-alternate fashion (Fig. 2.18), very tall nave and chancel walls and semi-circular chancel arch (Fig. 2.19) all point to its eleventh-century origin.[190] However, its Lewes Priory School wall paintings are probably very late eleventh-century, perhaps 1098 or to the first two decades of the twelfth-century.[191] We cannot be certain whether the paintings date the church to that time or if they only indicate their own date.

188. Taylor, *ASA*, 1:169; Irvine, "Boarhunt," 377; William Page, ed., "Parishes: Boarhunt," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: vol. 3* (London: VCH, 1908), 144-47.
189. Louis Francis Salzman, "Parishes: Clayton," in *A History of the County of Sussex: vol. 7, the Rape of Lewes* (London, VCH, 1940), 140-44.
190. Taylor, ASA, 1:159-60; BofE, *West Sussex*, 283-85.
191. David Park, "The 'Lewes Group' of Wall Paintings in Sussex," *Anglo Norman Studies VI* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984), 220-35; Ernest W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting* (Oxford: OUP, 1944), 27-29; David Park, "Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman? Wall Paintings at Wareham and other Sites in Southern England," in *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in*

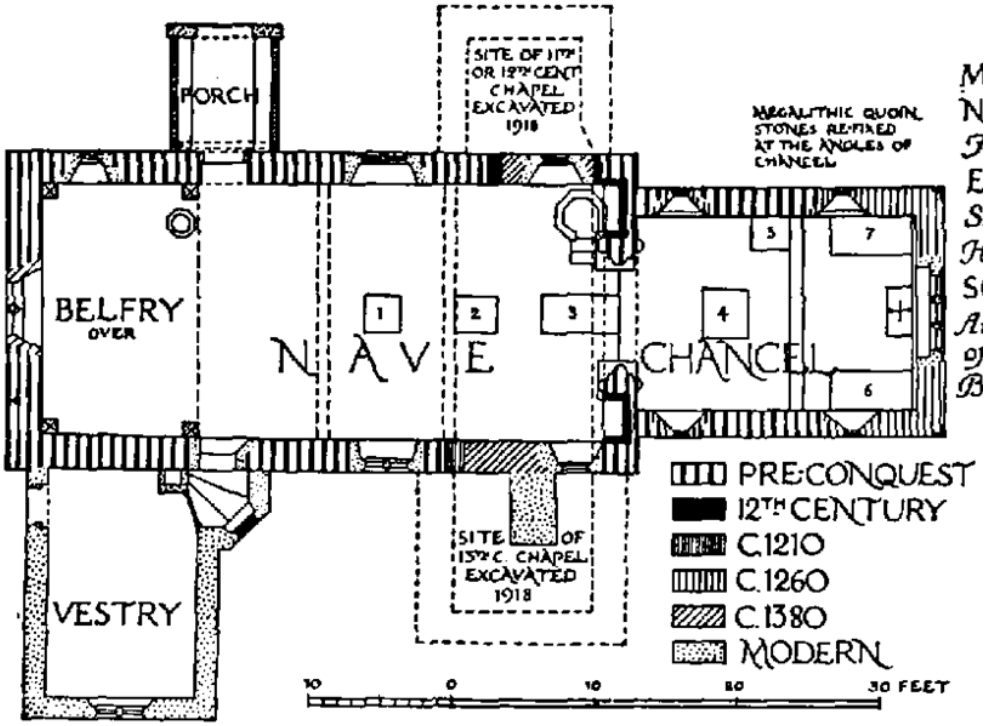

Fig. 2.17, Clayton (West Sussex) Ground Plan

Fig. 2.18, Clayton (West Sussex)exterior of chancel east wall

Fig. 2.19, Clayton, chancel archlooking east

England, BAR British Series 216, eds., Sharon Cather, David Park and Paul Williamson (Oxford: BAR, 1990), 232-35; Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 11-13.

David Park states that Clayton's walls have a single layer of plaster upon which the paintings were made. He suggests that the builders would have applied this plaster atop the flint wall once construction had been completed. The paintings therefore would be coeval with the date of final construction. However, it is possible that an original layer may have been replaced when the painters applied their designs.[192]

Alton Barnes, is also a two-celled building with nave and chancel (Fig. 2.20).[193]

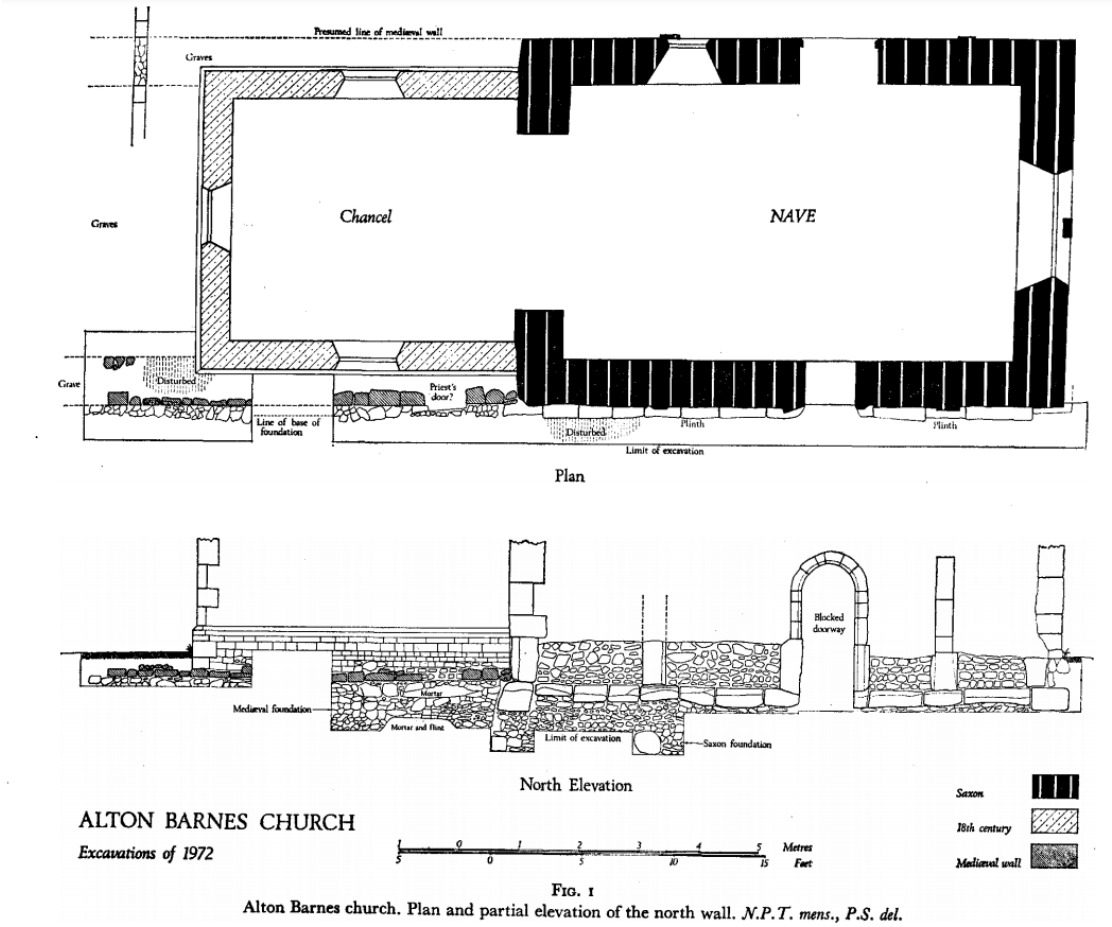

Fig. 2.20, Alton Barnes Plan after N. P. Thompson and H. Ross

192. Park, "The 'Lewes Group,'" 229.
193. N. P. Thompson and H. Ross, "Excavations at the Saxon church, Alton Barnes," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 68 B (1973): 71-78.

Alton Barnes, like Clayton, has four megalithic nave quoins *in situ* with the one at its north-west set in the long and short fashion (Figs. 2.21 and 2.22). Its four pilasters on its exterior nave walls also suggest an eleventh-century origin.[194]

Fig. 2.21, Alton Barnes (Wiltshire), Nave from east(L)long and short megalithic quoins

Fig. 2.22,Alton Barnes (Wiltshire), Nave from south (R)long and short megalithic quoins

Coln Rogers has many similar features to Alton Barnes pointing to perhaps the middle of the eleventh century (Fig. 2.23).[195] It also has laterally opposite nave doorways, pilaster strips on the north and south nave and chancel walls, semi-circular chancel arch (Fig. 2.24) with chip-carved imposts and a deeply splayed north chancel window (Fig. 2.25).

194. A. P. Baggs, D. A. Crowley, R. B. Pugh, J. H. Stevenson and M. Tomlinson, "Parishes: Alton Barnes," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 10, ed.* E. Crittall (London: VCH, 1975), 8-13; Taylor, *ASA,* 1:24-25.
195. Taylor, *ASA,* 1:168-69.

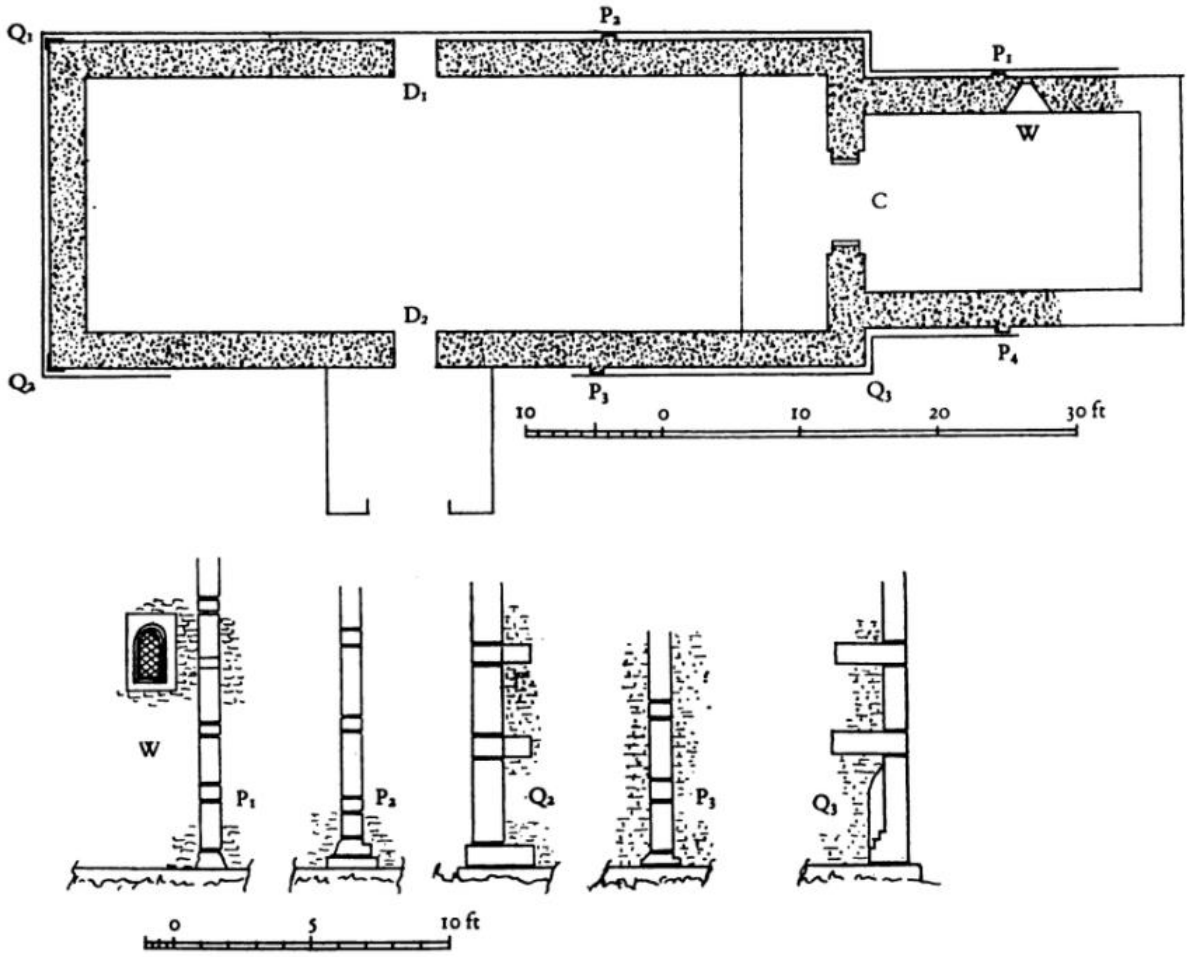

FIG. 71. COLN ROGERS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Plan and details of the early fabric. C, chancel-arch; D_1, north doorway, with Early English outer face; D_2, south doorway, much rebuilt; P_1, P_2, P_3, pilaster-strips *in situ*; P_4, fragment of pilaster-strip over later doorway; Q_1, Q_2, western quoins on projecting bases on original plinth; Q_3, south-eastern quoin with stepped base; W, monolithic single-splayed window.

Fig. 2.23, Coln Rogers (Gloucestershire) Ground Plan, after Taylor

There is a significant difference in the internal size and form of its nave doorways (Figs. 2.26 and 2.27). The southern doorway has a tympanum with a full semi-circular arch. The northern doorway has the same imposts as that on the south but its arch is flatter inside (Figs. 2.28, 2.29).

Fig. 2.24, Coln Rogers, chancel arch

Fig. 2.25, Coln Rogers, north chancel window

Fig. 2.26, Coln Rogers, south doorway

Fig. 2.27, Coln Rogers, north doorway

Fig. 2.28, Coln Rogers, south doorway interior

Fig. 2.29, Coln Rogers, north doorway interior

On the exterior, the northern doorway arch is similar to that on the south but both doorways were altered after their initial construction. The scalloped cushion capitals of the southern doorway are early twelfth-century whilst the trumpet capitals and rolled, cinqfoil moulding are possibly mid to late thirteenth-century.[196] The interior face of the north doorway is eleventh-century but the springers above the imposts are a later alteration perhaps coeval with the thirteenth-century additions.[197] Their dimensions are also very different. The southern doorway is twenty-five centimetres wider than the northern one and five centimetres taller when measured from the threshold to the base of the tympanum. Its north doorway was blocked in 1890 as part of renovations by Waller and Son.[198]

196. Jean and Jerry Gardiner, John Wand, “St Andrew, Coln Rogers, Gloucestershire,” *CRSBI*, August 17, 2019
197. Ibid.
198. Church faculty, Gloucester Record Office, P95 CW 2/4; D 2593/2/522.

The church at Hardham (West Sussex) also has a simple two-celled form (Fig. 2.30). Its carving on the north chancel wall window suggests an eleventh-century construction method (Fig. 2.31). We see no axe-tooling at this window and its head stone has a crude design and does not provide for glazing. This rough-set work is also seen in the very large flat lintel of the south door which rests upon plain square-edged jambs (Figs. 2.32). The lack of an arch design is evidence for the original south doorway having an earlier eleventh-century date (Fig. 2.33).[199] Its chancel arch is also plain, semi-circular with plain chamfered imposts (Fig. 2.34).

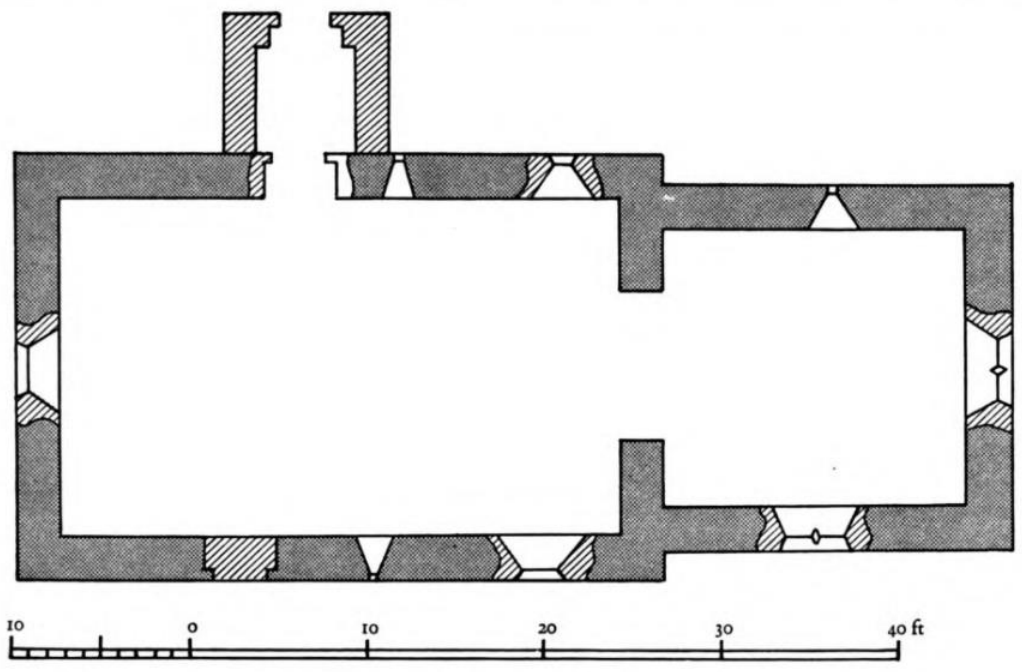

FIG. 122. HARDHAM, SUSSEX
Ground plan.

Fig. 2.30, Hardham (Hampshire) Ground Plan, after Taylor

199. P. M. Johnston, *"Hardham Church and its Early Paintings," Sussex Archaeological Collections* 44 (1901): 73-115, plan, 74.

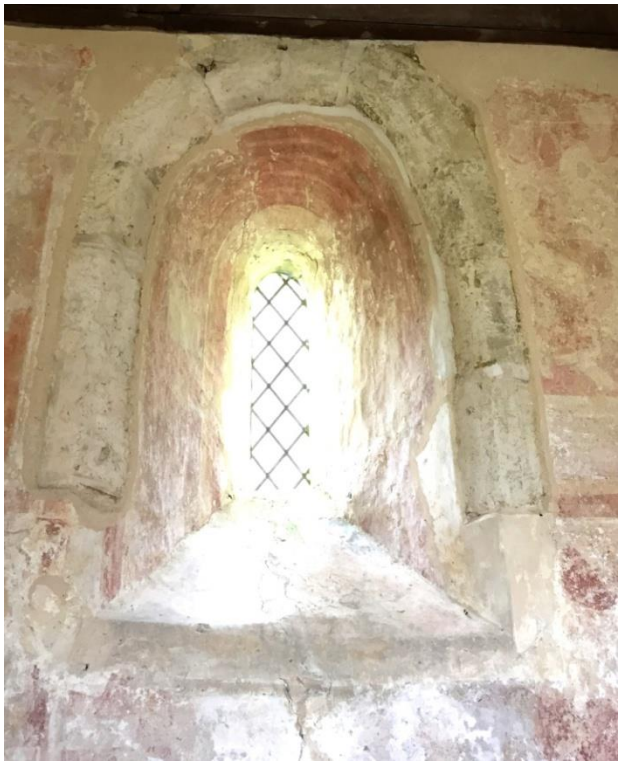

Fig. 2.31, Hardham, north chancel window

Fig. 2.32, Hardham, flat lintel south doorway

Fig. 2.33, Hardham, flat lintel north doorway

Fig. 2.34, Hardham, chancel arch

Its wall paintings though suggest a mid to late eleventh-century date. According to Audrey Baker the earliest art, namely, the Adam and Eve cycle, was painted on the chancel's west wall's first layer of plaster probably at the time of

original construction. We do not know if plaster was applied immediately upon completion of the wall. There may also be a gap in time between the church's completion and its painting. In such a case, a *c*. 1100 dating for the art could be reconciled with an earlier century construction date. It is clear that the scene of St George at the Battle of Antioch in 1098, located at the west of the nave's north wall, provides a *terminus post quem* for this artwork at the very end of the eleventh century.[200]

Whether the paintings in the nave were executed at the same time as those in the chancel also requires further investigation. Baker proposes that Hardham's paintings are coeval with the completion date of construction. This may be challenged by comparing them with the art at St John, Clayton, another in the group of churches named within the Lewes Priory School. If Clayton's wall paintings are indeed dated to the early twelfth-century, because we know de Warenne transferred the church to Lewes Priory in 1093 it becomes certain that there is a potential ten to twenty year gap between the date of final construction at Clayton and the date of its paintings. I suggest that Hardham's wall paintings could have been completed at a much later time than the date of final construction and that the paintings alone cannot date this church. As such, I suggest that the combination of the style of its plain semi-circular arches at its doorways, chancel and splayed windows suggests a date in the middle of the eleventh century.

The churches at Stondon Massey (Essex) and Stopham (West Sussex) complete the nine churches in this section. Stondon Massey has very plain semi-circular doorway arches with crudely chamfered imposts (Figs. 2.35 and 2.36). Its

200. Audrey Baker, "*Adam and Eve and the Lord God: the Adam and Eve Cycle of Wall Paintings in the Church of Hardham, Sussex," AJ* 155, no. 1 (1998): 207-25; Audrey Baker, *"Church of St Botolph, Hardham," AJ* 142, no 1 (1995): 49-51.

southern doorway is forty-one centimetres wider and five centimetres taller than the northern one.

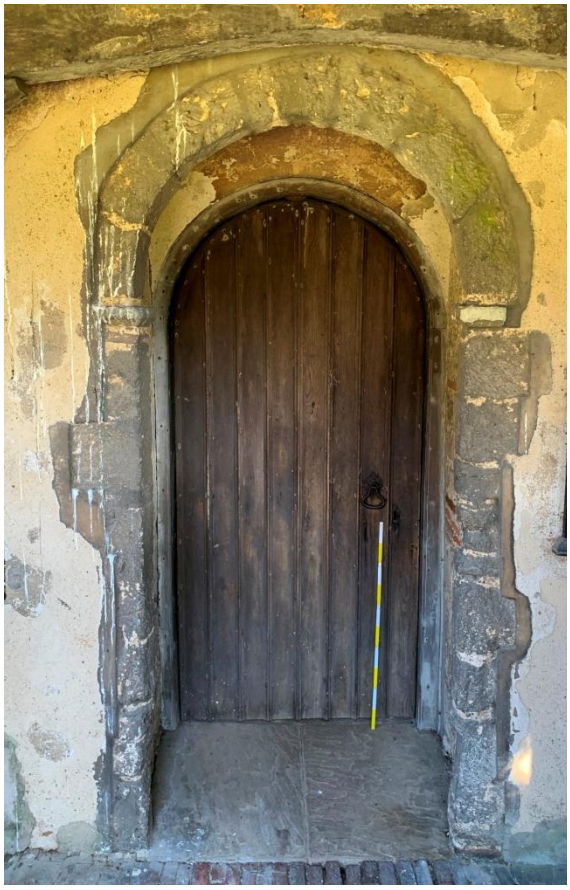

Fig. 2.35, Stondon Massey (Essex), south doorway

Fig. 2.36, Stondon Massey, north doorway

Stopham (West Sussex) originally was also a two-celled church but had an apse. Later medieval alterations were made at the chancel arch and windows. The tower is an even later addition (Fig. 2.37).[201]

Stopham has many eleventh-century architectural features including a single-splayed, semi circular north chancel window (Fig. 2.38), plain chancel arch (Fig. 2.39) and similar doorways (Figs. 2.40 and 2.41). It is clear that the southern doorway has more intricate carving than the northern one. The southern doorway

201. W. H. Godfrey, *Sussex Notes and Queries* 7 (1938-39); 21-22

is roll moulded, its columns have triple astragal and the northern one a single astragal and is plainly moulded.

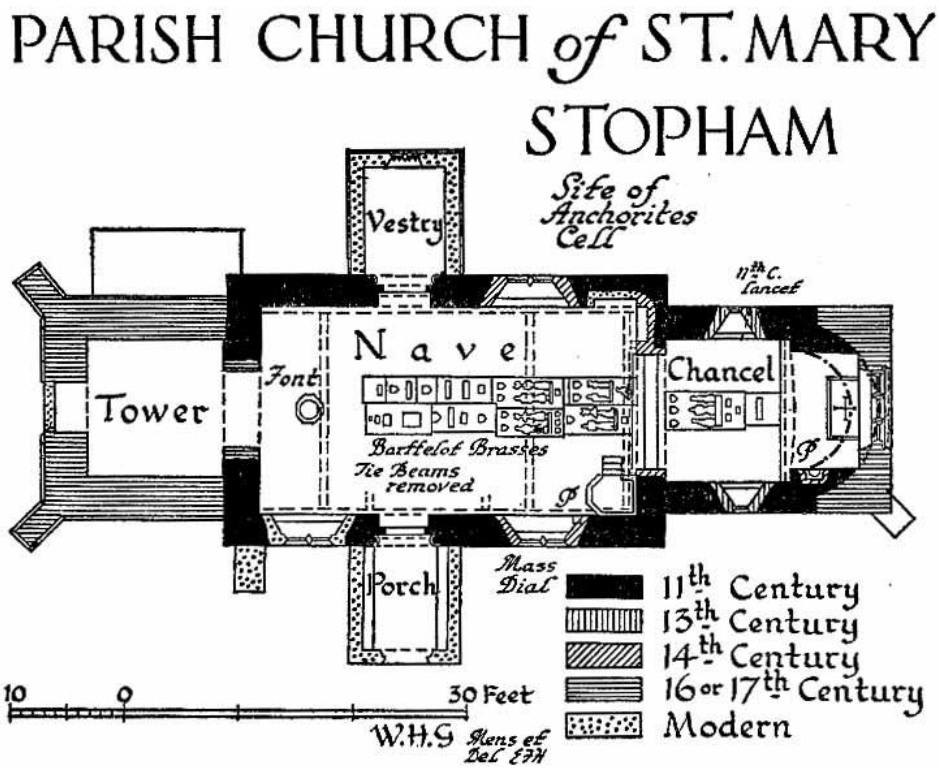

Fig. 2.37, Stopham (Essex), Ground Plan

On the basis of the similar carving, the doorways and chancel arch were built at the same time. The imposts of the semi-circular chancel arch (Fig. 2.39) match those of the southern and northern doorways (Fig. 2.42, 2.43).The doorways in the thirteenth century were redesigned with three-centred arches but they did not alter the original exterior semi-circular surrounding arch which remains on the southern doorway (Figs. 2.44 and 2.45). The builders left the interior form of these doorways in their original form and their eleventh-century form is clearly visible.

Fig. 2.38, Stopham, north chancel window

Fig. 2.39, Stopham, chancel arch, looking west

Fig. 2.40, Stopham, south doorway

Fig. 2.41, Stopham, north doorway
Photo of Rev'd David Crook

Fig. 2.42, Stopham, chancel arch impost

Fig. 2.43, Stopham, south doorway impost

Fig. 2.44, Stopham, south doorway interior

Fig. 2.45, Stopham, north doorway interior

The doorways are oversized and different in dimension. The northern interior archway is ten centimetres wider and twenty-five centimetres taller than that on the south. The present community uses the southern doorway as the principal entrance. I suggest that in consideration of the much greater magnitude of the northern one, that doorway may have been the original primary entrance to the church for the community. There is no evidence of any eleventh-century structures in proximity of the church but there is a manor house sixty-five meters north of the church which has some late fifteenth-century fabric. Pevsner states that this building replaced an earlier structure within the same area; but just how early he does not state.[202] We cannot be certain that any eleventh-century buildings were immediately north of the church but this may be possible; they might have led to the original northern principal community entrance that probably existed.

The evidence is clear that eleventh-century churches tended to have two nave doorways in a laterally opposing north-south configuration. It is also noticed that their builders varied the dimensions and sometimes the visual appearance of these doorways. I suggest that one tended to function as a principal entrance for the lay community. Further analysis of this is presented below.

(v) Patronage before and from the Norman Conquest

The churches of Anglo-Saxon England discussed in the previous chapter tended to have the patronage of exalted nobles, high status clerics or royals. The lesser, proto-parochial churches of the eleventh century discussed in this chapter are mostly linked with high status nobles. However, some patrons who built other churches in eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England may have been encouraged

202. BofE, *West Sussex,* 640-43.

to do so by an already existing practice among lords or status-seeking aspiring thegns. The so-called 'Promotion Law', was part of a text written by Archbishop Wulfstan c. 1000.[203] It was neither a legal document nor a decree but a manuscript passage that described the relation of a lord's property with his status.[204] It reflected a custom or practice of later Anglo-Saxon society. It is that society which formed part of the 'Great Rebuilding' in England in the mid-eleventh century. That society however was substantially restructured by the results of the Battle of Hastings in 1066.

The Norman Conquest essentially eliminated much of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, who had been the patrons and builders of estate and other English churches. William the Conqueror replaced this class with the Norman nobility following his victory. This certainly had a major social and cultural impact on Anglo-Saxon England.[205] It especially affected the nature of church patronage and England's church architecture. Eric Fernie states that the Normans had a "huge impact on large-scale ecclesiastical architecture, tearing down all the major cathedral and abbey churches in England and rebuilding them in Romanesque style within a couple of generations."[206] However, at the parish level, Hugh Thomas states that the result was far more limited with the Anglo-Saxon architectural style blending in with that brought by the Normans.[207] A period of an Anglo-Saxon and Norman overlap runs from the mid eleventh to the turn of the twelfth century.[208] Within this overlap the architectural styles of the Anglo-Saxons

203. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 371.
204. Michael G. Shapland, *Anglo-Saxon Towers of Lordship* (Oxford: OUP, 2019), 146-47.
205. Hugh Thomas, "History, Archaeology and the Norman Conquest," in *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations*, eds. Dawn M. Hadley and Christopher Dyer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 287.
206.Eric Fernie, "Architecture and the effects of the Norman Conquest," in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 105-116.
207.Thomas, "History, Archaeology and the Norman Conquest," 289.
208. Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1982), 162.

and Normans coexist. It is clear that the Conquest changed the patronage of English parochial churches quickly following 14 October 1066 but detecting a Norman style for parochial church architecture soon afterward is difficult as Richard Gem has stated.[209] For this reason, the churches of this section are grouped simply into an eleventh-century category although some of the documentary evidence may indicate they were built before or after 1066. Notwithstanding such possibilities, as the churches of this section have similar architectural features I have chosen to proceed with caution by avoiding precise dates and instead to label them simply eleventh-century. The objective is to avoid the risk of deriving and producing a date that may be mostly presumptive, overly reliant on circumstantial evidence, and which may be misleading or simply incorrect. Still, the Conquest remains an important feature for this chapter. The Norman nobility continued to pursue an extensive church building campaign following 1066 and through the twelfth century as is discussed in the second part of this chapter. An architectural style is easier to identify in that century which is rooted in the Romanesque. Whether the Anglo-Saxons may have followed this architectural style or retained their own unique form if Harold had won is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is certain that William's victory in 1066 ultimately gave a new direction to English church architecture at least for the great churches and for the design of parochial church architecture in the twelfth century.

The lords associated with this section's churches all appear to be high status individuals. Domesday names some of the lords of these manors at 1066 and thereafter. Worth's was Osweald, in 1066, whose brother Wulfwald was the

209. Richard Gem, see note 177; Thomas, "History, Archaeology and the Norman Conquest," 2.

abbot of Chertsey and Bath.[210] At Coln Rogers, it was Baldwin, son of Herlewin, who is associated with thirty-three other properties in England in 1066. Corhampton's lord was Alwin in 1066 and Hugh de Port in 1086. Edward the Confessor was lord of Boarhunt, but after the Conquest it was in the hands of Roger Earl of Shrewsbury.[211] Clayton's was Azur of Slindon, a major landowner in 1066, associated with forty-three locations in southern England.[212] The manor then passed to another nobleman, William de Warenne in 1086.[213] The Earl of Salisbury was the lord of Alton Barnes in 1086.[214] Domesday says Godwine was the lord of Hardham in 1066 but this appears to be incorrect.[215] Godwine was Earl of Essex and lord of Hardham but died in 1053. His heir, Harold was appointed earl in that year. It is probable that Harold was the lord of Hardham from 1053 to 1066. We know that Ivo de Grandmesnil was its lord in 1086. He was a Norman magnate, and son of Hugh, a prominent noble at the battle of Hastings.[216] Domesday lists no lord or church for Stopham in 1066 but in 1086 it was Ralph of Bignor.[217] It has no listing for the location of Stondon Massey but it is possible that its lord might have been held by one of the de Marcy family.[218]

All of these possible church patrons, Anglo-Saxon or Norman, are high status individuals whose rank was significantly greater than thegn, the lowest level

210. "Wulfwald," *PASE*, August 10, 2019, https://pase.ac.uk/jsp/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=18252&level=1&lbl=Wulfwald.
211. *DB* "Corhampton," Hampshire folio 16; "Boarhunt-and-North-Boarhunt," Hampshire folios 9, 15, 17; "Chithurst," Sussex folio 15.
212. "Azur," *PASE*, August 20, 2019, https://pase.ac.uk/jsp/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=27092&level=1&lbl=Azur.
213. *DB* "Clayton," Sussex folio 23.
214. *DB* "Alton Barnes," Wiltshire folio 10.
215. *DB* "Hardham," Sussex folio 19.
216. Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 39, 68.
217. *DB* "Stopham," Sussex folio 16.
218. W. R. Powell, ed. "Stondon Massey: Manor," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 4 Ongar Hundred* (London: VCH, 1956), 242-45.

of lordly rank, when they built these churches. At the time of the Promotion Law, John Blair says there was an “aristocratic urge to own a church, ubiquitous across early medieval Europe, now focused at a much more local level.”[219] This is one factor for the extensive eleventh-century building effort across England.

In addition, I observe that patrons of great status built a variety of churches. For example, according to Domesday, Hugh de Port is the lord of dozens of estates throughout England after the Conquest. As mentioned above, he is the possible patron of Corhampton estate church but also of the rather plain, manorial chapel at Paddlesworth (near Snodland, Kent) in 1086. The chapel, as discussed in Chapter 4, was probably built at the end of the century perhaps prior to the Domesday survey. It is a simple two-celled building with no record of bells and an example of the ‘field church’ defined in the 1014 code, which I discuss in detail in the next subsection. A lord’s wealth and status thus does not necessarily imply that they only seek to build ‘one still smaller’ types of churches but perhaps those in all categories. What is evident from these nine churches is that they were all built or sponsored by very high status nobles. They had similar features and tended to have north and south laterally opposite nave doorways.

(vi) Function

In order to understand why these churches had two later doorways, it would help to know how they were used. Although churches like that at Boarhunt became parish churches, we cannot presume any continuity of function from its origin. This is especially so in the eleventh century when Boarhunt may not have had any parochial jurisdiction, boundaries or tithing rights, but merely some

219. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 370.

features of a parish church. Documentary evidence for these eleventh-century churches is minimal.

John Blair writes of the early eleventh century as being a time when there was a "critical shift from mother-parish to local parish" where the function of the greater minster was being eroded by these new proprietary lesser churches.[220] He cites Æthelred's Ecclesiastical Code of 1014 as evidence for the encroachment on the established sanctuary jurisdiction of the greater minsters. We know that a general purpose of any legislation may be to either direct future behaviour or to curtail present breaches of accepted norms of existing practice. This law of 1014 alerts us to, as Blair states, "new realities" already taking place by the early eleventh century.[221] If so, then the activities carried out by the lesser churches required intervention at the highest level to rein in their jurisdictional breaches. The Code of 1014 states that there are four classes of churches within a context of breaches of sanctuary,

> Violation of the sanctuary of a chief minster, in the case of a crime that admits of compensation, is to be atoned for the rate of the [breach of the] king's protection, namely with five pounds in English law; and that of a rather smaller minster with 120 shillings, that is at the rate of the king's fine; and that of one still smaller [where nevertheless there is a burial place], with 60 shillings; and that of a field-church with 30 shillings.[222]

John Blair suggests the first two are the diocese's cathedral and the normal clerical minster. The 'one still smaller' may be the "thegn's semi-autonomous estate church equipped with graveyard with tithe-worthy status".[223] If this is correct

220. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 368-69.
221. Ibid.
222. VIII Æthelred, 5.1, in *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955), 412, Whitelock writes that "The Nero text adds, perhaps correctly, 'where nevertheless there is a burial place.' I inserted it within the second set of brackets as the aspect of burials also helps to describe the function of the church; *Councils & Synods with other documents relating to the English Church*, ed., Maurice Powicke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 390.
223. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 368-69.

then perhaps the ‘field church’ would be the local chapel, what Blair calls an “amorphous group of which some…may have given new leases of life to old but informal cult sites.”[224] I suggest that in the eleventh century, these chapels are not so amorphous but rather have a consistent design form with a wide array of possible functions.

The nine churches in this section comprise a limited survey of eleventh-century churches but the evidence is convincing that in general churches had two doorways, in the north and south walls of the nave. Chapels, however, as I discuss in Chapter 4, tended to have a single doorway at this time. I argue that the design difference between churches and chapels was not accidental. It may be possible that eleventh-century builders of churches (the ‘one still smaller’) and not chapels (‘field church’) understood their design and functional differences.

I suggest that people recognised the ‘one still smaller’ and not a ‘field church’ simply by looking at it. There is no mistaking a building’s status when doorways and perhaps bells are their determining features. It is interesting that of those eleventh-century estate or proprietary churches in my group which functioned as a proto-parish or parochial church, all had two doorways. The reasons for this will be discussed below.

(vii) Doorway locations in context

In the preceding discussion I mentioned that a church’s doorways are very often different in appearance. This variation may have implications for understanding their use. It is also important to understand if the variation extends to their dimensions. At seven of the nine churches, the north and south doorway dimensions are substantially different.

224. Ibid.

Eleventh-Century Doorway Dimensions (centimetres)

Location	South Width	North Width	South Height	North Height
Worth	114	114	162	162
Corhampton	119*	168+	208*	274+
Boarhunt	132	130	229	229
Hardham	107	102	218	234
Clayton	112	86	264	203
Alton Barnes	114	86	229	206
Coln Rogers	107	81	206	201
Stondon Massey	132	91	251	244
Stopham	41	114	80	90

*Corhampton's thirteenth-century doorway
+North doorway dimensions for eleventh-century doorway outer arch

Corhampton's original arches that surround their doorways are visible and so their original positions are known. It is not clear just how large each doorway was. On the north side of the church (Fig. 2.10, above) a single-light, lancet, window was inserted leaving no vestiges of the eleventh-century doorway jambs. The southern doorway was rebuilt in the thirteenth century within the original eleventh-century frame. In this case it is not possible to compare the two on the matter of dimensions. The evidence, however, suggests that their positions remained static.

At the other churches direct comparisons are easier. For example, Coln Rogers' south doorway is twenty-six centimetres wider and five centimetres taller than its northern one. At Clayton, the difference is even greater. Its southern one is twenty-six wider and sixty-one centimetres taller than that at the north side. The dimensions at Worth are identical and virtually the same at Boarhunt. So in six of these cases, (Corhampton excluded) one doorway was made larger than the other. I suggest that their dimensional variation is deliberate. As I discuss in the next chapter, dimensional variation is a consistent feature throughout the entire

medieval period for churches with two or more nave doorways. I suggest that their variance in magnitude is a feature of function that relates to doorway status.

As original eleventh-century doorways were often remodelled in later periods making exact eleventh-century comparisons is difficult. For example, although the southern doorway at Coln Rogers is wider and taller than the northern one their exterior carving is also different. The southern doorway was altered in the twelfth century and the northern one in the thirteenth.[225] Their original dimensions were probably not changed as their jambs remain the same, but their carving was certainly altered (Figs. 2.46 and 2.47).

However, on the interior, the southern doorway's jambs and imposts are plain, matching those of the eleventh-century north doorway (Fig. 2.28 and 2.29, above). Such consistency of interior style shows that the original doorways were built at the same time. The builders added column shafts to both doorways at these times. It is not surprising that the northern doorway's simple trumpet scallop capitals of the later twelfth to earlier thirteenth century are more intricate than the southern doorway's twelfth-century scalloped cushion capitals as they reflect the later period style (Figs 2.48 and 2.49). The builders also replaced the probable northern tympanum with a more intricate cinqfoil motif.

225. Carol Davidson Cragoe, A. R. J. Jurica and E. Williamson, "Parishes: Coln Rogers", in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 9, Bradley Hundred. The Northleach Area of the Cotswolds*, ed. N. M. Herbert (London: VCH, 2001), 21-30.

Fig. 2.46, Coln Rogers, north doorway capital

Fig. 2.47, Coln Rogers, south doorway capital

It is also to be noted that Coln Rogers' north doorway was blocked in 1890 as part of renovations by Waller and Son.[226] This is consistent with the evidence of many other churches whose doorways were sealed in the mid to late nineteenth-century. I analyse this feature in Chapter 7, The 'Devil's Door.'

Returning to Clayton, Coln Rogers and Alton Barnes, we see that their southern doorways are much larger than those at the north. These doorways appear to face the direction where the medieval village probably was. Similarly, Hardham's larger northern doorway faces its present village. In these cases the principal doorway may relate to, and face, the community. Its builders may have arranged it in such a fashion for practical purposes and to provide ease of access for the locals. In these cases, then, the lesser doorways face away from the domestic buildings. A natural question then arises: why build a second, smaller

226. Church faculty, Gloucester Record Office, P95 CW 2/4; D 2593/2/522.

and less accessible, nave doorway? Could the second doorway be related to burials in the churchyard?

Fig. 2.48, Coln Rogers, north doorway

Fig. 2.49, Coln Rogers, south doorway

Their burial evidence offers no information as each of these churches has burials all around their buildings. We also do not know where the eleventh-century burials are located, if there were any at all at these churches. Given that, in general, we have limited eleventh-century burial evidence at medieval churches I must rely upon the limited evidence that is available. Three well studied examples of medieval burials are at Raunds, Wharram Percy and Barton-upon-Humber respectively.[227] Raunds has much burial evidence but as it had a single doorway its design misses a fundamental feature in this chapter; namely when there was a choice of doorway.

227. Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard* (London: English Heritage, 1996); Simon Mays, Charlotte Harding and Carolyn Heighway, *The Churchyard, Wharram A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, XI* (York: York University Press, 2007), 216-32; Tony Waldron, *St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire A Parish Church and its Community, Vol. 2, The Human Remains* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 29-31.

At Barton-upon-Humber, where the church had doorways on the north and south of the tower nave, Tony Waldron found that in the period 950-1150 there was a "great density of interments to the south…but also significant concentrations of graves on the north."[228] The quantity of burials appears evenly distributed but there are noticeable clusters throughout the graveyard. Barton-upon-Humbers' Phase E has a two-hundred-year range which leaves much room for error when identifying with any precision its eleventh-century burials. We cannot determine from the evidence if burial location varied through Phase E. We only really see the final result because of the date range. Due to the general use of the north and south ranges for burials we cannot conclude any link between doorways and burials. Barton-upon-Humber's southern doorway is approximately eleven and a half centimetres wider than its northern opposite. It is possible that its southern doorway was this church's original principal doorway. This is also consistent with its later medieval remodelling and its new principal southern doorway built onto the south side of the twelfth-century nave extension.[229]

Wharram Percy is a slightly different case. Simon Mays, Charlotte Harding and Carolyn Heighway prepared a report on the burial excavations that took place at the site from 1962 to 1979. The burials were located in several locations with the majority located on the north side of the church. Earlier reports on the site indicate that the village lay to the north and northwest of the church (Fig. 2.50).[230]

228. Waldron, 29-31.
229. Warwick Rodwell, *St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire – A Parish Church and its Community* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 1:57.
230. Alistair Oswald and Ian Goodall, *Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Investigation and Survey* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2004), 49.

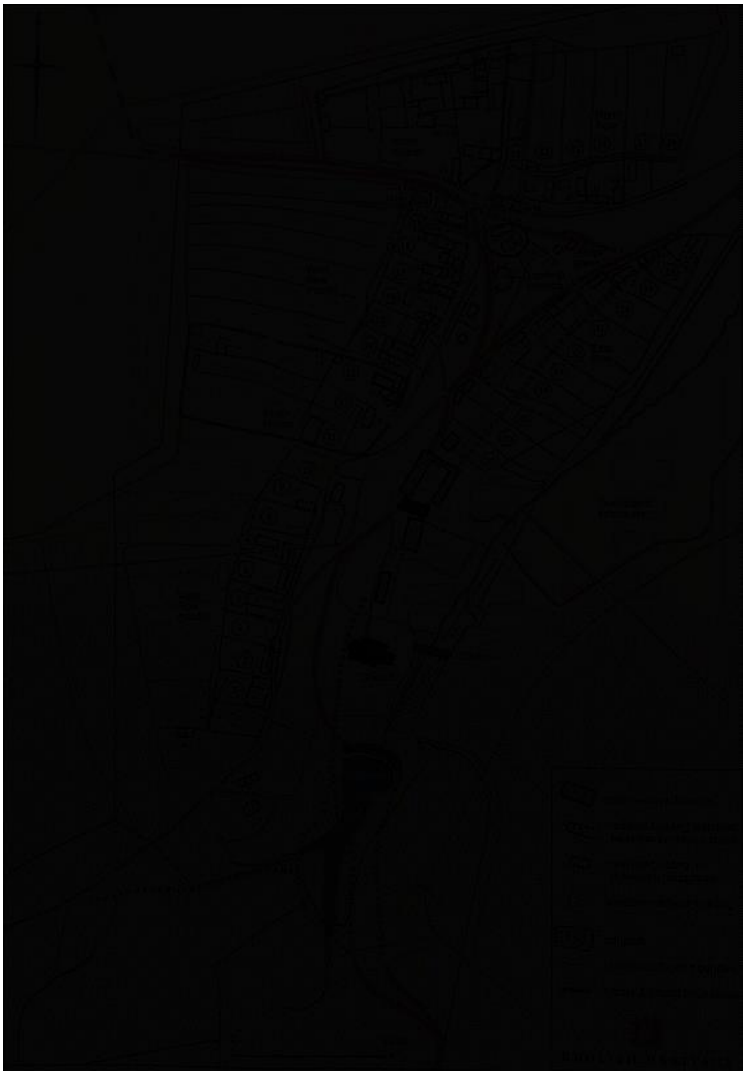

Fig. 2.50, Wharram Percy Medieval Village Plan, English Heritage

In the early to mid-eleventh century, Wharram Percy's church may have only had a single nave doorway at its west end. Mays and colleagues state that north and south nave doorways were built in the new later twelfth-century church. In the early to mid-thirteenth century the community added a southern porch, which suggests that the southern doorway was its principal entrance for its community. Burials at the rebuilt church remained mostly to the north but also west of the church. They also suggest that there may have been a path from the nave's north doorway to the end of the northern church yard on the basis of there

being no evidence of burials along this route.[231] The builder's decision to position the yard between the church and the domestic buildings may suggest a desire to link the deceased with their community. Or perhaps it may be due to a more pragmatic reason: a millpond south of the church, whose source is a stream that runs in a general southerly direction east of the church and the domestic buildings. The preference for northern burials may be due to avoiding a potential flood zone. A hill lies west of the church making the area south of the church a natural collecting point for runoff or springtime flooding. The northern churchyard, with its slightly higher elevation, is a logical position for burials considering its limited options. Wharram Percy presents an unusual result as its possible principal doorway faces very few domestic buildings. The village layout shows that most of them are north and northwest of the church. One might expect a larger doorway to face its community and the evidence so far presented shows that there is a southern preference for the larger doorway. But this is not always the case, with Wharram Percy being an example.

(viii) Conclusion

The eleventh-century evidence supports my argument that estate churches of this century tended to have two doorways located at the north and south side of the nave in a laterally opposing form. Moreover the dimensions of all but two churches are greatly different. It is probable for these two doorway buildings that the doorway that was larger and more embellished was the main entrance. The data indicates that at seven of the nine churches, the southern doorway is larger in width and in height. In each of these cases, it is likely that there was a manor

231. Mays, *The Churchyard, Wharram*, 216-32.

nearby, but we have no evidence just where they were. We might be able to propose where the medieval village lay by examining road positions, topography and modern settlement. But, with almost a millennium separating us, we can at best guess where the eleventh-century village was. What is clear is that these churches had two doorways, north and south, and no western doorway.

2.3. The Twelfth-Century

(i) Introduction

I analyse two categories of parochial churches in this section; namely, (i) minsters and (ii) estate churches which became parish churches. I located a total of thirty-four buildings for this section: five former minsters and twenty-nine estate churches. They are each summarised in their own categories below. I suggest that the evidence indicates a general trend for these categories of churches. Minsters tended to have two or three nave doorways and estate churches had two nave doorways. The pattern that emerges in the eleventh century for estate churches continues through the twelfth. The minster churches are typically very large multi-celled buildings with central towers and transepts. Estate churches are usually two-celled and without towers. I analyse each group according to their possible twelfth-century function, patronage, dating and their position within the surrounding landscape. As the evidence indicates, the twenty-nine estate churches tend to have a similar nave and chancel form. Whereas I considered it important to present much visual evidence for the eleventh-century churches this is not as necessary in this section. To avoid a great deal of repetition in their form and architectural attributes this thesis will analyse only a few from the early, middle and later twelfth century for illustrative purposes.

(ii) Five case studies of ex-minsters which became parish churches

The following chart provides this paper's examples of former minster churches mostly built in the twelfth century, most of these which later became parish churches.

Ex-minster churches which became parish churches

Location	Doorways	Date	Bells
Romsey (Hampshire)	N, S	*c*. 1130 x1170	Central tower
Stow (Lincolnshire)	N, S, W	1150x1170	Central tower
Bromyard (Herefordshire)	N, S	1174 x 1210	Central tower
Lambourn (Berkshire)	N, S, W	*c*. 1180, 14th c.	Central tower
Darlington (Durham)	N, S, W	1180x *c*. 1220	Central tower

Their Doorway Position Summary

Single Doorway	North and South Doorways only	North and West or South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
0	2	0	3

All of these churches are large multi-celled buildings with very high-status patrons. They all have central towers, aisles and north and south transepts. Four retain their original twelfth-century doorway positions. We are less certain about Lambourn's south doorway which I discuss below. In the twelfth century they functioned as collegiate churches and Romsey was a nunnery.

Romsey is unusual as it was shared by the nuns and the local community. The laity used the north aisle as their church, which Bishop Wykeham extended to

include the north transept in 1403.[232] The north aisle has a single doorway and Romsey has no western doorway (Fig. 2.51). The laity would have used the northern doorway and the community of nuns would have entered by the southern doorway closest to the west end within their cloisters. There is a very grand second nave doorway which is called the Abbess's Doorway; presumably, it was for her use and, perhaps, other distinguished visitors (Fig. 2.52). The builders constructed Romsey in two phases in the mid twelfth century and then the first quarter of the thirteenth. There are arguments about its earliest dating, but work is likely to have begun circa 1120. This is based on the east end's double-cushioned capitals and chevron ornamentation.[233] Its southern doorway has been restored but retains twelfth-century features including a surrounding chevron motif in its second order and a carved flower motif in its outer archway. The northern doorway is early thirteenth-century, possibly 1210 x 1230 based on its pointed arch, chamfered inner order, moulded outer one with dogtooth in the labels and jamb-shafts and foliate capitals.[234]

Moving north to Lincolnshire, Stow is a large church with a central tower, north and south transepts, nave and chancel. Alfred Clapham used C. A. Parker's plan which clearly shows the major building phases of this church (Fig. 2.53).[235] A modern plan which does not show the phases was produced by M. McDaid in 2007. It closely resembles Parker's plan except for the modern vestry which now

232. William Page and P. H. Ditchfield, eds. "Parishes: Lambourn," in *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 4* (London: VCH, 1924), 251-66.
233. Millard F. Hearn, "The Architectural History of Romsey Abbey," (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1969), 32-33; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 172-76; Ron Baxter, "St Mary, Romsey, Hampshire," *CRSBI*, November 26, 2020, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/2865/.
234. William Page, ed. "Parishes: Romsey Extra and Infra," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4* (London: VCH, 1911), 452-69.
235. Harold M. Taylor, "St Mary's Church, Stow," *AJ* (1974): 362-66;

completely encloses the northern nave doorway.[236] I employ Parker's as it is more suited to the present discussion.

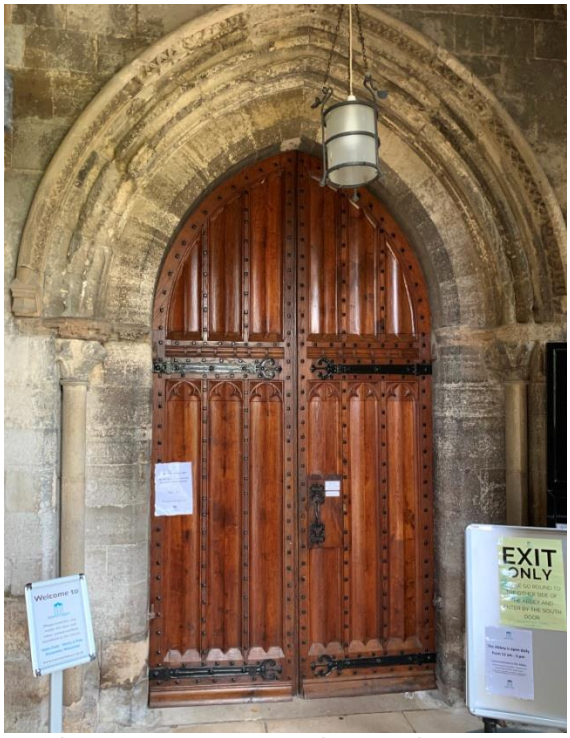

Fig. 2.51, Romsey, north nave doorway

Fig. 2.52, Romsey, Abbess's doorway south side of the nave

The nave and chancel were rebuilt in the twelfth century. Evidence of the eleventh-century church remains within the rebuilt one; notably, in the transepts and crossing arches, including: the plain chamfered imposts above the rectangular columns with pilasters (Fig. 2.54), south transept single light splayed window (Fig. 2.55), and small internal north transept western doorway (Fig. 2.56).

Stow became a prebendary church, possibly as early as 1146, but more likely by 1163.[237] Stow's twelfth-century rebuild is evident in the thicker nave and chancel walls, its internal, single-splayed, round-headed windows throughout the

236. M. McDaid, "St Mary's Church, Stow, Lincs. Archaeological Watching Brief," *Lindsey Archaeological Services, Report No.: 969* (February 2007): 11, https://doi.org/10.5284/1014179.
237. Diana E. Greenway, ed. "Prebendaries: Stow St Mary," in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 3, Lincoln* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1977), 98.

building, scalloped cushion capitals, and especially its highly embellished nave doorways, each of multiple orders with chevron, billet and dog-tooth decoration.

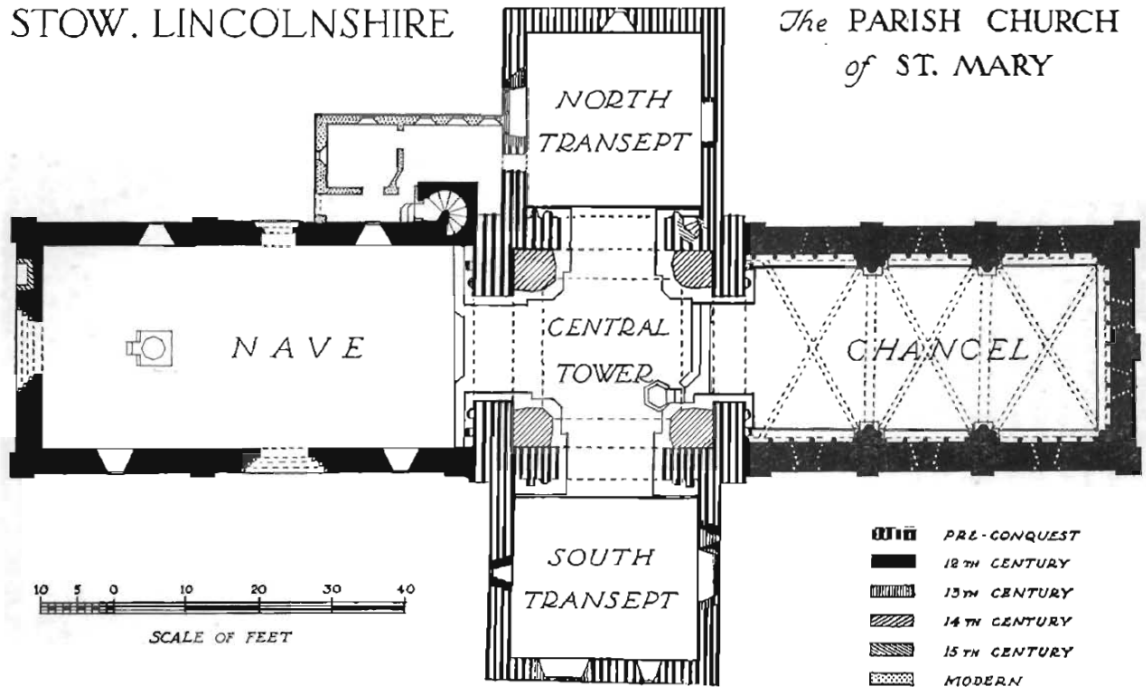

Fig. 2.53, St Mary's Church, Stow (Lincolnshire) after C. A. Parker

Fig. 2.54, Stow, southeast crossing column

Fig. 2.55, Stow, south transept window

Fig. 2.56, Stow, north transept doorway

This phase is dated to 1150 x 1170. We know that Stow's patron, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, who executed the rebuilding died in 1148.[238] The north and south doorways have different physical features and dimensions. The south doorway is much larger than the northern one (Fig. 2.57). It is 330 centimetres tall by 191 wide and the northern one is 224 centimetres tall by 125 wide. The south doorway's grandiose carving is far more intricate and substantial (four orders, three with nook shafts, billet, dog-tooth and chevron motifs) than the northern one (two orders, one with nook shafts and scalloped capitals, chevron and dog-tooth design). The southern doorway is clearly is a more important entrance than the northern one (Figs. 2.58 and 2.59). Its western doorway is slightly larger than the

238. Alfred Clapham, "Lincolnshire Priories, Abbeys and Parish Churches," *AJ* 103 no. 1 (1946): 166-70.

southern one being about a further thirteen centimetres wider but two and a half centimetres shorter, but both have similar carving (Fig. 2.60).

Fig. 2.57, Stow (Lincolnshire), south doorway

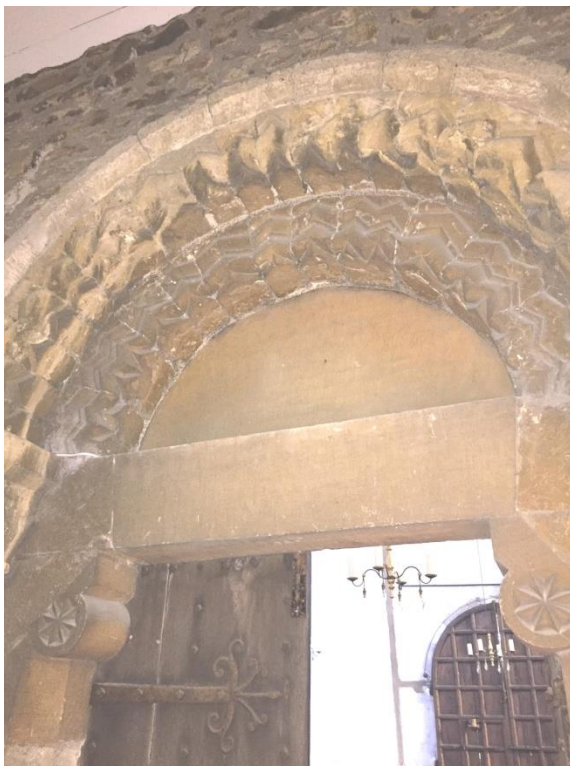

Fig. 2.58, Stow, north doorway

Fig. 2.59, Stow, north doorway

(Full view not possible due to insufficient internal space)

Fig. 2.60, Stow, west doorway

Bromyard Minster has north and south doorways, north and south aisles, transepts and a fourteenth-century tower and chancel. Its west doorway is a post-medieval addition which was later blocked. It was originally a collegiate church but then became a parish church in the mid-fourteenth century.[239] We have no documentary sources confirming its initial construction, and dating is based on stylistics. George Zarnicki suggests Bishop Foliot, 1174 x 1186, built Bromyard as a cruciform church but then enlarged it soon after adding the aisles and repositioned the doorways.[240] Zarnecki dates Bromyard to the third quarter of the twelfth century by (i) zigzag, horizontal and front-faced chevron motifs carved upon the south and north nave doors (Figs. 2.61 and 2.62), (ii) spurred attic

239. William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 6, Part 3 (London: Sam Keble, 1692), 1454; "Bromyard," *Taxatio*, July 14, 2019, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.HE.FR.01.
240. George Zarnecki, "St Peter, Bromyard, Herefordshire," *CRSBI*, August 22, 2019, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=14776.

bases, (iii) multi-trumpet scalloped capitals.[241] I suggest that the southern doorway may be the main entrance for the community judging by its ornamentation and as it is seventy-six centimetres taller and five centimetres wider than the northern doorway. This doorway also faces the present street more so than the northern doorway.

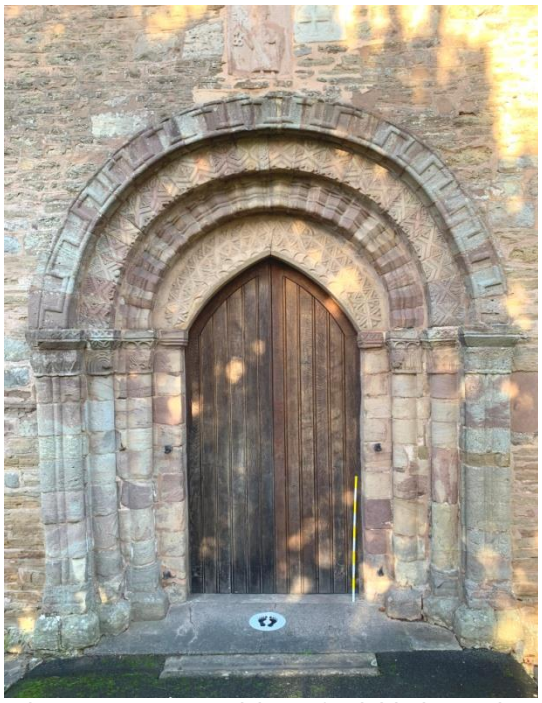

Fig. 2.61, Bromyard (Herefordshire), south doorway

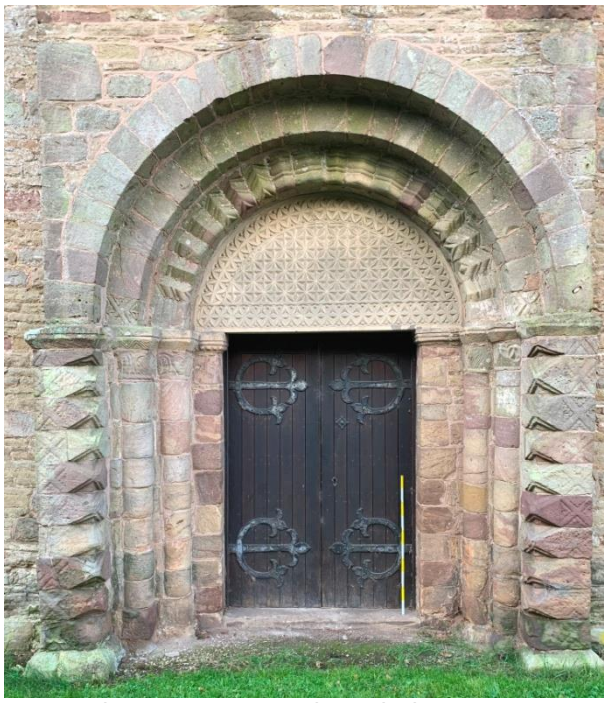

Fig. 2.62, Bromyard, north doorway

In the fourteenth century the builders altered the southern doorway's tympanum, giving it a pointed arch whilst they left the reset northern doorway in its original form. This choice to vary the southern one also supports the argument that the southern doorway was the primary entrance for the laity. The church had a northern transept doorway which may have been an original priest's doorway. There is no corresponding southern transept doorway which suggests that the clerical community may have resided north of the church and accessed the

241. George Zarnecki, "St Peter, Bromyard, Herefordshire," *CRSBI*, August 22, 2019, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=14776.

building through this doorway (Fig. 2.63). When the church and chancel were remodelled in the fourteenth century a new southern priest's doorway was added (Fig. 2.64).[242]

We know Lambourn Minster was a prebendal church and its patron was the Dean of St Paul's, London. It was built prior to c. 1180 as a Gloucester Abbey charter mentions an endowment for its lady chapel.[243] Stylistically, Ron Baxter argues for a date before c. 1180 dating on its, (i) point-to-point chevron decoration at the west doorway, (ii) trumpet scalloping at the chancel arch and(iii) many volute capitals, with palmette and foliage decoration.[244] In the fourteenth century part of the south nave wall and that doorway were rebuilt. The builders positioned the south doorway directly opposite the northern entrance. Both doorways have the same height and width, 229 by 114 centimetres. We also know that the fourteenth-century work did not change the south aisle's west wall.[245] That wall remained intact and retained the symmetry of the north side. The builders possibly created the new south doorway in the same position, with the same dimensions as its original twelfth-century one. The southern doorway has the only porch and may have been its original principal entrance for the community.

Darlington, another collegiate church, is unusual for a twelfth-century church as its two aisles and transepts are not subsequent additions but part of the original plan. Its patron was the Bishop of Durham.[246] We have a terminus ante

242. BofE, *Herefordshire*, 92.
243. John Footman, *History of the Parish Church of Saint Michael and All Angels Chipping Lambourn* (London: Elliot Stock, 1894), 32-33*; Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestrae*, vol.1, ed., William H, Hart (London: Longman, Gree, 1863), 368.
244. Ron Baxter, "St Michael, Lambourn, Berkshire," *CRSBI*, June 12, 2019, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/419/.
245. William Page and P. H. Ditchfield, eds. "Parishes: Lambourn," in *A History of the County of Berkshire: vol. 4* (London: VCH, 1924), 251-66.
246. Robert Surtees, "Parish of Darlington," in *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham: Volume 3, Stockton and Darlington Wards* (London: Nichols and Son, 1823), 350-77.

quem of 1192 as the monk, Gaufridi of Coldingham, mentions the church of St Cuthbert in an entry for that year.[247]

Fig. 2.63, Bromyard, north transept/priest's doorway

Fig. 2.64, Bromyard, south priest's doorway

Historians argue that the earliest date for the church is c. 1180 and that it was mostly completed by the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[248] It is located in the centre of the town and its doorways have different dimensions. The southern doorway is larger, measuring 353 x 158 centimetres, whereas the north doorway is 325 x 147 centimetres. Both doorways have similar attributes but the southern doorway has a large statue niche over the arch set within a gabled structure that may have been the upper limit for a roof line of an original porch.

247. A. R. Dufty, "Darlington Church," in "Report of the Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Durham in 1954," *AJ* 111, no. 1 (1954): 224-25.
248. Herbert D. Prictchett, *The Story of the Church of St Cuthbert, Darlington 8th edition* (Gloucester: British Publishing, 1965), 14-15; J. P. Pritchett, "Appendix: St Cuthbert's, Darlington," *JBAA* 43 (1887): 234-35.

This group of ex-minsters which became parish churches had a very different original function from the typical parochial church or chapel we have seen in this chapter so far, other than perhaps the church at Worth. These minsters are also greatly different in design and function from the twelfth-century buildings I analyse below. They were all cruciform buildings with central bell towers and served by a community of clergy. Three of the five I have presented also have western doorways in addition to those within the north and south nave walls. Richard Gem suggests that central towers in minsters became a standard design in eleventh-century England. These towers might have been to provide a heightened emphasis on the area below and also to create more light over the monks' choir.[249] He further states that such a central crossing tower "would naturally also mark the screened-off area reserved to the ministers."[250] Michael Shapland also writes of the tower's role as gateways to heaven. He, as well as David Stocker and Paul Everson, also states that the area beneath may have been linked with mortuary or burial rituals.[251] In addition, Shapland states that this form in the eleventh century had "an association with aristocratic residences, indicating their use as high-status clerical chapels."[252] In the next section, I argue that this central tower form was also copied by some patrons for local churches in the twelfth century.

In addition, this central tower form also removed stresses of bell ringing from the west end of the nave. As a result, many of these the churches had great

249. Richard Gem, "How much can Anglo-Saxon Buildings Tell us about Liturgy," in *Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (Woodbridge: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2005), 274-75.
250. Ibid.
251. Michael G. Shapland, 113-30; David Stocker and Paul Everson, *Summoning St Michael, Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2006), 80-92.
252. Shapland, 130.

western doorways. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Liturgy, the inclusion of a western doorway created possibilities for the celebration of rituals and other important celebrations or events at that end of the church. In contrast, Romsey's lack of a western doorway may be due to the segregation of their nuns from the general congregation who might have only used the northern doorway. Romsey's southern doorways only led to its cloister and so would not be used by the local laity. It is unclear why Bromyard had no western doorway like the other minsters or collegiate churches of this period.

(iii) *Twelfth-century parochial churches*

I present twenty-nine twelfth-century churches in this section. I include the position of towers in the chart to indicate perhaps the type of arrangement the first or later builders chose for bells at these churches. As with the eleventh-century buildings, we cannot be certain if and how bells were originally suspended, if at all, at these churches.

Most are two-celled buildings and many had western towers added after the twelfth century. Only the churches at Iffley, Stewkley, Studland, and Bossall have original, central, twelfth-century towers. Bossall also has north and south transepts of a form similar to the minsters I discussed in the last section. The design of these churches may indicate a continuity of the eleventh-century practice that expressed the very high status of its patrons and builders. It is also possible that these churches also were served by several priests.

The evidence clearly indicates that the overwhelming majority of churches which were either a parish church from the beginning or later became one had two doorways, laterally opposing on the north and south sides of the nave. Many churches have very highly adorned doorways and carving throughout, including,

Iffley, Stewkley, Kilpeck, and Barfrestone. Luddenham has an irregular form with only south and west doorways.

Twenty-nine churches which became parish churches

Location	Date	Doorways	Bells
Little Abington (Cambridgeshire)	Early 12th c.	N, S	W tower 15th c.
Bengeo (Hertfordshire)	Early 12th c.	N, S	W turret
Willingale (Essex)	Early 12th c.	N, S	W bell turret
Sinnington (Yorkshire)	Early 12th c.	N, S, W	W bell turret
Weaverthrope (Yorkshire)	1109 x 1118	N, S	W tower
Adwick-upon-Dearne (Yorkshire)	1114x1130	N, S	W bellcote
Ampney St Mary (Gloucestershire)	c. 1130	N, S	Central bellcote
Kilpeck (Herefordshire)	1130x1134	S	W bellcote
Studland (Dorset)	1120x1134	N, S	Central tower
Ilketshall (Suffolk)	c. 1130	N, S	W tower
Great Ayton (Yorkshire)	1130 x 1150	N, S	
Barton on the heath (Warwickshire)	1130 x 1150	N, S	W tower
Ashill (Somerset)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	W tower 15th c.
South Shoebury (Essex)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	W tower 14th c.
Wixoe (Suffolk)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	W bellturret
Offchurch (Warwickshire)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	W tower 15th c.
Ilmington (Warwickshire)	c. 1150	N, S	W tower
Shelsley Walsh (Worcestershire)	c. 1150	N, S	
Stewkley (Buckinghamshire)	1150x1170	N, S, W	Central tower
Stoke Orchard (Gloucestershire)	1160x1180	N, S	Central bellcote
Iffley (Oxfordshire)	1175x1182	N, S, W	Central tower
Barfrestone (Kent)	1170x1190	N, S	
Patrixbourne		N, S	S/W tower

(Kent)			
Luddenham (Kent)	1175 x 1200	S, W	W tower, fell 1806
Tugford (Shropshire)	Late 12th c.	N, S	W tower 14th c.
West Chiltington (West Sussex)	Late 12th c.	N, S	Central bellturret
Margaret Roding (Essex)	Late 12th c.	N, S	W bellcote
Shellingford (Berkshire)	Late 12th c.	N, S	W tower Early to Mid 13th c.
Bossall (Yorkshire)	Late 12th c.	N, S	Central tower

Doorway Position Summary

South Doorway only	North and South Doorways	North and West or South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
1	24	1	3

(iii.a) Five case studies of twelfth-Century parochial churches

I analyse five of these churches as examples for the sake of brevity and as there is so much uniformity among the churches in this section. They date from the early, mid and late twelfth century and are located from Kent to Yorkshire to avoid a possible geographical bias.

I arrive at plausible dates for most of the churches in this section based on their style and documentary evidence. Some are recorded in contemporary twelfth-century writing, which helps to narrow possible date ranges. In the cases where written records are absent I categorise the churches as early, middle or late century based on their physical attributes. Architectural historians have examined most of these churches- especially their stone carving and other physical features- and suggested their possible dates. We are more certain for dating these twelfth-century churches than for ones of the eleventh century.

Weaverthorpe (Yorkshire) is an early twelfth-century example. It has two very plain, semi-circular, arched nave doorways which are square headed with plain jambs (Figs 2.65 and 2.66). The northern tympanum is inset slightly whilst that on the south is flush with the voussoirs. The church was restored in 1870-72 and the north wall repaired. George Street numbered and replaced the stones on the north wall as he levelled the ground that had risen almost a metre on that side.[253]

Fig. 2.65,Weaverthorpe (Yorkshire), south doorway

Fig. 2.66, Weaverthorpe, north doorway

As the north side of the church is on the upward side of a slope the accretion of soil against that wall over centuries is logical. The two-piece lintel at

253. Rita Wood, “St Andrew, Weaverthorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding,” *CRSBI*, May 8, 2019, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=3209; James Bayly, *Four Churches in the Deanery of Buckrose restored or built by the late George Edmund Street, RA, for Sir Tatton Sykes, Bart* (London: 1894); John Bilson, 'Weaverthorpe church and its builder,' *Archaeologia* 72 (1922): 51-70.

the northern doorway shows a clearly different arrangement supporting the arch than the single slab on the southern or chancel doorways (Figs. 2.67 and 2.68).[254] It may be that George Street's restoration required newer fabric for the northern doorway whilst maintaining the similar appearance and dimensions of the original one.

The church's dating is greatly helped by an inscription on the sundial within the southern tympanum immediately above the lintel. The inscription states the name of Herbert the Chamberlain (to Henry I). Thomas II, the Archbishop of York granted the estate to Herbert in 1108-09. Herbert subsequently granted the church to his son William who then gave it to Nostell Priory in approximately 1121.[255] There is no inscription on the northern doorway. The church also has an original priest's doorway with similar design on the southern side of the chancel.

Fig. 2.67, Weaverthorpe, priest's doorway exterior

Fig. 2.68, Weaverthorpe priest's doorway interior image courtesy of *CRSBI*

254. Rita Wood, "Weaverthorpe, Yorkshire," *CRSBI*, April 10, 2019, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=3209.
255. Bilson, 51-70.

Wixoe (Suffolk) is an example of a plain mid-twelfth-century church. There are no twelfth-century documentary references to the church or manor at Wixoe. Domesday has a reference to the location and then the church itself is found, once it was built, in the tax records of Pope Nicholas IV. That source states that it was held in 1291 by Sir William de Suctone.[256] The church is a single-celled building with no chancel arch. Its original doorways remain in their original positions (Figs. 2.69 and 2.70).

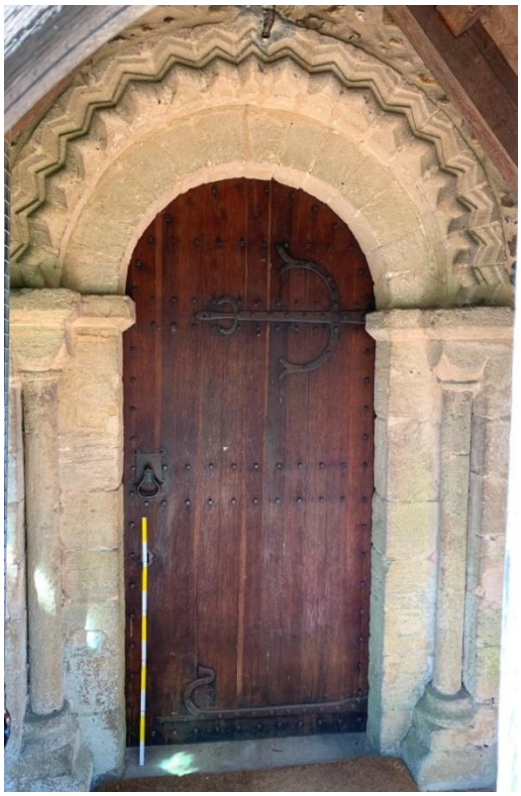

Fig. 2.69,Wixoe (Suffolk) south doorway

Fig. 2.70, Wixoe north doorway

The southern doorway is of two orders, both with plain chamfered imposts. The outer order has scalloped cushion capitals and the arch is adorned with chevron motif carving. In stark contrast, the northern doorway is a plain semi-circular arch with squared jambs and voussoirs. Stylistically, Wixoe appears to be

256.“Wixoe,” *Taxatio*, April 10, 2019, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=NW.SD.CL.14.

mid-century, as its carving is substantially more intricate than the earlier twelfth-century church at Weaverthorpe but much less so than the second half of the twelfth century, as discussed below. The south priest's doorway is a modern addition but might be possibly located in a medieval, perhaps thirteenth-century, position. Three later twelfth-century churches are those at Iffley, Barfrestone and Shellingford.

Iffley is a very unusual, highly ornate church and has three original nave doorways to the north, south and west. Its carving is very intricate within the church as well as outside. In addition, the fabric in its tower arches, as Mark Pythian-Adams states, "constitute[s] the finest surviving example of the architectural use of Tournai marble in England."[257] It also has a central bell tower reminiscent of the minsters, discussed above, and Stewkley thirty-nine kilometres to the east. Iffley's chancel was remodelled in the early thirteenth-century.[258] The church's three nave doorways are very embellished. The southern doorway (Fig. 2.71) has three orders of carving which include a great series of carved scenes including animals, flowers, and monsters surrounding its first order. The outer orders are also highly decorated with colonettes and carved capitals.[259] The northern doorway (Fig. 2.72) is of three orders but does not have the carved scenes and its capitals are plainer than those on the south side. The western doorway (Fig. 2.73) similarly has three orders of carving. The first is adorned with four-stepped rows of chevrons. The second and third orders are decorated with fifty-one and thirty-seven beak-heads respectively.[260]

257. Mark Pythian-Adams, "The patronage of Iffley church – a new line of enquiry," *Ecclesiology Today* 36 (June 2006): 7.
258. BofE, *Oxfordshire*, 658-61.
259. George Zarnecki and Ron Baxter, "St Mary, Iffley, Oxfordshire," *CRSBI*, February 9, 2018, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4414.
260. Ibid.

We cannot be certain where the twelfth-century manor was when the church was constructed. The present day rectory, at its closest, is just eight metres northwest of the church, and has some fabric from the thirteenth century but nothing from the twelfth when the church was built.[261] The churchyard to the south and east is between two to three metres higher in elevation than at the western or northern doorways. The north side of the church faces the modern street. The street lies one meter below and down a slope from the church. The church is also less than ninety metres to the edge of the Thames which is due west. A slope descends twelve metres from the western doorway to the river in this short distance. The western doorway is the largest followed by the southern one and then the one on the north. I discuss the doorway dimensions of this and all the churches later in this section.

Fig. 2.71, Iffley (Oxfordshire) south doorway

Fig. 2.72, Iffley north doorway

261. BofE, *Oxfordshire*, 658-61.

A recent study on Iffley's patronage by Mark Pythian-Adams suggests Iffley may have been built 1155 x 1170. He makes this claim based on a number of factors including the fact that Iffley's Tournai marble columns are close in appearance to those at Tournai cathedral built between 1140 and 1171 and at Rochester Cathedral built in the middle of the century. He also indicates that the stone carving of the chapter house doorway at St Frideswide's church, Oxford, is dated in the 1140s to 1150s and Iffley's appears to be a "more mature reflection of the earlier work."[262] Furthermore, George Zarnecki dates the chancel arch to c. 1170.[263] Richard Halsey gives an even earlier range of 1140 x 1170 also based on the similar carving at St Frideswide's chapter house.[264]

Fig. 2.73, Iffley west doorway

262. Pythian-Adams, 8-9.
263. George Zarnecki, "Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture," in *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds., Sarah Macready and F. H. Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), 168.
264. Richard Halsey, "The 12th-Century Church of St Frideswide's Priory," in *Saint Frideswide's Monastery at Oxford*, ed. John Blair (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 160-67.

If the church was built before 1170 then it may be that the de Clinton family were the patrons of Iffley as Geoffrey de Clinton, Chamberlain to Henry I, had acquired the land at Iffley from Henry of Oxford in 1156.The de Clinton family had ample wealth to build such an extravagant church. The other possible patron might be Robert de St Remy, a knight, only if the church was built after 1177.[265] Charter evidence dated between 1173 and *c*. 1216 confirms that later on Robert de St Remy did have title to land at Iffley as it was his daughter Juliana who, after his death, subsequently gifted it to Kenilworth priory at that time.[266] We cannot be certain that a de Clinton family member was Iffley's original patron but the fact that their wealth was possibly greater than the de St Remy family makes their link stronger.[267] It also aligns with the highly embellished carving at the church and its central tower form.

Barfrestone (Kent) is a small two-celled church with north and south nave doorways and no aisles. It was significantly restored by Richard C. Hussey in 1839-41 but according to Tim Tatton-Brown, "carefully done."[268] It has no western doorway or bells at present, although it might have had in the Middle Ages. It also has an original priest's door on the south side of the chancel. There are no twelfth-century sources that might help date this church and so we rely upon a stylistic interpretation. Barfrestone's surviving, in situ, stone carving is evident throughout the structure.[269] George Zarnecki sees a strong influence of French sculpture in Kent which persisted until about 1180, the date of the churches of Patrixborne and

265. Pythian-Adams, 9-18.
266. Ibid., 13, Charter H 1442, C. Watson, "Edition of the Kenilworth Cartulary,"(PhD thesis, University of London, 1966), 119-20.
267. Pythian-Adams, 9-17.
268. Tim Tatton-Brown, "St Nicholas Church, Barfreston," *Canterbury Diocese, Historical and Archaeological Survey 1991*, February 5, 2018, http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/BAF.htm.
269. Charles Coulson, "The Barfrestone conundrum: 'Much Restored' but 'Virtually Unaltered,'" *AC* 134 (2014): 153-86, Coulson argues that the church was not rebuilt despite such allegations by earlier writers; "Barfreston" *TTB Survey*.

Barfrestone. He compares the two equestrian figures on the east front of Barfrestone as direct imitations of those seen depicting Constantine on horseback at St Pierre, Châteauneuf-sur-Charente, Acquitaine, France. Furthermore, he argues that the elaborately carved doorways, friezes and other enrichments show an extraordinary mixture of French motifs and the local style derived from Canterbury and the Southern School.[270] Richard Gameson gives a slightly broader range of circa 1170 x 1190 for the sculpture at Barfrestone. He suggests that "the waterleaf on the shaft bases, the capitals on the chancel arch and the pointed arches of the nave argue for a late date".[271] The two nave doorways (Figs. 2.74 and 2.75) have elaborate carving. However, that of the south doorway is much more intricate with its figure carved upon its outer order arch and capitals.

Fig. 2.74, Barfrestone (Kent) south doorway

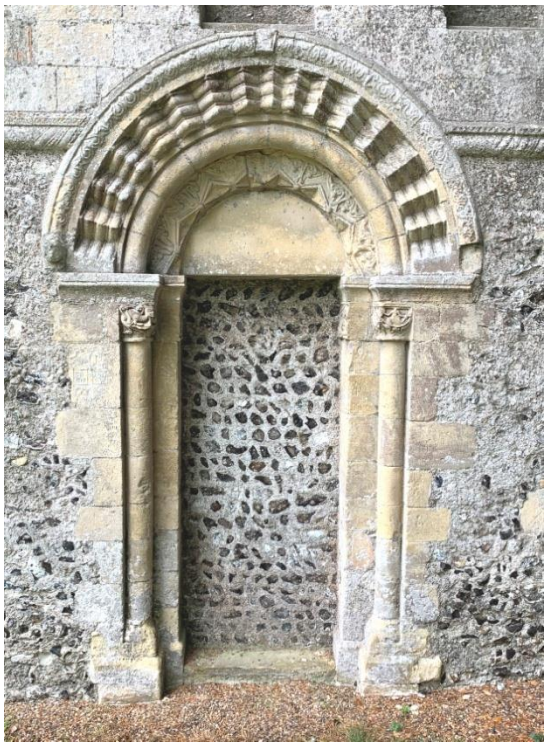

Fig. 2.75, Barfrestone north doorway

270. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, 40.
271. Richard Gameson, et al., "Churches," *AJ* 151, Sup 1 (1994): 15-16.

The church at Shellingford (Berkshire) is a late twelfth-century, two-celled building also without aisles and with perhaps an early thirteenth-century western tower. There are no direct written references to the church in the twelfth century which means we must again turn to an art historical evaluation to arrive at a likely date for its construction.[272] Both the north and south doorways (Figs. 2.76 and 2.77) have semi-circular arches with detailed carving and ornamentation. The carving of the north and south doorways differ. The northern is surrounded with beak-headswhilst the southern one has chevron and dog-tooth motif. There is also a priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel whose appearance is closer in design with the southern doorway (Fig. 2.78). Recently, Geoffrey Tyack and colleagues have suggested that the original priest's doorway may have been reset.[273]

Fig. 2.76, Shellingford (Berkshire) south doorway

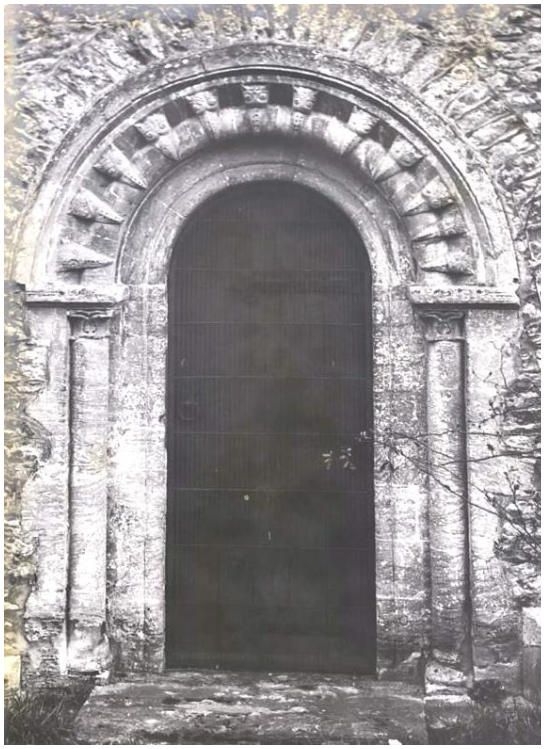
Fig. 2.77, Shellingford, north doorwayc. 1900, Peter Moore c/o CRSBI

272. Ron Baxter, "Shellingford, Berkshire," *CRSBI*, May 13, 2021, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4186.
273. BofE, *Berkshire*, 508-09.

William Page states thatthe chancel was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, which would be contemporary with the church's refenestration. I can find no written evidence to specifically date the church at Shellingford and must rely upon the appearance of its stone carving. Ron Baxter in 1990 and Geoffrey Tyack with Simon Bradley writing in the *Buildings of England* series for Berkshire, in 2010, suggest a date of the late twelfth century.[274]

Fig. 2.78, Shellingford, priest's doorway

(iii.b) Patronage

We are not able to learn much from analysis of the patronage of these buildings. Just as in the earlier section of this chapter on the eleventh century, these twelfth-century churches were built by high status individuals, one Anglo-Saxon and the rest Norman. Some of the churches are highly decorated and

274. Ron Baxter, "St Faith, Shellingford, Berkshire," *CRSBI*, 29 March 2018, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4186; BofE, *Berkshire*, 508-09.

others are rather plain in comparison. I present a brief sample of their patrons to indicate the limited evidence we have in this context.

Ampney St Mary's Anglo-Saxon patron was Regenbald, who was a very high-status cleric acting as King Edward's chancellor- and possibly also the Conqueror's. He had extensive land holdings throughout England even after 1066.In 1133 we know that Henry I granted all of Regenbald's property to Cirencester Abbey, including the church at Ampney St Mary.[275]

As discussed above, Geoffrey de Clinton (the son of the former chamberlain also Geoffrey) was possibly Iffley's patron.[276] Kilpeck's founder was Hugh de Kilpeck, son of William, who was one of William the Conqueror's nobles at Hastings. Hugh also built a large motte and bailey style castle, a planned village with its church.[277] Shellingford's church was probably held by the Salmon family who acquired its title from Abingdon Abbey.[278] I can find no record for Wixoe's or Barfrestone's twelfth-century patrons. Tim Tatton-Brown states that the church was manorial and extant sources provide no name. In the 1291-92 tax record it was under secular lordship of Bertram Tancred.[279] I can find no source to determine whether or not this person is remotely related to the famous Norman crusader of the late eleventh-century.

The remaining patrons of these local churches have similar backgrounds; either lords of high status, or monasteries. As mentioned earlier, many high-status

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275. Jean and Gerry Gardiner and J. Wand, "Ampney St Mary," *CRSBI*, 22 May 2020, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=12738; BofE, *Gloucestershire I: the Cotswolds*, 142-43; "Regenbald" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 364-65.
276. Pythian-Adams, 9-18.
277. Malcolm Thurlby, The *Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2013), 96.*
278. Ron Baxter, "Shellingford, Berkshire,"*CRSBI*, May 13, 2021, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4186.
279. Edward Hasted, ed. "Parishes: Barson," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10* (Canterbury: 1800), 71-78; "Barfrestone," *TTB Survey*.

lords not only patronised monasteries, they also built smaller parochial churches and chapels. The result is that differences in the nature of the patron alone did not determine doorway positioning. Manorial proximity may, however, be relevant for determining primary doorway positions in eleventh-century churches and perhaps somewhat into the twelfth.

(iii.c) Function

We know from later medieval documentary sources that all of these buildings had become parish churches by the end of the twelfth century. We cannot be entirely certain that they originally began as parish churches, especially as the system continued to evolve through this century. While telltale signs of parochial function may be burials, bells and fonts, present-day bell arrangements or fonts may not reflect original medieval positions. The absence of contemporary rival neighbouring churches may suggest these churches possibly functioned as proto or parochial churches. Still, the records that do exist, together with circumstantial evidence, help define their possible original parochial function.

As an example, the church at Kilpeck was probably from its origin an estate church that served the local community. It is unusual as its patron, Hugh de Kilpeck, built not only the church but also a major motte and bailey castle and a village at the same time. It was a frontier community along the Welsh Marches. We know that in the early twelfth century Norman power had yet to be firmly established in this area. Hugh de Kilpeck built in a single phase Kilpeck's entire Norman community along with castle, church, domestic buildings and even was also the location for a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Gloucester.[280] Given these

280. "Kilpeck," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Volume 1, Southwest* (London: VCH, 1931), 156-61; Marian Bleeke, "Sheelas, Sex, and Significance in Romanesque Sculpture: The Kilpeck Corbel Series," *Studies in Iconography* 26 (2005): 1-26.

circumstances it is probable that Kilpeck's church functioned as an estate church, perhaps a parochial chapel, within aremote and potentially hostile environment.[281]

Iffley's three doorway form with a central bell tower is unusual for a twelfth-century local church. As stated earlier, its form is reminiscent of the higher status minsters like those at Stow and Lambourne discussed above; although Iffley's adornment is even more elaborate. If Mark Pythian-Adams' argument is correct then it is possible that its patron was Geoffrey de Clinton, the son of the former chamberlain to Henry I. This high status and perhaps also wealthy noble built the church as a secular minster upon his estate. As minster churches served a religious or secular community of clerics it may also be the case that Iffley may have functioned both as a smaller minster with several priests and as the parish church. The church was the subject of a proprietary dispute at the very end of the twelfth century. De Remy gave Iffley's advowson to his daughter who in turn alienated it to Kenilworth Priory before 1189. This transfer was disputed by the Oseney canons, who claimed Iffley and wanted it as a dependent chapel to their own neighbouring parish of Cowley.[282] Iffley might have been downgraded to a dependent chapel in the early thirteenth century but by the time of Pope Nicholas IV's tax levy, Iffley was a rectory and the Bishop of Lincoln was its patron.[283]

We have few documentary records for the church at Ampney St Mary but there is evidence it was probably originally a parish church. An entry for 1269 in

281. J. F. King and D. Whitehead, "The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed," in *BAR Conference Transactions for the year 1995*, vol. 15 (London: BAR, 1995), 82-93; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 223-24, 244.
282. Mary D. Lobel, ed. "Parishes: Iffley," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 5, Bullingdon Hundred* (London: VCH, 1957), 189-206; Pythian-Adams, 14-17.
283. "Iffley" in *Taxatio*, February 23, 2019, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.OX.CU.22.

the Episcopal Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard for the church of St Mary at Ampney St Mary [Ameneye] states the following,

> Licence to Walter de Chiltham, clerk, rector of the church of Ameneye Blessed Mary, to hold the church of Wyntinton, being presented thereto by Sir Richard de Crupes, the patron.[284]

Its independence and parish status, in at least the mid thirteenth century, is suggested by this record.

Finally, Barfrestone possibly began as an estate church as it was attached to the manor. It may have had some, if not all, of the parochial functions. Although the church presently has no bell, we cannot be sure that its original arrangement has been altered. Hasted stated in 1800 that the church had one bell and that its former wooden bell turret had been removed in the later eighteenth century. Yet, of course, without any evidence we simply do not know if that turret was an original, a later medieval replacement or from the early modern period. We do know, however, that it was a rectory in the later medieval period and so probably had bells in some sort of arrangement either in the church itself or in a freestanding tower.[285]

(iii.d) Doorway locations in context

Twelfth-Century Doorway Dimensions

Twenty-nine churches which became parish churches

Location	South Width	North Width	South Height	North Height
Little Abington (Cambridgeshire)	94	91	226	272
Bengeo (Hertfordshire)	n/p	n/p	n/p	n/p
Willingale (Essex)	109	n/p	231	n/p
Sinnington (Yorkshire)	107	n/p	224	n/p

284. J. W. Willis Bund, ed., *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd, 1268, to August 15th, 1301* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1902), 33.
285. Hasted, “Parishes: Barson,”71-78; “Barfrestone,” *TTB Survey*.

Weaverthrope (Yorkshire)	112	112	211	211
Adwick-upon-Dearne (Yorkshire)	97	107	272	n/m
Ampney St Mary (Gloucestershire)	110	104	203	174
Kilpeck (Herefordshire)	112	n/a	216	n/a
Studland (Dorset)	119	107	229	209
Ilketshall (Suffolk)	104	86	221	185
Great Ayton (Yorkshire)	97	89	198	n/p
Barton on the heath (Warwickshire)	107	81	216	165?
Ashill (Somerset)	112	n/m	200	n/m
South Shoebury (Essex)	117	103	261	230
Wixoe (Suffolk)	104	76	239	201
Offchurch (Warwickshire)	127	99	239	211
Ilmington (Warwickshire)	122	109	221	224
Shelsley Walsh (Worcestershire)	n/p	114	n/p	198
Stewkley (Buckinghamshire)	102	104	259	257
Stoke Orchard (Gloucestershire)	109	125	178	188
Iffley (Oxfordshire)	117	109	305	320
Barfrestone (Kent)	102	84	211	198
Patrixbourne (Kent)	137	114	231	213
Luddenham (Kent)	n/m	n/a	n/m	n/a
Tugford (Shropshire)	97	102	208	211
West Chiltington (West Sussex)	81	109	193	244
Margaret Roding (Essex)	114	n/p	211	n/p
Shellingford (Berkshire)	85	86	166	201
Bossall (Yorkshire)	132	91	229	206

n/p – measurement was not possible at the time of the survey
n/m – no measurement taken; n/a – not applicable
red ink indicates north or south pair is larger in width and height

From the evidence of the twenty-nine twelfth-century churches, it is clear that the patrons deliberately built their nave doorways with different dimensions. For north-south configured churches, and where full measurement pairings were possible at the time of site visits, ten had larger southern doorways, four had larger northern doorways and two were approximately the same. The evidence suggests a preference for a larger southern doorway which appears to be the side that faces the local community. When the northern doorway was larger in width and height, there is some evidence that it is also in that direction where the community or local road was sited. We see this at Tugford (Shropshire) where the road is to the north of the church but that there is also a stream that is only ten metres south of the church's chancel. In some instances the evidence appears to be contradictory. The north doorway at Ilmington (Warwickshire) is three centimetres taller than the southern doorway but narrower by twelve. At this village, the church is north of the main road, perhaps, along a similar path to that of the Middle Ages. Also, the church is sited on a slope with higher elevation to the west. At Ilmington, it might be that the lay community used the southern doorway as its primary entrance hence its wider dimension compared to the northern one. The three centimetre difference in height might not have been as important a feature to the builders than its width. With limited evidence it is not possible to suggest reasons for contradictory findings other than to notice that universality is never expected and such variations are expected.

In gathering evidence in some cases, the vestiges of original doorways were evident, but precise measurements were not possible, as at, for example, Adwick-upon-Dearne, Great Ayton, and Sinnington. I suggest that when we do know the doorway dimensions it is clear that the larger northern or southern

doorway is the principal entrance for the community, which possibly also faced the village or wherever the topography warranted.

In the case of Weaverthorpe, provided that George Street's restoration did not alter the original form, its doorways are the same size. I suggest that its southern doorway is probably the primary entrance for the community. That doorway has the original sundial and inscription above. The priest's doorway also faces south. Furthermore, the church is positioned midway up a hill twenty meters north of the east-west direction of the main road, Lord's River and possible location of the medieval village.

At Wixoe, the southern doorway is larger; twenty-eight centimetres wider and thirty-eight centimetres taller than the northern doorway. The modern village is north of the church and the River Stour is about 300 meters to the south. We cannot be certain where the medieval village lay if there indeed was one in this location. I suggest the southern doorway is the principal community entrance on account of its greater dimensions and artistic embellishment.

Iffley's north and south doorways have different dimensions. The south doorway is eight centimetres wider than the northern one but fifteen centimetres shorter. The northern one faces the present-day street yet the more elaborate doorway is on the south side. The largest doorway is its western one. This exceptional doorway has two full orders of beak-head carving, with a very wide first order of chevrons. Moreover, its round window (an 1856 reconstruction of the twelfth-century original) replaced and three windows at the top of the west wall dominate Iffley's appearance. The evidence I have found suggests that the western doorway tended to be used for grand rituals or other ceremonies and visitations, and examples of them rarely have porches. Porches often suggest

which doorway may have been the primary entrance for the laity. At Iffley, we know that its porch was on the south side. The rectory at Iffley is sited just eight meters to the northwest of the church and has some thirteenth-century fabric.[286] We cannot be certain that the northern doorway was the principal one though it faced the street and is taller than the southern one. On account of the clearly more embellished carving on the south, and former porch, I suggest that the southern doorway was the primary medieval entrance for the local community.

At Barfrestone, the southern doorway is thirty-three centimetres wider and thirteen taller than the northern doorway. The southern doorway appears to be the principal entrance from the clear importance its builders reflected in its carving. The original south facing priest's doorway also links to the southern nave doorway and the direction of the present street.

Finally, at Shellingford the northern doorway is the larger of the pair; just over one centimetre wider and thirty-five centimetres taller than the southern entrance. We cannot be certain which doorway was primary as both have similar ornamentation. I suggest the northern doorway may be more important on the basis of its greater size and the more elaborate beak-head ornamentation. There is no archaeological evidence that may indicate where the manor or village may have been sited. If the patron reset the priest's doorway to face the south then it is possible that what may have been an original northern primary doorway was moved to face the south.

(iii.e) The function of the second nave doorway?

Who used the second nave doorway in these eleventh and twelfth-century (and later) churches is one of the fundamental questions of this thesis. There is

286.BofE, *Oxfordshire*, 658-61.

some documentary evidence that may provide answers and these possibilities are examined in the chapters on liturgy and gender. In this present section, I consider this question within a narrower scope. Specifically, is it possible that the second doorway, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was for the exclusive use of the patron? To determine if there is a link between the two it is necessary to see if the manor and church were near one another.

Jill Campbell argues that patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries tended to build their estate churches in relatively close proximity to their manors, on average about 100 to 500 meters apart. She bases her analysis partly upon two recent research projects: (i) Mark F. Gardiner's study of forty-five probable medieval manor sites dated between the ninth and twelfth centuries and (ii) Steven A. Mileson's study of medieval deer parks and their patrons' manors.[287] Campbell states that by the year 1000, the manor was on average about 250 meters from the church. This distance increased to an average of 500 meters by the end of the eleventh century and to almost 1,000 meters by the year 1200. This distance increased even further in, and after, the thirteenth century. She makes a strong argument that by increasing this distance, the local lords enhanced their privacy.[288]

If we apply Campbell's argument to eleventh and twelfth-century churches then this second nave doorway might have been for the patron and/or their priest.

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287. Mark. F. Gardiner, "The Origins and Persistence of Manor Houses in England," in *Medieval Landscapes*, eds. Mark F. Gardiner and Steven Rippon (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2007), 170-81; Steven A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 82-98.
288. Jill Campbell, "Understanding the relationship between manor house and settlement in medieval England," *Ruralia* 9 (2013): 273-84; other scholars arguing this include Susan Kilby, *Peasant Perspectives on the Medieval Landscape, A study of three communities* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2020), Richard Jones and Mark Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: beginnings and ends* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2006), and Briony McDonagh "'Powerhouses' of the Wolds landscapes: manor houses and churches in late medieval and early modern England," in *Medieval Landscapes*, eds., Gardiner and Rippon.

As my research suggests, there is a general hierarchy of church doorways. One appears to be the primary entrance based upon its dimensions, carving and the likely location and direction of the medieval village. Most of the surveyed churches have southern primary doorways.

If Campbell's argument pertained to doorways, the church would need to be positioned between the manor and village. If the patron placed his manor between the village and the church then both would face the primary doorway and a second nave doorway would appear illogical. Thus if the church were between the village and manor then it is possible that the northern doorway, in most cases, might be for the use of the lord and his family and perhaps the priest who may have lived in the manor or within one of its domestic buildings. One of the problems with this hypothesis is that we simply do not know where the manor was in many of the cases of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Furthermore, if indeed the lord who built the estate church sought status why would he build, in many cases, a personal doorway that was inferior to the primary entrance? Entering through a very plain doorway, as for example at Wixoe (Essex) (Fig. 3.61) would not enhance the lord's status even if he and his family had this personal entrance. I suggest that the doorway itself is insufficient as a feature for displaying status. After all, the patron funded the construction of the church and perhaps endowed it with land as well. Neglecting to fund an embellished personal entrance is inconsistent with patronage if the second doorway is a personal use entrance.

A second possibility for the second doorway is that the priest used this entrance. Clerical purity and the separation of the clergy from the laity are major issues for the church in the eleventh century, in part due to the reforms of Pope

Gregory VII which I also discuss in Chapter 6.[289] The segregation of priest from the laity could have been affected by the second church doorway such as at Iffley. The plainer and much narrower northern doorway at Wixoe suggests this might be used by a priest alone if all others entered through the larger and decorated southern doorway. Nonetheless, such a proposal is also illogical as patrons built hundreds of single doorway chapels and even some parish churches in the eleventh and twelfth century, like Kilpeck. If clerical purity had been the objective for the second doorway then these single-doorway buildings are an apparent contradiction. Protection for the priest would be afforded in one type of building but not in the others when he provided a pastoral function for the lay community. However, clerical segregation probably was architecturally facilitated by the creation of the priest's doorways usually set within the southern wall of the eastern cell, subsequent chancel, of the local church. Such doorways first appear in the early twelfth century. I analyse these types of doorways in the next chapter when they became a common feature from and after the thirteenth century.

(iii.f) Conclusion

The evidence is quite clear that those local estate churches which patrons originally built in the twelfth century as, or which subsequently became, parochial churches soon afterwards had almost always two nave doorways arranged in a north-south, laterally opposing configuration. The very ornate churches built by high status patrons like those at Iffley, Stewkley and Kilpeck have a different configuration. The first two have three doorways with very grand western doorways and central towers reminiscent of the twelfth-century minsters analysed

289. Paul Beaudette, "'In the World but not of it' Clerical Celibacy as a Symbol of the Medieval Church," in *Medieval Purity and Piety, Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed., Michael Frassetto (London: Garland Publishing, 1998), 34-40; Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West* (London: Pearson, 2013), 62-64.

earlier in this chapter. Kilpeck's sole southern entrance but with equally ornate carving from the earlier years of the twelfth century may be unique in twelfth-century form. Still, the two nave doorway form appears to be a feature of the parochial church.

2.4. Conclusion

We see from the abundance of evidence that the single western doorway design of the seventh to tenth centuries changed in the eleventh to a two-doorway, north and south form. The evidence from the eleventh and twelfth centuries suggests that church status was a major component in doorway configuration. The churches in this chapter were, or became by the end of the twelfth century, parish churches. These buildings were not chapels, which tended to have only one doorway (see Chapter 4). In contrast to chapels and the parish church, higher status minster churches of both centuries were often built with two or three nave doorways and towers. The great minsters churches of the twelfth century all had central towers and were built to a greater height than the typical local church. Further, I have not discovered any geographical factors to suggest any regional differences for doorway positioning.

It is clear that those who built churches with north and south doorways tended to choose one as its principal doorway and made certain that its appearance was different. The main entrance was usually larger in width and height and usually more embellished than its lateral opposite. The evidence suggests that there was a hierarchy of doorways in these churches. The principal doorway also most often faced the probable location of the community's domestic buildings. Whilst the link to a manor may have been clearer in the eleventh

century, it was not so apparent in the twelfth and later Middle Ages when the manor to church distance increased.

Finally, this thesis argued in the previous chapter that there is some evidence for the strengthening of the nave's west wall in the tenth century to accommodate west end bells. I argue that this is a continued feature of twelfth-century church construction. The evidence of physical stresses that bell ringing placed on western walls appears to remain a medieval construction problem. In the previous chapter, only two churches were considered; namely, Barton-upon-Humber and Raunds Furnells. The churches built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries support this argument. More strongly, we have many more examples of twelfth-century churches where this is evident in building style.

Fig. 2.79, Ellerburn (Yorkshire), from the West

After they were originally built these churches were strengthened at their west ends to accommodate bells like the churches at Ellerburn (Fig 2.79), Adwick-upon-Dearne (Fig. 2.80) and Sutton Bassett (Fig. 2.81). They also built wider western walls to support their bells, as we see at Corhampton and Alton Barnes.

In the very early thirteenth century, still within the time constraint of this chapter, we still see churches with great western buttresses, like at Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) (Fig. 2.82) and at Manton (Rutland) (Fig. 2.83).[290]

As will be seen in the next chapter, churches built after Lateran IV often had western towers for their bells. These structures were either added to existing earlier churches or built as original to the new church. Although we have seen western towers in some twelfth-century local churches, sixty percent of this chapter's sample had no original twelfth-century tower. This changed in the later Middle Ages when towers became ubiquitous.

Fig. 2.80, Adwick-upon-Dearn (Yorkshire)from the west

Fig. 2.81, Sutton Bassett (Northamptonshire) from the west

290. Henry B. Walters, *Church Bells of England* (London: H. Frowde, 1912), 57.

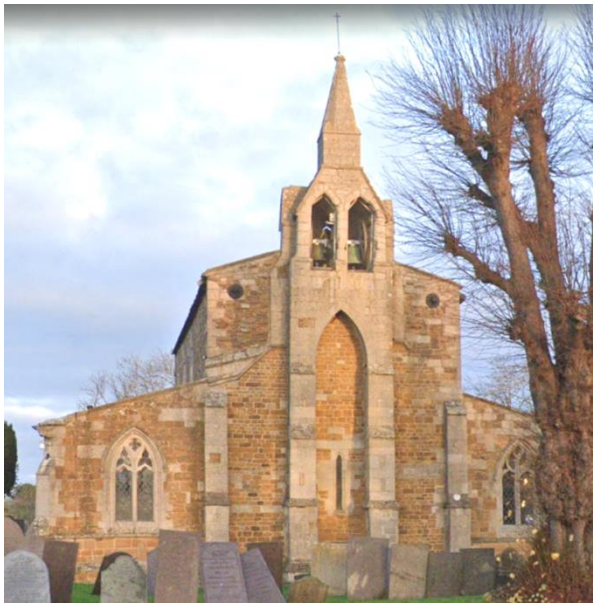

Fig. 2.82, Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) from the west, Google Earth

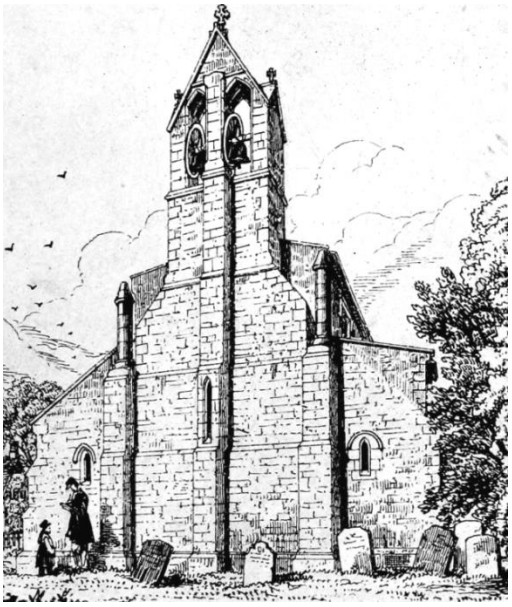

Fig. 2.83, Manton (Rutland) from the west

I have argued that the builders of eleventh and twelfth century constructed their churches with two nave doorways. The evidence strongly supports this conclusion. Minsters that served a community of priests or monks tended to have three doorways, as did a few parochial churches like Iffley, Stewkely and Studland. These churches may have served more than just their local community and were probably being served by a number of priests. The ubiquitous two-doorway form changed in the later Middle Ages, especially towards the start of the fourteenth century. The following chapter analyses medieval English parochial churches from the thirteenth century until the early decades of the sixteenth, prior to the English Reformation.

Chapter 3: Doorway Positions of Thirteenth to Early Sixteenth-Century English Parish Churches

3.1. Introduction

As we have seen, churches from the seventh to tenth centuries typically had a single western doorway. From the late tenth century onwards this changed and churches tended to have two nave doorways in a north-south laterally opposing form. In the thirteenth century, the architectural style changed from Romanesque/Norman to a new design which included, for example, pointed arches in their windows, chancels and arcades but the two-doorway north-south pattern remained much as it was in the twelfth century. It is more difficult to detect patterns in the fourteenth and fifteen centuries because fewer church were being built, but the evidence gathered from my survey permits me to suggest that three nave doorways, north, south and west, were built with greater frequency.

For this chapter, I collected evidence from seventy parish churches built from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. I analyse these churches by century to demonstrate that a pattern develops over time. I group five collegiate churches in a final section, four from the fourteenth century and one from the fifteenth. From their origin, they had a dual function as parish churches and colleges. Of the sixty-five other parish churches, twenty-two are from the thirteenth century, twenty-six from the fourteenth and seventeen from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The buildings are located throughout England to avoid a geographical overconcentration as much as possible. Although regional trends may be overlooked by this method the evidence of seventy churches collected addresses this issue. The results indicate that there are no noticeable regional differences among the corpus that I investigated.

In the first section of this chapter I present strong evidence that supports my thesis that the earlier two-doorway pattern continued through the thirteenth century. The evidence suggests that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, patrons and communities increasingly desired new churches with three doorways; the addition being a western doorway. I note that their interest in western doorways did not translate into a statistically relevant result. Accordingly, I exercise caution for these two later medieval centuries as my survey consists of only forty-eight churches and colleges and there is much greater doorway variation in this period. For example, some communities built their churches with only south and western doorways, as at Boothby Pagnall (Lincolnshire). Some altered older churches which originally had north and south doorways by adding a western one as at Gaddesby (Leicestershire); others chose to only build with north and south doorways as at Thirsk (Yorkshire). Variation from two to three doorways develops slowly at the local level through the later medieval centuries. I did not detect any geographical differences but variation might be partially related to population growth or decline as well as to patronage, function and the local practice of the liturgy.

Many of the buildings in this chapter are also difficult to interpret as they were altered from and after the thirteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages. Some communities which already had a church may have altered its original form, which at times affected the doorway positions. A community may have decided to add aisles to serve a growing population or tear them down as at Monkton (Kent), discussed below. They may also have added them to serve as chantry chapels, as at Biddenham (Bedfordshire) (Figs. 3.3 - 3.6). Builders often repositioned existing doorways or simply chose not to reuse them in new nave walls. We can evaluate

whether or not a doorway is repositioned by comparing its features with *in situ* carving at the building. For example, we can tell that the southern doorways at Hannington (Northamptonshire) or the northern one at Patrixbourne (Kent) are probably reset originals.[291] However, we cannot be certain *ex situ* doorways were necessarily original to that building.

This sort of variation creates interpretation problems for the present research, especially for dating a church's final doorway positions. The case of Ickham (Kent) highlights this difficulty. Ickham was a parochial church with its own dependent chapel.[292] It has only southern and western doorways. Tim Tatton-Brown dates Ickham's origins to the mid-twelfth-century based on its interior rounded arches above the eastern nave piers. The community altered the church in the thirteenth century, building a western nave extension, a new north aisle and western tower.[293] However, while we cannot be sure that Ickham ever had a north doorway, it clearly has a reset twelfth-century western one (Fig. 3.1). Ickham's outer tower doorway surround is clearly twelfth century, but the real question is whether it is original to this church.

Its inset thirteenth-century tower doorway with cambered arch, perhaps four-centred, is mismatched with the outer reset earlier doorway. The tower is probably thirteenth-century as far as we can tell from its single-light, lancet windows (Fig. 3.2). We cannot be sure if this is the reset original north doorway or if the community obtained it from another building. All that one can tell from

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291. Patrixbourne's north aisle was built in 1823 but a drawing of the original doorway in its original position confirms that the same northern doorway was repositioned in the nineteenth-century alterations, Anon, *The Antiquarian Itinerary*, vol. 6 (London: Wm. Clarket et al, 1816), Plate 1, n.p.
292. Edward Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Ickham," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 9* (Canterbury: VCH, 1800), 167-79.
293. "Ickham," *TTB Survey*, accessed May 12, 2018, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/ICK.htm.

Ickham is that in the thirteenth century the builders wished to have western and southern doorways as these are the only ones that survive. Ickham's original design changed but we can only guess at its original plan and doorway positions in spite of its twelfth-century reset western doorway.

Fig. 3.1, Ickham(Kent) west doorway

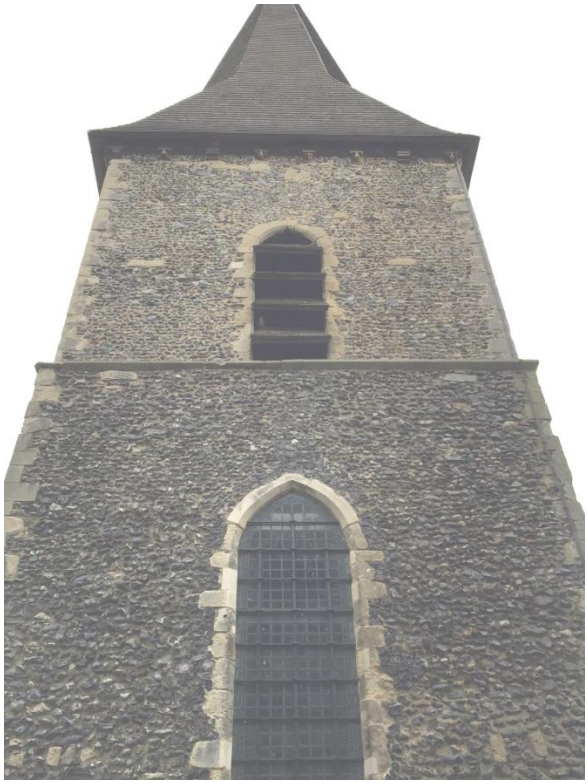

Fig. 3.2, Ickham, west tower from the west

Another difficulty is that we are usually without corroborating archaeological evidence to detect a possible missing doorway. The church at Biddenham (Bedfordshire) is an example. It has early twelfth-century features including a plain rounded arch for its southern doorway (Fig. 3.3), a plain semi-circular chancel arch (Fig. 3.4), and a blocked round-arched and splayed south nave window. This parish church probably had an original northern doorway if the pattern I detected in the eleventh and twelfth-century chapter held true for that location.

Yet the church's northern aisle built in 1522 may have removed that original north doorway.[294] All we see today is a small priest's doorway set within its early sixteenth-century northern aisle which is placed close to the nave's west end (Fig. 3.5 and 3.6). That doorway may also be the second in the same position as there are remains of an earlier, slightly taller, pointed arched doorway. The doorway itself was blocked between 1912 and 1935.[295]

Fig. 3.3, Biddenham (Bedfordshire), south doorway

Fig. 3.4, Biddenham, chancel arch

Without physical evidence we can only guess that Biddenham might have had another large nave doorway and suggest a possible position. If Biddenham was a twelfth-century parochial church from its origin and had an original north doorway then why did the builders not reposition it like at Ickham? Would such a doorway be too large for a chantry chapel? We may never know the answer.

294. Gabriel Byng, "The Contract for the North Aisle at the Church of St James, Biddenham," *AJ* 95 (2015): 251-65.
295. Ibid., 256.

Whilst some churches grew in size, others were reduced. For example, at Monkton (Kent), in the fifteenth century, the patron demolished and removed its earlier thirteenth-century northern aisle (and doorway within) which spanned the length of the nave to the tower (Fig. 3.7).[296] They built a new principal northern doorway for the new nave wall.

Fig. 3.5, Biddenham North Aisle Chantry Doorway

Should we date Monkton's doorway positions to the early thirteenth-century or to the fifteenth when they removed the north aisle and built a new north doorway? Monkton, Biddenham, and Ickham serve as examples of the difficulty in dating churches that were altered in the Middle Ages. Builders changed the form and shape of their churches to suit their local requirements. Original doorways were often remodelled, replaced or removed entirely. As a result, this chapter relies upon churches whose original doorway positions are known with some

296. John Newman, *North East and East Kent*,3rd ed. (London: Penguin, 1983), 398.

certainty. It allows for increased confidence in detecting patterns but these restrictions also narrow the range of possible churches for analysis.

Fig. 3.6, Biddenham North Chantry
Arrow indicating narrow chantry doorway

Fig. 3.7, Monkton (Kent), north nave wall

3.2. Thirteenth-Century Parochial Churches

Most local churches in the thirteenth century continued to be built with two doorways, laterally opposite one another in a north-south configuration. The twelfth-century pattern followed into the thirteenth. The evidence below generally supports this conclusion.

Thirteenth-century parochial churches

Location	Doors	Date	Tower/Bells
Shipton Sollars (Gloucestershire)	N, S	c. 1210	Parochial estate chapel, rectory *c*. 1301
Ryton (Durham)	N, S	c. 1220	W Tower
Henbury (Gloucestershire)	N, S, W	Early 13th c.	W Tower
West Walton (Norfolk)	N, S, W	1240 x 1250	Detached Tower
Warminghurst (West Sussex)	N, S	c. 1220	W Bell Turret
Seaham (Durham)	N, S	c. 1250	W Tower
Sedgefield (Durham)	N, S	c. 1250	W Tower
Low Marnham (Nottinghamshire)	N, S	c. 1250	W Tower
Copford (Essex)	N, S	Mid 13th c.	?
Bruisyard (Suffolk)	N, S	Mid 13th c.	W Tower
Potterne (Wiltshire)	N, S	Mid 13th c.	Central tower 15th c.
Sutton-on-Trent (Nottinghamshire)	S, W	13th c.	W Tower
Collingham All Saints (Nottinghamshire)	N, S	13th c.	W Tower
Collingham St John (Nottinghamshire)	N, S	13th c.	W Tower
Langley Burrell (Wiltshire)	N, S	c. 1260	Central South Tower

Orcheston, St Mary (Wiltshire)	S	Mid 13th c.	W Tower
Cranford, St Andrew (Northamptonshire)	S, W	c. 1275	West Tower
Acton Burnell (Shropshire)	N, S, W	1275-1280	Modern Central/North Tower
Porlock (Somerset)	N, S, W	Late 13th c.	W Tower
Rimpton (Somerset)	N, S	Late 13th c.	W Tower
Poulshot (Wiltshire)	N, S	Late 13th c.	W tower
Amberley (West Sussex)	N, S	c. 1300	W tower

Summary of Doorway Positions

Single Doorway	North and South Doorways Only	South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
1 x S	15	2	4

Every church (100%) has a southern doorway. Nineteen (86%) have north doorways and six (27%) have one at the west. By doorway group arrangements two doorways is the most popular (77%), the north-south pairing being the most common form at 68%, and three doorways the least common arrangement at 18%.

The twenty-two churches in this section were either built originally as parish churches or became parochial in the thirteenth century. The tax records of 1291-92 and other written sources either confirm their original function from the time of construction or that they were parish churches by the end of the period. Their secular patrons all had similar lordly status and so that criterion is not statistically relevant for their doorway form.

I examine three as case studies located from north to south and throughout the century to demonstrate (i) a link between one of the doorways and the community, (ii) that there is no connection between doorways and manorial residences in this century and (iii) that there is a link between high status patrons, western doorways and oversized western towers.

(a) Three Thirteenth-Century Case Studies

I present three case studies in this section to support the argument that churches tended to be built in the thirteenth century with two doorways as had been the pattern in the twelfth century. They are from Somerset, Shropshire and Nottinghamshire. These are selected as they range from the early to late thirteenth-century and serve as good examples of the local churches in this period. Two have the north-south arrangement in their original positions despite alterations over the centuries. The third, a late thirteenth-century building, has north, south and west doorways; a more common design from the end of this century.

The church of All Saints Collingham (Nottinghamshire) is a thirteenth-century church which had alterations during the fifteenth century. It has north and south aisles, porches and a western tower. The north porch became a vestry in the nineteenth century and the original north and south doorways remain mostly in their original state and position.

There is some supporting documentary evidence for its thirteenth-century date and status. The register of Archbishop Walter Giffard indicates that he presented Hugh as clerk to the church of Collingham (Northby as it was then called) in

1269.[297] The tax record of 1291-92 also confirms its status as a church under the patronage of the Abbot of Peterborough Abbey.[298]

The north doorway is fifteen centimetres wider and almost eight centimetres taller than the southern one (Fig. 3.8).The northern doorway is also more elaborate in its appearance. It has a continuous series of chamfered and hollowed roll mouldings. The southern doorway is plainer in comparison with simpler double chamfered moulding with head stops (Fig. 3.9).

Fig. 3.8, Collingham (Nottinghamshire),north doorway

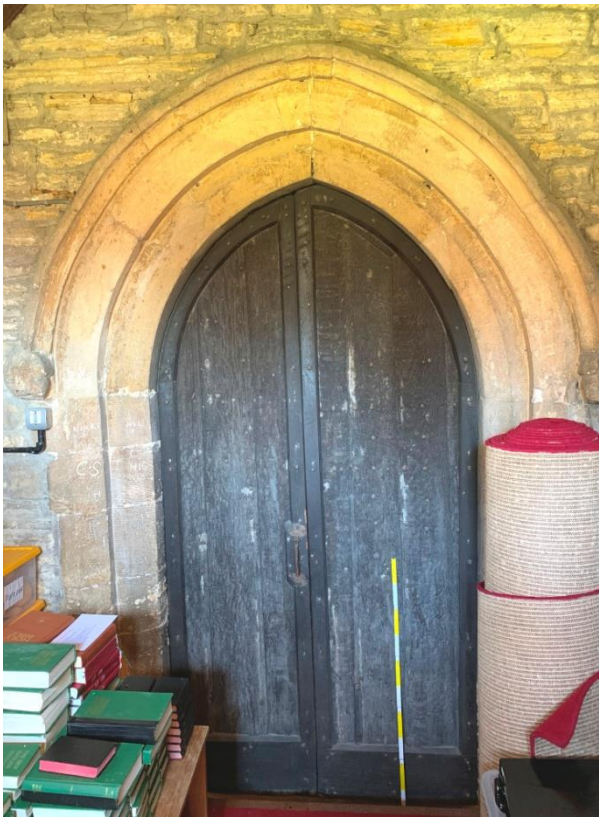

Fig. 3.9, Collingham, south doorway

I have found no evidence for the location of the medieval village or a manor but the Fleet, a tributary to the River Trent, is seventy-five meters to the west. The

297. *Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii, temp. RegisEdwardi III*. Record Commission (1807), 289.
298. "Collingham," *Taxatio*, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.NW.02.

area west of the church is also a flood zone and so logically the village would be east of the building.[299] The churchyard is on the south side of the building but in this case the primary entrance for the community was possibly on the north side of the church.

The later thirteenth-century church of St Mary, Acton Burnell (Shropshire) is an example of a church that had a patron of the highest status. It is a three doorway church which had no medieval tower. This freed the west end for a large window and doorway. Originally, the builder suspended bells within a wooden turret at the east end of the nave.[300] Acton Burnell is a cruciform building with nave, chancel, and north and south transepts. Its tower is a nineteenth-century addition and is positioned at the north-west side of the chancel abutting the transept and does not interfere with any of the church's original doorways. Its patron was Robert Burnell, Lord Chancellor in 1274 and Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1275. He built the parish church and the neighbouring castle.[301] The church, a rectory, also had a dependent chapel at Ruckley (Shropshire), one mile to its south.[302]

A letter from its rector to Robert Burnell is dated 1275 x 1292 helping to narrow the time of its construction.[303] The nave appears to be the result of a single building phase as at all the corners, but one, the plinth moulding is continuous. The chancel may have been the product of a slightly later phase when the

299. "Collingham," *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, accessed February 18, 2020, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/collingham-north/hhistory.php.
300. David Herbert Somerset Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire* (Wellington: VCH, 1912), 2:454.
301. Richard Huscroft, "A Tale of Two Ministers: Robert Burnell, Walter Langton and the Government of Edward I," in *Edward I: New Interpretations*, eds. Andy King and Andrew Spencer (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 27-32.
302. "Acton Burnell," National Archives Website, accessed February 20, 2020, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/b4598c7e-d61c-47d8-a3d0-ebdfa9f8072a; "Acton Burnell," *Taxatio*, accessed February 22, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CL.SL.SL.X30.
303. "Acton Burnell," National Archives Website, accessed February 20, 2020, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C12216249.

transepts were also constructed.[304] The doorways then were positioned in the nave without alteration in the initial build and have remained as such. We cannot tell strictly from its doorway dimensions which may have been the principal entrance for the community. The northern doorway is ten centimetres taller than the southern one but only slightly narrower by two and a half centimetres. The church has only a north porch which faces the community, yet the southern doorway faces the castle.

Fig. 3.10, Acton Burnell (Shropshire), north doorway

Fig. 3.11, Acton Burnell, south doorway

The north doorway is more elaborate, having hollowed springers which continue through the archway along the jambs to the threshold (Fig. 3.10). The southern doorway has plainer incised springers in comparison yet both have carved head-stops (Fig. 3.11). The northern doorway's extra height along with the more elaborate carving suggests that it was the primary entrance for the

304. Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, 2:460-61.

community whilst the southern doorway which faced the castle may have been for the lord and his family (Fig. 3.12). The priest's doorway also faces the castle where he or several clergymen probably resided. In this case the location of the medieval manor is clearly identified. At Acton Burnell the south side priest's doorway links with the castle and not the village. Its late sixteenth-century nave roof has no trace of an earlier bellcote or turret which may have been positioned at its crossing. I suggest the absence of bells at the west end permitted the insertion of the large western, three-light window.

Fig. 3.12, Acton Burnell, west doorway with castle to the south

The church at Acton Burnell has similarities with the group of twelfth-century minsters and episcopal chapels as they had three doorways and their bells were positioned within the centre of the building. Robert Burnell not only was the chancellor but also a powerful bishop and probable worshipper at this church. The church did not have a central bell tower like the minsters but, as stated above,

Acton Burnell's bells were suspended at the eastern end of the nave. This arrangement allowed the builder to create a western doorway making this church similar in form to the other higher status three doorway churches. I suggest that its central bells protected the structural integrity of the western wall and allowed for this western entrance. It may have also permitted ceremonies where exalted patrons participated at a grander setting than at two-doorway churches.

Another example of the continuing twelfth-century fashion for north and south nave doorways is located at Rimpton (Somerset). The bishops of Winchester had held the manor at Rimpton since the middle of the tenth century. By 1208, Rimpton had a mill and perhaps shortly afterwards the patron built the church about one hundred and twenty-five meters south of the mill. Its rectory and yard also lay to the south of the church.[305] Tax records of 1291-92 state that in those years the benefice had not been appropriated and by 1322 remained a rectory.[306] A reliable plan was drafted in 1875 when the northern transept was built (Fig. 3.13).[307]

305. A. P. Baggs and M. C. Siraut, "Rimpton", in *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 7, Bruton, Horethorne and Norton Ferris Hundreds*, eds., C. R. J. Currie and R. W. Dunning (London: VCH, 1999), 234-40.
306. "Rimpton," *Taxatio*, accessed February 25, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.WE.MA.08
307.H. Hall, "Rimpton, St Mary the Virgin", ICBS07913b, Lambeth Palace Library 1875-77.

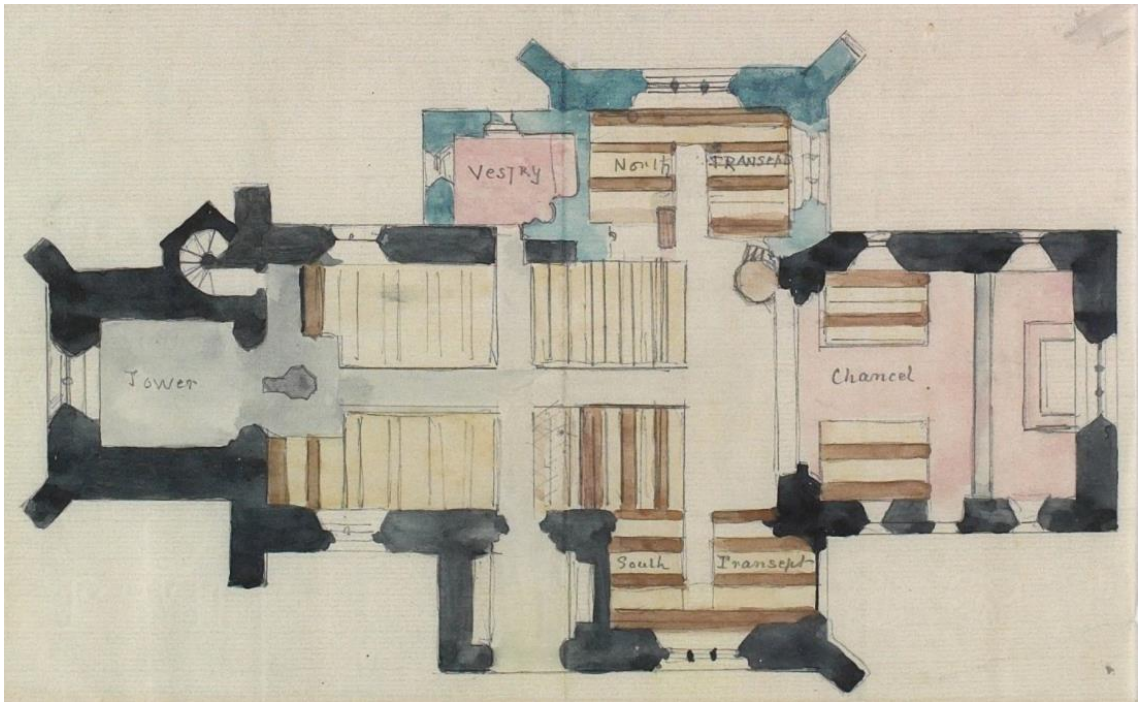

Fig. 3.13, St Mary the Virgin, Rimpton (Somerset)

Fig. 3.14, St Mary, Rimpton (Somerset), from the south

Its nave doorways remain in their original positions, though the southern doorway was perhaps rebuilt in the late thirteenth or in the fourteenth century when the south transept was added. The south aisle's plain, two-light early perpendicular window suggests the end/turn of that century (Fig. 3.14). Also, the

south transept and porch plinth is continuous and does not extend to the tower or along the nave's north wall, confirming the later period addition.[308] The tower with its single lancet south window is original but the tower's second stage was added, with angled buttresses, at the same time as the south transept.[309]

The southern doorway is the primary entrance for the community (Fig. 3.15). Not only is it almost forty-one centimetres wider and forty-six centimetres taller than the northern one but its carving is much more ornate (Fig. 3.16).

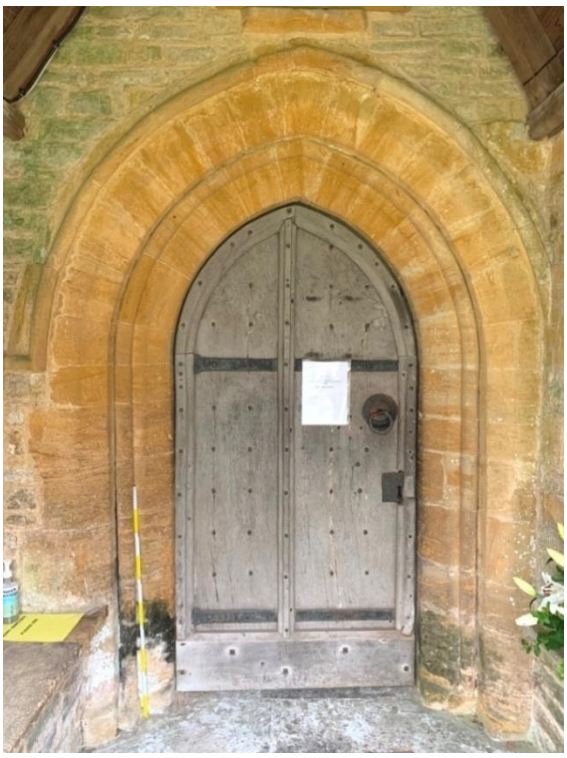

Fig. 3.15, Rimpton, south doorway

Fig. 3.16, Rimpton, north doorway

The northern doorway has plain chamfered jambs without capitals. The southern doorway is of two rolled and hollowed orders, with the outer order almost twice the width of the inner. The southern is certainly Rimpton's principal doorway.

308. Julian Orbach, *Somerset South and West* (London: YUP, 2015), 541-42.
309. Baggs, "Rimpton," 234-40.

The church at Rimpton serves as an example that parochial churches built in the thirteenth century had similar doorway positions as they did in the twelfth. The primary difference between the two periods was the style of carving and a new form of pointed arches. The twelfth-century Norman style of carving, such as dogtooth, beak-head or billet moulding is replaced with less elaborate ornamentation.

There is also some similarity in doorway positioning among the thirteenth-century three doorway churches and twelfth-century minsters discussed in the last chapter. Two of the four churches in this section that have three nave doorways, Alton Barnes and Henbury, are churches where their bishops are both their patrons and local residents. The bishops worshipped at these churches. The three doorway design suggests that such an arrangement might indicate an exalted status for the building, patron and perhaps function. It is also important to note that the western doorways of churches, as at Acton Burnell, were not the principal community entrance and this is the focus of the next section.

(b) Western Doorways

As I have shown, few thirteenth-century local parish churches had western doorways. I suggest that western doorways became a more common feature when their builders placed their church bells within western towers or away from the west wall as at Acton Burnell. This method of housing bells removed much of the physical stresses that bell ringing placed on the nave walls. In fact, parish church western towers were ubiquitous by the fourteenth century. While they may have resolved some of the structural problems caused by bells ringing, the towers themselves often remained unsteady. Many had large pairs of supporting buttresses that rise up, in some cases, to the upper levels of the tower; a sign that

structural support was required. My survey of thirteenth-century churches suggests, in general, that when parish churches had western bell-towers they tended not to have western doorways. Only three churches in this section have western towers and doorways; namely, those at Henbury, Porlock and Sutton-on-Trent. Upon a closer examination of these churches some features stand out as unusual which may explain their western entrances.

While it is true that a western tower doorway is uncommon for the eleventh or twelfth century, there are examples of this phenomenon as at North Eltham (Norfolk) and at Brook (Kent). They were unusual buildings perhaps modelling Continental abbey great westwork design. North Elmham was an episcopal chapel built circa 1071.[310] Brook was built for Prior Ernulf of Christ Church Canterbury at the end of the eleventh century 1096 x 1107 (Fig. 3.17).[311] The first floor of the tower contains a large cell which has windows that open into the nave. This room has a built-in altar recess in its eastern wall and was probably a chapel for one or more members of the clergy visiting from Canterbury.[312] Although North Elmham is a ruin, Brook's original tower still stands. Its bells are within its fortress-like tower. Its original doorway was altered perhaps in the mid thirteenth century, the time when its walls were extensively painted.[313] The western doorway remained in the same position (Fig. 3.18).

310. Steven Heywood, "The Ruined Church at North Elmham," *JBAA* 135, no. 1 (1982): 1-10.
311. Edward Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Brooke," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 381-84.
312. Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford: OUP, 2013) 192-3.
313. Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches,* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 42, 234.

Fig. 3.17, St Mary Brook (Kent), from the south

Fig. 3.18, St Mary Brook, west tower doorway

These eleventh-century churches of North Elmham and Brook are examples where high status clerics built churches for their personal use or for visiting priests or monks. They chose to include massive western towers which had doorways perhaps to indicate their status but also as a design form that

differentiated it from all other local churches. They were also functionally different from other parochial churches. North Elmham was a bishop's parochial chapel with an elaborate plan, large west end tower, towers that flank the east end of the nave, a continuous eastern transept and apse.[314] Brook's unusual design also suggests a greater function than a plain parochial church. Brook's first floor altar recess in the east wall and the two eastern windows that open into the nave below suggest that the tower had an enhanced function.[315] This form differs greatly from other churches and is reminiscent of the west end of Deerhurt's upper level interior windows that also faced the east end of the nave.[316]

Two of the thirteenth-century examples, Henbury and Sutton-on-Trent, also have strong links to religious houses. The bishop of Worcester was Henbury's patron and had an episcopal manor in this location.[317] In this case, Henbury appears to follow the pattern of bishop's manorial churches that tended to have three doorways. This form may be an indicator not only of its status but may also relate to the manner in which rituals were celebrated at Henbury, befitting of a bishop. Another similar situation might be at Sutton-on-Trent. Its late twelfth-century patrons were Hervey de Sutton and his son Robert. Before the present church of All Saints was built, they transferred the church and its advowson to Worksop Priory.[318] The prior remained its patron in 1291-92.[319] The church might have been built by the Priory in which case it, like Henbury, had strong links to greater, nearby monastic centres. Why these episcopal or monastic churches had

314. Heywood, 1-10.
315.Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture*, 192-3.
316. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture*, 193-5.
317. *Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester 1268-1301*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund, 2 vols. continuously paginated (Worcester: Worcestershire Historical Society, 1902), 485-6.
318. "Sutton-on-Trent," *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, accessed March 10, 2020, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/sutton-on-trent/hhistory.php.
319. "Sutton-on-Trent," *Taxatio*, accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.NW.20

three doorways and how they used the western entrance remains unknown from extant evidence. In the later Middle Ages, western doorways were used for liturgical purposes as discussed in Chapter 5, notably for the Palm Sunday procession. But the evidence is scant for buildings of, and prior to, the thirteenth century.

Although Porlock has no link with a bishop or a religious house its oversized tower form may have addressed the physical consequences and mechanics of bell ringing. Porlock's tower is large but certainly not as massive as Brook's (Fig. 3.19 and 3.20). Porlock's tower is short, squat, and wider than its nave and its western doorway is the smallest of its three doorways, fifteen centimetres narrower and ten centimetres shorter than the southern one; thirty-three centimetres narrower and sixty-six centimetres shorter than the northern doorway. Sir Simon Fitz-Roges, a crusader, may have been Porlock's thirteenth-century patron and builder.[320]

320. "Porlock," *Taxatio*, accessed March 12, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.NW.20; Walter Hook, *A history of the ancient church of Porlock and of the patron Saint, St. Dubricius, and his time* (London: Parker, 1893), 16-27.

Fig. 3.19, Porlock (Somerset), from the west

Fig. 3.20, Porlock, from the northwest

Sutton-on-Trent's western tower is of three stages, the lower two of the thirteenth-century and the upper level from the fifteenth (Fig. 3.21). Its very tall and large diagonal buttresses are from the nineteenth century.They were possibly added to secure the structural integrity of the tower with its later period upper level additions. The medieval builders at Henbury may have created this massive tower (without buttresses) perhaps to secure the tower from the motion of bells and the harmonic stresses created by the ringing similar to Brook and North Elmham.

Fig. 3.21, Sutton-on-Trent (Nottinghamshire), from the south

Henbury's western doorway is also within a massive square tower (Fig. 3.22). It also has a large three-light stepped lancet window along with a second stage single light lancet window.[321] Its western tower doorway is fifteen centimetres taller than the other two but twenty-five centimetres narrower than the south doorway and equal in width with the northern doorway. When churches had central towers, such as at Langley Burrell or Luckington, the builders seldom added western doorways.

It is not entirely clear what went on at these western doorways set in western towers. Was this a special space for ceremonies, and if so, how was this area on the ground floor of the tower used? As I discuss in Chapter 5, it might be that the western doorway was an important architectural feature for the celebration of Palm Sunday at these churches, especially as these types of churches served a large body of clerics as well as the community at large. But the liturgical evidence of this

321. Andrew Foyle and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Somerset: North and Bristol* (London: YUP, 2011), 466.

practice is from the later Middle Ages and we cannot be sure that such ceremonies occurred in thirteenth-century local churches.

Fig. 3.22, Henbury (Somerset) Aerial View from Southwest, Google Earth

David Stocker and Paul Everson present another option. They suggest that the interior space of the western tower might have been used as a site for funerals. They base their argument on evidence from Archbishop Lanfranc's *Decreta Lanfranci* c. 1077, which directs "that the body of the deceased should be brought into the church some time before burial."[322] They further state that a vigil for the deceased (a monk of the religious community) would have been held at a chapel within the cathedral. The *Decreta*, however, does not identify where such a chapel might have been at Canterbury. By analogy to another monastic cathedral, at Durham, they say that the location might have been at the Chapel of St Andrew.[323]They are correct that this chapel, which is located at the southeast corner of the Chapel of Nine Altars, within the east transept, is indeed one of the

322. Stocker and Everson, *Summoning St Michael*, 86; *Decreta Lancfranci*, see Knowles and Brooke, Chapter 2 note 140.
323. Stocker and Everson, *Summoning St Michael*, 86.

closest places inside the church to the churchyard south of the cathedral and there is a doorway on the south side of this transept. One problem with their argument is that the Chapel of St Andrew is not within a tower and so the tower-burial link is broken. Returning to Canterbury, with their Durham evidence they then suggest that the possible location for the funerary chapel would be at Canterbury Cathedral's south doorway which was dedicated to St Michael, who is connected with the rituals of bells and by association with funerals.[324] Another problem is that the south doorway at either Canterbury Cathedral's 4A or 4C Periods is far from a tower and so it is not clear that towers are linked as locations for funerals.[325] I have found no evidence to support an argument that the ground floor space within western towers was used for funeral rituals at parish churches or parochial chapels. It is also important to note that many churches that have western towers do not have doorways at all, as seen in many twelfth-century churches throughout England, like those at Weaverthorpe (Yorkshire), Cassington (Oxfordshire), Ilkesthall (Suffolk) and Ilmington (Warwickshire). When towers start to have doorways like at Porlock, they face west. The most common zone for burials in most of these and most other churches I surveyed is to the south of the church, followed by the eastern, northern and then western zones. Therefore, if the space within the western tower was the location for resting the body or for a service prior to burial, this area should have a doorway facing south or in some cases north, the primary locations of burials. As tower doorways almost always

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324. Ibid., 86.
325. Richard Gem, "The Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Wulfred (805-32)," in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013), 29; Kevin Blockely, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave Archaeology, History and Architecture* (Canterbury: The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1997), 105.

face west then it is unlikely that the western tower doorway is directly linked to burials.

This link of the western tower space, tower doorway and cemetery is further confounded by churches with detached towers. Such freestanding bell towers existed at the cathedrals of Canterbury, Old Sarum, Salisbury Cathedral and in at least five other cases, as well as at eight abbey churches. They also existed at thirteenth-century parochialand later medieval period churches. J. Philip McAleer identified twenty-eight surviving examples throughout England; twenty-three stone-built and five wooden.[326] Despite these numbers, this arrangement is not common for local parish churches from the thirteenth century onwards. They may have been common in the eleventh century if wooden but we have little evidence in this regard. The builder's decision to separate the tower from the nave might have had consequences and importance for the creation of doorways into the western part of the nave. Of McAleer's detached tower survey, fifteen of the twenty-eight English churches also have western nave doorways. Two others at Gunwalloe (Cornwall) and Fleet (Lincolnshire) do not have doorways but instead have enormous western windows spanning almost the entire wall. At these locations lighting the church with an impressive window was clearly more important to the builders than a doorway. Naturally, these churches do not have western bells since those are within the detached towers. This arrangement might have given the builders a choice to add a western entrance to the nave or a series of windows. If Stocker and Everson's hypothesis held true for local churches with detached towers, then the funeral service would have been performed there and

326. J. Philip McAleer, "Surviving Medieval Free-standing Bell Towers at Parish Churches in England and Wales", *JBAA* 156, no. 1 (2003): 79-103.

not in the church itself. If so, that would be the location that linked the funerary service, the tower, its bells and doorway, St Michael and the cemetery. Churches with that form would not require a western doorway if that entrance were only created for the funeral service. However, the majority of churches with detached towers do have naves with western doorways and so these western doorways are not necessarily linked with funeral liturgy. I agree that Stocker and Everson have a strong argument linking clerical burials within special chapels at monastic cathedrals with perhaps a designated funerary doorway but we cannot be certain that this hypothesis applies at the parish level as there appears to be too many exceptions.

As an example of the detached tower form, I analyse the church at West Walton (Norfolk). Pevsner dates the church to 1240 x 1250 based on the bar tracery of an eastern nave window which is similar to that at Westminster Abbey of that date range.[327] I can find no evidence identifying its builder but from the tax records of 1291-92 we know that the Prior of Lewes was its patron.[328]

The detached south tower at West Walton (Fig. 3.23) shows that its patron might build a western nave doorway, just like the two other, similar, thirteenth-century churches that have detached towers at Long Sutton (Lincolnshire) and Brookland (Kent). West Walton's three highly embellished nave doorways and interior are extraordinary for a thirteenth-century local parish church. Its builders may have positioned the tower away from the church due to foundation instability at the west end, or on either side of the nave. The church is built upon the Fens and is today only five meters above sea level; immediate surrounding land is just

327. Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk North-West and South* (London: YUP, 1997), 771-73.
328. "West Walton," *Taxatio*, accessed March 23, 2021, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=NW.NW.LY.02

two meters above sea level. They appear to have built the tower on a more stable platform and thereby avoided the risk of collapse and destruction of the church itself.[329] This separate structure is unusual but it allowed its patrons the freedom to build a grandiose west nave doorway and window. Once again, the principal doorway is on the south side of the nave despite the magnificence of its western one.

The southern doorway (Fig. 3.24) is very large at 305 centimetres tall by 142 wide.By comparison the northern doorway (Fig. 3.25) is 264 by 130 and the double western doorway is 371 by 297 centimetres (Fig. 3.26).Just like at Acton Burnell, West Walton's western nave doorway is the largest of the three.

Fig. 3.23, West Walton (Norfolk),tower from the south

Fig. 3.24, West Walton, south doorway

329. Robert J. Silvester, "West Walton: The Development of a Siltland Parish," *Norfolk Archaeology* 39, no. 2 (1985):114.

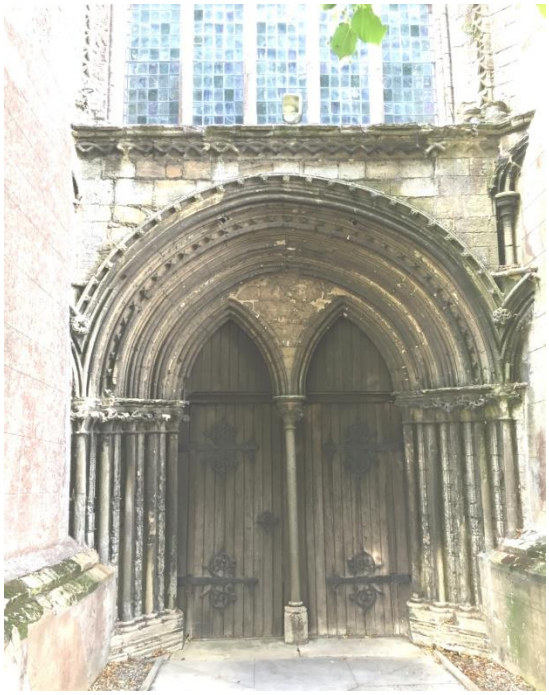

Fig. 3.25, West Walton, west doorway

Fig. 3.26, West Walton, north doorway

My research found no evidence for the use of the ground level space within towers. I suggest the towers were built for housing bells which are linked to the burial rites and were used for a multitude of other purposes. In the thirteenth century western doorways remain relatively rare for the local parish church. When they were createdthey were either in churches with oversized western towers or at churches whose towers are detached. The western doorway became more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as I discuss later in this chapter.

(c) Priest's Doorways

Some churches in the twelfth century had priest's doorways. Communities added this feature with increasing frequency in their local parish churches from the thirteenth century to the end of the Middle Ages. This doorway was a way of segregating the clergy from the laity in addition to the rood screen, along with the other aspects of differentiation. We see this through their clerical vestments, exclusive performance and participation in rituals, their sole access to and use of

relics, texts or other objects. Paul Barnwell argues that separation of the priest from the laity was a result of trans-substantiation becoming church doctrine in 1215.[330]

The priest's doorways are typically very narrow and short, much more so than any nave doorway. They also led directly into the chancel and are usually on only one side of that cell. The builders usually placed the priest's doorway on the same side as the church's principal doorway but this was not always the case. As seen in thirteenth-century churches, the principal doorway usually faced the communities where the priest may also have lived, but because we have very limited extant evidence of clerical residences we cannot truly link potential priestly residence with their exterior chancel doorways. Also, there are some exceptions. At Acton Burnell the priest(s) probably lived in the neighbouring castle which is south of the church. At this church there is a southern priest's doorway yet the nave's northern doorway is probably the principal entrance for the community. The same can be said of the church at Wharram Percy whose community is north of the church yet its principal and priest's doorways face south.

Notwithstanding these exceptions, my survey of churches suggests that priest's doorways have a very strong same-side link with the principal doorway. In the later Middle Ages, we see very grand churches with multiple priest's doorways. Wealthy patrons, like those at Long Melford (Suffolk), endowed and appended more than one chantry chapel to their local church. Each family may have retained at least one priest for their own respective perpetual masses. Long Melford is very

330. Paul S. Barnwell, "The Laity, the Clergy and the Divine Presence: The use of Space in Smaller Churches of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *JBAA* 157 no. 1 (2004): 56.

unusual as it has the rare occurrence of having four priest's doorways for its chancel and east end chapels.

The earliest example I have found of an original priest's doorway is at the twelfth-century church at Copford (Essex), c. 1120.[331] Other early examples include the churches at Adel (Yorkshire), 1152 x 1185, Lower Sapey (Worcestershire) *c*. 1150, Barfreston (Kent) 1170 x 1190, Patrixbourne (Kent) *c*. 1180 and Shellingford (Oxfordshire) of the late 12th.[332] Copford was originally an episcopal chapel for the bishops of London, Shellingford was a possession of Abingdon Abbey and Adel the property of Holy Trinity Priory, York. There is little information as to the original patrons of Barfreston and Patrixbourne. By 1291-92 Barfreston's was Bertram Tancred, perhaps a descendant of the eleventh-century crusader and Patrixbourne's was held by Merton Priory.[333] The plainest of the group is the church at Lower Sapey. It is a very simple and small two-celled church and chapel to the parish church of Clifton-upon-Teme. It has north and south doorways, and so was possibly a parochial chapel. Lower Sapey is at the bottom of a steep valley and quite isolated almost two kilometres from Clifton-upon-Teme. I suggest that as even a very modest chapel like Lower Sapey also had an original priest's doorway, these entrances were not only for higher status churches with strong ties to monasteries or their bishops, but would be for even the humble local priest as a means of segregating him from the laity.

These doorways are much more common from the thirteenth century onwards. One of the problems with knowing if any church had such an early original priest's

331. "Copford," *CRSBI*, accessed May 7, 2019, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4015.
332. "Shellingford," *CRSBI*, accessed May 7, 2019, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4186.
333. "Patrixbourne," *Taxatio*, accessed June 3, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.BR.10; "barfrestone," *Taxatio*, accessed June 3, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.SA.01.

doorway is that in the later Middle Ages communities usually rebuilt and elongated their local church's chancels and by doing so removed any evidence of their possible earlier existence. These six twelfth-century church's chancel doorways appear to be original and coeval with the nave doorways.

This physical segregation, made possible by a chancel doorway, may have originated in the early twelfth-century as much as a century prior to the division of financial responsibility for nave and chancel between clergy and the laity. Thus, I suggest that the priest's doorway is not a manifestation of mid thirteenth-century cost sharingbut perhaps an outcome of clerical purification ideals advanced within Latin Christendom in late eleventh-century Gregorian and subsequent church reform.[334]

(d) Conclusion

Thirteenth-century parochial churches were typically built with north and south opposing nave doorways. I suggest that one of these doorways was the primary entrance for the church, similar to the model of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Typically, the principal doorway was on the south side as these churches usually faced the community. The second doorway, most often the northern one, usually had no link with burials or domestic buildings, whether of peasant or lordly status. The primary doorway for the community was usually more adorned by carving and has greater width and height than its lateral opposite. Some grand churches were also provided with a western doorway. We see an increase in the building of three nave doorway churches in the thirteenth century.

3.3. Fourteenth-Century Parish Churches

334. Barnwell, "Divine Presence," 56-7; Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West* (London: Pearson, 2013), 62-64.

In the fourteenth century there were significant changes to this pattern. My survey of churches built in this century, geographically from the dioceses of Kent to Durham, indicates much greater variety in doorway positioning than seen before. At this time local churches increasingly had western doorways in addition to those at the north and south sides of the nave, continuing the trend that began at grand churches in the thirteenth century. Some church builders even constructed new buildings without a northern entrance so long as they also had a western doorway. My survey of twenty-six churches suggests that there is simply no discernible pattern from the collected evidence other than to assert that variety of design is a new feature for local church form in the fourteenth century. I make three observations from the survey: (i) almost all had two or more doorways (ii) once again, single-doorway parish churches are a rare occurrence and (iii) most had western bell towers.

Fourteenth Century Local Churches

Location	Doorways	Date	Tower/Bells
Appleton-le-Street (Yorkshire)	N (tower door)	South Aisle c. 1300	No nave doors Anglo-Saxon W tower
Stocklinch St Mary Magdalene (Somerset)	S, W	c. 1300	W bellcote
Copford (Essex)	N, S	c. 1300	W bellcote
Creech St Michael (Somerset)	N, S, W	Early 14th c.	C/N tower
Lubenham (Leicestershire)	N, S	Early 14thc.	W tower modern W door
Yalding (Kent)	N, S, W	c. 1310	W tower
Shadoxhurst (Kent)	S, W	Early 14th c.	W bellcote
Westbere (Kent)	N, S, W	Early 14th c.	W bellcote
Wisbech (Cambridgeshire)	N, S, W	Early 14th c.	N/W tower
Adderbury (Oxfordshire)	N, S, W	1315 x 1344	W tower
StocklinchOttersey St Mary the Virgin	N, S	c. 1320	W tower

(Somerset)			
Boothby Pagnell (Lincolnshire)	S, W	1320 x 1340	W tower
Haccombe (Devon)	S, W	1328	W bellcote
Wickhambreaux (Kent)	N, S, W	c. 1320	W tower
Wensley (Yorkshire)	N, S	c. 1330	W tower
Bedale (Yorkshire)	S, W	1340	W tower
Staindrop (Durham)	N, S	1343 x 1370	W tower
West Monkton (Somerset)	S, W	1350	W tower
Cranbrook (Kent)	N, S, W	1350	W tower
Gaddesby (Leicestershire)	N,S,W	Mid 14th c.	W tower
Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire)	N, S, W	Mid 14th c.	W tower
Stebbing (Essex)	N, S	c. 1360	W tower
Bardsey (Yorkshire)	N, S	c. 1375	W tower
Naseby (Northamptonshire)	N, S	14th c.	W tower
Clarborough (Nottinghamshire)	S	14th c.	W tower
Draughton (Northamptonshire)	N, S	14th c.	W Tower

Summary of Doorway Positions

Single Doorway	North and South Doorways	South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
2 (1N, 1S)	9	6	9

Of the twenty-six buildings I examined, twenty-five have southern doorways (96%), nineteen have northern doorways (73%) and fifteen have one at the west(58%).As to grouping arrangements, two doorways is still the most common form. This is the case in fifteen out of twenty-six buildings (58%), whereas only nine (35%) had north and south doorways and there were only two churches with

a single doorway (8%).For all of these buildings, the western doorway is clearly an important feature as far as we can tell from their appearance, although the southern nave doorway was usually the principal entrance. The majority of the three-doorway churches, just like similar churches of the thirteenth century, are typically large buildings with very high status patrons.

My research suggests that by the fourteenth century builders did not adhere to a standard design form as had existed before. In this period, patrons and communities may have designed their churches to suit local needs; hence the variety and absence of a detectable pattern. I present five case studies to show how diverse doorway design for local churches became a feature in the fourteenth century.

(a) Five Fourteenth-Century Case Studies

Two Somerset separate parish churches in the same village, both built at a similar time, exemplify this phenomenon at the local level. St Mary Magdalen, Stocklinch (“SMM”) and St Mary the Virgin, Stocklinch (“SMV”) (Somerset)are neighbouring contemporary buildings and only 385 meters apart.

SMM is a two-celled building with south and west doorways. It has three bells suspended on full-circle wheels at its west end in a now exposed bellcote. Based on my analysis of bell ringing methods in Chapter 1, I suggest that these bells are a modern addition and do not reflect the original arrangement. Rupert C. Austin created a useful ground plan (Fig. 3.27) in 1909 for its re-pewing and other alterations like the north doorway and stairs to the gallery.[335]

335.Rupert C. Austin, Saint Mary Magdalene Ground Plan, ICBS10840a, 1909, Lambeth Palace Library

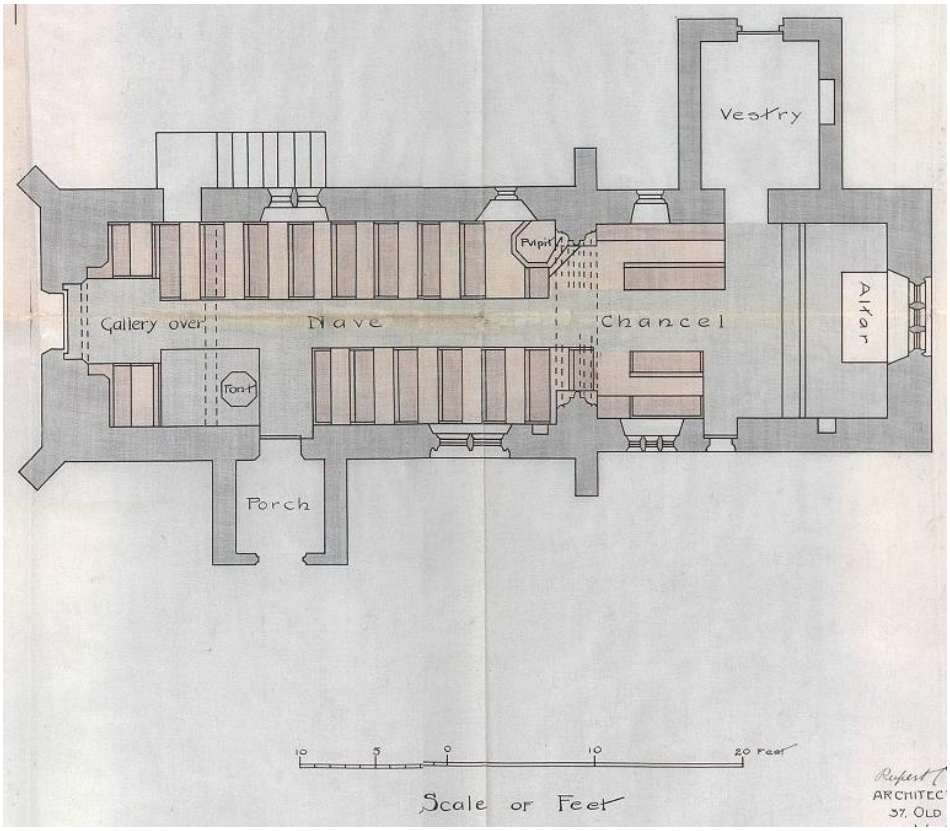

Fig. 3.27, Saint Mary Magdalene Ground Plan

SMV on the other hand is a multi-celled church with west bell tower, nave, chancel and south transept (Fig. 3.28). SMV has north and south nave doorways and its northern one is blocked.

I present them together (Figs. 3.29 and 3.30) to illustrate the role of local decision making in church form, design and doorway positioning. We cannot be certain what factors determined their design but it might be dependent upon patronage and perhaps financial limitations.

We are also not certain of their construction dates as the extant documentary references are scarce and vague. The Pope's tax records of 1291-92 mention neither, probably as the tax predates both churches; this may at least

provide both a terminus post quem. We know from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* that both were rectories in 1535.[336]

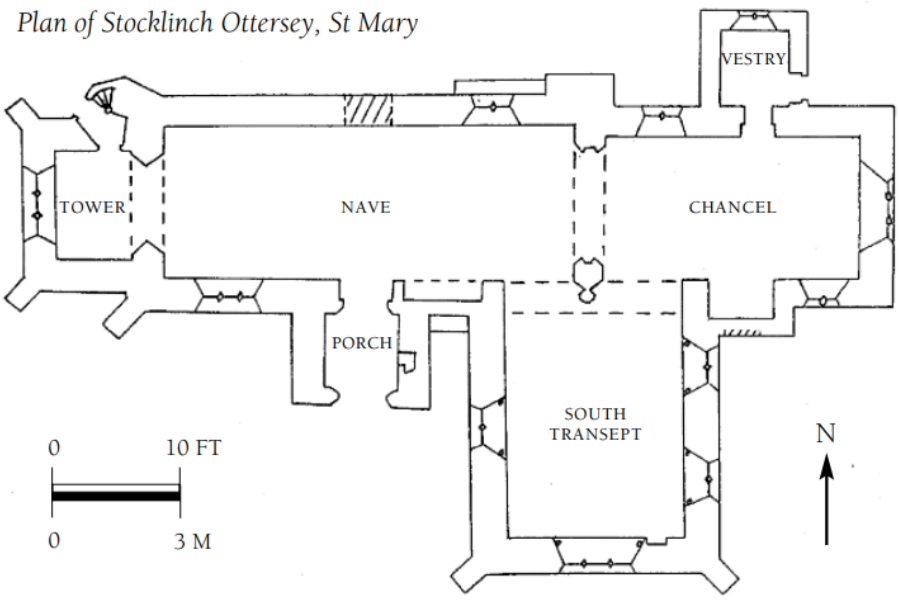

Fig. 3.28, SMV Ground Plan, Churches Conservation Trust 2000

Fig. 3.29, Stocklinch (Somerset),SMV from the southwest

Fig. 3.30, Stocklinch SMM, from thesouthwest

Documentary records are also scant on their patrons' identities. We know there was a Ralphede Stokelinche in Somerset between 1302 and 1331. He

336. *Valor Ecclesisaticus* (London: 1814), 1:165-66.

founded a chantry in *c*. 1330 and grants land to a chaplain in 1330 x 1331 at the parish church of Stocklinche; possibly SMV.[337] Perhaps the chaplain is the chantry priest funded by the land grant, which at least connects the southern transept and its possible chantry chapel at SMV with the late thirteenth-century effigy in which it now rests.[338] Another patron may be William le Ostricier, 'the Falconer' who held StocklinchOttersey (SMV) for the service of one goshawk to its lord Alan Plukenet. Perhaps either or both contributed to or built SMV; le Ostricier while lord of the manor of Stocklinch from 1272 to 1307 and Ralphe de Stocklinche afterwards.[339]

Stylistically both have numerous fourteenth and fifteenth-century features. SMM has two fourteenth-century windows on its north and south chancel walls as well as a two-light one on the north side of the nave. SMV's transept also has fourteenth-century windows. Their doorways appear to be in their original positions although SMM's southern doorway (Fig. 3.31) may have been redesigned in the later fourteenth or early fifteenth-century when the west nave window was inserted. SMV's west tower window is similar to SMM's and is also probably a fifteenth-century replacement to an earlier window.[340] SMM's west doorway (Fig. 3.32) is wider than its southern one by eighteen centimetres, is taller by twenty-eight and faces the nearby street, yet the southern doorway has a possible fifteenth-century porch. SMV's southern doorway (Fig. 3.33) is fifteen centimetres taller but thirteen narrower than the blocked northern one. MV's northern doorway,

337. "Stocklinch," National Archives website, accessed April 7, 2019, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C7572918,'Ralph de Stokelinche to grant a messuage, land, and pasture at Stocklinch to a chaplain in the parish church of Stocklinch, retaining a messuage and land in Chaffcombe. Somers.'
338. A. C. Fryer, "Monumental Effigies in Somerset, Part III" *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, Vol. LXIII*, Fourth Series, vol. 3, Part 2 (1918): 4.
339. Francis Henry Dickenson, ed., *Kirby's Quest for Somerset* (London: 1889), 2; J. Batten, "Stocklinch Ottersey near Ilminster, Somerset," in F. W. Weaver and C. H. Mayo, eds. *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (1897): 5:42-43.
340. Orbach, *South and West Somerset*, 578.

moreover, (Fig. 3.34) faces an ascending slope and is opposite or away from the possible direction of a manor, village or street to the southwest. Both churches have southern priest's doorways and considering all of the evidence, I suggest that their southern doorways were their primary entrances.

SMV is a more elaborate building especially with its tower, its position near the top of the hill, and its southern transept or chapel with tomb recess and effigy. SMM is located within the present day village, close to the road and at the same elevation. SMV, on the other hand, is comparatively isolated from the rest of the village and far up a slope.

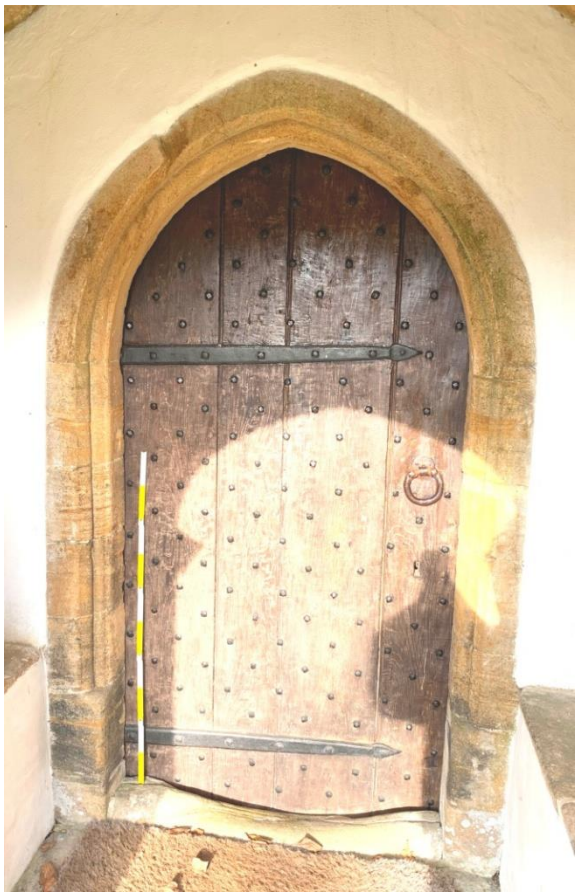

Fig. 3.31,Stocklinch SMM, south doorway

Fig. 3.32, Stocklinch SMM, west doorway

These two Stocklinch churches are contemporary buildings, yet their design and form are strikingly different. Whilst their fabric and windows are similar, SMM's

patron chose not to build a northern doorway and SMV's decided against a western one. One would expect the opposite conclusion since SMV is on a hill and the northern doorway is much more difficult to access. We may never know the reason behind the different doorway positioning of these two churches other than to recognise that variation appears to be determined at the local level.

In contrast to the Stocklinch churches where the doorway positions remained static through the Middle Ages, Wensley (Yorkshire) is a church that was adapted to local needs. Here, moreover, the doorways were repositioned over time (Fig. 3.35).[341]

Its doorways were built in the thirteenth century but then only finally positioned in the fourteenth. For this reason I consider most of Wensley as an overlap of both centuries, but place it inthis section as the doorways did not change from the fourteenth-century.

341.William Page, ed., "Parishes: Wensley", in *A History of the County of York North Riding*, 1: 268-80

Fig. 3.33, Stocklinch SMV, south doorway

Fig. 3.34, Stocklinch SMV, north doorway

We do not know Holy Trinity's precise construction date but its patron may be Osbert or his son, Roger an early thirteenth-century heir of the Ingoldsby family, who held land in this location. The Crowland Abbey Chartulary states that its abbot transferred the advowson to Osbert in 1231.[342]

The church was probably first built in the second or third decade of the thirteenth century but was enlarged and remodelled in the fourteenth. The chancel is thirteenth-century but the aisle arcades, and tower arch are fourteenth-century. The chancel and tower arches spring from similar thirteenth-century capitals which suggest that the tower arch may be at the nave's original western limit. Wensley has north and south doorways (Fig. 3.36 and 3.37). The northern one is probably a reset original thirteenth-century doorway.

342. Ibid.

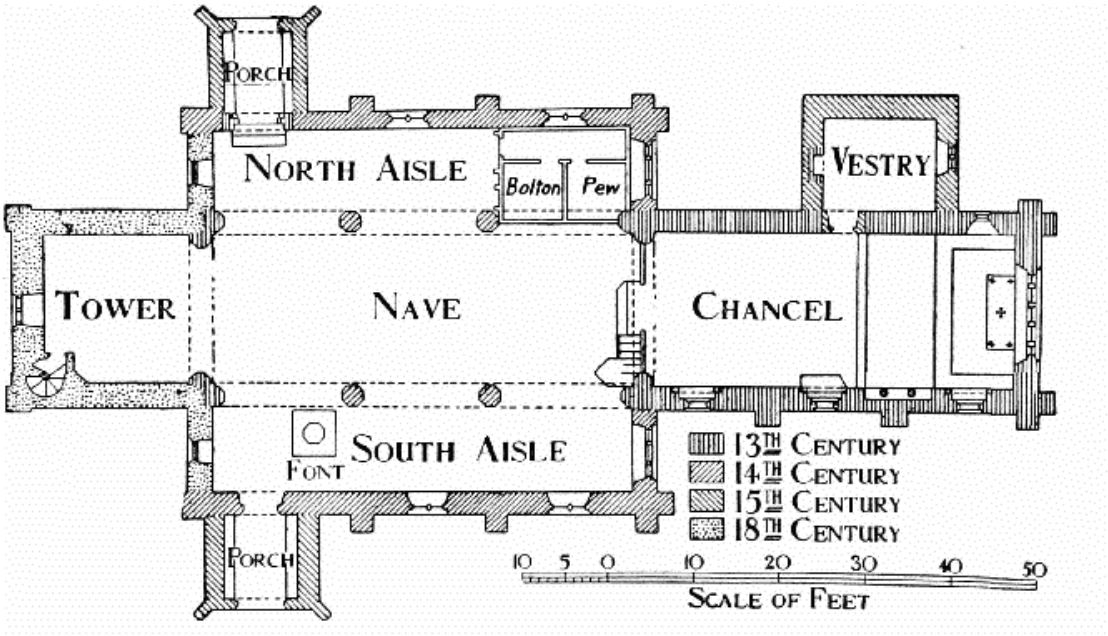

Fig. 3.35, Holy Trinity Wensley (Yorkshire)

Fig. 3.36, Wensley (Yorkshire), north doorway

Fig. 3.37, Wensley, south doorway

The northern doorway's embedded plain shafts with circular capitals are thirteenth-century.[343] Its arch also appears to be two-centred in comparison with the southern doorway's three-centred or obtuse arch. Wensley's northern doorway is forty-three centimetres taller and twenty wider than the southern doorway. A thirteenth-century priest's doorway leads to the fifteenth-century north vestry whilst the south chancel doorway might be a fifteenth-century addition. A priest's residence is above the vestry, which has no external doorway. Therefore, I suggest that the newer south chancel doorway may have accommodated the change. The church is about seventy-five meters north of the River Ure with no modern buildings between the churchyard and the river. Burials surround the church and the village is north of the church. The community built, or perhaps rebuilt, the western tower in the eighteenth century and so we do not know if the original tower ever had a western doorway. The two light rounded arched window and belfry opening on its first and third level might reflect a continuity of design from an original tower. It is probable that Wensley's north doorway is the community's principal entrance.

The church of St Luke at Gaddesby has a long and complicated design history (Fig. 3.38, 3.39, 3.40 and 3.41). Its patrons adapted their church over many centuries and varied its doorway positions to suit later period local requirements. Its original twelfth-century form was single cell with only a southern doorway. This first church at Gaddesby may have been a manorial chapel. In the early thirteenth century, a bell tower was added to the church but it still had a single doorway- it may have become a parochial chapel.[344]

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343. Hardy Bertram McCall, *Richmondshire Churches* (London: Elliot Stock, 1910), 158-86; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire, the North Riding* (New Haven: YUP, 1966), 381-83.
344. Plans from E. D. Smith, *The Parish Church of St Luke, Gaddesby* (June 1968), accessed January 2, 2021, https://gaddesby.org.uk/village-organisations/church/church-history/; Alistair

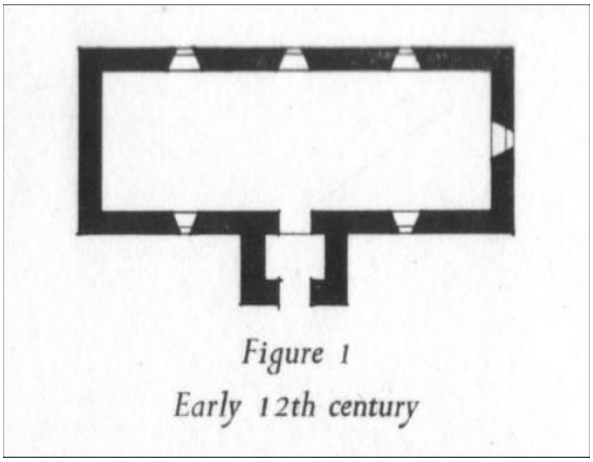

Fig. 3.38, Gaddesby (Leicestershire), 12th c. plan

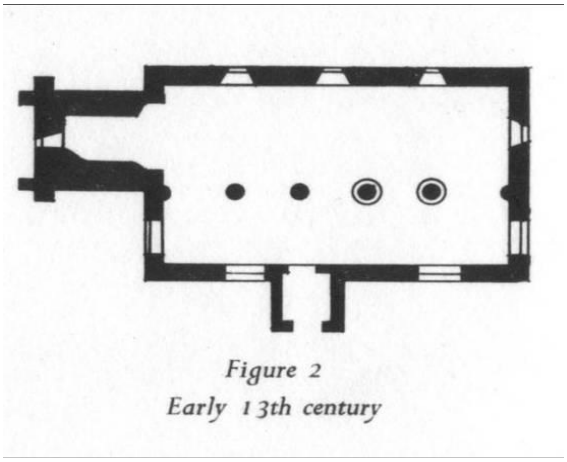

Fig. 3.39, Gaddesby, early 13th c. plan

The builders redesigned the church again in the thirteenth century, adding a north aisle and perhaps a northern doorway. In the fourteenth century they once again altered the church, this time in a variety of ways: among other things, they built an enlarged north aisle and inserted a new north doorway.

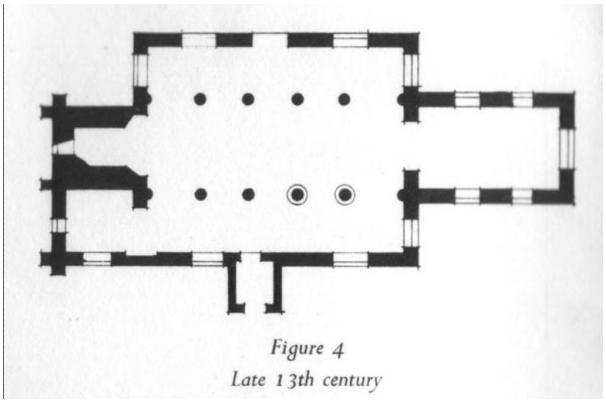

Fig. 3.40, Gaddesby, late 13th c. plan

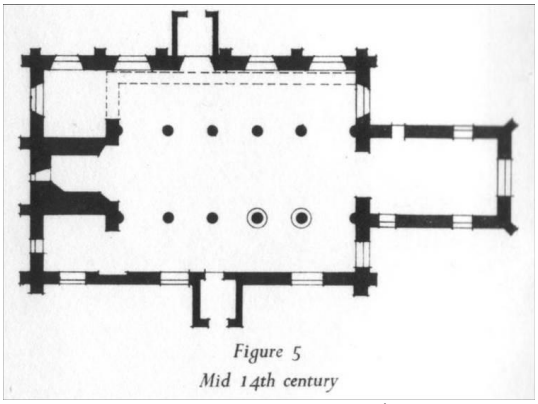

Fig. 3.41, Gaddesby, mid-14th c. plan

The southern doorway was the sole entrance for a century or longer but we cannot be sure that it was always Gaddesby's primary doorway (Fig. 3.42). The

Mutch, "Gaddesby," *Leicestershire Archaeological & Historical Society Transactions* 82 (2008): 171-88.

northern doorway's fourteenth-century style matches the time period of its northern aisle windows (Fig. 3.43).[345]

Fig. 3.42, Gaddesby, south doorway

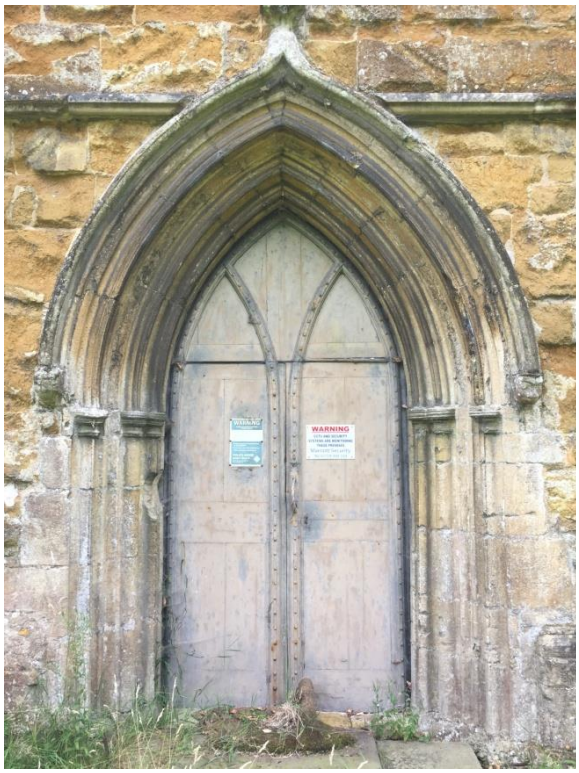

Fig. 3.43, Gaddesby, north doorway

The northern doorway is also larger than the southern one; fifty-six centimetres taller and five wider. Its greater dimensions do not necessarily mean it was Gaddesby's primary community doorway. The doorways are not from the same period and direct style comparisons may be misleading in this context. If the church had a northern doorway in the later thirteenth century then its builders decided not to reset that doorway into the fourteenth-century rebuilt northern aisle and created a new one instead.

345. Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson, *Leicestershire and Rutland* (London: YUP, 2003), 156-58; Smith, *The Parish Church of St Luke*, accessed January 2, 2021, https://gaddesby.org.uk/village-organisations/church/church-history/; Mutch, "Gaddesby," 171-88.

We do see, however, that a priest's doorway was added to the north side of the chancel when the chancel was rebuilt, as well as a northern porch where traces of its roofline remain. Burials are located to the south and east of the church with none in the northern range. There are no other remaining medieval structures in the vicinity but forty-five meters north of the church is the eighteenth-century manor, Gaddesby Hall. We cannot be sure if an earlier medieval residence occupied this position. If it did, or was close by, then the priest's doorway might suggest a possible link to such a northern manor and the priest's residence.

Gaddesby is also unusual as it has a western doorway within the southern aisle (Fig. 3.44). The church had no western doorway until the patron built the south aisle. Its doorway is narrower than the other two at 249 x 107 centimetres, yet the aisle's western facade is the most ornate exterior part of the church. David Parsons suggests the west end of the south aisle may have been used as a private chapel. Parsons points to the remnants of a piscina just west of the southern doorway. He proposes that the west end of this aisle may have been screened off from the rest of the church with an altar against this divider.[346] I have not found any other thirteenth or fourteenth-century churches with a similar western design and doorway configuration.

346. David Parsons, *Churches and chapels: investigating places of worship* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), 56.

Fig. 3.44, Gaddesby, south aisle, west façade

The church of St Mary the Virgin at Adderbury (Oxfordshire) is a large church which in the thirteenth century had north and south transepts (Fig. 3.45).[347] Perhaps as a way of adapting to its growing economy and population, its patrons rebuilt the nave in the early fourteenth century, adding aisles that adjoined the transepts as well as porches and the western tower.

In the early eleventh century, the Bishop of Winchester acquired the estate of Adderbury. He held the advowson until 1381 when Bishop William Wykeham, who previously, and later, held the office of Chancellor of England, gave the rectory to New College, Oxford.[348] We cannot state for certain who built or endowed the large thirteenth-century church although the Bishop of Winchester

347.Mary D. Lobel and Alan Crossley, eds., "Parishes: Adderbury", in *A history of the County of Oxford: Volume 9, Bloxham Hundred* (London: VCH, 1969), 34.
348. The advowson's history in the thirteenth and fourteenth century is complicated having changed hands a few times. Ultimately the bishops of Winchester held the privilege but gave it up after a dispute with Edward III. See Mary D. Lobel and Alan Crossley, eds., "Parishes: Adderbury," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 9, Bloxham Hundred* (London: VCH, 1969), 14-16.

was the most exalted of the local lords and had the greatest land holdings in Adderbury. Other prominent tenants also held property in the parish either in their own right and/or as lessees of the Bishop. As such, Adderbury may have been built or funded by several patrons including the Bishop who built a residence just thirty meters south of the church.[349]

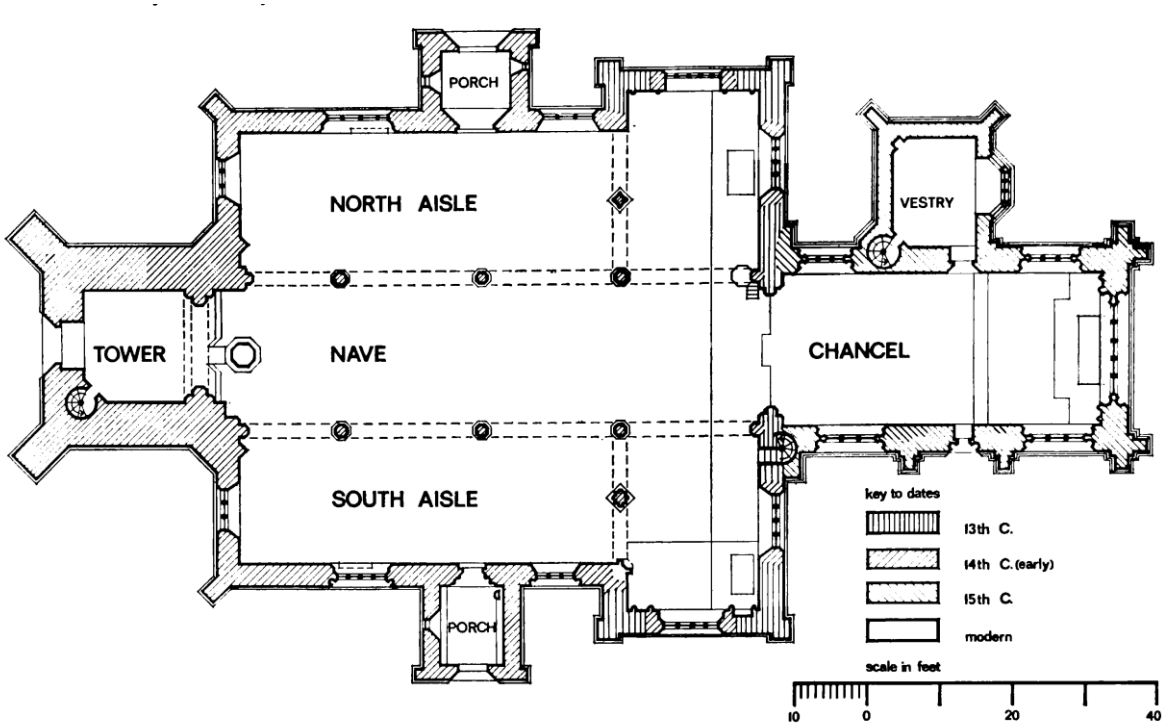

Fig. 3.45, Plan of St Mary the Virgin Adderbury (Oxfordshire)

We see evidence of the thirteenth-century building phase in the surviving north and south transept walls and their eastern windows. Adderbury'sdoorways reached their final positions in the early fourteenth century.

The south and north doorways (Figs. 3.46 and Figs. 3.47, 3.48) are both 140 centimetres wide but the northern doorway is thirty-three centimetres taller. Both have intricate carving but the northern doorway has three orders with sculpted head stops whilst the southern doorway has plain capitals and only the

349. Lobel and Crossley, "Parishes: Adderbury," 7.

outer order has head stops. Its western doorway is also smaller than the northern doorway and not as embellished as the other two.

Fig. 3.46, Adderbury (Oxfordshire), south doorway

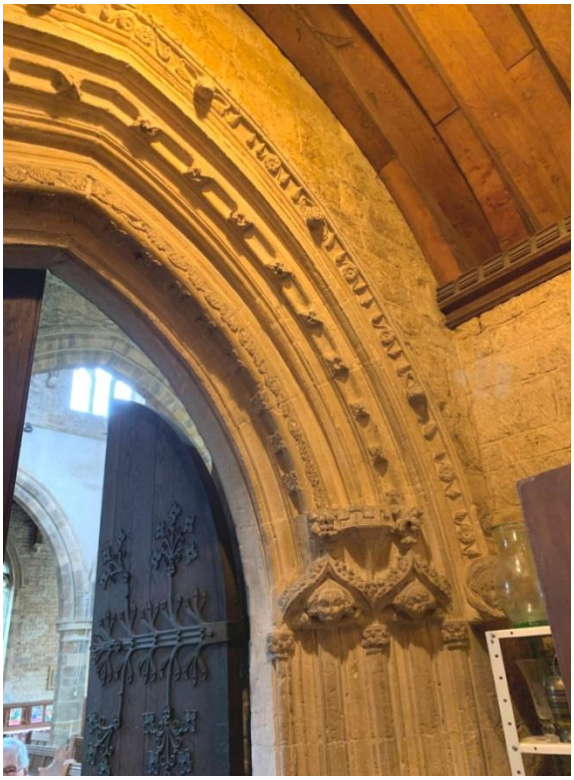

Fig. 3.47, Adderbury, north doorway, right side

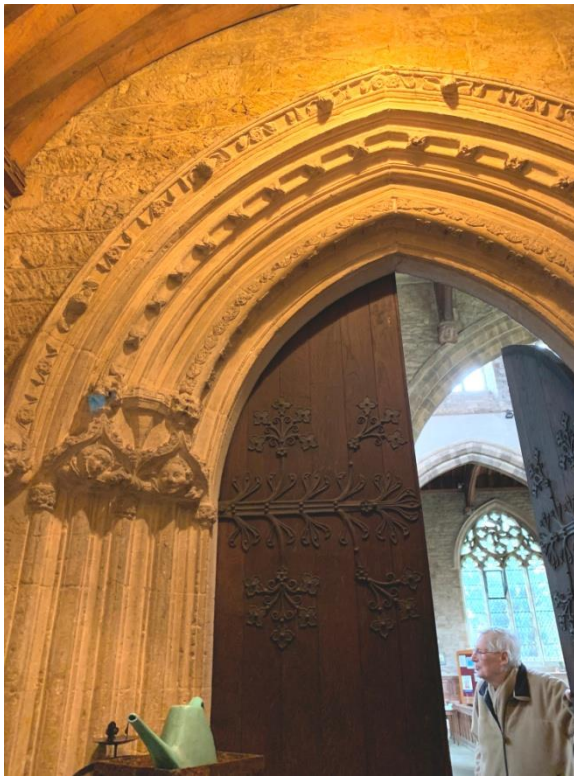

Fig. 3.48, Adderbury, north doorway, left side

Adderbury has one exterior fifteenth-century chancel doorway on the south side. The northern chancel doorway is the entrance to the two level fifteenth-century vestry. Its medieval rectory house may have been located just north of the church.[350] In this case, Adderbury had a clerical residence to the north, yet a priest's doorway on the south. There might have been an original northern priest's doorway that led to the rectory where the priest(s) may have resided. But the addition of a vestry in the fifteenth-century on the north side of the chancel may have used that opening. The builders may have had to construct a new exterior priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel. In addition, burials are mostly west of the church but there are also many in the southern range of the churchyard and the medieval community is to its north and east. In 1684 John Bloxham rebuilt the rectorial manor house which may have blocked or made difficult public access to the northern doorway.[351]

(b) Conclusion

My research suggests that in the fourteenth century there was much greater variety in doorway positions than previously. Many patrons and their communities altered earlier churches to suit their local needs, often replacing earlier period windows and chancels. Aisles were often added or rebuilt, and towers were appended to much older buildings or heightened.

It is clear through the fourteenth century that there was more of a desire to have a western doorway whereas this feature was absent from most of the churches built in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. In the fourteenth century, these doorways are at times the most ornate ones and usually the largest in both width

350. Lobel and Crossley, "Parishes: Adderbury," 5-44.
351. Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Oxfordshire*, (London: Penguin, 1974 2002), 73-77.

and height. Yet they appear not to be the primary entrance for the community. Moreover, these western doorways are not plain and relatively narrow like those of some thirteenth-century churches like at Porlock, Cranfield or Sedgefield. Instead, they are more like the thirteenth-century example at West Walton. There appears to be a link between their very high status patrons and the three nave doorway form; perhaps this design was itself a connection not just between function but patronal status too. Some of these large fourteenth-century western doorway churches became colleges, whilst others, like Higham Ferrers and Cranbrook, only functioned as parish churches. These two had large doorways set within large western towers; a stark contrast to Porlock's western doorway for example. This trend for three doorways continues with increasing frequency through the fifteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages. There may be possible explanations for this increasing desire for an ornate western doorway. It might be used as a ceremonial entrance for very high-status visitors, such as the bishop. It might have also been an important doorway for the celebration of various rituals such as the Palm Sunday procession and others which occurring by this time at parish churches, major churches, monasteries, and cathedrals. I examine the liturgical possibilities for the western doorway in Chapter 5.

3.4. Fifteenth to Early Sixteenth-Century Parish Churches

(a) Introduction

In this section I examine seventeen parish churches: these were all either newly built in the long fifteenth century, or, in the cases of Chilham (Kent) and Broadway (Worcestershire), substantially altered in this period.[352] They are

352. I consider Stone-in-Oxney a new build. Fire destroyed the church in 1464 and its patron essentially rebuilt the church. It contains a very small amount of its earlier fabric. I analyse this church as a case study below.

located from Kent to Yorkshire, though mostly on the eastern side of England. The results are summarised as follows.

Fifteenth – Early Sixteenth-Century Parish Churches

Location	Doors	Date	Bells/Comments
Broadway (Worcestershire)	N, S	c. 1400	Central tower, aisles rebuilt c. 1400
Harewood (Yorkshire)	N, S, W	1400 x 1430	W tower, high status patron
Crofton (Yorkshire)	N, S	c. 1419	Central tower
Cromwell (Nottinghamshire)	S, W	1427	W Tower
Thirsk (Yorkshire)	N, S	1430	W tower
Southwold (Suffolk)	N, S, W	1430	W tower
Eastchurch (Kent)	N, S, W	1431	W tower
Maids Moreton (Buckinghamshire)	N, S, W	c. 1450	W tower
Cowthorpe, (Yorkshire)	N, S	1456 x 1458	W tower
Stone-in-Oxney (Kent)	N, S, W	1464	W tower
St Alphege, Canterbury (Kent)	N	1468	Door through N tower
Long Melford (Suffolk)	N, S, W	1467 x 1497	W tower
Lavenham (Suffolk)	N, S, W	1480 x 1520	W tower
St Margaret, Westminster (London)	N, W	1482 x 1523	NW tower, High status patron
South Petherton (Somerset)	N, S, W	15th c.	Central octagonal tower, possible former minster
Lancing (West Sussex)	N, S, W	15th c.	Central tower
Chilham (Kent)	S, W	15th c.	Central Tower

Summary of Doorway Positions

Single Doorway	North and South Doorways	South and West + North and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
1 x N	4	2 +1	9

Several things stand out immediately: (i) fifteen (88%) have southern doorways, (ii) fifteen (88%) also have northern doorways and (iii) twelve(71%) have western doorways. Although the sample size is small the results are noticeable and important. When I order the churches by doorway grouping then the results are coherent: 53% have three doorways, 41% have two doorways and only 6% have a single doorway. Furthermore, whereas twelfth-century local parochial churches almost all had a north-south doorway pairing, that form is now a very small percentage of fifteenth-century churches: a mere 24%.In addition, churches with western doorways comprise 71% of the survey. The evidence indicates that patrons and their communities increasingly wanted their churches to have a western doorway and favoured a three-nave doorway form rather than the north-south pairing ubiquitous in twelfth-century churches.

The new built churches with western doorways are often very large churches with high status, wealthy patrons. I include many in this category including: Southwold (Fig. 3.49), Long Melford (Fig. 3.50), Lavenham (Fig. 3.51), St Margaret, Westminster, Maids Moreton, South Petherton, and Harewood.

Fig. 3.49, St Edmund Southwold (Suffolk)

Fig. 3.50, Holy Trinity Long Melford (Suffolk)

Fig. 3.51, SS Peter and Paul Lavenham (Suffolk)

We know that wealthy cloth merchants of Suffolk built three of these very grandiose structures, perhaps to reflect their social status.[353] The churches at Southwold, Lavenham and Long Melford by their dimensions and embellishment do not appear as ordinary local parish churches, yet that was their function. These Suffolk churches are clearly extraordinary buildings.Their lengths from tower to east end range from about fifty meters for Southwold to over eighty for Long Melford. They are greatly larger than even the larger fourteenth-century churches of the previous section other than Cranbrook (Kent) which just fits into these dimensions. Long Melford is almost three times larger than the Stocklinch (Somerset) churches built one hundred years earlier yet both served small

353. Charles Tracy, Hugh Harrison and Lucy Wrapson, “Thomas Spring’s Chantry and Parclose at Lavenham, Suffolk,” *JBAA* 164, no. 1 (2011): 221-22; Nicholas R. Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 119-21.

communities. I examine five of these fifteenth-century churches as case studies for this period.

(b) North- South Doorways: Two Case Studies

All Saints, Crofton (Yorkshire) is a multi-celled building, nave and chancel with a central crossing, north and south transepts and south porch. The building has two nave doors and a central bell tower. Its patron, Richard Fleming, rebuilt this parish church in the years whilst he was the bishop of Lincoln, between 1419 until his death in 1431.[354] I present Crofton (Fig. 3.52) as it illustrates that some communities still wanted two nave doorway churches even when there was a central tower that normally freed the west end for a doorway.

Fig. 3.52, All Saints Crofton (Yorkshire) from the Southwest

354. Lawrence A. S. Butler, "All Saints Church, Crofton," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990): 125-32.

We can see from its single plinth and roll-moulded string course which surrounds the church that All Saints, excluding its tower, was the product of a single building phase. Its gabled buttresses are also uniform in design, evenly placed around the building. In 1875, the community altered the building, sealing the north door and carrying out minor work in the south transept, neither changing Crofton's original ground plan.[355]

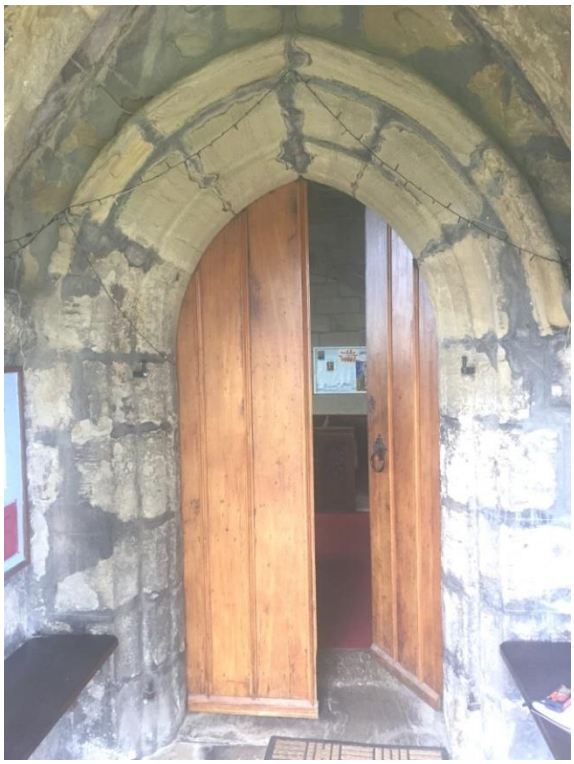

Fig. 3.53, Crofton, south doorway

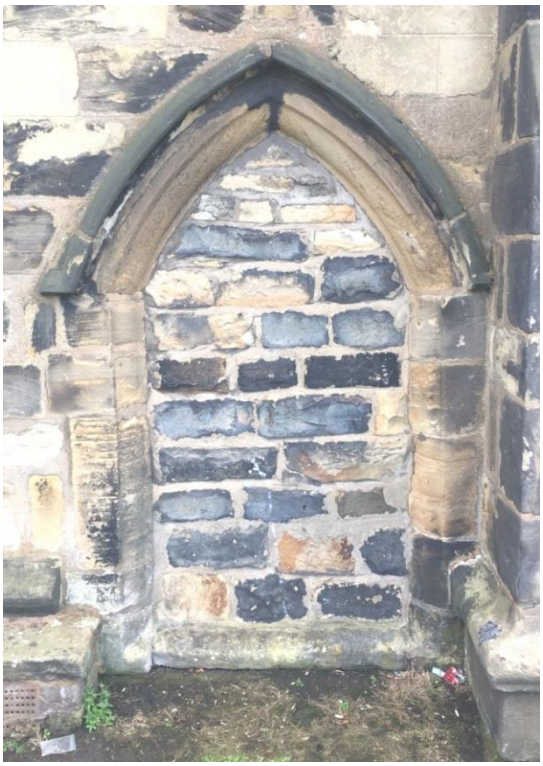

Fig. 3.54, Crofton, north doorway

The church has two nave doorways, north and south. The southern one (Fig. 3.53) has an obtuse arch with two incised, surrounding orders with broach stops whereas the northern one (Fig. 3.54) is more acute, closer to a lancet form. It is two-centred, with a single order also incised with broach stops. Their hood moulds are similar other than the internal arch angle. Only the southern doorway

355. Peter E. Leach and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North* (New Haven: YUP, 2009), 186.

has a porch, which may be modern. I suggest it is unlikely that Crofton had a northern porch: its north doorway's west jamb is set close to a nave buttress which would interfere with a porch, and there are no vestiges of an earlier porch. Both nave doorways have the same width but the southern one is just over twenty centimetres taller. The community is south of the church, and its priest's doorway is on the south side of the church. This last doorway is not in the chancel as expected, but instead on the east side of the southern transept. There are many burials south of the church and some to the north, but the vast majority are to the east. Based on the preceding evidence I suggest that Crofton's principal community doorway was its southern one and the northern was a subsidiary one.

Fig. 3.55, St Mary the Virgin Thirsk (Yorkshire), from the south

St Mary the Virgin, Thirsk (Yorkshire),is also a two-doorway parish church but with a western tower instead (Fig. 3.55). It is a large, clerestoried church, with very large perpendicular windows on both levels. It has a very tall and large tower arch that helps light the nave from the very large west window. Its fifteenth-century

patron was possibly John de Mowbray the second Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1432, with its advowson held by Newburgh Priory as it had since 1145.[356] The patron ordered the church to be built from west to east as its chancel windows are a later style than those of the nave. Its nave doorways are quite similar in appearance, though the southern doorway is within a two-level porch. The southern doorway is also two and a half centimetres wider and taller (Figs. 3.56 and 3.57). The priest's doorway has a later, fifteenth-century, four-centred arch and faces south.

Fig. 3.56, Thirsk, south doorway

Fig. 3.57, Thirsk, north doorway

Burials are equally distributed to the south and north of the church with the narrow western range also filled. We know that the medieval community was south of the church; both church and village on the west bank of the Cod Beck River. The fact that the multi-level porch is on the south side as well as slightly

356. William Page, ed., "Parishes: Thirsk," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1923), 58-70.

taller and wider indicates that the southern doorway was probably the principal entrance for the community at Thirsk. In this case the builders chose to construct its great western window rather than a smaller one with a doorway.

(c) North-South-West Doorways: Two Case Studies

The church at Stone-in-Oxney (Kent) is almost entirely another mid fifteenth-century new build. It is a multi-celled church, with nave, chancel, north and south chapels, north and south aisles and a western tower. S. D. Harris produced a reliable ground plan in 1991 (Fig. 3.58).[357]

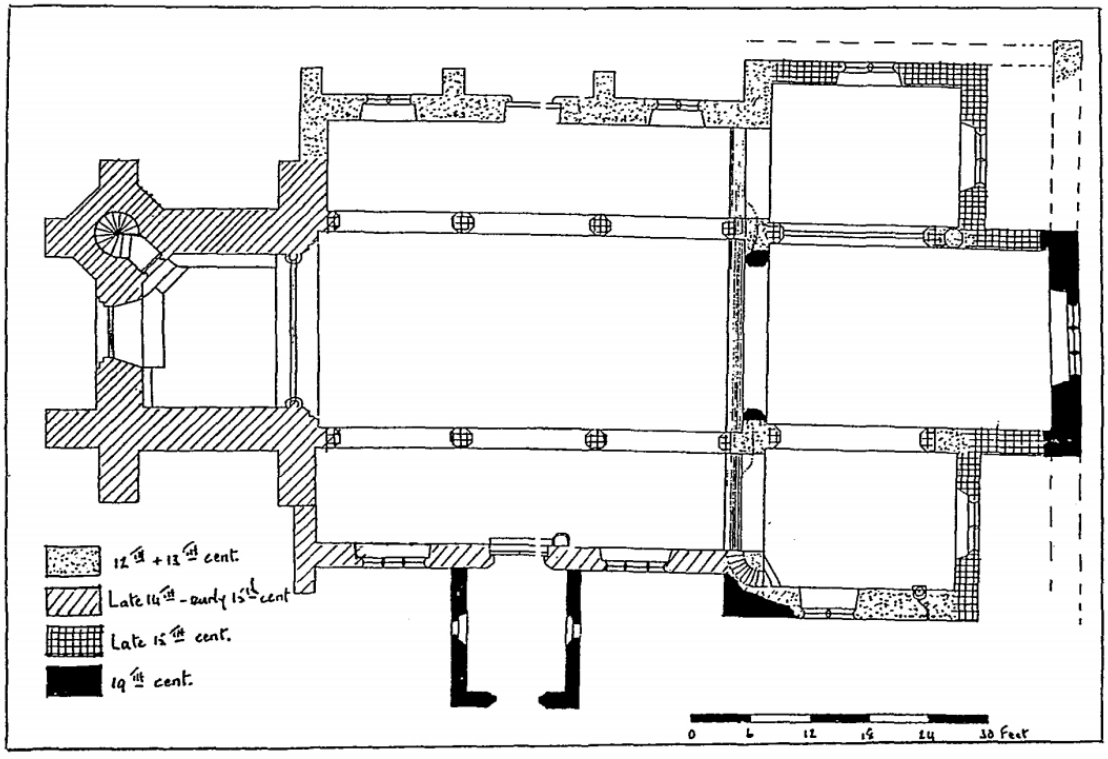

Fig. 1. Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Stone-in-Oxney: Ground Plan.

Fig. 3.58, Stone-in-Oxney (Kent) Ground Plan, After Harris

Written records state that its patron, from at least 1287, was the Abbot of St Augustine's at Canterbury. The abbey held the advowson until the dissolution.[358]

357. S. D. Harris, "The Church of St Mary the Virgin, Stone-in-Oxney, with particular reference to recent excavation of the North Chapel and to the fire of 1464" *AC* 109 (1991): 121-38.
358. Edward Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Stone," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 8* (Canterbury: 1799), 480-86.

The abbey presumably ordered the rebuilding of the church following its fire in 1464.[359] The church has three nave doorways. The earliest fabric relevant to principal doorways remains only in the northern aisle wall, which appears to contain an original early thirteenth-century doorway (Fig. 3.59). Its southern doorway (Fig. 3.60) is from the later fifteenth century, consistent with the new construction after the fire. Interior views emphasise the grandeur of the southern doorway in comparison with the northern one (Figs. 3.61 and 3.62).

Fig. 3.59, Stone-in-Oxney (Kent)north doorway (interior view below)

Fig. 3.60, Stone-in-Oxney, south doorway (interior view below)

The southern doorway is the largest of the three nave doorways. It is 277 centimetres tall by 170 wide. The northern one is 188 centimetres tall by 102 wide. The western doorway (Fig. 3.63) is 265 centimetres in height and 152 in width.

359. Harris, “Stone-in-Oxney,” 121-38.

Fig. 3.61, Stone-in-Oxney, north doorway interior view

Fig. 3.62, Stone-in-Oxney, south doorway interior view

The builder gave the southern doorway a four-centred arch yet only an obtuse or three-centred arch for the western doorway. As they built the tower and the southern aisle and doorway at the same time I suggest that the deliberate change in style for southern and western doorways may be either to demonstrate the principality of the southern doorway or because a more pointed arched western doorway would have had stronger resistance to the structural consequences of bell ringing. After all we see that the tower is supported by angular buttresses on either side as high as the two-light belfry openings (Fig. 3.64).

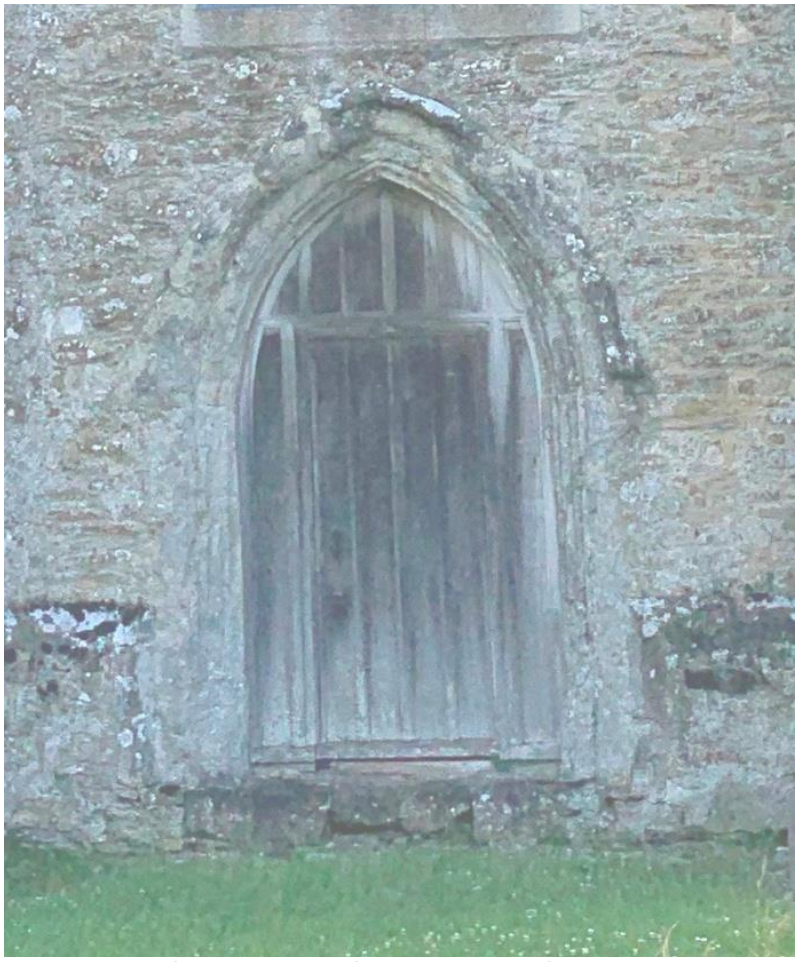

Fig. 3.63, Stone-in-Oxney, west doorway

The 1991 report of excavations suggests that the chancel or flanking chapels had no external doorways. Thus, the builder decided not to insert a priest's doorway at this church. Burials are around the church in equal distribution north and south but most are west of the church. The street is south of the church, but we cannot be certain of the exact location of the medieval village of Stone. It is clear that the abbey decided to rebuild the parish church with three nave doorways after the fire of 1464, of which the southern doorway was the grandest, faced the community and was probably the principal doorway for the community.

Fig. 3.64, Stone-in-Oxney, tower from the west

The parish church of Holy Trinity at Long Melford (Suffolk) is one of the largest and most embellished parish churches in England. It has three nave doorways, a western tower, quire, flanked by north and south chapels, a further chantry chapel north of the chancel, a vestry to the south, and a lady chapel at the east end of the building. It has a very tall clerestory along the entire length of the nave. The church is approximately 76 metres in length (Fig. 3.65).

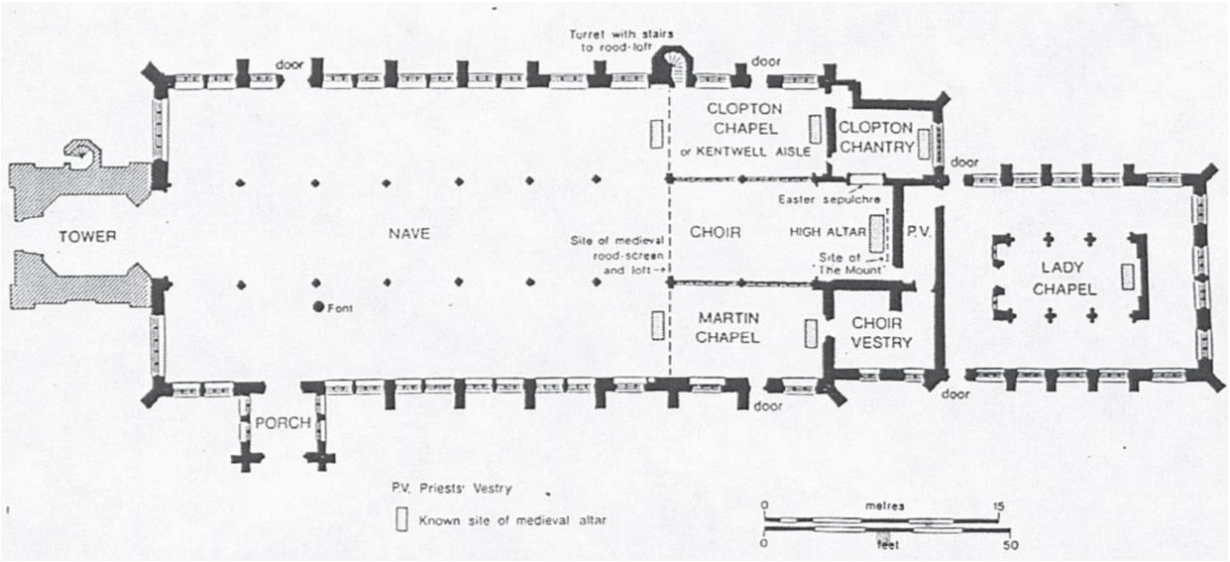

Fig. 3.65, Long Melford (Suffolk) Ground Plan, after Dymond

Its patrons include some of the wealthiest landlords and cloth merchants of Suffolk including the Clopton, Couper, Martin and Sparrow families. The church has a chapel as well as a chantry named for the Cloptons of neighbouring Kentwell Hall, and another one for the Martin family. John Clopton may have been the church's largest donor.[360] Testamentary documents, dated 1459 to 1463, suggest the earliest dates for construction. Later wills suggest that the chancel was complete by 1479 and the Martin aisle and arcade by 1484.[361] On the basis of memorial inscriptions fixed to the Lady Chapel which are dated to 1496, James Bettley and Pevsner suggest it was completed by c. 1495.[362] Its doorways remain in their original positions with a reliable ground plan published by David P. Dymond and Clive Paine in 2012.[363]

360. David P. Dymond and Clive Paine, eds., *Five Centuries of an English Parish Church: 'The State of Melford Church', Suffolk* (Cambridge: EAH Press, 2012), 14-20.
361. Francis Woodman, "The Writing on the Wall: New Thoughts on Long Melford Church," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 42 (2010): 190.
362. James Bettley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Suffolk* (New Haven: YUP, 2015), 381-88.
363. Dymond, "*The State of Melford Church"*, 3.

The church has three nave doorways. The southern doorway is the only one with a two-level porch (Fig. 3.66). The southern doorway is clearly more elaborate that the one at the north (Fig. 3.67).

Fig. 3.66, Long Melford (Suffolk), south doorway

Fig. 3.67, Long Melford, north doorway

The southern doorway is the largest of all the church doorways. It is 191 centimetres wide by 315 centimetres tall. The north doorway is 137 centimetres wide and 264 in height. Its western doorway (Fig. 3.68) is the most embellished of all the church's doorways but is slightly smaller than the southern doorway, being 183 centimetres wide and 282 in height. The western doorway has an ogee headed arch outer order, intricate carved finial and further attached and surrounding ornamentation.

Here it is clear that the west doorway was the most architecturally elaborate, however it was the southern doorway which was the largest and which

would have faced the street and the community. As I will discuss in Chapter 5, “Liturgy”, we know that the western doorway at Long Melford was used at least for the Palm Sunday procession. Here, there are similarly indications that the grand western doorway was used as a major ceremonial entrance.

Fig. 3.68, Long Melford, west doorway

(d) Two Unusual Cases

Two further churches in this section whose design is out of the ordinary for this group include Broadway (Worcestershire) and St Alphege, Canterbury (Kent). I consider these churches to be examples of the fact that there was still great variety in the doorway positioning of fifteenth-century local churches. Broadway is unusual as it has much earlier fabric from its twelfth-century origin. It was

substantially rebuilt at the end of the fourteenth century or in the early years of the fifteenth. Its earlier twelfth-century features include a west wall in its southern aisle and a blocked plain, north priest's round-arched doorway, while its newer features included a central tower. Broadway did not, however, have a western doorway; instead, its builders inserted a large four-light, perpendicular window in the west wall.[364] I suggest that this may be explained by the fact that the church's east end faces the street and its west end is built upon a descending slope. That slope drops a further four meters in forty before rising to a hill sixty meters higher in elevation than the church only 500 meters further west. Perhaps the church's position made a western doorway impractical.

St Alphege, Canterbury is also from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and was rebuilt over the centuries. Its single northern doorway is late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century and for this reason is included in this section.[365] It is also unusual as it has a single northern doorway which is within its north-western tower. The north side faces the street but its blocked priest's doorway is on the south side, the location of its rectory garden and possible priest's residence. Perhaps, as St Alphege is within the medieval town, a southern principal doorway for the community may have interfered with that garden or glebe as its churchyard is set to the west of the building and Palace Street runs along its eastern side. Its builders may have had little choice but to have a sole northern doorway as access to the south and western side of the building may have been impracticable.

364. Alan Brooks and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Worcestershire* (London: YUP, 2007), 176-77.
365. Newman and Pevsner, *North East and East Kent*, 237-38.

(e) Towers

The largest group with three doorways almost all have western towers. Their fifteenth-century western doorways are sometimes, but not necessarily, the largest ones. Of the section's ten churches that have western tower doorways only half are larger than the nave's principal doorway. For example, Tattershall's western doorway is clearly its most embellished but it is slightly smaller than its northern principal doorway. In contrast, South Petherton's west doorway is the largest of the three but equal in style with its fifteenth-century northern principal doorway. I suggest that the western doorway's attributes (dimensions or carving) have no bearing on defining a church's primary doorway used by the lay community. My research shows that the usual primary entrance in three nave doorway churches will be either the north or southern doorway and only rarely through the west end.

Four churches in this section, however, have no western doorways; namely, those at Broadway, Crofton, Thirsk and Cowthorpe. Thirsk's western tower is massive with a very large western window. It is supported by six large buttresses that reach its third level at the belfry. The western buttresses are at right angles and almost two meters wide at the base. The tower arch within the church has a great height allowing the western window to light the nave and chancel. Perhaps its patron decided to forgo the western doorway in favour of the lighting option. Broadway's and Crofton's central towers would allow for a western doorway but their patrons must have decided to build large western windows to light the nave in place of a doorway, or doorway and smaller window combination. The builders of Cowthorpe also built a very unusual western tower. They set it partially within the nave, drawing support from the nave walls, further supported by

buttresses. It has a very large obtuse arch within its western face akin to a very large porch yet has a very large perpendicular window but no doorway. It may be that lighting its interior was an objective as the nave has only two narrow, two-light windows on each side. If the builders had inserted a western doorway then the window would be much smaller in size, perhaps impacting internal lighting. A doorway and window combination might also have weakened Cowthorpe's tall and narrow tower. Ultimately, towers do not appear to have an impact on doorway forms. Some patrons and communities wanted western tower doorways while others did not.

3.5. Five Collegiate/Parish Churches of the Fourteenth to Sixteenth-Century

Colleges were religious institutions served by an organised body of priests who had not taken strict vows to a particular religious order. Colleges had a variety purposes and of functions, including to serve a liturgical role for their community of priests, for the chantry duties endowed by their founders or other benefactors, and also for charitable, educational and pastoral roles for their greater communities.[366] The collegiate churches in this section were built from their origin to fulfil their dual collegiate and parochial functions. They were not colleges appended to existing parish churches like at Cotterstock (Northamptonshire).[367] All five of the collegiate churches in this section have western doorways and towers either centrally positioned or at the western side of the church. Four of the collegiate churches have three nave doorways.

366. Clive Burgess and Martin Heale, *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008), 11-14, 70.
367. Burgess and Heale, 14; Paul Jeffrey, *The Collegiate Churches of England and Wales* (London: Robert Hale, 2004), 110-12, 193-95; Andrew L. Budge, "Change in Architectural Style: The adoption of macro- and microarchitectural motifs in 14th century collegiate churches in England and Wales" (PhD thesis, University of London, 2017), 89-100.

Five Collegiate/Parish Churches

Ottery St Mary (Devon)	N, S,W	1342	South and North Towers
Edington (Wiltshire)	S, W	1352-61	Central tower
Bunbury (Cheshire)	N, S, W	1385-86	W tower
Maidstone (Kent)	N, S, W	*c*. 1396 x 1410	SW tower
Tattershall (Lincolnshire)	N, S, S, W	1440 x 1500	2 major south doors, W tower

Summary of Doorway Positions

Single Doorway	North and South Doorways	South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
0	0	1	4

The first of two case studies for collegiate churches is the College of All Saints, Maidstone (Kent). It is one of the grandest churches in Kent (Fig. 3.69). It is a large building with very wide and large north and south aisles, a very large and wide chancel and a southern porch upon which a tall tower was built. The church was built in one style from *c*. 1395 to 1405.[368] Richard C. Carpenter created a plan in 1848-49 as part of the repewing and restoration of the church (Fig. 3.70).[369]

368. “All Saints Church, Maidstone,” *TTB Survey*, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/MAI.htm.
369. Richard C. Carpenter, Plan, ICBS04043 (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1848-49).

Fig. 3.69, All Saints, Maidstone (Kent)
River Medway visible in lower left corner

William Courtney, the Archbishop of Canterbury founded the college in 1395.[370] He obtained authorisation from Pope Boniface IX for the college to be served by a master and twenty-four chaplains and clerks. Its patron continued to be the Archbishop of Canterbury until the English Reformation.[371]

The church has three nave doorways. The southern one is within the tower and is 193 centimetres wide and 305 tall (Fig. 3.71). The northern one is 190.5 centimetres wide and 300 centimetres in height (Fig. 3.72). The western doorway is not the largest doorway. It has the same width as the southern doorway at 193 centimetres wide but is five centimetres shorter, matching the northern one's height at 300 centimetres (Fig., 3.73).

370. William Page, ed., "Colleges: Maidstone," in *A History of the County of Kent: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1926), 232-33.
371. Maidstone Borough Council and English Heritage, *All Saints Conservation Area Appraisal* (Maidstone: Directorate of Development Services, 2003), 10-13, 56.

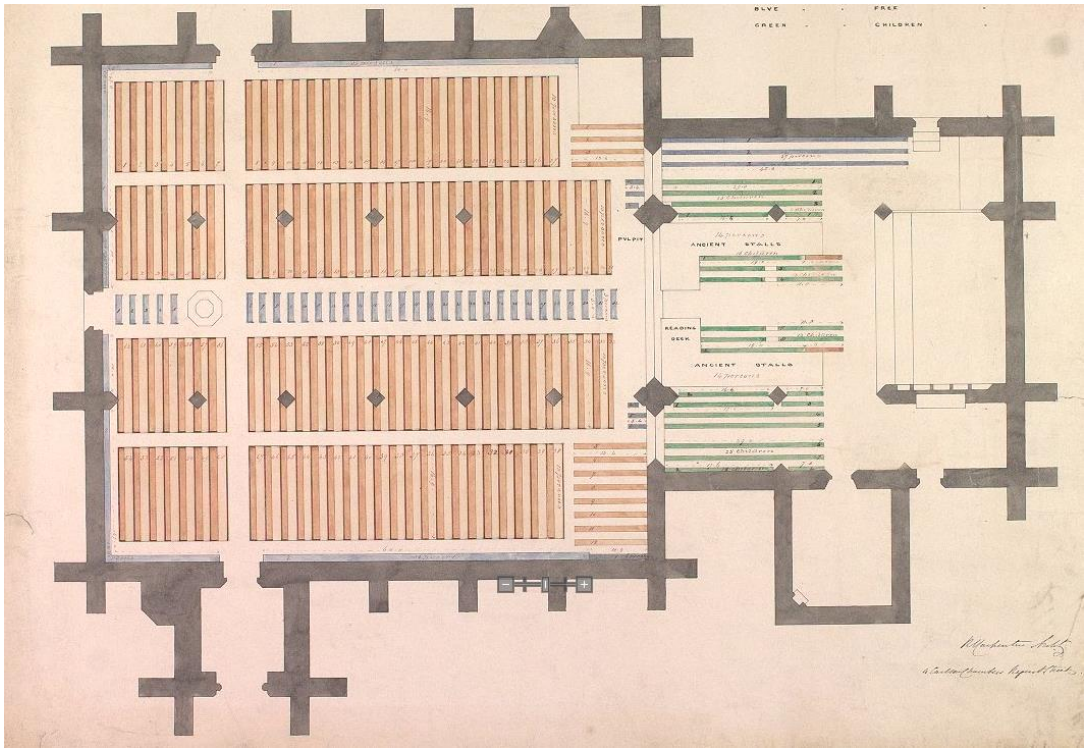

Fig. 3.70, All Saints, Maidstone, Richard C. Carpenter, 1848-49

The carving of all the doorways appears to be similar. The western doorway shows the greatest damage by weathering followed by the northern doorway. A new northern porch was built in 1927 which replaced an earlier one.[372] I have found no evidence for the previous porch. The weathering of the northern doorway suggests that there may not have been a northern porch in that location for some time. The southern doorway was within All Saints' tower which also was its porch which appears to have protected it through the centuries. The four bases at the bottom of each of the two orders of continuous roll moulded doorways show signs of deterioration but are largely intact compared with the other doorways.

372. "All Saints Church, Maidstone," *TTB Survey*, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/MAI.htm.

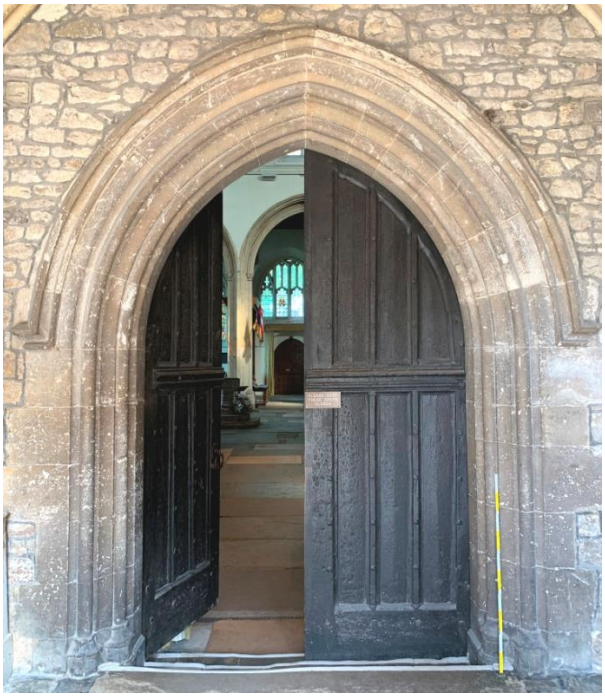

Fig. 3.71, Maidstone, south doorway

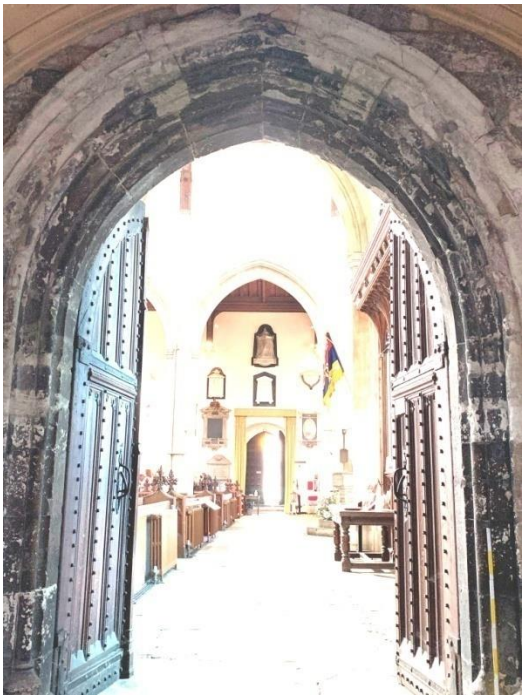

Fig. 3.72, Maidstone, north doorway

Fig. 3.73, Maidstone, west doorway

The church is located just east of and very close to the River Medway. The Archbishop's Palace and related buildings are to the north of the church. South of the church are the collegiate buildings (Fig. 3.74).[373] It is unusual for the church to have been built so close to the river but it was the location of the church of St Mary from the time of Edward the Confessor.[374] It may be that maintaining continuity of worship on this site was important to the community as well as not to disturb the then existing churchyard. Its builders might have had few options for the positioning of such a great building, as it ended up so close to the river.

The southern doorway appears to have been the primary entrance for the lay community as it is within the tower porch and provided the easiest access for this group. It was also the closest doorway to the college's other buildings south of the church. However, the church also has a large southern priest's doorway: 177 centimetres tall and 100 centimetres in width. A second priest's doorway on the north side of the chancel has the same dimensions. It faced the Archbishop's palace and other clerical buildings north of the church. It is probable that the clergy used these as their own primary doorways into the church. The western doorway is only nine metres from a stone wall that is a western boundary to the church and is also but twenty-five from the edge of the River Medway. This entrance faces away from the collegiate buildings and the medieval village of Maidstone which was north of the church. Still the western doorway is beneath a very large window (Fig. 3.75).

373. Maidstone Borough Council and English Heritage, *All Saints Appraisal*, Plan 5 – Heritage Features in the Archiepiscopal Precinct, 46.
374. George H Cook, *English Collegiate Churches of the Middle Ages* (London: Phoenix House, 1959), 128-29.

Fig. 3.74, All Saints, Maidstone immediate vicinity
with numbers indicating important coeval medieval buildings or structures
20 All Saints Church
15 Archbishop's Palace
16 'Prison' range of Palace
21 and 22 Churchyard wall
23 Extent of churchyard
28-35 College buildings

Entering through this doorway would be the most awe inspiring of the three doorways as the western doorway looks directly through the grand, clerestoried nave and to the east, which has an identical window as that at the west. I suggest that this doorway would appear to be that which was used by the Archbishop, other senior clergymen or royals.

Fig. 3.75, Maidstone, west doorway, west windowshowing eastern window within

The second church in this section is the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity at Tattershall (Lincolnshire). It is also a very large clerestoried building with three nave doorways and also a southern transept doorway. It is an exceptional building as it also has large, clerestoried transepts (Fig. 3.76).

Fig. 3.76, Holy Trinity,Tattershall (Lincolnshire)

Ralf, Lord Cromwell, Treasurer of England, was the patron of the rebuilt parish and collegiate church of Tattershall.[375] He obtained a license from Henry VI in 1439 to replace Tattershall's previous twelfth-century parish church and to build a collegiate one in its place. The new collegiate building also functioned as the community's new parish church. At the same time Cromwell also built the

375. William Page, ed., "Colleges: Tattershall", in *A History of the County of Lincoln: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1906), 237.

neighbouringTattershall castle only 130 meters west of the church (Fig. 3.77).This grandiose building campaign certainly reflects Cromwell's wealth and status.

Fig. 3.77,Tattershall Castle and Church, Google Earth
Yellow arrow indicating North

Tattershall's north and south nave doorways (Figs. 3.78 and 3.79) have a very similar appearance, carving and width, but the southern one is thirteen centimetres taller than the northern one. The northern doorway has one more order or carving surrounding the frame which, based on this feature alone, suggests a slightly greater status for the northern entrance. The northern doorway is also within a two-level porch yet there is no southern porch. Its western doorway (Fig. 3.80) has similar carving to the north and south doorways but is more embellished than either, having outer framed narrow fluted niches and ogee-headed, crocketed finials, x-shaped crosses and a series of heraldic shields across its architrave, perhaps linking its patron's family to the church.

The southern transept doorway (Fig. 3.81) is plainer, and its probable porch, or attached structure, was demolished in 1545 when the college was disbanded. We know that the college had other buildings immediately south of the church. Perhaps only its priests and other collegiate residents who occupied these

buildings used this porch and entrance. I suggest that its very plain doorway indicates that only the college residents saw and used this doorway. Burials are to the south of the church. The community may have used the area closer to the south wall of the church only after the college was dissolved in 1545.[376]

Fig. 3.78, Tattershall (Lincolnshire), north doorway

Fig. 3.79, Tattershall, south doorway

Tattershall's church is sited between the River Bain ninety-five meters to its east and the castle. Although the community is north of the church its priest's doorway is on the south side, which is in this case consistent with where the clergy lived. This is, therefore, a similar arrangement as that at Acton Burnell. I consider the evidence strong that at Tattershall the principal doorway for the community was probably the north nave doorway, as it faced the village and it is where its porch was located. The patron may have entered through the great western doorway or the major southern one in the nave. The clergy probably entered the

376.Page, "Tattershall," 237.

church through the south transept doorway which led to the other collegiate buildings and what was likely their residence.

Fig. 3.80, Tattershall, west doorway

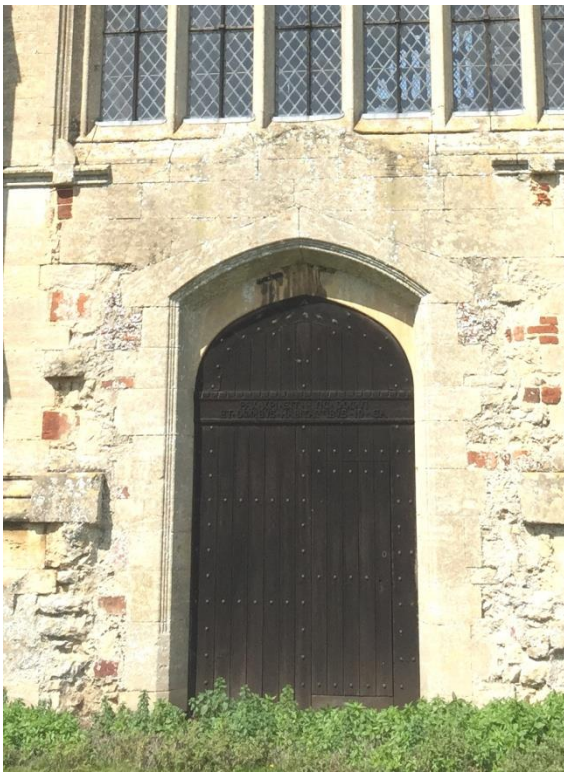

Fig. 3.81, Tattershall, south transept doorway

These two collegiate churches at Maidstone and Tattershall are exceptional buildings, as are the others in this section. They are all very large churches with elaborate ornamentation throughout. They all have western doorways and only one does not also have a northern nave doorway. They performed a variety of roles as colleges as well as the parish churches for their communities. Collegiate churches built during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tended to have three nave doorways. It is important to also notice that the parish churches of the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries also tended to have three doorways. In this way the doorway positions are similar. Just as the primary doorway for the laity appears to be that which faces the village collegiate/parish churches have the same link. Tattershall's northern nave doorway faced the village and although at

Maidstone the primary doorway was on the south side, the Archbishop's Palace and appurtenant buildings as well as the wall surrounding the churchyard made Maidstone's southern doorway the primary entrance for the local community. It would appear that in these cases that the requirements of the villagers may have had a role in the determining which of the nave doorways were allocated for them. Perhaps the local needs of the laity dictated the needs of the parish church rather than those of the college.

3.6. Conclusion

I analysed seventy churches in this chapter. By comparing all of the results of the four church sections of this chapter I was able to produce the following summary with charts showing the percentages of the types of doorways present at churches. I have also included the five collegiate churches that were also parish churches in this summary.

Types of Doorways Present at Local Churches

	13th Century	14th Century	15th Century
S Doorways	100%	97%	94%
N Doorways	86%	73%	94%
W Doorways	27%	63%	77%

Types of Doorway Groupings at Local Churches

	13th Century	14th Century	15th Century
Single Doorway	5%	7%	5.5%
N+W Doorways	0%	0%	5.5%
S + W Doorways	9%	23%	11%
N + S Doorways	68%	30%	22%
Three Doorways	18%	40%	56%

The evidence is strong, even in a selection of seventy churches, that, with increasing frequency, towards the end of the middle ages churches were built by communities with western doorways; they built three times more three-doorway churches by the end of the fifteenth century than they did in the thirteenth.

Furthermore, when we consider the evidence of the twelfth century it is clear that the ubiquitous, two-doorway form of north and south laterally opposing doorways fell from fashion from 83% (24 of 29 churches, Chapter 2) to 68% in the thirteenth century and then to 22% by the end of the Middle Ages. Whilst few had western doorways in the twelfth century and few in the early decades of the thirteenth century, by the fourteenth century and afterwards three doorway churches became a very popular design.

This apparent change in doorway design for parish churches begs questions. Why did this change occur and why at this moment of time? What might explain this need for a third doorway? After all, my research shows that western doorways appear to have no relation to manors, churchyards, or to the community location or other domestic buildings. Almost no communities seem to have used their western doorways as primary entrance for the laity.

The increased interest in western doorways might have been due to status-seeking patrons who wanted to copy the great English churches. It could also have been a result of builders' greater understanding of the structural implications of bell ringing that allowed for greater tower heights and the insertion western doorways. As I analyse in Chapter 5, liturgy might have also played a role in this variation from and after the thirteenth century. Before proceeding to liturgical analysis, I turn to a discussion of chapels, which are the final category of religious buildings in this thesis.

Chapter 4: Chapels

4.1. Introduction

There has been much scholarly writing on English chapels over the last thirty years.[377] Sarah Thomas sums up the multitude of chapels into four broad, basic categories as: (i) dependent, (ii) private, (iii) chapels linked to a particular location ('locational') and (iv) cultic.[378] This chapter explores whether there is a link between chapels and their external doorways.

In this chapter, I will be presenting fifty-one English medieval freestanding, stone-built chapels; the type generally described as the 'field chapel' in Æthelred's code of 1014. These are chapels-of-ease and parochial chapels and have one or more nave doorways. The parochial chapel provided a full range of pastoral care for their community and the chapel-of-ease had a similar, but comparatively lesser, function. Both also may have served a chantry function.

I will not be considering the very common cultic chapels that were set within larger churches, like Lady Chapels, nor will I review chantry chapels, as they too generally did not have major external doorways for public use. It is true that some chantry chapels were often built in stone within churches, but others often had no architectural fixtures.[379]

The earliest chapels I consider in this chapter date from the mid eleventh century, the latest one from the turn of the sixteenth. Just how eleventh-century

377. John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 374-85; Norman Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 81-92; Nicholas Orme, "Church and Chapel in Medieval England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 75-102; Sarah Thomas, *The Parish and the Chapel in Medieval Britain and Norway* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018).
378. Thomas, *The Parish and the Chapel*, 10.
379. Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: an Archaeology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), 15-19.

communities used their chapels is not known with certainty. However, we do know that chapels were not supposed to impinge upon the rights reserved by their mother churches such as those applying to baptism and burials. However, these restrictions were often lifted by successful application to the diocese. We have much documentary evidence of these appeals to the clerical authority for permitting these and other rites.[380] I divide the chapter into two major sections. The first analyses chapels which began and ended the Middle Ages as chapels. The second section focuses upon those buildings which began as chapels and then became parish churches or perhaps parochial chapels.

4.2. Chapels: Buildings That Remained Chapels From Their Origin to the End of the Middle Ages

I present thirty-one chapels, located throughout England, that began and ended the Middle Ages as chapels. They date from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. This thesis argues that those which had been chapels since their origin, and which remained thus, typically had a single doorway often on the south side of the church.

Summary of Chapels which remained
Chapels by the end of the Middle Ages

Location	Doorways	Date	Bells
Chithurst (West Sussex)	W	11th c.	W bellcote, 11th c font
Dode (Kent)	S	Late 11th c.	Ruin uncertan
Speeton (Yorkshire) (parish is Reighton)	S	Early 12th c	W bell tower
Stainburn (Yorkshire)	S	Early 12th c.	Central bellcote

380. Frederick Maurice Powicke and Christopher Robert Cheney, eds. *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church: Part 2, A.D. 1205-1313* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 1002-03.

Lancaut (Gloucestershire)	S	Early 12th c.	W bellcote
Stoulton (Worcestershire)	N, S	c. 1120	W tower 1936
Kempley (Gloucestershire)	S, 'W' W doorway no longer to the exterior when tower added	1128x1132	W tower Perhaps parish church then demoted to chapel
Upwaltham (West Sussex)	S	c. 1130	W bell turret
Postlip (Gloucestershire)	S, W	1135 x 1154	Central bellcote
North Marden (West Sussex)	S	c. 1140	W bell turret
Lilburn Chapel (Northumberland)	S	c. 1140	Ruin uncertain
Statfold (Staffordshire)	W	12th c.	None
Over Silton (Yorkshire)	S	Mid 12th c.	W bellcote
Longframlington (Northumberland)	S	c. 1190	W Bellcote
St Pancras Exeter (Devon)	S	Late 12th c.	W bellcote
Fordon (Yorkshire)	S	12th c.	W bellcote
Birdforth (Yorkshire)	S	12th c.	W bell turret
Smeeth (Kent)	S, W	c. 1200	W tower
Kirkstead (Lincolnshire)	N, W	1220 x 1250	None
Fraisthorpe (Yorkshire)	S	13th c.	W bellcote
Stanley St Andrew (Derbyshire)	S	13th c.	W bellcote
Chillington (Somerset)	S	Late 13th c.	W bellcote
Chisbury Chapel (Hampshire)	N	Late 13th c.	None
Slipper Chapel Houghton St Giles (Norfolk)	W	1340	None
Wakefield Bridge (Yorkshire)	W	1342 x 1356	None

Butterwick (Yorkshire)	S	14th c.	W bellcote
Laneast (Cornwall)	S, W	14th c.	W tower 14th c.
Rochester Bridge (Kent)	W	1393	None
St Ives Bridge (Cambridgeshire)	W	1426	None
Rotherham Bridge (Yorkshire)	S (Liturgically West)	15th c.	None
Ayshford (Devon)	S, W	15th c.	W bellcote

Summary of Chapel Doorway Positions

One Doorway only	North and South Doorways	North and West or South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
25	1	5	0

In this section, 81% of the chapels have single southern doorways. When built on estates they usually had a single southern doorway or sometimes one at the west end. This pattern is all the more striking given the different nature of these buildings when compared to parochial churches from the eleventh century onwards and the function they each served.

Even amongst this group of chapels it appears that their different form relates to their variation in probable function, from parochial churches and even other chapels. For example, the Rotherham Bridge Chapel (Fig. 4.1) is a very small single-celled building with a single doorway on the bridge itself. The entrance is facing south geographically but it is liturgically at the west end of the chapel, as the altar is at the liturgical east end of the building. What would be the purpose and function of such a chapel? It might have been used by travellers for a numbers of reasons, including, perhaps, for those who wished to attend mass, or

for private worship, or to pray for the souls of the chapel's benefactors, or to receive a blessing for their journey.[381]

Fig. 4.1, Rotherham Bridge Chapel (Yorkshire), Google Earth
Yellow arrow indicating North

As chapels, their function would have been limited. The other single doorway chapels in this section are also small buildings, usually single-celled as well. Their form is clearly different from the parish churches I examined in the previous chapters. Most obvious is that the chapels which both began and ended the Middle Ages as chapels tended to have a single nave doorway, whereas parish churches had two or more. I suggest that doorways are linked with the function of the building. I will analyse four of the chapels in this section as case studies to illustrate their common dependency upon a mother church, function and typical single doorway design.

381. Thomas, *The Parish and the Chapel*, 123-24.

(i) Dode(Kent)

The chapel at Dode(dedication unknown) was probably built at the end of the eleventh century. It is a very simple, two-celled, building (Fig. 4.2).[382] Dode was mostly a ruin in 1901 but retained its probable sole southern doorway. It is rather isolated from the closest village, being one and a half kilometres to Great Buckland and its later medieval manor house.[383] Excavations in 1992-93 suggest that any medieval village at Dode would have been located at the bottom of the valley (probably Great Buckland) as there were few material finds near the church and no medieval manor or other structures.[384] There is also no burial evidence at this chapel.

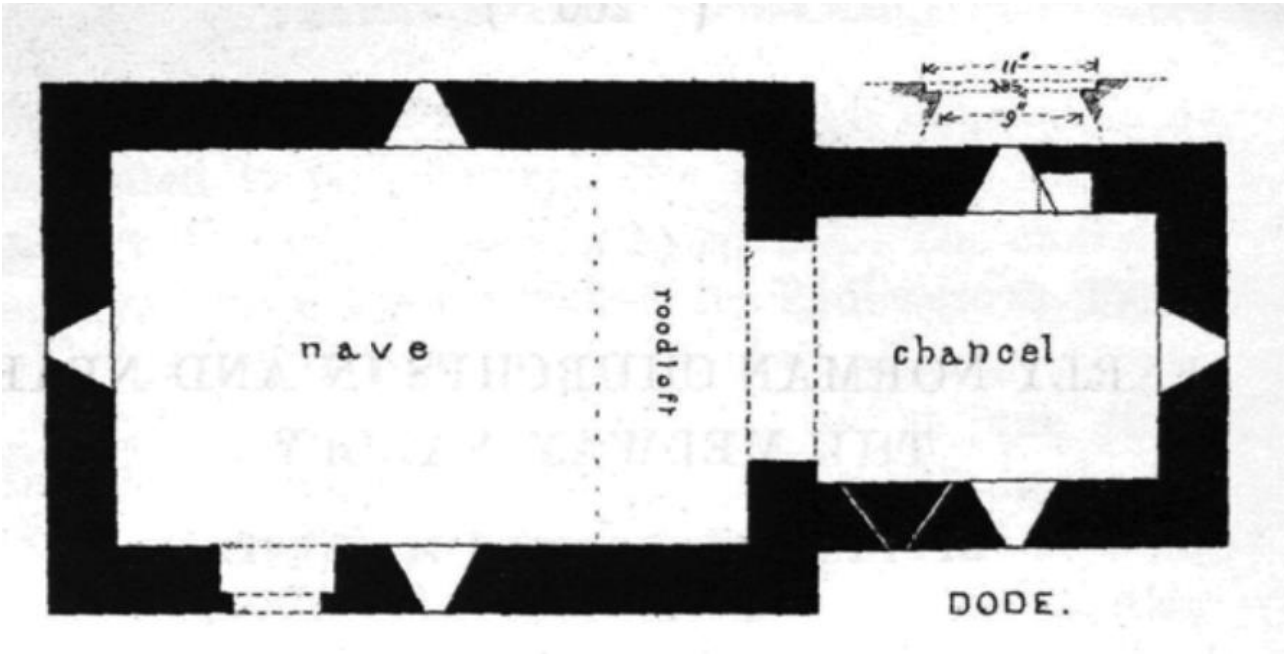

Fig. 4.2, Dode (Kent) Ground Planafter Greville M. Livett

382.Greville M. Livett, “Early-Norman Churches in and Near the Medway Valley,” *AC* 21 (1895): 260-72.
383. George M. Arnold, *Dode, in Kent, with some account of its little Norman church, and of its early extinguishment* (Gravesend: Caddel and Son, 1905) 11-12.; Alan Ward, “Dode Church – Fact and Fiction,” *Kent Archaeological Review* 159 (Spring 2005): 196-203.
384. D. S. Adler, “Report on the excavations at Dode: July - September 1993,” *Kent Archaeological Review* 118 (Autumn 1994): 180-82; Ward, “Dode Church,” 196-203.

Its masonry helps date Dode's chapel to the late eleventh century (Fig. 4.3). Its walls are of roughly coursed flint with smaller stones set aslant. Ashlar of tufa is the early-Norman stone used in this part of the Rochester diocese. It is only used in Dode's external quoins and for the jambs and arches of all openings. The extant south chancel window is internally splayed, semi-circular, and made from a singlepiece of tufa.[385] Dode had simple, single-light, rounded nave and chancel windows, internally splayed, with walls just over eighty-six centimetres thick.

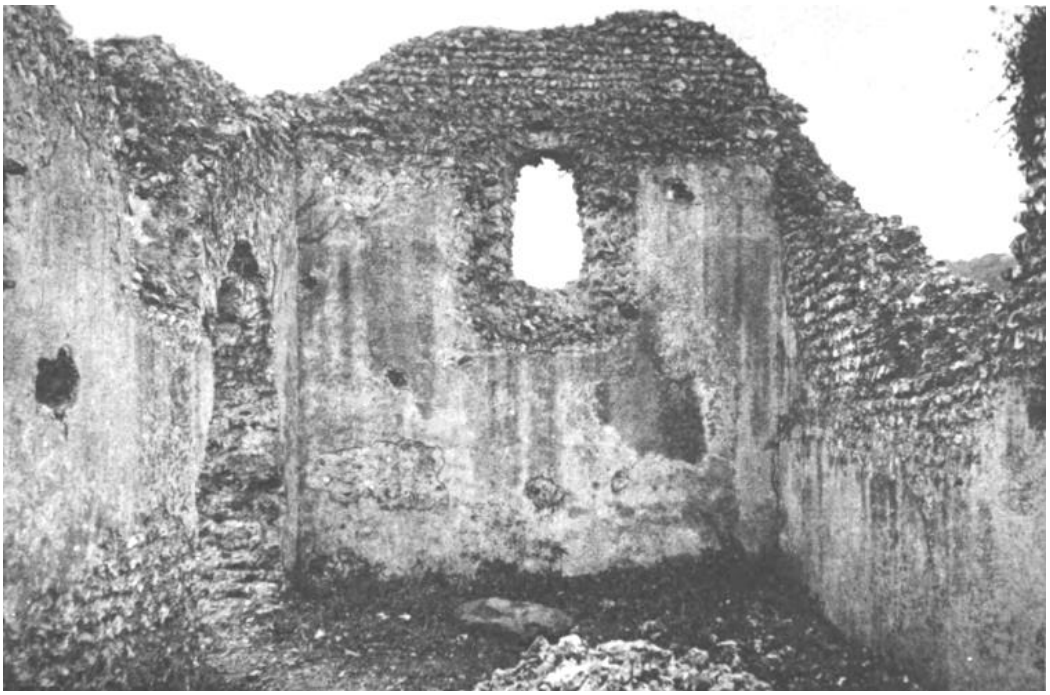

Fig. 4.3, Dode Chapel (Kent) 1905,
Looking west, south doorway at left
Photo of George M. Arnold

Dode is in the *Textus Roffensis* giving the 1120s as a viable terminus ante quem.[386] Although the *Textus* dates from the third decade of the twelfth century

385. Greville M. Livett, "Early-Norman Churches in and near the Medway Valley," 265-66.
386. Bruce O'Brien, "*Textus Roffensis*: An Introduction," in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, eds. Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015): 1; Gordon Ward suggests that although the *Textus* may be from the second or third decade the list of churches within may be a revised compilation of churches from previous records. The modern dating of the *Textus Roffensis* does not necessarily imply a terminus post quem for the dates of its listed churches, see G. Ward, "The List of Saxon Churches in the Textus Roffensis," *AC* 44 (1932): 39-59.

there is no certainty that the churches listed therein were not compiled from earlier lists no longer in existence. The *Textus Roffensis* confirms the existence of Dode but cannot exclude a possible later eleventh-century foundation.

As a result of the fourteenth-century plague and the desertion of the area around Dode, the bishop of Rochester joined Dode with the chapel at Paddlesworth (near Snodland, Kent) creating a new rectory at Paddlesworth. We learn from the Bishop's judgment, dated 1367, that John Bullock might at this time have been Dode's patron, as well as a resident of London. How he acquired Dode is not known. He complained that its value of forty shillings was insufficient to fund its priest and appears to have sought assistance from the bishop to resolve this financial drain. As Dode could not afford to support its priest it appears the union of the two was an expedient solution to the disaster of the plague.[387] Dode's small size and simple design makes this one of the lesser status medieval chapels which had a single southern doorway.

(ii) St Andrew, Stanley (Derbyshire)

Stanley, St Andrew, is a typical early thirteenth-century chapel (Fig. 4.4). It originally was a single-celled building with no chancel arch and only a southern doorway.[388] Its modern ground plan (Fig. 4.5), produced by Robert Evans and William Jolley in 1875-77, shows the builder's intention to reconstruct the chancel, to insert a chancel arch and to build a northern vestry.[389]

387. George M. Arnold, *Dode, in Kent, with some account of its little Norman church, and of its early extinguishment*, 24.
388. J. C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire, 4 Volumes* (London: VCH, 1875-79), 3:311.
389. R. Evans and W. Jolley, "Stanley, St Andrew", ICBS07843, 1875-1877, Lambeth Palace Library.

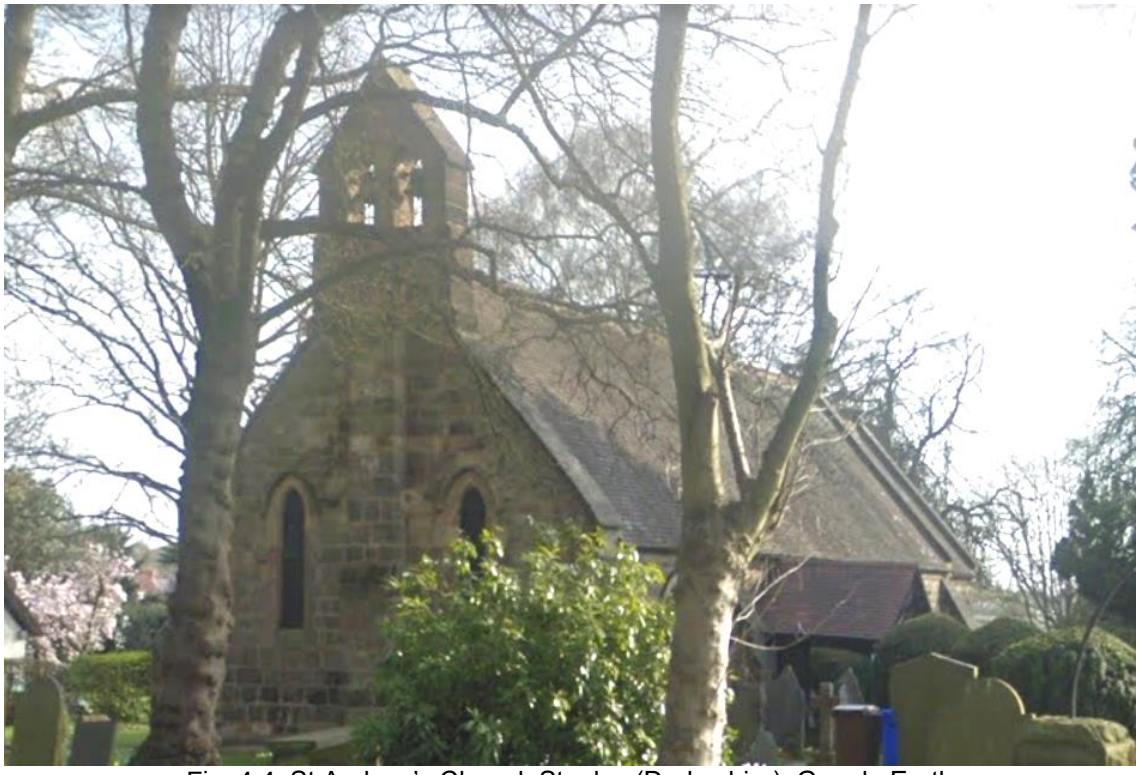

Fig. 4.4, St Andrew's Chapel, Stanley (Derbyshire), Google Earth

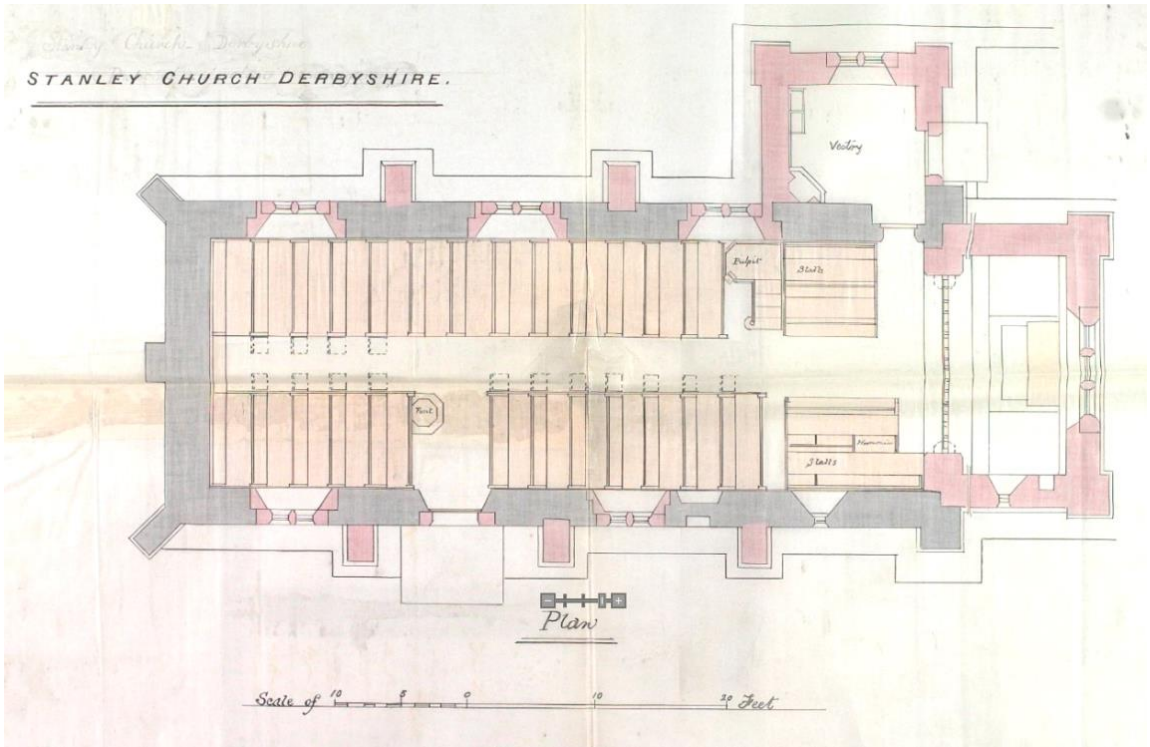

Fig. 4.5, St Andrew's Chapel Stanley, R. Evans and W. Jolley

From the tax records of 1291-92 we know that the monastic hospital at Burton Lazars, Leicester was the patron of the vicarage at Spondon (Derbyshire),

to which Stanley Chapel was attached.[390] Although the builders replaced most of its windows in the late nineteenth century, they left its earlier late twelfth to early thirteenth-century evidence of the nave's south wall. Just west of the chancel on the south side of the nave we see (i) the blocked remains of a round-headed arched priest's doorway, (ii) a single-light, splayed window which has an exterior chamfer and (iii) western buttresses also of the early thirteenth century (Fig.4.6).

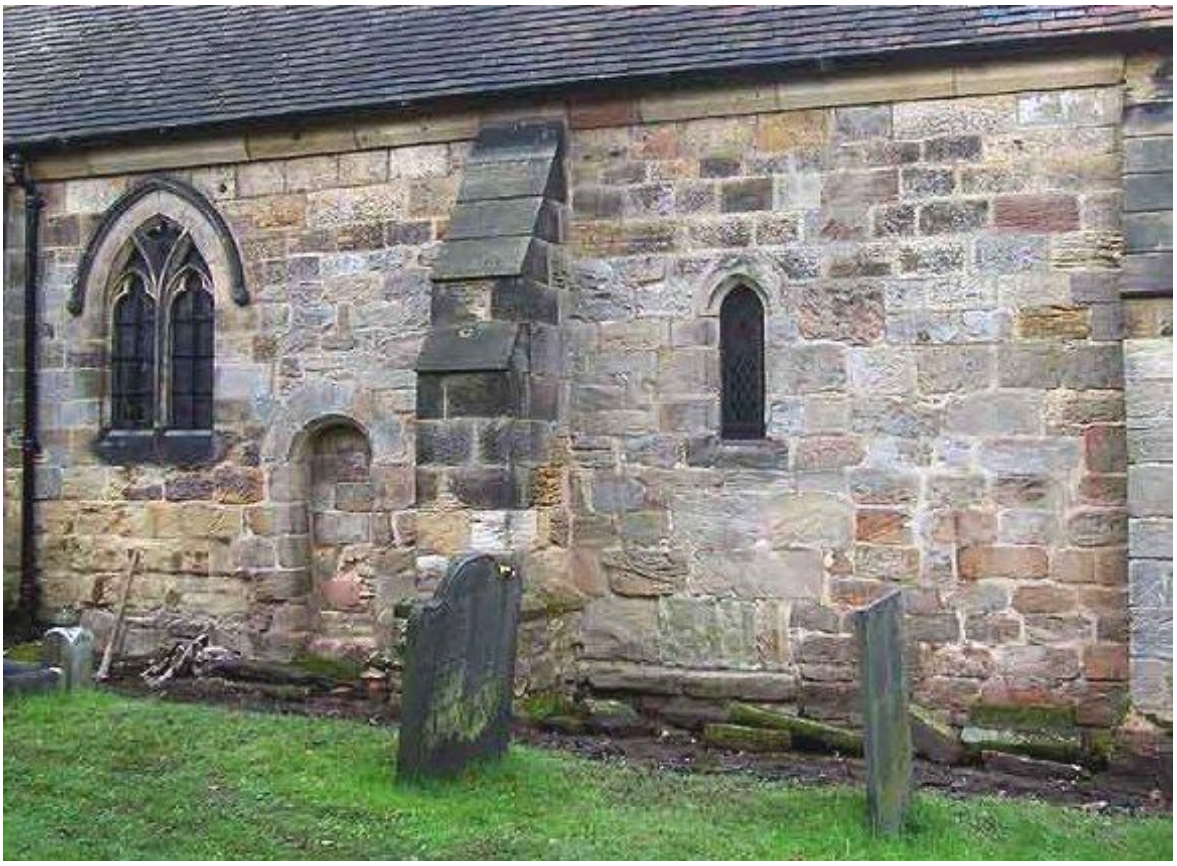

Fig. 4.6, St Andrew's Chapel Stanley, Garth Newton, photo.

Its west bellcote (although modern) suggests the position of an earlier one, and possible burial privileges from its origin. The original northwest and southwest buttressesare set at forty-five degrees to support the structure from motion in that direction. The western windows are also narrow and set on either side of the

390. "Benefice of Spondon," *Taxatio*, accessed February 16, 2019, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CL.DE.DE.14

central buttress. This reinforced west end is reminiscent of the churches like Ellerburn (Yorkshire), and Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) as discussed at the end of Chapter 2. I suggest that this arrangement indicates a western structuring which is designed to support the motion of bells. Stanley Chapel continues the basic form for freestanding chapels which might have had western bells along with its single southern doorway.

(iii) Chillington (Somerset)

We see another typical example at the late thirteenth-century chapel at Chillington, which was originally a two-celled chapel (Fig. 4.7). The building retained much of its original form until the early twentieth century when its patron made major changes to its design. William D. Caroe drew a reliable ground plan in 1909-1911 showing the intended structural changes (Fig. 4.8).[391]

Fig. 4.7, St James, Chillington (Somerset)photo of M. A. and G. S. Linton available at www.medievalmosaic.com

391. W. D. Caroe, “Chillington, St James”, ICBS12880a, 1909-1911, Lambeth Palace Library.

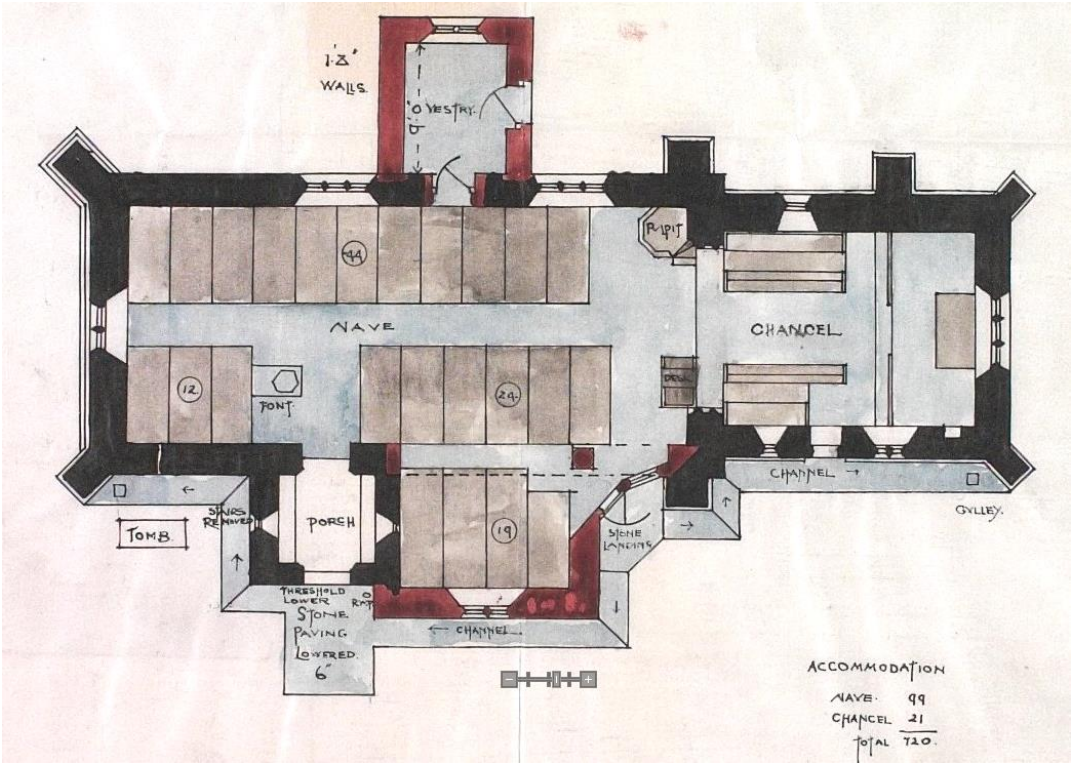

Fig. 4.8, St James Chillington (Somerset)

The twentieth-century builders added a north doorway to a new vestry and they also built a south aisle organ chamber by removing part of the original southern nave wall. Despite these modern alterations they left much of the church as it was originally, including the south doorway, its fourteenth-century porch, and the southern priest's doorway.[392]

The chapel was a dependency of South Petherton, whose patrons were the Augustinian Canons at Bruton Priory.[393] The rector of South Petherton dedicated a burial ground at Chillington in 1494 and this was perhaps the moment when the western bellcote was added and its function was elevated, perhaps to a parochial chapel. Nonetheless, it remained a dependent chapel until the end of the Middle Ages, retaining a single nave southern doorway.

392. A. P. Baggs and R. J. E. Bush, "Parishes: Chillington," in R. W. Dunning, ed. *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 4* (London: VCH, 1978), 128-33.
393."Benefice of South Petherton," *Taxatio*, accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.TA.CR.02

(iv) Rochester Bridge Chapel (Kent)

The Bridge Chapel at Rochester is a common form of locational, freestanding chapel common in later medieval England (Fig. 4.9).Bridge chapels were popular in the later Middle Ages and there were as many as 250 in the UK. Few, however, now remain. The Rochester Bridge chapel is a small, single-celled structure with only a western doorway. The Rochester Bridge Trust produced a ground plan for the Bridge Chapel in 1937 (Fig. 4.10).[394]

Fig. 4.9, Rochester Bridge Chapel (Kent) Location, Google Earth
Yellow arrow indicates North

Many of these chapels were built immediately beside a bridge such as the Wakefield Bridge Chapel (Yorkshire) 1342 x 1356 or literally on the bridge like at St Ives Bridge Chapel (Cambridgeshire). Rochester is a variant as it is about fifty meters from the modern-day bridge. As the river has a great tidal range of seven meters the patron built the chapel on the east bank but secure from possible flooding or other damage.

394. Anonymous, “The Bridge Chapel at Rochester,” *The Rochester Bridge Trust*, accessed March 2, 2019, https://rbt.org.uk/about-us/the-bridge-chapel/.

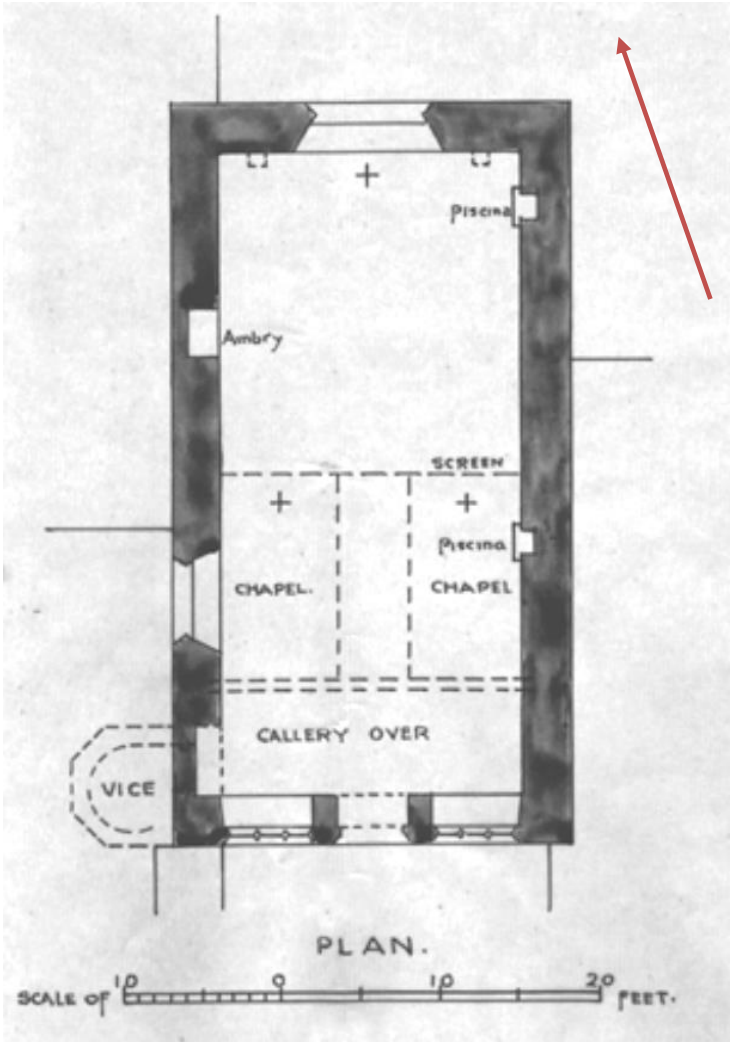

Fig. 4.10, Rochester Bridge Chapel (Kent)Plan c/o The Rochester Bridge Trust
Arrow indicating east

We know from the surviving land transfer conveyance of 1 April 1393 that Sir John de Cobham built the chapel in 1393. Richard II granted the patron a license to

> "found a chantry chapel of three chaplains to celebrate divine service daily in a chapel to be constructed by him at the end of the bridge, the chaplains aforesaid to be supported from the revenues of the [endowed] lands."[395]

Sue Threader argues that the patron probably intended the chapel for use as a public bridge chapel first, and then as a chantry second, as he had built Cobham

395. Sue Threader, *Rochester Bridge Chapel* (Rochester: 2019), 1-11.

Church and endowed a college there and Cobham is the location of many family burials.[396]

It had two piscinae, both on the south wall, as expected, with a screen dividing the chancel from the nave. It had no bells, and no yard. I suggest that the absence of bells allowed Cobham to insert a large upper level western window without fear of structural damage (Fig. 4.11).

The great height at which they positioned the western window still provides light to the first level western gallery. Although these bridge chapels are unusual structures today they were common in medieval England.

Fig. 4.11, Rochester Bridge Chapel (Kent), liturgically west doorway, Google Earth

396. Threader, 3.

They offered travellers the chance to attend mass or to pray for a safe journey. Travellers were also reassured of safe travels by seeing a picture of St Christopher, the patron saint of travellers, likely painted on the nave wall opposite the entrance. These bridge chapels were small structures by necessity as their patrons built them in confined spaces. Due to their size it is not surprising that they typically had a single doorway. However, as we see at Rochester, some bridge chapels were merely near, not on, the bridge; further entrances may thus have been spatially feasible.

These four cases – Dode, Stanley, Chillington and Rochester – are good examples of typical chapels built in the Middle Ages. It is true that some had more than one doorway as I discuss in the next section. The two-celled, larger buildings might have been higher status chapels that had acquired many ritual privileges normally held by the parish church.[397] However, as suggested previously, the evidence overwhelmingly suggests that the majority of those buildings originally constructed as chapels, and which remain as such by the end of the Middle Ages, typically had a single doorway.

4.3. Chapels Which Became Parochial Chapels or Parish Churches in the Middle Ages

I located sixteen chapels for this section. As the summary below indicates, these chapels differ greatly from those of the preceding section. The buildings usually had two or more cells, two or more doorways, and sometimes very high-status patrons. The oldest of the chapels was built late in the mid-eleventh century and the last one was completed by the early sixteenth. One of the arguments in this thesis is that doorways are a feature of status and function. I suggest that this

397. Thomas, 52-54.

is an important feature especially for local chapels which might originally have been of low status but whose patrons or communities petitioned their bishops for further privileges and marked their success in so doing by architecturally augmenting the building.

Summary of Chapels which had become Parochial Chapels or Parish Churches by the end of the Middle Ages

Location	Doorways	Date	Bells
Barrow (Shropshire)	N, S, W	Mid 11th c.	High status patron, Prior of Wenlock W tower,
North Elmham (Norfolk)	N, S, W	*c*. 1071	High status patron, Bishop of massive W tower, two flanking chancel towers
Brook (Kent)	N, S, W	Late 11th c. Rectory 1414	High status patron, Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury
Cassington (Oxfordshire)	N, S	1123	Central bell tower
Postling (Kent)	S, W	Late 11th c. Second Doorway 13th c.	13th c. bell tower
Leper Chapel (Cambridgeshire)	N, S	*c*. 1130	W bellcote
Adel (Yorkshire)	S	1140 x 1150	W bellcote
Paddlesworth near Snodland (Kent)	N	Mid 12th c.	No bells
East Wittering (West Sussex)	N, S	Mid 12th c. Second Doorway 13th c.	W bell turret
Lower Sapey (Worcestershire)	N, S	Early 12th c. Second Doorway c. 1150	W bellcote

Paddlesworth (near Folkstone, Kent)	N, S	Early 12th c. Second Doorway later 12th c.	W bellcote
Womenswold (Kent)	S, W	1225	W tower
Noseley (Leicestershire)	N, S, W	1274 x 1303	NE Tower
Trottiscliffe (Kent)	S	Rectory 1332	SW tower
King's Lynn St Nicholas (Norfolk)	N, S, W, W	1371 x 1419	SW tower
Seavington (Somerset)	N, S, W	c. 1500	W tower c. 1500

Doorway Position Summary

One Doorway	North and South Doorways	North and West or South and West Doorways	North, South and West Doorways
3	5	2	6

The evidence from the small sample suggests that chapels which became parish churches or parochial chapels tended to have more than one nave doorway. Of the sixteen buildings in this section, thirteen (81%) have more than one doorway. This pattern appears to be similar to that of the parish churches of the later Middle Ages analysed in the previous two chapters. I suggest that when some chapels gained certain privileges a second nave doorway was inserted. I present three of these chapels as case studies as examples of the pattern I have found.Two of themthat were promoted to parish churches acquired a second nave doorway at the time of their elevation. The other building began as a chapel but probably acquired additional functions which elevated it to a parochial chapel by the end of the Middle Ages, giving it almost the same privileges as a parish

church. Common to all of these buildings is that they tended to have more than one nave doorway.

(i) East Wittering (West Sussex)

East Wittering is an example of an early twelfth-century chapel that was elevated to parochial status in the thirteenth century. The church is a simple two-celled building. W. D. Peckham drew its plan in 1937 (Fig. 4.12).[398]

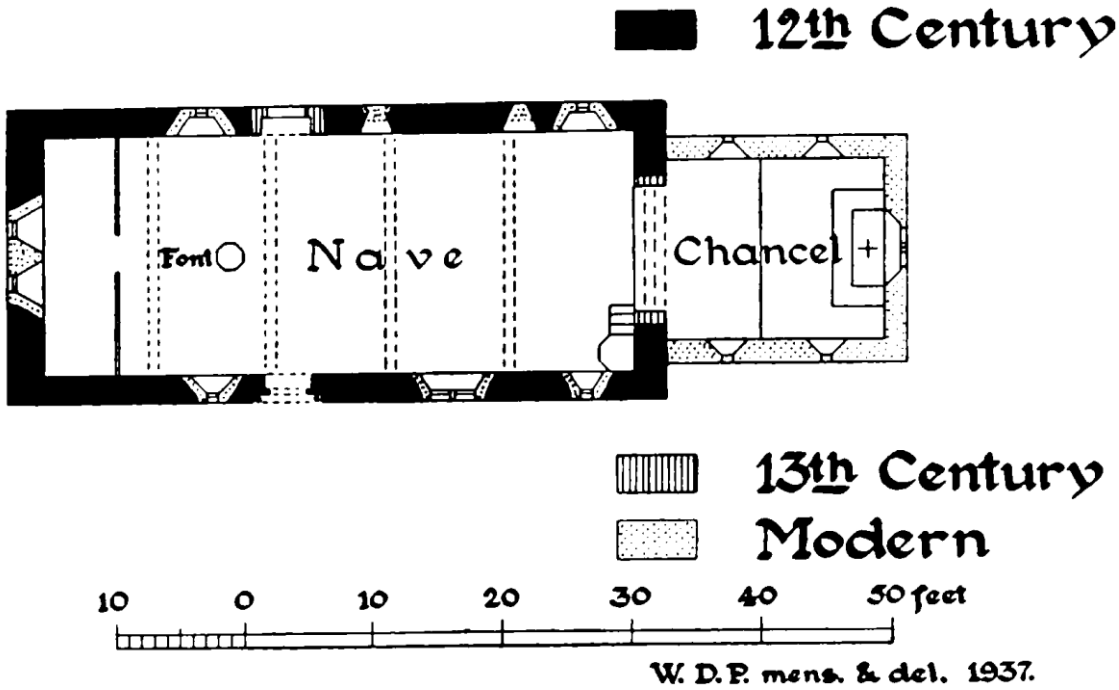

Fig. 4.12, East Wittering (West Sussex), Plan after W. D. Peckham

The church originally had a single doorway on the south side. Kathryn Morrison dates the nave to the later twelfth century on account of the style of carving at that doorway (Fig. 4.13).[399] She states that the inner points of the chevron motif order are similar to the late twelfth-century carving at Chichester cathedral and the nearby church of North Marden (West Sussex) which also date

398. Louis F. Salzman. ed., "East Wittering," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester* (London: VCH, 1953), 215-17.
399. Kathryn Morrison,"The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, East Wittering, Sussex," *CRSBI*, accessed June 4, 2021, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=13567.

to the end of that century. The nave's north windows, east of the northern doorway, are also splayed and have simple semi-circular arches, indicating its twelfth-century style.[400]

At the end of the twelfth century, we know that Oliver de Wystringes held the manor. A record of 1196 x 1204 survives which confirms that he gave the church, house and chaplain's croft to the establishment of Chichester Cathedral.[401]

Fig. 4.13, East Wittering, South Doorway

400. Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 216-17.
401. Henry Mayr-Harting, ed., *The Acta of the bishops of Chichester, 1075-1207* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1964), 152-53.

We know little of the chapel during the ninety years from Oliver's donation until Pope Nicholas IV's tax assessment. But by 1291the Dean of Chichester held the advowson for the rectory valued at £5.[402] The patrons altered the chapel sometime after the grant but before 1291 as they rebuilt the chancel and inserted the northern two-centred arch doorway into the nave (Figs. 4.14, 4.15, and 4.16).[403] Both the chancel arch and northern doorway indicate a thirteenth-century style (Fig. 4.17).[404] We know that the chapel remained a rectory by the English Reformation as this is confirmed in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.[405]

It is very clear that the north doorway is plainer than the southern one but it is twenty-three centimetres taller and two and a half centimetres wider. This variation might be due to the nature of the two-centred archway which naturally gives greater height. It is probable that the southern doorway remained the principal entrance from and after the thirteenth century. After all it had been the original sole doorway, probably faced the medieval community, and is much more embellished than the northern one.

26. Louis F. Salzman, ed., "East Wittering," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester* (London: VCH, 1953), 215-17.
403."East Wittering – The Assumption," *Sussex Parish Churches*, accessed May 4, 2020, https://sussexparishchurches.org/church/east-wittering-the-assumption/.
404. Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex,* 216-17.
405. East Wittering is a rectory by 1538 according to *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 1, 309.

Fig. 4.14, East Wittering, north doorway

Fig. 4.15, East Wittering, north doorway interior and blocked north window. Image courtesy of *CRSBI*

If there had been a link between the manor and the original chapel then the southern doorway would probably face the manor. Inserting the northern doorway for the lord would be illogical if the original southern doorway faced the residence. Also, burials are to the south and east of the church.The evidence is very clear that the northern nave doorway was added after the chapel's change in status in the thirteenth century. This would appear to indicate that a second nave doorway was associated in some way with its newly acquired parochial status.

Fig. 4.16, East Wittering, north nave qall and blocked doorway.
YouTube Sims Williams Estate Agents
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71iZrZ0FD3M

Fig. 4.17, East Wittering, chancel arch.
YouTube Sims Williams Estate Agents
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71iZrZ0FD3M

(ii) Womenswold (Kent)

The chapel of St Margaret, Womenswold (Kent), has an unusual functional history. It was originally a two-celled building but in the thirteenth century the patron added the tower and extended the chancel. Ewen Christian drew a ground plan prior to his restoration work in 1869-70 (Fig. 4.18).[406]

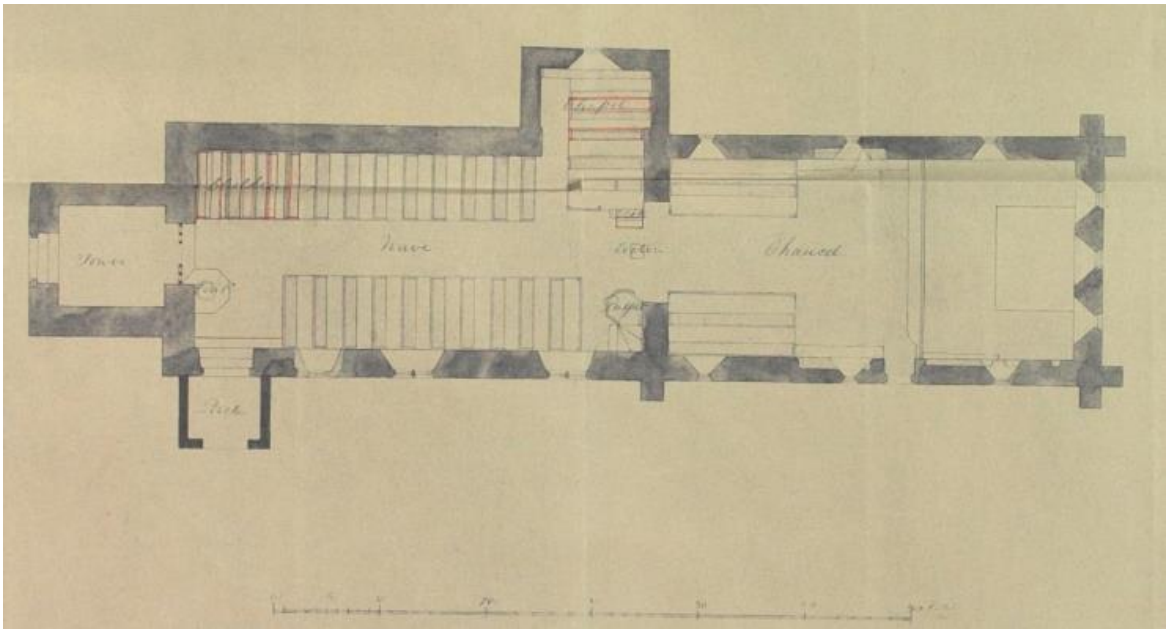

Fig. 4.18, St Margaret, Womenswold (Kent) Plan, Ewen Christian

Tim Tatton-Brown dates Womenswold generally to the twelfth century on account of its coursed flint-work and western quoins.[407] The chapel probably had an original, single nave doorway on the south side similar to the pattern for twelfth-century chapels-of-ease. In 1286, Wingham College acquired Womenswold, and gave it parochial status.[408] At this time the College and, or perhaps the community at Womenswold, partially rebuilt the chapel. A western bell-tower with doorway was added (Fig. 4.19), the southern doorway was rebuilt with a pointed arch (Fig. 4.20), its chancel was extended and thirteenth-century styled windows inserted.

406. Ewen Christian, ICBS07009, 1869-70, Lambeth Palace Library.
407. "St Margaret Church, Womenswold," *TTB Survey*, accessed June 8, 2020, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/WOM.htm.
408. Ibid.

Fig. 4.19, Womenswold, west doorway

Fig. 4.20, Womenswold, south doorway

The college once again changed its function shortly thereafter, demoting it to a chapel and making it a dependent of the parish church at Nonnington (Kent), which was how it remained to the end of the Middle Ages.[409]

Womenswold differs from other twelfth-century chapels that were elevated to parish churches. In this case the patron did not add a northern doorway like at East Wittering but instead added one within a western bell tower. The western doorway is clearly more ornate than the southern one which is plain chamfered without stops. The western doorway has a hood mould with broach stops, chamfered jambs and springers but this time incised. The western doorway has more elaborate carving than the southern one and is fifteen centimetres taller and thirteen centimetres wider. Despite these variations in size and appearance the

409.William Page, ed., “Colleges: Wingham,” in *A History of the County of Kent: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1926), 233-35; “Womenswold,” *Taxatio*, accessed June 4, 2020, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.BR.01; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 1, 36.

southern doorway is the only one with a porch. The southern doorway faces the street and the churchyard is on the south side of the church. On the weight of this evidence I suggest that the southern doorway was probably the primary entrance for the community. Womenswold serves as another example that when chapels were elevated to parish status they required a second doorway.

(iii) St Nicholas Chapel, King's Lynn (Norfolk)

One's immediate impression upon seeing this chapel is that it has the samegrandeur of an abbey or cathedral (Figs. 4.21 and 4.22). St Nicholas, King's Lynn, is a very large building, almost as large as King's Lynn Priory, to which it was attached. Yet St Nicholas was only elevated to a parochial chapel in 1378.[410] It is a mere 630 meters from its mother church, King's Lynn Minster, and both were situated in a large medieval town with one of the most important English ports in the Middle Ages. Both churches are major structures and despite its chapel status, St Nicholas is no ordinary chapel, especially as it is clerestoried, has a tower, two large western doorways, north and south nave doorways and two chancel doorways. Birkin Haward produced a recent and reliable ground plan for the chapel (Fig. 4.23).[411] The plan indicates the presence of the building's western nave doorway as seen in Figure 4.21 but does not show the western tower door which is visible in Figure 4.27.

410. Elizabeth James and Michael Begley (revised by Adrian Parker and Elizabeth James), *St Nicholas' Chapel King's Lynn, Norfolk* (London: Churches Conservation Trust, 2000), 1-8.
411. Birkin Haward, *Suffolk Medieval Church Arcades 1150-1550* (Ipswich: Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, 1993), 412-13.

Fig. 4.21, King's Lynn Chapel (Norfolk) from the West

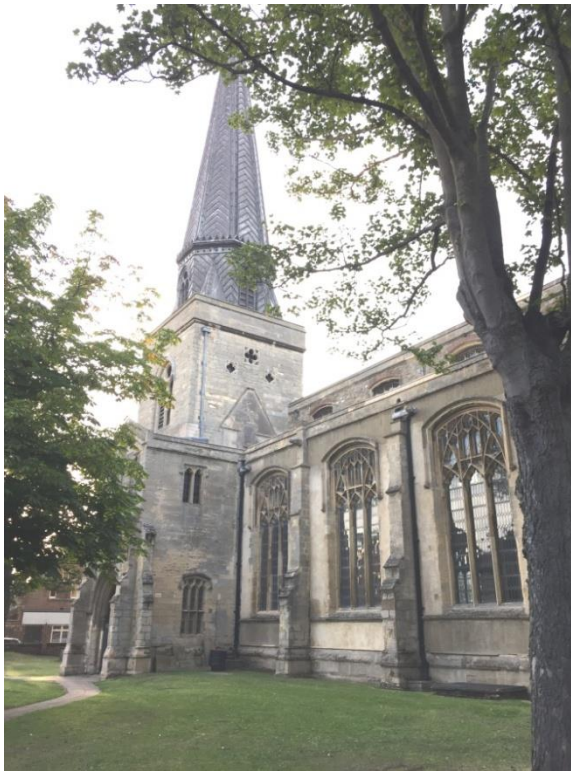

Fig. 4.22, King's Lynn Chapelfrom the Southeast

There was a previous chapel on this site built, circa 1200, and the present tower was completed twenty years later.[412] The late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century builders of the chapel included many wealthy merchants and trade guilds. They rebuilt that earlier thirteenth-century structure probably starting in 1371 and lasted until 1419. We know the earliest date as side chapels dedicated to Saints Edmund and Peter are recorded for that year.[413] There is a very ornate southern porch which has a room above (Fig. 4.24) and the southern doorway us within this grand porch (Fig, 4.25).

The chapel also has a northern doorway (Fig. 4.26). The southern nave doorway is twenty-five centimetres wider and twenty-five centimetres taller than the northern doorway which does not have a porch.

412. Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 2:North-West and South* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999), 468-70.
413. James and Begley, *St Nicholas' Chapel*, 5.

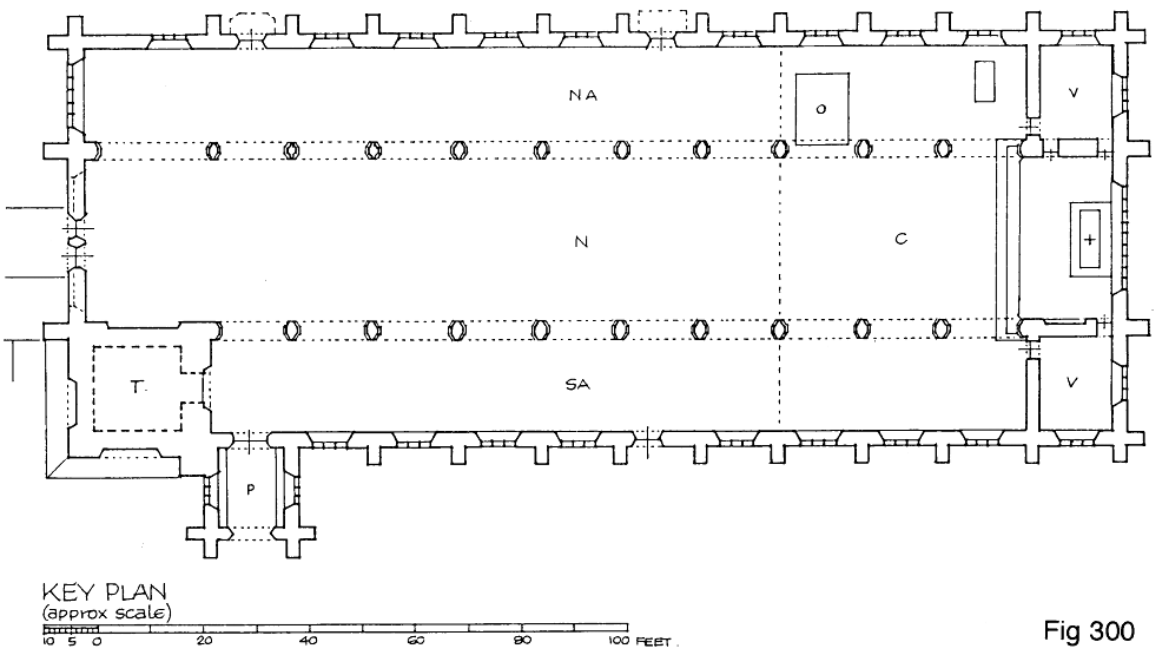

Fig. 4.23, St Nicholas King's Lynn (Norfolk), Birkin Haward

The chapel is also unusual as it has two western doorways (Fig. 4.27). The original western tower doorway is expected as this is the typical position for western tower doorways as we have seen in the previous chapters. The second doorway to the nave on its own is also not unexpected as the bells for the church were already positioned in the southwest tower. This arrangement allowed the builders to construct a very large glass facade with an equally grand entrance. I suggest that this design form of the perpendicular style reached its ultimate stage in the later years of the fifteenth century at King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

Fig. 4.24, King's Lynn Chapel south porch

Fig. 4.25, King's Lynn Chapel, south doorway

Fig. 4.26, King's Lynn Chapel, north doorway

Fig. 4.27, King's Lynn Chapel west doorways

I believe that King's Lynn chapel provides significant evidence for the importance of nave doorways with function and status. When the chapel was being built its chaplain, John Peye, petitioned for and received a bull from Pope Urban VI in 1378 granting the chapel permission to perform the sacraments of baptism marriage, and the churching of women. The chapel's construction went on for at least three years until in 1381 King's Lynn's mayor and others successfully challenged the bull as having been obtained though deception.[414] As the building campaign would have been uninterrupted for years it is probable that the foundations were built, the ground plan established and quite possibly its nave doorways were also built by this time. Ultimately in 1432, the Bishop of Norwich granted the chapel community's original request to celebrate these rites.[415] I

414. James and Begley, *St Nicholas' Chapel*, 4-5.
415. Ibid., 4-5.

suggest that the builders of King's Lynn Chapel originally constructed it in a form with the requisite number, and position, of nave doorways and anticipated the building, when designed, to function as a parochial chapel.

These case studies show that buildings which became parochial chapels or parish churches tended to have more than one nave doorway. I suggest that there is a strong link between multiple doorways and the status of these chapels and parish churches. Womenswold and East Wittering became rectories at the same time that their patrons expanded these buildings and inserted their second nave doorways. Moreover, it appears that King's Lynn was built specifically to serve as a parochial chapel which it eventually became after its legal battle with the local parish church of St Margaret's.

(iv) Possible Cases but Excluded due to Evidentiary Problems

Finding medieval English chapels that were elevated to parish churches or parochial chapels is a difficult task. In some cases the documentary evidence that exists confirms such a change in status and function. The problem is that the buildings that survive have been so significantly altered over the centuries that their doorway positions at the time of their elevated status are now not known. Furthermore, even when its fabric appears intact we cannot say with certainty, for example, that an extant, thirteenth-century doorway has been the only doorway in that position. Although the evidence might suggest that it was a new entrance, without archaeological excavation and physical evidence we cannot make such a conclusion. As we shall see, the church of St Hilda at Ellerburn (Yorkshire) illustrates the complexity and difficulty in finding concrete examples for this chapter.

The church of St Hilda, Ellerburn is a small two-celled building in a rural part of the North Riding of Yorkshire (Fig. 4.28). It is immediately evident that there is a blocked archway in the south nave wall. This was inserted in the fifteenth century as a single bay chapel. It was not part of an aisle that was later demolished. I present the building history below.

Fig. 4.28, St Hilda, Ellerburn (Yorkshire), from the south

St Hilda's is set about thirty-five metres to the north side of the Thornton Beck River which runs easterly at the bottom of a valley and flooding is a modern feature of the village (Fig. 4.29).[416]

There are no remains of a medieval village but as the river floods in the present time, it may be that the villagers lived on the north side of the river and north of the church where the land rises.

416. Alan Whitworth, *Thornton-le-Dale Through Time* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2012), 92.

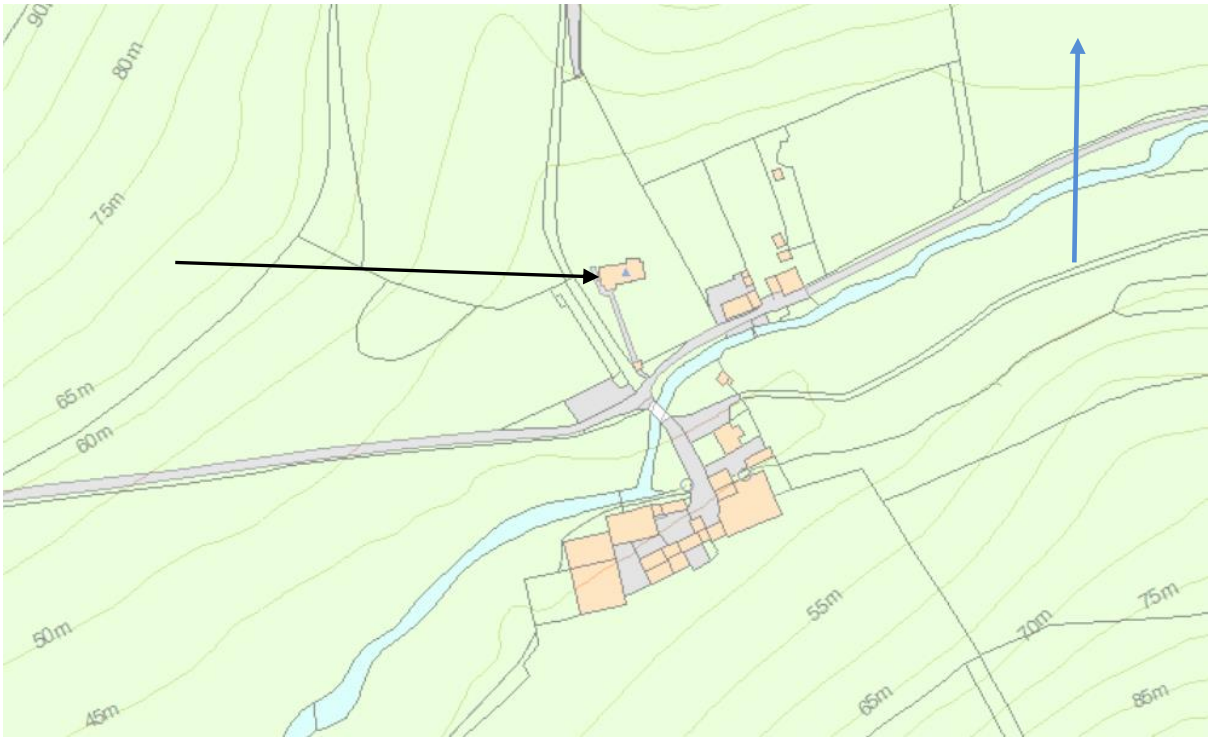

Fig. 4.29, Ellerburn, Black arrow indicating location of St Hilda's Church
Blue arrow indicating North
2018 Ordinance Survey, Listing Entry No. 1074194

Ellerburn is found in two references in Domesday. In 1066 it was under the lordship of Gospatric and by 1086 it had a small population of thirty villagers, held directly by King William.[417] On account of its small community, it is likely that St Hilda's may have been a chapel-of-ease when it was first built in the eleventh century. This early dating is based upon several features including its nave's blocked north doorway (Fig. 4.30). The fabric is roughly cut without any adornment and there is no evidence that there was any arch within the exterior of the doorway. Its north doorway also has some long and short work on the jamb of its lower east side. The chancel's north priest's doorway has similar fabric (Fig. 4.31) also without embellishment. Its segmental arch is composed of two stones with a slight curvature.

417. *DB*, Yorkshire folios 3 and 5.

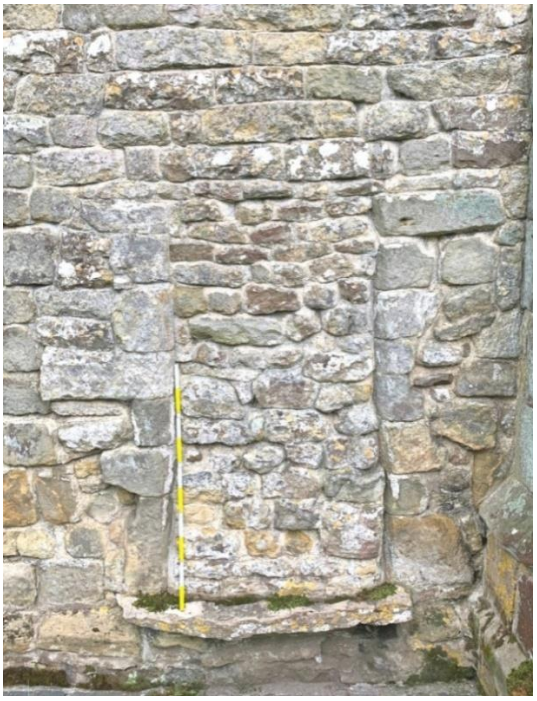

Fig. 4.30, Ellerburn, north doorway

Fig. 4.31, Chancel North Doorway. Image courtesy of Lionel Wall www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk

It is similar to the interior arch of the north doorway (Fig. 4.32) but it is possible that the head of the north chancel doorway may have been reused as part of the nineteenth-century restorations. Its very rough carving is plain and unadorned with possibly chamfered imposts. The arch has no voussiors and is made of two large stones to form the arch, which suggests early eleventh-century work. The chancel was rebuilt in the thirteenth century and it appears that earlier fabric was used in this arch (Figs. 4.33 and 4.34). At that time a splayed lancet window was also inserted in the south side of the chancel (Fig. 4.35).[418]

418. William Page, ed., "Parishes: Ellerburn," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1923), 437-40.

Fig. 4.32, Ellerburn North Doorway Interior Arch,
photo courtesy of www.britainexpress.com

Fig. 4.33, Ellerburn, chancel arch,
image courtesy of Lionel Wall
www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk

Fig. 4.34, Ellerburn, chancel arch, image courtesy of Lionel Wall www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk

The church also has evidence of a semi-circular, arched, eleventh-century blocked south window in the chancel (Fig. 4.35) as well as some side-alternate work on the southwest corner of the nave (Fig. 4.36). The quoins on the southeast corner of the nave have some long and short work as well which suggests the earlier eleventh-century date (Fig. 4.28). The nave walls are also tall and its builders reused much older fabric in its nave's south wall (Figs. 4.37, 4.38 and 4.39).

Fig. 4.35, Ellerburn, Blocked Window, chancel south wall.
Image courtesy of Lionel Wall,
www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk

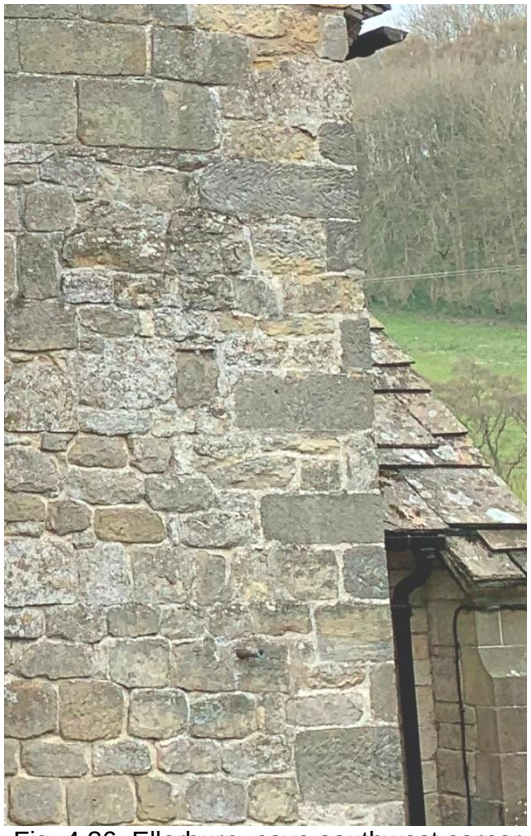

Fig. 4.36, Ellerburn, nave southwest corner

Fig. 4.37, Ellerburn, nave wall south side

Fig. 4.38, Ellerburn, nave south wall

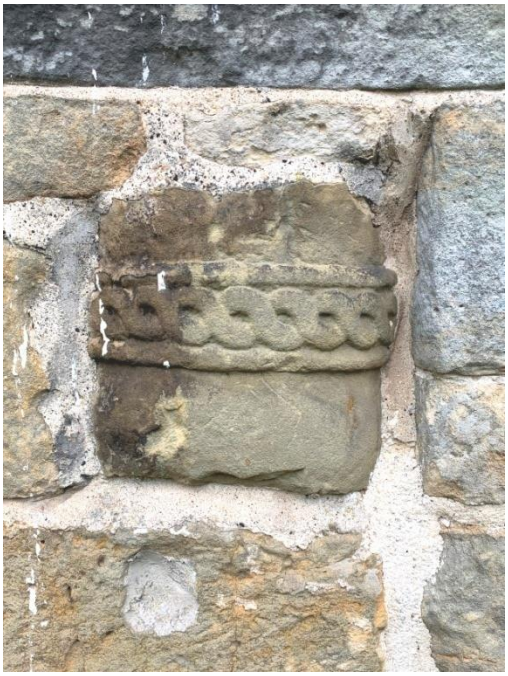

Fig. 4.39, Ellerburn, nave south wall

A second nave doorway was added to the chapel perhaps in the thirteenth century (Fig. 4.40). The doorway is simple in design with plain chamfered moulding and arch which suggests the later thirteenth-century dating.

Fig. 4.40, Ellerburn, south doorway

The inner arch is composed of two very large quarter-circle stones meeting at the centre of the arch. The outer arch is made up of simple moulded and chamfered voussoirs that spring from crudely placed stones rather than imposts. Comparing the two doorways, it is clear that the southern one is both more ornate in design and is a much larger entrance. The southern one is 117 centimetres wide by 234 centimetres tall compared to the northern door which is only 79 centimetres wide and 178 tall.

When the vicarage of Pickering (Yorkshire), four kilometres to the west, was ordained in 1252, one of its responsibilities was to designate a chaplain for

Ellerburn.[419] The Archbishop of York held the advowson for Pickering and Ellerburn. In Pope Nicholas IV's tax levy of 1291-92, Ellerburn is named a vicarage and not a chapel, with the Dean of York its patron.[420] In the fifteenth century Ellerburn was altered again. A chapel, perhaps a chantry, was built on the south side of the nave, only to be removed at a later date. The vestiges of its arch are still visible from within and outside the building (Fig. 4.28). At that time buttresses were added to the west end of the church, two on either side of the western window and one on the northwest corner of the nave, set off at a forty-five degree angle (Fig. 4.41).[421]

Fig. 4.41, Ellerburn, west nave wall

I suggest the massive buttresses at the west end must have been built to support the motion of the bells at that end of the church. The bellcote that is seen today is a modern addition. A previous stone structure, or possibly even one made of wood, was probably found here at the west end of the nave. Finally, its change

419. Page, "Parishes: Ellerburn," 437-40.
420. "Benefice of Ellerburn," *Taxatio*, accessed September 10, 2021, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.YK.YK.38.
421. Page, "Parishes: Ellerburn," 437-40.

in status to vicarage is also found in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. It is interesting to notice that its value in 1535 was £7 4s 8d, not too much lower than the nearby church at Pickering whose value was £8 3s 8d, whose church had appointed the chaplain in the earlier part of the thirteenth century.[422]

My research has not found any academic writing on the date of the southern doorway. On account of its plain chamfered carving, it is possible the southern doorway was inserted in the second half of the thirteenth century after Pickering appointed Ellerburn's chaplain but before the tax assessment of 1291. If this is the case then the chapel may have acquired further status and function as a parochial chapel or possibly a parish church. If the doorway was inserted as part of the much larger fifteenth-century alterations, which included the southern, perhaps chantry, chapel, new eastern and western windows, then Ellerburn may at that time have become a parish church. It is also important to notice that the earlier chapel had a priest's doorway that faced north along with its original doorway. My research from the previous chapters on parish churches suggests a close link between the village location, the priest's doorway and the primary entrance for the local lay community.

Although one might say that there is ample evidence to propose that St Hilda's chapel was elevated to the status of a parish church by the end of the thirteenth century, it is not possible to make this suggestion. The problem with Ellerburn is that we cannot be certain that an earlier southern doorway did not exist. Archaeological excavations at the doorway and nave's southern wall might reveal the nature of the threshold fabric and nave wall's foundation that might indicate if an earlier doorway had existed in that location. But it is also possible

422. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 5:145.

that the thirteenth-century builders may have removed or destroyed evidence of an earlier doorway. Ultimately, my research leaves the question unanswered.

Other churches that also posed evidentiary problems include the churches at Little Hormead (Hertfordshire) and Rollestone (Wiltshire). Little Hormead has two nave doorways that appear to have been inserted at different times. The southern primary entrance with porch appears to be of the late eleventh or early twelfth century whereas the northern doorway is from the middle of the twelfth century (Figs. 4.42 and 4.43).

Fig. 4.42, Little Hormead, (Hertfordshire), south doorway

Fig. 4.43, Little Hormead, north doorway

It is smaller than the northern one and clearly less embellished. The documentary evidence is silent on its function but we do know it was a parish church by 1291-92. This raises the question of why its builders decided to add the second nave doorway at least fifty years later. Could it have been a chapel from its origin only to be given greater status and function as a parish church and therefore required a second nave doorway? Likewise, Rollestone was a rectory

from 1302 and not mentioned as a chapel, yet its doorways are certainly from different periods. The southern doorway appears to be early thirteenth-century as it is of a two-centred arch form with square-edged stones without imposts (Figs. 4.44 and 4.45).

Fig. 4.44, Rollestone (Wiltshire), south doorway

Fig. 4.45, Rollestone, north doorway

The northern doorway is more elaborate with chamfered edges and voussiors rising in a three-centred, or perhaps an obtuse arch. It is also larger. Again, why were northern doorways added to these churches long after the church was built? Why did the builders need to create this second doorway? Could both of these churches have been chapels from their origin? Without further documentary evidence I am not able to resolve these questions. As such, I cannot include either Little Hormead or Rollestone in this chapter as chapels which may

have become parish churches. They, like Ellerburn, reveal some of the problems encountered whilst researching the chapels in this chapter.

4.4. Conclusion

I devoted a chapter to freestanding chapels of ease and parochial chapels in order to emphasise the importance of church doorways as an attribute of a religious building's function and status. It is clear that the lowest status of church, the 'field church' referred to in the 1014 Promotion Law, perhaps the chapel-of-ease, was ubiquitous throughout medieval England. These chapels typically had a single nave doorway and had a limited function determined by the bishop. In the cases when chapels gained parochial status we see that the builders adapted the original building by adding in most instances a second nave doorway. The cases of Womenswold and East Wittering are examples of this elevation in status and function. There may be more such examples but it is rare that there is enough surviving documentary evidence to be sure. Churches like Ellerburn, Little Hormead and Rollestone might have been originally chapels-of-ease and then elevated to parish churches as they had second doorways inserted well after the church had been built. Unfortunately, without corroborating physical or documentary evidence one cannot make such assertions. It is clear that non-parochial chapels usually had a single doorway whilst parochial chapels and parish churches had two or more. Other very high-status chapels like Barrow, North Elmham and Brook, might have had a proto-parochial function despite being chapels, and these buildings tended to have two or more doorways. Ultimately, one of the fundamental questions of this thesis is to seek an understanding of why second doorways were so important to parish churches or parochial chapels, and

how they were used. Some answers are found in the following chapter on medieval liturgy.

Chapter 5: Liturgy

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have argued that from the seventh to tenth century churches tended to have a single nave doorway at the west end. This design changed at the end of the tenth century. From then on, local churches tended to have two nave doorways, which their builders usually placed in a north-south laterally opposing fashion. We see the start of a second change in local church doorway positioning in the thirteenth century. At that time, some local churches were built with three nave doorways, one at the west but still with two laterally opposing north and south doorways. This fashion continued with greater frequency in and after the fourteenth century, persisting until the early decades of the sixteenth century. In contrast, freestanding, non-parochial chapels, tended to retain their single doorway design throughout the Middle Ages. Their builders usually placed their sole entrance on the south side of the nave.

In Chapter 1, I indicated that many scholars have argued that the west ends of eleventh-century churches were probably used for the celebration of rituals and other ceremonies.[423] By no longer constructing the western doorway, their builders created a space within the church which was no longer disturbed by an entrance and pathway into and through the building. This may have had important consequences, especially in the smaller internal space of some local churches. That western zone may have acquired special significance or status, perhaps as a

423.Warwick Rodwell, David Parsons, Carolyn Cragoe, Helen Gittos and others, cited earlier in chapter 3.

location for rituals or for an altar, a font, or as a position for images or other sacred objects.[424]

There is no intention to argue that the parish church design emulated the architecture of the cathedral or great churches of England. Their forms are fundamentally different and they developed independently.[425] Diocesan legislation of the thirteenth century only mentioned what was essential in existing or yet to be built parish churches. Paul Barnwell writes the church required, among other features, a chancel, nave, and a "campanile (meaning any form of structure for holding bells, not necessarily a tower."[426] Still it is interesting to see a similar use of western space in the great churches and at the local level despite their differences in form. Also, there are some doorway features of the great churches that may likewise have influenced local church design. As my research shows, the parish church's southern doorway was usually larger and more embellished than its northern one, while it is often the case that the western doorway was the largest, and had the most ornate entrance, of the three. I analyse below the twelfth-century cathedral at Old Sarum and the thirteenth-century York Minster to notice similarities in their doorway positioning, their relation to the liturgy of the time and a possible impact on parish church doorway design separate and distinct from the form of the buildings themselves.

The chapter investigates the possible impact medieval liturgy had on doorway positioning in medieval English parochial churches and chapels. It is

424. Themes of the Seven Deadly Sins, Weighing of Souls, Doom and consecration crosses are often depicted on the west walls of local churches seen by the laity when they turn away from the east end and exit the church. See: Roger Roswell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 225-305.
425. Paul S. Barnwell, "Pre-Reformation Parish Churches, A Point of View," in *Built from Below: British Architecture and the Vernacular*, ed. Peter Guillery (London: Routledge, 2011), 34-35.
426. Ibid. 35.

important to recognise that the English liturgical texts which contain useful rubrics are mostly from 960 onwards.[427] At first glance this appears to be beneficial, as I am specifically looking for doorway changes in local churches in the hundred years from that date. However, as Helen Gittos states, the extant Anglo-Saxon liturgical texts that we do have were written for, and at, just a few cathedrals and monasteries mostly from the south of England. Not only do they not reflect possible practice throughout all of England but they are also particular to very special buildings: in almost all cases, high status churches.[428] In addition, although scholars have edited most of the pre-Conquest eleventh-century manuscripts, few written after the Conquest have been edited. This makes it more difficult to assess the post-Conquest evidence.

As many of these liturgical sources pertain to these great religious centres, we cannot be certain that their rubrics necessarily applied at the local level. Therefore is it possible to know from these eleventh-century liturgical sources, "what did the local priest actually do at his local church."[429] Answering these questions concerning church practice is difficult, especially at the turn of the eleventh century. As Richard Pfaff states, "Virtually no service-book evidence for the subject exists before the thirteenth century, and even from that period…there is not much."[430] Ordinals and Manuals gave the local priests their instructions for performing the daily office as well as other occasional rites like marriage, baptism

427. Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgucal Books of Anglo-Saxon England* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995); Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 5.
428. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 5-7.
429. 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. FrancescaTinti (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 63-82.
430. Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: a History* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 510.

and burial.[431] Without these texts as references, Pfaff writes that "there is no real way to understand what was practiced at the local level until well into the fourteenth century."[432]

Pfaff also cautions against an anachronistic interpolation from later edited sources. Late medieval practice may not necessarily be transferable to a much earlier period. We cannot dismiss the possibility that later writing might have continued an earlier tradition, but without corroborating contemporary evidence we cannot make any definitive conclusions.

Finally, even when we have clear rubrics for rituals at a particular local church doorway, we cannot be certain whether or not the clergy or people actually followed them. Moreover, Sven Helander further states that what may have been prescribed and taught to the parish priests at the cathedral, at least in fourteenth-century Sweden, may not have been necessarily practised at the local church.[433]

As Carol Symes indicates, what may have been instructed by the texts is not necessarily what may have been performed. She writes,

> Liturgy is the public work of a particular group of people, the shared performances that comes to define that group. By this definition, not every kind of liturgy propagated by clerical authorities was relevant to every community, or adopted by every community in a uniform manner.[434]

If Symes is correct, then we cannot be certain what, or how, rites were practiced at the local level, despite even finding a service book from such a local church. Local church architecture may also not have conformed to the liturgical texts we have for

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431. Nigel Morgan, "Books for the liturgy and private prayer," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 2, eds. Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 303.
432. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 64.
433. SvenHelander, "The Liturgical Profile of the Parish Church in Medieval Sweden," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas J. Hefferenan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), 129-66.
434. Carol Symes, "Liturgical texts and Performance Practices," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, eds. Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (London: Routledge, 2016), 260.

the great churches which may have compelled adaptation at the local level. My research found that the Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday rituals have rubrics for nave doorways which are particularly suggestive. The liturgical evidence for these rituals pertains to the cathedrals but in some cases there are explicit rubrics that relate to parish churches. To understand better the source of the parish practice it is important to know what the liturgical sources indicate about these three cathedral rituals and the form of their buildings.

5.2. English Medieval Liturgy With Specific Doorway Rubrics

(a) Introduction

In this section, I link the extant Sarum and York liturgical sources with the cathedral architecture for which they each were written. The first objective is to identify doorway rubrics in the Sarum and York sources. Then it is to analyse the location of the nave doorways at each of their respective cathedrals for the time that these liturgical texts were written. A purpose of the present section is to determine if the cathedrals of Old Sarum and York also had a similar variation in their doorways. If they did, was this in any way similar with the evidence of the parish church?

A further objective is to determine whether there is any similarity in the doorway rubrics between Old Sarum and York for the same rituals. For example, was Ash Wednesday celebrated at the same doorways at both cathedrals? Or were their external nave doorway rubrics different, in part, because of a difference in their respective architecture? If they were similar, did this have an impact on the practice at the parish church? Moreover, I will also analyse the physical attributes of the nave doorways at each cathedral from the archaeological evidence that survives. The reason for this is to seek a broader context to link the cathedral to its

landscape and to ascertain whether there might be similarities or differences between each building's doorways relative to the other. It is also important to find reasons for the usually greater dimensions and embellishment of southern doorways in parish churches when compared with northern ones. It is also understood that identifying rubrics in medieval liturgical writing does not necessarily mean that they were followed as written but the texts may have had an impact on parish church doorway dimensions and attributes.

I began my research with an examination of the extant, edited liturgical sources searching for evidence of doorway rubrics. Some unedited manuscripts were also reviewed but this was not done exhaustively. Still, with my reliance on the edited texts and a few original unedited manuscripts I was able to find some helpful evidence. In order to interpret this evidence I need to understand how the rubrics were used in the cathedrals for which they were written and the architecture in which they were performed. This is relevant, as there is some evidence within the manuscripts that may be related to parish churches.

I present my findings of these sources in the following section. I first investigate the liturgical evidence and then examine the design and form of the cathedrals at Old Sarum and York from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. I analyse the Sarum and York cathedrals of that period as I am comparing these buildings with each of their contemporary liturgical texts. Afterward, I trace their architectural history to provide the contemporary architectural context for the doorway rubrics for the Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday celebrations.

(b) The Liturgical Sources

The Use of Sarum is the most important liturgical source we have for understanding what and how priests celebrated rites at English local churches

from the thirteenth century onwards. The ‘Use of Sarum’ describes the aggregate of many liturgical texts that formed a ritual practice originating at Salisbury in, and after, the thirteenth century. We have numerous Sarum books, including, among others: an ordinal, manual, customary, tonal, breviary, missal, calendar, and sanctorale. Richard Pfaff states the Sarum liturgy was substantially completed by the latter decades of the thirteenth century.[435] The earliest of the extant sources is the Old Customary from the Old Register found in MS Chippenham, Wiltshire &Swindon Archives, D1/1/1, possibly copied by 1220.[436] This text may be the oldest of the extant Sarum Customary sources; its doorway rubrics pertain to processions at the old eleventh and twelfth-century Cathedral.

A second important liturgical manuscript from Old Sarum that specifically mentions doorways is British Library MS Harley 1001. This text provides the earliest evidence for doorway rubrics, written specifically for the cathedral but which, very importantly for my research, also has a specific provision for use in a parish church. John Hackney recently transcribed parts of MS Harley 1001, which is a part of the Sarum Ordinal.[437] This manuscript is an early fourteenth-century copy of the Missa Temporale that was owned by St Giles’ Church in Risby (Suffolk). John Harper states that a succentor of Salisbury Cathedral in 1279 added written comments on parts of its exemplar to help date this text.[438]

It is interesting to note that the church where this text was found is a two-celled church with north and south doorways and a round west tower. We cannot

435. Pfaff, *The Liturgy In Medieval England*, 375-86.
436. John Harper, *Sarum Customary Online, Part of the Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church*, January 22, 2020, www.sarumcustomary.org.uk; Diana Greenway, *Saint Osmund: Bishop of Salisbury 1078-1099, and founder of the Cathedral at Old Sarum* (Much Wenlock: RJL Smith & Associates, 1999); Pfaff, *The Liturgy In Medieval England,* 365-85.
437. John A. Hackney, *Ordinale Sarisburiense, A Transliteration of BL Harley 1001 Folios 1R – 116V, Fascicule III Folios 84R – 110V, De Missa: Temporale* (Atlanta: 2017).
438. John Harper, email message to author, February 1 and 2, 2021.

be certain that MS Harley 1001 was used at Risby but it certainly could have been. Risby became a rectory in 1310. At the time, its patron, the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds carried out extensive early fourteenth-century renovations which included altering or inserting a new north doorway, new chancel, north chapel, north and south chancel doorways, piscina and sedilia and several windows. I suggest that these significant alterations gave Risby an enhanced presence in its community and a possible new function as well. Perhaps the Abbot gave this text to the new redesigned church, where it then remained.

A third important source for this chapter is the York Missal. George Henderson formed his 1874 edition of the York Missal by collating five early sixteenth-century printed editions, dated from 1509 to 1533. These printed texts are based upon seven extant manuscripts. He named these MSS A through G.[439] The earliest of the folios (1-52) in MS A (now John Rylands Univ. Lib., lat. 186) are its Calendar, and followed by the Collects, Secrets and Post-communions for the Temporale of the year which Richard Pfaff dates to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, just after 1226.[440] Henderson did not date his B and F manuscripts, which are York Minster Library's MS XVI.A.9 and XVI.I.3 respectively. His MS C, now referred to as Oxford, University College MS 78B is from the mid fourteenth century.[441] His D source is MS Sidney Sussex 33, dated 1460 x 1480.[442] The E text was written for Richard Fitzwilliam around 1470 and MS G, is Stonyhurst College MS 3 also from the late fourteenth

439. George W. Henderson, *Missale ad Usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, vol. 1 (Durham: 1874), v-xiii.
440. Henderson, *Eboracensis*, vii; Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 451.
441. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 450
442. Montague R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: CUP, 1895), 16.

century.[443]Henderson's manuscript sources predate the earliest printed versions of the text. The earliest one is Bodleian, Gough, 21.[444] Matthew Cheung Salisbury alerts us to the problems of relying on Henderson's 150 year old edition of the missal and has worked to broaden our understanding of the York Breviary.[445] Nevertheless, Pfaff writes that Henderson "conducted an amazingly thorough search"[446] and that he continues to be a source for understanding the York Missal.

(c) The Cathedrals at Old Sarum and York

As these liturgical texts were written for use at cathedrals, we need to know about the design and development of the old Cathedrals at Sarum and York to understand the link between these liturgical texts within their architecture. I consider this to be important as these early thirteenth-century sources apply to buildings that were quite similar in design, as I will demonstrate below. I am not considering Bishop Richard Poore's new, mid-thirteenth-century cathedral at Salisbury, which had a greatly different design and form compared to the twelfth to early thirteenth-century cathedral at Old Sarum. I exclude it on account that Poore's new cathedral postdates both of the Sarum texts, MS Chippenham Wiltshire &Swindon Archives D1/1/1 and MS Harley 1001. As I present below, these previously mentioned liturgical texts- MS Chippenham, Wiltshire &Swindon Archives, D1/1/1, Harley MS 1001 and Henderson's York Missal's MSS A through G- show a similar use of their doorways within similarly designed buildings in the

443. Peter Carlson, Associate Professor, Religion, California Lutheran University, email message to author, September 14, 2021, "Based on the fairly straightforward gothic hand and the provenances in the flyleaves, I believe it is datable to the (late) fourteenth century."
444. Henderson, *Eboracensis*, v-xiii.
445. Matthew C. Salisbury, *The Use of York: Characteristics of the Medieval Liturgical Office in York* (York: Borthwick Institute, 2008), 7-13.
446. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 451.

celebration of three major liturgical rituals of this time. For this reason it is important to understand the architecture of these buildings.

(c.1) The Old Sarum Cathedrals

At Old Sarum, the Society of Antiquaries, under the guidance of William St John Hope, carried out excavations at the old cathedral and Sarum site from 1909-15. Duncan H. Montgomerie, a member of the archaeological team, produced a plan which shows the original church with the additions of the twelfth and thirteenth century.[447] I present first his larger scale plan to show the relation of the church to the adjacent buildings and curtain wall within the northwest quadrant of Old Sarum and then enlarged plans of the eleventh and twelfth-century cathedrals for greater detail (Fig. 5.1).[448]

Bishop Osmund built the eleventh-century cathedral in 1075-8.[449] St John Hope's archaeological report outlines Osmund's church but he does not identify its doorway positions. However, he does provide ample evidence of Bishop Roger's early twelfth-century church (Fig. 5.2).[450]

Bishop Roger rebuilt the church with two large north and south transepts and extended the east end to create a large choir within the central crossing tower. By 1125 the church had a south transept doorway leading to the choir (Fig. 5.3).[451] I highlight this transept doorway as York Minster has a similar design as I show below in subsection (b).

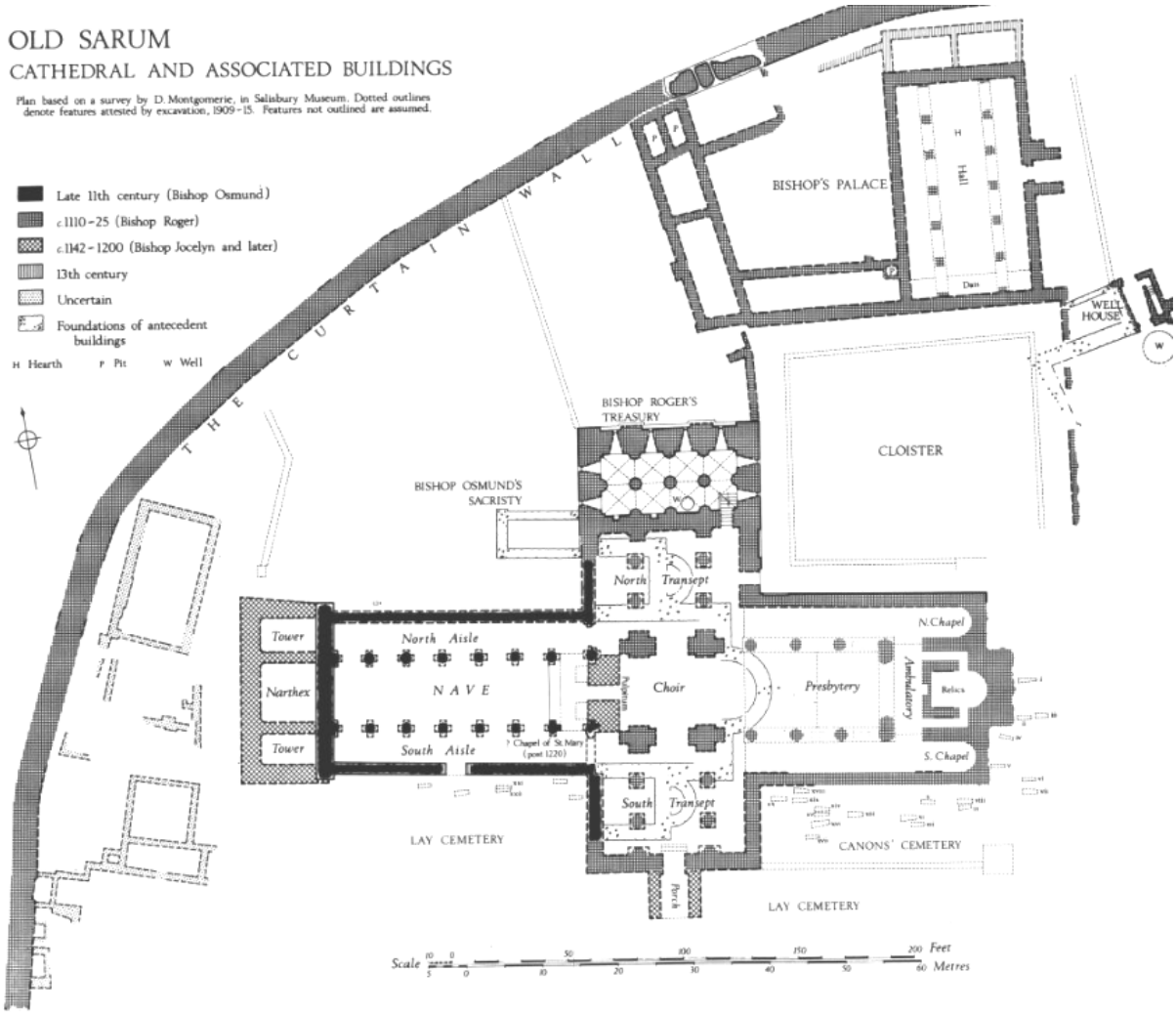
447.Duncan H. Montgomerie and Alfred Clapham, "Part IV Old Sarum," *AJ* 104, no. 1 (1947): 129-43.

448. "Old Sarum," in *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: VCH, 1977), 1-24.

449. Diana Greenway, *Saint Osmund: Bishop of Salisbury 1078-1099, and founder of the Cathedral at Old Sarum* (Much Wenlock: RJL Smith & Associates, 1999), 5.

450. John Montague, "The Cloister and Bishop's Palace at Old Sarum with Some Thoughts on the Origins and Meaning of Secular Cathedral Cloisters," *JBAA* 159, no. 1 (2006): 48-70; "Old Sarum," in Anon., *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: VCH, 1977), 1-24.

451. William H. St John Hope, "Report on the Excavation of the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum in 1913," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series 26 (1914): 100-19.



Old Sarum Cathedral and Associated Buildings

Plan based on a survey by D. Montgomerie, in Salisbury Museum. Dotted outlines denote features attested by excavation, 1909–15. Features not outlined are assumed.

Fig. 5.1, Old Sarum Cathedral

The south transept doorway at Old Sarum's cathedral of Bishops Roger and Jocelyn appeared to have a special function at the church based on its carving. St John Hope discovered some exceptional features of this doorway, writing that there was,

> a considerable number of stones that had belonged to a row of gables, part perhaps of the decoration of the south doorway or of the porch that covered it. These gables are peculiar in exhibiting what are probably the earliest examples of true crockets. They seem also to have enclosed some such

ornaments as the large rosette which was found with them. Several gables were surmounted by pairs of creatures, one having two lions gnawing a round object, carved with considerable spirit; another had two birds, and a third a plain cylindrical finial."[452]

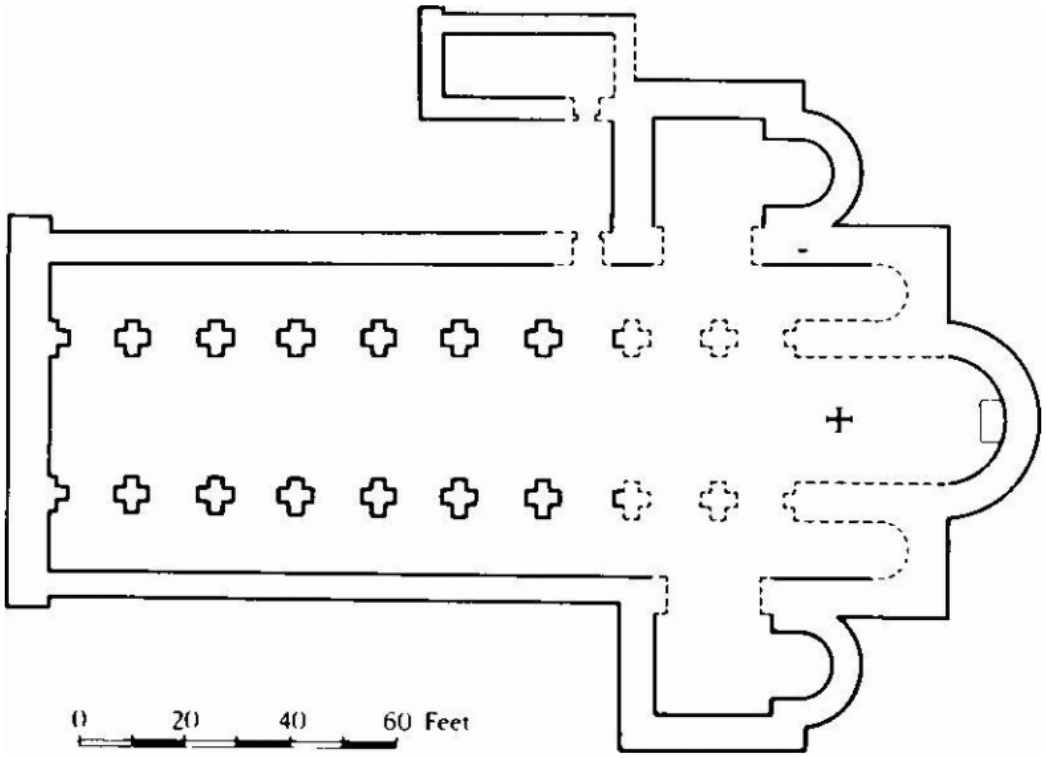


Fig. 5.2, Bishop Osmund's 11th century Old Sarum Cathedral

St John Hope also excavated the southern nave doorway but did not notice any special stone carving or other remarkable features. The Register of St Osmund gives a probable date for that southern nave doorway based on specific mention of it in this episcopal register: the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[453] The late twelfth to early thirteenth century is also the date for the south transept porch.[454]

452. St John Hope, "Report on the Excavation of the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum in 1913," 115-16.
453. *Ornamenta Ecclisiae Cathderalis Sarum, A 1214-1222*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. W. H. Rich Jones (Cambridge: CUP, 1884), 134, "cortinae duae ad crucem versus novum hostium a parte australi",
454. "Old Sarum," in *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: VCH, 1977), 1-24.

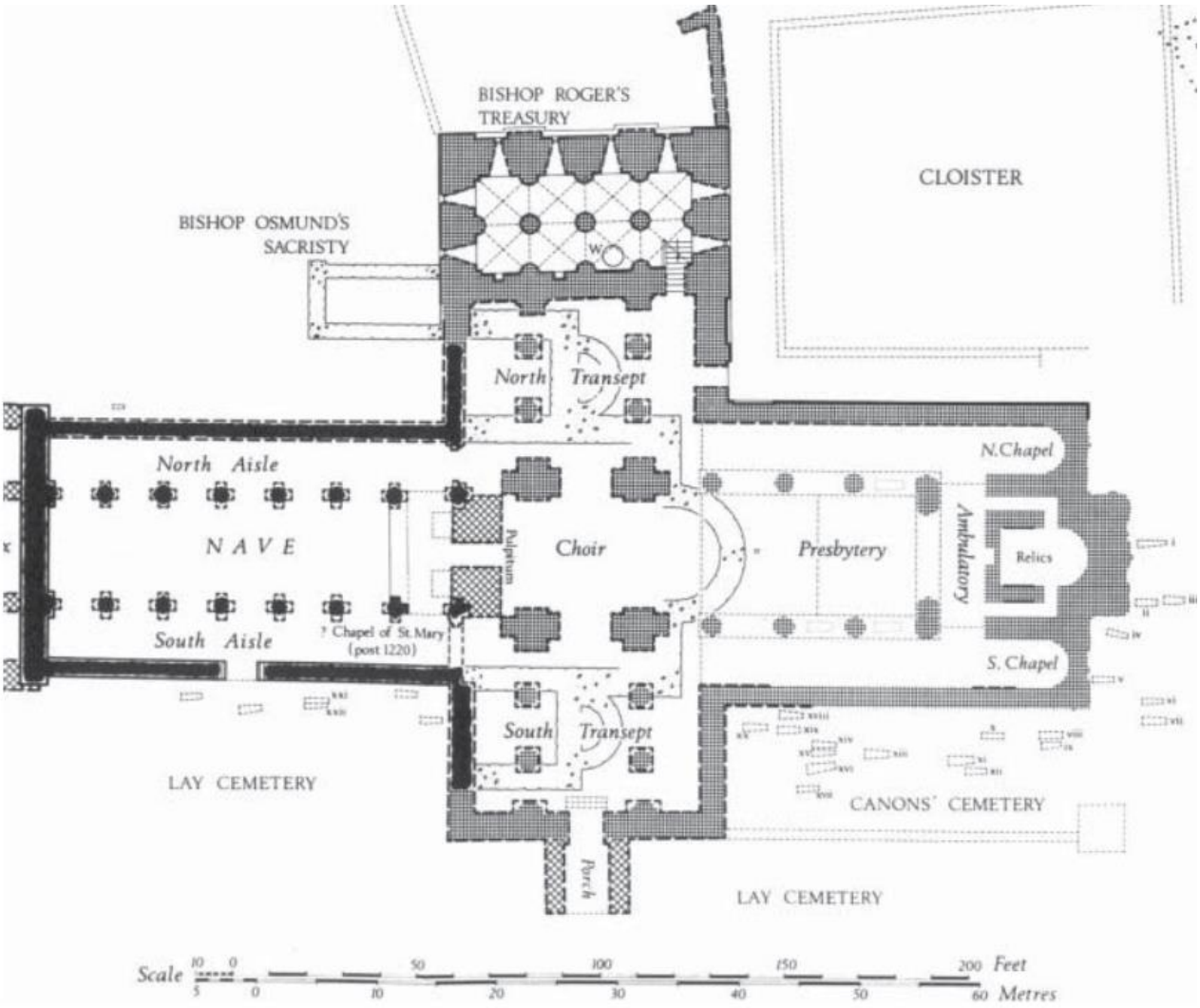


Fig. 5.3, Old Sarum Cathedral of Bishops Roger, Jocelyn, and later (enlarged)

It would appear that the southern transept doorway was the more important of the two southern doorways based on its embellishment and the added porch. There was no northern nave doorway or any exterior doorway beyond the north transept. Bishop Roger's Treasury also had no external entrance and the north transept had what appears to be a minor doorway that leads to the cloisters in its eastern wall.[455] St John Hope does not comment on the remains of the western doorway. We do know that Bishop Roger's successor, Bishop Jocelyn de Bohun,

455. St John Hope, "Report on Old Sarum in 1914," 102-16.

who held the see from 1142-84, built the western narthex which contained the western doorway and flanking towers.[456] The church was just over thirty meters from the curtain wall and the bishop's palace closed off the area to the north and east. The community, domestic buildings and castle lay to the south and east of the cathedral and I suggest the southern transept doorway was probably the main entrance for the community into the cathedral.

The archaeological surveys suggest that by the time of MS Chippenham, Wiltshire &Swindon Archives, D1/1/1, the cathedral at Old Sarum probably had three major doorways, one at the west, the southern one in the nave and the southern doorway into the southern transept. As indicated above, this southern transept doorway had a similar design as at the early thirteenth century church of York Minster.

(c.2) York Minster

From 1966 to 1973 Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood led an archaeological team at York Minster. They excavated the late eleventh to early twelfth-century church as well as the rebuilt thirteenth-century minster (Fig. 5.4).[457]

Phillips and Heywood excavated both transepts of the early twelfth-century church but their excavations did not identify its doorways. Phillips did find that the substructure at the west front supported no masonry of any significant weight. On this evidence he suggests that the substructure could have supported a series of steps into a western doorway.[458] The archaeological evidence shows that much of the nave's walls were robbed. Still, there is evidence of several buttresses

456. David Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), 17-20.
457. Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*,vol. 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1985), 3; Sarah Brown, *York Minster, an Architectural History c 1220-1500* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), 3.
458. Phillips and Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*, 84-90, 151.

positioned midway along their north and south walls. Their positioning significantly reduces the chance that doorways were in these locations. The church's form is greatly different from the early thirteenth-century building of Walter de Grey who became the Archbishop in 1215.[459] There we see the present form of the minster (Fig. 5.5).[460]

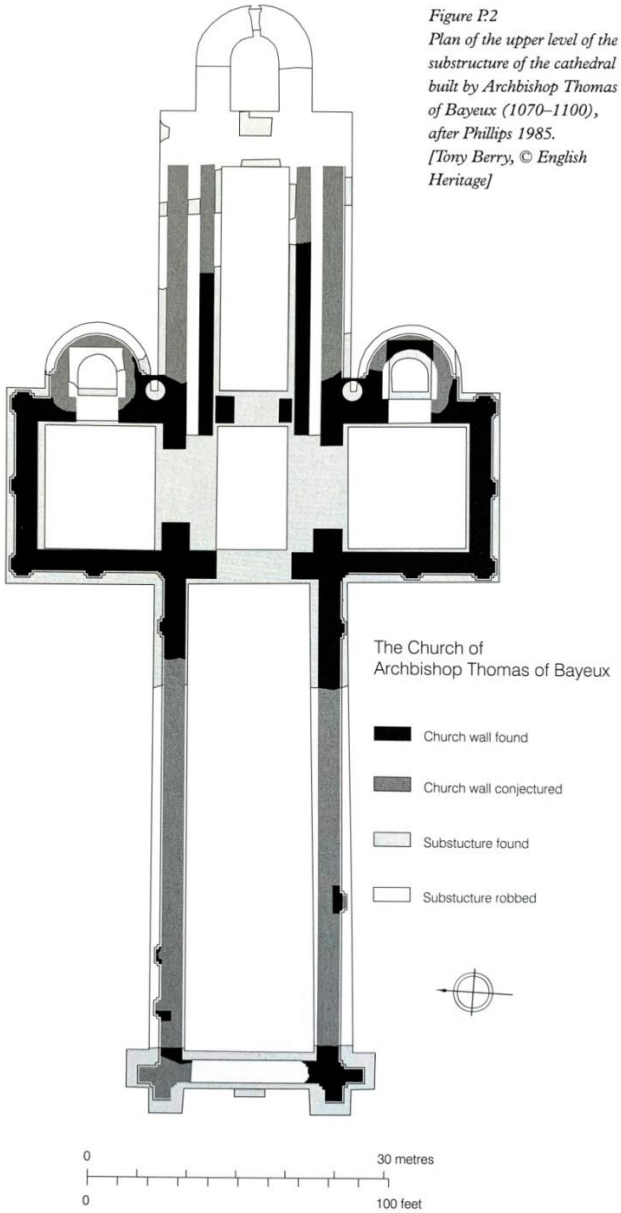


Fig. 5.4, York Minster,
Plan of the late eleventh to early
twelfth-century church,
Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood

459. Brown, *York Minster*, 11.
460. Phillips and Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*, 274.

The minster had two major doorways, the one that faced the community in the south transept and also the large one at the west end which was between two smaller but also highly adorned doorways.

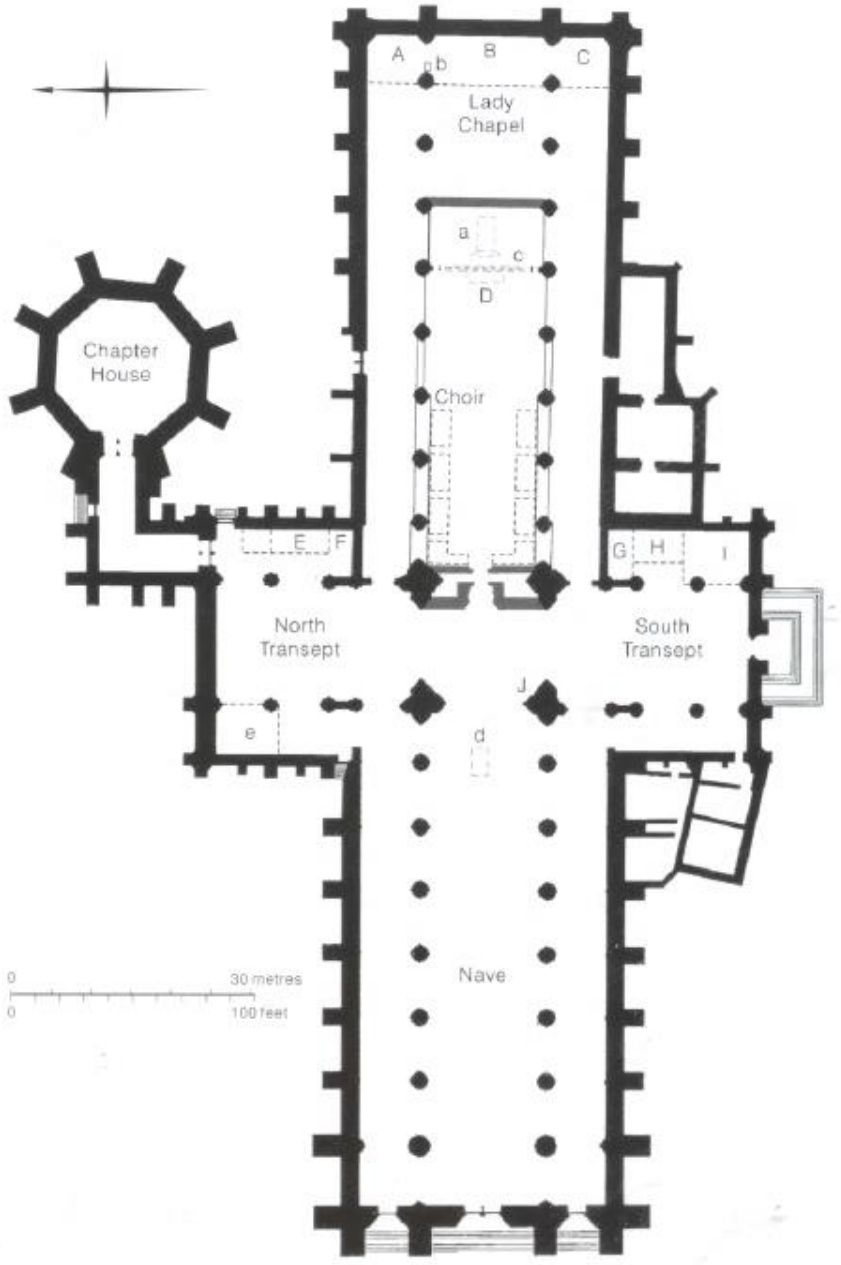


Fig. 5.5, York Minster plan, 13th century and later medieval period, Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood

It was likewise positioned about 110 meters from the city wall at the west and approximately 135 meters from the northern wall (Fig. 5.6).[461] Comparing the thirteenth-century plan of York Minster with Bishop Roger's cathedral at Old Sarum we see striking similarities. Both have: (i) highly embellished, grand, south transept entrances, (ii) great ceremonial western doorways, (iii) bishop's palaces on the north side of the church, (iv) curtain wall barriers north and west of the church, and (v) domestic centres are located to the south of the churches.

Fig. 5.6, York Minster Close from and after the 13th century,
Philip Sinton, VCH 1961 and Norton 1998

461. Brown, *York Minster*, 276.

While English parish church form and design differed from the great English churches there certainly seems to be a relationship between these types of buildings and their mutual preference for building larger and more ornate southern, rather than northern, doorways.

The following rituals show that the southern doorways, while especially central at cathedrals, were also important at parish churches.

5.3. Ash Wednesday

There is liturgical evidence that Ash Wednesday was celebrated in England from the tenth century. We learn a great deal about the importance of church doorways and their liturgical function by analysing the Ash Wednesday ritual and procession in English sources.

Ash Wednesday, which immediately followed Shrove Tuesday, is a celebration that marks the start of Lent. This is the start of a forty-day period of fasting and penance.[462] Recent scholarship challenges the generally held Christian tradition that the forty days is solely linked with Christ's fast. Bradford Bedingfield states that the forty-day duration also had its origins "in the preparations of the catechumens for baptism."[463]

Part of the celebration is an enactment of Adam's expulsion from Eden.[464] As Bedingfield writes,

> This association with Adam is the key for the contemporary penitents in understanding what Christ did for them in the wilderness, and what it means for their place at Doomsday.[465]

462. Nicholas Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (London: YUP, 2021), 260-61; M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), 73-74.
463. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 73-74.
464. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 75-79; Orme, *Going to Church*, 261-62.
465. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 80.

This ceremony and links to Adam and salvation gave a special importance to the external church doorways in the Ash Wednesday procession.

There is late Anglo-Saxon evidence of the Ash Wednesday celebration in a homily written by Ælfric, *c*. 989 x 992, who became abbot of Eynsham in 1005.[466] He wrote that,

> On Wednesday, widely across the earth, priests bless clean ashes in church, just as it is established, and afterwards place them upon men's heads that they may have in mind that they came from earth, and afterwards will return to dust.[467]

If Ælfric's homily to priests gained widespread circulation and popularity, we might assume that this celebration was common in late Anglo-Saxon England.[468] Without further evidence we cannot be certain at which types of eleventh-century churches the imposition of ashes and the processions occurred and whether his homily was widely adopted. Ælfric's own abbey at Eynsham might be the type of local church that is identified in Æthelred's Ecclesiastical Code of 1014 as a 'rather smaller minster' where Ash Wednesday was celebrated. Or it may also be possible that Ælfric also wanted Ash Wednesday celebrated at the estate church (the 'one still smaller' type of churches).

We know that in 1091, Pope Urban II, at a council at Benevento, decreed that all Christians, not just those undertaking solemn public penance for serious crimes against the church, were to receive ashes. Until Pope Urban II's order, priests only imposed ashes on members of the clergy and monks, and to those

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466. Aaron J. Kleist, *The Chronology and Canon of Ælfric of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), -16.
467. *Ælfric's Lives of Saints, vol. 1*, ed., Walter William Skeat, Early English Text Society os 76 and 82 (London, 1881 and 1885; rept. 1966), 262 cited in Brad Bedingfield, "Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2002): 224.
468. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 122-23.

required to make a public act of contrition for their known public crimes. This imposition of ashes on publicly solemn penitents contrasts with the rituals conducted for private penitents, to whom ashes were administered by local priests at confession.[469] We cannot be certain when exactly the English laity began to participate as non-solemn penitents in the Ash Wednesday procession. Sarah Hamilton states that "Ælfric obviously expected the laity to be in attendance on the Sundays at the beginning of Lent rather than Ash Wednesday."[470] If this is the case then the imposition of ashes on all members of the community might have begun only later in the eleventh century; perhaps contemporary with Urban II's decree. By at least the late twelfth century Ash Wednesday was celebrated at parish churches, so in England the priest imposed ashes at the parish church and would likely then have issued and performed acts of contrition to the making of satisfaction for sins and reconciliation locally.[471]

In the early thirteenth-century, priests at the local parish churches may indeed have performed the Ash Wednesday ritual, perhaps continuing or expanding the practice of which Ælfric wrote. The liturgical source, MS Harley 1001 is highly valuable to understanding how priests, if they followed the Sarum liturgy, were to celebrate this rite at the cathedral but also more importantly at the local parish church.

The ritual begins in Folio 88^{V} of MS Harley 1001. The ceremony at the cathedral began with a series of many prayers and chants led by the bishop or his vicar with other ministers. These prayers were followed by the bishop who blessed

469. Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners, Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 181-82; Orme, *Going to Church*, 262.
470. Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harrow: Pearson, 2013), 175.
471. Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 15.

the ashes, sprinkled them with holy water and then anointed them upon the people. Further prayers and chants followed the imposition of the ashes and then the procession ensued. At the cathedral, again, the bishop or his vicars ejected the penitents from the doorways of the church.[472] Folio 88^{V} does not specify which doorway was to be used for the ejection, however, this is made clear in the next folio where there is also a rubric that specifies how the rite ought to be performed at the parish church.

Folio 89^{R} of MS Harley 1001provides such rubric, first for the north door of the parish church and then for its south door,

> Postea eat processio ad ianuas ecclesie. ...
> De processione facienda in capite ieiunii in parochialibus ecclesiis. Exeat processio per ostium ecclesie aquilonare, cantando ℟. *Emendemus*, cumversu.
> ...sed statim intret processio per ostium ecclesie australe, et statim incipiatur missa.[473]
>
> Afterwards let the procession go to the doors of the church...
> On the procession that should be performed on Ash Wednesday in parish churches. Let the procession exit through the north door of the church, singing Emendemus with the verse.
> ...but straightaway let the procession enter through the south door of the church, and straightaway let the mass begin.

This rubric is the only mention in the edition of the Sarum Ordinal which mentions precisely which doorways should be used in parish churches. I consider this significant as it not only acknowledges that the rite was indeed celebrated at parish churches but that their north and south doorways were to be used in a specified manner. It is thus useful as evidence for what was envisaged for the celebration at the parish church. It is possible that the compiler who wrote these processional instructions had in mind the ubiquitous twelfth-century local church

472. John A. Hackney, *Ordinale Sarisburiense, A Transliteration of BL Harley 1001 Folios 1R – 116V, Fascicule III Folios 84R – 110V, De Missa: Temporale* (Atlanta: 2017), 510-11.
473. Hackney, *Ordinale Sarisburiense*, 511-12.

design form, with the two laterally opposing north-south nave doorways. Alternatively, the rubric's use of two doorways had a different, greater meaning in the performance of symbolic penance at the local level. It may also be that the parish church's north doorway performed two functions simultaneously: the physical and spiritual expulsion of the sinner from the sanctity of the church. The entry through the southern doorway thus completed the cycle by readmitting the parishioners back into the safety of the church. Nicholas Orme states that the procession would head in a clockwise direction, from the north doorway to the east end of the chancel, and then around the church to the southern doorway.[474] This route might have extra significance as the laity were excluded from the chancel and this method of circumnavigating it would enhance the importance of the procession further linking the laity with the most sacred part of the church.

The compiler of MS Harley 1001 envisaged that the Ash Wednesday ritual would be performed in parish churches by at least the mid thirteenth century. Local parish priests, therefore, who may have been following the Sarum Ordinal, may have been symbolically applying ashes and leading the parishioners through the Ash Wednesday procession at their local church, using the north and south nave doorways to do so.[475]

The rubric does not address the rare cases where parish churches did not have north and south doorways. Some only had western and southern doorways like those at Womenswold and Postling (Kent), Orcheston, St Mary and Stocklinch, St Mary Magdalene (Wiltshire). John Harper suggests that in the cases where parish churches did not have north and south doorways the procession

474. Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England*, 217-18.
475. Ibid., 262.

might have originated on the side of the nave which had the doorway and would then circumnavigate the church in a clockwise direction to return at the original nave doorway.[476] Such an adaptation at the local level may be consistent with Sven Helander's argument that prescribed rubrics might not have been practiced, especially when the architecture did not permit it.

We also see some specific instructions about which doorways to use within the York Missal. Its procession, as in the Sarum Ordinal, proceeds from a station inside the church to the church's north doorway. It is there that the penitents are ejected from the church. The rubric provides,

> Postea praeeunte processsione ad ostium septentrionale descendat Praelatus et reos cum cambuca ejiciat. Si sit alius quam Episcopus, cum manu ejus eos emittat. Interim dum ejicit poenitentes cantetur Responsorium.
> Ejectis vero reis Praelatus claudat ostium incipiens R. Ecce Adam. Et sic revertatur cum suis in Chorum [ad processionem MS B].[477]
>
> Thereafter as the procession is going forward to the north door let the prelate come down and let him eject the guilty ones with his crosier If he should be other than a bishop, let him send them forth with his hand. Meanwhile, as he is sending out the penitent, let the *Responsorium* be sung.
> With the guilty ones sent out, indeed, let the prelate close the door while beginning *Ecce Adam.* And thus let him return with his (congregation) into the Choir [to the procession, according to MS. B].

When we look at the plan of the Minster it is apparent that there is no north doorway on the north wall of the nave. There is, however, a northern doorway at the west-end of the church. There is also a smaller northern doorway in the northern transept. I suggest this transept doorway might have been the door where the prelate ejected the people. It might have been possible to exit from the

476. John Harper, email message to author, February 1 and 2, 2021, "If circulating processions go clockwise (and I have yet to find an example of an anti-clockwise procession) then you either leave and re-enter by the north porch, or leave by the north and re-enter by the south. That, of course, assumes that the rubric in Harley 1001 holds good generally for processions outside the church."
477. Henderson, *Eboracensis*, 46.

north doorway at the west end and for the people to proceed around the Palace Gatehouse Range, Palace and Chapel but the rubric does not state anything in this regard. As I show later, the Palm Sunday rubric specifies a station in the Archbishop's Palace courtyard but this is omitted from the Ash Wednesday procession. It might be that admitting the laity to the palace grounds enhanced the experience whilst ejection related to sin would have been better associated with the smaller doorway of lesser importance at the north side of the transept. If this was the case, then exiting via the northern transept doorway could make the procession not only possible, but shorter and more direct too, creating an experience whereby the people were ejected onto the street by the back door only to be readmitted by the grand southern transept one. Thus the architecture would fit with what was being enacted. Unlike the Sarum Ordinal, the York Missal rubric does not identify the return doorway. Instead it merely states that the procession returns to the choir within the church. Clearly the most direct route into the choir at the Minster after the community walked around its east end would have been through the great southern transept doorway.

The Ash Wednesday rubrics in the Sarum and York texts provide specific evidence for the use of north and south church doorways. The Sarum source, MS Harley 1001 suggests how this is performed at the parish church but the York source does not. Still, although the York evidence only pertains to the cathedral, it might reflect a more widespread practice at parish churches. Although these sources suggest how the rituals ought to have been performed we cannot be certain that they were necessarily followed at the parish church.

5.4. Maundy Thursday

My second example concerns the procession on Maundy Thursday, a day of purification and reconciliation.[478] It occurs on the Thursday three days before Easter. As Nicholas Orme states, its name is "from Christ's 'commandment' to his disciples to love one another."[479] It is the day that the penitents who had been expelled on Ash Wednesday are readmitted into the Church.[480]

The earliest rubric which mentions specific doorways that I have located is contained within the Old Sarum Customary, MS Chippenham, Wiltshire &Swindon Archives, D1/1/1 (folios are not provided). It begins,

> In cena domini nona cantata eat processio ad ostium ecclesie sicut in capite ieiunii sintque presentes in atrio ecclesie penitentes.
>
> On Maundy Thursday, after nones has been sung, a procession should go to the Cathedral door, as on Ash Wednesday, and there should be penitents present in the Cathedral churchyard.[481]

The rubric for Ash Wednesday that it refers to, is as follows,

> In capite ieiunii post cinerum suscepcionem eat processio per medium chori ad ostium ecclesie austral
>
> On Ash Wednesday after the receiving of the ashes, the procession should go through the middle of the choir to the south door of the Cathedral.[482]

This rubric relates to the second, enlarged, mid-twelfth-century cathedral church of Bishop de Bohun, which dates to *c*. 1220. This church had a great southern transept doorway, (Fig. 5.3, reproduced again below).

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478. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 115-16.
479. Orme. *Going to Church*, 276-78.
480. Ibid.
481. John Harper, "The Old Customary From the Old Register, Chippenham, W&SA, D1/1/1 [OCO], Latin Text with English Translation," in *The Experience of Worship in late Medieval Cathedral & Parish Church, based at Bangor University*, ed., John Harper (Bangor: 2013), accessed February 2, 2021, http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/1%20OCO/OCO-LE.pdf, 73.
482. John Harper, "The Old Customary Later Version From the British Library, Harley MS 1001, Latin Text with English Translation," in *The Experience of Worship in late Medieval Cathedral & Parish Church, based at Bangor University*, ed., John Harper (Bangor: 2013), accessed February 2, 2021, http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/2%20OCR/OCR-LE.pdf, 510-12.

In this church, the laity may have received ashes either west of the pulpitum or possibly within the choir. In either case, the rubrics appear to direct the procession to go through the middle of the choir and then exit at the southern doorway. Although there are two doorways, I suggest that the logical exit would have been through the transept doorway, as it links directly to the choir. This transept doorway might have been a more special entrance than the other southern nave doorway, only added perhaps by the early thirteenth century. We also know that its builders added a porch in the late twelfth century at the transept but not at the other southern doorway further west in the nave.[483]

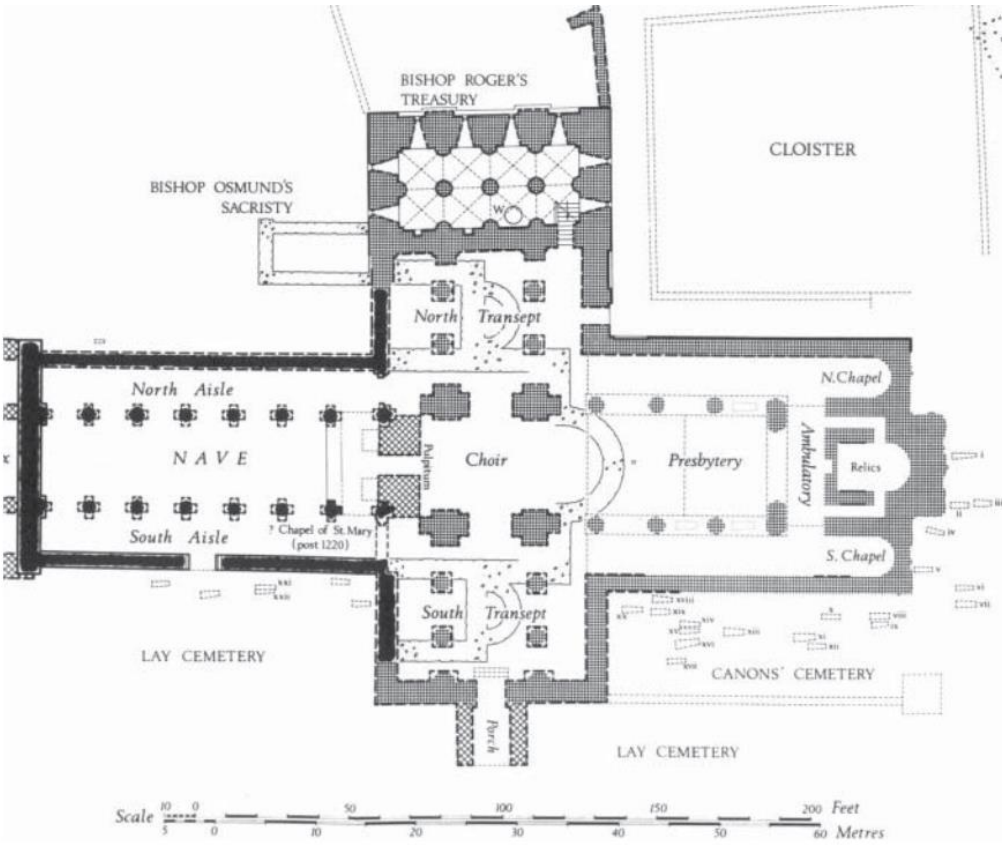

Fig. 5.3, Old Sarum Cathderal of Bishops Roger, Jocelyn, and later (enlarged)

483. "Old Sarum," in Anon., *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: VCH, 1977), 1-24.

In addition to an Ordinal, local parish priests also required a manual. Manuals were written for priests and the parish church had to own one.[484] The oldest extant manuscripts of the Sarum Manual are dated 1330 x 1340.[485] Unfortunately, these have not yet been edited. Arthur Jeffries Collins, who updated Henderson's work on the Sarum Manual uses the Rouen text dated 1543 (Bodelian Library Douce BB. 160) which I cite below. He uses this edition as it is the closest text to being a complete Sarum Manual in existence, prior to the reign of Queen Mary.[486]

The Maundy Thursday rubrics have specific doorway directions. They state that the western doorway is to be used at the beginning of the procession ritual,

> Feria Quinta in Cena Domini
> Pergatexcellentiorsacerdos ad ostium ecclesie occidentisindutusvestibus
>
> Maundy Thursday
> Let the higher priest proceed to the west door of the church clothed in vestments.

This is soon followed by another rubric that refers to a doorway,

> Et si episcopus adest principalis archidiaconus ex parte penitentium, scilicet, extra ostium ecclesie in cappa serica legat hanc lectionem sequentem que non legatur episcopo absente.[487]
>
> And if a bishop is present, let the principal archdeacon, on the part of the penitents, clearly read this following reading outside the door of the church in a silk cloak, which [the reading] should not be read without the bishop present.

When comparing the Sarum Manual Rouen 1543 Text with MS Chippenham, Wiltshire & Swindon Archives, D1/1/1, it is clear that the rubrics have different

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484. Frederick Maurice Powicke and Christopher Robert Cheney, eds., *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*,vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 982-84, 1382-87.
485. Arthur Jeffries Collins, *Manuale ad Usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, from the edition printed at Rouen in 1543 compared with those of 1506 (London), 1516 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), 1526 (Paris), (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1960), viii-ix.
486. Collins, *Manuale*, xix-xxv.
487. Collins, *Manuale*, 14-15, The rubric is based upon the Consuetudinary, Chapter LXIII seen in Walter H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1898), 143-44.

directions for the external church doorways. In the older Chippenham text, in parish churches, the people were to proceed to the south doorway. In the later Rouen 1543 Sarum Manual the people were to proceed to the western doorway.

In this ritual there is further evidence for the deliberate use of specific doorways on Maundy Thursday in the manuscripts associated with the Use of York. The York Missal's Maundy Thursday rite seen in MS Sidney Sussex 33 (*c*. 1460-1480) differs from the Sarum Manual but it is more like that found in the version of the Sarum Ordinal found in MS Chippenham, Wiltshire & Swindon Archives, D1/1/1.[488] MS Sidney Sussex 33 states,

> Post Nonam cantata Praelatus sacris vestibus indutus et Capa serica, et primicerius Archidiaconus Eboracensis…praeeuntibus Ministris in Albis et Crucifero, ad ostium australe convenient: ibique stante Praelato in parte occidental ostii verso ad Orientem…
> Deinde Praelatus poenitentes de manu archidiaconi receptos introducat, Clero canente Antiplionam Venite, filii, et cetera, cum Psalmo, Benedicam Dominum, done comnes introducantur.[489]
>
> After the ninth cantata has been sung, let the Prelate, dressed in holy vestments and a silk cloak, and the Archdeacon of York...convene at the southern door, with the ministers in white and crucifer going ahead: and there with the Prelate standing in the west part of the door turned towards the East...
> Then let the Prelate lead in the penitents received from the hand of the Archdeacon, with the clergy singing the antiphon Venite, my sons etc., with the psalm *I shall bless the Lord,* then let all be led in.

According to this York source, it is the prelate who is directed to the southern doorway with the senior clerics. They do not go to the western doorway as in the Sarum Manual. The prelate stands at the southern doorway with his back to the west and he faces the east. The Archdeacon takes each of the penitents by the hand as they enter the church and the clergy sing Venite.

488. MS Sidney Sussex 33 date, as in note 19, above.
489. Henderson, *Eboracensis*, 94, (folios were not provided).

Old Sarum's MS Chippenham and MS Sidney Sussex 33 are similar, with their ceremonies both occurring at the south doorway. The MS Sidney Sussex 33 text does not suggest a procession, rather, it is a position where the prelate officiates, although a procession might also have been held. When we consider the ground plans of both twelfth-century churches it is clear that Old Sarum and York cathedrals had major southern transept doorways to serve the community and therefore the similarity of their Maundy Thursday rituals is not surprising.

With the redesign of York Minster in the early thirteenth century the builders established the southern doorway as the principal entrance for the community. The entirely new thirteenth-century design and form at Salisbury removed public access to the southern entrance. That southern nave doorway now led to and from the cloisters. Instead, Salisbury Cathedral had a northern doorway facing the community. York Minster's southern doorway and Salisbury's northern one are very different (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8).

York's is substantially grander than Salisbury's northern one and is located within a very tall and highly intricately ornamented southern transept. Still, both of their western doorways are of similar embellishment and might have been reserved for grand ceremonies or used as a royal entrance (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10).

Fig. 5.7, York Minster (Yorkshire), south doorway, Google Earth

Fig. 5.8, Salisbury Cathedral (Wiltshire), north doorway, Google Earth

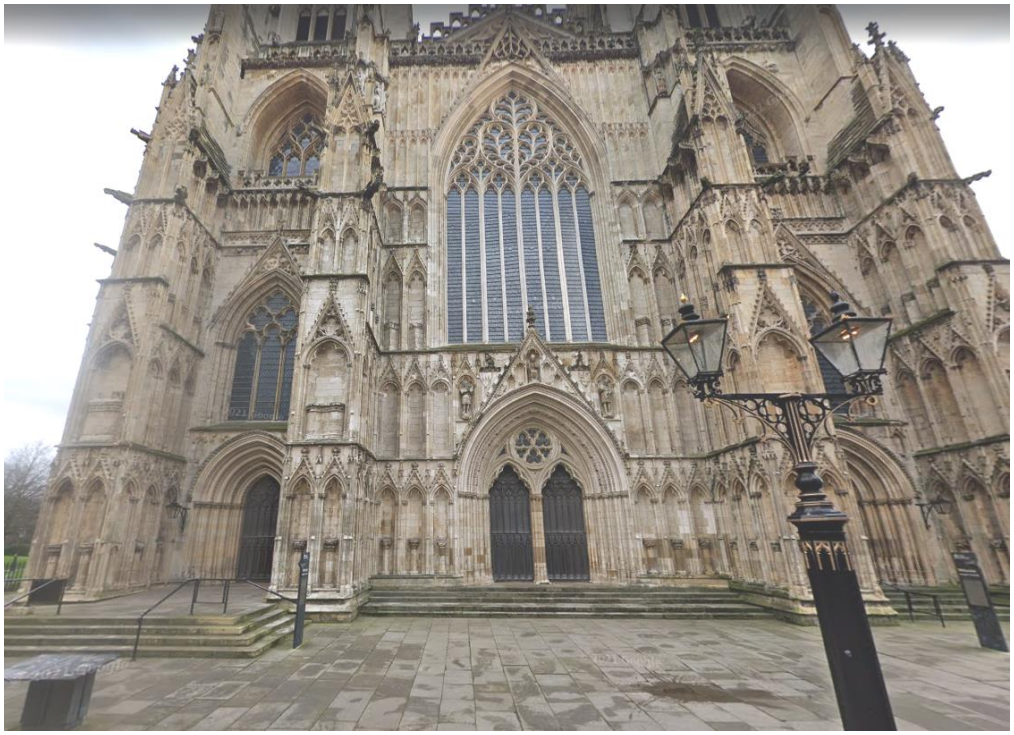

Fig. 5.9, York Minster, west doorway, Google Earth

Fig. 5.10, Salisbury Cathedral, west doorway, Google Earth

5.5. Palm Sunday

Palm Sunday is the final Sunday before Easter and marks the beginning of the final week of Lent.[490] It is a major celebration for which the church doorway is especially important. One of the features of the Palm Sunday procession is the recreation of the triumphal entrance of Christ into Jerusalem.[491] Bedingfield states that the origin of the procession in the West is not clear but that it possibly began in the ninth century. He cites Ælfric's First and Second Series sermons for Palm Sunday which confirm its practice in the late tenth century.[492] Carolyn M. Malone, and others have argued that the western facade of the cathedral at Wells was built with an elaborate western front adorned with many statues and other embellishments partly to enhance the Palm Sunday ceremony.[493] Almost all of England's great churches like York Minster and Salisbury Cathedral have ornate west ends and great western doorways. Both of their Palm Sunday processions included some rituals that occurred at their western doorways. It is also important to note that the York Missal's Palm Sunday procession has instructions for how to celebrate the service in other churches.

The York Missal source, MS Sidney Sussex 33 (Henderson's MS D text) *c*. 1460 x 1480, contains a series of introductory blessings and readings and then proceeds as follows,

> Praelato apertus deferatur ad osculandum: Canonicovero, si Praelatus non affuerit, liber Evangelii [In aliis vero locis extra Cathedralem Ecclesiam, deferat Diaconus librum Executori Officii adosculandum.][494]

490. Orme, *Going to Church*, 274-75.
491. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 90-96; Pamela M. King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 130-5.
492. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 90-94.
493. Carolyn M. Malone, *Facade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2004), 132-40.
494. Henderson, *Missale*, Vol. 1, 84.

> Let the book of Gospel be brought to the prelate to be kissed: by the true Canon, if the Prelate is not present
> In other places, indeed, outside the Cathedral, let the Dean bring the book to the Executor of the Office to be kissed.

The Missal also allows, however, for a variety of doorway positions at churches other than the cathedral. It continues,

> In aliis vero locis, ubi non habentur ostium occidentale, fiat ista secunda statio ad ostium australe.
>
> However, in other places, where there is no western door, let the second station be at the south door.[495]

As the Minster had a western doorway, this rubric expects the rite to be held elsewhere where a western doorway may not exist. The western doorway appears to be presumed at the church where the rite is celebrated. The rubric's alternative doorway directions appear to give precedence to the western doorway followed by a southern one if there is no western entrance. There is no mention of a northern doorway. I suggest that as the northern doorway has an association with sin, it would not be the appropriate doorway for the recreation of Christ's entry to Jerusalem.

According to the rubric, the first station of the procession may be at the Archbishop's court north of the church,

> Deinde incepta a Praecentore Ante sex dies, exeat procession directe per corpus Ecclesiae ad curiam archiepiscopi ex parte boreali Ecclesiae, et ibi fiat statio.[496]
>
> Then commenced by the Precentor before six days, let the procession go out straight through the body of the church to the court of the Archbishop from the northern part of the Church, and let them stop there.

The first station of the York Missal's Palm Sunday procession appears to have been beyond the church itself, as is indicated by the yellow arrow on the plan

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495. Henderson, *Missale*, vol. 1, 87-88.
496. Ibid., 85.

(Fig. 5.11).[497] The second station was at the western doorway and recreated the drama of Christ's entry to Jerusalem (Fig. 5.11, blue arrow on plan).These positions suggest an anti-clockwise movement though it is not circumnavigating the church. Rather, it may be that the bishop himself appears with the community and leads the procession from his palace grounds the short distance from the first station to the western front of the Minster.

The MS Sidney Sussex 33 text (Henderson's York Missal's MS D) indicates that the western doorway is the most important entrance for the Palm Sunday procession. This source is especially important as it ranks the church doorways not only for the Minster but at all other churches where the ritual was held. This ordering suggests that within a liturgical context there is a hierarchy of doorways. The western doorway was the grand ceremonial doorway recreating Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the southern doorway is then used if the church has no western doorway. There is no mention of a northern doorway and so this final nave doorway ranks as the least important relative to the other two.

497. Brown, *York Minster*, 276.

Fig. 5.11, York Minster Close from and after the 13th century,
Philip Sinton, VCH 1961 and Norton 1998
MS Sidney Sussex 33 Palm Sunday rubrics
Yellow arrow indicating the general area of the First Station,
Blue arrow indicating Second Station

5.6. A Medieval Liturgical Hierarchy of Doorways?

As mentioned above, Ash Wednesday re-enacted Adam's expulsion from Eden and was therefore a celebration related to sin and penance. The liturgical evidence analysed in this chapter indicates that the northern doorway was used for the ejection of sinners. In direct contrast, on Maundy Thursday the southern entrance was the chosen doorway for the subsequent reconciliation and readmission of the sinners into the church. As my research from Chapters 3 and 4 shows, in most local churches the southern doorway is typically both larger physically and more decorated than the laterally opposing northern one. The evidence for this is strong, from the eleventh century right through and until the

Reformation. I suggest that the builders constructed these north and south nave doorways to reflect the symbolic and functional differences of these rituals and perhaps others too like the churching of women.

When we include the western doorway in such a comparison it becomes clear that the western entrance is usually larger than all other church doorways and has much greater adornment and elaborate carving. This is clearly shown in my research of western doorways at parish churches in Chapter 4. It is also evident in the elaborate western doorways at Salisbury Cathedral and at York Minster shown above. As the examined liturgical sources use the western doorway in their Palm Sunday rubrics they recreated Christ's entry into Jerusalem and surely for this re-enactment the King of kings entered the church by the special ceremonial western doorway. I suggest that these western doorways held primacy among the other church doorways so as to reflect and respect the most exalted religious celebrations. It would also probably be the doorway for its grandest visitors such as the bishop, as part of his visitations.

In addition to the liturgical sources considered thus far, the *Bainbridge Pontificalis* a further late medieval example that suggests an ordering of doorways. The Archbishop of York, Christopher Bainbridge, owned the eponymous text between 1506 and 1514. We are able to use these dates as a possible terminus ante quem for this pontifical, as there is a reference within it to the then living John Hatton, Archdeacon of Nottingham, who only died in 1516.[498] Its church dedication rite might have been used at parish churches in the Province of York. The rubrics

498. William George Henderson, ed., *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1875), 6-10.

of this text suggest that there was understood to be a hierarchy of church doorways. Early in the dedication ritual we see the following directions,

> In papilione vel tentorio tenso ante maius ostium ecclesiae episcopus induat se mediocribus vestibus sacris...
>
> In a pavilion or a pitched tent, before the major doorway of the church, let the bishop dress himself in normal sacred vestments.

which brings the bishop and assembly to the major doorway. This ‘major doorway’ is not further described, so I suggest that it likely refers to the western or southern doorway, not the northern one, on account of the latter’s almost uniform tendency to be the smallest and least adorned of the three.

The dedication rite continues with other chants and prayers, and then the assembly arrives at the doorway to dedicate the church. It continues,

> Post haec, praecedente cruce, candelabrum et textu, cum processione veniant ante ostium dedicandae ecclesiae...
>
> After this, with the cross, candelabras and writing going ahead, let them go with the procession before the doorway of the church that is to be consecrated.

Further prayers are said with the group progressing three times around the church, again stopping at the major doorway where a deacon enters the church, closes the door and stands before it.

> Tunc unus diaconus, alba stola et manipulo indutus, intret ecclesiam, et claudens ostium, stet ante ipsum; caeteris omnibus de foris remanentibus.
>
> Then let one Deacon, dressed in a white stole and maniple, enter the church and let him stand before a doorway, closing it; with all others remaining outside.

At this point in the text, the Bainbridge Pontifical has still failed to specify which doorway is the location for these rites, although we might assume it is referring to the western or southern doorways.

However, it follows afterwards that the bishop is directed to the southern doorway where the exterior rituals are ended and those that occur within the church proceed,

> Pontifex vero accedens ad ostium ecclesiae meridianum, incipiat hanc antiphonum, Tollite portas.[499]
>
> Let the Bishop indeed, coming up to the southern doorway of the church, begin this antiphon, Lift up your heads.

It is to be noticed that the dedication rite has the bishop first attending at the 'major' doorway but then concludes with his entry through the southern doorway. A symantic interpretation suggests that the descriptive words 'major' and 'southern' might not be accidental. When the dedication ceremony is reviewed in its entirety, there is a strong case that the bishop first attends at the western doorway and later at the southern one. Once at that southern doorway, he performs a different type of act. He strikes the door three times with his crozier and then proceeds to do the same at each of the others.

> Dicta oratione, percutiat episcopus baculoter ostium, et dicat directe totum hunc versum, Tollite portas.[500]
>
> After the oration has been spoken, let the bishop strike the door three times with his staff, and let him say the whole of the verses of Tollite portas.

To conclude the ritual he enters the church via the southern doorway. It is possible that the rubric does not differentiate the southern entrance from the western one. It is probable that the northern doorway is not the one which is entered based upon the greater dimensions, embellishment and ceremonial importance of the southern or western doorways.

499. Henderson, *Liber Pontificalis*, 53-55.
500. Henderson, *Liber Pontificalis*, 56-57.

From this dedication rite we see that Bainbridge's pontifical potentially highlights the importance of the western doorway as the starting point of the ceremony. The southern doorway may be next in importance as that location is named second in the rite. Perhaps the commencement at the west end may have been a continuation of much earlier dedication rites performed when churches tended to have only a western doorway. The use of the words 'majus ostium' may also draw parallels with the great western doorways of England's cathedrals, abbeys and other great churches. Neither the York Missal nor Bainbridge's Pontifical ever specifically mention a north doorway in these or other rituals, only that the bishop proceeds to the other doorways.

These texts focus their emphasis on the western doorway, especially in the Palm Sunday procession. Next the southern doorway is considered the alternate for Palm Sunday but also the doorway of choice for the readmission of the penitents following Maundy Thursday but also Ash Wednesday. It is clear that the northern doorway has the lowest ranking in the hierarchy of church doorways.

5.7. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to determine whether medieval liturgy may have been a factor in the positioning of local church doorways. There is some evidence that doorways had a variation in function in a way that corresponded with the liturgy performed at the local parish church or parochial chapel.

My research into mostly edited liturgical sources shows that there were some rituals which identified specific church doorways and their function. I consider the Ash Wednesday rite to be the most important of these, as this ritual directly associates sin with the northern doorway. In striking contrast, the southern doorway is that which is specifically noted as the doorway through which the

reconciled are readmitted into the church on Maundy Thursday as well as on the return to the church on Ash Wednesday. It is that southern entrance which also is identified as being where the bishop or prelate, and by implication the parish priest, stands to welcome the laity back into not only the building but also the Church in the greater sense. Likewise, my evidence from Chapters 3 to 5 shows that the western doorway tended to be the greatest in dimension and embellishment of all the church doorways. The implicit preference for the use of the western doorway during Palm Sunday celebrations, as highlighted in the liturgical texts, is not surprising. Its almost uniform grandeur is appropriate for the recreation of Christ's entry to Jerusalem as part of the Palm Sunday procession, as well as for bishops' visitations at other times.

I suggest that there is an architectural requirement for the celebration of these rites. A pair of nave doorways (usually north and south) appears to be fundamental for the ejection and readmission of penitents. The pairing also blends in well with the symbolic and physical performance of the processions. For this reason I suggest that these rituals were held at the parish church and not at the non-parochial chapel. As I have shown in Chapter 5, non-parochial chapels tended to have a single doorway. The liturgical sources I analysed indicate that the celebrations of Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday required more than one doorway. As such, these rites were probably reserved for parish churches or parochial chapels. The liturgical rubrics might also explain why non-parochial chapels acquired a second nave doorway when they were elevated to parish churches like I indicated at East Wittering (West Sussex) and Womenswold (Kent). It may have been desirable to have one but perhaps not absolutely necessary.

The liturgical and architectural evidence I presented might be an indication of a wider pattern where more than one doorway is desirable for some parish rituals. Future research could delve into further liturgical sources to find additional evidence for specific doorway rubrics. It could also locate additional former chapels that later acquired parochial status in order to test my hypothesis that parish churches and parochial chapels required more than one nave doorway. In addition, as seen in some cases in Chapters 2 to 5, the northern doorway, not the southern one, is the one that is larger and more embellished, and the one that faced the community. The cases of Hannington (Northamptonshire) and Luckington (Wiltshire) are examples of this reverse orientation. On account of this, future research could question whether their doorways also functioned in an opposite manner, with an ejection from the southern nave doorway. Finally, I suggest that the liturgical evidence suggests ideas of purity and sin which are reflected in the laterally opposing positioning of the two nave doorways. I delve further into these themes in the next two chapters on Gender and Segregation and then on the ‘Devil’s Door.’

Chapter 6: Gender and Segregation

6.1. Introduction

There is much historical evidence that in the Middle Ages men and women were at times segregated within churches and other religious spaces.[501] The church of Sant' Apollinare at Ravenna (Italy) is a well-studied sixth-century example of this practice. We know much about its gender segregation from two strands of evidence. First, its intact mosaics depict an eastward progression of saints through the nave. Female saints are depicted on the north wall and men on the south side. The second source is the writing of Agnellus of Ravenna (*d.* 570) who was the bishop of Sant' Appollinare at Ravenna. He "wrote that the depictions of male martyrs were located on the side of the men ('parte virorum')."[502] It is probable that gender segregation was practiced at Ravenna, but we do not know if this church had separate doorways for men and women. What we need to determine, however, is whether there is any specific English evidence for gender segregation. Moreover, if so, we must ask both when this began and whether English medieval churches were built with a second doorway to facilitate this type of segregation.

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501. Margaret Aston, "Segregation in Church," in *Women in the Church, Studies in Church History* Vol. 27, eds., William J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1991), 237-94; Virginia C. Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Women's Space, Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology, Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999); Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space: Medieval Cultures*, vol. 23 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Julia H. Smith, "Women at the Tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages," in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, eds., Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 163-80; Susan J. White, "Finding Their Place: Women and the Environment for Worship," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 4, no.3, (2004): 235-48; Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Gender, Celibacy, and Proscriptions of Sacred Space: Symbol and Practice," and Corine Schleif, "Men on the Right – Women on the Left: (A)Symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places" in Virginia C. Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Women's Space, Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 185-205, 207-49.

502. Schleif, "Men on the Right - Women on the Left," 219-20.

A starting point for answering these questions is to locate any documentary evidence for gender segregation in England. There are some extant seventh and eighth-century Anglo-Saxon and Irish records of this practice. However, the most helpful English sources are only from the later Middle Ages. Scholars have written on the origin and practice of gender segregation in English churches but are yet to link this feature to church doorways from the eleventh century and afterwards.

It is important to note that as we saw in Chapter 1, Anglo-Saxon churches built in the seventh to tenth centuries tended, with a few noted exceptions, to have a single doorway at the west end. With only a single entrance there is logically no women's doorway for churches of this period. However, if the laity were separated in church as they were at Ravenna in the seventh century did segregation somehow become more important in eleventh-century England, to the point where a second doorway was needed? As I presented in the previous chapter, there were liturgical reasons for the creation of the second nave doorway in the parish church. Could this second doorway also be gender related in some way to accommodate a social change? Or was the second doorway a means to separate the parish priest from the laity in church - a different form of segregation? I address these questions in this chapter.

6.2. Seventh to Eleventh-Century Writing on Segregation and Church Doorways

By the time St Augustine arrived in Kent at the end of the sixth century, the church had clearly established gender segregation within church spaces along a north-south basis. To facilitate segregation, it would have been logical to build churches with gender specific doorways. Considering the design of its two churches, this was possibly happening in ninth-century Rome also. For example,

the ninth-century Roman basilica churches of San Prassede and Santa Maria in Domenica had three western doorways.[503] It would have been practical to assemble the men and women outside the church or within the narthex in front of their own gendered doorway; they could then enter their segregated space. But the architecture of Anglo-Saxon England was different from what we see in Italy or on the Continent at that time, even at a single western principal doorway basilica church like Brixworth's Period I church of the early ninth century, as discussed in Chapter 1. Brixworth's original western doorway might have been flanked by two smaller doorways at the west end but David Parsons' research shows that these led into small cells and did not lead into the nave.[504] Until the late tenth century and certainly in the eleventh, Anglo-Saxon builders only wanted single western doorways for their churches. A fundamental question is therefore why the well-established, centuries' old, doorway position changed at the turn of the new millennium. Some possibilities might be found in the written sources from the seventh to eleventh centuries that pertain to segregation.

(a) Seventh to Tenth-Century Sources for Gender Segregation in Church

Bede provides the best early Anglo-Saxon evidence for gender segregation. An even earlier, perhaps less reliable but still important, seventh-century Irish account is discussed later in this section. Bede wrote a commentary on the gospel of Luke, *Lucae Evangelium expositio*, *circa* 709-15. In Book 1, he comments upon Christ's childhood journey with Mary and Joseph to Jerusalem.[505] Bede states that it was then the custom among Jews to segregate men and women into gendered

503. Maurizio Caperna, "Santa Prassede: Research Lines on the Location and Spatial Values of Paschal I's Basilica," *Summa* 9 (Spring 2017): 164-80.
504. See Chapter 2, notes 15 and 16.
505. Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium expositio; In Marci Evangelium expositio*, ed., D. Hurst (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), 71-72.

groups during the festive seasons, when they danced, when they travelled to or from Jerusalem or when they returned home.[506] Bede does not specifically apply this to separation in churches but his account might relate to earlier Christian writing, including the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, *c*. 200-225 that segregates men and women in church.[507] It is interesting to note that Bede's commentary on Luke is cited by Amalar of Metz in his own observation of segregation in church, which I discuss below.

After Bede, the mid eighth-century liturgical text, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, clearly directs gender segregation in church, even if it was written for a service in Rome at which the pope presided. Barry Graham indicates that many modern scholars have assembled an edition of this *Ordo* and cautions that there is variation among them as some use certain extant manuscripts while other writers do not. He states that Michel Andrieu's edition's "thoroughness and detailed critical apparatus make it unlikely that other editions will appear soon."[508] An English translation by Alan Griffiths relies upon Andrieu's processional text (1-23) in which the Stational Mass is found. It is in this Mass where gender segregation is located.

It states that within the church there are two areas, the 'parte virorum' and 'parte mulierum'. In Chapter 20, the following is written,

> After this the bishops communicate the people…
> Next they all pass over to the left side of the church, and do the same there. The pontiff, directly after communicating those on the women's side, goes back to the throne.

506. Ibid.
507. Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Didascalia apostalorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 49-55, Stewart-Sykes states the original *DA* was probably written in the first quarter of the third century, with the final redactions dated to the first quarter of the fourth century.
508. Barry F. H. Graham, "Ordo Romanus Primus (OR1) in English: The Earliest Complete Structural Description of a Roman Rite Mass," *Studio Liturgica* 44 nos. 1-2 (2014): 172-74.

Et pontifex, mox ut communicaverit in parte mulierum, redit addedem.[509]

With regard to this section, Graham writes that all but one of the twenty-three extant manuscripts Andrieu used in his edition, namely the MS St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 614, have the pontiff crossing to the women's side of the church.[510]

Later, in the ninth century Amalar of Metz, later Bishop of Metz, known as Amalarius, (*c*. 780-851) also wrote on gender segregation in church. He referred to Bede's *Lucae Evangelium expositio* and applied the general idea to segregation in church.[511] He worked on ecclesiastical reform including the education of the laity. His final redaction of *On the Liturgy* was completed just after 831 and this text reached a wide medieval audience. The third book, *On the Mass*, is devoted to an explanation of the Mass, inspired in part by Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* edict of 789 for religious reform.[512] In Book 3, Chapter 2, Paragraphs 4-5, Amalarius wrote about the purpose of the laity's attendance at church, before providing instructions for men and women in church space.

> When gathered at church, the men and the women stand separately. We have received this practice from ancient custom, as Bede says in his treatise on Luke.
>
> In convent ecclesiastico seorsum masculi et seorsum feminae stant; quod accepimus a veteri consuetudine, dicente Beda in tractatu super Lucam.[513]

509. Alan Griffiths, *Ordo Romanus Primus Latin Text and Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Norwich: Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study, 2012), 24; Graham, "Ordo Romanus Primus," 189-90; Edward G. Cuthbert and Frederick Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, vol. 6 (London: The de la More Press, 1905), 3-8, 145.
510. Graham, "Ordo Romanus Primus," 189-90.
511. Eric Knibbs, ed. and trans., *On the Liturgy Amalar of Metz*, vol. 2, Books 3-4, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), i-xxxii.
512. Knibbs, *On the Liturgy Amalar of Metz*, i-xxxii.
513. Amalarius, *On the Mass*, Book 3. 2. 6.

We see that *seorsum* (separate) is mentioned twice in the original sentence to establish its unequivocal meaning and intention. Elsewhere he writes about where they stand,

> ...men stand in the southern part of the church and women in the northern to show through the stronger sex that the stronger saints are always amid the greater temptations of fire of this world, and through the weaker sex that the weaker have a more fitting place.
>
> Masculi stant in australi parte et feminae in boreali, ut ostendatur per fortiorim sexum firmiores sanctos semper constitui in maioribus temptationibus aestus huius mundi, et per fragiolorem sexum infirmiore saptiore loco.[514]

A ninth-century anecdotal account confirming the practice of segregation within Amalarius's writing is found in an excerpt from the *Annals of St Bertin*. In an extract for 858, the writer recounts the story of a wolf entering a church in Sens, first harassing the men and then proceeding to disturb the women before disappearing.[515] I cannot find any archaeological evidence of the ninth-century church of St Porcaria at Sens where this event supposedly took place or of its doorway position(s). Still, this mid ninth-century story is a further example of the established church practice of gender segregation mentioned by Amalarius and in other earlier medieval written sources.

An earlier seventh-century source for gendered doorways can be found in Cogitosus' *Life of St Brigit* at the monastic church at Kildare (Ireland). Cogitosus, who wrote no later than 650, states that this church was rebuilt with a women's

514. Amalarius, *On the Mass*, Book 3. 2. 10.
515. Aston, "Segregation in Church," 242; Janet L. Nelson, trans., *The Annals of Saint Bertin*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 86.

nave door on the north side and a men's door to the south.[516] He describes the church as follows,

> The second of these walls divides the floor of the building into two equal parts and stretches from the west wall to the wall running across the church. This church contains many windows and one finely wrought portal on the right side through which the priests and the faithful of the male sex enter the church, and a second portal on the left side through which the nuns and congregation of women faithful are accustomed to enter. And so, in one vast basilica, a large congregation of people of varying status, rank, sex and local origin, with partitions placed between them, prays to the omnipotent Master, differing in status, but one in spirit.

and,

> Now, when the old door of the left portal through which saint Brigit used to enter the church...[517]

> Atque alius paries pauimentum domus in duas aequales diuidens partes a pariete occidental usque ad transuersum in latitudinem parietem extentus est. Et haec tenet ecclesia in se multas fenestras, et unam in latere dextro ornatam portam, per quam sacerdotes et populi fideles masculini generis intrant in ecclesiam; et alteram portam in sinistro latere, per quam uirgines et faeminarum fidelium congregation intrare solet. Et sic in una basilica maxima populous grandis in ordine et gradibus et sexu et locis diuersis, interiectis inter se parietibus, diuerso ordine et uno animo omnipotente morant dominatorem.[518]

Roberta Gilchrist uses this detailed description of the church at Kildare as a possible model for gender segregation, noticing the longitudinal axis dividing wall in place to segregate the sexes.[519] Carol Neuman de Vegvar considers Gilchrist's thesis implausible for gendered church space. Her dispute is partly based on the building's dimensions and that internal spatial division was not part of early Irish church architecture. She argues that the largest known Irish churches at this time were no larger than that found at Iniscealtra which had an external width of five

516. S. Connolly and J.-M. Picard, "Cogitosus's "Life of St Brigit" Content and Value", *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 117 (1987): 5-27.
517. Connolly and Picard, "Cogitosus's "Life of St Brigit," 26.
518. Cogitosus, *Vita S Brigitae auctore Cogisoso*, *Archive of Celtic Latin Literature, Second (Developed and Expanded) On-Line Edition*, comp. Anthony Harvey and Angela Malthouse, accessed February 21, 2020, http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2855/acll/pages/Toc.aspx.
519. Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), 134-37.

meters. Neuman de Vegvar states that its internal space would be at most four and a half meters wide, therefore too narrow for partitioning men and women with a room divider.[520] Thomas Ó Carragáin dismisses Neuman de Vegvar's arguments, citing an even narrower church, with an external width of four and a half metres, at Whithorn (Scotland), also longitudinally divided.[521] Ultimately, such a small nave could be bisected effectively. A thin wooden screen of perhaps ten centimetres wide at Kildare would leave more than four meters as shared nave space giving the north and south range each about two meters. A curtain divider would leave even more room for each side. Such an arrangement may have been cramped but adequate for two or three people standing side by side.

The fact remains that Cogitosus did write and describe a church in connection with St Brigit. Whether it was actually built or remained an idealised building where St Brigit may have worshipped is not crucial. That women and men were provided, even if just in theory, with gender specific doorways into the nave, makes Cogitosus's account important. He presents quite possibly an architectural response to St John Chrysostom's direction, and other patristic era writers, to separate men and women and to give each their own doorway. The church Cogitosus described is certainly an exceptional building not seen elsewhere, or possibly not at all. I have found no other churches with two nave doorways prior to the tenth century. Cogitosus' recognition of a gender specific doorway in a probable missionary church in Ireland alone may not necessarily be just a descriptive anecdote but a subtly deliberate reference. He may have created this account to enhance Brigit's status as one of the three patron saints of Ireland:St

520. Carol Neuman de Vegvar, "The Architecture of Women's Monasticism in Archaeology and in Early Insular Texts," *Visual Resources* 16, no. 3 (2000): 207-20.
521. Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory* (London: YUP, 2010), 172.

Brigit makes her holy entrance through her own doorway through which other women follow physically and by spiritual example. His reference to the partition wall dividing the nave in two, moreover, may have been an architectural feature that accomplishes the segregation effectively and is quite possibly linked to the *mechitza* in Jewish practice. We do not know if the Jewish practice influenced Christians or the other way around. Still, such room dividers may further have had an influence on the Gilbertine church architecture of the twelfth century which is investigated later in this chapter.

The documentary and art historical evidence from the seventh to the tenth century only supports gender segregation inside churches. I have found no archaeological evidence to support the existence of gendered doorways. Most churches in this period tended to have a single western doorway. There were a few possible exceptions like St Oswald's, Gloucester, the tenth-century Canterbury Cathedral and St Peter's at Barton-upon-Humber. As few local churches survived from the tenth century there is little evidence to suggest that they were constructed with a second nave doorway let alone a women's doorway.

(b) Eleventh-Century Reforms, Clerical Purity and Segregation

A different form of segregation might also have been a factor for the creation of a second nave doorway. Clerical purity was an important feature of mid-eleventh century reform. This came at the time of the great building of local churches in England. The reform movement had numerous objectives including the elimination of simony and clerical marriage.[522] Although the reform is named after Pope Gregory VII (1073-85), the effort for changing the church occurred before, during,

522. Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200,"*The Cambridge Historical Journal* 12 no. 1 (1956): 1-21.

as well as after his pontificate.[523] For present purposes, the more relevant reform that might relate to church doorways is clerical celibacy, which had been a Church objective for centuries. Since the fifth century, the Church officially prohibited any cleric above the office of sub-deacon to marry.[524] From the eleventh century, the local priest had to follow a celibate, chaste and virtuous life among the laity.[525]The mid-eleventh century saw a great push to enforce this practice. Thus, it is certainly worth questioning whether the contemporary church building campaign and the new doorway design had anything to do with clerical purity and segregation from the laity.

We have much primary source evidence from this period on clerical celibacy and purity. For example, in 1064 Peter Damian wrote a letter to Cunibert, the Bishop of Turin. He excoriated the bishop for not enforcing clerical celibacy within his diocese and questioned how unchaste priests can officiate:

> Therefore, since all the holy Fathers, who with the aid of the Holy Spirit fashioned the canons, without dissent unanimously concur that clerical chastity must be observed…But for those who wallow in the filth of wanton pleasure, how can they dare in their pernicious security to participate in the sacrament of the saving Eucharist…?[526]

A decade later in 1075, Abbot Andrew of Strumi wrote of the preaching of Ariald (later Saint) who spoke out against the corrupt Guido, Archbishop of Milan. Andrew of Strumi emphasised the need to protect the priestly office,

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523. Jennifer Thibodeaux, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 41-63.
524. Ibid., 1-3; Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 154-89.
525. Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow: Pearson, 2013), 62-64, 82-83.
526. Peter Damian, Letter 112, *The Letters of Peter Damian*, trans. Owen J. Blum, in *The Fathers of the Church: Medieval Continuation* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1989), 5: 258-59, 266-69, 270-71, 285 quoted in Maureen Miller, *Power and the Holy in the Age of the Investiture Conflict, A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's, 2005), 45-49.

> …consider your priests…these, as you know, openly take wives just like laymen, pursue debauchery just like the most-wicked laymen...Christ on the contrary, sought and desired such purity in his ministers[527]

It was also clear to Pope Gregory VII that such priests were not to officiate. In 1076 stated in his letter to Adela, Countess of Flanders, the following:

> We have heard that some of your people doubt whether priests or deacons or other ministers of the altar who persist in fornication ought to celebrate the mass. To these we respond…that unchaste servants of the altar should, under no circumstances, celebrate the mass.[528]

In England, also in 1076, Archbishop Lanfranc issued a similar prohibition for new priests to marry.[529] Gregory VII and the others leave no doubt that priests were not to marry or engage in sexual relations with women. As discussed in Chapter 4, clerical purity could have been a factor in the creation of priests' chancel doorways, based on the separation of the laity from the clergy within the context of the celebration of the Eucharist and the miracle of transubstantiation.[530] The separation was not only a need for the clergy but also addressed concerns of the laity. In this sense, Maureen Miller writes about the public's anxiety and uncertainty of the validity of the sacraments performed by sinful priests.[531] As such, segregation would allay some of these fears. This being said, the secondary nave doorway, usually the northern one, could have functioned as a priest's doorway when churches did not have one in the chancel or eastern cell. Such an entrance might have fulfilled the requirement for maintaining clerical purity. The priest would have been separated from women but also from the male community.

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527. Andrew of Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialdi*, Chapters 5-6, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, vol. 30, part 2, ed. F, Baethgen (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1934), 1052 quoted in Maureen Miller, *Power and the Holy in the Age of the Investiture Conflict*, 49-51.
528. *Das Register Gregors VII*, 4.10, ed. E. Caspar, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae selectae*, vol. 2, part 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920-23; rpt. Munich, 1990), 309 cited in Maureen Miller, *Power and the Holy in the Age of the Investiture Conflict, A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's, 2005), 53-54.
529. Brooke, "Gregorian Reform in Action," 11.
530. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England*, 17-22.
531. Miller, *Power and the Holy*, 49.

These doorways provided the segregation from the laity and the northern doorway would not be used for the priest alone.

However, there is overwhelming evidence that those buildings which were chapels from their origin and which remained chapels by the end of the Middle Ages, tended to have a single doorway. How could such buildings protect the goal of clerical purity if the priest and laity, especially women were forced to comingle? The laity and the priest had no choice but to share the same entrance at such chapels. If doorways were essential to assure clerical purity then it is doubtful this objective was only upheld at multi-doorway churches but neglected in all of the others. I suggest that clerical purity could not be important to one community yet ignored in another one close by, such as at the single doorway chapel at Dode(Kent) and the multi doorway parish church at All Saints, Birling (Kent) only three kilometres apart. As Christopher Brooke writes, “The attack on clerical marriage was closely associated with the new sacramental theology, with its growing sense that the priesthood and all who stood at the altar at mass were a race apart, ‘separated for the work’”.[532] The priests were indeed separated but I have found no evidence to support the argument that clerical purity was a factor for the second nave doorway in local English churches. However, I do suggest that a feature of purity is very much a factor for the use of the second doorway; namely, a woman’s purity after childbirth rather than in relation to clerical purity.

6.3. The Women’s Churching Doorway?

The community of the large, mid fourteenth-century Sint Janskerk Gouda (Holland) church calls its northern doorway its ‘Kraamvrouwen Portaal’ or

532. Brooke, “Gregorian Reform in Action,” 3.

'maternity door'.[533] The positions of its three nave doorways at the north, south and through a west tower have not changed since the fourteenth century. I suggest the possibility that Sint Janskerk's churching doorway may be more than just anecdotal evidence but rather an enduring medieval custom, linking the second nave doorway, usually on the north side, to women.

As discussed in the last chapter, one part of the Ash Wednesday procession takes place at the north doorway of parish churches. A purpose of the rite was to re-enact Adam's expulsion from Eden and to acknowledge sin. It was also to allow the parishioners to participate in a public display of penance. The northern doorway is therefore marked as a sinners' doorway from which the members of the community are ejected and then readmitted through the southern doorway, the principal entrance for the laity in most cases. I suggest that in the eleventh century, the parish priests of English local churches at times used the northern doorway, liturgically linked with sin, for the use of women for their churching rite.

Many scholars have recently written about the medieval ritual of churching of women, arriving at varying conclusions about its origin.[534] There is academic consensus that the churching of women is loosely derived from ancient Jewish practice rooted in Leviticus.[535] My argument in this section is that there may be parallels among Jewish and Christian practice in their architectural response to

533. T. Sterenborg, *De Restauratie van de Sint-Janskerkte Gouda 1964-1980* (Gouda: Stichting Fonds Goudse Glazen, 1980), 33, 79.
534. Some are: Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual* (London: Taylor & Francis,1997); Gail McMurray-Gibson, "Blessing from Sun and Moon" in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 139-54; William Coster, "Purity, Profanity and Puritanism: The Churching of Women, 1500-1700," *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 377-87; Becky Lee, "The Purification of Women after Childbirth in Medieval England," (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1998).
535. Lev. 12:1-6.

their own respective rituals. I will first review the medieval Jewish tradition and method followed by the Christian practice to demonstrate that the exclusions placed on the Jewish woman after birth were not too different from her Christian counterpart, although its basis clearly was. I suggest that just as Jewish women attended a separate facility for her purification so Christian women likewise began their reintegration into society through not a separate structure but a separate church doorway.

This maternity doorway, to use Sint Janskerk's terminology, is distinct from the other doorways used at the church at that time. The Christian community socially segregated the newly post-partum, married mother. I propose that due to her believed impurity she required her own entrance:(i) to highlight her existing condition and previous exclusion, (ii) to deny unwed mothers an opportunity to illegally access the church through the common shared principal doorway, (iii) to magnify the importance and social messaging of her forthcoming ritual and (iv) to isolate her from others who may be attending church at the same time. As discussed in the previous architectural chapters, in many churches the north doorway, opposite the southern principal doorway, is often narrower, plainer, and not as elaborate. We even see in some churches, such as St Pega at Peakirk (Peterborough), a 'warning to janglers' painted over the interior arch of north doorways, referring to gossipy women.[536] Furthermore, the northern doorway is linked to sin liturgically in the Ash Wednesday procession.

To draw parallels we must first begin with Jewish purification practice. Evidence for this is found in the *Mishnah*, the first written collection of oral laws of

536. Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 91.

the early third century.[537] Judith Baskin writes that the *Mishnah's* concept of female impurity was based upon blood pollution caused by menstruation and childbirth within the context of marriage, not as a result of any moral imperfection rooted in sex. The married woman needed purification not for her own benefit but to protect the piety of her husband. In contrast, unmarried Jewish women did not require purification on the understanding that they would not engage in sexual intercourse outside of wedlock.[538] It may be possible that the unmarried mother would need to achieve purification prior to a later marriage. The early medieval Jewish customary law (*minhag*) rather than rabbinic Talmudic law itself (*halakhah*) became more restrictive for the postpartum married woman. The sixth or seventh-century text *Baraita de-Niddah* suggested that an impure married woman, in pursuit of piety, should not enter a synagogue, touch sacred books, pray or recite God's name.[539] We are not certain if these medieval social restrictions are originally Jewish or Christian or if they developed simultaneously. We do know that both religions had similar needs for postpartum purification rituals linked with social segregation. I examine the Christian exclusion and churching practice later in this section.

New Jewish mothers achieved purification by immersion in a ritual bath, the mikveh. This bath was also used for other purification rites such as that occurring following menstruation, and for the purification of utensils. Even males used the mikveh as part of their conversion to Judaism or for other ceremonies; it thus

537. Elizabeth Shanks Alexander, *Transmitting Mishnah, The Shaping Influence of Oral Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 1-2.
538. Judith Reesa Baskin, "Women and Ritual Immersion in Medieval Ashkenaz: The Sexual Politics of Piety," in *Judaism in Practice: from the Middle Ages through the early modern period*, ed. Lawrence Fine (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 131-42.
539. Ibid.

served a multitude of purification functions.[540] Ancient mikvehs have been excavated including those of the late first century BC at Gamla (Israel) and Jericho (Palestine), so we know that this is a pre-Christian ritual performed in a specific and regulated architectural setting.[541] The *Mishnah* describes the legal requirements for the mikveh's structure and specifies its required volume, containment and flow of spring water.[542] The mikveh was not a place for washing as women would cleanse themselves prior to entry. The mikveh was also not part of the main sanctuary of the synagogue and some were even built in, or below, private residences, depending on the location of the water source. The earliest excavated medieval Continental mikveh may be the seventh-century one at Ortygia, Syracuse (Sicily). It lies approximately ten metres under the seventh-century main building.[543] Others include one dated c. 800 at Cologne (Germany), and others from the early twelfth century at Worms, Speyer and Cologne again, all of which are significantly below ground level and must be accessed by narrow staircases.[544] Generally, mikvehs had small dimensions and had just enough water to immerse a person and were for solitary use.[545] We understand from Jewish practice that the architectural structure where the rite was performed was chiefly for women's use, separate from the communal sanctuary of the synagogue. Postpartum and post-menstruation purification for married Jewish women was

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540. Sharman Kadish, ed., *Building Jerusalem: Jewish Architecture in Britain* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 101.
541. Harold Liebowitz, "Excavations at Tel Yin'am: The 1976 and 1977 Seasons: Preliminary Report, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 243 (1981): 89-91.
542. *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* 2nd ed., vol.14, s.v. "Mikva'ot," Arnost Zvi Ehrman, eds., Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2007), 224.
543. Angela Scandaliato and Nuccio Mulè, *La sinagoga e il bagno rituale degli ebrei di Siracusa* (Firenze: Giuntina, 2002), 101-12.
544. Klaus-G. Hinzen, Stephan Schreiber, Claus Fleischer, Sharon K. Reamer, Isabel Wiosna, "Archaeoseismic study of damage in Roman and Medieval structures in the center of Cologne, Germany," *Journal of Siesmology* 17 (2013): 399-424.
545. Danielle Steen Fatkin, "Invention of a Bathing Tradition in Hasmonean Palestine," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 50 (2019): 160.

thus a ritual directly linked with a gendered architectural setting. Immersion was a semi-private matter, not supervised by a rabbi or conducted by another woman. That said, it is possible that one or more women with similar needs may have attended together, proceeding into the mikveh sequentially. The mikveh itself was thus a structure which, apart from its other functions, facilitated a married woman's purification. She embarked upon her own purification procession from home to the mikveh. Once completed, she could re-enter society as a fully participating member. With this in mind, we might turn to the Christian use of religious architecture to similarly complete the purification cycle.

Paula Rieder, however, argues that the Christian ritual is more than an adaptation of the Jewish law rooted in Leviticus or the later Candlemas rite. She states it has a more complex development, noting that while the earliest sources we have describing maternal purification are from and after the early seventh century, the custom may be much older.[546] Rieder states that on one level, purification is based in a moral dimension that addresses and ameliorates the sin of lust experienced in intercourse. Pope Gregory I stated to Archbishop Augustine, circa 600,

> But it is in the intercourse of the flesh that the pleasure lies; for in bringing forththe infant there is pain…So if we forbid a woman who has been delivered to enter the church, we reckon her punishment as a sin.[547]

As we can see in Gregory's missive, a process of maternal purification that enabled mothers to re-join the church as full participants may have existed by this time.

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546. Paula Rieder, *On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100-1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 14-17.
547. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 14-17; Lee, "The Purification of Women after Childbirth," 9, the exchange may have been between Pope Gregory I and Archbishop Theodore.

Another component of purification in early medieval France is based upon blood as a pollutant from which all need protection. It is not at all linked to the protection of the husband/father's purity as in Jewish thought. Rieder draws our attention to eighth to tenth-century penitentials which link postpartum impurity with blood flow, not necessarily for only married women but unwed mothers too.[548] These penitentials applied to all women, including those who are menstruating, who would be excluded from entering a church. She argues that the earliest written evidence of a possible churching ritual is from Pseudo-Theodore, who, in 875, "stated that following the forty-day period of sexual abstinence after childbirth 'a woman should come to church with a candle and an offering.'"[549]

Adolf Franz identified the earliest extant medieval source for the rite. It is found in MS CVP 2090, Bl '95, 11./12. Jahr., Salzburg. The Salzburg rite from the late eleventh to early twelfth century, provides as follows,

> Benedictio ad introducendam post partum mulierem
>
> Post XL dies mulier ad ecclesiam veniat, si filium gignerit, si autem filiam post XLVI, foris stans, et dicat sacerdos psalmos : Laudate, pueri [112]. Beati omnes [127],
> Preces,
>
> 1. Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, eterne deus, qui tue benedictionis
>   Gracia megris in fundendo etc.
>   [Evangelium] : In principo. Tunc apprehensa manu eius dextra introducat eam dicens:
> 2. Aufer a nobis, quesumus, domine, inquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mentibus intrare mereamur.
>   Illa prostrata dicat antiphonam: Cormundum. Ps. Miserere mei. Pater noster. Benedicat te dominus ex Syon etc.
> 3. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, maiestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut, sicut unigenitus filius tuus cum nostre carnis substantia in templo est presentatus, its facias hanc famulam tuam purificatis tibi mentibus presentari.
>   Ter aspergatur aqua benedicta et dicat sacerdos:

548. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 23-25.
549. Ibid., 25-27.

4. Presta, domine, famule tue per huius aque aspersionem sanitatem mentis, integritatem corporis, tutelam salutis, securitatem spei, corroborationem fidei hic et in eternaseclaseclorum.
   Et porrigatei incesum dicens : Odore celestis inspirationis accendat te dominus et impleat cor tuum caritate spiritus sancti. Amen.[550]

Blessing for leading in a woman after she has given birth

After 40 days let the woman come to the church, if she has had a boy, or if it is a girl after 46, [the woman] standing before the doors, and let the priest say the Psalms: Praise, boys (112), Blessed all (127).

Prayers,

1. Holy Lord, almighty father, everlasting god, who thanks to your blessing, by pouring over (etc.)
   [The Gospel]: In the beginning. Then having taken her right hand let him lead her in saying:
2. Take from us, we ask, o Lord, our sins, so that we might be worthy to enter into the holy of holies with pure minds. Let her, prostrate, say this antiphone: “Heart, world”. Psalm: “Pity me” “Our Father” “may the Lord bless you from Syon” etc.
3. Almighty everlasting God, we supplicants pray to your majesty, so that, just as your only son in our physical flesh was presented in the temple, you might allow this servant of yours to be presented to you with clean mind. Let her be sprinkled with holy water three times and let the priest say:
4. Make ready, lord, your servant’s health of mind through the sprinkling of this water, the strength of her body, the safety of her health, the security of her hope, the proof of her faith now and for ages. And let him stretch out incense over her saying: may the Lord lift you up by the odour of heavenly breath and may he fill your heart with the care of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

The Salzburg rite’s minimum forty-day wait aligns with Pseudo-Theodore’s ninth-century restriction, perhaps suggesting a development of earlier custom. More importantly, the Salzburg rite specifically states this as a purification ritual, with the mother attending at the church door herself. The priest’s use of his left hand draws further metaphors and symbolism. By using his left hand the priest

550. Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1909), 223-24.

also protected his stronger right hand- critically, the hand that performed the act of blessing- from the mother's still sullied state, as he transitioned from beyond the threshold to inside the church where her purification was enacted. Franz found further later Continental variations of this ritual, all of them beginning at the church door, confirming the development of the rite through the Middle Ages.[551]

Our earliest English evidence of the churching rite is only from a fourteenth-century manuscript copy of the Sarum Manual well after the practice was developed on the Continent and in England. It is also seen in the Sarum Missal but the oldest extant copy of the Missal with the churching ritual is only from the fifteenth century. Two pontificals, the Chichele Pontifical and MS Tanner 5, contain the rite but these also date to the first half of the fifteenth century.[552] As there are no extant English eleventh-century churching texts our knowledge is limited for that period. The English rubrics we do have are a variation of the Salzburg rite. As Becky Lee summarises, the later medieval English texts contain several basic elements including, (i) the priest with one or more assistants attend at the door of the church where the new mother waits, (ii) he recites Psalm 120, (iii) then a further series of short prayers, (iv) a series of versicles and responses calling upon God for the protection of the woman, (v) the priest sprinkles the woman with holy water and then leads her into the church by the right hand.[553] The English rites all begin at the church doorway just like the Salzburg rite and thus we have a continuity of custom at least on this feature. It is true the English rite is different, with the psalms specified and a reference to the priest's right hand, rather than his

551. Joanne M. Pierce, "'Green Women' and Blood Pollution: Some Medieval Rituals for the Churching of Woman after Childbirth," *Studia Liturgica* 29 (1999): 198-99, twelfth-century rites including Rite II from Kloster Wessobrunn, Rite III from Lambach, Rite IV Leipzig and Rite V from Verona.
552. Lee, "The Purification of Women after Childbirth,"12-14.
553. Ibid., 15-16.

left, to bring the woman into the church. However in England, the rite is still one that occurs at the doorway.

The natural question following on from this is which doorway this rite occurred at. We do know that the churching of women was a rite conducted by the parish priests. Rieder presents substantial documentary evidence in this regard, includinga charter of 1224 that limits the chaplain of the count and countess of Dreux and Brienne-le-Chateau, who should,

> …receive nothing from the parishioners of the same parish as offerings, not for penance or purification or other things which the parishioners ought, by parochial rights, to receive from their own priest.[554]

And from a statute of the Bishop of Troyes, 1374,

> The priests should instruct the women of their parish who have sought purification …that when…they come to the church for the first time, they should do this respectably, at the decent and customary hour, not secretly but in the open, so that at this service respect for the Church may be demonstrated, the honour of marriage may be shown, and a legitimate birth may be acknowledged.[555]

We even read Margery Kemp's passion for keeping the ritual at the parish church in the mid fourteenth-century. In Chapter 25 of her book, she reports the opposition of some people in her community to the attempt of St Nicholas chapel at King's Lynn (Norfolk) to acquire permission to perform churching,

> the chapels having and administering all the Sacraments, except only christening and purifications…
> Through some of the parishioners desiring to make the chapels like the parish church by pursuance of a bull from the Court of Rome, there befell great dispute and great trouble between the prior, who was their parson and curate, and the aforesaid parishioners, who desired to have fonts and purifications in the chapels, as there were in the parish church And especially in the one chapel [St Nicholas, King's Lynn] which was the greater and fairer, they would have a font.[556]

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554. Charles Lalore, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline du diocèse de Troyes, de 1785 à 1843. Statuts et règlements*, vol. 2 (Troyes: 1882-83), 108-9 cited in Reider, *On the Purification of Women*, 32-33.
555. Ibid.
556. W. Butler-Bowden, *The Book of Margery Kempe, A Modern Version* (London: OUP, 1940), 75-76.

As Rieder states, this public churching ritual delivers a multi-faceted message to the community that reinforced the social, gender and religious standards which the parish priest, not a chaplain, or itinerant priest, oversaw. It was, in part, a means to regulate and control and exclude specifically unwed or illicitly wed mothers in a parish.[557] This exclusivity also kept the churching fee within the parish and was not to be taken by independent priests or chaplains. The collection of the fees was strictly protected by the individual parish.[558] Moreover, the parish priest knew his flock and would not be fooled into churching a woman whom he knew was unmarried.

Prior to her churching, the postpartum woman's role in the home and in the community was greatly reduced and temporarily managed by other women. Lee states that the new mother "customarily retreated from normal society in the latter stages of pregnancy…until her purification which lasted approximately six weeks."[559] Her segregation was maintained up to her entrance into the church itself. The rubrics do not discuss multiple new mothers attending as a group though it is possible that more than one woman could have completed her seclusion period on the same day. The individualisation of the ritual is quite clear: the new mother was singled out for purification in the ceremony for her alone even though she would be supported and attended by female relatives or friends in this processional celebration. While there is much evidence of churching as a later medieval English practice, with records of rituals such as receiving blessed bread,

557. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 148-59.
558. Norman J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 222-23; Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 33-34.
559. Becky Lee, "Men's Recollections of a Woman's Rite: Medieval English Men's Recollections Regarding the Rite of the Purification of Woman after Childbirth," *Gender & History* 14 no. 2 (2002): 227; Katherine French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion after the Black Death* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 60-62.

celebratory meals, and the wearing of a veil,[560] these features sit outside of the timeframe for the original architectural changes of the later tenth or early eleventh century that are being explored in this thesis.

I suggest that although Jewish and Christian practice developed differently, albeit possibly contemporaneously and with mutual influence on each other, they each follow very similar societal customs and may reflect shared gender norms. Regardless of the purpose of their respective purification requirements, new Jewish and Christian, married mothers (i) were segregated from their husbands sexually for a certain period of time before and after birth; (ii) were segregated from their larger social world as well for this time, their laying in period; (iii) followed necessary purification rituals; (iv) attended religious architectural structures to achieve purification; (v) followed a circuitous, processional journey to a distinct place for purification from home (the presumed location of conception and birth) through the community, to the location of cleansing, and then back to the home; and (vi) were restored as fully participating members of society upon completing the ritual.

I suggest that the Christian woman completed the cyclical journey through her own publicly monitored procession. Perceived as being impure, and as a product of original sin, she possibly entered the maternity doorway on the north side of the church; the doorway associated with sin. She was greeted by the priest and brought inside for her purification ritual. She was then purified and became an unrestricted member of the parish community. She would not leave by the northern doorway as she would then have been cleansed. She would join her family and community inside the church. I further suggest that she then returned to

560. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 158.

society exiting through the principal church doorway on the south side along with all others in attendance. A second church doorway may have been added to parish churches to accomplish the Christian ritual and to assure that the rite had to be performed at a 'parish' church, not just at any chapel. The community knew the churching day, the priest prepared blessed bread (in later medieval times), he demanded a churching fee, and the husband usually provided a public celebration of some sort at home. Despite the woman's ultimate reintegration into society, the first phases of her ritual were socially segregated, and we can thus see the logic and practicality of a segregated maternity doorway at the local parish church or parochial chapel.

It must be noted that I have not found any link between the churching ritual and any other church doorway. I therefore suggest that while the circumstantial evidence I have traced is strong, further investigation into churching and church doorways is warranted. A question for future research is whether churching became a more important ritual for the local community at the time of eleventh-century Gregorian reform and, if so, whether it had a further social impact in eleventh and twelfth-century England.

6.4. The Later Medieval Period: the Thirteenth to Sixteenth-Centuries

(a) Continued Segregation?

We understand from Durandus that in the thirteenth century at least men and women remained segregated in church.[561] I have suggested that one nave doorway, typically the northern one, may have had occasional use for women only, as part of the churching ritual. What we do not know, however, is if or how

561. Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divnorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende, A new Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 23-24.

this other doorway was routinely used at other times. The thirteenth-century church of SS Peter and Paul at Hannington (Northamptonshire) may provide this missing evidentiary link: a doorway which may have been used by women at times other than for their churching.

The Gilbertines, a unique English order founded in the 1130s by St Gilbert, built the church at Hannington.[562] The church has a typical thirteenth-century ground plan with a west tower, a nave with three doorways- west, north and south- and chancel (Fig. 6.1).

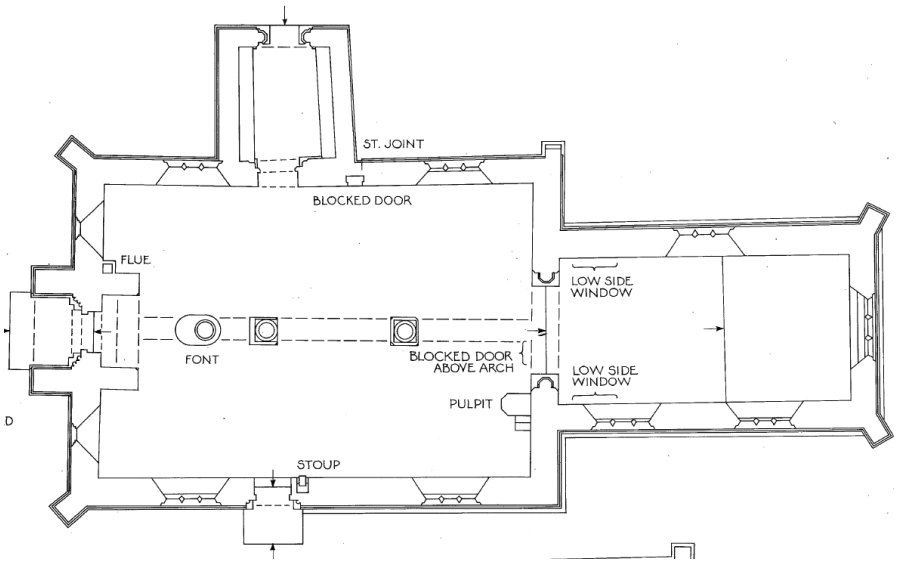

Fig. 6.1, SS Peter and Paul, Hannington (Northamptonshire), RCHM January 1985 drawn by A.D.

Its principal doorway is at the north, which faces the street. Based on its equilateral arch and plain chamfered stonework, its northern doorway seems to be of the thirteenth century style. It is 108 cm wide by 240 cm tall. In contrast, the southern one is a reused, *ex situ*, twelfth-century doorway measuring 87 cm wide by 213 cm tall. I suggest that Hannington's builders made the northern doorway

562. Katharine Sykes, "'Canonici Albi et Moniales': Perceptions of the Twelfth-Century Double House," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 no. 2 (2009): 241; Stephen Gordon, "Monstrous Words, Monstrous Bodies: Irony and the Walking Dead in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium,*" *English Studies* 96 no. 4 (2015): 379-402.

larger than its southern one to reflect its greater importance. The southern doorway is clearly the church's least important doorway despite its more elaborate twelfth-century masonry. It may have been reused for practical purposes and faced away from the street considering its older appearance. Its western doorway is its largest and most elaborate.

Hannington, unlike other English medieval local churches, equally divides its internal space by means of two stone columns. These columns create three bays to the north and south where men and women would have stood. Hannington church appears to mimic this Gilbertine fashion of segregation within church space.[563] Just as at Sempringham Priory (Lincolnshire) and Watton Priory (Yorkshire), walls divided the naves of these Gilbertine great churches. At Sempringham we know that the nuns occupied the southern range but at Watton they occupied the north.[564] As such, we cannot conclude that the northern side of Gilbertine churches were for women. Other local geographic or landscape factors may be important in the allocation of northern or southern space for the Gilbertines. Just as at these great churches it is probable that Hannington was further divided by a curtain or wooden parclose of some sort, though we have no evidence to confirm such an arrangement however possible. If a fixed divider were used then it is possible the women had to enter by the southern doorway or pass through a screen door in the nave. If a curtain were used then all members of the community could enter through the north principal doorway, reform once inside and then raise the divider. Although Hannington may offer evidence of a church with gender specific doorways, we simply do not have sufficient evidence to reach

563. Louis F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Hannington," in *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 4* (London: VCH, 1937, 1985), 172-74.
564. Peter L. Townsend, "The Archaeology of the Monastic Order of the Gilbertines," (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2017), 114-16.

a definite conclusion. Hannington may simply be an English thirteenth-century anomaly, a Gilbertine example of gender separation in one of their parish churches.

(b) Gender Burial Practice - Considered and Rejected

As we saw in Chapters 2 to 4, the second nave doorway does not have a link with the churchyard. Extensive burial evidence from Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire) and Wharram Percy (Yorkshire) is conclusive that burial positioning in these locations was not determined by gender.[565] Still, was this the same throughout the Latin west? Recent archaeological studies in Sweden indicate that gender segregation occurred in some Swedish churchyards from at least the twelfth century. The excavations at Västerhus (Jämtland) and Löddeköpinge (Skåne) confirm burial patterns according to gender. This is consistent with the probable twelfth-century Eidisvathing Ecclesiastical Laws which required women to be buried on the north side of the church and men on the south side. The stone-built church at Västerhus had two nave doorways, north and south which may have been a part of this segregation.[566] Though this may indicate a gender doorway pattern in Scandinavia the research from England differs. I have found no other Continental evidence similar to that from Sweden. The possible gender burials from Sweden may have only been a feature of the Scandinavian church at

565. Tony Waldron, St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire Volume 2, The Human Remains (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 29-36; Simon Mays, Charlotte Harding and Carolyn Heighway, The Churchyard, Wharram, A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, XI (York: English Heritage, 2007), 1-10, 216-32.

566. Jes Wienberg, "Gotlandic Church Portals: Gender or Ritual?" in Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe, Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference, vol. 5, eds. Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaege (Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), 107-11. Kristina Jonsson, Practices for the Living and the Dead Medieval and Post-Reformation Burials in Scandinavia (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2009), 52, 'men should be located south of church but women north'; Nils-Gustaf Gejvall, Westerhus Medieval Population and Church in the Light of Skeletal Remains (Stockholm: 1960), 120-24; Guðný Zoega and Douglas Bolender, "An archaeology of moments: Christian conversion and practice in a medieval household cemetery," Journal of Social Archaeology 17, no. 1 (2017): 78.

a certain period of the Middle Ages. Without further evidence to the contrary, it is improbable that English burial positioning was related to church doorway placement.

(c) Evidence of Segregation: Rood Screens and Bench Carvings

A great deal of the images and glass and other objects within English churches were destroyed during the Reformation and the English Civil War. However, a great many rood screens survived.[567] These screens separated the laity from the clergy in the church. They were clearly the objects of their gaze and their images were purposely arranged.[568] Eamon Duffy discusses mixed examples of female and male positioning on rood screen images. He states that the iconography upon these screens also acts as a mirror for the ordering of men and women in church and their seating arrangement.[569] On these screens The Virgin Mary was on Christ's right side. This arrangement placed Mary on the north side of the nave in front of the women and the men would be on the south side of the nave.[570] We see this at several churches in East Anglia, including, (i) the fifteenth-century screens at Litcham (Norfolk) which has a primary southern doorway for the community and another doorway in the southwest tower, (Figs. 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4), (ii) Belstead (Suffolk) which has a primary southern doorway for its community and one on the north side of the nave, and (iii) Gateley (Norfolk) which also has a primary south doorway and one on the north side of the nave.

567. Audrey Baker, *English Panel Paintings, 1400-1558: A Survey of Figure Paintings on East Anglian Rood Screens* (London: Archetype Pub., 2011), 1-9.
568. Eamon Duffy, "Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England," in *Women in the Church, Studies in Church History*, vol. 7, eds., William J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 177.
569. Duffy, "Holy Maydens," 181.
570. Nicholas Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (London: YUP, 2021), 122-23.

The rood screen evidence is certainly limited as they are few and found mostly in East Anglia. Still, it suggests possibilities, though perhaps anecdotal, for the argument that segregation continued into the fifteenth century in English churches and that females were in the north and males on the south side of the nave. Exceptions to the general pattern occur as well. In some churches the saintly male-female images are reversed on the rood screen. This is the case at the churches at North Elmham (Norfolk) and Westhall (Suffolk). At both churches the south nave doorways appear to be the primary entrances for the local communities.

Fig. 6.2, All Saints Church, Litcham (Norfolk), rood screen 15th c.,
Image courtesy of Evelyn Simak, www.geograph.org.uk

Fig. 6.3, Litcham, rood screen north panels with female saints,
Image courtesy of Owl Prints, www.owlprints.co.uk

Fig. 6.4, Litcham Rood Screen South panels with male saints,
Image courtesy of John E. Vigar, www.johnevigar.com

Margaret Aston indicates that figures carved onto church benches also indicate which side men and women occupied. She brings our attention to such carvings at the early sixteenth-century church of St Mary's at Wiggenhall (Norfolk).

This church has a southern primary doorway for its community and also a north doorway. At this church, male saints are carved onto the southern benches and female saints are carved on the northern ones where the corresponding groups presumably sat.

She also brings attention to a reverse ordering at the church of St Andrew at Ashburton (Devon). At that church she notices two important items, (i) male images are carved onto the northern benches and female images are carved on the southern side, and (ii) the Lady Chapel is on the south side of the church not on the northern side where they were usually placed.[571] It is important to notice that at Ashburton, the northern doorway is the primary entrance for the community. In this case the evidence suggests that the usual gender order of women on the north and men on the south may have been reversed at Ashburton.

The limited evidence of extant rood screens and bench carving adds some weight to the argument that segregation may have remained a feature in the later Middle Ages. However appealing this evidence is, we must employ caution for these accounts may be anecdotal and perhaps limited to East Anglian churches. However, the accumulated evidence appears to support the argument that in most cases women remained in the north and men on the south as a general, but not definitive, pattern. Occasionally, however, the reverse ordering was possible, much like at the church of Luckington (Wiltshire) whose primary community doorway was on the north side of the nave and its Lady chapel on the south side.

571. Aston, “Segregation in Church,” 274-280, St Lawrence, Reading (Berkshire), lady altar south side; women sat in the south men in the north as late as 1607.

(d) End of Gender Segregation?

The array of evidence shows that gender segregation was a continued practice in church to the fifteenth century. However, this may have changed sometime in that century when fixed seating was introduced in churches. The laity, up until the time fixed seating was introduced, had typically stood or knelt during the service. Some higher status people may have brought portable stools with them for comfort.[572] Nicholas Orme writes that fixed seating in English churches might have begun in the very late thirteenth century but was possibly not a common practice until the fourteenth-century. He cites Langland's later edition of *Piers Plowman*, *c*. 1380, in which the author mentions "wives and widows enclosed in pews."[573] But this only suggests fixed seating, not mixed gendered seating. Margaret Aston likewise brings our attention to testamentary evidence for fixed pew seating, however this was not necessarily the end to segregation within the church. She cites Sir John Ashton's bequest, dated sometime just after Henry V's death in 1422. He left instructions for the church of Ashton-under-Lyme (Lancashire). In the document he states that he wanted to provide for fixed seating at the church wanting to fund twenty benches, thirteen on the north side and seven in the south. He only listed women as beneficiaries of his seating plan with the women further designated on the pews according to their tenurial status.[574] Aston also states that the wealthy or more exalted members of the community such as widows are also to take positions closest to the east end.[575] Perhaps the

572. Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England*, 120-29.
573. Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England*, 124.
574. John H. Harland, "Custom Roll and Rental of the Manor of Ashton-under-Lyne, November 11, 1422," in *Three Lancashire Documents of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. John Harland (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1868), 112-16.
575. Aston, "Segregation in Church," 267.

development of fixed pew seating reflected a new societal norm where social status and proximity to the altar took precedence over gender.

Desegregation might have become more popular towards the end of the fifteenth century. We also see a new gender and social ordering at Long Melford (Suffolk) (Fig. 6.5).[576] Francis Woodman drew a schematic diagram of seating by patronage to identify who sat in this church, and where (Fig. 6.6).[577]

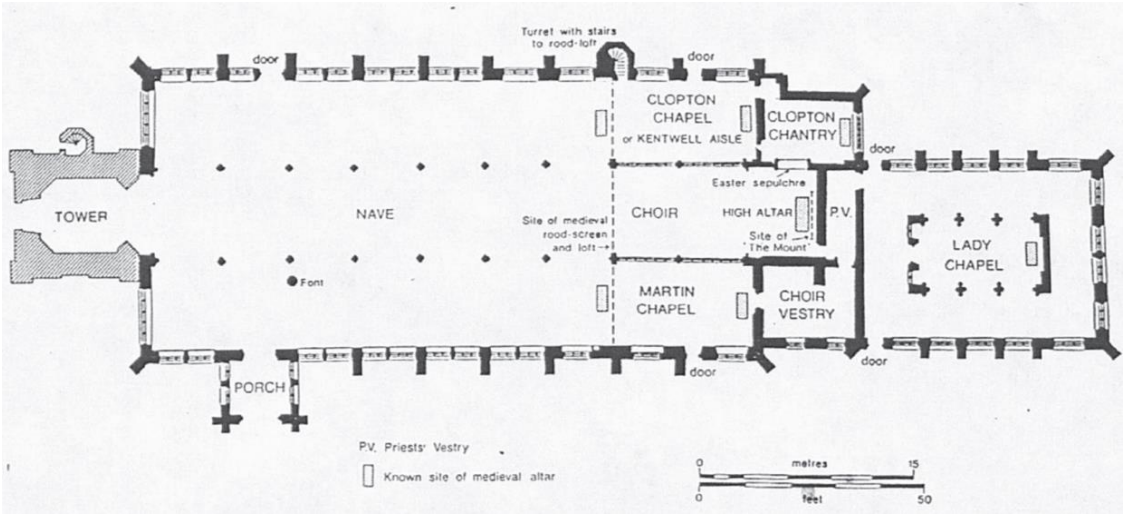

Fig. 6.5, Long Melford (Suffolk) Ground Plan, after Dymond

The patronage schematic diagram names the family and their position in the church. The Clopton Chantry of 1497 is clearly identified as used by their family alone while the north aisle of the nave had seating reserved for a number of ‘well-disposed men’ including the families of Sparrow, Cooper, Bent, Clopton, Smith and Smith. The south aisle has seating for other families, including Moryell, Cooper and Martin.

This very large church had three private chapels endowed by local wealthy merchants. The chapels were screened off from the rest of the nave just in front of

576. David P. Dymond and Clive Paine, eds., *Five Centuries of an English Parish Church: ‘The State of Melford Church’, Suffolk* (Cambridge: EAH Press, 2012), 14-20.
577. Francis Woodman, “The Writing on the Wall: New Thoughts on Long Melford Church,” *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 42 (2010):189.

the rood but still maintained visibility with the other parts of the church. Its Martin Chapel was built in 1484 on the south side of the nave. The Clopton chapel was built in 1497 and is on the north side of the nave. The Clopton family chantry adjoins the Clopton chapel extending further to the east.[578]

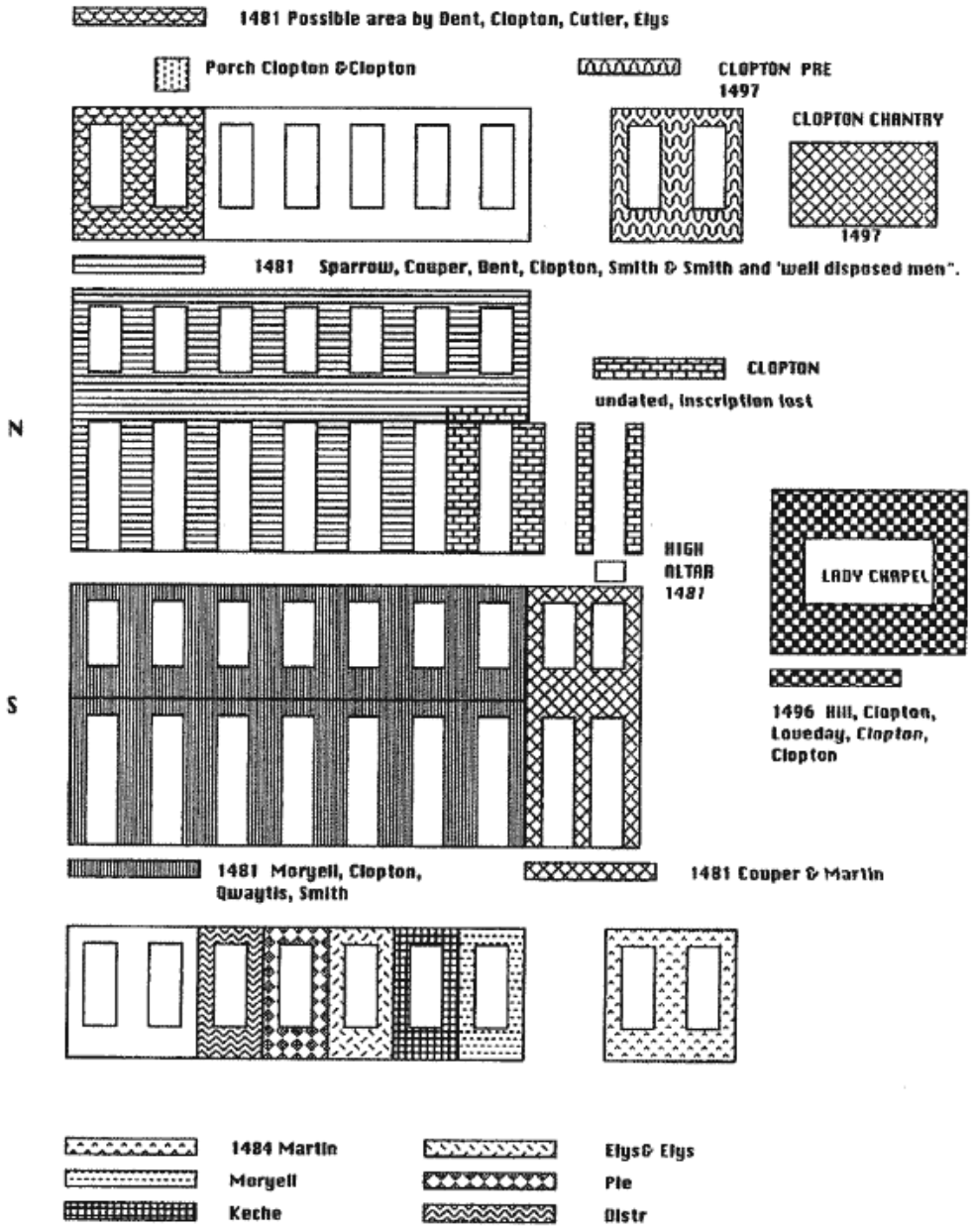

Fig. 6.6, Long Melford, schematic elevations by patronage, Francis Woodman

578. Woodman, “The Writing on the Wall,” 185-97.

Within these chapels, family members were probably not segregated. If this is true, we have Clopton men in the possible women's area and Martin women in the men's zone of the nave. Apart from these family chapels we know that other prominent families had fixed seating at Long Melford's church, which we can see from the 1481 allocation of its fixed seats. Families with adequate funds acquired seating in all sections of the church that probably reflected their social status.[579] The seating arrangement was also probably gender mixed, even though they had not the funds to create their own family chapels like the Cloptons or Martins. This further supports the probable end to segregation- at least in this church- in the late fifteenth century.Further evidence that segregation had ended appears by the early decades of the sixteenth century in churchwarden records. Katherine French presents evidence of mixed seating in early sixteenth-century churchwarden accounts for Yeovil (Somerset). A record for 1516 confirmed that its church was divided into a north, middle range and south side. That record states the churchwarden received:

> 1s. 4d. of John Gelat for a sete for his wyfe or himself whych it shall please him in the mydylle range.[580]

This record is important as it clearly shows a change in gender segregation in the nave of the church at least by this time.

According to French,

> By the next surviving account, 1519, both men and women were sitting in the middle section and women were sitting with men in the south section. By 1541, the next surviving account, men took seats with the women in the church's north side.[581]

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579. Ibid.
580. Katharine L. French, "Local identity and the late medieval parish: The communities of Bath and Wells," (PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 1993), 198-99; Katharine L. French, "The Seat Under Our Lady," in *Women's Space*, eds., Raguin and Stanbury, 141-60, 'Women sat together because they were women and in this group smaller groups formed based upon social, pious or marital status. Evidence of seat purchases in church by women does not indicate whether men and women sat together' 156.
581. French, "Local identity and the late medieval parish," 199.

French's evidence confirms that at Yeovil, church space was desegregated by the second decade of the sixteenth century. Future research into late fifteenth to early sixteenth-century wills and churchwarden accounts at churches throughout England might produce similar findings to confirm the end of gender segregation in church, possibly owing to the introduction of fixed and allocated seating.

6.5. Conclusion

From late Antiquity to the later Middle Ages, gender segregation in church space was a western Christian practice. From the Anglo-Saxon period to the fifteenth century men usually occupied the southern side of the nave while the women had the north. This may not always have been the case: the reverse ordering may have occurred at some later medieval period churches, such as those I have discussed at Ashburton (Devon), North Elmham (Norfolk) and Westhall (Suffolk). These buildings may have been exceptions to the common practice mentioned in religious texts from Amalarius of Metz to William Durandus of Mende which write of the women's place being in the north.

I have found no written or physical evidence to conclude that one of the nave doorways was gender specific. There is some evidence that men, women and priests used the north doorway of parish churches together in the Ash Wednesday procession. They also re-entered the church through the southern doorway, once again together. Neither was designed exclusively for one group. Further, at most chapels, and at a few atypical parish churches, they had to share the single doorway.

The churching liturgical evidence supports my argument that the north doorway might have been used at times by women for that purification ritual. Its link with sin is confirmed by the Ash Wednesday liturgy. I suggest that the Latin Christian ritual used the doorway as an architectural means to facilitate the completion of the married mother's purification, as was similar to the Jewish practice that used an architectural setting for their married new mothers' purification.

Overall, I make four arguments regarding gender and segregation in medieval English local churches: (i) women and men probably (with some later medieval exceptions) occupied the northern and southern range of the nave respectively, (ii) one church doorway (usually its northern, non-principal doorway) was used at specific times by women, (iii) men and women usually shared a common principal entrance into sacred space, with a few noted atypical exceptions, and then, once inside, probably positioned themselves into their gender specific zones, and (iv) by the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century gender segregation ended for the laity in the church.

After analysing gender and segregation in medieval English local churches it is apparent that they are linked with the new doorway positioning changes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Gregorian reforms segregated the clergy from the laity but also may have reinforced notions of sin and purification in this period of the Middle Ages. It is evident that the northern doorway is associated with sin and darkness and has negative connotations in medieval Christian practice. The northern doorway enabled a physical expression of movement from a state of impurity to purity within the church. The northern doorway therefore is linked with sin rather than specifically with the female gender.

A married woman's purification through churching was a parochial ritual and so a second nave doorway associated with sin could have been a necessary feature of the local parochial church. Churching did not occur at the local chapel. The ubiquitous two nave doorway form of the eleventh and twelfth centuries fulfilled not only the Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday purification and reconciliation processions, as seen in Chapter 6, but the new church form also enabled the performance of the churching ritual.

Chapter 7: The Devil's Door?

7.1. Introduction

While conducting my research I met many people- including churchwardens, key holders and amateur church history enthusiasts- who took pride in showing me the now blocked-off north doorway at their church. They confidently told me that this was their 'Devil's Door.' This is in fact an idea commonly held by many; the same idea was articulated in my conversations with several non-academic members at recent BAA conferences. The current academic consensus is that the 'Devil's Door' is probably a post-medieval invention of no merit. Absent from the academic literature, however, is a more precise timeframe in which this idea of the 'Devil's Door' originated, and, moreover, why it did so. One purpose of this chapter is to explore the history of the idea, tracing its possible origins and asking why it continues to persist. To accomplish this, I conducted a thorough search of medieval, early modern and modern written sources, alongside conducting an analysis of archaeological and architectural evidence to try and find an explanation.

My research reveals that the misinformation of the 'Devil's Door' has been disseminated in recent publications. For example, some academic and non-academic studies on English medieval churches have tried to explain that the north doorway of a church was the 'Devil's Door.' The notion has reached far and wide amongst those interested in this field of architecture. The BBC, for example, published in its wide-reaching *Domesday Reloaded* webpage an account of the 'Devil's Door'. Its online page reads as follows,

> St. Nicholas' Church in Boarhunt is made of flint and stone with a tiled roof. The North Door, known as the Devil's Door, was never used by common people, only witches and evil spirits used it. It was said that if a possessed child was christened the exorcised spirit fled through the North Door. After

> the civil war between the Royalists and the Roundheads, many doors were bricked up to stamp out superstition about witches. An ordinary person could walk through that door and instantly gain the repute of being a witch or warlock. These people were either mobbed or if a minister was near, put to the test: either way, they died.[582]

We can further see these ideas expressed in a leaflet for the church of St John the Baptist at Adwicke-upon-Dearn (Yorkshire),

> The arched window opposite the south door was once the medieval north door or "Devil's Door". This was traditionally left ajar during baptism to allow any evil spirits in the child or adult being baptised to escape.[583]

Even Iona Opie and Moira Tatem's *A Dictionary of Superstitions*, published by Oxford University Press in 1993, revised in 2005, further propagates the idea that the north doorways of churches were the 'Devil's Door', in two entries that were originally published in nineteenth-century folkloric journals.[584] They also provide numerous accounts of superstition about the 'north' in mid-sixteenth to twentieth-century writing.[585] Another contemporary writer on medieval English churches, Geoffrey Sharpe, cites Opie and Tatum in his *Historic English Churches* as his source for naming the north doorway as the 'Devil's Door'.[586]

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582. "1986, The Church, North Boarhunt," BBC Domesday Reloaded, webpage, accessed August 16, 2019, https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120319233134/http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/domesday/dblock/GB-460000-108000/page/19.
583. K. W. A. Moffat, ed., *Welcome to St John the Baptist Church Adwick upon Dearne* (Adwick-upon-Dearne: Parish Church Council, n.d.), 2.
584. Iona Opie and Moira Tatem, eds., A Dictionary of Superstitions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 48, 287; Thomas F. Thiselton-Dyer, Church-Lore Gleanings (London: A. D. Innes, 1891), 116 'Occasionally in old churches, as in that of Wellcombe [Devon], over against the font, and in the northern wall, there is an entrance named the 'Devil's Door'. This was thrown open at every baptism for the escape, as it was commonly said, of the fiend, while at other times it was carefully shut' and Charles F. Tebbutt, *Huntingdonshire Folklore (St Ives: Friends of the Norris Museum, 1984),* 12 'At St. Neots access to the church during weddings was by the south door only, use of the north door (the Devil's door) being considered unlucky. The derivation of the North Door comes from according to the writers comes from an issue of burial on north side of a churchyard.'
585. Opie and Tatem, 48, 287; Charlotte S. Burne, "The 'Devil's Door' in Wroxhall Abbey Church," *Folklore* 19, no. 4 (December 1908): 458-59.
586. Geoffrey Sharpe, *Historic English Churches* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 140.

There are further references to the ‘Devil’s Door’ in recent popular literature, including Clive Fewins’ architectural book *The Church Explorer’s Handbook* (2005) and Nathaniel J. Harris’, *The Devil's Door - Initiation into Infernal Witchcraft* (2013).[587] Harris’s occult-based book draws upon the popular, late nineteenth-century occultist Arthur E. Waite, who was writing at the time when the ‘Devil’s Door’ became a popular idea.[588]

Strangely, a French variation of the ‘Devil’s Door’ appears to concern the side- not central- doorways of churches, as is specifically seen in the case of Notre Dame in Paris.*Le Petit Journal de 1867* published one version of the well-known Parisian legend of a man called Biscornet. This metal worker was fabricating the metal hinges at Notre-Dame but could not properly manage the task. He secretly appealed to the Devil for aid. The work was so exceptional that people believed that only the Devil could have made this creation possible. Furthermore, in the August 23, 1867 issue of the same journal, Pierre Petit writes that the southern doorway, which is almost never used, is called the ‘Devil’s Door.’[589] Even Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, in 1889, wrote about Biscornet in his *Dictionaire raisonné de l’architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*.[590] It still remains, in all of its various forms, a popular legend today, finding expression in current tourist publications.[591] We have no evidence that such a metal worker ever

587. Peter Davidson, *The Idea of North* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 35; Clive Fewins, *The Church Explorer’s Handbook* (Norwich: Open Churches Trust, 2005), 45-46, 228; Ellen Ettlinger, “Folklore in Oxfordshire Churches,” *Folklore* 73, no. 3 (September 1962): 163; Nathaniel J. Harris, *The Devil's Door - Initiation into Infernal Witchcraft* (Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2013).
588. Juliette Wood, “The Celtic Tarot and the Secret Tradition: A Study in Modern Legend Making,” *Folklore* 109 (1998): 15-24.
589. Pierre Petit, “Notre-Dame et Les Portes de Notre-Dame,” *Le Petit Journal de 1867*, 23 August 1867, accessed September 10, 2019, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5897467/f3.item.zoom.
590. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, ‘Diable’, Dictionaire raisonné de l’architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle, Tome 5 (Paris : Ve A. Morel & Cie, 1875), 29-33.
591. Anon, “A French Frye in Paris in Architecture,” accessed March 19, 2021, https://afrenchfryeinparis.com/2017/02/28/the-devil-doors-of-paris-and-the-rumor-that-killed-a-man/.

existed: his name and persona may simply have been a creation that amplified the craftsmanship of the doors themselves.

These many English accounts that survive, however, clearly link the Devil with the north. Added to this, is the reality of many blocked northern doorways at English parish churches. By uniting these strands, it is possible to see how the erroneous association between the Devil and northern doorways takes hold of the imagination and creates an appealing feature of local architectural trivia. And what of those ubiquitous blocked north doorways which continue to stimulate such interest among the amateur enthusiasts of church architecture? My research revealed many of these are found on the south side as well. Nineteenth-century diocesan alteration faculties and churchwarden accounts show that many northern doorways were blocked at this time. Some of the locations that blocked their doorways in the nineteenth-century include the churches at Barfrestone (Kent) 1839-41, Boarhunt (Hampshire) 1842, Tetney (Lincolnshire) 1861-62, Crofton (Yorkshire) 1875, Weaverham (Cheshire) 1877, Leigh (Gloucestershire) 1885, and Coln Rogers (Gloucestershire) 1890.[592] I present the purpose and reason for their nineteenth-century sealing at the end of this chapter. It is not surprising that so many would believe in the truth that these blocked doorways were the 'Devil's Door' as the popular media, modern publications, or their own parish church's history pamphlets say they are.

I will proceed to search for the origin of 'Devil's Door' in sequence from the Middle Ages to the modern era. Firstly, I will analyse the history of the idea of 'north' to see if and how it is the basis of the idea for the 'Devil's Door.' Secondly, I will similarly analyse how medieval society considered the Devil and then how he

592. Appendix 2 to this thesis contains some references for blocked doorways.

was perceived through the Early Modern period and afterwards. Finally, I will see if and when there was ever a link between the Devil and the northern doorway by examining archaeological and architectural evidence to establish a period when the idea of the 'Devil's Door' was created.

7.2. Recent Historiography

The BBC and other popular books have contributed to many people believing in this idea of a 'Devil's Door', however this topic has not been seriously considered by scholars until very recently. That said, Robert Silvester, in 2012, and Nicholas Groves, in 2018, did examine this subject.[593]

Both agree the notion is a post-Reformation construct based on superstition and past practice. Groves correctly points out, in a short webpage piece intended for a wide audience, that in the Sarum baptismal rite, the Devil is purged at the church door and not within the building. He concludes that there is no logic to link the Devil with any doorway as part of the pre-Reformation baptism rite. He seeks answers for the purpose of the second doorway and suggests that it was created for processions, especially Palm Sunday, when the procession left the church via the northern doorway.[594] I cannot find any evidence to support this argument but as I have shown in Chapter 5, the north doorway was used for part of the Ash Wednesday procession and perhaps also for the churching of women. He also writes of the negative associations of the north, suggesting it is based on Isaiah Chapter 14.[595] He suggests that the widely held belief of a 'Devil's Door' might be

593. Robert J. Silvester, "The north side of the churchyard," in *Reflections On The Past Essays in Honour of Frances Lynch*, eds. William J. Britnell and Robert J. Silvester (Welshpool: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 2012), 434-51; Nicholas Groves, "Myth-busting – the 'Devil's Doors' revisited," accessed June 6, 2019, https://medievalart.co.uk/2018/10/23/myth-busting-the-devils-doors-revisited/.
594. Groves, 3.
595. Isa, 14:12-14.

the result of a public association of the north with the Devil and was perhaps conveniently invoked as an explanation for the blocking of north doorways after the English Reformation.[596] He does not, however, fully explore just when or how these ideas took root.

In comparison, Silvester's larger paper is located within an academic text. He provides mid nineteenth-century and modern accounts of the 'Devil's Door' as part of baptismal superstition at Welsh churches and for one in Norfolk.[597] In tracing its origin he correctly raises a liturgical argument citing English practice up to and including the first Book of Common Prayer,1549, and writes,

> Prior to the Reformation prayer was used by the priest to drive out the unclean spirit from an infant about to be baptised, and this was retained by Thomas Cramner in the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549. In essence the baptismal liturgy was explicitly concerned with the expulsion of the Devil, but what is not clear is whether the north door's use reflected these liturgical practices in any way.[598]

Silvester appears to imply that the north doorway might possibly have some link with the ritual. It is true we do not know which of the church doorways was used for the exorcism prior to baptism as the liturgical sources I examined are silent on this. The north doorway might have been used just as I argue this doorway is associated with sin as the location for the Ash Wednesday ejection and also possibly for churching. But if this were also the location for exorcism prior to baptism then the infant would be purged there, after which the priest and party would turn away from the northern doorway and proceed to the southern entrance for admission to the nave and font where the rite continued. I suggest that rather than such a procession (which is not supported by any evidence) the location for exorcism would be at the primary congregational entrance. There, usually the

596. Ibid., 4.
597. Silvester, 'The north side of the churchyard,' 445.
598. Ibid.

southern doorway with a porch, is where the exorcism would purify the infant (or adult catechumen). Once purified, the group would enter the church. In this case, that primary entrance for the laity would have no negative association with the devil.

In searching for the origin of the 'Devils' Door', Silvester also writes about the end of processions following the circulation of Books of Common Prayer, which made the northern doorway less important. He argues that, "with the north door past practice and superstitions mingle inextricably."[599] Both writers advance reasonable arguments refuting the 'Devil's Door' as pre-Reformation superstition but neither provides any solid evidence for when, why or how this misconception began. As a result, I will explain the origin of this fallacious curiosity and show that it is not a medieval product but rather one that was derived much later.

7.3. The North – Negative Origins

Negative associations of the 'north' by societies in northern Europe have a long history and are not just a phenomenon or experience of the Middle Ages. In other cultures there appears to be a genuine male-female, positive-negative connotation with the north; perceiving the south as the favoured cardinal point.[600] This appears logical when considering that Christianity is a faith of the northern hemisphere where southern exposure and its heat are preferred to the cold of the north.

A possible source for Christian theology placing Satan in the north might be from the book of *Isaiah* Chapter 14,

> How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? How art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations? And thou saidst in thy heart, 'I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my throne above

599. Ibid., 446.
600. Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Native Art* (London: Continuum, 2000), 81, 87.

> the stars of God; I will sit in the mountain of the covenant in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the height of the clouds; I will be like the Most High.[601]

Gregory the Great writes something similar in his *Dialogues*. In Book III, Chapter Four, he gives an account of Datius (Dacius) the Bishop of Milan and his meeting with the Devil, a parallel with these verses of *Isaiah*,

> Datius, suddenly awaked with the noise of so many beasts, rose up, and in great anger spake aloud to the old serpent, and said: 'Thou art served well, thou wretched creature: thou art he that diddest say: I will place my seat in the north, and I will be like to the highest.[602]

The Vulgate, however, deviates greatly from the Hebrew original. The Hebrew texts of Isaiah 14:12, reads,

> How have you fallen from the heavens, O glowing morning star;
> Been cut down to the ground, O conqueror of nations?[603]

Robert Wilken states the early Christian substitution of 'morning star' for 'Lucifer' may be traced to Luke 10:18, "where Jesus himself seems to presume this allegorical interpretation when he says that he has seen Satan 'falling from heaven like lightning' and Revelations 8:10, 'a great star fell from heaven to earth, and he was given the key of the shaft of the bottomless pit'"[604] We see that early Christian writers including Origen of Alexandria (*c*. 185-254), St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), and John Cassian (360-430?) replaced 'morning star' with

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601. Isa, 14:12-14.
602. Edmund G. Gardner, ed., *The Dialogues St Gregory, surnamed the Great* (London: Evolution Publishing, 1911, 2010), 110-11; As at note 18, above, Henry Turberville uses the same phrasing in the seventeenth century, 'Because the *Devil* hath chosen the *North* for the seat of his malice.'
603. Rabbi N. Scherman, ed., *Tanach, The Torah/Prophets/Writings,The Stone Edition* (New York: Mesorah Publications, 2008), 976-77, This later Christian translation confuses Lucifer with the king of Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar. The authoritative Artscroll Series' Stone Edition of the Tanach, Orthodox Hebrew translation contradicts entirely the northern evil connotation in which case 'Mount of the congregation' reads 'Mountain of the Meeting, on the northern side' referring to the Temple Mount with its northern side being the most holy are of the Temple courtyard (per Rashi – 11th c.) or the Temple Mount was on the north side of Jerusalem (per Radak, 12th c.).
604. Robert L. Wilken, *Isaiah, Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2007), 168-81.

'Lucifer'.[605]A problem with these early Christian commentaries upon *Isaiah* 14 is that they chose not to indicate that 'north' is in fact the revered side of Jerusalem of Mount Zion where Nebuchadnezzar wanted to place his throne. This is reiterated by St Augustine in *City of God*as he writes,

> Now the kingdom of the North is the kingdom of the devil, who announces I will set my throne in the North, I will be like the Most High.[606]

And also by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in the following,

> How is fallen from heaven the Day Star (Lucifer), who used to rise early in the morning! You who wounded the nations fell to earth. You said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north.[607]

The mistranslation of *Isaiah* in the Patristic era and medieval writing linked the devil with the north and established this feature in medieval Christian thought. This Christian revision of the Hebrew text of *Isaiah* may have served early Christian theologians further establishing the good-evil, and therefore north-south, heaven-hell duality and one's ultimate salvation through Christ alone. Essentially, these writers modified and used *Isaiah* to link the North in early Christian theology with the devil.

Further Christian ideas of devils and the supernatural are evident in other early religious texts. St Jerome, writing in the fourth century, reinforces Satan's northern location and influence stating in his translation of *Jeremiah* that, 'ab Aquilone pandetur malum super omnes habitatores terrae' or 'Evil is brought from the north over all inhabitants of the Earth'.[608] This Christian idea of demons and

605. Ibid., 168-77.
606. Ibid., 179.
607. Ibid., 179.
608. Davidson, *North*, 27.

their northern positioning continued and further developed in the Middle Ages; the devil was certainly real and to be feared by the early Christians.

Even Chaucer wrote of the Devil in the north in *The Friar's Tale*. Chaucer provides the account of a travelling monk who encounters a demon along his journey: [at lines 1410-1414]

> 'Brother,' quod he, 'where is now youre dwellyng
> Another day if that I sholde yow seche?'
> This ye man hym answerde in softe speche,
> 'Brother,' quod he, 'fer in the north contree,
> Whereas I hope somtyme I shal thee see.'[609]

Chaucer positioned the Devil in the north, consistent with the general medieval belief that the Devil comes from the north.

In the Medieval Latin west, the north clearly had negative connotations. The question then is whether this provided any basis for the idea of the 'Devil's Door'. Is there any medieval evidence that links the northern church doorway to the Devil? To resolve this question I analyse below an array of written, archaeological and art historical evidence of the Middle Ages.

7.4. Medieval Devilry and the Supernatural

(a) Documentary Evidence

The duality of good and evil was a fundamental aspect of medieval Christian theology. There is a great deal of written evidence for this from the early years of Christianity through the Middle Ages. To test whether the 'Devil's Door' was a medieval idea I analysed many written sources, from early Christian writing to later medieval allegorists in order to locate any links of 'north', the Devil and doorways in the Middle Ages.

(a.1) The Devil and Demons

609. Chaucer, "The Friar's Tale," *Canterbury Tales*, lines 1410-1414 cited in Davidson, *North*, 34.

The presence of Satan is fundamental to Christian doctrine of good and evil, with salvation and final judgment ultimately determined by God. We see this in early Christian texts with the casting away of demons, including in the Gospels of Luke 8:2, and Matthew 5: 25-28, and 17:14-18. An account of a demon in a church appears in the late sixth-century writing of Pope Gregory I.[610] He writes in *Dialogues*, Book III, Chapter Thirty, of a church in Subura (Rome) that was violated by the Arian heresy and required an exorcism in order to be reused.

> On entering the church for the celebration of Mass, the people ... were disturbed by a pig running back and forth through the crowd. Though the people could not see the animal, they felt it scurrying over their feet. During the general commotion that followed, the pig found its way out through the church door. ... That night, a loud noise was heard coming from the top of the church, as of someone running back and forth over the roof. The second night the noise became louder and suddenly burst into a terrifying explosion as if the entire church had been blasted from its foundation. Then peace and quiet returned, never again to be disturbed. From the terrible noise we can judge under what overwhelming power the Devil was forced to leave the place he had so long occupied."[611]

We see from this account that demonic activity was considered to occur even within churches. A church's previous consecration did not protect it permanently, just as people, baptised or not, could be possessed.

My research into the writing of eleventh and twelfth-century chroniclers, included William of Newburgh, Orderic Vitalis, Walter Map and Reginald of Durham who all wrote of miracles and demons consistent with Latin theology.[612]

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610. Joan M. Peterson, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), 51; Pope St Gregory the Great,*Life and Miracles of St Benedict (Book Two of the Dialogues),* trans*.* OdoJ. Zimmermann and Benedict R. Avery (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 61.

611. Saint Gregory the Great*, Dialogues*, trans. OdoJ. Zimmerman (Washington DC: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1977),164-65.

612.Carl S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 18; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, vols.1 and 2, ed., Richard Howlett (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884–85), vol. 1, 153; Marjorie Chibnall, ed., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80), vol. 2, 326-28; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, in *Oxford Medieval Texts: Courtiers' Trifles*, eds. M.R. James, R. A. B. Mynors and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: OUP, 1983); Reginald of Durham, Libellus *de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici,*

Common to all the written evidence is that demons can take many shapes and forms, animal or human, or indeed a combination of the two, and are often capable of sexual relations with their victims. Canon 1 of the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council reinforced the origin of the Devil as being created by God. Following 1215 there was an outpouring of warnings about the Devil. For example, the Cistercian monk, Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles, circa* 1219-1223, states, "demons exist, they are multiple, they are evil, and they infest people."[613] He provides hundreds of accounts of people seeing devils and being tormented by them.[614] Durandus, in the mid-thirteenth century, also writes much on demons. Church dedication rites purge the devil from within and crosses are painted on walls to terrify demons so as not to return.[615]

As Eamon Duffy states, "the enemy most feared by late medieval men and women was the 'malicious foe'...mankind's 'ancient enemy', the Devil."[616] The written sources acknowledge the importance of the Devil in medieval Christian theology and practice but there is no evidence of any connection of the Devil with 'north' or church doorways.

(a.2) Medieval allegorical writing on churches

In my further search for links between demons and doorways in the Middle Ages, I analysed many medieval writers who wrote about the physical building of the church itself. Amalarius, in *Liber officialis*, *c*. 822, refers metaphorically to many architectural features of a church, including its walls and floors but, of

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Heremitae de Finchale Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensis, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: J. B. Nicholas and Son, 1845), 196, 198, 275.
613. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Socialization Gone Astray? Children and Demonic Possession in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Dark Side of Childhood*, ed., Mustakallio, 96.
614. AronGurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 21-24.
615. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum*, 57-64.
616. Eammon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London: YUP, 2005), 136, 268, 279-80.

doorways, he only mentions their keepers.[617] In the mid-twelfth century Honorius Augustodunensis writes of church architectural features in *Gemma Animae*.[618] In Chapter CLII of *De Portis* he writes of church doorways but also only metaphorically. He only mentions that the Devil is expelled from the house to the Church by Christ and faith.[619] Other later medieval writers include Abbot Suger who allegorizes on doorways. He wrote in 1145, in *De Admininstratione*, Chapter XXVII, *Of the Cast and Gilded Doors*,

> We set up the main doors on which are represented the Passion of the Saviour and His Resurrection, or rather Ascension…
> Further we ordered the year of the consecration, lest it be forgotten, to be inscribed in copper-gilt letters in the following manner…
> The verses on the door, further are these,
> 'Bright is the noble work; but being nobly bright, the work
> Should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true lights, to the True Light where Christ is the True Door.[620]

Durandus wrote very briefly of church doorways. In Book 1, Paragraph 26 of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* he states,

> The door of the church is Christ: this in the Gospel the Lord said: I am the doorway. The Apostles are also doorways of the Church. The word doorway ostium comes from obsistendo, 'standing in front of those outdoors;' or from ostendendo, 'showing the entry way.' The leaf of a door valve comes from volvendo, 'turning or opening;' door porta comes from portando, 'carrying,' since whatever is brought in is carried through the doorway.[621]

He did not provide any further description. Other evidence comes from the third decade of the thirteenth century. Bishop Grossteste, in his *Templum Dei*,

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617. Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, ed. Eric Knibbs (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), x, Book 1:12 36-39, 133-137, Book 2:7, 407.
618. Karl P. Kinsella, "Teaching through Architecture: Honorius Augustodunensis and the Medieval Church," in *Horizontal Learning in the High Middle Ages: Peer-to-Peer Knowledge Transfer in Religious Communities*, eds., Micol Long, Tjamke Snijders and Steven van der Putten, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 141-62.
619. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae* in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus,* vol. 172, ed. J-P. Migne (Paris: 1854), 591.
620. Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 48-49, 142, [*De Administratione XXVII*].
621. Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 1.26.

constructed several allegories about the church building in relation to the physical and spiritual body of man, but not specifically about doorways themselves.[622]

(a.3) Conclusion

The written evidence shows that in the Middle Ages, the Devil was a common subject of theological and allegorical writing. I found no medieval documentary evidence to suggest that the Devil had any link to the north side of churches or that he was associated with any church doorway. I now consider whether medieval wall paintings can provide any evidence for linking the Devil with the north side of the church or a doorway.

(b) Medieval Wall Painting

Patrons and communities may have instructed and financed artists to paint scenes according to tradition or custom. We see a multitude of recurring themes in these buildings including, but not limited to, the expected Christian iconography; the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, Christ in Majesty, various saints, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Wheel of Fortune, and Doom. I reviewed extant medieval wall painting to determine whether the position of Devil images inside a church might relate or link him to a doorway.

There is plenty of evidence of the Devil painted on church walls but seldom on the nave's northern wall. He, or demons, is commonly painted in scenes of The Doom, Final Judgment and the Harrowing of Hell. These themes, however, are typically on the east nave wall over the chancel arch in many churches.[623] There are, however, exceptions, such as the Doom scenes painted on the west nave walls at Ampney St Mary, Stowell (Gloucestershire) and at Hardham (West

622. Spurrell, *Symbolism*, 35.
623. Rosewell, *Wall Painting*, 345-46 for churches with Doom scenes.

Sussex). There are some surviving Doom scenes and devils on south walls but these are rare. Examples include the Lady Chapel at the church of St John the Baptist, Cirencester, at Kempley (Gloucestershire) and at Eaton (Norfolk).[624]

Devils do appear, but not very often, on north walls such as at Peakirk (Cambridgeshire), Little Badow, (Essex), Great Bowden (Leicestershire), Oddington, Ashmansworth and Winchester, St John the Baptist (Hampshire), Shorwell (Isle of Wight), East Harling, Paston, and Risby (Suffolk). In five of these nine churches, St Christopher also appears on the north wall.[625] I suggest that as St Christopher and a Doom both appear on the north walls of these five churches, the medieval viewer may have been fortunate to see St Christopher upon entry, but was also reminded and warned of eternal damnation for sinful behaviour.

Medieval wall painting evidence indicates that it is common to see devil images in churches but not at any doorway and not on the northern wall of the nave. I suggest that medieval wall paintings do not support a proposition that a north doorway was the ‘Devil’s Door’.

(c) Burial Evidence

I analysed church medieval burial evidence to determine if there may be a link between the Devil, north doorways and burials. My research does indeed show that the southern range is most commonly used as the preferred side for burials. Could this have been a source for the idea of a ‘Devil’s Door’?

It must be noted that present-day visual evidence and markers date from at least the early nineteenth century at most churches, and so without archaeological evidence at these churches it is not really possible to assert upon which side

624. Ibid.
625. St Christopher is absent from Little Badow, Great Bowden, East Harling and Risby.

medieval communities preferred to bury their dead. Where we do have substantial evidence, the results are sometimes contradictory, as at Raunds (Northamptonshire), Wharram Percy (Yorkshire) and Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire) discussed below as well as in Chapter 2.

In searching for answers for preferred burial locations, Christopher Daniell reviewed 4,700 wills dated between 1389 and 1475. He states that their testators showed an overwhelming request for south side burials. However, he also notes that there is little medieval burial evidence to support this conclusion.[626] Beyond these requests he establishes a medieval preference for liminal burials within the church at the junction of the nave and chancel or outside the building but at the church doorway.[627] It was also desirable to be along the south wall; known as eaves-drip burials, where rain would run off the roof receiving divine presence from the sanctified building before descending onto the gravesite.[628]

Daniell's research is supported by recent archaeological burial evidence. Our ideas of burial preferences are greatly assisted by the research at Raunds (1977-87), St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber (1978-84) and at Wharram Percy (burials examined 1962-78). Archaeologists examined hundreds of remains at these churches with some differing results for placement in the churchyard.

In the case of Barton-upon-Humber, there is some evidence for a south side preference for burials at least in its Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque periods (Fig. 7.1).[629]

626. Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), 90.
627. Ibid., 88-90.
628. Ibid., 89-115.
629. John Blair and B. McKay, "Investigations at Tackley Church, Oxfordshire, 1981-4: The Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque Phases," *Oxoninesia* 50 (1985): 25-45.

Fig. 7.1, Barton-upon-Humber, Phase E Burials, Anglo-Saxon and Norman

There is a significant clustering of burials south of the church near its tower-nave doorway but there are also a large number of burials north of the church. Other burials flank the twelfth-century apse to the north and south, with a denser concentration of burials evident on the south side of the church rather than in the northern range. While it is evident that, by the turn of the fourteenth century, this preference for southern burials had become prominent, the community also continued to perform northern burials well into the later Middle Ages.[630]

At Barton-upon-Humber there is insufficient archaeological evidence about where the medieval village was located. The other oldest medieval building is St Mary's church 100 meters west. The only known domestic structures are from the

630. Tony Waldron, *St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire Volume 2, The Human Remains* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 29-36.

fourteenth century and are located 700 meters west of the church, but there are similar dated remnants approximately sixty meters northeast. As such, it is not possible to determine-at least by village direction-whether one of its two doorways was principal for the community. In addition, St Peter's is one and a half kilometres south of the river, and its landscape elevation is relatively consistent at eleven to twelve meters - it is perhaps higher on the south side because of the large number of medieval burials. In summation, we have no archaeological evidence to conclude that burials have any link with doorways other than as a favoured place for interment. There is no evidence for a 'devil's door' at Barton-upon-Humber.

Likewise, there is no evidence for a 'Devil's Door' at Wharram Percy. Its burial evidence helps to convincingly refute such a notion as its burials in the pre-Conquest period were mostly positioned on the north side of the church. In fact, the community preferred northern burials throughout the medieval period. At the time of the Black Death, however, the area south of the church was used more than before. The last burials on that side are estimated to be from 1280 to 1360. The western zone also became a prominent area for post-Conquest burials.[631]

In searching for links between the cemetery and the domestic buildings we see that the medieval community at Wharram Percy constructed the majority of their principal buildings and village to the north of the church. By so doing, they placed its churchyard between the church and the domestic buildings. We might logically suppose that the northern doorway was therefore principal, but evidence suggests the opposite: its southern doorway was the primary entrance. The topography of Wharram Percy might help to explain this oddity: the land

631. Simon Mays, Charlotte Harding and Carolyn Heighway, *The Churchyard, Wharram, A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, XI* (York: 2007), 1-10, 216-32.

immediately around its church is at an elevation of 145 to 146 meters. The church is set below a small hill in a shallow valley with no physical limitations, which may have impeded burials on its southern range as the medieval millpond is more than fifty meters distant. I suggest that this pond may have also been a flood zone in years of heavy spring run-off as this area has the lowest elevation in the area. With this topographical reality it would be illogical to establish any great area for southern burials unless absolutely necessary.

The community at Wharram Percy preferred northern burials, perhaps due to the geographical nature of the land. The churchyard's northern position clearly linked it with the northern sited domestic buildings and community at large on a daily basis. The people there saw the cemetery, for it was not hidden behind the church. This may also be important for other locations where the churchyards are typically on the south side of the building, which is typically the side that has the congregation's primary entrance. These communities perhaps intended for the burials to be seen as a reminder of the deceased, prompting prayers for their soul and providing some solace for their relations.

At Raunds, burials in the late Anglo-Saxon settlement, 950-1100, were mostly on the south side of the church (Fig. 7.2). The church and its yard were east of the excavated buildings in this phase.[632] After reviewing the burial studies from Barton-upon-Humber, Wharram Percy and Raunds, I suggest that there is no evidence to suggest that the northern range of the medieval churchyard was avoided, and that there is no evidence for a 'Devil's Door' at either location.

632. Audouy, *Raunds*, 86-88.

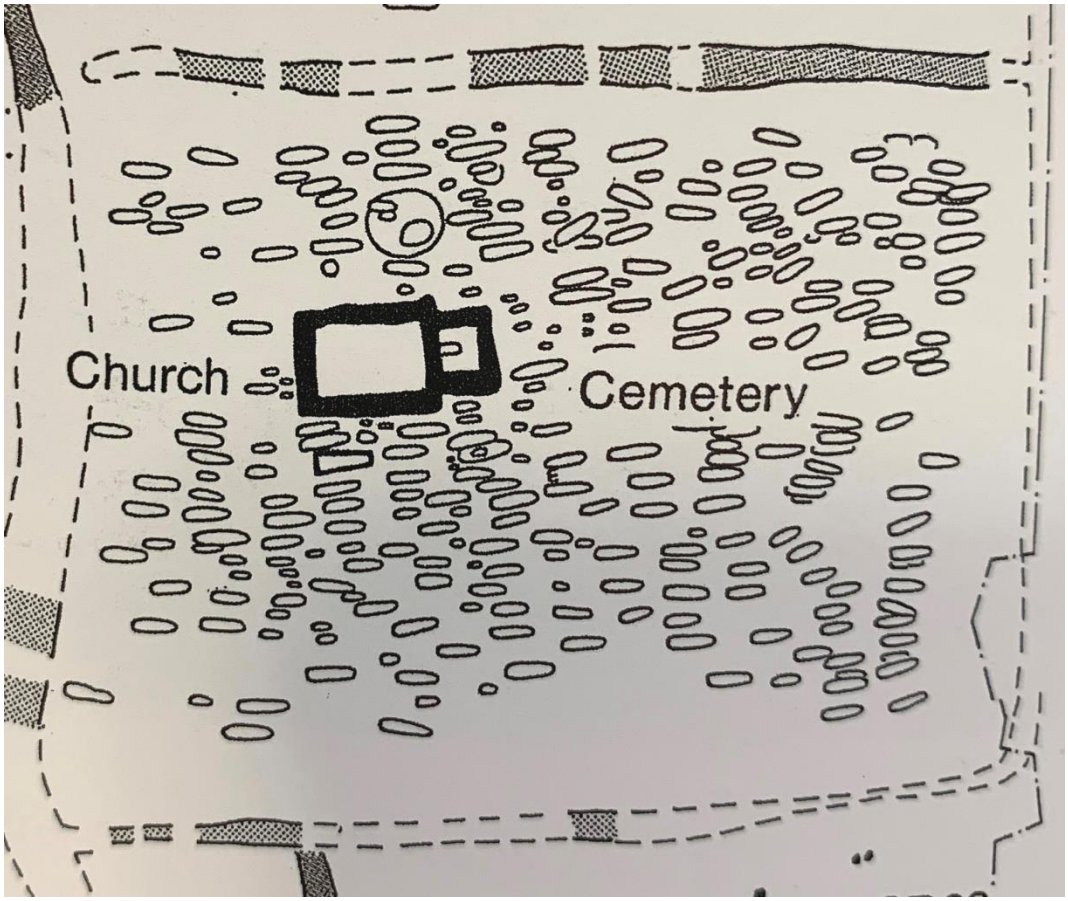

Fig. 7.2, Raunds, Late 10th – Early 11th Century Church and Burial Pattern

(d) Suicides and Others Excluded from Christian burial

In searching for the 'Devil's Door' I found many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century accounts of the north side of a churchyard as being evil or related to the Devil. These include,

> 1871, Kilvert, *Diary* 30 Sept. It was surmised that she would be buried as a suicide without any service on the 'backside of the Church', but she was buried by Mr Venables with the usual ceremony;
>
> 1896, Housman, *Shropshire Lad* 'Hughley Steeple'
> North, for a soon-told number,
> Chill graves the sexton delves,
> And steeple-shadowed slumber
> The slayers of themselves;
>
> 1911, *Folklore* 320. The last time I was in Hampshire, I was told by a girl from Fordingbridge that no one would be buried in the north-east of a churchyard, as it was 'Hell Corner'.[633]

633. Opie and Tatum, 48.

Is there any connection of these modern ideas with the practice in the Middle Ages? To answer this, I analysed medieval canon law and how the Church dealt with suicides at that time.

In the Middle Ages, Christians who committed suicide were not given a Christian burial. Suicides are mentioned in medieval religious statutes including in, for example, the ninth-century Haltigar Penitential and its early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon version called the *Canons of Edgar*, and in the twelfth-century *Decretum Gratiani* and Pope Gregory IX's *Decretales* of 1234.[634] Those who had committed suicide were, by definition, excommunicated. The ecclesiastical court, following canon law, made the final determination and finding of guilt. Exculpatory evidence could clear the accused, thereby permitting a churchyard burial. If a defence was valid the Church would not declare such deaths as suicides. However, active suicide had no legal defence; the Church excommunicated and treated suicide victims harshly. The Church would be fair to those who merely lost the will to live or who died by reason of insanity. In such cases the court would not adjudge the deceased as a suicide and would grant, in most cases, a religious funeral and churchyard burial. Even when death by suicide was certain, a possible reprieve from excommunication could be remedied, such as if the person had shown a sign of repentance before death. Without such an overt sign, however, Churchyard burial would be precluded.[635]

In the Middle Ages, a guilty verdict of suicide would carry with it a forfeiture of property to the crown and exclusion from a funeral and church burial.[636]

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634. Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 247-48, 264-65, 443-45, 453-54.
635. Murray, *Suicide*, 445-46.
636. Murray, *Suicide*, vol. 2, 78-80; Rosemary Horrox, "Purgatory, prayer and plague: 1150-1380," in *Death in England*, eds., Peter C. Jupp and Claire Gittings (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 98.

Furthermore, the deceased would have a stake driven through its heart with a burial at a crossroads. Considering the financial and eternal punishment, it was rare for a jury to convict such an individual. Consequently, findings of madness leading to a self-inflicted death would absolve the deceased from the sacrilege thereby permitting a Christian burial within the yard itself. We see this in the case of Maud Hope in 1420. In that year, the Vicar-General, of the diocese of Exeter, declared that she, a probable suicide, was insane prior to her death; therefore, her cause of death was health-related and not by her own hand. Her burial was ruled Christian and this did not pollute the churchyard.[637] Ultimately, as Daniell states, "there was more leniency towards suicides in the Middle Ages than later in the Tudor era".[638]

Hence, the nineteenth and early twentieth-century folkloric accounts of the burial of suicides, mentioned above, have no tradition of practice from the Middle Ages. Anyone found guilty of suicide in medieval England would not be permitted to have a church burial altogether. I suggest that it is not plausible that there was a designated northern zone for suicides in the medieval period. As such, there was no 'Devil's Door' that opened onto the evil side of the church.

(e) <u>Conclusion</u>

I have analysed many themes across written, archaeological and architectural evidence about the medieval concept of 'north' and the north doorways of churches. There is no evidence that in the Middle Ages there was a 'Devil's Door'. The presence of demons lurking beyond the north walls of churches remains, therefore, an early-modern, or more likely, a later concept and not one

637. G. R. Dunstan, *The Register of Edmund Lacey, Bishop of Exeter 1420-1455*, vol. 1 (Torquay: Devonshire Press, 1963), 13-14.
638. Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 96.

rooted in the Middle Ages. Although academic medievalists never believed in the ‘Devil’s Door,’ many of the greater public still do. The purpose of the next section is to tracethe origin of the ‘Devil’s Door’, to track its development, and finally to dispel the false authority it has acquired among the greater unknowing public over the last two centuries.

7.5. The Post Reformation Century

As the idea of the ‘Devil’s Door’ was not a medieval creation, we might question whether it was a product discourse and practice during the century that followed the Reformation. To resolve this question, I first return briefly to the baptismal liturgy of the mid-sixteenth-century Books of Common Prayer. I focus on this, as the BBC *Domesday Reloaded* webpage article I quoted above on pages one and two, specifically links the north church doorway, the baptism ritual and the Devil. Afterwards I analyse further documentary sources about the Devil to determine if there was any writing to make a link of him with a church doorway in this period. If there were, then perhaps it was in this period that the idea for the ‘Devil’s Door’ was developed.

(a) English Reformation Baptism

The BCP 1549 retained much of the exorcism ritual from the Sarum rite of 1543, stating that it occurs ‘at the church door’.[639] The BCP 1549 then states that the baptism is to be performed at the font. By 1552 however, the reformed church of England removed baptismal exorcism altogether in the second Book of Common Prayer.[640] Chapter ii of the BCP 1552 is entitled, ‘Of ceremonies, why

639. Joseph Ketley, ed.,*The Two Liturgies A.D. 1549, and A.D. 1552: with other documents set forth by authority in the reign of Edward the Sixth* (Cambridge: CUP, 1844), 108-09.
640. Francis Young, *A history of Anglican Exorcism: Deliverance and Demonology in Church Ritual*(London: I. B. Tauris, 2018), 22-25; Young, *Exorcism in Catholic Christianity,* 37; Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1910, 1977), BCP 1549, 236-42, 1552, 394-99.

some be abolished and some retained'.[641] The elimination of the exorcism ritual prior to baptism was just one of those superstitious ceremonies which, according to this text, "blinded the people, and obscured the glory of God".[642] Thus from 1552, the exorcism rite before baptism was no longer practiced. The father, godparents and other family members brought the child into the church itself and to the font where the priest performed the baptism.[643] It is doubtful that any idea of a 'Devil's Door' could originate at this time for this type of superstition would not be tolerated.

(b) Other Post Reformation Documentary Sources

From the mid sixteenth to mid seventeenth centuries, England experienced a wave of belief in witchcraft and devilry. Many throughout all sections of English society held these beliefs.[644]

We can see the impact of early-modern English society's belief in witches in the legislation Parliament enacted. *The Witchcraft Act* of 1542 stated that

> if any person…use, devise, practice or exercise…witchcrafts, enchantments or sorceries…[they] shall be deemed and adjudged a felon…and…shall have and suffer such pains of death.[645]

Although it was repealed in 1547, Parliament passed a new act in 1563 whereby the punishment for a first offence was imprisonment and for a repeat offence was death.[646] In an act of 1604, however, the death penalty upon first offence was

641. BCP 1552, 324-25.
642. Ibid.
643. Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 138-40.
644. James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 2019), 3-12.
645. The Act against Conjurations, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Enchantment, 1542, 33 Hen. VIII, c. 8; Barbara Rosen, ed., *Witchcraft in England 1558-1618* (Amherst, University of Massachussetts Press, 1991), 53-8.; Gregory Durston, *Witchcraft and witch trials: a history of English witchcraft and its legal perspectives* (Chichester: Barry Rose Law Publishers, 2000), 173.
646. An Act agaynst Conjuracions Inchantmentes and Witchecraftes, 1563. 5 Eliz., c. 16.

reinstated.[647] Clearly, the existence of witches was very real in people's minds, so much so that they took prescriptive measures for self-protection.

King James VI of Scotland, and by 1603 also King James I of England, was an early contributor to the literature on the Devil's presence in England. He perceived himself as Satan's foremost opponent on Earth, viewing himself as God's entrusted crusader. He was a great believer in, and a fierce opponent of, any sort of devilry including all varieties of witchcraft or sorcery.[648] He had a prominent role in the witch trials of 1590-91.[649] His 1597 book, *Demonolgie*, sets out his understanding of the reality of Satan and the Devil's presence in the lives of people. He wrote,

> For we dailie fight against the Deuill in a hundreth other waies…
> and
> Doubtleslie who denyeth the power of the Deuill, woulde likewise denie the power of God.[650]

He warned of witches and magicians who lived among the faithful and who attained powers through the Devil, stating that

> Sathan oblishes himselfe to the greatest of the Magicians, are wounderfull curious; so are the effectes correspondent vnto the same: For he will oblish himselfe to teach them artes and sciences, which he may easelie doe, being so learned a knaue as he is: To carrie them newes from anie parte of the worlde, which the agilitie of a Spirite may easelie performe: to reueale to them the secretes of anie persons.[651]

He further outlined suitable punishments for those found guilty of witchcraft in all its guises,

> what forme of punishment thinke ye merites these Magicians and Witches? For I see that ye account them to be all alike guiltie? They ought to be put to death according to the Law of God, the ciuill and imperial law, and

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647. An Act against Conjuration, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits 1604. 1 Jac. I, c. 12.
648. Donald Tyson, ed., *The Demonology of King James I* (Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2011), 1-43.
649. Sharpe, 7-8.
650. King James VI, *Daemonologie, In a Forme of a Diologie* (1597), 39, 44.
651. Ibid., 20.

> municipall law of all Christian nations. But what kinde of death I pray you? It is commonly vsed by fire[652]
> Moreover the prevalence is considerable, for "these diuellishe practises: for they were neuer so rife in these partes, as they are now."[653]

To the King the Devil was everywhere and was an urgent force to be fought, however he does not make any reference to his association at any doorway.

Seeking further evidence, I searched the Middle English Compendium which contains nothing of a 'Devil's Door' or demonic association with the north side of churches.[654] Slightly better, however, are sources I found within the Early English Books Online database. I reviewed two centuries of writing within EEBO and found only one reference to a 'Devil's Door,' but roughly a dozen where the Devil or Satan was positioned near a doorway.

A mid seventeenth-century example has the Devil placed near one, employed allegorically to draw attention to the opening to evil he offers; the corollary to Christ's "I am the Door".[655] Examples of this metaphor include: "the Devil hath a door to tempt and so to hurt me"; "as *Judas* did, take heed they meet not the devil at the door" and "...Avarice began to gain upon their hearts, every one seeking their own interest…as soon as the Devil had this door open."[656]

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652. Ibid., 60.
653. Ibid., 63.
654. Robert E. Lewis, Sherman McAllister and Hans Kurath, eds., *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001), Frances McSparran, et al, eds., *Online edition in Middle English Compendium* (Ann Arbor: Regents of the University of Michigan, 2000-2019), accessed December 2, 2019 http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/.
655. John 10:9.
656. Thomas Mall, 1629 x 1630, *A cloud of witnesses, or, The sufferers mirrour made up of the swanlike-songs, and other choice passages of several martyrs and confessors to the sixteenth century, in their treatises, speeches, letters, prayers, &c. in their prisons, or exiles, at the bar, or stake, &c. / collected out of the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius, Fox, Fuller, Petrie, Scotland, and Mr. Samuel Ward's Life of faith in death, &c. and alphabetically disposed by Thomas Mall* (London: Robert Boulter, 1665), 35; John Trapp, *A commentary or Exposition upon the Four Evangelists [etc.], St John* (London: A. M. for John Bellamie, 1647), 438; Antoinette Bourignon, *The Light of the World, A Most True Relation of a Pilgrimess Travelling Towards Eternity* (London: Christian de Cort, 1696), 27.

We see further documentary evidence placing the Devil in the north in the writing of the Catholic theologian Henry Turberville in 1649.

> Q. Why is the *Gospel* read at the *North* end or left side of the *Altar?*
> A. To signify that by the preaching of the *Gospel* of *Christ,* the Kingdom of the *Devil* was overthrown.
> Q. How prove you that?
> A. Because the *Devil* hath chosen the *North* for the seat of his malice. 'From the North shall *all evil be opened upon all inhabitants of the land.' Jer. i.14 and Zach. 2.7.*[657]

The closest documentary evidence I discovered for a 'Devil's Door' is from an anonymous single-page, preaching pamphlet from 1694. The author makes numerous biblical references as he guides his readers on how to follow a moral life. He is determined to warn his readers to avoid the devil, who is everywhere: "The *Devil* watches to devour us, and he is politick to ensnare us".[658]

The relevant doorway reference comes from his application of the First Book of Samuel, Chapter 28. After the death of Samuel, Saul sought help in the war against the Phillistines. As he had received no guidance from God, nor from the prophets, Saul asked for assistance from a woman, the necromancer of Endor, to summon Samuel. She raised Samuel from the dead and Saul spoke to him.[659] This 1694 account contains a metaphorical use of the 'Devil's Door':

> When *Saul* had left off knocking at Heaven's Gate, we soon hear him knocking at a Witch's, at the Devil's Door.[660]

This English source identifies the necromancer with devilry and so posits entry into the metaphysical world through that doorway.

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657. Henry Turberville, *An abridgement of Christian doctrine: with proofs of Scripture for points controverted, composed in 1649* (New York: John Doyle, 1833), 110.
658. Anon, "Profitable New-years-gift, teaching how to begin the year well, and end it comfortably: or, motives and directions for a daily exercise of Christianity, Gen. 5. 22, 24. Psal. 84.11," (London: J. Conyers in Little Britain, 1694), Early English books tract supplement interim guide / 816.m.22[51], Wing (CD-ROM, 1996) / P3649', accessed March 19, 2021, https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248536002/99885388/886C35F5A67A4CB5PQ/6?accountid=13042.
659. 1 Samuel 28: 1-16.
660. Anon, "Profitable New-years-gift", Col 1.

(c) Conclusion

There is much sixteenth and seventeenth-century written evidence reinforcing the presence of the Devil. Still, I found no evidence connectinghim with a 'Devil's Door,' or any evidence of a connection between demons and the north side of churches or their churchyards. In the first century of the Reformation, the doorway remains, in essence, a metaphor, entirely extrinsic to an architectural context. The idea of the 'Devil's Door' was not created in this period.

7.6. The Enlightenment

I have found no evidence to support an idea of any medieval link for a 'Devil's Door' at English medieval churches. In this section, I analyse instead some key writing from the Enlightenment that had a significant influence on the public's understanding of the Devil in post-Reformation England, and which later played a role in fostering this idea of the 'Devil's Door'.

Immediately prior to, and throughout the course of, the Enlightenment there was substantial writing attacking Christian doctrine about the devil and eternal damnation.[661] In 1651, Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* dismissed devils as fictitious constructions of Christian faith that had been led astray by a heathen past.[662]He was followed shortly thereafter by Spinoza, who wrote in 1660against Christian superstition and the existence of the Devil in his *Short Treatise on God, Man, and His Well-Being*.[663] In England, Milton transformed the previous concept of the devil in *Paradise Lost*, 1667. The medieval period's grotesque, pointy-eared, tailed figure depicted in the Middle Ages' illuminations and paintings is reconstituted by

661. Owen Davies, Willem de Blecourt, *Beyond the witch trials: witchcraft and magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester: MUP, 2018), 103.
662. Timothy Raylor, *Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 266-70.
663.Benedictus de Spinoza, *Spinoza's Short Treatise on God, Man, & His Well-Being*, ed. and trans., Abraham Wolf, 'On Devils', Part 2, Chapter 25 (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1910), 143.

Milton with a human form. He creates a sympathetic, albeit evil, Satan, perhaps a literary and religious antihero for his age. As Bernd Shipper states,

> Milton made the devil attractive, gave him a face. He became an individual with feelings and sorrows and thereby a figure in his own right who could be emulated: the devil became an ideal. His Satan is not just evil, he is noble too.He appears as a kind of archetype for the revolution against cosmic oppression and Christian religion.[664]

This epic work was later followed by others, such as Balthasar Bekker's1695 *The World Turn'd Upside Down,* which further attacked the idea that the Devil through any means could affect the lives of people.[665] Voltaire and other of the *philosophes* wrote along similar lines in the mid-eighteenth century, challenging the existence of demons and superstitious elements of Christianity. As Peter Shock states, in the eighteenth century, "theological dogmas involving Satan and hell faded; regular preaching on the subjects subsided. The idea of eternal damnation itself gradually lost its power over the mind."[666]

The impact of seventeenth to eighteenth-century literature was substantial by reflecting a parallel change in religious Protestant theology. The diminution of the Devil at this time, therefore, may have been the turning point when medieval ideas of the Devil were replaced with those of the modern.

Though Enlightenment philosophers dismissed the Devil as myth,[667] for the most part, Satan was not dead and buried *per se* for there were other contemporary writers-considered by twentieth-century scholars as proponents of a 'Counter-Enlightenment' who defended Christianity and with it many of its

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664. Bernd Schipper, "From Milton to Modern Satanism: The History of the Devil and the Dynamics between Religion and Literature," *Journal of Religion in Europe*, vol. 3 (2010): 103-24.
665. Balthasar Bekker, *The World Bewitch'd* (London: 1695), 244-56.
666. Peter A. Schock, "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell: Blake's Myth of Satan and Its Cultural Matrix," *English Literary History* 60, no. 2 (1993): 444; Daniel P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell* (London: Routledge, 1970), 3-8
667. Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 375-78.

superstitious elements.[668] European writers such as de Maistre, and Hardenburg are prominent in this reaction. In England, Henry More and Ralph Cudworth fought to stave off the attacks on spirits and traditional Christian dogma.[669] In fact, More, Joseph Glanville and Henry Boyle argued for the presence of demons and spirits in their new experimental philosophy, formulated in response to Hobbes, Spinoza and others.[670] Daniel Defoe, in the early eighteenth century, also responded to the attacks on Christianity by reiterating the veracity of the doctrine of the devil and its worldly presence with a series of works on the occult, notably in *The Political History of the Devil* of 1726. Ultimately Defoe sought to reconcile his faith by balancing the devil in Christian faith with magic and superstition at the time of the Enlightenment.[671]

One of the major influences in the defence of devilry in English theology may be attributed to John Wesley. He wrote throughout his life of his belief in Satan and witchcraft. Roy Porter provides instances from Wesley's writing of these beliefs, such as from 1746,

> [he encountered a woman] whom Satan had bound in uncommon manner for several years,

in 1776,

> I cannot give up to all the deists in great Britain the existence of witchcraft till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane,

and in 1785,

668. John Betz, "A Radically Orthodox Reformer: J.G. Hamann as a Metacritic of Enlightenment and Secularisation," *Modern Theology* 33 no. 4 (2017): 640-77; other writers include: Joseph de Maistre, the later writing of Rousseau, Hamann and Hardenberg, see: Graeme Garrard, *Counter-Enlightenments: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2005), 55-73.
669. Israel, 375-78.
670. John Henry, *Religion, Magic, and the Origins of Science in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2017), 301.
671. Brett C. McInelly and David Paxman, "Dating the Devil: Daniel Defoe's Roxana and The Political History of the Devil," *Christianity and Literatur* 53, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 435-54.

> while I live I will bear the most public testimony I can to the reality of witchcraft".[672]

The laity's determination to hold on to superstition and demonic presence persisted especially with the future popularity of Methodism. In fact, Porter states, "The Methodists' fixation upon the demonic became notorious."[673] Belief in witchcraft and other like notions remained a social reality in, and beyond, early modern England.This fascination with the supernatural continued through the eighteenth century.However, it may be that the Devil in this period was not the same entity previously defined by medieval Christian theologians.

The Devil was, for many, a real entity and was, following Milton's example, potentially quite reasonable in fact; one whom you could make a pact with. The sixteenth century Faustian theme of contracts with the Devil permeated to all levels of society in the later sixteenth century onwards. Numerous records provide evidence of agreements by desperate people. Soili-Maria Olli provides an English translation of such a Swedish man's contract with the devil, in letter format, signed in blood, from a desperate man, Erik Ahlgren, dated July 1727:

> Highly regarded father the Devil my highest comfort I have written to you several times dear father, but not been graced with an answer, so I will still one time ask you my dear father in my own request also if you don't accept this piece of paper. Beyond the witch trials that I will get back, if I get as much money as I will need in this world, I will serve you in this world with body and soul and as I die will. D(ear) father the Devil as payment get both Body and Soul I expect a positive answer and that until tomorrow evening, frankly speaking if I will not get an answer I will never write again or deliberately look for you but if I will be answered in my wishes this Contract will stand and never in eternity be removed that with my own blood and my own name and signature is confirmed July 1727 Erik Ahlgren. Upon this I expect an answer until tomorrow evening so that I know what I have to subject myself to, help me father you will not regret it.[674]

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672. Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, Brian P. Levack and Roy Porter, eds., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe,* vol. 5*, The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Athlone, 1999), 238-40.
673. Ibid., 240.
674. Owen de Blecourt and Willem Davies, *Beyond the witch trials: witchcraft and magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester: MUP, 2004), 108.

Moreover, such contracts were delivered to the Devil upon the belief that it would reach its recipient if left in churchyards or within the keyholes of church doors.[675] Davies does not indicate which of the church doorways may have acted as the 'letter box' but it may be fair to suggest that the northern doorway is possible, if one were present. The Devil's presence or his lurking in the churchyard may be a feature of early modern Europe from which the superstitions of 'Devil's Doors' may originate. These examples of Enlightenment writing see some, like Milton, redefining the Devil as a misunderstood and perhaps sympathetic entity, while to others, like Wesley and Defoe, he was a powerful real enemy. By the end of the eighteenth century the Devil was not the same force to many as he had been in the Middle Ages. I suggest that the Enlightenment was therefore a key factor that led to the later creation of the 'Devil's Door'.

7.7. Romantic Era and the NineteenthCentury: A Popular, Mythological Satan

I suggest that the social and religious changes brought by the Enlightenment helped to redefine the public's perception of the Devil for the modern era. This was an important development as I argue that the idea of 'Devil's Door' was created in the nineteenth century. The Enlightenment writers certainly had an impact on a small group of the English public, but popular nineteenth-century authors and philosophers brought the earlier messages of Hobbes and Milton to a much wider group in England.

Later eighteenth and early nineteenth-century writing of the Romantic period, arguably at its peak during the first half of the nineteenth century, revived and possibly reinvigorated a new idea about the Devil in modern society. The

675. Blecourt and Davies, 107.

literature of this period reflected changes in European thinking. According to Peter Schock, Satan in this time becomes a mythical figure, “an ideological symbol with a broad range of functions: expressing rebellious or unconventional political, moral, and religious values”.[676] The Devil was, by the end of the eighteenth century, a character that one could perhaps even dominate. The Devil was no longer the subject of fear but was now disarmed and could be controlled. The newly powerless being was presented in a 1780s Covent Garden puppet show as being slain by Punch:

> The Devil with hispitch-fork fought,
> While Punch had but a stick, Sir,
> But kill'd the Devil, as he ought.
> Huzza! there's no Old Nick, Sir.”[677]

That such a show- almost akin to child’s play- demonstrates the loss of Satan’s power and status, with the mythical Devil disarmed and dispelled. However, despite this second ‘fall from grace’ Satan maintains his northern domain seen in Blake’s *The Book of Urizen*, 1794. The Preludium to the First Book begins,

> Of the primeval Priests’sassum’d power,
> When Eternals spurn’d back his religion
> And gave him a place in the north,
> Obscure, shadowy, void, solitary[678]

Evidently, the metaphoric table has turned on the Devil of the Middle Ages; the people were now in control. This may be reflected in Thomas Paine’s *The Age of Reason*, 1794, written in simple language, which helped it reach a very broad American and European audience. Paine, a proponent of Deism, accepted the presence of a Supreme Being though God, and certainly the Devil, played no role in the daily lives of people; reason alone directed people and thought in God’s

676. Schock, “Heaven and Hell,” 440-41.
677. Ibid., 442-44.
678. William Blake,*The [First] Book of Urzien*, Preludium.

world.[679] Paine especially ridiculed the origin of evil by Satan; reducing a cornerstone Christian doctrine to mere fable status.[680]

Other literature reducing the Devil to a human scale, often through the Satanic pact, is seen in Matthew Gregory Lewis's *Ambrosio the Monk* published in 1796 and in the very popular Goethe's *Faust* of 1808.[681] Further English Romantic period writing includes devilry themes seen in Percy Bysshe Shelly's *The Devil's Walk: A Ballad*, *The Daemon of the World*, and the unpublished *On the Devil, and Devils* of 1839.[682] It is true that Percy B. Shelley had a limited popularity during his short lifetime but his work was influential especially in and after the 1830s.[683] In addition, in 1821, Lord Byron, was critically attacked as being a member of the 'Satanic School' by the poet laureate and conservative, Robert Southey, who sought to protect traditional Christian beliefs. Shelley and Byron of course were not Satanists, they were not Devil worshippers. Southey's pejorative label 'Romantic Satanism' was applied to them and others who expressed similar themes in their writing by Christian conservatives. This latter group responded to what they believed were anti-Christian iconoclasts who employed Milton's heroic devil for political, social and artistic purposes.[684] Conservative English Christianity had its own prominent literary heroes as well, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth towards the end of their careers, but the proverbial dice had been cast; the concept of the Devil had been altered for many. I suggest that

679. A. McGrath and A. E. McGrath, *Historical Theology, An Introduction to the History of Christian Thought* (Hoboken: 2012), 184-89; A .N. Wilson, *God's Funeral* (London: 1999), 22.
680. Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason* (London: Bibliolis, 2010), 33-35.
681. Peter Grudin, "'The Monk': Matilda and the Rhetoric of Deceit," *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 5, no. 2 (May 1975): 136-46.
682. Harry B. Forman, ed., *The Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley in Verse and Prose*, vol. 6, (London: Reeves & Turner, 1880), 383-406.
683. Michael O'Neill, Anthony Howe, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 461-62, 611-20.
684. Peter A. Schock, *Romantic Satanism, Myth and the Historical Moment in Blake, Shelley, and Byron* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 3-10, 78-112.

this had a most important impact on the development of the idea of the ‘Devil’s Door’.

The Devil was now greatly diminished from his once powerful medieval and seventeenth-century throne set in the north. His relegation is seen in early nineteenth-century church folklore in which the Devil is portrayed in a somewhat sympathetic manner. The Rev’d Thomas F. Thiselton-Dyer writes of a legend that on the direction of its vicar in 1828, a single bell at Dewsbury (Yorkshire) was rung, as at a funeral, on Christmas Eve, in remembrance of the Devil that died on the day Christ was born.[685] Although in the style of a mournful knell, it clearly presents a positive outcome of the end of the Devil.

An interesting account is provided by William Hone in his *Year Book* of 1832. He wrote that “The left seat at the gateway of the entrance to church-yard at Yarmouth is called the Devil’s seat, and is supposed to render anyone who sits upon it particularly liable to misfortune ever afterwards.”[686] It is interesting to note that Great Yarmouth’s Minster church (presumably the one mentioned by Hone being the town’s oldest and most prominent) has a south doorway as its principal entrance. Though the churchyard is very large, with several entrances, the seat referred to by Hone no longer exists. If the Devil has a ‘seat,’ why not a door as well? I argue that the Devil acquires his ‘door’ in the second half of the nineteenth century.

685. Thomas F. Thiselton-Dyer, *Church-Lore Gleanings* (London: A. D. Innes, 1891), 104.
686. William Hone, *The Year Book of Daily Recreation and Information* (London: Tegg, 1832), 254.

7.8. Nineteenth-Century England: Christianity, Alternatives and the 'Devil's Door'

Despite a traditional view that there was a sharp decline in religious observance through the nineteenth century, the scale of the decline is debated. It was, in any case, not uniform across the country or across the century. Admittedly, Church of England participation declined in the century but certainly did not vanish, however it might have been a different type of participant who now attended. While certainly faithful, this new breed of worshipper was arguably no longer one to be terrorised by the Devil. As Sarah Bartels states,

> The Devil of the Victorian era was, to an extent, depersonalized, tending to exercise his greatest influence as a nebulous malignant force. Tales of humans meeting the Devil were often comical and, to make a broad generalization, he often became less threatening as his materiality increased.[687]

The Devil is marginalised in the nineteenth century, having been diminished to caricature following two centuries of attack. As Ray Porter states,

> The campaigns of the freethinkers and *philosophes* of the eighteenth century played their part; so did the founders of anthropology and the human sciences in the nineteenth, in making nature and reason the platform for conceptualizing man and society. There was a deep shift in worldview, away from an earlier scriptural eschatology; liberal thinkers were no longer willing to credit that in a well designed Creation, Satan, devils and witches could enjoy the lead roles demonology had prescribed.[688]

Contemporary with these religious changes was a heightened interest in the occult, following the gothic revival decades of the mid-century. This fascination with spiritualism may possibly have been to fill a void left for many with their perception of the failure of traditional religion. Spiritualism was an American export to Britain with the arrival of Maria Hayden, a medium, who was invited to London

687. Sarah Bartels, "'A Terrific Ogre': The Role of the Devil in Victorian Popular Belief," *Folklore* 128, no. 3 (July 2017): 271-91.
688. Gijswijt-Hofstra, 272-74.

in 1852. The opportunity to communicate with the departed through séances, or other means, was appealing to all social classes in England, becoming a craze in many places. Its popularity stimulated outrage among church leaders at the time which gradually, often begrudgingly, adapted to the fascination. For many, this was the work of the Devil; to others, it promised a means to find solace regardless of the means needed to acquire such peace. Anglican and Nonconformist initial reaction was that the Devil was the author of this calamitous outcome. This response perhaps reinvigorated Satan as a daily participant in human activity, where he had been relegated to a more obscure location by this time. However, there was a sizeable membership of Christian spiritualists who reconciled the occult with traditional Christian faith.

An article in an occult periodical from 1870 presents the idea of the 'devil's door' but this is only a metaphorical reference for whom to blame for the world's troubles. This writer admonishes the public for blaming the Devil when other immortal spirits may also be to blame. The writer states,

> But for goodness' sake do not abuse the poor, despised wretch by loading his shoulders with all the supposed evil there is in the world. We are one of those that are willing to give this imaginary fellow a fair hearing, and his rights, if it is proved he has any.[689]

Alongside the interest in the occult was a fascination with folklore. It is in such periodicals at this time that stories of evil from the north are seen. The mysteries of churchyards and the Devil are written about by John Brand in his 1854, two volume, work on British superstition. Among his collection are the legends of the north side of churchyards in addition to other societal curiosities.[690]

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689. F. Powers, *Banner of Light*, in *Human Nature* 43 (1870): 484.
690. John Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain: Chiefly Illustrating the Origin of Our Vulgar and Provincial Customs, Ceremonies and Superstitions*, vol. 2 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 290-99.

Such interest was widespread in the middle of the century, leading to the foundation of the Folklore Society in 1878 in London. It was soon followed by The Society for Psychical Research (SPR), also founded in London in 1882, which, even by the later 1880s, had as members the wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Carlisle and Ripon, who acted as vice-presidents of the Society.[691] As Janet Oppenheim states, by the 1880s "the marvels of spiritualism, in short, might be just what was needed for the wasting sickness of the Anglican Church."[692] Perhaps the clergy at the highest level also recognized this as an instrument of opportunity to facilitate an increase membership within an ever increasingly competitive religious world.

Spiritualism may have also providednineteenth-century Christian reformers with an opportunity to change traditional theology from within. The publication of numerous books and periodicals such as *Spiritual Magazine*, *The Medium and Daybreak*, *Folk-Lore*, *Two Worlds*, *The Victorian Supernatural*, and *The Occult Review* speak of the fascination with, and appeal of,occult ideas to those seeking answers within and beyond Christianity.

The very popular London weekly spiritualist paper *The Medium and Daybreak* published, on 1 January 1886,an anonymous letter to the editor (perhaps in reality an editorial) entitled, "Theology: the Failure of the Ages," summarising the later Victorian crisis in traditional faith,

> Years of study and reflection, and a varied experience of spiritual phenomena, have convinced me that the only hope religion has left is in the truths which Spiritualism offers to a famishing world. But for the phenomena

691. Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), 1-3, 40-45, 64-82; Georgina Byrne, *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 2-20, 150.
692. Oppenheim, *Spritualism*, 81.

> which Spiritualism has revived (which God has revived by the hands of Spiritualism) theology would today be wriggling in the dust.[693]

Opposition to these Christian Spiritualists was widespread among the traditional faithful. An example of an early twentieth-century response is seen in the writing of the Reverend Cyril C. Dobson. He aggressively attacked those who upheld such ideas of Christian-Spiritualism by repeating the traditional narrative that made the Devil responsible, stating, "This is the key to modern Spiritualism. Mediums are agents of Satan not God'."[694] An unintended consequence of these attacks may have provided fodder to those who were uncertain about the real presence of Satan; whether at these spiritual gatherings or potentially anywhere that the Devil might be found. The convincing messages of Dobson and others may be a further element in the fascination with the idea of the Devil lurking in their presence that reinforced the superstition already present in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their reactionary position may thus have helped to foster the developing idea of the 'Devil's Door' in the nineteenth century whose residual effects remain to this day.

7.9. Conclusion: A Possible Origin for the Idea of the'Devil's Door'

The central question is, therefore, what led to the idea of a 'Devil's Door' in popular culture? I suggest that its foundation is based on a comingling of three elements of that developed in the nineteenth century including, (i) ideas of the Devil, (ii) nineteenth-century English church restoration and (iii) blocking of north doorways.

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693. Anonymous/T.C.E., "Theology the Failure of the Ages," *The Medium and Daybreak* 17, no. 822 (1886): 7; Simone Natale, "The medium on the stage: Trance and performance in nineteenth-century spiritualism," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 9, no. 3 (2011): 239-55.
694. Byrne, *Spiritualism*, 2-20, 150; Cyril C. Dobson, *The Bible and Spiritualism* (London: 1920), 4, 10; Alfred H. Burton, *Spiritism: Is It real?* (London: James Carter, 1897), 19-21.

The first component is the Devil himself. In the Middle Ages he was certainly an important part of English liturgy and practice. He was to be exorcised outside a church, at the doorway, prior to baptism. I suggest this is the first part and the basis for the concept. But by the Enlightenment, the Devil had been demystified and diminished. In fact, in the late eighteenth century and into and through the nineteenth, the Devil took on a new persona. Milton, among others, clearly advanced a new idea of the Devil, while the later popularity of Romantic era literature did the same. He was no longer a religious threat but a mythical secular entity that could be dismissed at will.

Second, and contemporary with these literary developments, there was a great church building and restoration campaign, in part to accommodate a growing population but also as a response to the perceived threats of new denominations such as Methodism and other Nonconformist churches.[695] The builders of these new and remodelled churches wanted to make them as comfortable as possible for the worshippers, especially when Nonconformist churches and meeting rooms were already seen as more comfortable, heated as they were in the colder months of the year.[696] They also wanted to increase capacity within the buildings. The Camden Society stated in an 1844 Report the importance of their programme to the Church of England,

> The national Church has a better chance of recovering her vitality, and not a little through the restitution of its native properties to the material fabric of her worship; that not a little through the same instrumentality the poor man is coming to learn that he is not the outcast, but the special object of the Church's care.[697]

695. Michael H. Port, *600 New Churches, The Church Building Commission 1818-1856* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006), 16-58.
696. James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rrural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 110.
697. Cambridge Camden Society, *Report of the Cambridge Camden Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 1844), 6-7.

They believed that restoring attendance and funding could be made possible by repairing and remodelling medieval churches and building new ones.

One method to make them more appealing to the community was to make the building itself more comfortable like those of the Nonconformists. During the restoration campaign many churches were in a terrible physical state of decaying fabric and overcome by damp and at times flooding. The public application for aid notices in *The Church Builder* attests to their often ruinous condition.[698] In addition, the more privileged worshippers often sat in long paid for, fixed, private family box pews. Often these seats were vacant as they were held for the use of a non-resident owner.[699] This relegated the poorer members of the congregation to the back or to crowded less desirable sections of the church.[700] The nineteenth-century restorations greatly addressed the needs of all church attendants not just the wealthy. The repairs focused not only on the preservation of fabric but also heating and seating.[701] In many instances it appears that a church doorway was an impediment that needed to be removed, or made inoperable. Of the hundreds of church plans I have examined the most common feature on the architect's drawings are their proposed new seating arrangements. Blocking a doorway would make more room for aisle benches and likewise reduce drafts. The heating arrangement at these churches was also a major issue to the Camden Society which initially shunned the idea of introducing modern heating into these buildings. This appeared to be a problem for church attendance in the colder months. As Christopher E. Miele states, "many worshippers brought live coals in iron boxes

698. Anon, *The Church Builder*, New Series 5 (January 1881): 1-3.
699. Obelkevich, 108-09.
700. Christopger E. Miele, "The Gothic revival and Gothic Architecture: The restoration of medieval churches in Victorian Britain," (Ph.D. thesis,New York University, 1992), 220-25.
701. Ibid., 151-61.

inside pews to warm their feet."[702] But the need for warmth was more important to the congregation than tradition, as so many churches later obtained central heating. Thus, blocked doorways could also help keep a church warm and dry. The case of All Saints Oving (Buckinghamshire) is a prime example of a church's seating redesign. The plan drawn by architect and Ecclesiological Society member, George E. Street, in 1868 (Fig. 7.3) shows the intended redesign to seal the north doorway in favour of the new benches.[703] We see that new benches are to be placed directly against the nave's north wall from the tower at the west end to the pulpit. The proposal would increase capacity from 186 to 203. In the next image we see that Street's design was executed, the doorway was blocked and his seating plan was realised (Figs. 7.4, 7.5).[704]

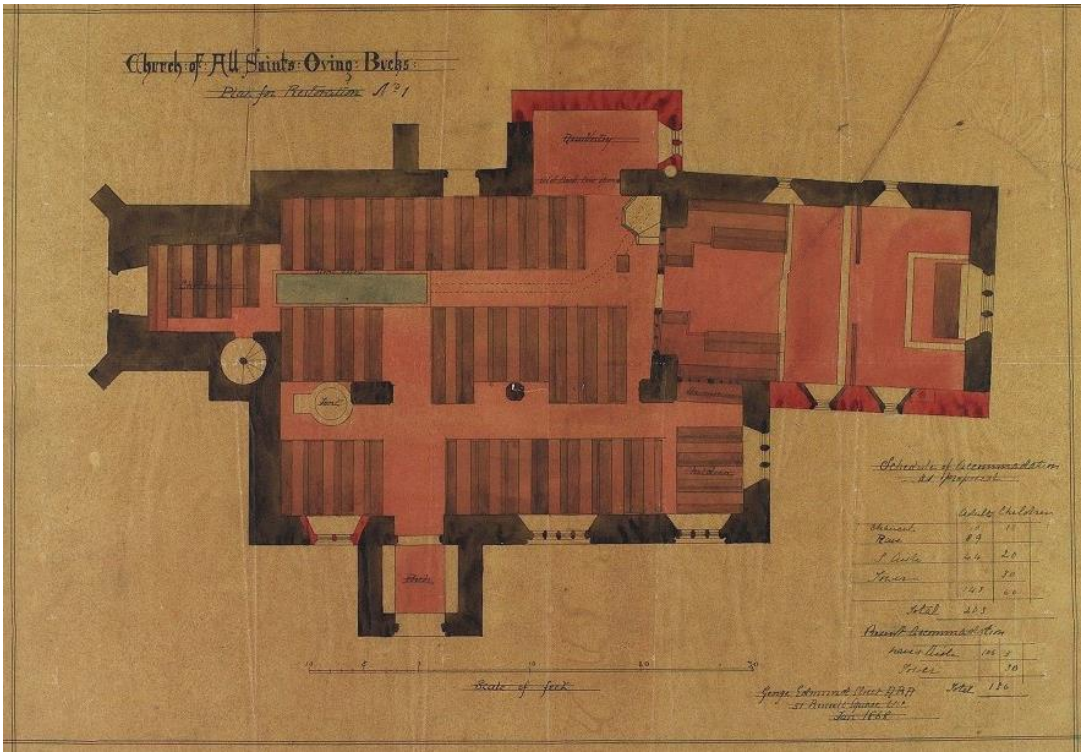

Fig. 7.3, All Saints Oving (Buckinghamshire) Proposed reseating showing north doorway still open prior to alterations, George E. Street 1868.

702. Ibid, 152.
703. https://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/detail/LPLIBLPL~34~34~113802~117103?qvq=q:oving&mi=1&trs=4
704. Michael G. Hardy, All Saints, Oving (Buckinghamshire).

Fig. 7.4, All Saints Oving, blocked north doorway, image courtesy of Michael G. Hardy

Fig. 7.5, All Saints Oving, after restoration
north doorway blocked for bench seating,
image courtesy of Michael G. Hardy

I suggest that the union of these three components forms the basis for the construction of the idea of a ‘Devil’s Door’. The typical churchgoer might have had a vague notion based on folk memory that baptism had some medieval link with

the Devil but had no recollection or misconstrued the fact that the Devil did not form part of the modern ritual.

The re-conceptualization of the Devil starting in the late seventeenth century diminished Satan's relevance to caricature status. As churches were remodelled and repaired, many northern doorways were blocked with either the reasons not communicated to the congregation or the reasons were soon forgotten by them or the next generation. I suggest it was that later group who may also have developed their own ideas about why in their opinion a perfectly good doorway was blocked up. After all, many churches by this time had central heating and were no longer in the decrepit or ruinous state prior to restoration. In addition, the parishioners sat on benches, perhaps with cushions in reasonable comfort rather than in private box pews. I suggest that it is under these circumstances that people began to claim that their church had a 'Devil's Door'. It served as a viable explanation for its blocking and gave them an opportunity to educate a visitor to their church, such as myself, on this architectural feature. It became just as important a curiosity as other artefacts, like the Devil's Stone outside the churchyard at St Mary's Newington (Kent) or other apotropaic markings on the church, or artefacts of other local significance, like a sanctuary ring affixed to a church doorway, or fossil echinoids placed in the windows at St Peter's, Linkenholt. I suggest that the 'Devil's Door' serves a purpose for many church attendants and architecture enthusiasts but it is a nineteenth-century folkloric creation. I have no doubt that the idea of the 'Devil's Door' will endure, however erroneous it happens to be.

Conclusion

C.1. Research Summary

When I began my research into medieval church doorway positions I did not anticipate the results I would find. When speaking with other graduate students, at Oxford, or British Archaeological Association conferences, I had to justify my reasons for investigating this apparently arcane topic of church architectural history after hearing their initial reactions. As my research progressed, I came to recognise that, in fact, the architecture I was studying was only part of the story. My topic opened the door to subjects I had not expected to encounter. This involved research into a multitude of themes. It was obviously church architectural history, but it was also a study of materials, stone, mortar, masonry, tooling methods and the physics of bell ringing. It was an investigation that led to topics related to medieval builders and the communities that constructed these churches and chapels, and why they did. It was about how churches were funded and alienated, how they were used, and their importance to local communities. Although many academic texts refer to doorways, I found that few provide any extensive discussion about the location of doorways, especially in post-Conquest churches and chapels. These were some of the features that compelled me to pursue this research.

As the church at Barfrestone was one of my first site visits, it was clear that I would learn about stone carving, but also about wall and panel painting and glass. These artistic works not only provide evidence of carving style, technique and craftsmanship they also helped me to date the buildings. In seeking to explain the differences between Barfrestone’s north and south nave doorways, I sought

answers within a liturgical context. This led me to searching for such evidence and experiencing the frustration of finding only few edited sources.

I also had to investigate medieval gender studies as a result of my findings about the segregation of men and women in church space and of the churching of women. This theme helped me to comprehend the architecture from another view. Early on, I also encountered the very common feature of blocked nave doorways like the northern one at Barfrestone. Why did this church have a sealed north doorway? I was determined to understand this phenomenon. My research showed that the Devil and his demons were important theologically and had a powerful presence in the lives of people in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern periods. However, as I proceeded with this theme, I did not expect that I would be continuing my search for answers in the writings of Enlightenment authors including Spinoza, Hobbes and Paine and in nineteenth-century literature. Little did I expect that the idea of the ‘Devils’ Door’ came from a Victorian fascination with spiritualism, the occult and church restoration.

C.2. Doorway Dimensions and Appearance

It is clear that the builders of churches with two or more doorways deliberately chose to vary the size and ornamentation of each. My research showed that at a single church, there was great variety among its own doorways. The southern doorway tended to face the location of the community and so this doorway was typically larger and had more elaborate carving. My measurements at over one hundred churches confirm this finding. When a third doorway at the west end was also present, that doorway tended to be the largest of all three, with the most ornate work. What explains this commonly observed variation? As I have argued, at churches constructed after the eleventh century, there appeared to be

a hierarchy of doorways within a liturgical context. The grandest doorway was usually the western entrance in terms of size and adornment.

C.3. Patterns for Doorway Positions of Churches and Chapels

I have argued that my research into the positioning of doorways at medieval churches is significant. It is clear that the doorway was one of the locations where some medieval rituals occurred, including exorcism prior to baptism, betrothals, marriages, burials, church dedications, other acts of grace, and the processions of Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday. It was also at the doorway where porches were built. These appendages were especially important places in which rituals or other ceremonies were held.[705]

I detected discernible patterns in church doorway positions. The stone-built churches of the seventh to tenth centuries tended to have a single western doorway that led into the nave. This changed at the turn of the eleventh century. From that time, churches tended not to have western doorways. Instead, they were usually built with two laterally opposing nave doorways, one on the north and one on the south. I have argued that this change happened for several reasons.

First, is the fact that we have some evidence that the western zone inside the nave may have been used for celebrations or other rituals, as they were in the greater churches of England in the eleventh century. In order to preserve the internal space at the west wall of the nave, the church doorway needed to be at another location in the nave. By not creating a western doorway, that western internal space was not subject to exterior disturbance by a pathway, either into, or out from, the church. Second, this form also gave the building a physically

705. Helen E. Lunnon, *East Anglian Church Porches and their Medieval Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), 1-9.

stronger west end which would permit a safer ringing of bells suspended at the apex of the west end of the church. This two-doorway form is ubiquitous throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was related to the liturgical needs of parish churches and facilitated the performance of several rites.

Halfway through the thirteenth century, a second change starts to appear. At this time, builders tended to construct western towers as a feature of newly built churches. Towers were also added onto older churches at this time. These towers often had large, ground-level, western doorways as well. The three-doorway form was very common in the fourteenth century and until the end of the Middle Ages. This further design change was also related to the liturgical needs of the parish church. The presence of a western doorway may have enhanced the performance of many rituals. As my research shows, that third western doorway may have been a desirable feature at many churches but it was not necessarily required.

Furthermore, the addition of western towers meant that bells that might have been suspended at the apex of the western nave wall could be placed in this new safer position. The tower doorway was set away from the nave wall, a distance equal to the depth of the tower itself. This protected the internal space at the west end of the nave which had been a previously important area. It is also important to notice that even when a church had a western tower this did not mean that it had a western doorway. The early fourteenth-century church of Saint Mary the Virgin, Stocklinch (Somerset), and the early fifteenth-century, large and ornate church at Thirsk (Yorkshire) are examples of two parish churches with western towers and no western doorways. This finding makes it clear that some communities and builders may have wanted a western doorway while others chose otherwise.

My research showed that local variation among parish churches was common from the thirteenth century onwards. Examples of variation are more common in the later Middle Ages than in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is clearly observable even among contemporary neighbouring churches as at the two parish churches at Stocklinch (Somerset), where one has a western and southern doorway with a west bellcote and the other has north and south doorways and a western tower. We see this also when we compare two large, ornate, contemporary fourteenth-century churches at Thirsk (Yorkshire) and Adderbury (Oxfordshire); where the latter has a grand western doorway in its western tower.

Also significant was my research into the position of the doorway in English medieval, non-parochial chapels. These free-standing, non-parochial chapels provided pastoral care for their communities but had a lesser status than the parish church or parochial chapel. As such, their chaplains did not perform rites that were strictly held at the parish church, like churching. After having reviewed the evidence for this class of building, I argued that the doorway was linked to chapel status and function.

As I have shown, non-parochial chapels generally had by their design a single nave doorway. They tended to have their doorway usually on the south side of the nave but also at times at the west end, especially when the chapel was built on a bridge. I also observed that builders of non-parochial chapels tended to construct them with a single doorway regardless of whether they were built in the twelfth or the fifteenth century. By contrast, parochial chapels tended to have two or more doorways.

It may be significant that there seems to be a correlation between the number and position of doorways in churches or chapels and the function of the building. This is important, as there is some evidence that when non-parochial chapels were elevated to being parish churches, their builders constructed a second nave doorway as at East Wittering (West Sussex). The additional doorway appears to have been related to the rituals performed at the church which enhanced the function of the building.

My research showed that the builders of churches that had two or more nave doorways did not build one to be used specifically for the exclusive use of one gender or the other. Although men and women were segregated inside churches, I found no evidence to suggest that men and women were separated outside the church and then entered the building through particular doorways. As attractive as this argument might be, based on early medieval evidence from Ravenna and Kildare, there is no evidence to support the widespread use of a women's doorway. My research did show that, at certain times, the lesser of the two nave doorways, usually the northern one, would be used by women for their churching ritual. So, in this limited sense, gender and doorways were linked.

My research also showed that some rites were performed at parish church doorways including Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday. The northern nave doorway was the location for the expulsion of the laity from the nave to the exterior of the building. It was outside the northern doorway that the priest led the worshippers around the chancel in the Ash Wednesday procession. He then admitted the people back into the church through the southern doorway. These doorways had an important symbolism for the enactment of Adam's ejection from Eden and ultimate readmission to Paradise. Likewise, the church's

southern doorway was one of the locations where the Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday rituals were celebrated. After reviewing the extant liturgical evidence, I argued that there was a hierarchy of church doorways.The western doorway was the most important, and tended to be the largest and most adorned of all of the church's doorways. As the most important doorway, physically and by appearance, it was used by the community as a focal point to enhance the Palm Sunday procession, part of which re-enacted Christ's return to Jerusalem. At other times of the year, this most exalted doorway may have also been used for the bishop's visitations, or other exalted guests. The southern doorway tended to be the most important doorway for the daily entrance into the church for the local community and the northern doorway, which has links with sin, had the lowest status of the three. I also suggested that on account of its link with original sin, the northern doorway was used by post-partum married mothers as part of their churching ritual.

A further question was to investigate the idea of the 'Devil's Door' and why this concept continued to be part of the public imagination. My research established that the 'Devil's Door' was not a medieval idea. However, the link between sin and the northern doorway was medieval. I argued that the idea was not current in the Early Modern period despite the fascination with witches and demons at this time. Rather, it was an idea that developed during the nineteenth century to give meaning to the blocked doorways so often found at local parish churches and blocked during that period. At that time, the northern doorway was no longer required. Its blocking reduced heat loss from inside the church and the sealed doorway helped create more space for bench seating in the nave.

C.4. Future Investigation

The evidence I collected is a reasonable sample of extant medieval English churches and chapels spread throughout the country. However, further research would be valuable to gather additional evidence. For example, future work could identify parish churches which had originally been non-parochial chapels to explore the proposition that a second nave doorway was inserted with an elevation of function and status. I found two possible parish churches at Rollestone (Wiltshire) and Little Hormead (Hertfordshire) whose laterally opposing nave doorways are significantly different in dimension, appearance, and were built in different times with different styles of carving. Both of these churches have very limited historical documentation. As such, it is not possible to say with certainty if they were at one time chapels-of-ease. Locating possible written sources that provide the history of these and other such sites would help to explore whether there is indeed a link between a chapel's elevation of status and the addition of a second nave doorway.

Some of the liturgical texts I examined contain rubrics that refer to separate doorways for the Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday processions. The manuscripts I examined were primarily those that have been edited. The vast majority of these editions are over one hundred years old and there are many liturgical manuscripts that need to be edited which would be of great use to update the edited sources. These manuscripts may well contain more specific doorway references and they may provide us with a greater understanding about the importance of doorways. Future medieval liturgical manuscripts studies will be helpful to supplement extant evidence that only states that some of the rites are 'at the doorway' like marriages and churching even though we have strong

evidence to suggest that these were at the southern and northern doorways respectively. Future research may also identify other uses of the northern and western doorways.

A further systematic research effort at local history centres and county archives reviewing parish churchwarden records, testamentary documents and church faculties could generate valuable evidence of the expenditure of funds for local celebrations like Palm Sunday, to accurately date the alterations of churches in the Middle Ages and to confirm my argument that it was in the nineteenth century that most northern doorways tended to be blocked.

The number of churches I analysed represents a wide nationwide sample. This was deliberate to avoid any geographic bias. Location was not a relevant factor from the seventh to tenth centuries as all the churches tended to have a single doorway. When two doorways became the norm in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, again the new design form had no geographic variation. From the thirteenth century onwards, variation is clear at the local level and there does not seem to have been any trend between counties. Having detected a national pattern, further research could focus on churches and chapels within a particular county could usefully test the broader findings of this thesis.

It would also be helpful to examine the unusual cases where the northern doorway was the probable primary doorway for the local community. We saw this at Luckington (Wiltshire), Hannington (Northamptonshire), and Blisworth (Northamptonshire).[706] It is important to notice that each of these churches had Lady Chapels on the southern side of the church. This is unusual as Lady Chapels

706. Paul. S. Barnwell, “The Use of the Church: Blisworth, Northamptonshire, on the Eve of the Reformation,” *Ecclesiology Today* 35 (September 2005): 43-62; R. M. Serjeantson and Isham Longden, “The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: Their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights,” *AJ* 70, no. 1 (1913): 277-78.

are usually built on the northern side of medieval churches. This ordering is consistent with medieval gender segregation practice where women were in the north part of the nave. It would be important to know if these three churches also reversed the women's position in the nave to the southern side. Did a northern primary entrance for the community therefore change the usual practice for where men and women stood in these churches? If this were the case, then this reversal of standard positioning would suggest that local needs directed the adornment and design of the church itself rather than following generally accepted custom.

C.5. Conclusion

My research shows that there is indeed a pattern of change in the position of doorways in English medieval churches. The changes of design are traced chronologically and relate to the type of church and its function. I have demonstrated that the earlier Anglo-Saxon churches were almost uniformly single-doorway buildings. With the development of the parish in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, parish churches typically had two or more nave doorways and this form distinguished them from their contemporary, single-doorway, non-parochial chapels. The higher status buildings like minsters and collegiate churches usually had, from the eleventh century onwards, a cruciform plan and three doorways, a form that differentiated them from the typical English local parish church. My research shows that church form and function were clearly related to the number, position and attributes of their doorways. Moreover, at an individual church the variation in their dimensions and embellishment were further important features related to the function of the building itself.

These results are significant as my findings are more than just evidence for the development and change of the positions of doorways through medieval history.

My research has shown that the characteristics of church doorways and their positions also relate to the manner in which these buildings were used at different times in the Middle Ages. The people that built these churches and chapels purposely built their doorways with an understanding that these entrances were more than just openings. They designed them to be used in different ways. To reflect these different functions and roles, they gave their church doorways different dimensions, carving and appearance. Previous studies have addressed where rituals took place to a limited extent. This thesis has developed those earlier ideas. It has expanded our understanding of not only where rituals took place at a given church but also analysed the relationship among its doorways and why their positions changed over time.

Appendix 1: Brief Summary of References for Churches and Chapels

The following collection of 177 sites in this Appendix is a summary of the English medieval churches and chapels that have been analysed in, and for, this thesis. The purpose of this Appendix is to supplement the tables that are found in the text. Many churches and chapels were listed and dated but without references in the text. For this reason, I have presented some of the key resources I have consulted to date these buildings. All of the churches from the seventh to eleventh centuries were fully analysed and footnoted in Chapters 1 and 2. For that reason, I include only the key sources in this Appendix for those buildings. The sources in the Appendix are not meant to be exhaustive but may serve as a guide for future research. I have also abbreviated the sources in footnote format to reduce their word count. The churches in this Appendix are organised chronologically by century, other than the first group, which spans the seventh to tenth centuries. Within each group the buildings are alphabetised for easier reference. Chapels are also grouped separately and alphabetically.

Location	Date	Door ways	References
			Churches: 7th to 10th Century
Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire)	*c*. 975	N, S	National Grid Reference:TA 03478 21949 Warwick Rodwell, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: a Parish Church and its community*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011)
Bradwell (Essex) St Peter on the Wall	653 x 664	W	National Grid Reference:TM 03100 08160 "Bradwell-juxta-Mare," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Volume 4, South east*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923), 13-16 Charles R. Peers, "On Saxon Churches of the St. Pancras Type," *AJ* 58 (1901): 423-28. Alfred W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest*, vol.1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 22-23; Taylor and Taylor, vol. 1, 91-92
Brixworth (Northampton shire)	Late 8th to early 9th c.	W	National Grid Reference:SP 74750 71217 Michel Audouy et al., "Excavations at The Church of All Saints' Brixworth, Northamptonshire 1981–2," *JBAA* 137, no. 1 (1984): David Parsons and Diana S. Sutherland, *The Anglo-Saxon Church of All Saints Brixworth Northamptonshire, Survey,*

			excavation and analysis 1972-2010 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013)
Canterbury (Kent) St Augustine's Abbey	604 x 619	W	National Grid Reference:TR 15495 57755 Richard Gem, *Book of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (London: Batsford, 1997), 90-120
Canterbury Cathedral (Kent)	Many phases, relevant period for this thesis is 900 x 970	N?, S	National Grid Reference:TR1508457922 Kevin Blockely, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave Archaeology, History and Architecture* (Canterbury: The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1997); Richard Gem, "The Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Wulfred (805-32)," in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013), 29-38.
Canterbury (Kent) St Pancras	Many phases, relevant period is mid 660s	W	National Grid Reference:TR 15495 57755 Richard Gem, "Reconstructions of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in the Anglo-Saxon Period," in *St. Dunstan His Life, Times and Cult*, eds. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell,1992), 59-70 Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," 214-17
Deerhurst (Gloucester shire)	Many phases, relevant period for this thesis is the 1st half of the 9th c.	W	National Grid Reference:SO 87047 29961 Michael Hare and Maggie Kneen, "The Church of St Mary, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, in the Ninth Century," in *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 300-950*, ed. Paul S. Barnwell (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2015), 186-87 Michael Hare, "The Anglo-Saxon Church of St Mary, Deerhurst: A Reassessment of the Early Structural History," *Trans Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 136 (2018): 197-235 Richard Bryant, Michael Hare and Carolyn Heighway, "Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst in 2012: An Interim Report," *Glevensis* 45 (2012): 20-26
Gloucester (Gloucester shire) St Oswald	910 x 945	N?, S	National Grid Reference:SO8304219007 Carolyn M. Heighway and Richard Bryant, *The Golden Minster, The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1999)
Winchester (Hampshire) Old Minster	7-10th century	W	National Grid Reference:SU4823229265 Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle, "Old Minster, St Swithun's Day 1093" in *Winchester Cathedral 1093-1993*, ed. J. Crook (Guildford: Biddles, 1993), 13-20; Martin Biddle, "*Felix Urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform," in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975)
Raunds Furnells (Northampton shire)	Mid 10th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SP 99828 73166 Michel Audouy and Andy Chapman, *Raunds: The origin and growth of a midland village AD 450-1500 Excavations in north Raunds, Northamptonshire 1977-87* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009); Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard* (London: English Heritage, 1996)
Reculver (Kent)	669 x 679	W	National Grid Reference:TR 21224 68039 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 430-31 Cambridge, "The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," 205-10; Harold M. Taylor, "Reculver Reconsidered," *AJ* 125, no. 1 (1968): 291-96
			Churches: 11th Century

Alton Barnes (Wiltshire)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SU 10769 62027 BofE, *Wiltshire*, 87 N. P. Thompson and H. Ross, "Excavations at the Saxon church, Alton Barnes," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 68 B (1973): 71-78 A. P. Baggs, D. A. Crowley, R. B. Pugh, J. H. Stevenson and M. Tomlinson, "Parishes: Alton Barnes," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 10, ed.,* E. Crittall (London: VCH, 1975), 8-13
Boarhunt (Hampshire)	11th c.	N, S (W only added 13th century)	National Grid Reference:SU 60340 08281 BofE, *Hampshire South*, 116-18 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Boarhunt," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1908), 144-147
Clayton (West Sussex)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ3567813503 BofE, *Sussex West*, 283-85 L. F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Clayton," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 7, the Rape of Lewes* (London: VCH, 1940), 140-44
Coln Rogers (Gloucestershire)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 08743 09688 'Coln Rogers' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1340898 'Coln Rogers' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=7932 Taylor and Taylor, *ASA* 1, 168-69 *VE* 1, 296-97
Corhampton (Hampshire)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SU 61001 20323 BofE, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 231-32 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Corhampton," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1908), 246-54
Hardham (West Sussex)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ 03870 17612 BofE, *Sussex West*, 413-16 P.M. Johnston, "*Hardham Church and its Early Paintings*," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 44 (1901): 73-115 Audrey Baker, "Adam and Eve and the Lord God: the Adam and Eve Cycle of Wall Paintings in the Church of Hardham, Sussex," *AJ*155 (1998): 207-25
Stondon Massey (Essex)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 57265 01587 BofE, *Essex*, 754 "Stondon Massey," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Volume 2, Central and South west*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921), 226-227 'Stondon Massey' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=13296
Stopham (West Sussex)	11th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ 02654 18936 BofE, *Sussex West*, 640-43 'Stopham' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=13293
Worth (West Sussex)	11th c.	N, S, [W?]	National Grid Reference:TQ 30194 36196 BofE, *Sussex West*, 724-26 L. F. Salzman, ed.,"Parishes: Worth," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 7, the Rape of Lewes*(London: VCH, 1940), 192-200 Taylor and Taylor, *ASA*,2:689
			Churches: 12th Century

Adwick-upon-Dearne (Yorkshire)	1114x1130	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 47024 01495 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding: Sheffield and the South*, 88 'Adwick-upon-Deane' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=12258 'Adwick upon Dearne' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.YK.DN.54
Ampney St Mary (Gloucestershire)	c. 1130	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 07563 01539 BofE: *Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, 142-43 'Ampney St Mary' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=12738. *VE* 1, 142-43
Ashill (Somerset)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:ST 32116 17263 BofE, *Somerset, South and West*, 97-98 'Ashill' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.BA.WC.19 'Ashill' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=10653
Barfrestone St Nicholas (Kent)	1170x1190	N, S	National Grid Reference:TR 26425 50146 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 133-34 'Barfrestone' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.SA.01 'Barferston' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/BAF.htm
Barton on the Heath (Warwickshire)	1130 x 1150	N, S	BofE, *Warwickshire*, 139-40 'Barton-on-the-Heath' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/search?form=allnames&name=barton+on+the+heath L. F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Barton-on-the-heath," in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 5, Kington Hundred*(London: VCH, 1949), 13-17 'Barton-on-the-Heath' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=8455.
Bengeo (Hertfordshire)	Early 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 33018 13638 BofE, *Hertfordshire*, 114-15 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Bengeo," in *A History of the County of Hertford: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1912), 423-27 'Bengeo' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4265.
Bossall (Yorkshire)	Late 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 71836 60747 BofE, *Yorkshire:The North Riding*, 83 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Bossall," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1923), 91-98 'Bossall' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.CV.BU.06
Bromyard (Herefordshire)	1174 x 1210	N, S	National Grid Reference:SO 65541 54842 BofE, *Herefordshire*, 92 "Bromyard," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Volume 2, East*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1932), 36-41 'Bromyard' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=14776.
Darlington (Durham)	1180x *c*. 1220	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:NZ 29106 14442 BofE, *Durham*, 140-43 W. Page, ed., "Colleges: Darlington," in *A History of the County of Durham: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1907), 125-26 'Darlington' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DU.DU.DR.01
	1130 x 1150	N, S	National Grid Reference:NZ 55616 10824 BofE, *Yorkshire:The North Riding*, 172-73

Great Ayton (Yorkshire)			W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Great Ayton," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1923), 225-31 'Great Ayton' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.CV.CV.10
Iffley (Oxfordshire)	1175x1182	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 527035 BofE, *Oxfordshire*, 658-61 'Iffley' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4414 Mark Pythian-Adams, "The patronage of Iffley church – a new line of enquiry," *Ecclesiology Today* 36 (June 2006): 7-24
Ilketshall (Suffolk)	c. 1130	N, S	National Grid Reference: TM 37913 87238 BofE, *Suffolk East*, 300-01 Alfred Suckling. "Ilketshall," in *The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk: Volume 1*, (Ipswich: WS Crowell, 1846), 111-18 'Ilketshall' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=10864.
Ilmington (Warwick shire)	c. 1150	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 20961 43470 BofE, *Warwickshire*, 371-72 L. F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Ilmington," in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 5, Kington Hundred*(London: VCH, 1949), 98-103 'Ilmington' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=10840
Kilpeck (Herefordshire)	1130x1134	S	National Grid Reference:SO 44510 30514 BofE, *Herefordshire*, 201-03 "Kilpeck," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire, Volume 1, South west*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931), 156-161 'Kilpeck' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=11497
Lambourn (Berkshire)	*c*. 1180, 14th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SU 32606 78957 BofE, *Berkshire*, 350-51 W. Page and P. H. Ditchfield, eds., "Parishes: Lambourn," in *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1924), 251-66 'Lambourn' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=8792
Little Abington (Cambridge shire)	Early 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 52950 49197 BofE*, Cambridgeshire*, 596-97 L. F. Salzman, *Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, (London: VCH, 1978), 17 *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=EL.EL.CP.24
Little Hormead (Hertfordshire)	Later 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 33018 13638 BofE, *Hertfordshire,*93 A. H. Doubleday, *Hertford* (London: VCH 1902), 426-427 F. M. Page, *History of Hertford* (Hertford: Hertford Town Council,1993), 57 Anon, 'Hertfordshire Countryside' in *Hertfordshire Countryside*, (1970), 36-38 *Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Hertfordshire*, (1910)
Luddenham (Kent)	1175 x 1200	S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 99236 63137 BofE, *Kent, North East and East*, 375 E. Hasted, "Parishes: Luddenham," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 6*, (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 386-93

			'Luddenham' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=1456 'Luddenham' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/LUD.htm
Margaret Roding (Essex)	Late 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 59897 11997 BofE, *Essex*, 590 W. R. Powell, ed., "The Hundred of Ongar," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 4, Ongar Hundred*(London: VCH, 1956), 1-8 'Margaret Roding' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LO.MI.DM.16 'Margaret Roding' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=6744
Offchurch (Warwick shire)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 35818 65656 BofE, *Warwickshire*, 495-96 L. F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Offchurch," in *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 6, Knightlow Hundred*(London: VCH, 1951), 194-198 'Offchurch' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=11311
Old Sarum (Wiltshire)	11th to 12th c in this thesis	S, S, W	National Grid Reference:SU 13758 32699 "Old Sarum," in *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: VCH, 1977), 1-24. John Montague, "The Cloister and Bishop's Palace at Old Sarum with Some Thoughts on the Origins and Meaning of Secular Cathedral Cloisters," *JBAA* 159, no. 1 (2006): 48-70 William H. St John Hope, "Report on the Excavation of the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum in 1913," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series 26 (1914): 100-19
Patrixbourne (Kent)		N, S	National Grid Reference:TR 18962 55148 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 414-15 'Patrixbourne' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.BR.10 'Patrixbourne' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/PAT.htm
Romsey (Hampshire)	*c*. 1130 x1170	N, S	National Grid Reference:SU 35093 21257 BofE, *Hampshire South*, 560-72 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Romsey Extra and Infra," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1911), 452-69 'Romsey' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=14518.
Little Hormead (Hertfordshire)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 39849 29104 BofE, *Hertfordshire*, 241-42 "Little Hormead," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), 147
Shellingford (Berkshire)	Late 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SU3195193515 BofE, *Berkshire*, 508-09 W. Page and P. H. Ditchfield, eds., "Parishes: Shellingford," in *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1924), 475-78 'Shellingford' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4186.
Shelsley Walsh (Worcester shire)	c. 1150	N, S	National Grid Reference:SO 72158 62966 BofE, *Worcestershire*, 594 'Shelsley Walsh' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4159

			'Shelsley Walsh' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.SH.BU.20
Sinnington (Yorkshire)	Early 12th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SE 74638 86062 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 341-42 William Page, ed., "Parishes: Sinnington," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1923), 489-92 'Sinnington' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.CV.RY.23
South Shoebury (Essex)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ 92919 86144 'South Shoebury' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1112716 "South Shoebury," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Volume 4, South east*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923), 143-45 'South Shoebury' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=3188.
Stewkley (Buckingham shire)	1150x1 170	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 85211 26104 BofE, *Buckinghamshire*, 645 "Stewkley," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire, Volume 2, North*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1913), 275-80 'Stewkley' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=6981 'Stewkley' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.BU.MU.20
Stoke Orchard (Gloucester shire)	1160x1 180	N, S	National Grid Reference:SO 91773 28201 BofE, *Gloucestershire 2, The Vale and The Forest of Dean*, 696-97 E. Clive Rouse and Audrey Baker, "Wall Paintings in Stoke Orchard Church, Gloucestershire, *AJ* 123 (1967): 79-119
Stow (Lincolnshire)	1150x1 170	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SK 88190 81999 Alfred Clapham, "Lincolnshire Priories, Abbeys and Parish Churches," *AJ* 103 no. 1 (1946): 166-70 Diana E. Greenway, ed.,"Prebendaries: Stow St Mary," in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 3, Lincoln* (London: Institute of Historical Research,1977), 98. M. McDaid, "St Mary's Church, Stow, Lincs. Archaeological Watching Brief," *Lindsey Archaeological Services, Report No.: 969* (February 2007): 11, https://doi.org/10.5284/1014179
Studland (Dorset)	1120x1 134	N, S	National Grid Reference:SZ 03643 82511 BofE, *Dorset*, 577 "Studland," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset, Volume 2, South east*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), 276-283 'Studland' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=SA.DO.DR.33
Tugford (Shropshire)	Late 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SO 55710 87060 BofE, *Shropshire*, 665-66 A. P. Baggs, G. C. Baugh, D. C. Cox, Jessie McFall and P. A. Stamper, "Tugford," in *A History of the County of Shropshire: Volume 10, Munslow Hundred (Part), the Liberty and Borough of Wenlock*, ed. G. C. Baugh (London: VCH, 1998), 180-86 'Tugford' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=HE.SH.WE.11

Weaverthrope (Yorkshire)	1109 x 1118	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 96669 71102 BofE, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 783-89 Rita Wood, "St Andrew, Weaverthorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding," *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=3209 James Bayly, *Four Churches in the Deanery of Buckrose restored or built by the late George Edmund Street, RA, for Sir Tatton Sykes, Bart* (London: 1894) John Bilson, 'Weaverthorpe church and its builder', *Archaeologia* 72 (1922): 51-70 *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.YK.YK.35
West Chiltington (West Sussex)	Late 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ 09018 18345 BofE, *West Sussex*, 689-91 'West Chiltington' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=8657 'West Chiltington' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CI.CI.ST.25
Willingale (Essex)	Early 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 59625 07313 BofE, *Essex*, 837-38 "Willingale Spain," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Volume 2, Central and South west*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921), 261-62. 'Willingale' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LO.MI.DM.22
Wixoe (Suffolk)	Mid 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL7180242992 BofE, *Suffolk West*, 565-66 'Wixoe' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=4394 'Wixoe' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=NW.SD.CL.14
			Churches: 13th Century
Acton Burnell (Shropshire)	1275-1280	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SJ 53349 01932 BofE, *Shropshire*, 87-92 Richard Huscroft, "A Tale of Two Ministers: Robert Burnell, Walter Langton and the Government of Edward I," in *Edward I: New Interpretations*, eds. Andy King and Andrew Spencer (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 24-43 David Herbert Somerset Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*, Vol. 2 (Wellington: VCH, 1912), 454. 'Acton Burnell' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CL.SL.SL.X30
Amberley (West Sussex)	c. 1300	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ 02787 13192 BofE, *Sussex West*, 83-84 'Amberley' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=12759. 'Amberley' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CI.CI.AR.23
Bruisyard (Suffolk)	Mid 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TM 32522 66270 BofE, *Suffolk East*, 145-46 'Bruisyard' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=NW.SF.OR.14
Collingham All Saints (Nottinghamshire)	13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SK 82974 62044 BofE, *Nottinghamshire*, 104 Robert Thoroton. "Parishes: Colingham, North and South," in *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 1,*

			Republished With Large Additions By John Throsby, ed. John Throsby (Nottingham: J Throsby, 1790), 372-374 'Collingham North' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.NW.02
Collingham St John (Nottingham shire)	13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SK 82665 61311 BofE, *Nottinghamshire*, 104-05 Robert Thoroton, "Parishes: Colingham, North and South," in *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 1, Republished With Large Additions by John Throsby*, ed. John Throsby (Nottingham: J. Throsby, 1790), 372-74 'Collingham South' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.NW.03
Cranford, St Andrew (Northampton shire)	c. 1275	S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 92386 77271 BofE, *Northamptonshire*, 203-04 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Cranford St. Andrew," in *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 3* (London: VCH, 1930), 186-189 'Cranford St Andrew' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.NO.HI.17
Copford (Essex)	Mid 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 91245 21500 BofE, *Essex*, 305-06 Janet Cooper, ed., "Copford: Church," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 10, Lexden Hundred (Part) Including Dedham, Earls Colne and Wivenhoe*(London: VCH, 2001), 149-152 'Copford' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LO.CO.LE.31
Ellerburn (Yorkshire)	Late 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 84142 84218 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 158-59 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Ellerburn," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1923), 437-40
Hannington (Northampton shire)	Late 13th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 81157 70929 BofE, *Northamptonshire*, 245 Louis F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Hannington," in *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1937, 1985), 172-74
Henbury (Gloucester shire)	Early 13th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 56332 78790 BofE, *North Somerset and Bristol*, 466 A.H. Gomme, M. Jenner, B. D. G. Little, *Bristol, An Architectural History*, (1979), 20 'Henbury' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=WO.GL.BR.24
Langley Burrell (Wiltshire)	c. 1260	N, S	National Grid Reference:ST 94834 75756 BofE, *Wiltshire*, 291-92 'Langley Burrell' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=SA.WI.MM.35
Low Marnham (Nottingham shire)	c. 1250	N, S	National Grid Reference:SK 80680 69391 BofE, *Nottinghamshire*, 176-77 'Low Marnham' *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/low-marnham/hintro.php
Orcheston, St Mary (Wiltshire)	Mid 13th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SU 05893 45646 BofE, *Wiltshire*, 367 A. P. Baggs, Jane Freeman and Janet H. Stevenson, "Parishes: Orcheston St Mary," in *A History of the County of*

			Wiltshire: Volume 15, Amesbury Hundred, Branch and Dole Hundred, ed. D. A. Crowley (London: VCH, 1995), 227-34 'OrchestonSt Mary' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=SA.SA.WY.02
Porlock (Somerset)	Late 13th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SS 88639 46664 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 526-27 S. Lewis, ed., "Poolton - Portishead," in *A Topographical Dictionary of England*(London: S Lewis, 1848), 593-96 'Porlock' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.TA.DN.10
Potterne (Wiltshire)	Mid 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:ST 99547 58542 BofE, *Wiltshire*, 371 H. F. Chettle, W. R. Powell, P. A. Spalding and P. M. Tillott, "Parishes: Potterne," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 7*, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: VCH, 1953), 207-17 'Potterne' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=SA.00.SC.31
Poulshot (Wiltshire)	Late 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:ST9642658809 BofE, *Wiltshire*, 373 H. F. Chettle, W. R. Powell, P. A. Spalding and P. M. Tillott. "Parishes: Poulshot," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 7*, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: VCH, 1953), 121-25 'Poulshot' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=SA.SA.PT.17
Rimpton (Somerset)	Late 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:ST 61043 21858 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 541-42 A. P. Baggs and M. C. Siraut, "Rimpton," in *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 7, Bruton, Horethorne and Norton Ferris Hundreds*, eds. C. R. J. Currie and R. W. Dunning (London: VCH, 1999), 234-40 'Rimpton' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.WE.MA.08
Rollestone (Wiltshire)	Mid 13th	N, S	National Grid Reference:SU 07349 43115 'Rollestone' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1181917 A. P. Baggs, Elizabeth Crittall, Jane Freeman and Janet H. Stevenson, "Parishes: Rollestone," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 11, Downton Hundred; Elstub and Everleigh Hundred*, ed. D. A. Crowley (London: VCH, 1980), 208-12
Ryton, Holy Cross (Durham)	c. 1220	N, S	National Grid Reference:NZ 15100 64831 BofE, *Durham*, 392-93 Robert Surtees. "Parish of Ryton," in *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham: Volume 2, Chester Ward*, (London: Nichols and Son, 1820), 259-83 'Ryton' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DU.DU.DU.32
Seaham (Durham)	c. 1250	N, S	National Grid Reference:NZ 42243 50500 BofE, *Durham*, 398-99 W. Page, ed., "Premonstratensian houses: Abbey of Coverham," in *A History of the County of York: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1974), 243-245

			'Seaham' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DU.DU.DU.08
Sedgefield (Durham)	c. 1250	N, S	National Grid Reference:NZ 42116 29848 BofE, *Durham*, 402-04 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Sedgefield," in *A History of the County of Durham: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1928), 321-343 'Sedgefield' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DU.DU.DU.19
Shipton Sollars (Gloucester shire)	c. 1210	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 03128 18478 BofE, *Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, 608-09 Carol Davidson Cragoe, A R J Jurica and Elizabeth Williamson, "Parishes: Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers," in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 9, Bradley Hundred. The Northleach Area of the Cotswolds*, ed. N. M. Herbert (London: VCH, 2001), 187-208 'Shipton Solers' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=WO.GL.SW.11
Sutton-on-Trent (Nottingham shire)	13th c.	S, W	National Grid Reference:SK 80067 65949 BofE, *Nottinghamshire*, 345 Robert Thoroton, "Sutton upon Trent," in *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 3, Republished With Large Additions by John Throsby*, ed. John Throsby (Nottingham: J. Throsby, 1796), 175-79 'Sutton on Trent' *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/sutton-on-trent/hintro.php
Warminghurst (West Sussex)	c. 1220	N, S	National Grid Reference:TQ 11711 16855 BofE, *Sussex West*, 678-80 A. P. Baggs, C. R. J. Currie, C. R. Elrington, S. M. Keeling and A. M. Rowland, "Warminghurst ," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 6 Part 2, Bramber Rape (North-Western Part) Including Horsham*, ed. T. P. Hudson (London: VCH, 1986), 49-52 'Warminghurst' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CI.CI.ST.27
West Walton, St Mary (Norfolk)	1240 x 1250	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TF 47113 13361 BofE, *Norfolk 2:North-West and South*, 771-73 Francis Blomefield, "Freebridge Hundred: West-Walton," in *An Essay Towards A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 9*, (London: W Miller, 1808), 131-142 'West Walton' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=NW.NW.LY.02
York Minster	11th to 13th for this thesis	S, W	National Grid Reference:SE 60323 52180 Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*,vol. 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1985), 3. Sarah Brown, *York Minster, an Architectural History c 1220-1500* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), 3.
			Churches: 14th Century
Adderbury (Oxfordshire)	1315 x 1344	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 47089 35378 BofE, *Oxfordshire: North and West*, 73-77 Mary D. Lobel and Alan Crossley, eds., "Parishes: Adderbury," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 9, Bloxham Hundred*(London: VCH, 1969), 5-44

Appleton-le-Street (Yorkshire)	South Aisle c. 1300	N (tower door)	National Grid Reference:SE 73436 73580 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 64 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Appleton le Street," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1*(London: VCH, 1914), 464-71
Bardsey (Yorkshire)	c. 1375	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 36561 43123 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North*, 109-10 S. Lewis, ed.,"Bardsey - Barkway," in *A Topographical Dictionary of England*(London: S Lewis, 1848), 141-45
Bedale (Yorkshire)	1340	S, W	National Grid Reference:SE 26556 88450 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 74-76 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Bedale," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1*(London: VCH, 1914), 291-301
Boothby Pagnell (Lincolnshire)	1320 x 1340	S, W	National Grid Reference:SK 97183 30833 BofE, *Lincolnshire*, 152-53 E. Rahbula, "The Parish Church of St Andrew, Boothby Pagnell, Lincolnshire," *AJ* 106 (1946): 168-88
Clarborough (Nottinghamshire)	14th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SK 73462 83279 BofE, *Nottinghamshire*, 97 'Clarborough' *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/clarborough/hintro.php
Copford (Essex)	c. 1300	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 91245 21500 BofE, *Essex*, 305-06 Janet Cooper, ed., "Copford: Church," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 10, Lexden Hundred (Part) Including Dedham, Earls Colne and Wivenhoe*(London: VCH, 2001), 149-52
Cranbrook (Kent)	1350	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 77689 36169 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 242-44 E. Hasted,ed., "Parishes: Cranbrooke," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 90-113
Draughton (Northamptonshire)	14th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 74916 76936 BofE, *Northamptonshire*, 234-35 "Draughton," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northamptonshire, Volume 3, Archaeological Sites in North-West Northamptonshire*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 75-77
Gaddesby (Leicestershire)	Mid 14thc.	N,S, W	National Grid Reference:SK 68975 13051 BofE, *Leicestershire*, 156-58 S. Lewis, ed., "Gaddesby - Garforth, West," in *A Topographical Dictionary of England*(London: S Lewis, 1848), 275-79 Alistair Mutch, "Gaddesby," *Leicestershire Archaeological & Historical Society Transactions* 82 (2008): 171-88
Haccombe (Devon)	1328	S, W	National Grid Reference:SX 89806 70198 BofE, *Devon*, 464-65 Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons. "Parishes: Haccombe - Hittesleigh," in *Magna Britannia: Volume 6, Devonshire*, (London: T Cadell and W Davies, 1822), 250-72
Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire)	Mid 14th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 96140 68527 BofE, *Northamptonshire*, 327-31 W. Page, ed., "The borough of Higham Ferrers," in *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1930), 263-279

Lubenham (Leicestershire)	Early 14th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 70524 87072 BofE, *Leicestershire*, 297-98 J. M. Lee and R. A. McKinley, "Lubenham," in *A History of the County of Leicestershire: Volume 5, Gartree Hundred*, (London: Victoria County History, 1964), 220-29
Naseby (Northampton shire)	14th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 68892 78133 BofE, *Northamptonshire*, 420-21 "Naseby," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northamptonshire, Volume 3, Archaeological Sites in North-West Northamptonshire*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 143-146
Shadoxhurst (Kent)	Early 14th c.	S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 97237 37601 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 519-20 E. Hasted. "Parishes: Shadoxhurst," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 238-44 'Shadoxhurst' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/SHA.htm
Staindrop (Durham)	1343 x 1370	N, S	National Grid Reference:NZ 13102 20638 BofE, *Durham*, 426-28 T. Romans and C. A. R. Radford, "Staindrop Church," *AJ* 111, no. 1 (1954): 214-17
Stebbing (Essex)	c. 1360	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 66394 24004 BofE, *Essex*, 745-46 "Stebbing," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, Volume 1, North West*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), 280-88
Stocklinch St Mary Magdalene (Somerset)	c. 1300	S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 38302 17187 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 578 S. Lewis, ed., "Stoak - Stocklinch, Ottersay," in *A Topographical Dictionary of England*(London: S. Lewis, 1848), 207-09
StocklinchOttersey St Mary the Virgin (Somerset)	c. 1320	N, S	National Grid Reference:ST 38669 17084 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 578 S. Lewis, ed., "Stoak - Stocklinch, Ottersay," in *A Topographical Dictionary of England*(London: S Lewis, 1848), 207-09
Wensley (Yorkshire)	c. 1330	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 09209 89535 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 381-83 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Wensley," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 1*(London: VCH, 1914), 268-80
Westbere (Kent)	Early 14th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 19223 61073 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 490-91 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Westbere," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 9* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1800), 68-74 'Westbere' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/WEB.htm
West Monkton (Somerset)	1350	S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 26304 28453 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 677-78 Anon, *Church of St Augustine of Canterbury, West Monkton* https://westmonkton.net/wp-content/uploads/west-monkton-church/church-booklet-web-version-1-1.pdf
Wickham breaux (Kent)	c. 1320	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 22003 58736 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 496-97 'Wickhambreaux' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/WIC.htm

Wisbech (Cambridge shire)	Early 14th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TF4630609556 BofE, *Cambridgeshire*, 695-97 T. D. Atkinson, Ethel M. Hampson, E. T. Long, C. A. F. Meekings, Edward Miller, H. B. Wells and G. M. G. Woodgate, "Wisbech: Church," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 4, City of Ely; Ely, N. and S. Witchford and Wisbech Hundreds*, ed. R. B. Pugh (London: VCH, 2002), 247-50
Yalding (Kent)	c. 1310	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 69846 50069 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 620-21 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Yalding," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 5* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 154-73 'Yalding' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/YAL.htm
			Churches: 15th Century
Broadway (Worcester shire)	c. 1400	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 09705 36258 BofE, *Worcestershire*, 176-77 W. Page and J. W. Willis-Bund, eds., "Parishes: Broadway," in *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1924), 33-43
Bunbury (Cheshire)	1385-86	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SJ 56912 58087 BofE, *Cheshire*, 191-94 Andrew L. Budge, "Change in Architectural Style: The adoption of macro- and microarchitectural motifs in 14th century collegiate churches in England and Wales" (PhD thesis, University of London, 2017), 89-100.
St Alphege, Canterbury (Kent)	1468	N	National Grid Reference:TR 14964 58018 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 237-38 'St Alphege Church Canterbury' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/C-ALP.htm
Chilham (Kent)	15th c.	S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 06885 53656 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 271-73 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Chilham," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 263-92 'Chilham' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/CHH.htm
Cowthorpe, (Yorkshire)	1456 x 1458	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 42700 52692 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North*, 234-35 Church Conservation Trust, *St Michael's Church, Cowthorpe, North Yorkshire*, https://www.visitchurches.org.uk/visit/church-listing/st-michaels-cowthorpe.html
Crofton (Yorkshire)	c. 1419	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 37788 18126 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding: Sheffield and the South*, 186 Lawrence A. S. Butler, "All Saints Church, Crofton," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990): 125-32
Cromwell (Nottingham shire)	1427	S, W	National Grid Reference:SK 79935 61536 BofE, *Nottinghamshire*, 108-09 'Cromwell St Giles' *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project*, https://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/cromwell/hhistory.php#nqtoref
Eastchurch (Kent)	1431	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 98835 71422 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 303-04 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Eastchurch," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 6* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 245-58

			W. Robertson, “The Church of All Saints, Eastchurch in Sheppey,” AC 14 (1882): 374-88
Edington (Wiltshire)	1352-61	S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 92641 53314 BofE, *Wiltshire*, 234 "Edington," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 8, Warminster, Westbury and Whorwellsdown Hundreds*, (London: VCH, 1965), 239-50
Harewood (Yorkshire)	1400 x 1430	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SE 31373 45003 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford and the North*, 296-98 Lawrence A. S. Butler, “All Saints Church, Harewood,” *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 58 (1986): 85-108
Lancing (West Sussex)	15th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 18206 05598 BofE, *Sussex West*, 469-70 A. P. Baggs, C. R. J. Currie, C. R. Elrington, S. M. Keeling and A. M. Rowland, "Lancing," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 6 Part 1, Bramber Rape (Southern Part)*, ed. T. P. Hudson (London: VCH, 1980), 34-53
Lavenham (Suffolk)	1480 x 1520	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TL9128549022 BofE, *Suffolk West*, 351-54 Charles Tracy, Hugh Harrison and Lucy Wrapson, “Thomas Spring’s Chantry and Parclose at Lavenham, Suffolk,” *JBAA* 164, no. 1 (2011): 221-59
London St Margaret, Westminster (London)	1482 x 1523	N, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 30124 79547 ‘Church of St Margaret, Westminster’ *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1226286
Long Melford (Suffolk)	1467 x 1497	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TL 86509 46760 BofE, *Suffolk West*, 381-88 David P. Dymond and Clive Paine, eds., F*ive Centuries of an English Parish Church: ‘The State of Melford Church’, Suffolk* (Cambridge: EAH Press, 2012), 14-20
Maids Moreton (Buckingham shire)	c. 1450	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 70638 35166 BofE, *Buckinghamshire*, 453-55 W. Page, ed., "Parishes : Maids Moreton," in *A History of the County of Buckingham: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1927), 198-205
Maidstone (Kent)	*c*. 1396 x 1410	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 75998 55415 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 396-99 W. Page, ed., "Colleges: Maidstone," in *A History of the County of Kent: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1926), 232-33 Maidstone Borough Council and English Heritage, *All Saints Conservation Area Appraisal* (Maidstone: Directorate of Development Services, 2003), ‘Maidstone’ *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/MAI.htm
Ottery St Mary (Devon)	1342	N, S,W	National Grid Reference:SY0985295580 BofE, *Devon*, 616-21 John Neale Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary* (Cambridge: CUP, 1917) F. B. Dickinson, *A Lecture on the History of the Church of St Mary of Ottery* (Exeter: Pollard, 1929)
South Petherton (Somerset)	15th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 29028 33021 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 566-68 A.P. Baggs and R. J. E. Bush, "Parishes: South Petherton," in *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 4*, ed. R. W. Dunning (London: VCH, 1978), 170-98

Southwold (Suffolk)	1430	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TM 42458 76746 BofE, *Suffolk East*, 515-18 Pownoll W. Phipps, “Southwold Church,” *JBAA* 36, no. 1 (1973): 201-05
Stone-in-Oxney (Kent)	1464	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TQ 92178 30661 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 550 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Oxney," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 9* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1800), 409-411
Tattershall (Lincolnshire)	1440 x 1500	N, S, S, W	National Grid Reference:TF 21210 57584 BofE, *Lincolnshire*, 743-45 W. Page, ed., "Colleges: Tattershall," in *A History of the County of Lincoln: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1906), 237
Thirsk (Yorkshire)	1430	N, S	National Grid Reference:SE 42737 82326 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 365-68 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Thirsk," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1923), 58-70
			Chapels 11th to 16th Century
Adel (Yorkshire)	1140 x 1150	S	National Grid Reference:SE 27462 40235 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford and the North*, 482-85 ‘Adel’ *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=11422
Ayshford (Devon)	15th c.	S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 04830 15211 BofE, *Devon*, 146 Jeanne James, “Ayshford Chapel – parts 1 and 2” *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 39 (2004): 129-34; 161-66
Barrow (Shropshire)	Mid 11th c.	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SO 65790 99983 BofE, *Shropshire*, 132-33 A. P. Baggs, G. C. Baugh, D. C. Cox, Jessie McFall and P. A. Stamper, "Barrow," in *A History of the County of Shropshire: Volume 10, Munslow Hundred (Part), the Liberty and Borough of Wenlock*, ed. G, C, Baugh (London: VCH, 1998), 221-33
Birdforth (Yorkshire)	12th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SE 48631 75789 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 81 W. Page, ed., "The wapentake of Birdforth," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2*(London: VCH, 1923), 1-2 Churches Conservation Trust, *St Mary’s Church, Birdforth, North Yorkshire*, https://www.visitchurches.org.uk/visit/church-listing/st-marys-birdforth.html
Brook (Kent)	Late 11th c. Rectory 1414	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 06635 44281 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 164-65 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Brooke," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1798), 381-384 ‘Brook’ *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=2955
Butterwick (Yorkshire)	14th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SE 99139 71491 BofE, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 381 S. Lewis, ed., "Bushley - Butterworth," in *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (London: S. Lewis, 1848), 460-62
Cambridge (Cambridge shire) Leper Chapel	*c*. 1130	N, S	National Grid Reference:TL 47163 59483 BofE, *Cambridgeshire*, 293-94 Barry Pearce, *A Brief History of Stourbridge Leper Chapel* (Cambridge: Cambridge Preservation Society, 2003)
Cassington (Oxfordshire)	1123	N, S	National Grid Reference:SP 45474 10604 BofE, *Oxfordshire: North and West*, 231-32 A. P. Baggs, W. J. Blair, Eleanor Chance, Christina Colvin, Janet Cooper, C. J. Day, Nesta Selwyn and S. C.

			Townley,"Cassington: Church," in *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 12, Wootton Hundred (South) Including Woodstock*, ed. Alan Crossley and C. R. Elrington (London: VCH, 1990), 49-52 'Cassington' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.OX.WO.01
Chillington (Somerset)	Late 13th c.	S	National Grid Reference:ST 38971 11087 BofE, *Somerset; South and West*, 200 A. P. Baggs and R. J. E. Bush. "Parishes: Chillington," in *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 4*, ed. R. W. Dunning (London: VCH, 1978), 128-33 'Chillington' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.TA.CR.02
Chisbury Chapel (Wiltshire)	Late 13th c.	N	National Grid Reference:SU 27892 65991 'Chisbury' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1013400 C. Poole, *St Martin's Chapel, Chisbury* (Bath: Bath Archaeological Trust, 2005)
Chithurst (West Sussex)	11th c.	W	National Grid Reference:SU 84251 23080 BofE, *Sussex West*, 275-76 L. F. Salzman, ed., "Chithurst," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester*(London: VCH, 1953), 4-6
Dode (Kent)	Late 11th c.	S	National Grid Reference:TQ 66855 63725 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 385 Greville M. Livett, "Early-Norman Churches in and Near the Medway Valley," *AC* 21 (1895): 260-72 George M. Arnold, *Dode, in Kent, with some account of its little Norman church, and of its early extinguishment*, (Gravesend: Caddel and Son, 1905) 11-12 Alan Ward, "Dode Church – Fact and Fiction," *Kent Archaeological Review* 159 (Spring 2005): 196-203
East Wittering (West Sussex)	Mid 12th c. Second Doorway 13th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:SZ8021997890 BofE, *Sussex West*, 372-73 L. F. Salzman , ed.,"East Wittering," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester*(London: VCH, 1953), 215-217
Exeter (Devon) St Pancras	Late 12th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SX 91922 92693 BofE, *Devon*, 394 Nicholas Orme, *The Churches of Medieval Exeter* (Exeter: Impress, 2014)
Fordon (Yorkshire)	12th c.	S	National Grid Reference:TA 04972 75113 BofE, *Yorkshire, York and the East Riding*, 424 'Fordon' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=5731 G. A. Poole, *Churches of Scarborough, Filey and the Neighbourhood* (London & Scarborough, 1848), 144-45.
Fraisthorpe (Yorkshire)	13th c.	S	National Grid Reference:TA 154 617 BofE, Yorkshire, *York and the East Riding*, 426 H. Lawrance and M. E. Bayldon, eds., *Selected notes and documents relating to the history and development of the parish churches in the locality of Bridlington in the East Riding of Yorkshire*. 1967-68. 2 vols. typescript held at Minster Library, York 'Fraisethorpe' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=5620

Houghton St Giles (Norfolk) Slipper Chapel	1340	W	National Grid Reference:TF 92372 35362 'Houghton St Giles' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1049418 'Houghton' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=NW.NW.WA.02 *VE* 1, 570
Kempley (Gloucestershire)	1128x1132	S, 'W' W doorway no longer to the exterior when tower added	National Grid Reference:SO 66987 31257 BofE, *Gloucestershire, The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, 552-54 A. R. J. Jurica, ed., "Kempley," in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 12*(Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer for VCH, 2010), 196-222 *VE* 2, 551-52
King's Lynn St Nicholas (Norfolk)	1371 x 1419	N, S, W, W	National Grid Reference:TF6185320455 BofE, *Norfolk 2: North-West and South*, 468-70 Churches Conservation Trust, *St Nicholas' Chapel, King's Lynn, Norfolk*, (2000) Churches Conservation Trust, *St Nicholas' Chapel, King's Lynn: Discover More*, (2017) *VE* 2, 468-70
Kirkstead (Lincolnshire)	1220 x 1250	N, W	National Grid Reference:TF 19011 61371 BofE, *Lincolnshire*, 417-18 Albert Hartshome, "On Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire, Kirkstead Chapel," *AJ* 40 296-302 Paul Everson and David Stocker, "St Leonard's at Kirkstead, Lincolnshire: The Landscape of the Cistercian Monastic Precinct," in *Medieval Landscapes*, ed. M. Gardiner (Macclesfi eld 2007), 215–30 Glyn Coppack and Stuart Harrison, "Reconstructing Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire" *JBAA* 167, no. 1 (2014): 1-50
Lancaut (Gloucestershire)	Early 12th c.	S	National Grid Reference:ST 53698 96480 BofE, *Gloucestershire2: The Vale and The Forest of Dean*, 563 Kathleen Morgan and Brian S Smith, "Tidenham including Lancaut: Churches," in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 10, Westbury and Whitstone Hundreds*, ed. C. R. Elrington, N. M. Herbert and R. B. Pugh (London: VCH, 1972), 73-78
Laneast (Cornwall)	14th c.	S, W	National Grid Reference:SX 22792 83994 BofE, *Cornwall*, 268-69 'Laneast' CRSBI, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=9735 E. H. Sedding, *Norman Architecture in Cornwall: A Handbook to old Cornish ecclesiastical architecture with notes on ancient manor houses* (London and Truro, 1909), 188-90
Lilburn Chapel (Northumberland)	c. 1140	S	National Grid Reference:NU 02230 24188 BofE, *Northumberland*, 377

Longframlington (Northumberland)	c. 1190	S	National Grid Reference:NU 13094 01007 BofE, *Northumberland*, 381-82 D. Burleigh, et al, *The Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin Longframlington* (Longframlington, 2009)
Lower Sapey (Worcestershire)	Early 12th c. Second Doorway c. 1150	N , S	National Grid Reference:SO 68695 61238 BofE, *Worcestershire*, 438-39 W. Page and J. W. Willis-Bund, eds., "Parishes: Lower Sapey or Sapey Pritchard," in *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1924), 328-31 'Lower Sapey' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=13437
North Elmham (Norfolk)	*c*. 1071	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:TF 98823 21609 BofE, *Norfolk 2: North-West and South*, 566-68 Steven Heywood, "The ruined church at North Elmham," *JBAA* 135, no.1 (1982): 1-10
North Marden (West Sussex)	c. 1140	S	National Grid Reference:SU 80717 16137 BofE, *Sussex West*, 506 L. F. Salzman, ed., "North Marden," in *A History of the County of Sussex: Volume 4, the Rape of Chichester*(London: VCH, 1953), 108-10 'North Marden' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=13528
Noseley (Leicestershire)	1274 x 1303	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:SP 73762 98492 BofE, *Leicestershire*, 335-37 J. M. Lee and R. A. McKinley, "Noseley," in *A History of the County of Leicestershire: Volume 5, Gartree Hundred* (London: VCH, 1964), 264-70 'Noseley' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LC.GA.34
Over Silton (Yorkshire)	Mid 12th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SE 45604 93166 BofE, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, 280 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Over Silton," in *A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2* (London: VCH, 1923), 51-55 'Over Silton' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.CV.BU.29
Paddlesworth (near Folkstone, Kent)	Early 12th c. Second Doorway later 12th c.	N, S	National Grid Reference:TR 19506 39749 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 413-14 'Paddlesworth' Taxatio, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.EL.10 'Paddlesworth' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/PAD.htm
Paddlesworth (near Snodland) (Kent)	Mid 12th c.	N	National Grid Reference:TQ 68474 62116 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 536 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Padlesworth," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 4* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1798), 471-73 'Paddelsworth' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=RO.RO.MA.X31
Postling (Kent)	Late 11th c. Second Doorway 13th c.	S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 14545 39092 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 417-18 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Postling," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 8* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1799), 210-18 'Postling' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/POS.htm

Postlip (Gloucestershire)	1135 x 1154	S, W	National Grid Reference:SO 99841 26900 BofE, *Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, 563 A. R. J. Jurica, ed., *A History of the County of Gloucestershire*, vol. 12 (Woodbridge:VCH, 2010) 'Postlip' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=2350 *VE* 2, 461
Rochester Bridge (Kent)	1393	W	National Grid Reference:TQ 74142 68750 'Rochester Bridge Chapel' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1003360 Anonymous, "The Bridge Chapel at Rochester," *The Rochester Bridge Trust*,https://rbt.org.uk/about-us/the-bridge-chapel/. Sue Threader, *Rochester Bridge Chapel* (Rochester: 2019)
Rotherham Bridge (Yorkshire)	15th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SK 42740 93068 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding, Sheffield and the South*, 456-57 'Rotherham Bridge Chapel' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1132738
Seavington (Somerset)	c. 1500	N, S, W	National Grid Reference:ST 40288 14920 BofE, *Somerset: South and West*, 548-49 A. P. Baggs and R. J. E. Bush,eds., "Parishes: Seavington St. Mary," in *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 4*, ed. R. W. Dunning (London: VCH, 1978), 198-210 'Seavington St Mary' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=BW.TA.CR.02
Smeeth (Kent)	c. 1200	S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 07225 39614 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 464-65 E. Hasted, ed., "Parishes: Smeeth," in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 8* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1799), 2-9 'Smeeth' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=1660
Speeton (Yorkshire) (parish is Reighton)	Early 12th c	S	National Grid Reference:TA 15135 74699 BofE, *Yorkshire, York and the East Riding*, 708 'Speeton' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=3048
Stainburn (Yorkshire)	Early 12th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SE 24746 48547 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding, Sheffield and the South*, 716-17 Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, "Parishes: Thursby - Workington," in *Magna Britannia: Volume 4, Cumberland* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1816), 159-75 'Stainburn' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=15687
Stanley St Andrew (Derbyshire)	13th c.	S	National Grid Reference:SK 41931 40419 BofE, *Derbyshire*, 600 'Stanley St Andrew' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CL.DE.DE.14
Statfold (Staffordshire)	12th c.	W	National Grid Reference:SK 23772 07171 BofE, *Staffordshire*, 251-52 'Statfold' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=14055
St Ives Bridge (Cambridgeshire)	1426	W	National Grid Reference:TL 31269 71149 'St Ives Bridge' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1006865
Stoulton (Worcestershire)	c. 1120	N, S	National Grid Reference:SO 90632 49808 BofE, *Worcestershire*, 610-11

			"Parishes: Stoulton," in *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 3*, (London: VCH, 1913), 532-37 'Stoulton' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=11395
Trottiscliffe (Kent)	Rectory 1332	S	National Grid Reference:TQ 64634 60544 BofE, *West Kent and the Weald*, 574-75 'Trottiscliffe' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/TRO.htm
Upwaltham (West Sussex)	c. 1130	S	National Grid Reference:SU 94306 13858 BofE, *Sussex West*, 674 'Upwaltham' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=10338
Wakefield Bridge (Yorkshire)	1342 x 1356	W	National Grid Reference:SE 33823 20140 BofE, *YorkshireWest Riding, Sheffieldand the South*, 695-96
Womenswold (Kent)	1225	S, W	National Grid Reference:TR 22741 50585 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 501-02 'Womenswold' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/WOM.htm

Appendix 2: Churches with Doorways Blocked in the Nineteenth-Century

The following is a list of ten English medieval churches which had a nave doorway blocked in the nineteenth century. This limited selection is an indicator of the widespread practice of sealing nave doorways as part of nineteenth-century restorations.

Location	Blocked Door Way	Date	References
			Churches with doorways blocked in the 19th century
Barfrestone (Kent)	N	1839-41	National Grid Reference:TR 26425 50146 BofE, *North East and East Kent*, 133-34 'Barfrestone' *Taxatio*, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=CA.CA.SA.01 'Barferston' *TTB Survey*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/01/03/BAF.htm
Boarhunt (Hampshire)	N, S	1842	National Grid Reference: SU 60340 08281 BofE, *Hampshire South*, 116-18 W. Page, ed., "Parishes: Boarhunt," in *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 3* (London: VCH, 1908), 144-147 J. T. Irvine, "Description of the Saxon Church of Boarhunt, in Hampshire," *JBAA* 33 (1877): 377
Chipstead (Surrey)	N reset and later blocked	1881 x 1911	Anon, 'St Margaret's Church, Chipstead, Surrey: view of part of the north wall, exterior, 1880-81,' Royal Academy of Arts, https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/st-margarets-church-chipstead-surrey-view-of-part-of-north-wall-exterior H. E. Malden, ed.,'Parishes: Chipstead,' in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*(London: VCH, 1911), 189-96 Google Earth, street view from the north A. Heales, "Chipstead Church," Surrey Archaeological Collections 7 (1880): 256-71
Coln Rogers (Gloucester Shire)	N	1890	National Grid Reference:SP 08743 09688 BofE, *Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, 195-97 'Coln Rogers' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1340898 'Coln Rogers' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=7932 Taylor and Taylor, *ASA* 1, 168-69 *VE* 1, 296-97
Crofton (Yorkshire)	N	1875	National Grid Reference:SE 37788 18126 BofE, *Yorkshire West Riding: Sheffield and the South*, 186 Lawrence A. S. Butler, "All Saints Church, Crofton," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990): 125-32
Leigh (Worcester	N	1855	National Grid Reference: SO 78420 53456 BofE, *Worcestershire*, 211

Shire)			W. Page and J. W. Willis-Bund, eds., "Parishes: Leigh with Bransford," in *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 4*, ed. (London: VCH, 1924), 101-11
Oving (Buckingham Shire)	N	1868	National Grid Reference: SP7753320419 'Oving Church of St Giles' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1117813 W. Page, ed., "Parishes : Oving," in *A History of the County of Buckingham: Volume 4*(London: VCH, 1927), 85-89 G. E. Street, 'Oving, All Saints' ICBS 06508, Lambeth Palace Library
Sutton Bassett (Northampton Shire)	N	1861	National Grid Reference: SP 77205 90403 BofE, *Northamptonshire*, 422 S. J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire,* Compiled from the manuscript collections of the late learned antiquary J. Bridges, by the Rev. Peter Whalley, Oxford, 1791, II, 361 Sutton Bassett' *CRSBI*, https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?i=12451
Tetney (Lincolnshire)	S	1861-62	National Grid Reference: TA 31667 00892 'Tetney' *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1359942 R. J. Withers, Plan, ICBS 05824, Lambeth Palace Library
Weaverham (Cheshire)	N	1877	National Grid Reference:SJ 61691 74237 'Weaverham' Historic England, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1287233 J. Douglas, Plan, ICBS 08081, Lambeth Palace Library

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