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Landscapes of destination: An archaeology of the experiential and ritual behaviour of Medieval (12th to 16th century) English worshippers at religious centres.

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

This thesis utilises the data sets provided through the recording of historic graffiti within secular and religious buildings to analyse and draw a theoretical understanding of behaviour within Medieval Christian religious practice during a period of intense pilgrimage activity. The work focuses on the South of England and questions the nature of personal religious engagement within the church and cathedral specifically looking at the methods used by lay worshippers to gain independent access to the divine.

To facilitate this study large volume of historic graffiti data has been recorded in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and West Sussex. This data has been analysed using geostatistical models to assess distribution and relative nearness of the marks to both known points within the built environment and to neighbouring marks. This data has then been compared to existing literary and historical texts to understand how the marks have interacted with personal prayer practice and the built landscape.

The outcome of this study has been the generation of a theoretical framework that describes one form of interaction using graffiti as ritual doing within the generation of personal rituals of encounter that facilitate the exploration of a complex nested ontology within the built landscape. This nested ontology provides access to the divine in a ritually safe manner and permits lay worshippers to navigate the spiritual dangers an encounter with the divine without the guidance of a ritual authority.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Jamie Ingram

Title of thesis: Landscapes of destination: An archaeology of the experiential and ritual behaviour of Medieval (12th to 16th century) English worshippers at religious centres.

 I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

 1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. None of this work has been published before submission;

Signature: Date:23 September 2021

Acknowledgements

Definitions

Communitas

As defined by Turner (2008), communitas is the state of communal liminal engagement that breaks down socio-cultural structures and places all those engaged in a unified activity into a single community without structure and without social hierarchy. Each individual occupies the same socio-cultural position, for example, pilgrim, and is inured from the rest of societal judgement during this time.

Divine empowerment

The process through Medieval materiality and object agency theory that permits the physical entity of a shrine, relic, or altar to generate a spiritually significant effect on people who enter its presence. It is based on the notion that all material is divine through the creation but some is more divine than others because of the direct touch of God (Bynum, 2011).

Divine encounter

The spiritual encounter with the divine or the elevated mortal in the guise of the saint. This is accessed through the conducting of rituals as an end result of the engagement with the physical.

Improvised ritual

The process of personal ritual development. Engagement with the landscape, and the act of prayer-making within it, results in the creation of a personal ritual that can move the supplicant from the physical encounter to the divine encounter. The development of the improvised ritual would be based on the underlying knowledge of practice and faith that the worshipper gained as a result of the teachings in the parish church (Duffy, 2005: 53-63) and from observing rituals conducted by the priest.

Landscape of destination

A landscape that is created and encountered at the point at which the journey terminates, and the process of arrival and completion can be undertaken. It is a metaphysical landscape within a built environment often marked by a significant structure or collection of structures that allow the traveller to interact with the space in a purposeful manner, both physically and sensorially.

Liminal

Originally defined by Van Gennep (1960), the liminal is the state whereby effective change in social position can be undertaken within a ritually safe space, breaking down social constraints and removing rules in a safe way to allow the subject to be moved through significant life-course rituals and to emerge on the other side in a new socio-cultural form. The liminal also allows movement in a safe way between two distinct places, to enter and leave spaces where it could be otherwise spiritually dangerous to do so without ritual protection.

Miracle

The perceived work of the saint as they channel the power of God to act within the mortal world. Often the desired outcome or cause of pilgrimage.

Nested Ontologies

A series of ontologically distinct realities that sit within a single geographical location. They are interconnected by a series of liminal rituals that permit the safe transition spiritually from one to the next as the supplicant elevates themselves or is elevated by a ritual guide towards a higher level of encounter with the spiritual or the divine.

Physical encounter

The interaction with the material world, the landscape, material culture and the sensorial perspective. The physical encounter encompasses the space within which the ritual is conducted and the landscape of destination that the pilgrimage centre both occupies and creates. It permits the traveller to engage with this space in a personal material way, either through touch, ritual doing or sensorial engagement.

Ritual

The process of engagement with otherness. Usually, a formal and guided series of actions and behaviours that can be observed and participated in. The ritual is a process that empowers change in the participants or in the social environment within which they exist, or that permits beings from outside the normal socio-cultural structure to be engaged with in a safe way.

Saint

An individual that is perceived to have been elevated to the side of God. They have entered heaven and have the direct ability to intercede on the behalf of worshippers with God and seek support for that individual in fulfilling their request. During the Middle Ages there was significant dispute within the Catholic Church as to the status of saints, with many being venerated by worshippers whilst not being officially sanctioned and classified as saints by the Church.

1 Introduction

"The Pardoner and the Miller and other lewde sotes
Sought hemselff in the chirch, right as lewd gotes,
Pyred fast and poured highe oppon the glase,
Counterfeting gentilmen, the armes for to blase,
Diskyveryng fast the peyntour, and for the story mourned
And ared also - right as rammes horned!
"He bereth a balstaff," quod the toon, "and els a rakes ende."
"Thow faillest," quod the Miller, "thowe hast nat wel thy mynde.
It is a spere, yf thowe canst se, with a prik tofore
To bussh adown his enmy and thurh the sholder bore."
"Pese!" quod the Hoost of Southwork. "Let stond the wyndow glased.
Goth up and doth yeur offerynge"(Bowers and Chaucer, 1992: Line 147-158)

This work sits within the world of Medieval pilgrimage and lay worship. It engages with the processes in which worshippers engaged during personal devotions, particularly how pilgrims engaged with the divine upon reaching the place of veneration. As demonstrated by the pardoner and millers' above-quoted activities, this process of engagement was not always a structured and respectful practice of veneration at the shrine. It could become a self-guided experience within the pilgrim centre, in this case curtailed by another member of Chaucer's fellowship of pilgrims. The physical evidence of such independent worship can be discovered all over the walls of Medieval churches, from the smallest parish church to the highest cathedral in the form of inscribed graffiti. Evidence of personal religious engagement in the Middle Ages is hinted at in some manuscripts but these are scant on detail, concentrating on the miraculous outcome rather than the performed ritual of the supplicant.

With these hints from texts and the significant graffiti evidence, written onto the walls of the religious built landscapes, this work investigates the possible personal ritual performances of lay worshippers. Individuals could act as their own ritual guide and supplicant as they sought to engage with the divine and the divinely connected in a meaningful manner without any input from a ritual authority in the form of parish priest or other consecrated minister or monk.

The arguments will be made using a series of sites chosen from across southern England. This permits the nature of lay activity in the Middle Ages to be examined from the ground

up starting with secular and religious gates, before moving into the parish church of St Nicholas in Arundel, then examining Salisbury cathedral as a place of pilgrimage. At each stage, the evidence builds for methods of engagement and the use of graffiti in place-making and as a ritual doing. This permits an investigation into the tools with which a lay worshipper may have been equipped to engage fully with the divine at home and when on pilgrimage.

Recent studies of landscapes and sensorial encounters for pilgrims (Candy, 2007; Locker, 2015) have focused on the journey rather than the destination and as such the latter has been overlooked. The destination is the seat of the divine power that the pilgrim seeks, the place on earth where the divine world was believed to truly makes its presence known through the physicality of the saint and miraculous relics. The pilgrims' landscape of destination is not the built environment but the spiritual space that the built environment facilitates.

This study focuses on the built landscape as a landscape of destination. The pilgrimage centre, the destination, becomes the focus of all attention for the religious traveller and is at the heart of the process of pilgrimage. In studying these ultimate places of devotion and divine engagement it is essential to understand the level of personal engagement with the home church within the parish as well. The methods of engagement with the divine become entangled and create a personal toolkit for veneration that the lay worshipper can take with them as they travel on pilgrimage, this process will be discussed in chapter 9 and 10.

The investigation of the landscape of destination is twofold. The first component is the use of historical graffiti data as evidence for religious and ritual activity. As Matthew Champion states:

"These early graffiti inscriptions had both meaning and function. In many cases. they were clearly devotional or votive in nature and a far cry from the random doodling of an alienated generation. They were the prayers, memorials, hopes and fears of the Medieval parish." (Champion, 2015:p5).

As components of prayers the marks are ritual doings and therefore a representation of ritual practice made physical as material culture. Utilising this material culture, the second

component of this work becomes viable: utilising theoretical understandings of ritual practice to investigate the nature of the engagement of lay worshippers with the physical space and spiritual place of the religious built environment. From this I can construct the theoretical principles of nested ontologies and the landscape of destination.

By taking this novel approach, focusing on the religious built landscape as a landscape of destination, this study is able to investigate the individual encounter as a function of practice within the space. Such a practical performed ritual both permits the encounter with the divine, thus changing the practitioner / supplicant and transforms the space, permitting it to become a persistently active ritual place. The destination thus becomes a place that encapsulates the religiously empowered within a construct of shared and personal ontologies, which the pilgrim must navigate in order to access the spiritual encounter within.

1.1   Built Landscape and Landscape of Destination

Through this work I develop and discuss the key concept of the landscape of destination (chapter 10). This is a ritualised landscape brought into being through the operation and practice of worshippers within the religious built landscape. The landscape of destination sits within but is separate from the built landscape (chapter 10) being reliant on the space for the sensorial and providing the material upon which the ritual markers may be placed. Whilst the landscape of destination cannot function without the built landscape it is not a direct result of the construction of that space. Rather, I show that the landscape of destination is the result of practice from the bottom up, generated by personal ritual activity and the drive for ritual encounter with the divine not the led ritual of organised religious practice.

This process of bottom-up creation of ritual place in the form of the landscape of destination requires the development of a series of practice-led elements that, when combined, create this ritual landscape. The initial practice is the personal improvised ritual of encounter, a process of evolving ritual performance and doings that permits a lay worshipper to enact the liminal ritual and gain access to and protection from the ritual encounter. This repeated personal activity and the interaction of that ritual with the perceived power of the place permits the development of nested ontologies, grouped and

interlinked ontological realities. These practices and perceived realities come together within the built landscape to generate the landscape of destination.

1.2   Graffiti data as evidence of activity

The archaeological record offers some insight through the newly rediscovered interest in graffiti that can be found in most churches, cathedrals, and place of historical religious use in England and through Europe. Such graffiti can also be found in lower concentrations within secular structures including town and castle gates and domestic dwellings.

Where studies of individual sites have taken place a level of interconnectedness can be seen, both in the distribution patterns of the graffiti and in the types of marks deposited. This can clearly be seen in the pr-existing study at Chichester Cathedral (Ingram, 2015) and within the larger corpus of material identified through the community archaeology projects working in the parish churches and great cathedrals of England (Champion, 2021). These marks can be seen to develop into a general scatter across sites but also build into identifiable clusters of deposition. These clusters can be understood as markers for gatherings of individuals spending time within these locations conducting practices and behaviours that encourage or permit the deposition of such marks.

Placing these inscribed markings within the theoretical framework of ritual doings (Fowles, 2013), Medieval Christian materiality (Bynum, 2011), and markers for life course events (Gilchrist, 2012) brings them into a sharp focus as marks of significance that are connected with the movement and ritual progression of individuals within a religiously empowered space. This is a practice of personal rather than led ritual intended to bring about individual change and operates from the bottom up empowering the individual beyond the whole and disempowering the social and political control of the ritual guide I the form of the church and priest (chapter 10). It is of note that the evidence gathered to date suggests that the majority of the graffiti marks within churches were created by the laity as a part of personal religious encounter (Champion, 2015:p67-69) conducted without the mediation of the priest; with the marks placed away from the specific nodal points of the church where religious power would be depicted as residing by the clergy.

The graffiti that is present within these spaces can be understood as being connected with religious activity, particularly with activities relating to prayer-making and personal

religious encounter. Whilst marks can be found in secular spaces as well it is clear that many have a religious origin (chapter 4 fig 1) as well as secular (chapter 4 fig 2). Identifying these marks and considering their placement within the built landscape, it is possible to interpret them as being connected to religious practice based on their proximity to specific spaces within the geography of the landscape. Situating these marks within the theories of ritual performance and the concept of ritual doings permits them to be transformed from the ordinary to the ritual through the context of usage and purpose. The mundane creation and secular or religious origin becomes secondary to the purpose in the creation and performance of that action. The mundane is transformed into the extraordinary through entanglement with ritual performance (Fowles, 2013). Having processed the graffiti through this systematic interpretation, the marks that can be found to be clustered in significant locations within the geography of a built landscape focused on pilgrimage can be interpreted as being connected to the process of lay worship within a pilgrimage centre. They are direct markers of personal ritual performance within the space dedicated to pilgrimage permitting the worshipper to create a ritual place that is ontologically distinct.

1.3   Graffiti dating and identification

The dating of the graffito symbols presents a clear issue that is difficult to overcome due to the nature of the material under investigation. It is possible to give an earliest date based on the construction dates of the section of building being investigated; this must consider any reconstruction or renovation that has taken place as well as the initial construction. The date of individual symbols, however, is not possible to assess at this time. This is due to current dating methods not offering suitable resolution without the presence of a later deposit of material, such as calcite, as has been used in the dating of cave art (Hoffman *et al.*, 2018).

There are, however, a number of stylistic forms that can be interpreted as being Medieval in date. The most common of these are compass-drawn motifs, crosses, and Marian marks. These three forms are commonly displayed within religious contexts, particularly in proximity to depictions of the trinity, the virgin, and the saints, which would have been common sights to worshippers in the Medieval church. We also see several more complex forms: box shapes, often containing crude initials; votive script such as IR, IH and IHS

Christograms and ornate depictions of mizmaze and other forms that depict the pilgrimage or the Holy Land.

These are joined by the later inscriptions such as the boxed initial and date forms that represent poor burials during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, complex text inscriptions and the scribbling of bored soldiers on watch in towers. Most of these can be discounted due to the nature of the mark, the content and the form, though some longer text inscriptions bear further scrutiny as they can include Medieval curses and blessings, each of these forms is discussed in more detail in the methodology chapter later in this work.

1.4   Locations studied

Underpinning this research are four sites: Southampton Bargate; St Cross Hospital, where; St Nicholas Church, Arundel; and Salisbury Cathedral. Each highlights a different part of the development of the improvised ritual of encountering the religious landscape of destination and each is essential to the process of understanding the religious encounter in general. The first three case studies are not directly connected with pilgrimage and do not contain any shrines or other destination points for pilgrims but provide evidence for the nature of existing behaviour, firstly as regards the nature of secular graffiti deposition, and then of lay worshippers as people encountering the divine in an unmediated manner. These provide evidence for the extant knowledge and performative rituals of which individuals may have been aware when engaging in pilgrimage to shrine sites, such as that represented by the study at Salisbury Cathedral.

1.4.1   Medieval secular entrances – Southampton Bargate

This site provides the baseline for the investigation of religious activity by allowing comparison with a high-traffic secular space. The nature of the graffiti and its distribution at the 13th-century Southampton Bargate that operated as one of the principle liminal portals to the Medieval town and port of Southampton. The site therefore provides a baseline for analysis of activity when looking for any difference in behavioural patterns displayed within the graffiti deposition.

1.4.2 Medieval religious entrances and the empowerment of liminal entrance – St Cross hospital, Winchester

The religious entrance is the first significant ritual space encountered within the Medieval Christian church. It represents not only the physical entrance into the principal space for worship but also becomes an empowered space in its own right. This chapter will explore the nature of that space from the simple parish church porch to the grand 15th-century internal gatehouse of St Cross hospital in Winchester.

1.4.3 Side chapels and the creation of nested ontologies – St Nicholas, Arundel

With the addition of side altars and chapels into the interiors of parish churches, the options for worship increased with the availability of various patrons in the form of saints or other holy figures. This presence can be seen in the distribution of the graffiti as well as in many cases the extant evidence for the chapels and altars. This chapter will look at the patterns of activity within the parish church of St Nicholas, Arundel where following refurbishment the side altar was lost, and the community altar relocated (Wood, 2014). The distribution of graffiti and the patterns of worship demonstrate the multifaceted nature of the space and provide evidence for the development of multiple ontological realities within the space devoted to the worship of specific aspects of the divine and the divinely connected.

1.4.4 Pilgrimage sites and the expansion of nested ontologies in a landscape of destination – Cathedral Church of The Blessed Virgin Mary, Salisbury

The final case study demonstrates the full development of the nested ontology and the functionality of rituals of engagement to navigate the physical space of the landscape of destination and therefore gain access to the spiritual space that resides within it. The data gathered at Salisbury cathedral provides evidence to support the process of continuous physical and sensorial engagement with the physicality of the landscape of destination. This case study therefore supports the theoretical concept of the liminal transformation between these nested ontologies (discussed further below) as pilgrims moved through the physical space and navigated their way towards the shrine of St Osmund and the ultimate level of contact with the divine within the space, the navigation of the physical providing access to the spiritual.

1.5 Structure of this work

This work is divided into three sections:

- Background to the study.
- The presentation of data gathered in the field.
- The analysis of these data and consideration of their implications.

Each of these sections deals with distinctly different material building on the previous to establish the argument for the existence and operation of the nested ontologies and landscape of destination within Medieval Christian pilgrimage. The underlying work for this thesis has been reflexive in nature: starting with the data collection and realisation that something previously unidentified was represented by the data. This developed into the analytical and cartographic phase, then evolving into the theoretical discussions that are undertaken in chapter 9 and 10; the theoretical concepts growing from the collected and analysed data. The resultant development of the pair of narrative ethnographies presented in chapter 11 is the final stage in this reflexive process, a creative response to the methodological and theoretical implications of the work permitting the placement of the person back into the data and analysis.

1.5.1 Background to the study

Chapter two explores current scholarship on pilgrimage with a particular focus on Medieval European and particularly English pilgrimage. It will review existing literature and establish a working definition of pilgrimage for this study based on that scholarship. I will also examine the growing study of historic graffiti and how this increasingly prominent material can be used in illuminating the behaviour of lay worshippers in religious spaces and particularly pilgrimage destinations.

Chapter three considers the theoretical concepts and ideas that will underpin this work, in particular liminal theory and theories around ritual practice and behaviour. From these this chapter outlines a possible theoretical structure for the operation of the religious landscape of destination.

Chapter four outlines the methodological approach to the work both regarding the process of recording the field data for the case studies and the development and analysis of that data for comparison against the theoretical frameworks and the underlying hypothesis.

1.5.2 Field data

Chapters five to eight examine the specific sites that are being used for this study, with each chapter focusing on a specific location. Chapter five looks at Southampton Bargate, a secular gate house and the principal land gate into Medieval Southampton. The gate house was in continuous operation from the late 12th century with periodic modification including the addition of the first-floor guildhall in the 15th century (chapter 5).

Chapter six looks at the inner gate house at St Cross, a Medieval hospital for the worthy poor on the outskirts of Winchester. This semi-open religious house was occupied by a number of lay brothers that fluctuated over time. It also provided alms in the form of food for travellers and the needy since its construction in the 12th century. The site continues to be occupied and provides limited alms today. The site has undergone a series of alterations through its history including transforming the role of the hospital chapel into that of parish church (chapter 6).

Chapter seven examines St Nicholas church, Arundel. This Medieval parish church is unusual in that today the nave and chancel are still separated by a screen as they would have been in the premodern period, something that was removed following the English Reformation, the chancel operating as the Roman Catholic chapel for the Dukes of Norfolk whilst the nave continues as the parish church for Arundel in the 14th-century (Baggs and Warne, 1997). Arundel is of significance in the Middle Ages as a strategic harbour and as a significant location on the south coast path on the Gough map (Geographies, 2011).

Chapter eight explores Salisbury cathedral, built in the 13th century with additions in the 14th century (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014) and subsequent modification and an aggressive 19th-century cleaning (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014). The cathedral was the place of pilgrimage for the unofficial pilgrimage to the shrine of Bishop Osmund who was later elevated to saint.

Each of these chapters provides a brief overview of the history of these sites and then documents the graffiti discovered there. Each then progresses to discusses the physical

distribution of the graffito marks within them as spaces and to examine the significance of the data in terms of distribution patterns and possible significance.

1.5.3   Analysis

Chapter nine explores the role of the entrance as a space and place both as a secular and a religious place before discussing the nature of the religious entrance as a place of persistent liminal activity. It proposes the concept that graffiti can operate as a non-human agent and as such can continue the operation of the ritual required to create and sustain the liminal place and permit a limited interchange between the secular and the divine ontologies.

Chapter ten expands on this concept of persistent liminal place and explores the role of the personal ritual of encounter within the built landscape and how this produces nested ontologies and landscapes of destination. It proposes a structure for this landscape of destination and how it operates within, but is distinctly separate from, the built landscape.

Chapter eleven provides a pair of hypothetical historical ethnographies. These are designed to facilitate a walkthrough of the landscape of destination in both a parish church and in a pilgrimage centre. They provide a narrative overview of the possible operation of these spaces and personal ritual places and how a lay worshipper may have gone about interacting with them as a process of engagement and creation. These narratives are provided to give a clear depiction of the potential behaviours involved in the creation and operation of the theoretical spaces proposed in chapter nine and ten in the same manner that narratives are used in anthropology to illuminate practices and behaviours that may seem alien to the readers (French, 1996; Simonelli, 2007).

Chapter twelve provides a conclusion to the work. It presents closing comments regarding the study and suggests possible directions for future research to investigate the landscape of destination and the operation of nested ontologies.

2 Defining Medieval pilgrimage: personal practice and journeys of religious encounter

"But the man persevered in his plea that he should at least go in to pray and go right up to the well. At last, despite the guard's reluctance, he was allowed to go and went in. He looked all around him and – here was a miracle – this man who had never previously been in this place to pray, then made his way to the well without a guide, as if he were familiar with it. He was looking all around but did not have a bucket. Suddenly, an outlet of the spring gushed forth in front of him by the well-head: it performed its ministry for the servant of God and – to speak truthfully – offered itself to be tasted. For, flooding the floor-surface of the atrium all around with its waters it rendered it an accessible and generous source of medicine. Scooping it up in his hand, he poured it over his whole body, often invoking the name of St Aethelthryth and invoking her help. And while he was tasting it and it was flowing down, having been poured all over his limbs, he immediately felt relieved and began to recover, and indeed all swollen timidity deflated. He gave thanks to God and His bountiful virgin Aethelthryth." (Fairweather, 2005: Book III: section 116)

2.1 Introduction

Pilgrimage is a multi-faceted term that sees many variants in definition both within academic scholarship and without. To the faithful of the multiplicity of religious followings of the world it is variously an act of personal enlightenment, an act of duty or an act of atonement (Davidson and Gitlitz, 2002: xvii). To the secular traveller it is an act of personal travel to the home of a celebrity, a monument for the fallen, or an entertainment hub such as a major theme park (Davidson and Gitlitz, 2002: xviii). To scholars it is a simple word for a complex process that drives debate and challenges understanding developing multiple theoretical approaches and arguments between disparate groups of subject based researchers (Bowman, 1988; Eade and Sallnow, 1991).

The agreement in present scholarship is that it is a significant physical and spiritual journey from a home to a notable destination, but the details divide opinion (Bowman, 1988). It is against this background, drawing on many strands of argument and discourse, that I will establish a working definition of pilgrimage that will form one of the underlying concepts of this work concentrating on the informal practices of pilgrims once they have arrived at their target destinations within the English Medieval Church but draws on contemporary ethnographic studies as well as historical studies of Medieval pilgrimage.

2.2   Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is a concept of travel; it predates and evolves into the modern understanding of tourism (Collins-Kreiner, 2010: 440-456) but finds its origins in the concept of travelling to a place of religious significance. There is evidence for the practice within ancient Egyptian, Hittite and Babylonian civilisations as well as documented activity in ancient Greece and Rome (Finucane, 1977: 39-40). Whilst a number of modern secular travellers refer to journeys as pilgrimages, to Graceland, Disney Land, cenotaphs and memorials to unknown soldiers, the Great Pyramid and a multiplicity of other destinations (Davidson and Gitlitz, 2002: xvii). Pilgrimage today is both a secular and religious journey and many primary medieval pilgrimage routes have become significant again (Lopez, 2020; Moscarelli, et al, 2020) as both religious and heritage spaces. It is the religious journey that is of interest in this work.

In the simplest terms, Medieval English pilgrimage was:

Pilgrimage is the journeying, long distance or short, with the specific purpose of venerating the holy, saint, relic, spirit or other specific presence of God, at a known location, large or small.(Webb, 2000:xii - xvi).

However, this is an over-simplification of a practice that has drawn the attention of scholars from the Middle Ages to the modern day. As such it is important to break pilgrimage down into the constituent parts.

2.2.1   The Physical Journey

Starting at home, a pilgrim is expected to travel to a place of religious significance, but this could hold true for a routine visit to the parish church, or a group travelling to a shrine site for other business. Therefore, the journey must be undertaken for the specific purpose of seeking out the shrine and the connection to the divine that it can provide. Pilgrimage cannot happen without travel, long or short (Webb, 2000). Davidson and Gitlitz (2002) have suggested that the journey is not only one of physicality, moving through time and space, but also one of spirituality; it is only on the completion of the physical travel that the pilgrim can truly enter into the spiritual. This, however, is contradictory to the concepts presented by Turner and Turner (1978) who argue that the entire process is both a physical

and spiritual journey with the pilgrim entering a liminal state as they depart home, being therefore in another spiritual and societal space throughout. It also contradicts Eade and Sallnow's (1991: 1-25) model, which proposes, but provides no evidence for, a series of symbolic ritualised engagements with the divine in a process of gift exchange.

Matters of regular religious service and observation such as attending church to pray deal with the rituals of maintenance of faith, not the specifics of pilgrimage (Davidson and Gitlitz, 2002). The pilgrim must be attending a location that has connection to miraculous occurrence for miraculous purpose, looking for the extraordinarily religious not the routinely religious in a place of recognised connection between the divine and secular realms. Pilgrimage sites are places that had a set of specific criteria in common:

- each held a miraculous component – a saint's shrine, relic or some material presence that provided a nexus of divine connectivity
- each saw miraculous occurrences – visions, cures, curses
- each was a site of cult activity – a group, large or small, who worshipped at the location, recognised the numinous presence, and preached the benefits to the wider population.

The destination could vary in size and scope from the great official pilgrimage centres to a tiny holy spring on the edge of a field. In essence the destination must be a numinous liminal space, empowered by the presence of the miraculous component and cult activity that grants access to a nexus of divine connectivity. A pilgrimage does not need to be a great journey into the unknown; it can be a journey to the neighbouring parish or to the spring down the road. Indeed, Duffy compares many pilgrimages as being like "going to the local market town to sell or buy geese" (Duffy, 2002: 166).

2.2.2 The Spiritual Journey

The purpose of pilgrimage could be many and varied in appearance, but it distils down to three core motivations: aid; vengeance; and vision (Webb, 2000: 36). In all three cases the pilgrim asks/ed the saint to intervene on their behalf with God in some fashion, to provide assistance or guidance. It was important to Medieval theologians that, to prevent a cult's saint becoming blasphemous, it was recognised that the miraculous happenings were empowered by God rather than the saint; the saint was still mortal but elevated to the side

of God (Webb, 2000: 22–23). Saints could be vengeful and forgetful, so it was important that the bargain went both ways, with pilgrims providing an offering of some kind to the saint's cult or the host institution and making prayers to the saint in addition to the request (Webb, 2000: 37). As such, the devotional act was a transaction between living mortal supplicant and immortal saint for interdiction with God by the saint on behalf of the mortal. This status of pilgrimage as a transaction can be seen in the later Middle Ages where the practice shifted to visiting the shrine to make offerings after a prayer had been made at a distance, the offering made in recognition that the saint had fulfilled their part of the contract (Webb, 2000: 37). These prayers would be made at side altars and in front of secondary relics such as works of art, tokens from previous pilgrimages, or another connected object. These objects had the ability, through material connectivity in the form of divine radiation, to link the supplicant to the shrine and therefore the saint so that a prayer could be made, but the connections were not powerful enough to receive the offerings and prayers that were required to fulfil the supplicant's component of the transaction. Care had to be taken when interacting with these secondary relics, though, as they were both powerful and subject to corruption (Bynum, 2011: 144-145). This potentiality of secondary relics rendered them spiritually dangerous and therefore they would have needed to be approached with the same ritual care as any other empowered object.

2.3   Pilgrimage: a definition

Constructing a working definition for pilgrimage is therefore not a simple act. The definition must take into account the three core elements of physical and spiritual journeying and an encounter with the divine as well as the ontological realities of the Middle Ages in England. As such, the definition of Medieval English pilgrimage that will be used in this work is:

Journeying, both physically and spiritually, with the specific purpose of venerating the holy (saint, relic, spirit, or other specific presence of God) at a known location. The act of pilgrimage represented an 'occasion' in the life course of the pilgrim and was intended to result in a change in the spiritual, physical, or material wellbeing of themselves or the person on whose behalf they were travelling.

2.4 Pilgrimage: Medieval concept and management

During the Medieval period, England, in common with the rest of Christian Europe, hosted a large number of shrines and pilgrimage sites (Crook, 2011a). These shrines ranged from great official pilgrimage centres such as Winchester, Canterbury, and Walsingham, which drew visitors from across the Christian World, to small, often unofficial, local shrines that attracted only those from the immediate parish. These small shrines invited the displeasure of the papacy and the local bishops (Webb, 2000), because pilgrimage presented an opportunity to the Medieval Christian church. The potential revenue stream and even greater influence over the behaviour of lay worshippers as they attended the shrines and relics and listened to miracle stories was significant; the wealth generated allowed the expansion of the host religious houses and the embellishment of the shrines (Finucane, 1977: 29). However, the already deep history of religious veneration by this stage caused problems for the church: the veneration of natural springs, miraculous stones and trees that were associated with local holy men, workers of miracles and the divine were of deep concern. It became such a problem that the fourth Latinate council prohibited the veneration of anything not recognised by Rome, though this appears to have done little to deter people in some locations (Webb, 2000: 66-7, 141-142, 152-153).

Where pilgrimage was sanctioned, it was generally managed closely, with restricted times and methods of access, particularly at larger sites such as Walsingham, Canterbury, and Santiago De Compostela. At these locations both members of the clergy and lay custos, members of staff to the religious community, were employed to guide pilgrims (Webb, 2000), ensuring they visited all the relevant locations and made it to each of the collection points for the gathering of donations and other payments. The structure and furnishing of the pilgrim centre was also designed to ensure that pilgrims continued to make their way through in the correct fashion (Pestell, 2005: 162-3). This, however, required resources that were costly in both people and material; whilst it was possible at the largest and wealthiest sites many smaller pilgrimage sites would have found this level of control beyond their means, and even when it was enacted it was always possible for determined pilgrims to 'slip through' as we see in the tale of Beryn where the members of Chaucer's party led by the miller manage to enter the cathedral unescorted and start to make their own interpretations of the religious matter on display (Bowers and Chaucer, 1992). As a result, though attempts were made to manage and control the process and practice of pilgrimage many were able to engage in personal acts of devotion, the facilities, and staff in place to

provide control and guidance but the pilgrim ultimately in control of their own interaction with the divine.

2.5   Personal Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages

With this definition of pilgrimage in place it becomes appropriate to think about the individual pilgrim and their motivations and actions. Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages was one of the extremely limited options for most people to express personal identity beyond that of tenant, serf, parishioner, or member of a profession. The participation in and completion of a pilgrimage made the individual stand out from the crowd. The pilgrimage started with a request to the parish priest for permission to travel, which if granted would be to a specific location, though pilgrims did not always travel to the approved destination shrine (Webb, 2000: 77).

In an ideal world, each pilgrim would have travelled with the purity and spiritual interest that the church presumed. However, as Chaucer demonstrates in the *Canterbury Tales*, there were many classes of pilgrim: those of devout belief; those engaging in penitential actions; and those who were engaged in the journey for purely material gain. This can also be seen in the varied nature of the pilgrim destinations with the addition of markets and fairs to the sites during saint's days, translation anniversaries and other important dates within the calendar that essentially commercialised the process. The wealth generated both by the church and the resident communities is hard to ignore and evidenced in the varied manuscripts that record the proceedings of pilgrims and their payments for pardons and warrants of completion (Webb, 2000: 93-4).

This work, however, is concerned with the 'devotional pilgrim', those who are there for spiritual purposes, be it personal betterment, redemption, or divine vengeance. That is not to say that such people were perfect, and it would be foolish to assume that they did not partake of the markets, inns and vices that were made available to them through the journey and close to the pilgrimage centre. These pilgrims entered into a world outside of the 'normal', and Turner and Turner propose that this liminoid (Turner and Turner, 1978: 35) place of the pilgrim was one of "communitas" (Turner, 2008: 96-7). This was a situation that was socially indifferent, where peasant and king were identical in standing as pilgrims; a space that pilgrims entered and still enter when they depart their home and exit when they reach the pilgrimage destination (Turner and Turner, 1978: 10-11). It is here

that Turner and Turner leave the pilgrim, considering only the journey and not the ritual engagement at the destination. This concept of the pilgrimage journey being liminal has been explored by Martin Locker (2015) and Julie Candy (2009), both of whom consider the landscape of the pilgrim road in terms of the liminal and sensorial nature of the journey. This is a place of otherness that Sallnow (1981) contends was not one of homogenous social status but was still one with liminal properties, which consequently grants the pilgrim a measure of spiritual and physical protection on the journey.

This, however, is where current scholarship accepts established perceptions of the religious space and where this work will engage. The pilgrim centre is understood as being a liminal place (Turner and Turner, 1978), but I challenge that it is in truth an ontologically different place from the secular world around it, one that is contained within a cluster of ontologically distinct layers (Chapter 10) nested one within the other and connected by a series of liminal encounters that can be accessed through individual ritual behaviour and sensorial interaction with the place. To an extent this ontological nesting was navigated for the pilgrim by the custos and clergy who were in attendance at the pilgrim centre, but pilgrims could also enter into non-prescribed ritual activity of personal veneration that allowed them to navigate the encounter with the divine in a personal manner.

2.6   A proposed landscape of destination

Any ritual of encounter associated with Medieval pilgrimage takes place within a landscape of destination. This metaphysical landscape is made up of the structures and area of the religious establishment; whether the parish church and churchyard, the landscape surrounding a holy well, or the promenades, colonnades and grand structures of a great cathedral, the encounter starts as the supplicant enters this landscape and continues until they have departed it.

At the heart of these landscapes is the shrine or other principal nexus. The shrine must have been a memorable site: a place of palpable divine power, the locus of worship and hub of activity within the pilgrimage centre. But in many cases, it must also have been a memorable sensorial experience: ornately carved, covered in precious metals and gems, lit with candles and the cast of sun through the windows. It may also have been surrounded by offerings and effigies both large and small: straps of stones, wax models of body parts and whole bodies, crutches and carts left by cripples in part payment for the transaction of

divine intervention by the saint (Sumption, 1975; Tavinor, 2016). It is from this nexus that the ultimate power of the landscape of destination emanates. The knowledge that it sits at the heart of the landscape and that it contains the primary connection to the divine must have been palpable both as a sense of joy and fear. It is from here that the overwhelming need to engage in some form of personal protection ritual emanates. The knowledge of and access to divine power drove this need to develop a ritual based on practices already known, both to permit the access and to protect from the for spiritual harm.

On the periphery of a landscape of destination are the physical markers of the entrance to the place, the initial gates or posts that demark the beginning of the physical, as well as the first ontological realm that could be accessed; that of the churchyard or cathedral close. This initial transition marks the movement from the secular to the consecrated but still contested space outside the religious place. The world of this first area of the landscape is still grass and mud for the most part. It is the space where the dead are laid to rest and the most likely space for the merchants and hawkers selling trinkets, tokens and other souvenirs, probably alongside food and drink, to the pilgrim or the simply curious. At some of the larger centres, especially during high days and festivals, this first portion of the landscape may have extended to the surrounding territory bringing into it the hostels, hospitals and other facilities of the secular world that were established and maintained as a part of the wider functioning of the centre.

Next, the supplicant would move into the formal entrance, the bridging space that would have been a familiar ritual space to most, if not all, lay worshippers, akin to the entrance and porch of the parish church though on a grander scale. Here ritual engagement began in earnest and the supplicant could begin to navigate the spiritually troublesome interior of the landscape. The rituals here were familiar, developed over years of learned behaviour, prayer and witnessed function at the church porch. The development of a personal improvised ritual began here with the practicing of these learned behaviours and permitted the supplicant to enter the space with the same level of spiritual protection as they would have when entering their home church.

Moving beyond this empowered entry, the wealth of secondary relics, side altars and chapels as well as the high altar and the central shrine beckoned the worshipper forward, each presenting its own access to the divine and with it the challenges and dangers of that access. As such, the navigation of the physical landscape, enhanced by the sensorial

demands and interjections of the space, placed an increasing burden upon the supplicant to engage with the divine. This mutually enhancing function of the physical and the perceived spiritual drove each step forward, requiring the supplicant to develop further the rituals with which they were familiar and to engage in personal ritual practice. This ritual of encounter generated the informal that became formalised with time through repetition and ritual performance.

This was not an accidental landscape but one that is designed to operate in a specific way. From the outset it is intended to have a direct sensorial impact. The monumental architecture is intended to draw visitors inward towards the empowered centre of the space. The noise and smells associated with it are intended to create a sense of otherness and to encourage direct engagement. The landscape is displayed and venerated in its own right; it is signposted as the place that is to be achieved, experienced and memorialised and thus, the being towards which it directs attention will be venerated and memorialised. However as is shown later (chapter 10), this built landscape is subverted into the landscape of destination through personal acts of worship and the performance of personal rituals of encounter. It is this subverted metaphysical landscape that provides the access and spiritual change that is required for the successful completion of pilgrimage rather than the simple attendance at the pilgrimage site.

At each stage in the engagement with a landscape of destination a pilgrim is engaging in deliberate personal ritual activity, this activity includes elements of ritual doings. Some of these performative acts can be identified within the archaeological record as historic graffiti marks that have been deliberately placed at spiritually significant locations within the built landscape whereas others leave no trace in the archaeological record. It is these graffiti marks that represent the personal ritual of engagement that was being undertaken in these spaces and permitting access to them as ontological places within the context of Medieval personal religious worship. By recording and analysing the historic graffiti it provides an insight into this behaviour and permits the prayer and ritual activities being undertaken by worshippers and pilgrims to be investigated (Chapter 9 & 10).

2.6.1   The physical encounter

As the pilgrim arrived at the perimeter of the landscape of destination, they would begin to encounter it as a physical space, both as a learned understanding of its religious

significance and a sensorial encounter with the space that ontologically holds within it an elevated presence of the divine. This presence is first encountered as a series of visual clues: the solid structure with a distinct form; the markings that identify the specific purpose of the place; and the visual cues of its otherness, particularly upon entering into the structures of the site. These might include a change in lighting levels, as well as the presence of bold colours in the form of paints and precious materials used to decorate the space and elevate it above the otherwise common, and the presence of specialists dressed in particular garb. The other senses are also engaged: the smell of incense and, especially in higher religious destinations, the use of beeswax candles rather than tallow, and the hardness of the stone floor in comparison to the compacted earth of so many other buildings. Within the pilgrimage centre this is further enhanced by the physicality of the space. This is created utilising the construction of the great Medieval religious buildings alongside the creation of the elaborate shrine tombs with feretories and niches. However, it was also possible to establish simpler pilgrimage sites where wells stones and trees are decorated with ribbon and flowers to enhance the sensory impact. By examining this physical interaction in line with sensorial theory (Woolgar, 2006; Hamilakis, 2015) and building on the work already conducted by Wells (1988, 2010), this study will demonstrate that it is this sensorial engagement and the subsequent physical encounter with the landscape of destination that facilitates the transition into the spiritual encounter.

2.6.2 The spiritual encounter

Principal amongst the theoretical methods being examined in this study are the notions of the liminal and liminoid, concepts developed initially by Van Gennep and then developed by Turner along with the addition of the concept of communitas (Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1974, 1979, 2008). These processes of change, interchange, personal and social development, and movement between worlds allow a structural approach to the ritual of encounter with the divine and the movement through space from the perimeter of the pilgrimage centre to the hub of religious power around the shrine. This movement needs to take into account the concepts of Medieval materiality and radiant religious power of the type that allows contact relics, and the transference of some portion of divine power between relic and observer or handler (Woolgar, 2006; Barad, 2007; Bynum, 2011, 2012). This process of movement both of physical and psychological self would have been influenced by the sensorial world of the pilgrimage centre and the religious nature of the encounter with the divine in the form of the resident saint or God. The liminal world of the

pilgrim has been explored in the past (Turner and Turner, 1978; Candy, 2009; Locker, 2015) but the focus has been very much on the journey from home to the centre and assumed that the liminal phase ends with arrival. The only work that attempts to understand the transformative nature of the pilgrimage at the centre is that of Fedele (2012) which makes an ethnographic exploration of the nature of ritual behaviour and the practice of spiritually cleansing the individual as they move through the

2.6.3 Improvised ritual of encounter

Within literary sources, both fictional, such as the *Canterbury Tales* (Bowers and Chaucer, 1992; Chaucer, 2005), and factual, such as the *Liber Eliensis* (Fairweather, 2005), the passage of pilgrims is controlled and directed by the lay custos and the clergy. But these volumes also contain tantalising indications as to the ability of pilgrims to slip through unnoticed or unguided and explore the shrine sites independently. Such events noted in texts would suggest that these may not be sole incidents but rather common occurrences.

If we add to this the presence of artwork in the form of carvings, statuary and wall paintings within the buildings depicting the importance of specific points within the religious space, the implication is that visitors, and by inference pilgrims, were permitted to roam freely through these spaces at certain, if not at all, times of the year. As such, the evidence reveals a space where some, maybe few but possibly many, encountered the divine without formal guidance from a member of the church or specifically a member of the clergy and as such were exposed to the perceived raw power of the divine without an intermediary.

It is here that we can look for an improvised ritual of encounter, a method developed by the individual as they arrived at and progressed through the pilgrimage centre, allowing them mentally and spiritually to manage their personal approach into the direct presence of a Saint and omnipresence God. The underlying knowledge of the need for ritual protection from divine power that may be perceived as overwhelming or potentially damaging (Van Gennep, 1960), and the creation of a ritual safe space that they observed and participated in during the attendance of church within their home parish created by the parish priest as a part of the led service, this will be discussed in detail in chapter 10.

In looking for an improvised ritual of encounter, I am attempting to understand the interaction of the individual or group of pilgrims with the material and extra-material world(s) that they perceived themselves to be moving through. Within this encounter, certain aspects of behaviour are likely to manifest:

- Spiritual purification
- Personal prayer
- Movement through space
- Physical engagement with place
- Sensorial engagement with the space and place
- Self-contemplation

Some of these behaviours would have been based on learned and observed practices in everyday life: the observation of sacrament, the lead prayer and the use of light and incense to modify the sensorial environment of the parish church during mass would have been seen as signifiers of the divine. The informality and improvisation enter in the lack of an overt guide to direct these ritual processes; the sensory elements would have been present but the ritual lacking. Therefore, the individual and their new traveling companions improvise the process to allow them to progress towards the shrine and the resident saint.

2.6.4 An identifiable ritual of encounter

Drawing on the combined theoretical structure (see chapter 3) and the material evidence presented in the case studies outlined below (Chapter 5, 6, 7 & 8), I will show that not only was there an encounter with the divine but that this was ritualised. In doing so it is possible to demonstrate that this ritual of encounter was stabilised through repetition. It was repeated at various points through the pilgrimage centre or religious establishment, and these points were the liminal boundaries of the nested ontological structures surrounding the specific points of veneration. These rituals were informal: they were not led by a ritual guide and were not codified within the doctrinal structure of the church. Each ritual started with a process of prayer to which the supplicant had been exposed in the past through their participation in formal religious ritual and progressed through a process of doing and physical movement. On the completion of each stage of movement through the landscape of destination, the supplicant would become more fervent in their practice until, upon

reaching the culmination of their journey, they had a complete and ritual process that can be recognised for its formal components in the practice of the individual. If the same supplicant were to then repeat the same pilgrimage, they would have been likely to repeat the same ritual of encounter; knowing that the ritual was effective, they codified it for their own use and would have passed this information to those with whom they travelled, but were unlikely to act as a ritual guide, since the encounter was personal.

3 Theoretical considerations

> "*The anthropologist sets out expecting to see rituals performed with reverence to say the least. He finds himself in the role of the agnostic sightseer in St Peter's, shocked at the disrespectful clatter of the adults and the children playing Roman shovehalfpenny [sic.] on the floor stones.*" (Douglas: 1966: 2)

It is within this clatter and play noted by Mary Douglas that this work sits: finding the route through the formal ritual recorded by the monks and literate minority of the English Middle Ages to the informal, non-prescribed ritual performance of the pilgrim. As has already been discussed, it is my aim to explore the traces of individual encounters with the divine. I will show that these sit within the liminal structure of the pilgrimage centre and the ontologies that these nested liminalities created. To accomplish this requires a number of different theoretical lines to be drawn together, forming a structural system within which the nature and practice of these informal rituals can be located.

3.1 A brief history of pilgrimage theory

Between the mid-sixteenth century, which saw a rapid decline in pilgrimage within European Christendom and particularly within England (Finucane, 1977: 26-39), and the 1970s, when Victor Turner began publishing on the subject, little work was undertaken on the theoretical nature and practice of pilgrimage. Since their publication, the works of Turner and Turner (Turner, 1974; Turner and Turner, 1978; Turner, 1979, 2008) have dominated the theoretical consideration of pilgrimage. Their collected works shaped the concept of pilgrimage within the social and cultural sciences, defining it as a liminal, and later 'liminoid', event with the adoption of 'communitas' as a functional structure of that liminoid movement of populations on pilgrimage (see below). This structuralist approach has been challenged more recently by the work of Eade and Sallnow(1991) who developed an anti-structural theory that allows place and practice to be mutually empowering and projects pilgrimage as an arena for socio-cultural display. I will now discuss both these bodies of scholarship in turn.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Victor Turner took Van Gennep's theories of liminality and communitas, expanding on both, and utilised them to discuss the nature of pilgrimage

journeys as dissociated from the socio-cultural normative spaces of the world. In general, Turner's work has been generally accepted and utilised rather than critiqued or challenged. As such, by the 1980s the theoretical study of pilgrimage was beginning to solidify into a coherent structure based on Turner's work, but some challenges did arise. These challenges culminated in 1981 when Michael Sallnow argued that the notion of communitas was flawed due to the fact that social standing and identity remaining in play during pilgrimage (Sallnow, 1981). Sallnow demonstrated, using his work in South America, that social differences within a community of pilgrims remain very much intact, playing out between different groups based on the mode of travel, lodgings and offerings made at pilgrimage centres. This difference in approach crystallised in 1991 with the publication of *Contesting the Sacred*. This collection of papers, edited by Eade and Sallnow, drew on a multidisciplinary conference on Christian pilgrimage held at University of Surrey Roehampton in 1988, considering differing approaches to questions surrounding pilgrimage practice in the Christian world.

Since the publication of this volume, and following the death of Michael Sallnow in 1990, there has been little discussion or development of the theoretical nature of pilgrimage, with subsequent work resting firmly on the Turnerian approach or looking beyond pilgrimage towards work on the body and landscape (Candy, 2009; Johnson and Werbner, 2010; Locker, 2015). Many scholars have stepped away from the purely theoretical sphere, with authors such as Diana Webb (1999, 2000) and John Crook (2011) taking a more functional and analytical approach to the movement of people and the material culture of pilgrimage basing many of their arguments on written sources rather than explicitly theoretical approaches. What challenge there has been to the established Turnerian model has come mainly in the form of comment on the specifics rather than any attempt to overturn it completely. This analysis and discussion of specific aspects of Turnarian theory are discussed in the introduction to *Pilgrimage and Healing* (Dubisch and Winkelman, 2005) but are primarily concerned with the focus on ritual and the assumption that pilgrimage is a fixed universal concept. Some of this, however, can be disregarded as the arguments are based on modern secular pilgrimage, such as the motorcycle pilgrimage to the Vietnam memorial (Dubisch and Winkelman, 2005), or the touristic nature of the pilgrimage as discussed by Collins-Kreiner (2010).

Recently archaeological work has focused heavily on the liminality of landscape and journeying through it (Candy, 2009; Locker, 2015) but has not engaged explicitly with

theoretical considerations, choosing to utilise existing theoretical structures rather than to explore the theoretical boundaries. These works step away from the theoretical argument around pilgrimage as a practice to the extent that Candy calls such discussion "the theoretical ghetto" (Candy, 2009:10-2).

It is of note that the approaches to pilgrimage illustrated above focus on the journey rather than the shrine site and the interaction of the pilgrim with the destination. The one exception to this lack of focus on destination is the work by Hiscott at Beverly Minster (Hiscott, 2015). It is of note that this research focusses on the material presence and permissibility of graffiti at the shrine and nearby structures rather than examining in any depth the role or function of the material component in the ritual encounter, as does this study.

3.2   Liminality, Liminal space and Communitas

3.2.1   The development of liminal theory

Liminal theory has had a difficult rise through social theory, stagnating and being diverted into various fields of study over time. Before discussing the theory in detail, it is worth taking a few moments to consider the history of its development and the key individuals involved in the process.

Today, liminal theory is most widely utilised in sociological and psychological fields as a method of discussing social and educational change: transiting through the learning process (Cousin, 2006; Land, Rattray and Vivian, 2014); moving between subcultures within modern society (Preston-Whyte, 2004; Riches, 2011); or as a way of processing the impact of migration and refugee status on people. In some cases, the notion of liminal change has been wholly subverted to become a purely negative concept, inviting psychologists to develop the concepts of the liminal hotspot and permanent liminality as signifiers of runaway personal or societal change that results from trauma and leads to systemic collapse (Greco and Stenner, 2017; Szakolczai, 2017). However, this is a radical departure from the origins of liminality and liminal space as a theoretical concept and goes against the work of Van Gennep and Turner. It is this original theoretical structure on which this work draws, specifically the concepts of ritually empowered space that facilitate change and alter the subject or their world.

The origins of liminality can be found in theoretical approaches to ritual behaviour in the ethnographic studies by Arnold Van Gennep (1960) and then in the work of Turner and Turner (Turner, 1974; Turner and Turner, 1978; Turner, 1979, 2008) as they developed their ideas about liminal space and pilgrims. Van Gennep's work suffered from a sustained period of academic hostility from Durkheim and his students, as a result failing to gain significant notice until the English translation was published in 1960 (Thomassen, 2009). It was in the 1960s that Turner started to investigate liminality and liminal process. Publishing *The Ritual Process* in 1969, Turner established the link between liminality and communitas, using vocal symbolism, changes in the terminology used to identify self or traveling companions, to differentiate ritual spaces from the normative and placing all those within the ritual space into the unified, structure-free realm of communitas (2008: 41–2 & 94–107) However, Turner discovered some constraints to liminality. Specifically, he argued that liminality is found in the symbols ("les symbols sauvages") of pre-industrial cultures and art (1974: 55–72; quote on p.55).Thus, Turner proffers the idea of the liminoid (1974: 65-72). The liminoid is a voluntary space in an industrialised culture that allows transitional activity to take place without the need for significant ritual activity to enter and leave. Turner also considers communitas to continue to function alongside the liminoid (1974: 78). More recently Turner's work has been criticised as not following Van Gennep's work, and opening up liminality to allow non magico-religious activities to be viewed as liminal (Lewis, 2008). This criticism ignores the fact that Van Gennep himself used border offices and territorial boundaries as examples of liminal spaces (1960: 15-29).

3.2.2   Liminal, liminoid and the liminal space

In this work I use Van Gennep's original concept of liminality as developed by Turner. This places liminality into the process of transition both for the person and for the world around them. Van Gennep establishes liminality as a method of ritually empowered transition, both in a magico-religious form and in a transitional act between differing regions and places (Van Gennep 1960: 15-29). The ritual is usually overseen by a guide, which in the case of the magico-religious is a shaman, priest, or other empowered person, but it can equally be a border guard with politico-legal control. In all circumstances the process is similar: the person who is undergoing the transition either in personal status or in geo-spatial situation is separated from the social normality of their existence, undergoes a ritual of transition and is then reintegrated into the new social normalcy. Through this

practice they are guided through the liminal boundary usually marked by a post, portal, or other physical signifier that the transition has occurred.

The liminal is the transitional and transformative. It is the ability to move an individual or group of individuals from one socio-cultural position to another. It does this through a ritualised process that opens a space where normal social structures are void, a space where the normal rules of society are suspended, the demands and rules of station removed and the individual freed to become transformed (Turner 1974: 55-58). The ritual generates an empowered area within which a level of protection is generated. This protection functions in both directions: the ritual supplicant and guide are protected from the external world around them and at the same time the external world, the rest of society, is protected from the forces that are at work within the ritual space. This empowered protective space is usually immobile, anchored on the supplicant / guide and at a specific place of ritual doing (Van Gennep, 1960). This transitory protection functions if the ritual is empowered and returns the supplicant and society back to the normal unprotected state upon expiration. The world is reunified after the ritual closure and the social structures returned to function. However, the supplicant is returned to the new position or status that was created and processed through the liminal ritual.

When Turner started to apply liminal theory to modern society, he encountered a problem with the nature of the ritual process believing it to only operating within the pre-industrial. Instead, he identified a modified form of the liminal which he labelled the liminoid. This modified liminal state allows the participant to enter and leave the altered social state without ritual activation and without permanent alteration to the person's socio-cultural identity. The liminoid space, the transformative and transgressive protected space, becomes pliable and accessible to any who seek entry into it without having to directly participate in the ritual that enacts and empowers it. He sees this in such identities and locations as sports supporter, sub-cultures, and even educational establishments (Turner 1974: 70-72). The liminoid exists because of the ongoing ritualistic behaviour of the regular occupants of the space, the practices that are observable as ritual-like behaviour, the chanting and unified activity of a crowd, the social transformation of students into graduates and the acceptance of outsider to insider in sub-culture groups. This creation of a spontaneous transitional space allows Turner to construct a ritual versus non-ritual transitional realm, both of which operate outside the normalised socio-cultural space. The process of transitioning is either ritually projected by a guide or voluntarily entered into by

the self (Turner, 1974). At the heart of the liminoid it remains possible to identify the liminal, the core function of social change (Turner, 1974) and the protected ritualistic space that it generates which allows behaviours that would normally be considered outside the socially acceptable to take place.

Turners' analysis suggests that the liminal and the liminoid co-exist as societies transition from an agrarian ritually controlled base to an industrialised non-ritual base. The liminal rises with tribal ritual behaviour and survives through to the development of the early modern period and the rise of city states but starts to diminish and subside as industrialisation begins. It requires a collective operation and has a functional purpose within a society (Turner, 1974). Liminoid processes rise from the feudal and continue into the modern world; they are disorganised and develop independently of central control with a tendency towards the idiosyncratic and socially confrontational (Turner, 1974).

In this differentiation between the liminal and the liminoid, Turner looks away from the continuing influence of the ritual in post-feudal societies. The assumption that ritual behaviour always subsides can be seen to be untrue with the continuation of religious ritual behaviour through much of post-feudal society. Instead, I would argue that, far from being an evolving system, the liminal and the liminoid are co-exist in the Medieval and modern periods. The liminal is controlled and ritually driven by a mediator who opens and encourages the liminal subject into the process of change through obligation and the need for socio-cultural alteration. The liminoid is the process of voluntarily stepping out of mainstream sociocultural systems to affect temporary change.

As mentioned earlier, the liminal and the liminoid operate in specific locations: marked liminal spaces (Van Gennep, 1960). The markers hold some of the physical elements of the ritual but are not ritually empowered in themselves. As such, liminal spaces must be empowered by the ritual activity initiated by the liminal guide and only remain potent as places of transformation while the liminal ritual is in operation (Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 2008). When active, the liminal spaces are both spatial and spiritual spaces (Van Gennep, 1960). An example of such an empowered liminal space can be seen at Iron Age ritual site Raith na Rig in Ireland (Dowling, 2006), where the physical boundary of the ditch can also be seen as the ritual liminal boundary. Further Lois Gonzalez and Lopez (2020) show that this liminal space, both in journey and experience, can be expressed and discovered through literary sources, in the guise of itineraries and diaries and permit the

reader to experience in a secondary manner the liminal experience of the author. I will show that the application of liminal agents to this space allows the empowerment to remain in operation following the closure of the initial liminal ritual. Spaces marked by liminal agents retain a certain element of the liminal and the liminoid in that they can be entered and exited freely, and they offer the same ritually protected space but not the full transformative power of the enacted liminal ritual. These liminal portals offer the ability to transition between socio-culturally distinct spaces in safety and to encounter spiritually dangerous elements of the world with a degree of safety that otherwise would not be possible.

3.2.3   Communitas

The final component in Turner's network of modified space is communitas. Communitas is a state of "unified sameness" within a society that is dissimilar to but not wholly outside the structures of that society, therefore allowing the normal socio-political structures to break down without damaging society as a whole (Turner, 2008). Any person entering this sameness relinquishes their usual social standing to become part of the whole and acquires the same social status as the other members of that communitas.

The notion of communitas as associated with liminality is proposed by Victor Turner in *The Ritual Process* (2008), where he discusses the concept of communitas allowing the creation of a social anti-structure: a liminal period where kings become fools and fools become kings (Turner, 2008: 177-8). Through a series of writings (Turner, 1974; Turner and Turner, 1978; Turner, 2008), Victor and Edith Turner construct a model based on their ethnographic work with the Ndembu in the modern Democratic Republic of Congo, Africa, and amongst small Catholic communities in Mexico, that places the liminal journey of the pilgrim within communitas, creating a unified and non-judgemental realm outside the normal social structures of the world where all participants occupy the same status of pilgrim regardless of their usual socio-political status.

By contrast, Sallnow (1981) constructs a view that the socio-political stations of pilgrims remain very much in play despite the liminal journey of the pilgrim. He argues that the regional hierarchy of local patron saints within Southern Peru and the perceived status that this grants to the communities carries over into the pilgrimage practices of the region (Sallnow, 1981). Thus, because of this structure the perceived egalitarian nature of

pilgrimage does not translate into communitas (Sallnow, 1981). This leads Sallnow to describe the collective pilgrims as a community rather than communitas, collectively aiding and supporting one another without becoming homogenised or unbound from social-political normalities.

Taking both arguments into account, it is likely that pilgrimage contains elements of both community and communitas. Every pilgrim is engaged in a holy journey; they enter communitas in the placement of this homogeneous state of travel becoming part of a movement outside the structures of the socio-cultural norms of the Medieval world. They are identified by the badge, staff, and scallop shell, symbols taken up by pilgrims of the Middle Ages based on the notion that a pilgrim will be protected by these markers. These symbols place them as being without community, a part of the uniformity of religious traveller: protected, allowed access to shelter, granted access to shrines. However, within this supposed state of communitas, people retained status. The knight was still a knight and the landless farmer still a serf. This produced a collective movement of people with limited individual identity (Baumeister, 1987; Harbus, 2002) but a sense of collective socio-political station. The communitas of the pilgrimage made no direct challenge to the established community of Medieval English society, despite the implications that communitas is operable in the modern pilgrims of Mexico.

3.3   Ritual practice

Ritual practice has a long history of study in anthropology and ethnography. Current understanding of ritual has settled into a consensus with a number of scholars describing similar patterns of behaviour observed in many cultures but utilising differing analogies for the practices observed (Douglas, 1966; Skorupski, 1976; Rappaport, 1979; Gardner, 1983; Connerton, 1989; Bell, 1992; Fowles, 2013). These different and evolving observations and interpretations of ritual behaviour come together to generate a strong theoretical structure for identifying and understanding ritual practice.

Douglas sees ritual as a process for containing and controlling the pollutants within society (Douglas, 1966). It is impossible to look at modern understanding of ritual behaviour without starting with Douglas and her classic study *Purity and Danger* (1966). In this work, operating within a colonialist framework of primitive versus advanced society, she identifies ritual behaviour as being outside this already dated concept of primitiveness.

Pollutants can result from both the divine moving into the secular, and the secular moving into the divine, and ritual is a mechanism of containing them and allowing them to interact in a controlled manner (1966: 8). The ritual becomes a process for communicating wider religious and social messages that have the power to contaminate and alter the established structures or worlds that exist on either side of the ritual. It creates control of the message and structure and thereby protection for the society that interacts with it.

In 1976, Skorupski postulated that humans exist in a social universe that is constructed from events and significant incidents, and that it is only by communicating these events that they gain public significance (1976: 161). It is here that the idea of ritual becomes important, placing ritual practice in the role of communicative signifier and religious practice as the signifier that a higher, otherwise unreachable, power may be included in that social universe (Skorupski 1976: 162-5). This idea is enhanced by Rappaport (1979: 174-207), who identifies ritual as being about communication, and specifically about allowing the content of the ritual to be communicated between the practitioner and the audience. All rituals have a component of exchange; be they gifts or pledges, the ritual binds these up into a social contract. Rappaport also identified ritual as conforming to two types: canonical and indexical. The canonical is prescribed and structured, liturgical in nature. The indexical is improvised within the bounds of expected and accepted ritual practice. Both types contain symbols that can be durable (canonical) and transitory (indexical).

Connerton (1989) brought these ideas further into focus with the idea of social memory. This placed the narrative history of a community within the structure of the religious ritual. In his work, Connerton moves the arguments about social communication and memory from the purely conceptual into the bodily and allows them to operate in the actuality of space and time. Within this, he postulates that the ritual has a physical component that is often inscriptive in nature, either generating text or some other marking that signifies the conducting and completion of the ritual (Connerton 1989: 73). Bell (1992) also attempts to integrate previous works on ritual practice, but in doing so rejects the previous categorization of ritual. Bell questions the nature of ritual practice as being a construct of the theorist to enable discussion of social behaviour (Bell 1992: 47-8). Later, however, Bell identifies a new structure for ritual practice, defining it as:

1. Situational.

2. Strategic.
3. Embedded in a misrecognition of what it is in fact doing.
4. Able to reproduce or reconfigure a version of the order of power in the world – 'redemptive hegemony' (2009: 81).

Utilising these categories Bell identifies ritual practice as a process that is undertaken to establish social structure and create power relationships (Bell 1992: 84-5). This ritualization creates practice, but formalization, repetition and structure are not required for ritual to operate (Bell 1992: 92). The ritual is a method for processing and engaging with the world and other-worldliness in a way that is safe and protected. It is the outcome that is important, not the formal nature of the ritual. As such, a ritual may be personal, unique to a situation and informal, or it may require a mass gathering and be led in a formal and repetitive manner by an authority figure, the guide. Ritual practice is about creating a strategic alteration to normal activity and therefore breaking that active cycle to enable a new practice or access to a new state to emerge without the existing structures noticing that the change has occurred (Bell, 1992:93).

Fowles (2013: 103-4) places importance on the way ritual is done: in his words "the doings". These doings are the embodiment, actions, material signs and immaterial constituents of the ritual process (Fowles 2013: 104). They are concerned with the interconnection of ritual and the components of ritual practice (Fowles 2013: 106).

Throughout this discourse on the nature of ritual practice a number of common themes can be drawn out:

1. **Ritual is a process of communication.**

Each of the commentaries on ritual and ritualised behaviour discussed above draws on the concept that a ritual is about communication. This might be communication with an entity that is not normally within the supplicant's world, or communication between the ritual guide, the supplicants and the wider community. Ritual bridges gaps and transfers messages, which are sometimes as simple as 'this person is a part of the community', but on occasions as complex as a religious doctrine.

2. **Ritual intrinsically contains within it the social contract of gift exchange.**

During ritual, there is a transference of something of value: it could be a message, a promise of future action, a change in power or status, or a material transaction. The ritual allows the transference of a social contract within the protected space of the ritual, permitting an imperfect or unbalanced exchange that would, under other circumstances, require a specific return of gift or owing of a social debt.

3. **Ritual is ontologically constructive.**

The ritual, and particularly the liminal, can create a new ontological realm of existence. This creation may be brief for the purpose of the ritual, or it may bring about a longer-lasting change in the reality that the participants perceive. This is particularly of note where rituals occur with the aim of accessing *spirit realms* or alternate frames of reference.

4. **Ritual may be formal or informal but is always performative and contains specific identifiable components.**

The ritual is about the doings and the performance of specific functional activities. The outcome is important, not the method of getting there. It is these signs of informal ritual evidenced through the doings for which this work is looking. Specifically, it is concerned with the tendency of individuals to enact personal ritual that does not conform to the expected formal ceremonial but still contains those elements of ritual identified by Bell (1992) and Fowles (2013) for the purpose of enacting a change or access to the otherwise inaccessible.

3.4 Materiality and the sensorial world

The material world of the Medieval pilgrimage centre was often one that on the surface consisted of hard stone, flickering candles and intense decoration with paint and/or precious materials. It is within this physical structure that the divine existed, contained within a religiously empowered structure that isolated it from the secular world outside.

The most detailed works on the impact of the material world on the behaviour and understanding of the Medieval population come from Caroline Walker Bynum (2011, 2012) and C.M. Woolgar (2006). These works deal specifically with the way that physical matter was interpreted and engaged with in the Medieval world (Bynum, 2011) and how the Medieval world was encountered in a sensorial way (Woolgar, 2006). This is further enhanced by work on the interpretation of the medieval material world within the modern (Clarke, 2019) and the methods utilised to explore the sensorial as well as the imagined landscape within that work. All this builds on the concepts of agency and material agents first described by Gell (1998) and allows the agent to acquire specific purpose and meaning beyond the basic concept envisioned in Gell's work.

It is this material world with which the pilgrim found themselves engaging and whilst it is possible to make some assumptions based solely on these works, I also intend to draw on broader research on encounters with the material world. These works range from the quantum world and entanglement of agents postulated by Barad (2007) to neuroplasticity and the ability of matter and social creatures to influence one another proposed by Malafouris (2013) and the cultural meaning of symbolism put forward by Stromberg (1981). I will also look through the lens of the sensorial encounter from the perspectives of both Woolgar (2006) and Hamilakis (2015). I also note the work of Dyas (2020) in the investigation of the sensorial impact on the medieval pilgrim and the impact of sensorial stimulus on the pilgrim as well as the use of place and space to manipulate worshippers into an understanding of the spiritual. Through these I will show that the material world and interactions with it were both empowering and empowered and that sensorial interaction was as much a part of the improvised ritual as the performance.

Barad and Malafouris approach the material world from different directions. Barad adopts a quantum perspective, investigating the behaviour of entangled agents, human and non-human (Barad, 2007). Malafouris takes a bio-evolutionary approach, considering the way material and particularly tool development shaped the hominin brain as much as the hominin shaped the tool (Malafouris, 2013). Both result in remarkably similar concepts that material and person influence one another in a complex pattern of interdependence. If this concept of matter being able to shape human behaviour is extrapolated, it is possible to envision a point where the materiality of the pilgrimage centre becomes a direct influence on the behaviour of the pilgrim. The complex agential interactions described by both Barad and Malafouris result in the same outcome: the human and non-human agents are drawn

together to interact in specific patterns which exert themselves in the behaviour of the human agent.

With this in mind, the doctrinal issues upon which Bynum draws in her work gain a new focus. The doctrinal creation of what Bynum calls "holy matter" (Bynum, 2011: 126-7) allowed the generation of focal points for worship and then the exploitation of these in the creation of saints, relics and the connected religiously empowered materials of reliquaries, shrines and holy buildings. These were then interpreted as radiating divine energy that could be transferred between material placed in contact with the directly empowered objects, such as the holy water that relics were washed in being collected into ampullae and sold to pilgrims visiting the shrines (Bynum, 2011: 109 & 131). These contact relics were regarded as a connection back to the shrine and its saint, and therefore an intermediary to the divine in their own right. This notion of holy matter is complicated by the belief that all matter is innately holy due to the creation, but is allowed for in Medieval Catholic doctrine, which states that some matter can be more holy than other due to a direct connection between the mortal realm on earth and the divine realm in heaven (Bynum, 2011). This is most commonly achieved through a saint who was present in both the mundane world, as physical human remains, and the divine, as an immortal being at the side of God. The religious empowerment of objects and space is also considered by Duffy (2005: 110). This research concludes that the Medieval worshipper was aware of the spiritual and potential physical dangers presented by divinely empowered material and the ability of that power to transfer from one object to another and ultimately to the person who made contact with those objects.

Within this field of empowered material and the ability of material culture to be influenced by and to influence individuals and communities we must consider the work of Insoll (2009). This work examines the connection between material culture and ritual movement within the indigenous religious practices of the Tongo Hills region of Ghana and sheds strong light onto the use of material culture in such practices. The identification of the need to conduct specific movements as part of a ritualised process within the studied shrine site enlightens the notions of ritual doings and suggests that there is a link between the excavated material culture and ritual movement that is later developed by Fowles (2013).

3.4.1   The saint: body, spirit, and materiality in the Middle Ages

By considering the saint as both mortal remains and immortal spirit in the presence of God, the catholic church of the Middle Ages permitted that the saint could intercede on behalf of supplicants, thus negating the issue of polytheistic worship. This practice of recognising dualistic existence also permitted the doctrinally acceptable concept of divine radiation to operate from the tombs, shrines, relics, and altars that were in place to facilitate the veneration of those saints.

Drawing these concepts of materiality together with the sensorial practices engaged in within the church, it is possible to place these markers of saintly presence within a context of empowered places. These locations provide nexus points for the worship of the saint and are empowered places in potentia. They permit the worshipper and the ritual guide to engage with them in a meaningful manner, interacting with the divine materiality and the sensorial loading of the space to bring that potential into focus and create a ritual place from the space. Without this material connection and the capacity of divine radiation to be transmitted between objects, it is probable that these empowered places would have been doctrinally unacceptable and functionally inoperable within the Medieval world.

3.5   Ritual Doings

It is essential at this point to enter the world of ritual doings: the interaction of the material with the ritual and the function of the performative engagement with that material element to facilitate and enact the ritual. The concept of ritual doings is explored in depth by Fowles (2013). It relies on the interconnectedness of the person, the act, and the world around them. Doings allow the ritual participant to form a stronger connection with the world with which they are engaging, connecting to the internal and the external (Fowles, 2013: 103-104). Fowles identifies doings as essentially neutral, neither true nor false, sacred or profane, stating that "doings are simultaneously social, economic, political, cosmological, technological and so on as most human practices are" (Fowles, 2013: 104). The ritual doings create or empower material entities that Fowles refers to as 'things'. These things can be any type of material culture from simple pots to works of art and can function in any forms of social and economic activity beyond the ritual. The things only become doings when they are engaged functionally within the ritual, in much the same way as a traditional liminal space is only empowered when the ritual is active.

Morphy (1991) takes a slightly different approach in his assessment of Australian indigenous art as a ritual component. Within its usage in indigenous practices, the art has specific and significant meaning (Morphy, 1991: 100-180), each design signifying a family grouping, spiritual component or aspect of spiritual communication. The ritual significance of the designs becomes more powerful as the artist is drawn into the higher levels of knowledge within the practicing community. However, it is acceptable for these same images to be displayed and shared with outsiders when used in the creation of non-ritual art (Morphy, 1991: 181-213). Morphy is effectively describing the inverse of Fowles' ritual doings. By permitting ritual objects (art) to be removed from the ritual, the designs and images become mundane material culture. They lack the ability to facilitate ritual through the modified usage. They can, however, be re-empowered when taken back into the ritual practice and performed as part of that ritual, the component becoming empowered through intent and performance rather than simply being a ritual component.

As such, the ritual component in and of itself contains not specific power to create change. They are mundane objects or actions that become empowered as ritual activity through their use in the performative operation of ritual. A bowl is just a bowl when used every day but during the ritual it becomes a significant ritual object used to carry and contain water from a place of power. Similarly, within the Medieval world, the use of graffiti designs can be seen in many locations, appearing within domestic dwellings and on objects as decoration as well as within the ritual practice of apotropaic protection of spaces and in conducting personal worship and prayer-making within religious spaces. Known and used in many different forms, they become a common marker. A graffito design may be a personal (e.g. merchant's) mark, something seen in the depictions of a saint, or a symbol familiar in daily life. It may even be something on a secular badge that denotes some form of membership or affiliation, or is simply an attractive adornment (Jones, 2002). However, when integrated into the performance of a ritual it becomes one of Fowles ritual doings; through operation and performance, the act of creating the mark makes it ritually empowered as a part of that ritual and it is in this function that the graffiti becomes a viable marker for ritual practice within the Medieval world. Taking the location and probable intent in the creation of the mark into account in their identification permits the mundane and ritual usages to be identified and interpreted.

An additional ethnographic example of the operation of ritual doings can be seen in the work of Obeyesekere (Nairn and Obeyesekere, 1973; Obeyesekere, 1977, 1978, 2014) on

the movement of pilgrims in the Kataragama complex in Sri Lanka. This work is of particular interest as it deals with the informal and personal ritualised behaviours around a pilgrimage shrine. In these collected works, Obeyesekere demonstrates repeatedly that the pilgrims, holy men and women who frequent the Kataragama shrine complex, developed, and continue to develop, unique and personal rituals of encounter that permit them to negotiate the power of the deity Kataragama who sits at the heart of the complex that bears his name. These rituals have developed over time as the individual makes promises to the deity and moves deeper into the landscape of destination and into contact with the divine. This ranges from the hook-hanging ritual, demonstrated in the film *Disappearing World* (Nairn and Obeyesekere, 1973), to ritualised dancing and the growing and matting of hair by those spirituals interviewed as case studies (Obeyesekere, 2014), and the integration of fire-walking rituals into practices in the landscape (Obeyesekere, 1978). In each of these cases, we can see the adoption and development of informal rituals that become formalised as the supplicant moves through the landscape. Repeated use of these personal rituals formalises them over time until they become rote for the person performing them. Ultimately, they each produce a ritually safe liminal space that permits the supplicant to enter into contact with the deity and communicate with it on behalf of themselves and others.

3.6 A Theoretical Structure

As discussed, there are a number of theoretical influences to this work. At the core is the idea of liminality and the ritual process that is required to allow this to function properly. The ritualised process of change between two states of existence and the notion of spiritual or cultural movement lie, as Turner and Turner (1978) describe, at the heart of pilgrimage. Whereas Turner and Turner focus on the creation of a single liminal state for pilgrimage, I contest that there is potential for there to be many differing layers and classes of ritual in operation within a single pilgrimage centre. These nested liminal spaces each contain and grant access to an ontological space that brings the pilgrim closer to the divine as they move towards the shrine and the contained relic, with each ontological reality becoming a more complex and personal encounter ultimately with the divine.

To explore this possibility, I will examine the evidence through a new theoretical structure that is outlined here and will be discussed in depth through the sites investigated in this work and associated interpretation. These sites will specifically locate the theoretical

structure for the interaction within the religious landscapes encountered by the Medieval religious traveller. The sites range from the apparent simplicity of a secular gateway and an entrance to a semi-closed religious' complex to the construction of religiously empowered spaces within the church, and then into the landscape of destination of the pilgrimage centre and the multiple nodes of religious empowerment and attention generated by side chapels, altars and ultimately the shrine.

In doing this, I will explore how the lay worshipper could construct a personal profile of ritual based on their informal interaction with the familiar landscape. I will question whether they could then utilise this interaction to generate an informal ritual of encounter at the landscape of destination. Supplicants undertaking this personal ritual to mitigate the harm present from a direct interaction with the divine at pilgrimage centres, whilst permitting the interaction to be undertaken in a meaningful way, obtaining the social and cultural exchange or change that was desired through the ritual encounter.

Dividing the approach into two distinct encounters – the physical encounter with the landscape of destination and the spiritual encounter accessed through the ritual practice –. This permits a more reasoned and structured approach to be taken, allowing the evidence of the physical interaction and the sensorial components to inform the ritual process and practice.

3.6.1 The physical encounter

Starting with the much smaller landscape of the parish church, it is possible to identify a process and practice that is undertaken within the porch and entrance area. This process of ritualised behaviour is based around personal life-course rituals. By the thirteenth century, these had been absorbed into the doctrine of the Medieval church as a part of a process of control and organisation that was underway across Europe as part of the development of the systems of church and state (Reynolds, 2018: 21-8). These rituals, as will be shown subsequently (Chapter 9), empowered the porch and other entrances to permit the containment and protection of the ritual and to permit, as a by-product, the generation of a space that was liminally empowered by liminal agents. As I will demonstrate these agents were created as ritual doings in the form of the graffiti marks generated during life course and acts of personal prayer. This entrance space was distinct from both the divine church and the secular outside world, producing an empowered connection between these two

worlds that both protected them from cross-contamination and permitted lay worshippers to gain limited access to the divine without entering the fully empowered church. The evidence also shows that this effect was not restricted to the parish church, but also functioned at larger religious establishments such as semi-closed religious houses and cathedral structures.

Furthermore, the evidence presented in chapter 5 demonstrates that this creation of liminally empowered access to a religious ontology was not restricted to the entrance of the building or space. The evidence gathered by the community surveys (Champion, 2021) within parish churches in southern England demonstrates that the practise of graffiti-making can be seen to focus at specific points of religious interest, particularly side altars, and devotional points to local saints or the particularly devout. The graffiti indicates an elevation in prayer-making and the associated ritualistic behaviours of worshippers in an attempt to gain further access to the elevated individual, whether a recognised saint or another individual, an unofficial saint, believed to have entered heaven and be in contact with God. This ritualistic behaviour granted access to the divinely elevated ontology that permeates from the side altar or other veneration point, and therefore permits the lay worshipper to gain access in a ritually protected manner to the saint.

In chapter 9 I demonstrate that the package of ritualised behaviours that were available to the lay worshipper could be used in the creation of an improvised ritual practice. These rituals permitted them to deal with the much greater impact of the landscape of destination upon arriving at the pilgrimage centre. The processes of entry into the centre, and then of gaining access through prayer and ritualised behaviour as they progress through the landscape, permitted them to safely navigate the physical and therefore the ontological landscape.

It was insufficient to simply travel through the physicality of the landscape; the supplicant must engage with it in a meaningful and sensorial manner. The landscape of destination is thus as much a part of the pilgrimage encounter as the divine, being perceived as the house of the saint and to a degree, God's house on earth. By interacting with the material of the space, the supplicant was interacting with the material of the divine, and therefore could gain further personal access and insight into the divine.

3.6.2   The divine encounter

The process of physical encounter and ritual engagement permitted the lay worshipper to progress through a series of ontologically distinct realms, each granting a closer level of access to the divine. This access was not completely alien to the Medieval lay worshipper. The teachings of the church permitted them to understand that all matter is created by God and therefore all matter is holy. It also permitted the understanding that the closer that matter is to the creator, the more powerful the connection becomes, and potentially more dangerous, as discussed above.

The ritual to enter the liminal and therefore progress into the associated ontology was personal in nature but followed a similar practice on each occasion. It might have taken the form of a prayer to the saint or to God directly, the performance of a task such as mark-making as an engagement with the perceived divine presence. These practices were based on a lifetime of learned and observed ritual behaviours that were understood and known by the supplicant to work. In modifying them to fit the local environment, a more direct encounter with the spiritual and the divine became easier, alongside the development of a personal ritual permitting the individual to progress safely into a ritually protected liminal state, and through the spiritual landscape in much the same way as they perceived their progress through the physical landscape.

As they progressed through the physical, they encountered a new spiritual boundary, a new area marked out by the construction of an altar, a gate, a reliquary, or the shrine. Each needed to be navigated physically and each called for the supplicant to navigate the spiritual object as well. It was this physical navigation that drove the spiritual, the sensorial clues that were generated, telling the supplicant that they are moving into a new realm, and that to gain access to it they must undergo a further transformation. The migration through the landscape of destination is fraught with both physical and spiritual danger. and to be successful you must navigate both.

This process twists one of Foucault's ideas slightly: referring specifically to power and the application of power in social groups, Foucault states that "people know what they do; they frequently know why they do, but what they don't know is what what they do does" (Foucault to Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 187). Ritual is the application of power; Bell identifies this in the process of ritual creation, identifying it specifically in the process of

creation of improvised ritual. The ambiguous nature of ritual and the performance of the ritual is what is perceived as important rather than the actual content. It is only as the ritual is codified and repeated that the mysticism and formalisation of the ritual becomes important (Bell, 1992: 108-110).

By performing the personal ritual, the supplicant gains access to a higher level of connection to the divine. This connection is perceived in a change in the holiness of the space as they approach the next nexus point. However, they need little or no understanding of the process of ritualised access or the liminal change into which they have just entered themselves by performing the personal ritual, though they do understand that there is a change underway. The granting of status as a pilgrim who has completed their task, the granting of indulgences or the issuing of certificates of completion and the purchase of pilgrim tokens and ampoules completes the physical engagement whilst permitting spiritual engagement. The heightened level of access to the divine is still encountered in a safe and ritually protected manner, as the token provides secondary access to that divine as the relic does to the saint, though on a much lesser level.

This process generates three key operators within the landscape of destination that allow the landscape to operate and the supplicant to navigate it:

- Each of these liminal boundaries allows access to a new ontology.
- Each of these ontologies can occupy the same physical space but exists in a new metaphysical one.
- Each ontological space is anchored at a specific node within the greater space of the religious complex.

In chapter 10, I demonstrate that this series of ontologies and the liminal boundaries of each can be identified within the landscape of destination. With the evidence from chapters 7 and 8 I will show that these ontologies exist to a lesser degree within parish churches, and that the informal ritual behaviour of the lay worshipper is developed within these safe spaces under the guidance of the ritual guide in the form of the parish priest and more experienced members of the community. The methodology for collecting and analysing the graffiti data used to support the landscape of destination and nested ontologies is presented I the next chapter.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This work focusses on the practices and behaviours of pilgrims as they enter places of Medieval Christian religious power and move on to encounter the divine at the heart of these spaces, frequently in the form of shrines and reliquaries. Little has been written on this area, and existing publications focus principally on the limited written accounts by members of the clergy, a literate elite minority, and the allegorical works of fiction found in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and the associated Tale of Beryn.

Previous academic studies into the nature of pilgrimage have focused on the journey and landscape around pilgrimage, from the seminal works of Turner (Turner, 1974, 1979, 2008) and the challenges laid down by Sallnow (Eade and Sallnow, 1991) to the recent works of Candy (Candy, 2009) and Locker (Locker, 2015). As such whilst they have looked at the sensorial and experiential interaction between pilgrims and their surroundings, they have not examined the destination.

As discussed in chapter 1, this work looks at that landscape of destination. It asks what happened once pilgrims arrive at the place of worship and veneration that was both goal and mid-point in their journey, and what evidence of this activity remains.

To study this activity, it is necessary to understand the ritual behaviours that underpinned the practice and the material doings that are left behind. As such, studies have been undertaken at a number of sites to construct a data set through which to interrogate the theoretical assumptions presented in chapter 3 above: specifically, that a person approaching a religious establishment does so through interaction with a landscape of destination, a place that is the goal of the journey, be that a formal pilgrimage to a location such as Salisbury Cathedral or attending a parish church to conduct practice outside normal worship. This study has focussed on recording the graffiti inscriptions left behind by worshippers and pilgrims over the lifetime of the cathedrals and churches. These have been analysed against records of pilgrimage and other studies of religious behaviour and applied to a theoretical model for the operation of a series of nested ontologies and the liminal boundaries within the religious centre that allowed pilgrims to traverse from one realm to

the next, gaining on each transition a closer connection to the saint represented by the shrine or reliquary.

This study has required data to be gathered on the graffiti evidence using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The nature and form of the graffito can in some cases be used to tell us what the inscriber was attempting to achieve, whilst the geospatial positioning of the symbols combined with a landscape approach to the pilgrimage sites can be used to develop an understanding of the positioning of gatherings of individuals, and, in association with historic records of the locations of altars, relics and other church furnishings, provide evidence for activity within the buildings.

4.2   The nature of historic graffiti as data

There have been a limited number of studies into historic graffiti. The most notable are the work of Violet Pritchard (Pritchard, 1967), Doris Jones-Baker (Jones-Baker, 1993, 2005), and most recently Matthew Champion (Champion, 2015). Much of the work done by Pritchard and Jones-Baker has been called into question by the growing body of evidence generated through various community archaeology projects that are conducting mass surveys of the graffiti found in the churches, cathedrals and other historic buildings that stand within the counties of England.

The county-based studies have shown that the survival of these symbols is far more common that either Pritchard or Jones-Baker suggested, and that their specific meanings are far harder to interpret that was implied, particularly by Jones-Baker (Jones-Baker, 2005). This study, though, is less concerned with the interpretation of individual symbols and as such, attempts to do so have been kept to a minimum except where specific symbols can be clearly understood to be connected to particular liturgical or cultic practices, for example, the creation of symbols commonly associated with the Marian cult.

The graffiti that are of interest in this study are predominantly inscribed into the stone surfaces of historic buildings, and in particular the walls of churches and other religious establishments. It is of note, however, that similar inscribed marks can be located on most surviving secular buildings of the same period, and are particularly prevalent in barns, castles, and city gates.

Religious graffiti was made predominantly by the laity, not the clergy, with little to no evidence of graffiti being found in the area of the chancel and choir of most churches. This paucity of material is contrasted heavily in the surveys of cathedrals, where the laity was permitted access into the choir, particularly in locations/spaces where pilgrimage was undertaken (Ingram, 2015; Scott, 2018).

The pattern of graffiti deposition in most buildings would appear to comply with the broken-window ideology (Wilson and Kelling, 1982), whereby it is asserted that damage attracts damage, in this case graffiti would attract graffiti. However, following Bloch's (2019) assessment, that the deposition of graffiti is not indicative of a discordant societal breakdown but a marker of communication and identity, this theory breaks down. Graffiti were deposited sparsely across all surfaces but cluster in prominent locations that cannot be hidden. The graffiti-making activity was clearly tolerated, if not overtly permitted, as graffiti were not covered over with new plaster and paint; this is evidenced due to their generally respecting the boundaries of neighbouring marks. If this was an act undertaken in denial of authority or heavily policed against, we would expect to find marks predominantly in hidden areas or as a general spread without specific concentration in visible locations. It would also be likely that the marks would be covered over and therefore over-cutting and reuse of already marked space would be more common.

The deposition of marks in such open and visible locations and their concentrated in such patterns makes evident that another behavioural force is in effect. Where people were gathering or spending time for any purpose is where they were most likely to leave their mark. Therefore, rather than the cliched statement that graffiti attract graffiti, it is more appropriate to consider that people attract graffiti. The deposition of the graffiti is a direct result of, and therefore evidence for, the gathering of individuals. The purpose of the deposition of these graffiti will be subject to further discussion within this work.

There are as many forms of interpretation as there are forms of graffiti mark at present. Many of the marks are understood to be apotropaic, particularly Marian marks, compass-drawn marks, and crosses. When placed on domestic buildings, particularly around openings such as doors, windows and fire surrounds, that was indeed their intended purpose (Hoggard, 2019). However, the significant increase in deposition and formation of these marks, and their frequent clustering into concentrations within religious structures, points to an alternative interpretation. Their use within churches and other religious spaces

has been interpreted as related to prayer-making (Champion, 2015), and it is this religious use of the marks that is of interest to this study. As will be discussed in detail below some of these religious prayer-making graffiti are overt in form such as the Marian marks and Christograms that are deposited all over churches and in some secular structures (Hoggard, 2019: 87-90) but other graffiti are less clearly religious in nature. Graffiti of a devotional nature has also been identified in Egypt where it is connected to Christian and pre-Christian pilgrimage activity along the Nile (Emberling and Davis, 2019b). This identification of the graffiti as religiously devotional is based on the location of morphology of the marks (Emberling and Davis, 2019a). Given the diversity of marks in terms of dates, locations, and context/interpretation, it is therefore important to identify those marks that relate to pilgrimage-type activities, and to be able to distinguish these from the background noise of the general distribution. It is within this religious / non-religious nature of the graffiti that the theoretical principles of ritual doing become essential. The ability of the marks to operate as both a religious ritual object and a secular mark facilitates their use.

In terms of chronology, the graffiti evidence within historic sites is frequently of multiple dates, covering a range of time from the construction of the building to the modern. My observations of marks within bell-ringers' rooms and later, clock rooms, demonstrates a continuation of practice through time, often well past the Reformation and into the early modern period. There are also marks that evidence continuation of the practice into the modern era, with dates common amongst these, as well as marks known to have been made by present members of the church. The marks that are of interest for this study are those that can be located within the Middle Ages, with a cut-off point at the English Reformation. It is more common to identify the chronology of marks that are clearly not from the period of interest than that of those that are; therefore, there must be a process of eliminating those marks in later script forms, containing dates or symbols that were not in use during the period, such as hearts.

The context of marks can be as significant as their form. Marks could have multiple identities and functions based on their location and intent of placement. Marks that are secular in origin may be seen as related to religious pilgrimage-type activity when added to a panel in conjunction with many religious marks. However, it is also possible for them to operate as doings, as discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 3.5), and as such, to attain

their own ritual meaning within religious practice. These panels can be in any location that relates to the religious or pseudo-religious activities within the space.

As important as the context is the space that graffiti occupy. A panel in a barn or on a secular entrance does not represent any specific religious or pilgrimage activity; however, when a graffito is placed in context with other marks to create a panel, and these are in a physical space that contains, permits, or is operated in a manner that permits religious activity, these marks as individuals and as panels acquire a new level of agency. They become elements of pilgrimage-type activity, and focus on the nexus points of that activity, such as shrines, altars, tombs and reliquaries or places where significant life-course activities took place, such as church porches and entrances. The methodology presented here has been designed to facilitate this multifaceted data set. A series of marks that have been generated over a prolonged period rather than as a specific single event. This provides the ability to understand the data as a continuing practice be behaviour and belief rather than as an incident of accidental or random deposition. The distribution of the graffiti within each site has been established through the use of panels and the establishment of kernel density maps to assess the relative density of those panels and their nearness to one another. The data was entered and processed as geostatistical data within ArcGIS 10.7 utilising the integrated geospatial analytical processing tools within the Geographical Information System maps generated for each site studied.

4.3   Recording methodologies

Previous studies of Medieval graffiti have utilised a number of methods, which each have advantages and disadvantages. Recent studies have relied heavily on photographic surveys (Champion, 2014, 2015; Hiscott, 2015; Ingram, 2015, 2016). These have resulted in a process that records each symbol individually and leads to a tendency to regard the symbols as isolated forms rather than an assemblage. Other studies, particularly earlier work (Pritchard, 1967; Jones-Baker, 2005; Hiscott, 2015), utilised rubbings and direct tracing, both methods that require the application of writing media directly to the surface. These methods, whilst producing accurate representations of the symbols, can lead to their physical erosion due to the contact and the action of drawing and rubbing. However, they do have the advantage of preserving in many cases the direct physical relationship between individual symbols and their neighbours.

In looking for a process that preserves the best of these methods while mitigating the negative impacts, this study has drawn more widely on recording methods from other archaeological fields. The recording of petroglyphs and pictographs, utilised in the study of prehistoric rock art, has yielded potential methods for recording a similar body of material. In such studies (e.g. Simek *et al.*, 2012), a mixed recording method is utilised, which views the inscribed and applied art as connected panels. Each of these panels is then recorded photographically and sketched without directly applying any media to the surface. This provides both a photographic and interpretative record of the symbols.

The photographic methods available for such recording comprise: photography under raking light; Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI); photogrammetry; and panoramic image construction. Each of these methods has benefits and drawbacks. Raking light and RTI provide good recordings and reproduction of individual incised marks but are time-consuming and require multiple people to conduct successfully. There are also challenges in generating good RTI records from curved surfaces. Photogrammetry provides good three-dimensional models of surfaces, but again it is time-consuming to undertake and requires expensive software to produce the final model. It is also difficult to trace the marks from the model that is generated. Constructed panoramic images provide the whole-surface model that can be generated using photogrammetry, but can be generated much more rapidly, and using an automated tripod head can produce clean images with minimal processing artifacts. Tracing the resulting flattened image is quick and easy, providing a clean depiction of the graffiti panels. The underlying raw images can subsequently be processed into a photogrammetric model if required.

The data generated within this study was recorded using a mix of raking light and constructed panoramic images using a Nikon D750 with a 24-85mm Nikor lens as raw images and converted to JPG format using Adobe Bridge. For the panoramic constructs, the camera was mounted on a GigaPan Epic Pro and the images compiled using Microsoft Image Composite Editor. For the raking light images and external LED constant light source was used for illumination of the subjects and the camera was mounted on a static tripod. In all cases the graffiti was traced using Corel Draw. This choice provided the ability to record large panels within structures where space permitted, and to record individual marks where space was not sufficient for setting up the equipment required for the panorama.

4.4 Methodology of analysis: Mark Identification and Interpretation

Analysis of the data begins with the identification of the marks, panels and landscapes that are of interest to the study. Each of these decisions is informed by the definition of pilgrimage graffiti and the presumed intent behind the creation of those marks.

In understanding any collection of marks and designs, it is essential to establish a base-line typology that can be utilised to characterise and classify the findings. In line with the practices established within rock art typologies (Von Petzinger, 2016) and other forms of communicative ritual art (Morphy, 1991), graffiti have been categorised in a manner that allows families of marks to be identified and interpreted as connected entities rather than as individual elements. By these means, it is possible to understand how marks developed from the familiar to the stylised, and to understand that many of these marks are directly connected to the religious and secular imagery that would have been commonly visible in the frescos and decoration of churches, as well as in the badges, insignia and influences of the secular world (Jones, 2002). The marks have been primarily categorised as those of religious origin (Figure 1) and those of a secular origin (Figure 2). Within the secular group, I have included the masons' and construction marks, as these are secular in purpose and relate directly to the construction and development of the space rather than its subsequent religious use.

Graffiti typology table 1

Type									
Cross 1									
Cross 2									
Compass Drawn 1									
Compass Drawn 2									
Votive									
Marian									
Apotropaic									
Star									
Pelta									
Memorial									

Figure 1. Historic graffiti typology part 1: mark of a religious origin

Graffiti typology table 2

Architectural							
Ship							
Heraldic							
Martial							
Music							
Anthropomorphic							
Masons' marks							
Construction marks							
Merchants' marks							
Merels							
Grid							

Figure 2 Historic graffiti typology par 2: Marks of a secular origin

With marks identified as religious or non-religious in origin, it becomes possible to start differentiating those that are relevant to this study from those that are not. Primarily the marks of a religious origin can be connected to acts of faith such as veneration of saints at shrines and side altars; by contrast, marks of a secular origin are usually unrelated to such practices. However, this is not a simple, clear division as the marks can bear multiple functions and meanings. The most significant indicator of function is the positioning of the marks. Where a secular mark is placed in close proximity to a location that has the potential to radiate a religious presence, and particularly when a secular mark is found in conjunction with a panel that is constituted from marks of predominantly religious origin, the secular mark becomes a probable doing. In such circumstances, the secular mark becomes connected to the religious and ritual activities that were undertaken in the area.

4.4.1   Identification of panels

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter (4.2), the dating of specific marks is difficult. This, however, does not prevent the identification of marks and panels within this study. The panels discussed in subsequent chapters were defined due to the locations of mark clusters and their relationship to their architectural context, not because they comprise directly connected, related marks. The panels are used for analytical purposes, allowing graffiti to be discussed in relation to their location, such as on specific columns, tombs, or bays.

This, however, does not mean that the marks do not share any interconnectedness or relationship to one another. Whilst many of the marks respect the boundaries of the other graffiti around them, some overcut each other. In these cases, it becomes possible to establish the order of creation of these marks, and this can be used as a guide to the deposition process of the panels.

In other cases, it is possible to identify later processes of redressing the stone surface or replastering and repainting the walls. In the case of redressed walls, the marks usually appear shallow, and are often difficult to see without careful survey. It is often evident that the redressing of the surface overcuts the marks rather than the marks cutting through the surface that the dressing comb leaves behind, resulting in much cleaner edges to the marks. Where the surface has been replastered and repainted, the graffito marks become filled

with the later plaster. When this is removed, either by modern restoration and cleaning or simply by accidental loss, the residue of the plaster frequently remains within the graffito marks, showing them in a different colour to the rest of the surface. Through the examination of the church records, it can be possible to understand the latest probable date by which the graffiti marks were produced.

These three different methods of identifying palimpsest within graffiti deposition – over-cutting, surface redressing, surface replastering – allow for a structured understanding of the deposition practice. Therefore, panels can be interpreted in a way that allows marks that are apparently related to each other to be analysed in order to understand whether there is a temporal relationship in their creation or whether they are temporally distant despite their apparent physical relationship.

4.4.2   Distribution within the built landscape

Based on the theoretical structures that underpin this work, it is important to establish the nature of the distribution patterns that are expected to occur within the recorded graffiti and the spaces that they occupy. As such, this section includes a series of standardised and simplified diagrams of churches and the possible distribution patterns that could be expected to be present within them. In each case, the areas marked in blue represent altars, shrines, or other points of religious significance. The areas highlighted in pink represent the geographic distribution of graffiti marks based on the spatial nearness of the marks to one another.

The first two figures (Figure 3 & Figure 4) depict negative findings. Figure 3 shows a situation where no graffiti marking has been recorded. This is most common in flint-built churches. In such locations, the internal surface is likely to have been plastered, and as such, with the removal of the plaster any graffiti that was deposited has been lost with that surface. Figure 4 in contrast shows an even distribution of graffiti across the interior surface of the structure. This would represent a location where no differentiation was identified within the space by its users and occupants, and therefore no nodal points were generated. In either case, it would be clear, either that there is no evidence of activity taking place, or that the activity shows no significant clustering, and therefore demonstrates no specific behaviour patterns detectable around any of the possible nodal points. If this result was gained for most locations studied, it would imply that the

hypothesis – that graffito marks represent meaningful moments of interaction within a landscape of pilgrimage destination – is incorrect, and that the study would need to be re-examined.
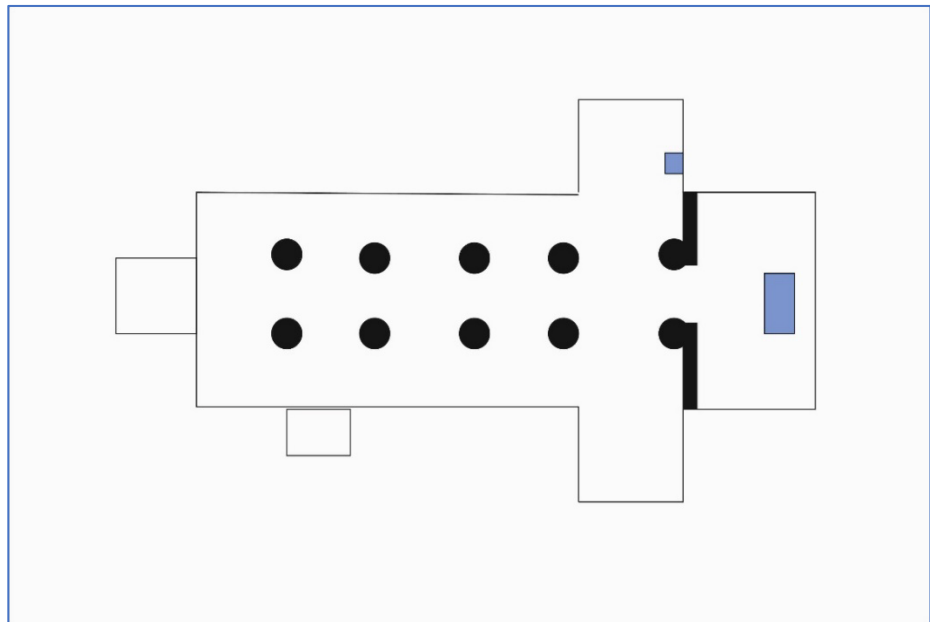

Figure 3 Proposed model of clustering of marks where no graffiti are present.
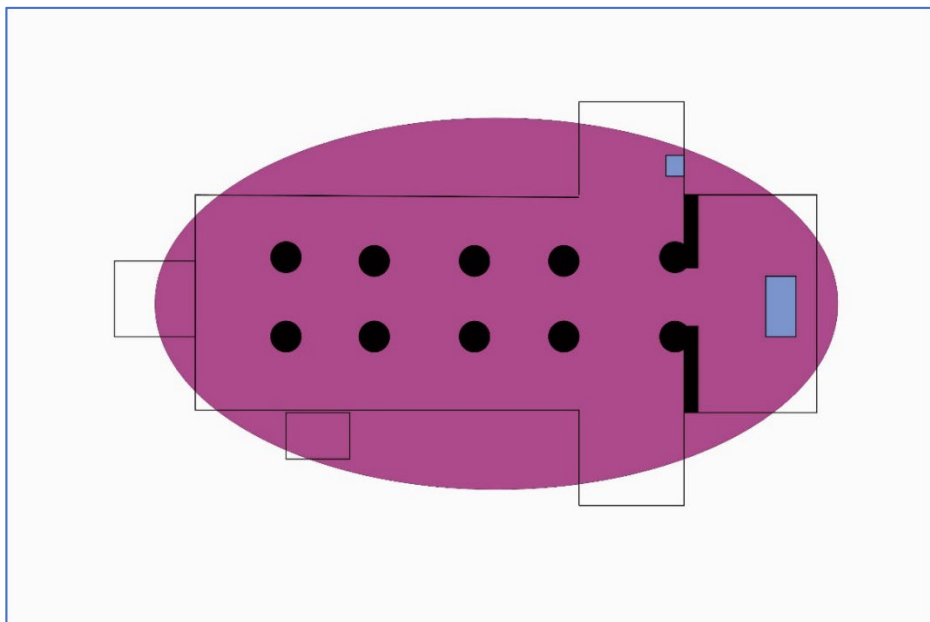

Figure 4 Proposed model of clustering of marks where an even distribution of graffiti occurs across the structure

By contrast, the patterns shown in the remaining figures depict potential expected outcomes (Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7 & Figure 8). In each case the data would demonstrate that there is a significant grouping of evidence for activity in the form of collected graffiti deposition.

Figure 5 demonstrates the concentration within the distribution of graffiti that would be expected around an entrance, where activity is focused there. This would be indicative of the type of informal activity that would be expected in relation to religious and ritual activity within the entrance area, specifically the porch and door, holy water stoop and baptismal font that was traditionally placed close to the main congregational entrance.

Figure 6 shows the nodal formation that would be expected for activity present at the entrance, as discussed for Figure 5, and at the chancel arch, which was usually filled until the Reformation with the rood screen. This arch and screen provided the dividing point in the Medieval church between the nave and chancel, the resting place of the altar, and therefore the heart of the church and the locus for divine power within the church.

Figure 7 would be the expected nodal distribution of graffiti where significant levels of activity are seen around a single side altar or reliquary. This model presumes that the level of activity around the entrance to the church remains constant, with the new nodal point present within the church.

Figure 8 presumes that, alongside the nodal points present in Figure 7, there is an additional level of activity at the intermediary point between the entrance and the main node of the side altar. This would represent a secondary point of veneration or a gathering space that was perceived as significant in the approach to the altar.

These figures represent a limited number of possible distributions, and in larger sites it is probable that multiple nodes and intermediaries will become evident. It is important, therefore, that these are generated utilising statistical modelling to identify any significant patterns in deposition rather than relying on simple data analysis that may be misled by a general background scatter with clustering appearing within it.
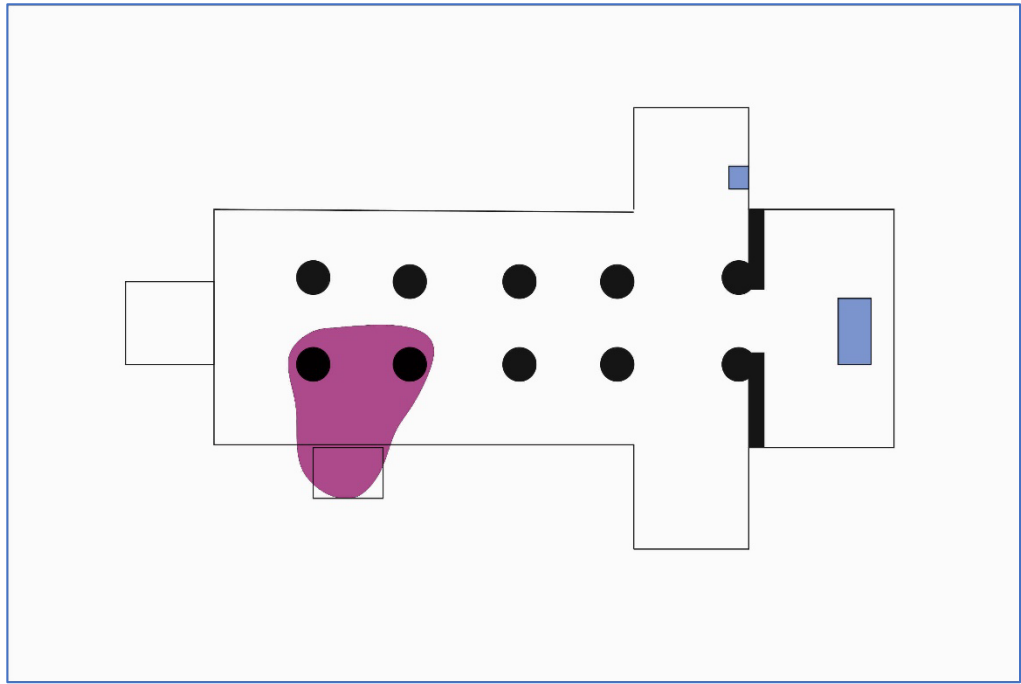
Figure 5 Proposed model of clustering of marks where graffiti is distributed within entrance area
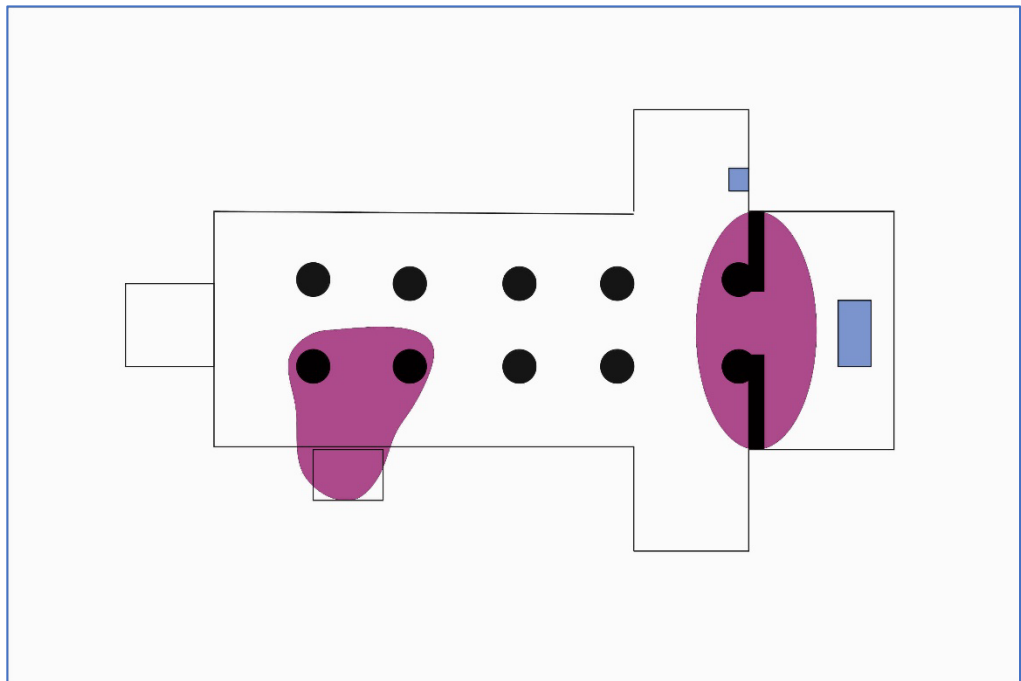
Figure 6 Proposed model of clustering of marks where graffiti is distributed within the entrance area and chancel arch
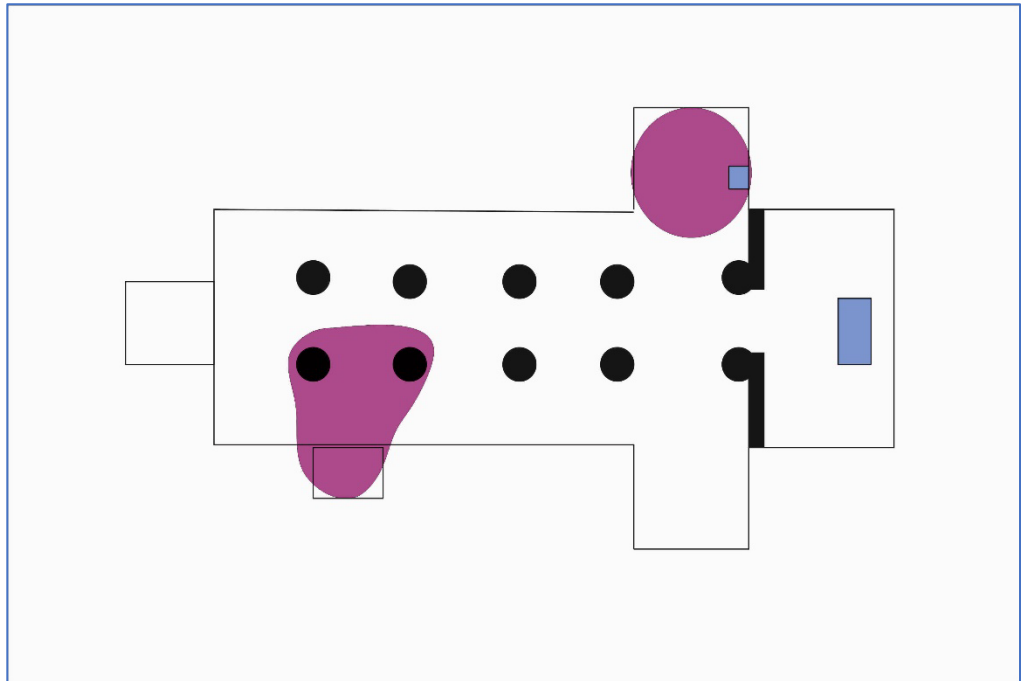
Figure 7 Proposed model of clustering of marks where graffiti is distributed within entrance area and side chapel
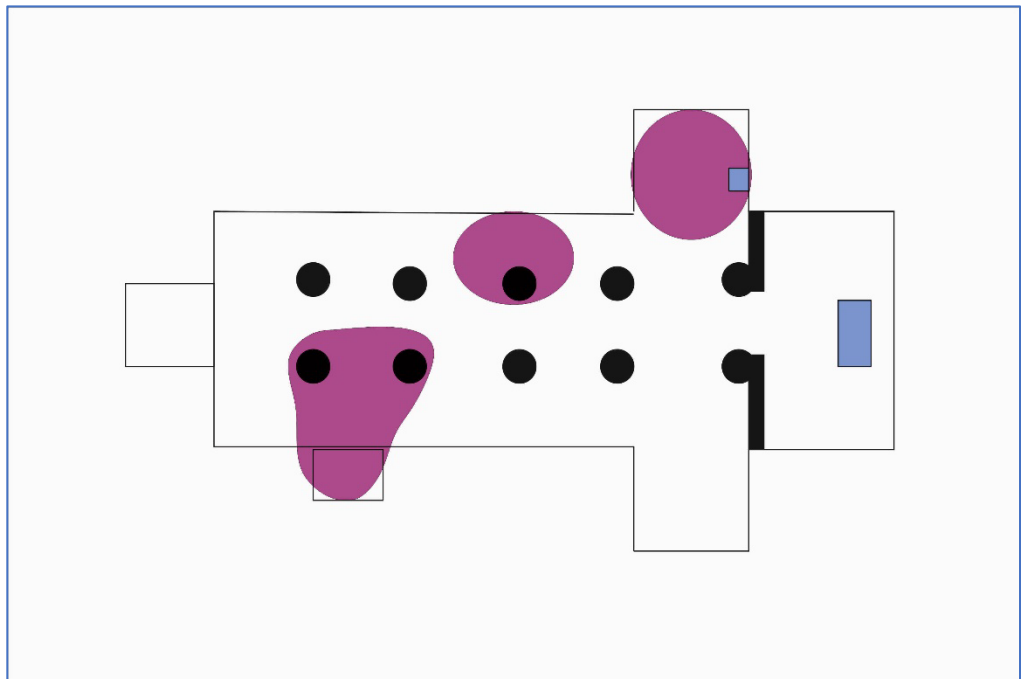

Figure 8 Proposed model of clustering of marks where graffiti is distributed within the entrance area and side chapel with intermediary interaction

4.5 Other supporting data

4.5.1 Written sources

In addition to the data generated by the graffiti survey, the limited written records detailing the actions and interactions of pilgrims on their arrival at pilgrimage centres were examined. These sources include those sections of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* that deal with the arrival at Canterbury and the progress through the cathedral, as well as contemporary accounts from *Margery Kemp* (2004), *Liber Eliensis* (Fairweather, 2005), and *The Life of Christina of Markyate* (Talbot, 2009). These written sources offer specific insights into the behaviour of people that are based around devotional activities under the guidance of the clergy and custos at sites of religious devotion. However, they also demonstrate that deviation from this was not uncommon and that personal acts of devotion were not just being undertaken but also, in the case of the *Liber Eliensis*, producing miraculous results despite the intervention of the guard at the well. We also see Christina of Markyate inscribing a personal mark during her childhood visit to St Albans and the behaviour of the pilgrims in the continuation to *Canterbury Tales* is anything but devout. We also have evidence of interdicts from bishops on the use of wells, rocks and trees for worship (Powicke and Cheney, 1964: 303,622 &722). Excerpts from some of these literary sources have been included within this thesis at the head of the related chapters. Examining the graffiti depositions in the light of these documentary accounts provides the ability to interpret the data in the context of personal practice as improvised acts of worship and engagement with the divine. These written sources offer a bridge between the material data gathered in the form of the graffito and the built landscape that it is located within, and the theoretical approach taken in chapter 9 and 10. By analysing the data and the deposition of the marks within the landscape with the practices discussed in the written sources it provides insight into way that the graffiti may have been used as a performative element within the personal practices of the worshippers.

4.5.2 Architecture

The most imposing form of material culture that relates to Medieval pilgrimage is the buildings. It is important to understand their layout and particularly the level of access granted to lay worshippers and pilgrims. As such, the landscape of these pilgrimage complexes becomes a key function of this study, and any difference in the distribution patterns and density of graffiti between those areas that were open and those that were

closed to the lay population must be taken into account. In some instances, access has changed since the end of the Middle Ages, and thus, the way the space is used has also changed; this is of particular note in parish churches where the chancel went from a closed to an open space following the Reformation.

4.5.3 Landscape approaches

As already discussed, a number of previous studies have looked at the wider landscape of the pilgrimage (Turner and Turner, 1978; Sallnow, 1981; Eade and Sallnow, 1991; Candy, 2009; Locker, 2015). Each of these was concerned with the interactions between the pilgrim and the road, route or *camino*, meaning. The focus of these studies has thus been the journey from home to the shrine site, considering the impact of the landscape and the traveller on one another, and treating the shrine as a destination, not a landscape to be examined in its own right. To explore the shrine site, the place of veneration, as a landscape, we must look further afield to the aforementioned ethnographic study of the Sri Lankan shrine complex at Katargama where the instance of ritualised behaviour has been observed and recorded (Obeyesekere, 2014).

To achieve this, a landscape model of each case-study location was generated to facilitate study of the behaviour of individuals and groups within the pilgrimage and other religious sites of southern England. The geo-referencing of graffiti panels alone would not provide sufficient information to establish or support a theoretical argument based around the movement of pilgrims without taking the landscape, albeit a confined and artificial one, into account. The sensory and environmental encounter with the space, and the movement of people through it, thus becomes central to the argument for the behaviours, practices, and actions of those people.

This landscape is the landscape of destination, the theoretical ritual landscape that exists within the geographical component of the religious establishment. This landscape of destination is the goal of the religious journey that is the pilgrimage, and it is this landscape of destination that encompasses the transformative, liminal, ritual encounter.

4.6 Conclusion

As demonstrated in section 4.4, the historic graffiti that has been identified and recorded falls into two distinct categories, secular and religious. Both categories of marks can be discovered in secular and religious structures but occur in differing frequencies. It is therefore possible to distinguish the broadly religious and ritualistic from the completely secular in nature. Many of the secular marks are also used within the confines of the religious space and may connect to the process of ritualised practice, such as in the case of ship graffiti within churches. These ships are probably connected to the process of prayer-making in seeking aid and protection for merchant vessels and ventures (Westerdahl, 2013). The use of a mark in ritual doing is connected to the practice that is being undertaken, not the secular or religious origin of the mark.

The deposition of graffiti in such a religious context becomes a key component of ritual doings, as discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 3.5). These graffiti therefore become markers for the ritual activity with which this work is concerned, in particular the process of prayer. The distribution of those graffiti marks thus becomes a marker for the presence of people conducting personal ritual activity as a part of an improvised ritual of engagement. Placing the graffito into the realms of ritual doings allows them to be analysed as material components of the ritual activity and tied directly to that ritual. As such, the marks become empowered with the ritual activity of the prayer, which allows them to function as ritual markers and agents generated through the secondary agency granted by the individual enacting the ritual as they pray. As agents, the marks sit alone and as a collective, and as such they generate their agency into the space that they occupy. Assessing the marks as agents facilitates understanding of the nature of the empowerment of the space through which people move and allows an analysis of the landscape and the subsequent behaviour of the people moving through it.

By understanding that the religious space represents a separate ontology from the secular world around it, there is a need to navigate the movement between these ontologies. This can be identified and understood by looking at the graffiti that are ritual doings, and the agential nature of those marks. Assessing these marks, and in particular the panels that have been identified, makes possible the interpret the nature of the space/built landscape more widely. This allows the development of the concept of nested ontologies, and the need to navigate between these within the landscape of destination that can be found within

the built environment of the religious space. I will now move on to look at the specific sites outlined in chapter 1, detailing the data collected at each and discussing the specific nature of graffiti within the built landscape of each.

5   Site 1: Southampton Bargate – A secular entrance

5.1   Southampton Bargate: location and history

The Bargate is located within the city of Southampton on the south coast of England (Figure 9). Originally constructed as one of the main gates into the early town and port and the principal entrance on the road from Winchester, it is located on the northernmost landward side, close to the historic site of the port area. As such, it would have been a prominent entrance to the Medieval city for high levels of both mercantile and domestic traffic of all kinds, before becoming a curiosity in the later city and a historical monument in the modern city. The gate structure houses an upper story that served as the guildhall, borough court of justice and jail. As such, it stands as a good representation of a secular entrance as well as a space for meetings and non-religious ritual such as judicial proceedings, incarcerations, and executions. The most notable of these were the executions of Richard of Conisburgh, 3rd Earl of Cambridge, Henry Scrope, 3rd Baron Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey, who were executed at the Bargate in 1415 as a result of the Southampton Plot against Henry V (Peberdy, 1961).

The Bargate (Figure 10) was originally constructed during the late 12th and early 13th century, with the towers added by the early 1320s and the hall on the first floor built by 1440; mention is also made at this time of the Bargate jail (Page, 2021). Subsequent alterations saw postern gates, now blocked up, cut through on either side of the main arch in the late 18th century, and the central roadway being sunken in the 20th century to provide headroom for trams (Page, 2021).

As a town gate, Southampton Bargate is a secular entrance. The entrance is liminal in nature as it separates the town within from the rest of the world without. However, there was little in the way of personal ritual engagement within its space though there may have been some limited personal ritual activity as people uttered prayers for blessings as they passed through the entrance. The gate is a controlled entrance rather than a controlling entrance exerting little agency over those who pass through it. It was policed and guarded, taxation collected and, for some of its history, justice dealt from it. These are all processes overseen by individuals who could be viewed as ritual guides in the form of the guard, the judge, or the tax collector. What little personal graffiti activity there is can be seen as more functional than votive in nature: merchants' marks and stars (see below) represent

individuals actively involved with the gate, and representations of people depict the nearby maritime and judicial activities.


Figure 9. Location of Southampton Bargate (ArcMap 10.7 base map Ordnance Survey)
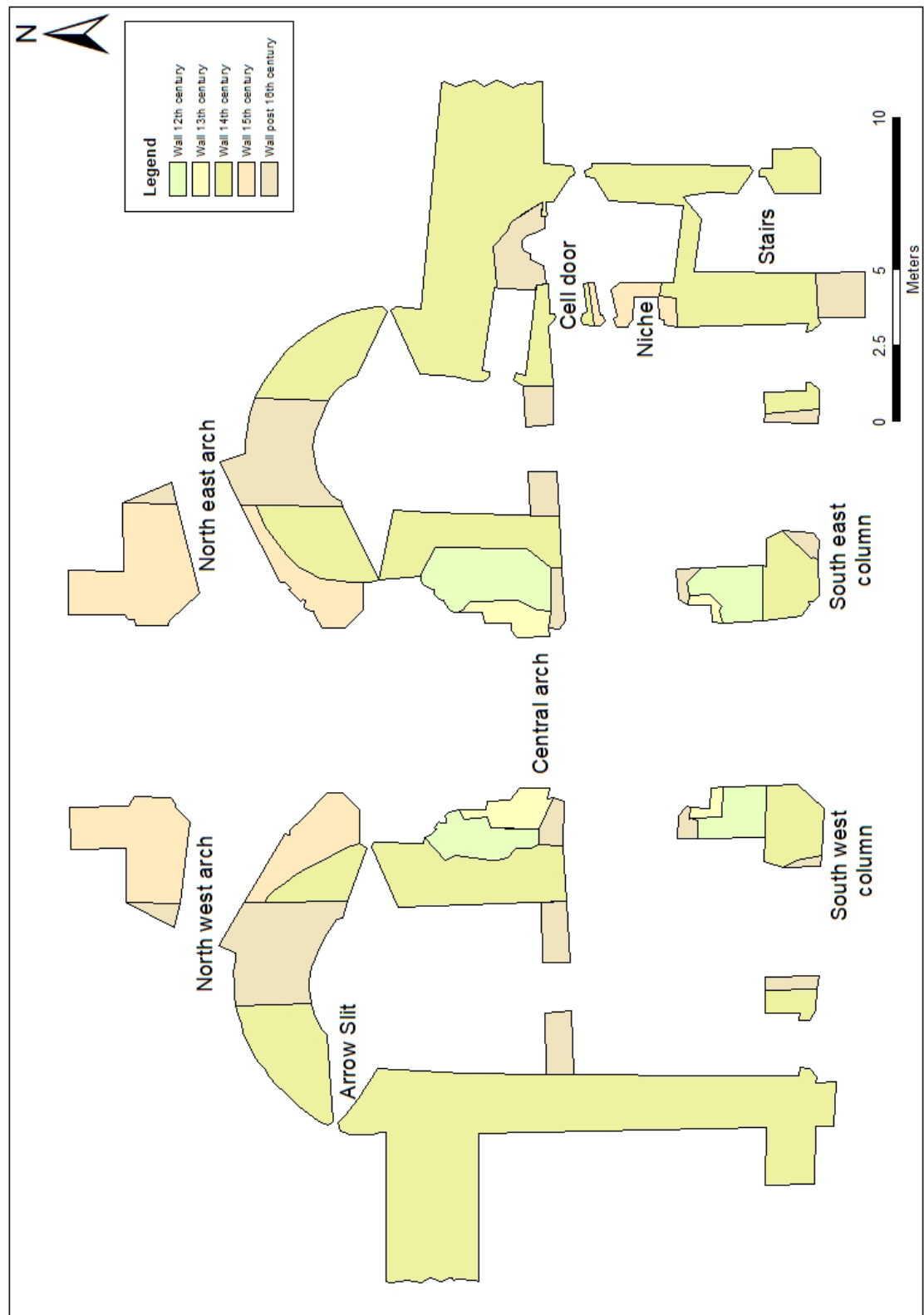
Figure 10. Southampton Bargate indicating key construction phases (author's own after Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975*)*

5.2   Graffiti deposition

The graffiti survey of Southampton Bargate was conducted alongside the Hampshire Medieval Graffiti Survey (Hampshire Field Club & Arcaheological Society, 2018). The photographic records produced during the survey have been combined into a single archive for data storage and analytic purposes.

5.2.1   Individual marks

Across the Bargate structure there are a total of 78 individual marks (Table 1); of these 14 are clearly post-Medieval (Figure 11). The majority of the remaining marks are secular, including 15 depictions of people, mostly face only (Figure 12), one ship (Figure 13) and seven merchants' marks (Figure 14). The remaining 15 marks are religious; particularly of note are the seven six-pointed stars, many of which may be in the form of a six-pointed star (Figure 15) and which are located close to the cell door.

Graffiti Type	Number of marks by location									Total
	Niche East internal	Door to "cell"	Column SE	Column SW	Central Arch	Arch NW	Arch NE	Arrow Slit NW	Stairs to upper story	
Cross 1						1			1	2
Cross 2										0
Compas Drawn 1		1								1
Compas Drawn 2		1								1
Votive										0
Marian Mark		2					1			3
Apotropaic									1	1
Star		6	1							7
Pelta										0
Memorial										0
Arcitectural										0
Ship			1							1
Heraldic		2								2
Martial										0
Music										0
Anthropomorphic	2	7	6							15
Masons Mark							4			4
Construction Mark							1			1
Merchants Mark		4	3							7
Merels										0
Grid	2	4							3	9
text				6	1				2	9
Talley								1		1
Post medieval			2		2	5		1	4	14
TOTAL - excluding post medieval	4	27	11	6	1	1	6	1	7	64

Table 1. Distribution of graffiti through Southampton Bargate by location and graffito type
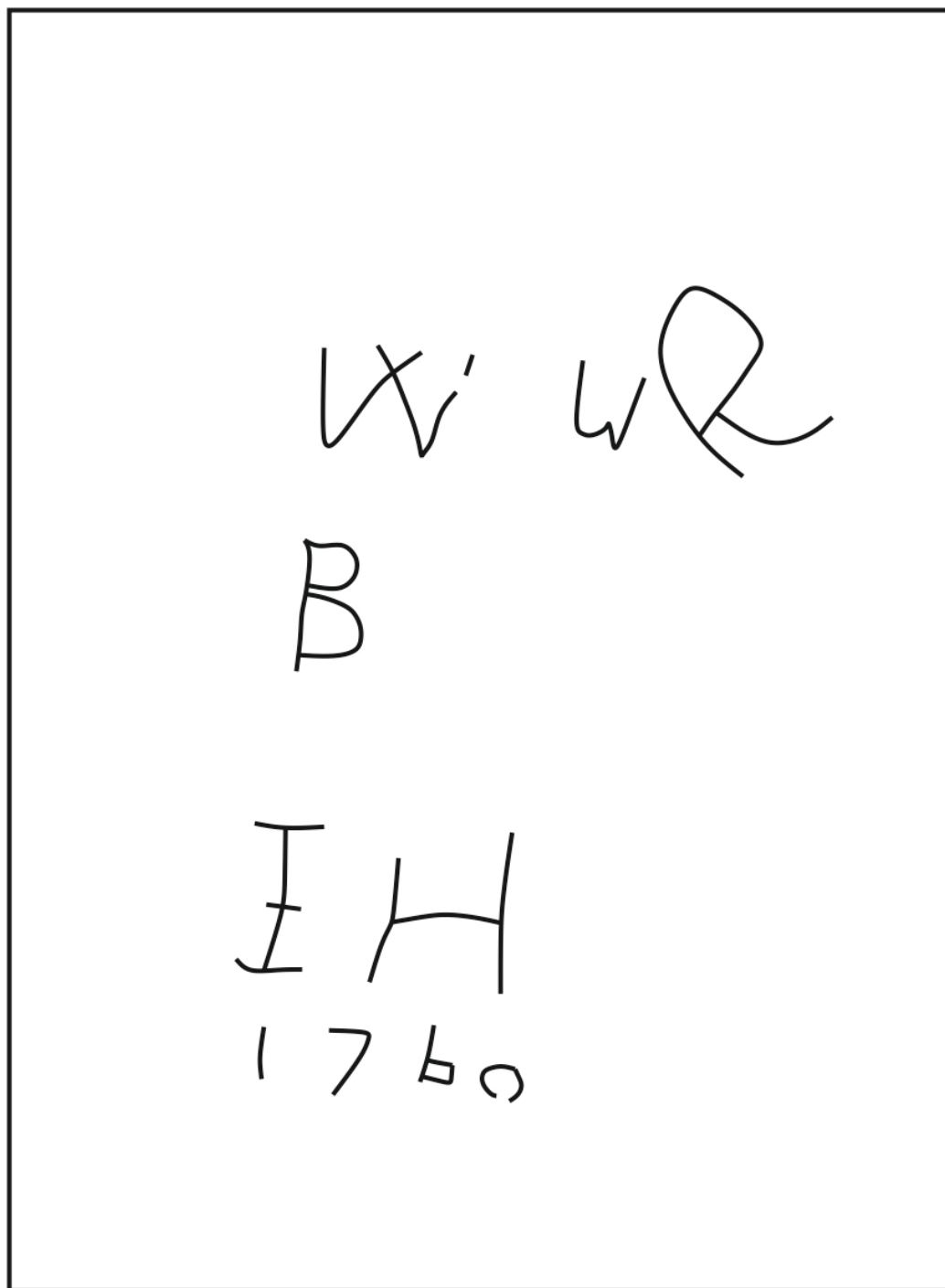
*Figure 11. Post-Medieval graffiti, on the north-west arch, Southampton Bargate (Author's own image 2018)*

*Figure 12. Representations of people, on south-east column, Southampton Bargate (Author's own image 2018)*
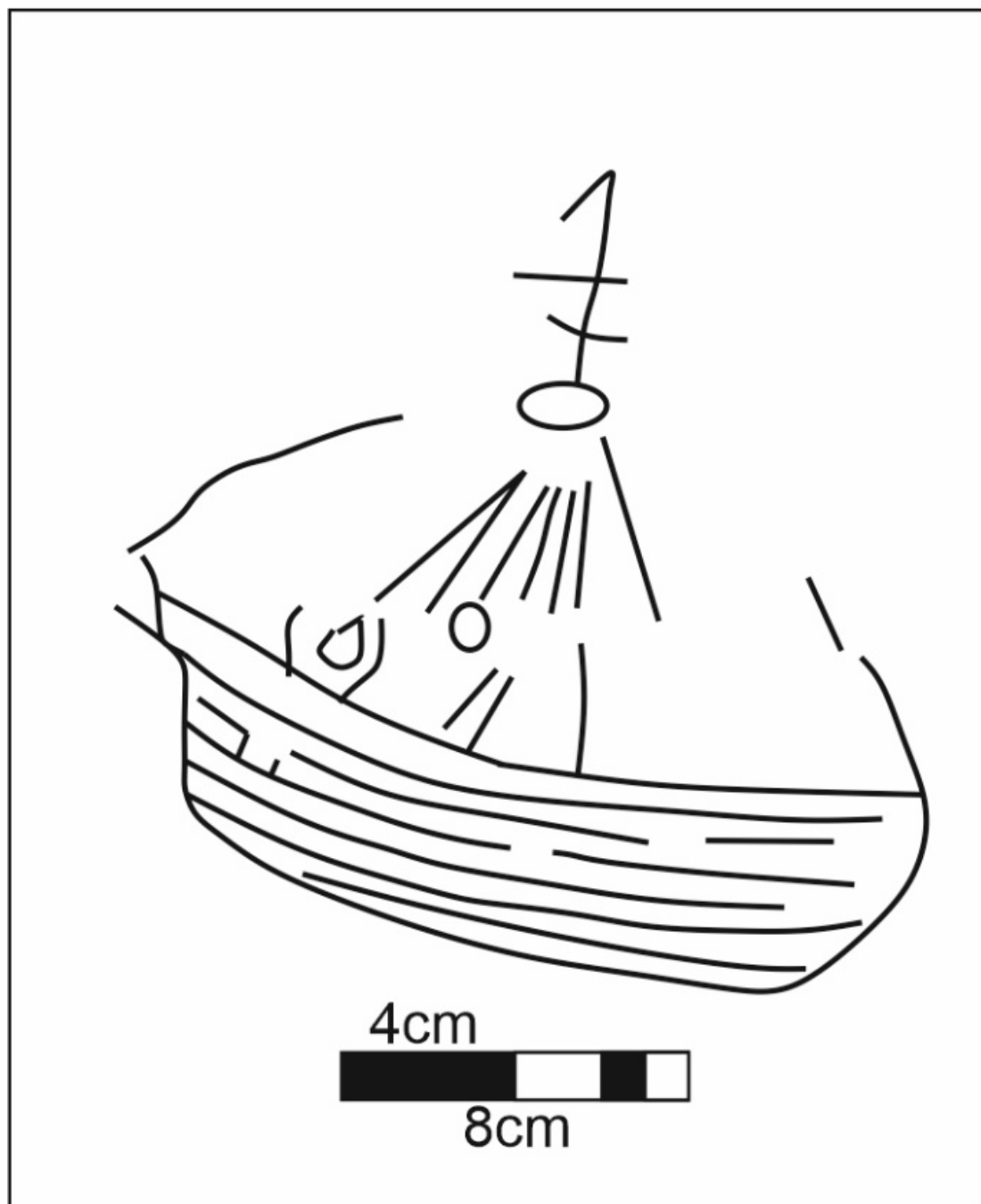
Figure 13. Representation of a ship, on south-east column, Southampton Bargate (Author's own image 2018)
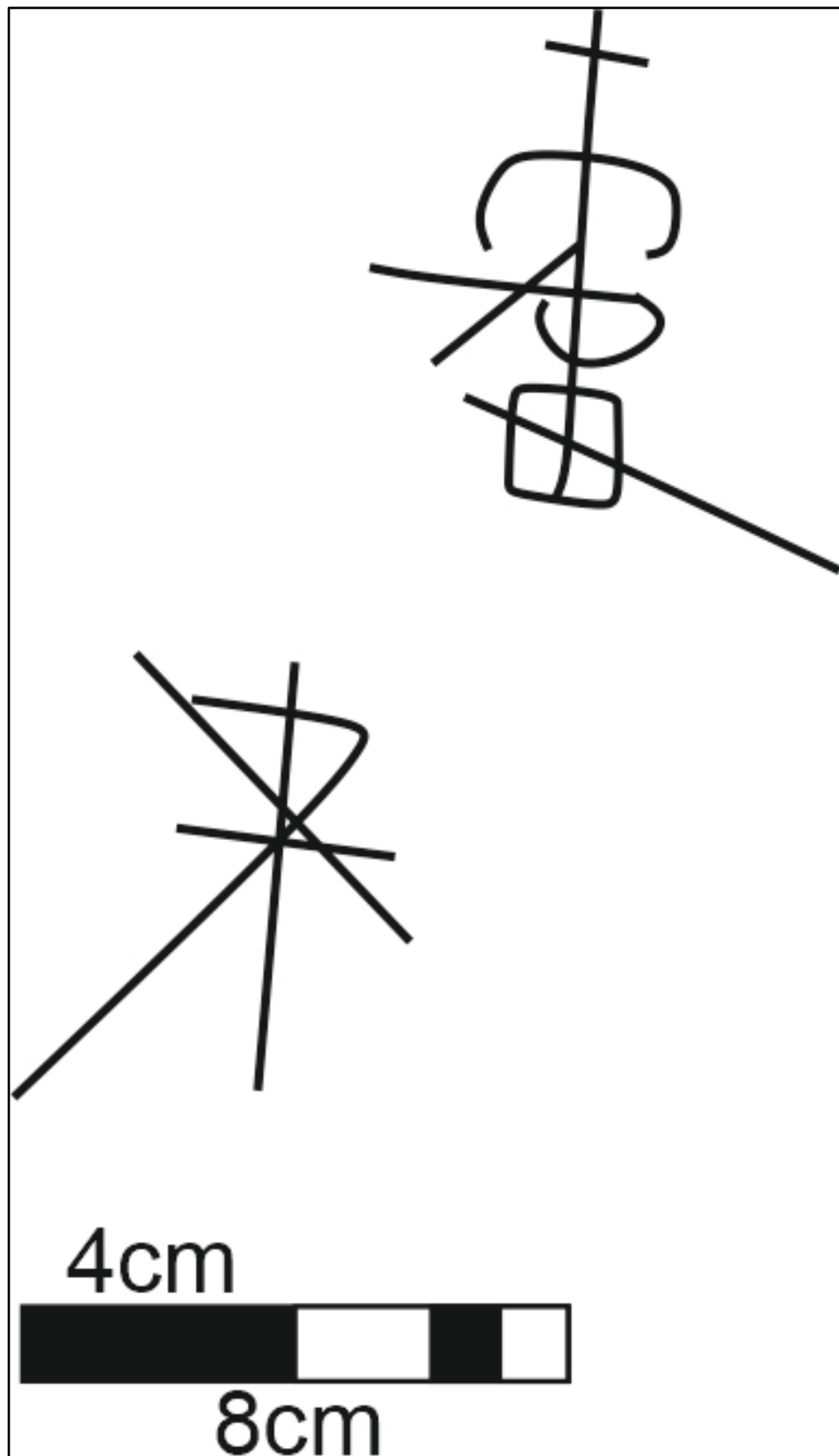
Figure 14. Merchants' marks, near cell door, Southampton Bargate (Author's own image2018)
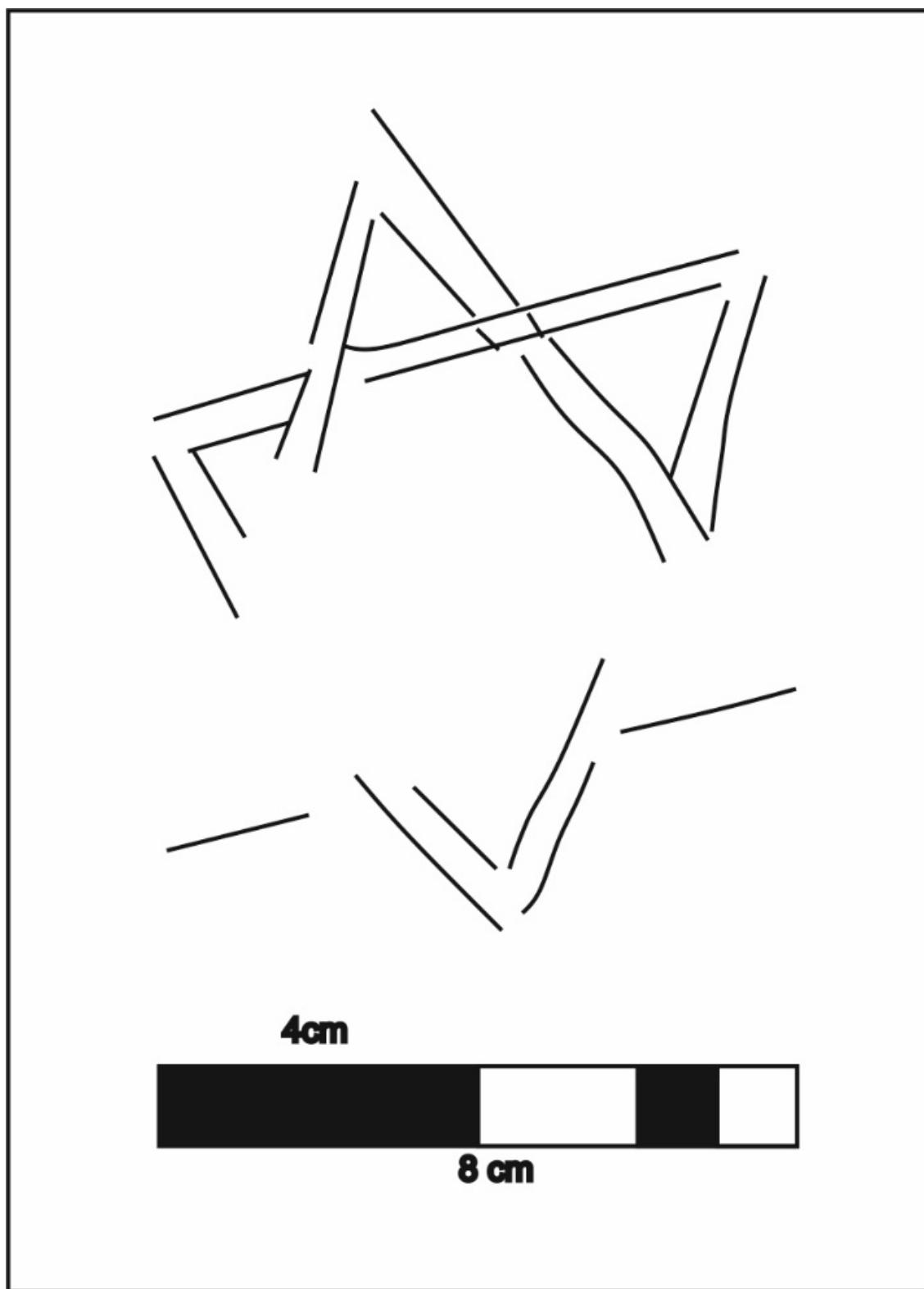
Figure 15. Possible six-pointed star, near cell door, Southampton Bargate (Author's own image 2018)

5.2.2 Panels

There are two panels of graffiti of note within the Bargate, both located on the eastern side of the structure. The first is situated on a small arch that forms a niche in the internal surface of the eastern wall of the gate. This panel depicts a scene relating to two face forms and a possible structure (Figure 16). It may refer to either a funerary process or an execution due to the appearance of a possible shrouded figure in a coffin shaped outline. The panel also contains several linear marks of unknown purpose and an I letter form, as well as what may be a crude depiction of a merchant mark.
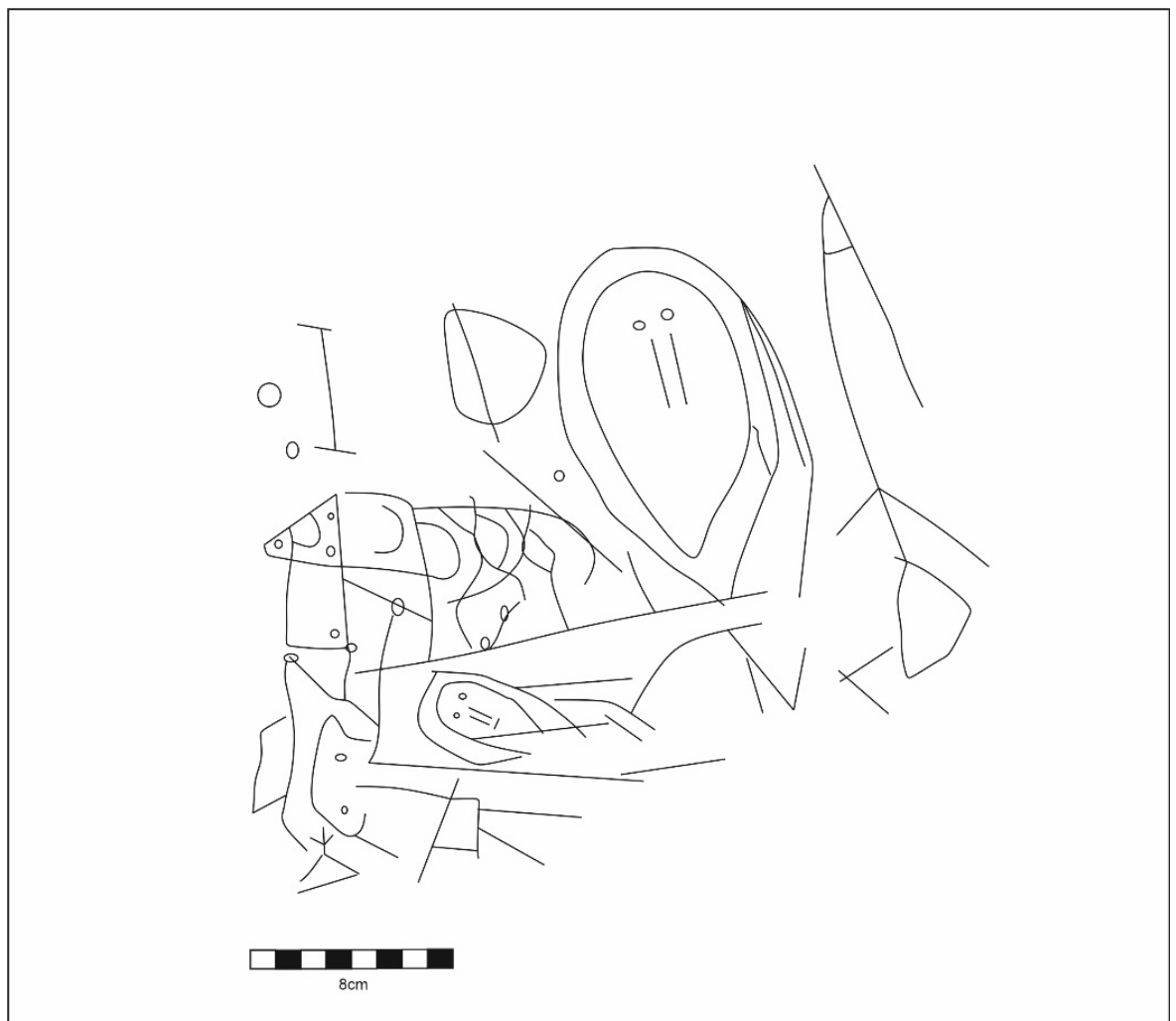
Figure 16. Image of a possible execution, Southampton Bargate, in niche, Southampton Bargate (author's own image 2018)

The second panel is located on the supporting column at the south-east corner of the main roadway through the gate. This column was probably placed to support the guildhall

structure above during the first half of the fifteenth century. The panel (Figure 17) depicts a group of ships and people as the marks rise vertically up the column. In essence, the images depict life in Medieval Southampton. The ships and people are the most noticeable aspects, particularly as they appear stylistically to be of a similar date and hand, and the full figure appears to be directly connected with the vessel below. The face below the ship hull cuts through an earlier heraldic depiction. The two merchant marks and the tally, located at the bottom of the panel, whilst not directly connected with the rest of the image, show the need to mark personal social position in mercantile Southampton and to log numbers.
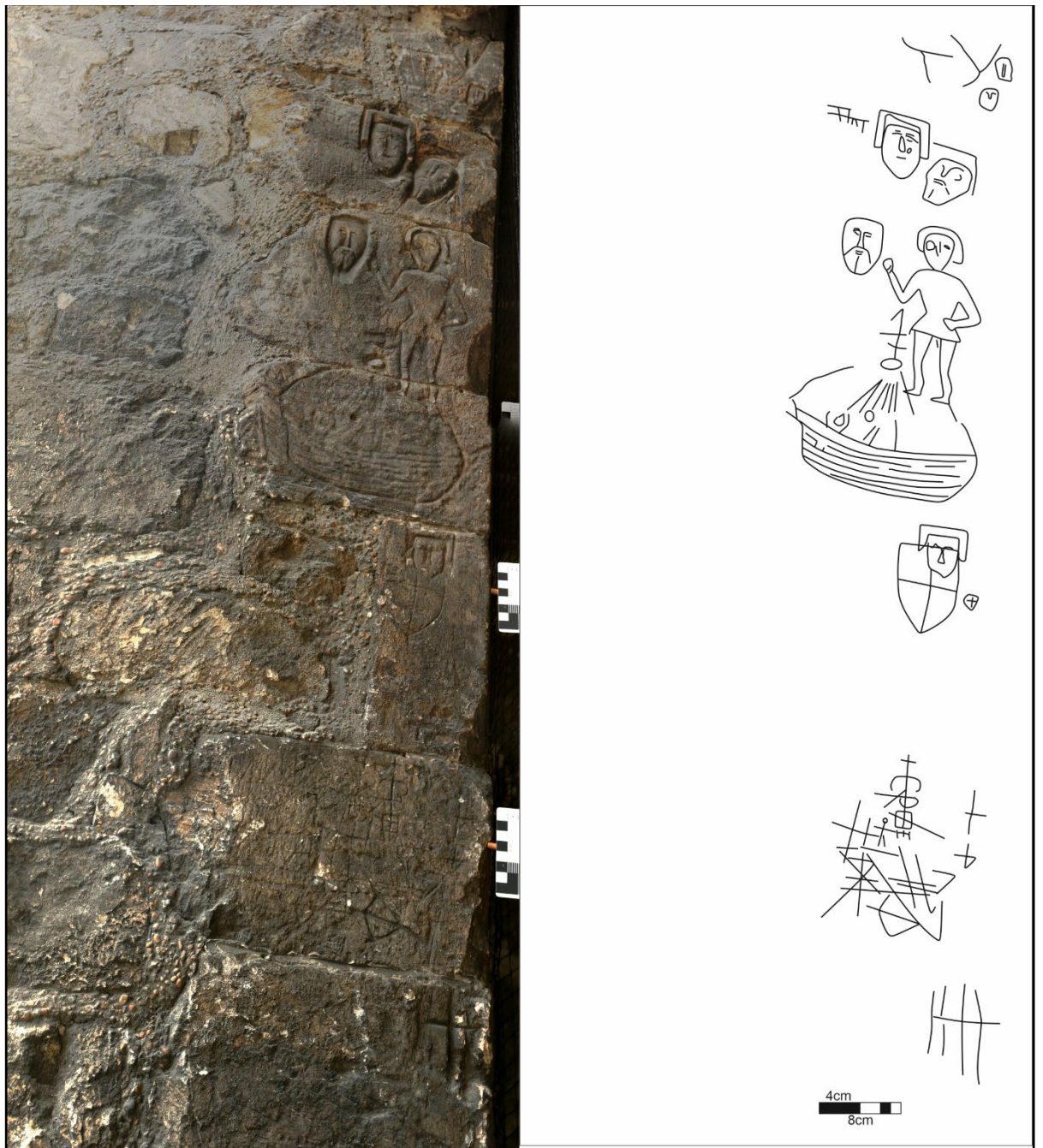
Figure 17. Panel of ships and people, on south-east column, Southampton Bargate (author's own image 2018)

5.2.3   Geospatial deposition

Having identified the marks and panels of graffiti, it is necessary to understand the deposition of these marks in relation to the built environment of the Bargate. This can be seen in the following maps (Figure 10 and Figure 18). Kernel density mapping shows the relative nearness of the marks to one another, indicated in the movement from blue (low density) to red (high density) in the colour range shown on each map. As such, it is possible to see that the density of marks varies within the panels as well as across the built landscape.

The majority of the marks can be seen close to the area presently identified as the cell. There are also concentrations around the inner (town) side of the gate, and its outermost arch. The majority of the marks round the cell entrance are stars and merchants' marks. The marks around the inner side of the entrance are predominantly anthropomorphic.

Breaking these marks down into those of religious origin (Figure 19) and those of secular origin (Figure 20), as defined in the typology presented in chapter 4 above, demonstrates that whilst there was a desire to mark the entrance with something meaningful, there was no overt requirement to use marks of a religious nature to do so. The only divergence from this is the use of religious marks close to the presumed cell door, and the fact that all of these are six-pointed stars rather than crosses suggests something other than religious devotion being the driving force behind placing these marks.
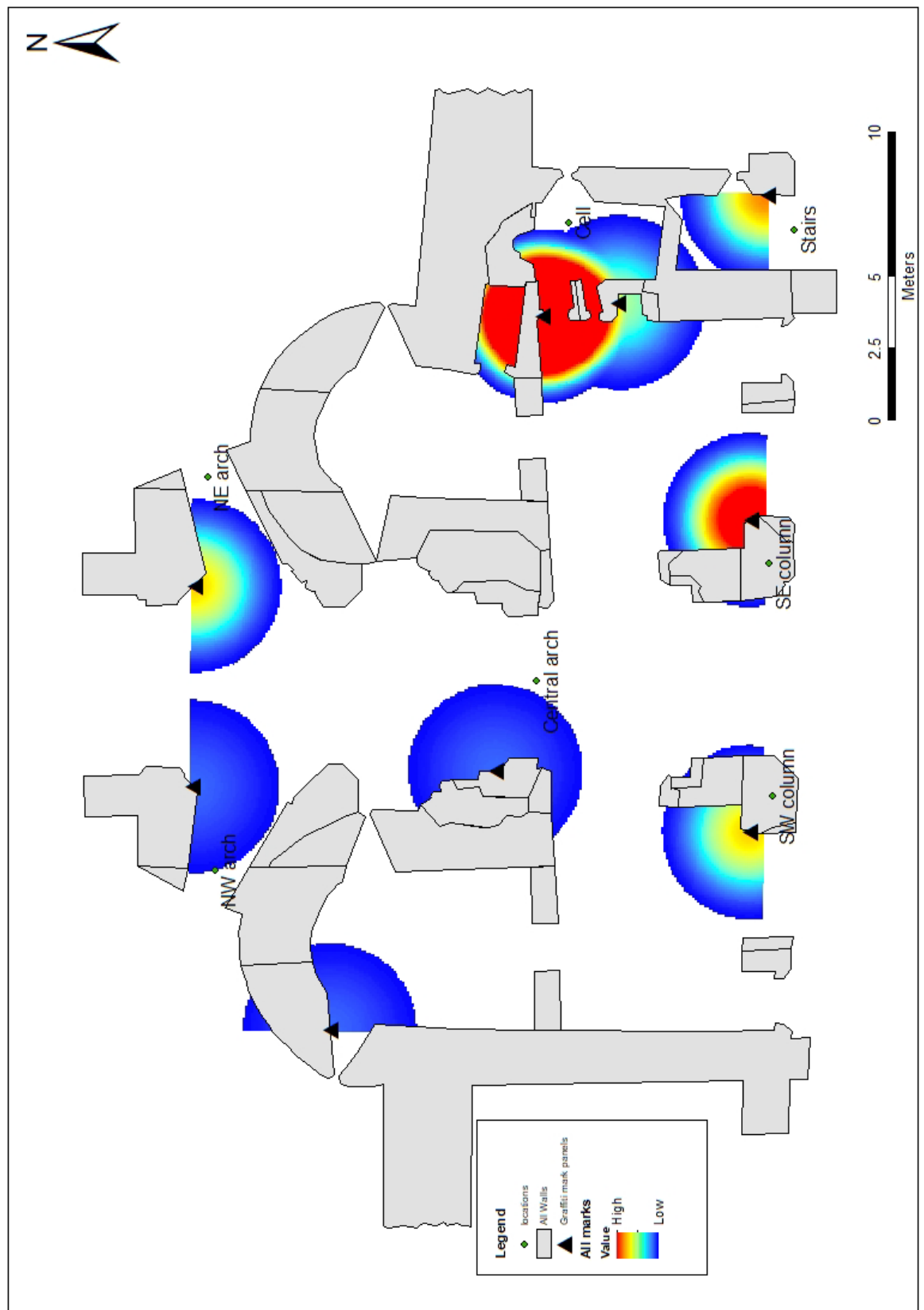
Figure 18. Distribution of graffiti within Southampton Bargate where N=64 (author's own image).
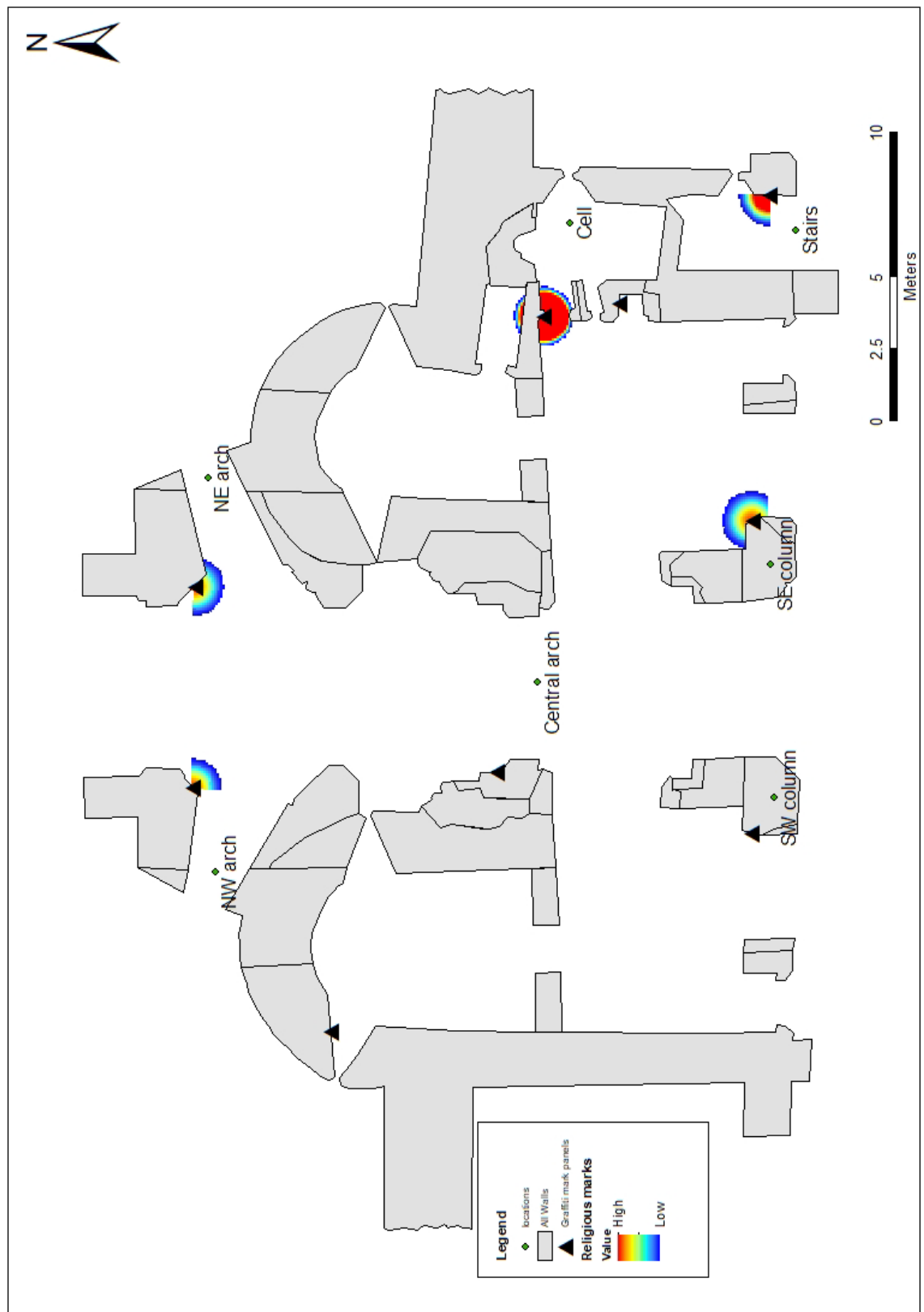
Figure 19. Distribution of graffiti marks with religious origin, Southampton Bargate where N=15 (author's own image).
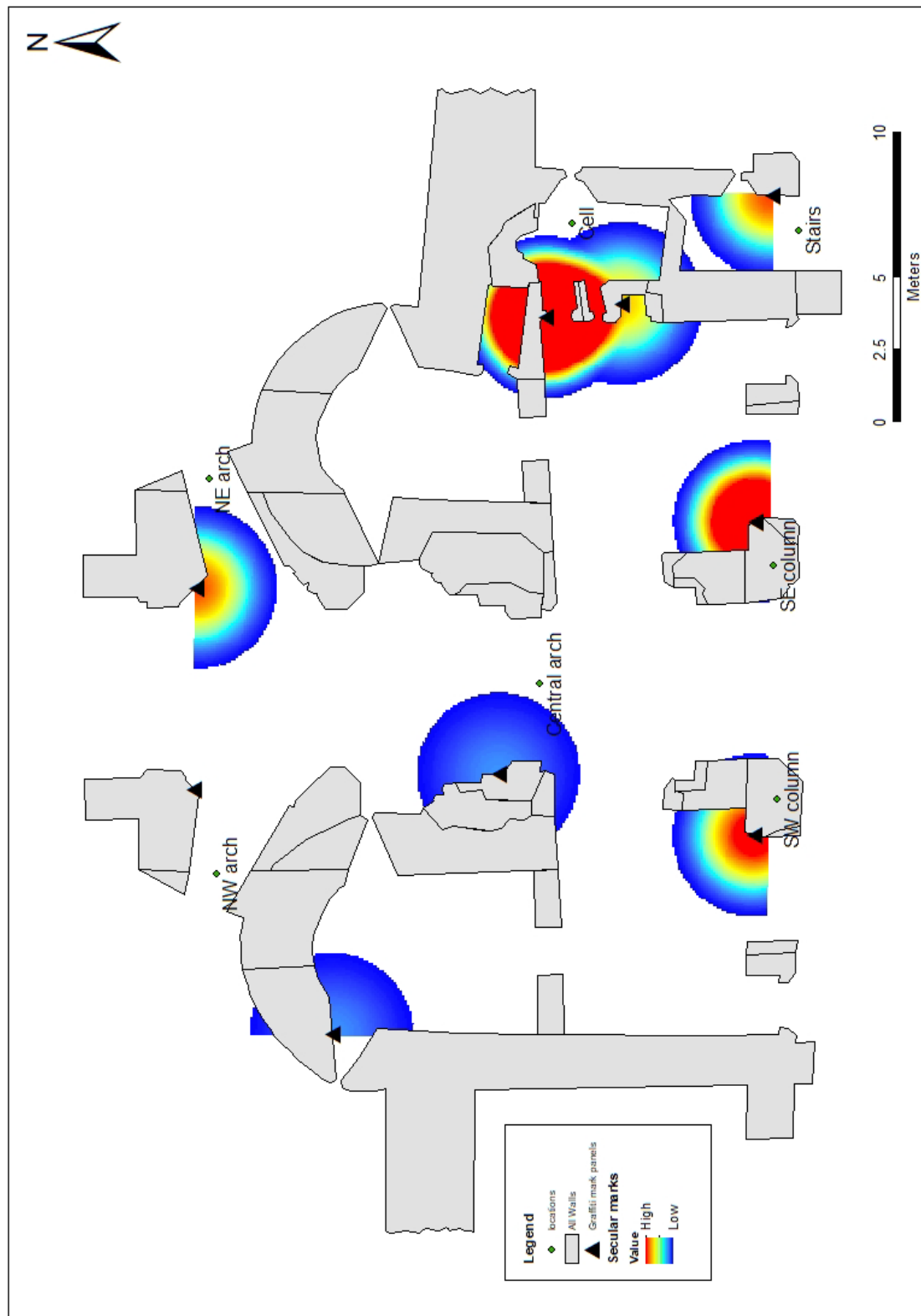
Figure 20. Distribution of graffiti marks with secular origin, Southampton Bargate where N=49 (author's own image).

5.2.4 Comments on Southampton Bargate

Sitting in isolation from the rest of the extant remains of the Medieval city walls, the Bargate today looks like an abandoned relic. It is, however, still at the core of Southampton and its identity as a settlement, even forming a part of the city council emblem. The repeated reuse of the structure has left scars, with the opening and closing of passageways evident in the structure and resulting in potential loss of any graffiti that was on those wall areas prior to their modification. It is also important to note the lowering of the ground level in the main arch through the centre of the gatehouse structure, resulting in some variation in apparent height of some of the marks from the ground. This sequence of modification, however, has not altered the significance of the deposition of marks, and the distribution tells of much activity around this space. The marks show a level of secular activity through and around the gate, focused on the mercantile activity of the gate as an entrance and potentially the judicial activity of the space above the gate.

5.2.5 Summary of the Bargate Dataset

- The marks are predominantly secular in nature with a limited addition of marks of religious origin.

- The religious marks, particularly the stars, appear to represent identification of self rather than having a ritualistic nature as they are not placed in a location that holds any specifically identified religious or ritual significance.

- The predominance of indicators of mercantile activity in the form of a ship, merchants' marks and people in the largest panel makes clear that the primary activity around the gate was secular, not religious.

- The graffiti deposition appears to represent the activity of people waiting for passage through the gate, or making their presence known within the city and to those passing through. These marks are personal identification not ritual engagement.

- Two principal panels are of interest to the study. These are located on the south-east column, and in the niche next to the cell. Each contains a number of secular marks that demonstrate the level of activity within the Bargate.

6   Site 2: St Cross Hospital – A religious entrance

6.1   St Cross Hospital: Location and history

St Cross Hospital sits on the outskirts of modern Winchester and would have been located just outside the Medieval city. The Victoria County History (Doubleday and Page, 1911) presents an outline of the history of St Cross Hospital. Lying to the south-east of the city, just clear of the River Itchen flood plain (Figure 21), it was first founded about 1136 and supported by papal bull in 1137 and 1144 (Doubleday and Page, 1911; Hopewell, 1995; Crook, 2011b). The majority of the structures, including the chapel within the quadrangle, were constructed from this date, with significant rebuilding and enhancement, including the addition of the central tower and gate house, in the mid-15th century (Doubleday and Page, 1911). From its earliest founding, St Cross was directed to provide accommodation for thirteen noble poor and to provide alms for another hundred. This number rose and fell over the following centuries, but a community of residential lay brothers and a provision of alms in the form of a daily dole has always remained, even surviving the Reformation without any forfeiture or damage (Doubleday and Page, 1911).

St Cross was not itself a pilgrimage destination but was a way station for pilgrims and others in need of food. As such, the gatehouse represents a high-traffic religious entrance that can stand for the use and function of religious entrances. This provides a point of study similar in function to, but larger in scale than, the porch or door at a parish church. As a religious entrance, the gatehouse marks the boundary of a religious space that can be clearly identified. It stands as an example of the liminal boundaries for the ontological distinction between the secular world without and the religious world within. This function of liminal boundary between two ontological worlds, the religious and the secular, will be explored in chapter 9 which will demonstrate that the ritual operation of the space and the persistence of the liminal agents, in the form of the graffiti marks, empower this space to be both transformative between and protective of the two distinct ontological realms.

Figure 21. Map of St Cross Hospital, Winchester (ArcMap 10.7 base map Ordnance Survey)

6.2 A religious entrance

Within the complex of St Cross there is a double courtyard with an outer and inner gatehouse. Behind the inner gatehouse is the hospital quadrangle, or inner courtyard, around which are the accommodation for the brothers and the chapel, now also the parish church of St Cross.

Whilst today the dole is issued at the gatehouse, the original mandate permitted the one hundred non-residents to be fed at the dinner for the brothers. By the time of the construction of the tower and gatehouse this had increased to two hundred, and the dole was issued as food rather than money. This process of issuing the dole required lay members of the local community, pilgrims and other travellers to enter the space of the hospital (Doubleday and Page, 1911). From the mid-fifteenth century, this included

passing through the gate and thus entering the consecrated and protected inner courtyard from the unconsecrated outer courtyard. This gatehouse therefore acquired the role of religious entrance. This activity changed during and following the Reformation when the granting of dole was moved from the brothers' dining to the outer refectory, and many such practices were actively prohibited in an effort to expunge papacy, cultic and personal ritual behaviour (see Chapter 2). With the demolition of the nearby St Faith's church in the early sixteenth century, the role of the chapel within St Cross also altered, with the font from St Faith's being relocated to it and the chapel sometimes taking on the role of parish church. The increased traffic that this generated from the local community further enhanced the role of the gate as entrance from secular to religious.
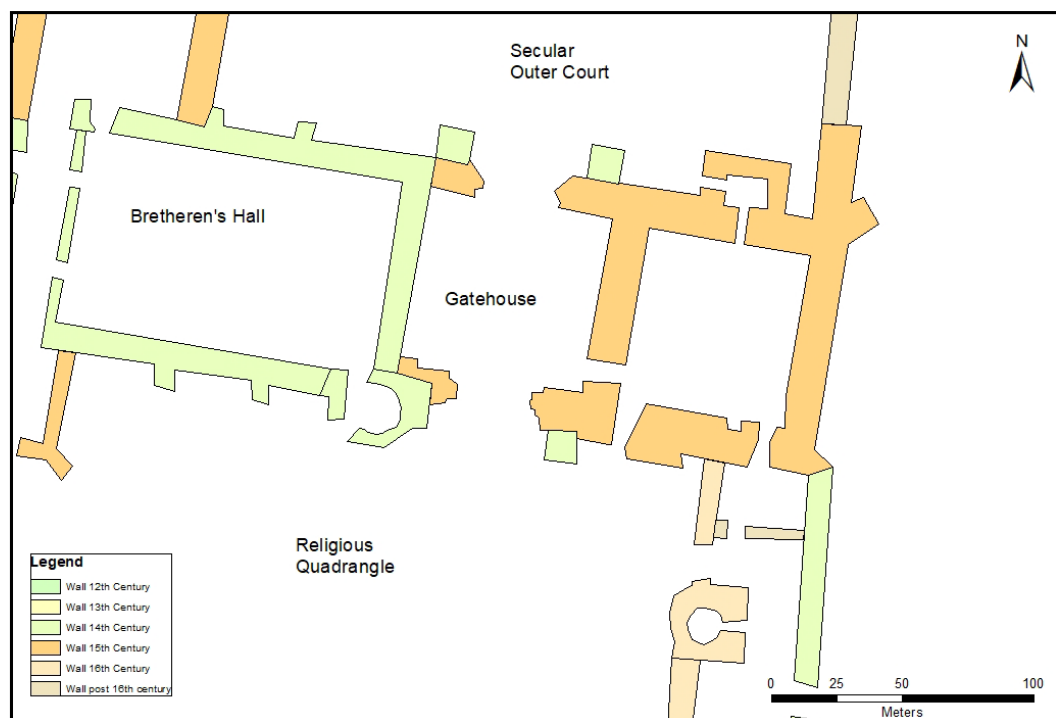
Figure 22. St Cross Hospital by construction phase (author's own illustration after Crook, 2011)

6.3 Graffiti deposition

6.3.1 Individual marks

The graffiti marks within the structure of the gatehouse at St Cross Hospital are those of religious and secular origin, but with more of the former. A total of eighty-seven marks were recorded, of which three are clearly post-Medieval. As can be seen below (Table 2), fifty-six of the marks within the gatehouse are of religious origin, the remaining twenty-eight being of non-religious design. The most numerous marks are crosses (Figure 23) totalling twenty-seven marks. Next most common are the votive marks, of which there are fifteen, with seven additional Marian marks (Figure 24). The lack of merchants' marks is significant. There are also a limited number of compass-drawn designs, the most complex of which is the celestial depiction (Figure 25). The outer surfaces of the north-west and the south-west columns show significant weathering, which may account for the lack of visible marks on these surfaces.

Graffiti Type	NW column inner	NW column outer	NE column inner	NE column outer	SW column inner	SW column outer	SE Column inner	SE Column outer	Total
Cross 1	7		1	4	14		1		27
Cross 2									0
Compas Drawn 1									3
Compas Drawn 2	1				1		1		3
Votive	3		3	3	6				15
Marian Mark			1	2	1			3	7
Apotropaic				1					1
Star									0
Pelta									0
Memorial				1	1			1	3
Arcitectural									0
Ship									0
Heraldic								1	1
Martial									0
Music									0
Anthropomorphic									0
Masons Mark									0
Construction Mark									0
Merchants Mark			1		2				3
Merels									0
Grid	1				2				3
text	8		3	4	4			1	20
Talley				1	2		1		4
Post medieval					1		1	1	3
TOTAL	20	0	9	16	33	0	3	6	87

Table 2. Graffiti distribution in St Cross Hospital gatehouse.
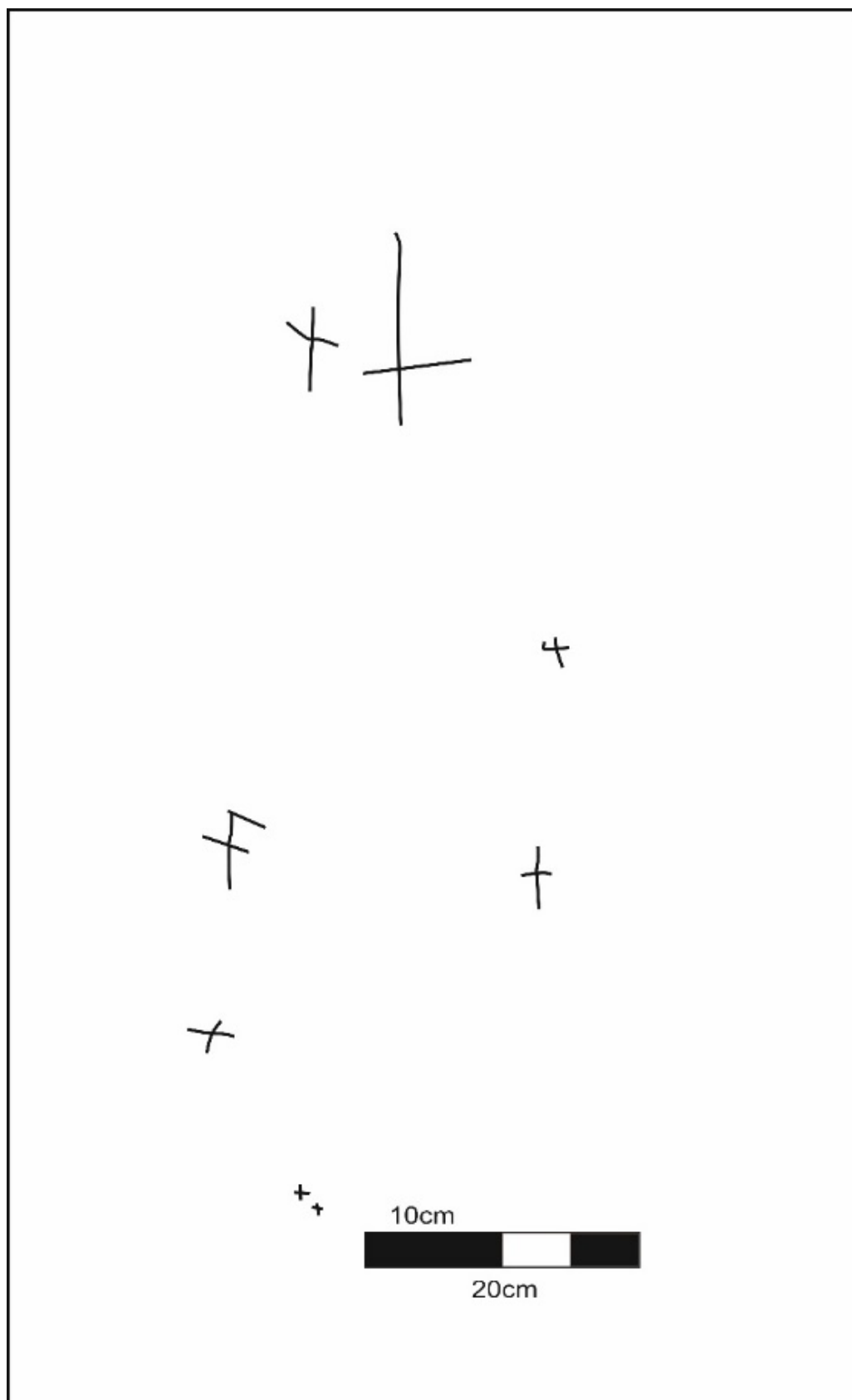
Figure 23. Cross-type marks, south-west column, St Cross Hospital (Author's own image 2019)
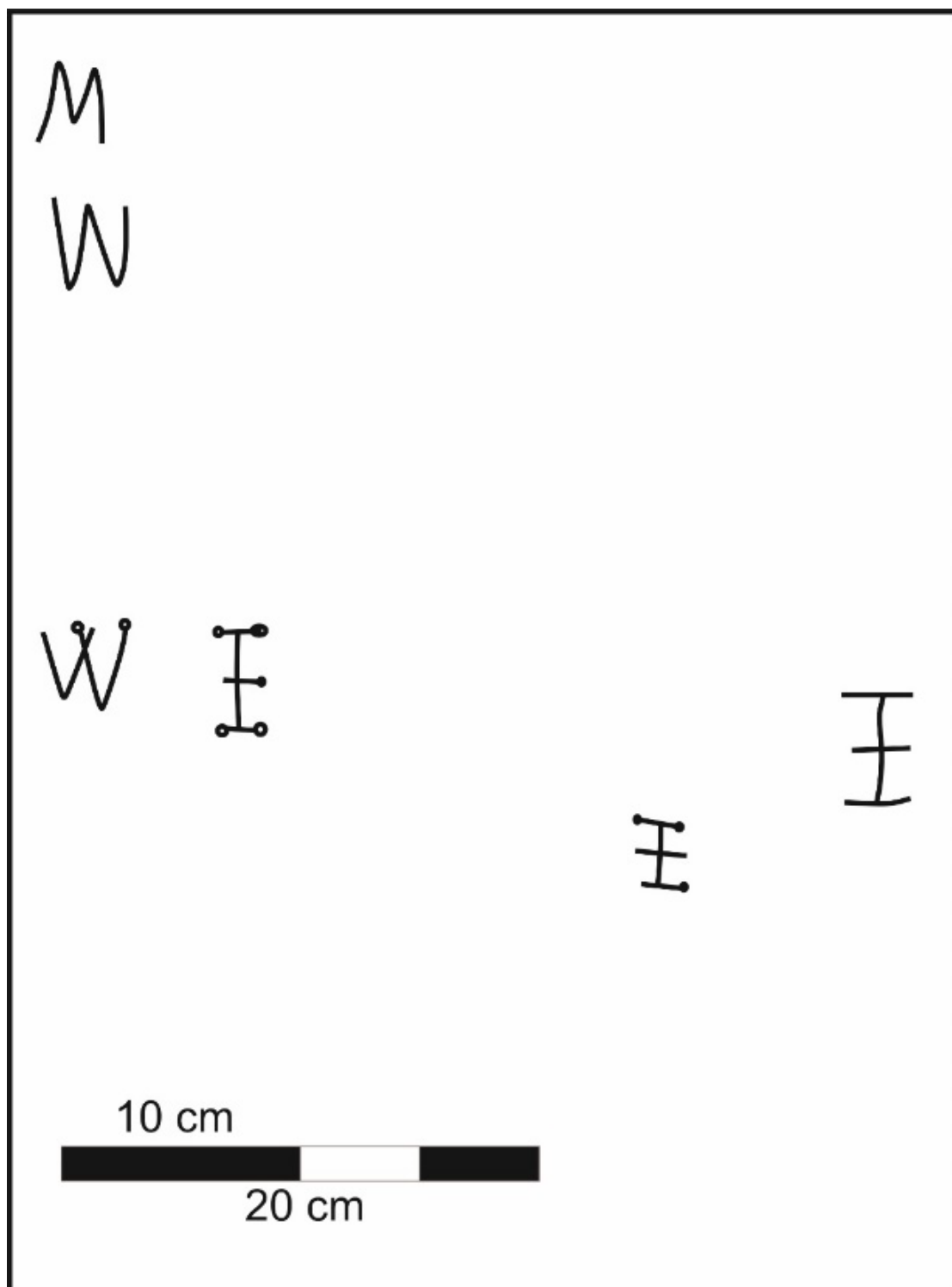
*Figure 24. Votive and Marian marks, north-east column, St Cross Hospital (Author's own image 2019)*
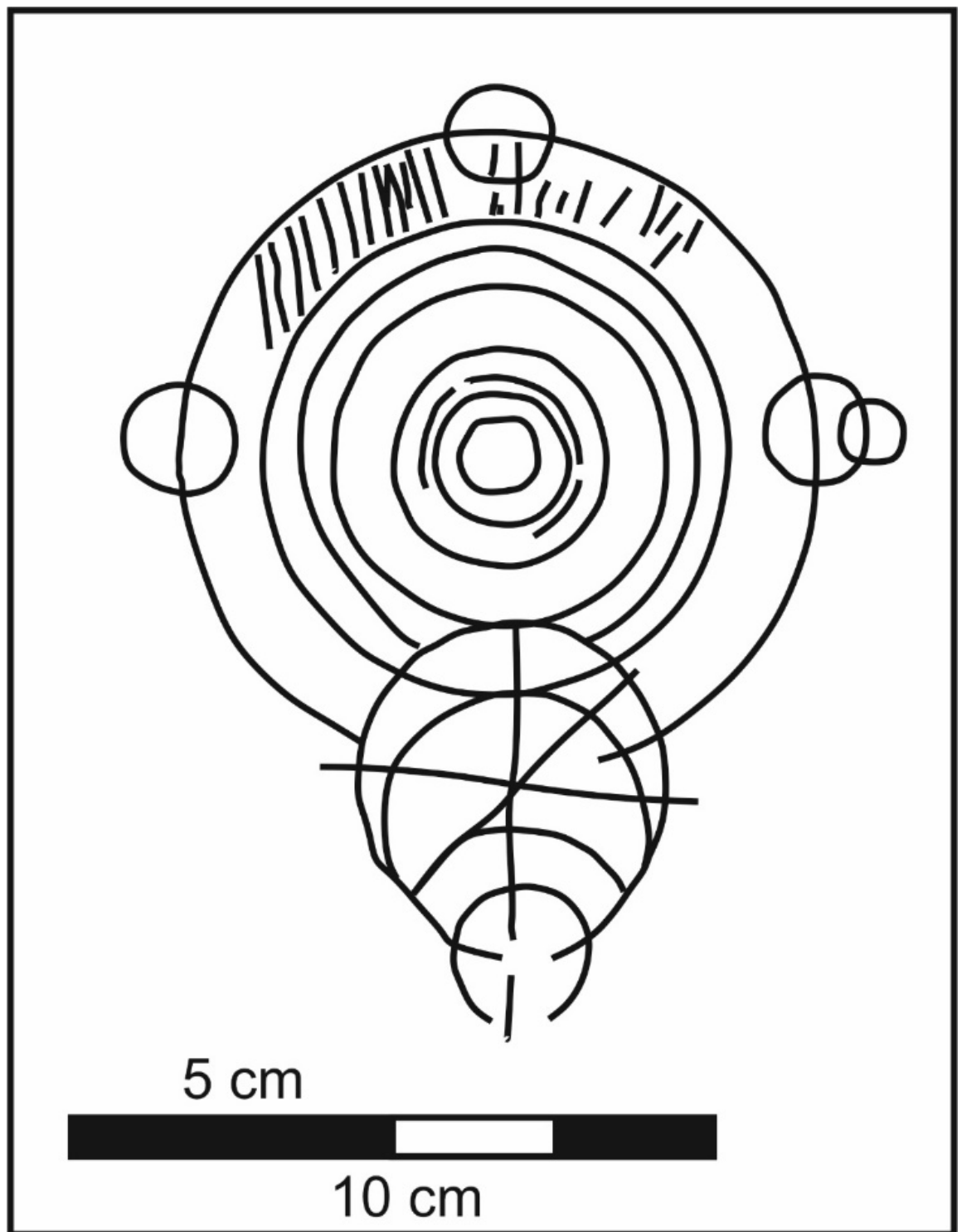
Figure 25. Compass-drawn celestial depiction, south-west column, St Cross Hospital (Author's own image 2019)

6.3.2 Panels

When viewed as panels, the complex interaction of the graffiti can be observed. The graffiti are clustered into panels on the four columns of the gatehouse. The walls within the

gatehouse are constructed of the same stone as the columns, so would have been no more difficult to mark, and the sheltered nature of the surfaces makes survival of marks placed on this surface more likely than on the columns. The excellent condition of many of the marks on the surfaces of the columns, therefore, suggests that little or no mark-making was undertaken on either of the walls, either due to them being covered with some form of decorative or commemorative material, or a lack of interest in marking these areas of the structure. The panels within the gatehouse (Figure 26, Figure 27, Figure 28, Figure 29) tell of the presence of people through this space. The level of activity must have been considerable and can be compared to that at the Bargate (Chapter 5) in Southampton. These panels would have been created over the period of time from the construction of the gatehouse until the Reformation. Of note within the panels is the large celestial depiction on the south-west column. This depiction is a significant draw to the eye but is unlikely to be connected with the ritual nature of the entrance as a liminal portal between the secular and the religious spaces.
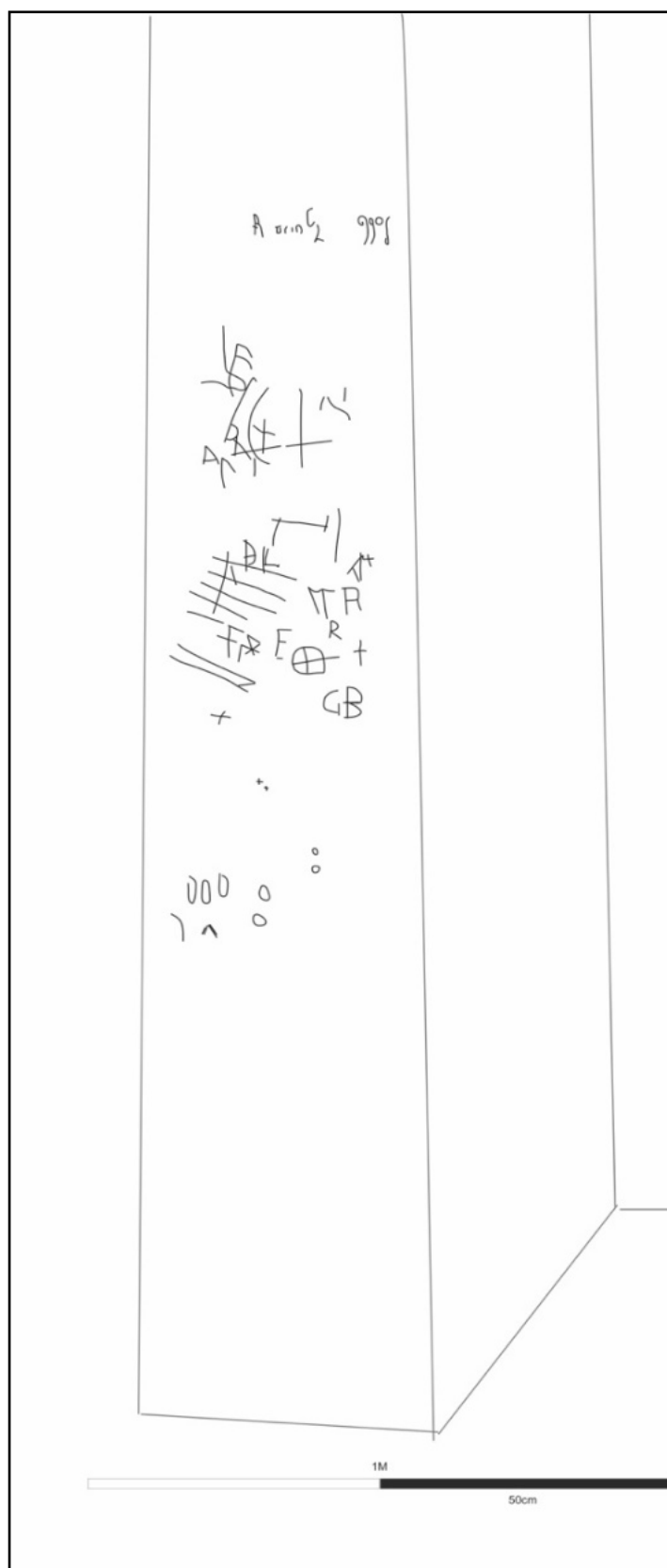
Figure 26 St Cross inner gate, north-west column

Figure 27 St Cross inner gate, north-east column
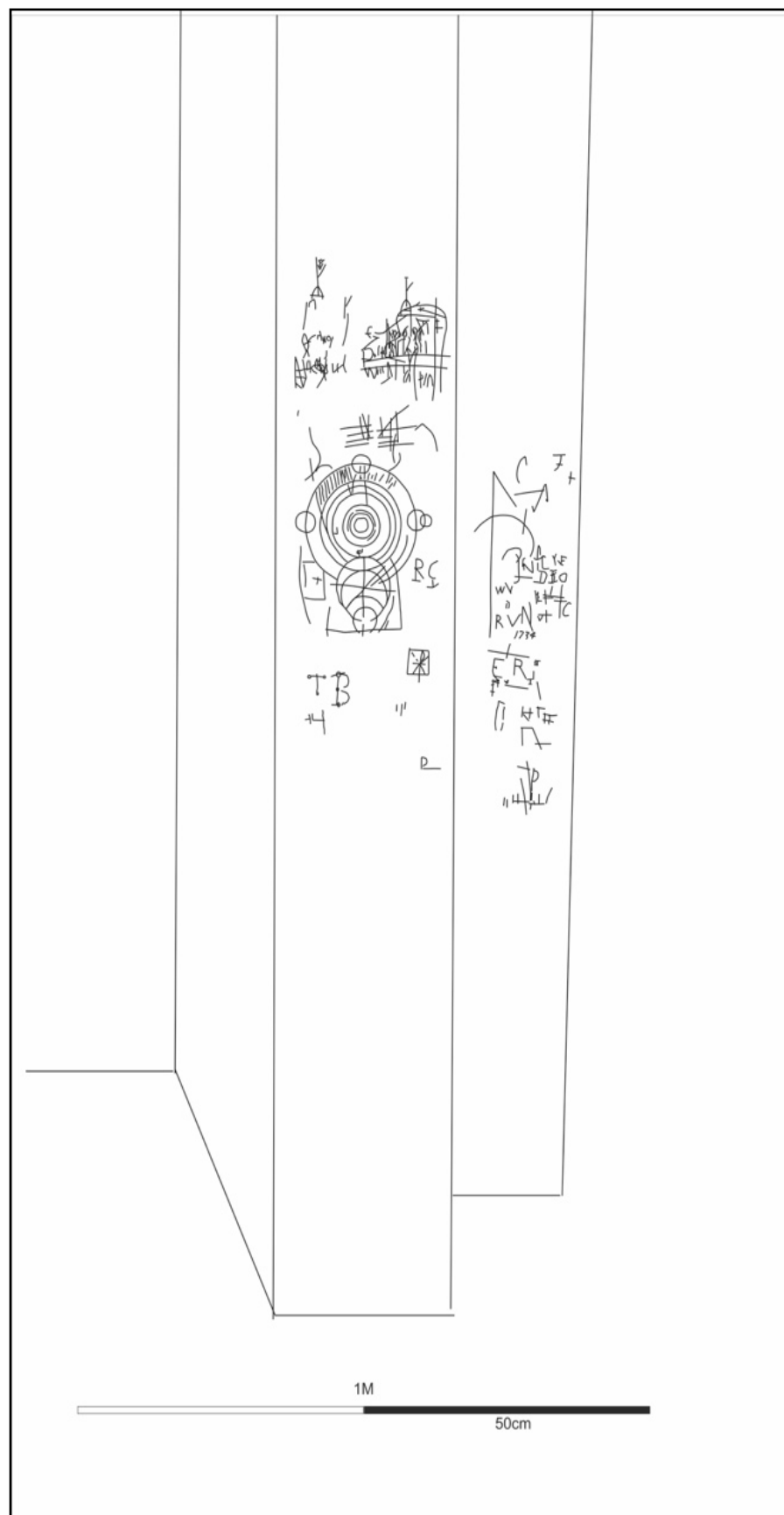
*Figure 28 St Cross inner gate, south-west column*
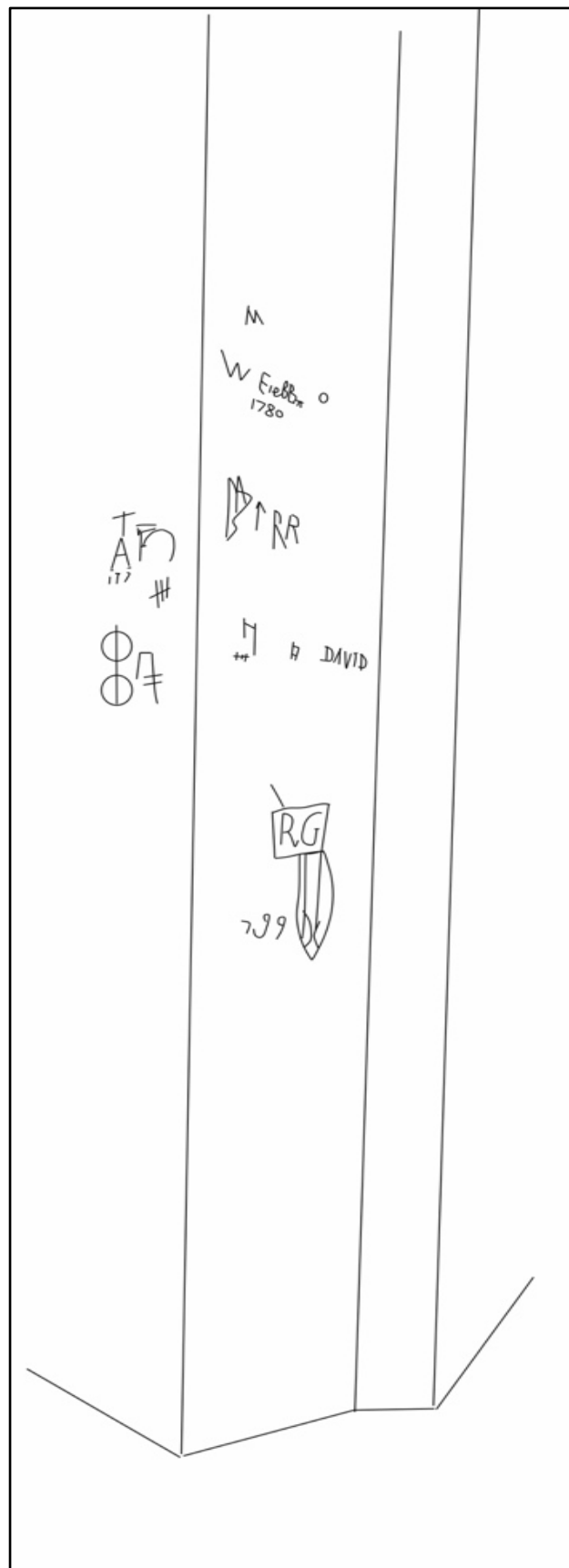
Figure 29 St Cross inner gate, south-east column

6.3.3　Geospatial deposition

Having identified the marks and panels of graffiti, it is necessary to understand the deposition of these marks in relation to the built environment of St Cross Hospital. Figure 22 below shows the gatehouse and its relationship to the built environment of St Cross Hospital, between the outer court and the quadrangle that contained the brothers' quarters and the church. This inner sanctum was the consecrated religious space. The next three maps (Figure 30, Figure 31 and Figure 32) shows the distribution of the graffiti panels within the gatehouse. The kernel density mapping shows the relative nearness of the marks to one another. This shows in the movement from a blue low density to a red high density with the colour range shown in the key on each map. As such, it is possible to see that the density of marks varies relative to the nearness of the marks to one another and the relevant location within the space. Figure 30 shows that, overall, there is a fairly even level of deposition across three of the columns respective to one another, but with a slightly higher density on the south-west column than the north columns, and a low density on the south-east column. There is also variation in relative densities between the outer and inner columns, with the density for secular marks being higher on the outer columns (Figure 31) and for religious marks on the inner column (Figure 32).
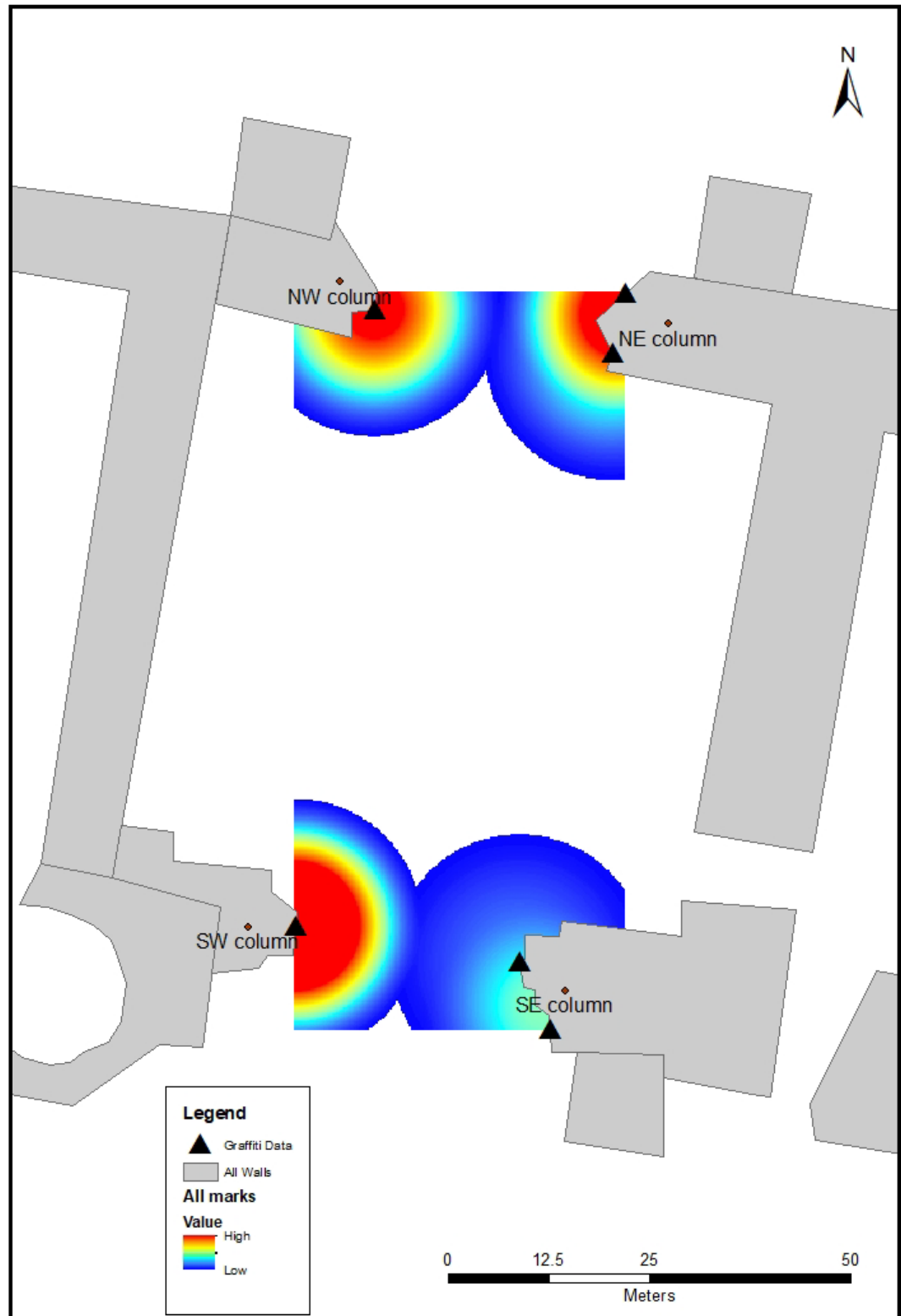
Figure 30. Distribution of graffiti within St Cross Hospital gatehouse, where N=84 (author's own image)
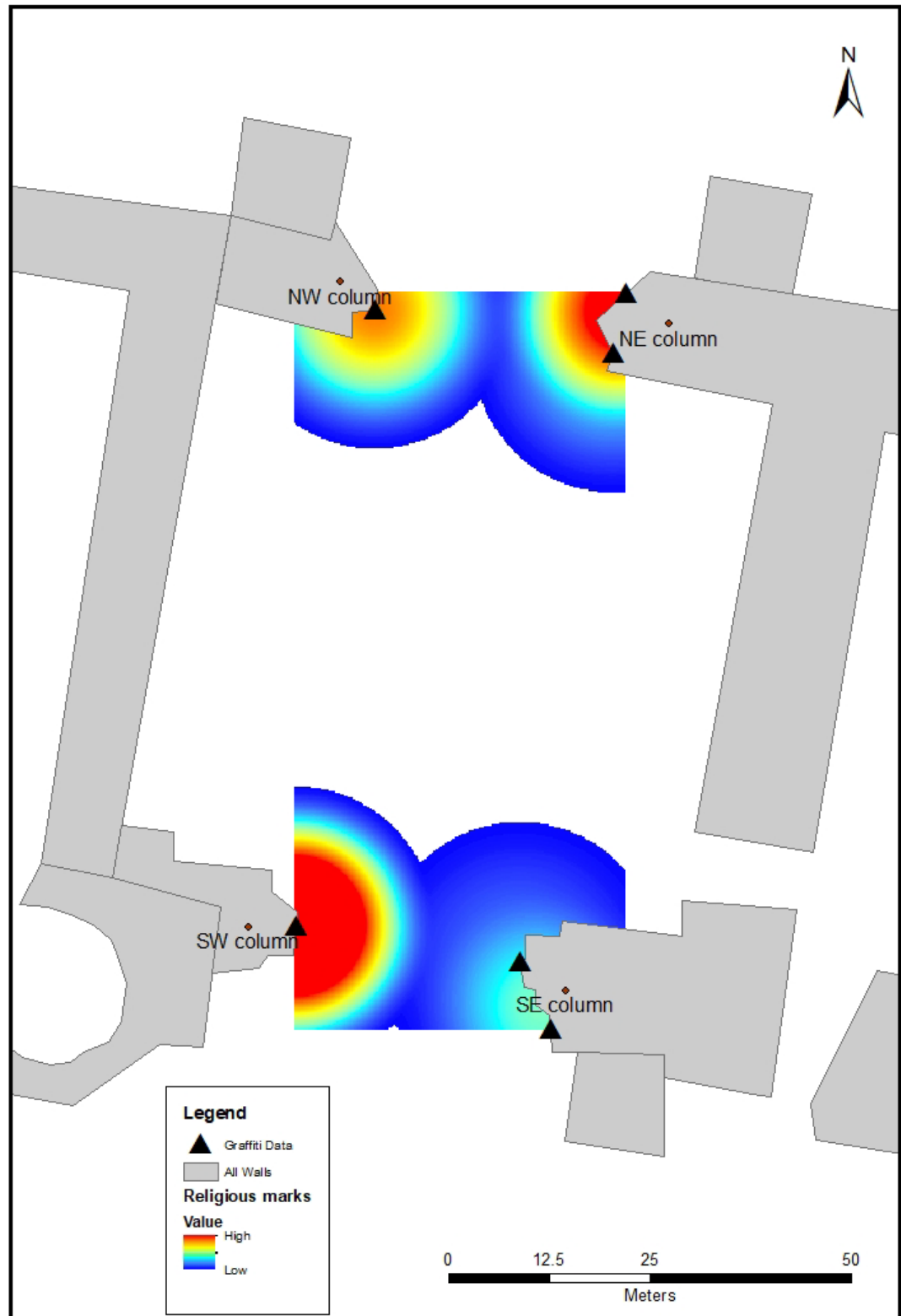
Figure 31. Distribution of graffiti marks with religious origin, St Cross Hospital gatehouse, where N=56 (author's own image)
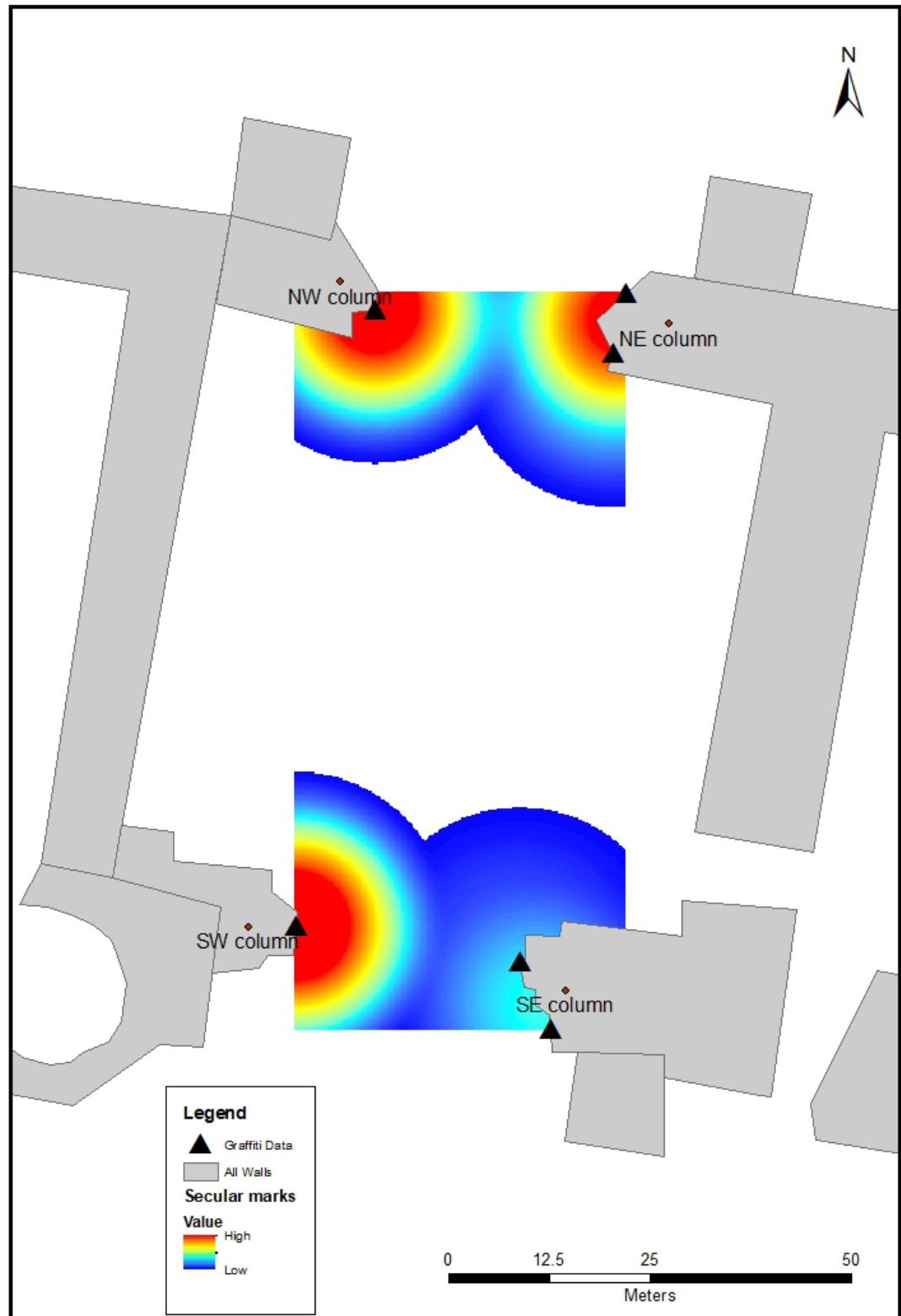
Figure 32. Distribution of graffiti marks with secular origin, St Cross Hospital gatehouse, where N=28 (author's own image)

6.3.4   Comments on the gatehouse at St Cross Hospital

There is a relatively even distribution across the four columns, the only significant divergence being that the religious marks show a reduction in density on the north-west column compared to marks of a non-religious origin. There is no physical evidence of any cleaning or resurfacing of the stonework in the porch, though the lack of plaster and paint would imply that some work must have been undertaken during the history of the site. There is evidence, though, of significant weathering on the columns, particularly on the outer surfaces that are not protected by the shelter of the gatehouse. This has the potential to have caused the loss of some marks, but erosion is likely to have been even across the four columns as they are equally exposed. The graffiti within the gatehouse probably represents prayer activity and therefor the ritual doings of the personal rituals of engagement that are being undertaken within this entrance way, these will be discussed in detail in chapter 9.

The deposition at the gatehouse is similar in nature to that found on the doors and porches of parish churches within the region. This will be demonstrated in the subsequent chapter on St Nicholas, Arundel (Chapter 7) as well as at other sites such as the porch at St Mary's Selbourne conducted by the author in 2019 (Figure 33).
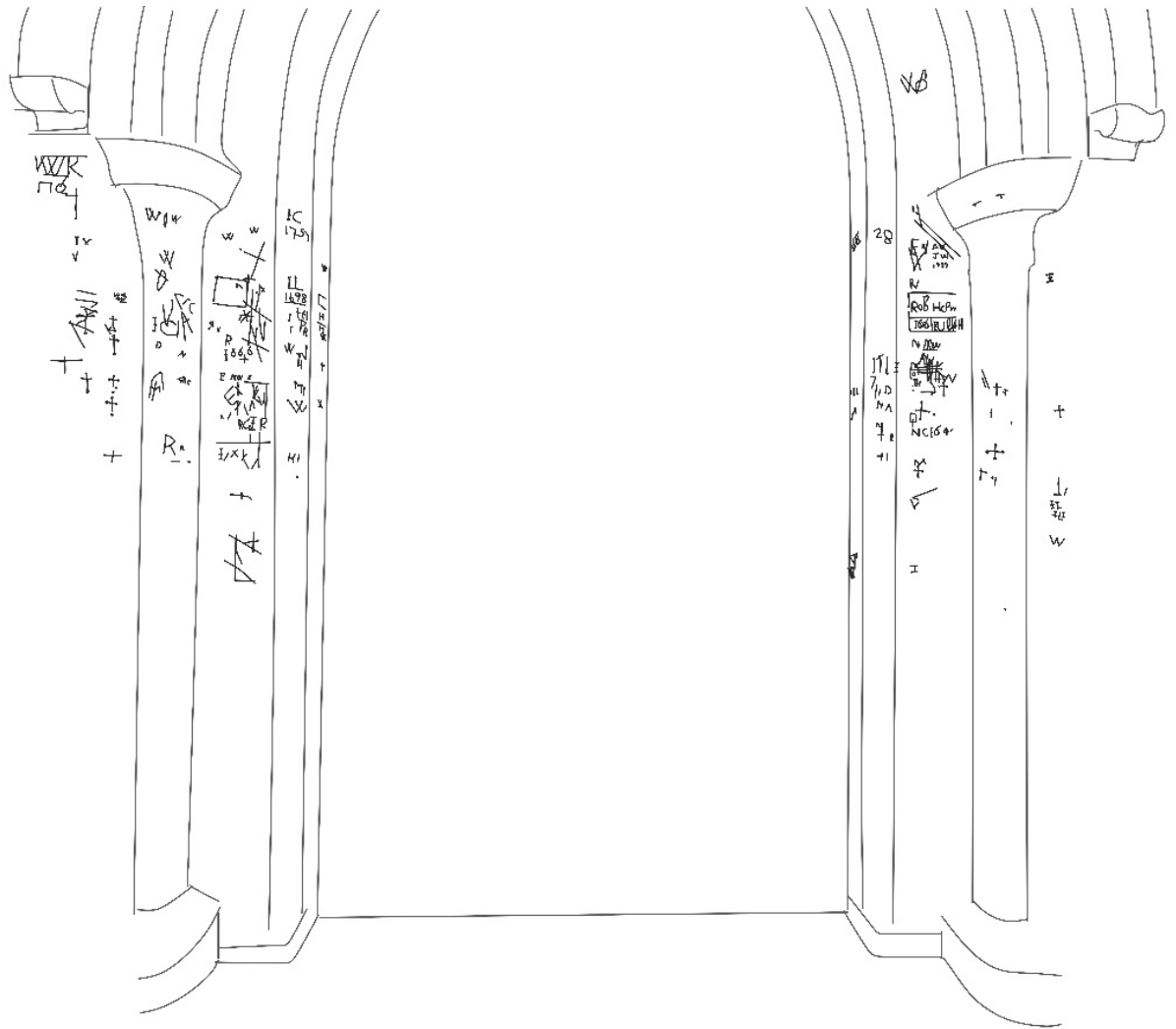
Figure 33. Graffiti deposition, north porch, St Mary's Selbourne, N=170 (Author's own image 2019)

6.3.5 The St Cross Dataset

- The marks within the gatehouse at St Cross are predominantly religious in nature, with some marks of a secular origin present.

- When placed into the context of the panels, some of these secular marks become ritual doings connected with ritual activity focused on the liminal nature of the gate between the secular and the religious ontologies of the space.

- Key amongst the secular marks that can be identified as ritual doings are the initials that are found amongst the marks. These possibly relate to those seeking access to

the dole issue or form memorial markers for those who have passed away as is seen in other churches surveyed by the Hampshire Medieval graffiti survey.

- There are some marks that must be removed from the panels prior to analysis as they are clearly post-Reformation or not of a ritual nature related to the activity of the gate:

- The large celestial depiction on the south-west column was probably placed here for a specific purpose not connected to the ritual activity within the gate. The post-Reformation marks are predominantly identifiable through the script or the inclusion of date.

- All four columns represent panels of interest to this study and once the marks not connected with ritual activity are disregarded, can be analysed to understand the activity that is taking place in connection with the transformative nature of the entrance as a liminal bridging space between two ontologies, this will be discussed in detail in chapter 9 and 10.

7 Site 3: St Nicholas Church, Arundel – A parish church

7.1 St Nicholas Church: location and history

The church of St Nicholas, Arundel, is located on a large hill to the north of the town alongside the castle and overlooks the town and ancient harbour. In the original layout of the town, the main road passed between the castle and the church and to the north of the church, then with an associated abbey (Figure 34). By the nineteenth century, following the creation of the formal gardens at the castle, the road had been diverted to its present location further down the hill, with a smaller road running immediately south of the church. As such, the main access to the church could have been through either of the north or south entrances, the north entrance being covered by a wooden porch that has been replaced in the past decade, and the south entrance with a grander stone porch that shows signs of prolonged use.

The church occupies an unusual position today in that the nave functions as the parish church and the chancel and choir function as the Roman Catholic Fitzalan Chapel. The chancel arch is now filled with an iron grille and gate and modern glass partition. The extant structures of the chancel arch show the presence of a door set into the north column which sits alongside the tower staircase that would have allowed access to the top of a substantial rood screen and platform (Figure 35). This maintenance of the partition of nave and chancel leaves the church in a similar state of access for lay worshippers as during the Middle Ages, and the internal alterations of the space can be seen clearly in the structure and layout (Figure 34).

St Nicholas as a parish church provides evidence for the development of nested ontologies. These form around the chapel and community altar that sit within the nave located in distinct realms of dedication and practice apart from the overarching ontology of the consecrated religious space of the church. The deposition of graffiti at these specific locations (discussed below) tells of the level of activity in these spaces as distinct from the general background activity and provides evidence for the ritual doings that created and maintained these realms and provided the liminal boundaries to them as will be demonstrated in chapter 10.
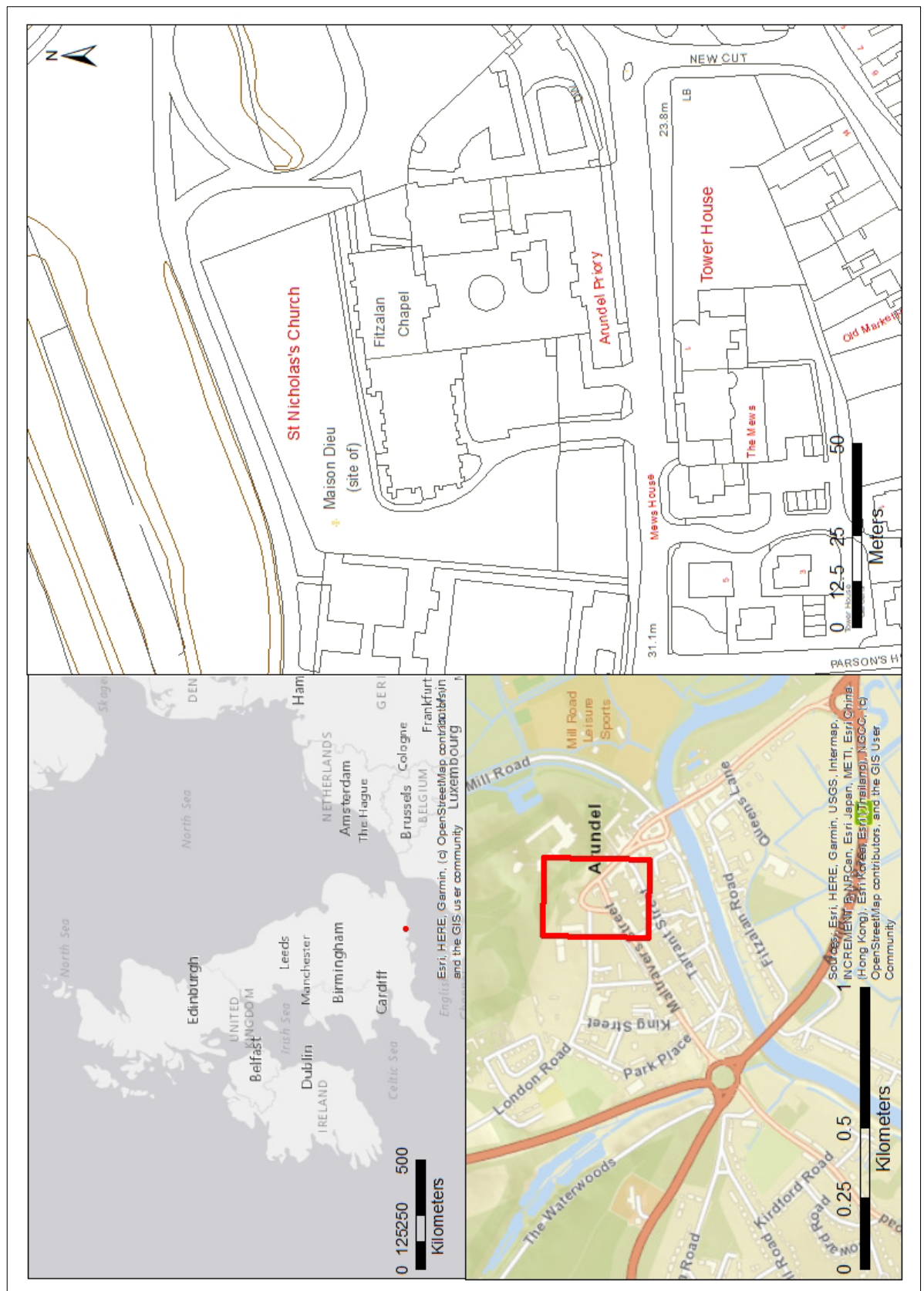
Figure 34: Map of St Nicholas Church, Arundel (ArcMap 10.7 base map Ordnance Survey)

Figure 35 Chancel arch with doors for now removed rood screen in north pier (Authors own image 2018)

The extant St Nicholas church (Figure 36) has operated as the parish church for Arundel since its construction in the 14th century. The present structure sits on the site of an earlier church that was constructed in the 11th century and fell into disrepair due to disputes between the church and the Fitzalan family relating to the funding of repairs to and restoration of the church. This was rectified in the late 14th century, with the founding of a college following a sizable grant from Richard Fitzalan (Wood, 2014). There is evidence of the earlier church within the walls of the present structure, which can be seen both in the use of different construction materials and methods for the lower portions of some of the walls, and in the presence in the flint walls of some sections of carved stonework clearly recovered from an earlier structure.
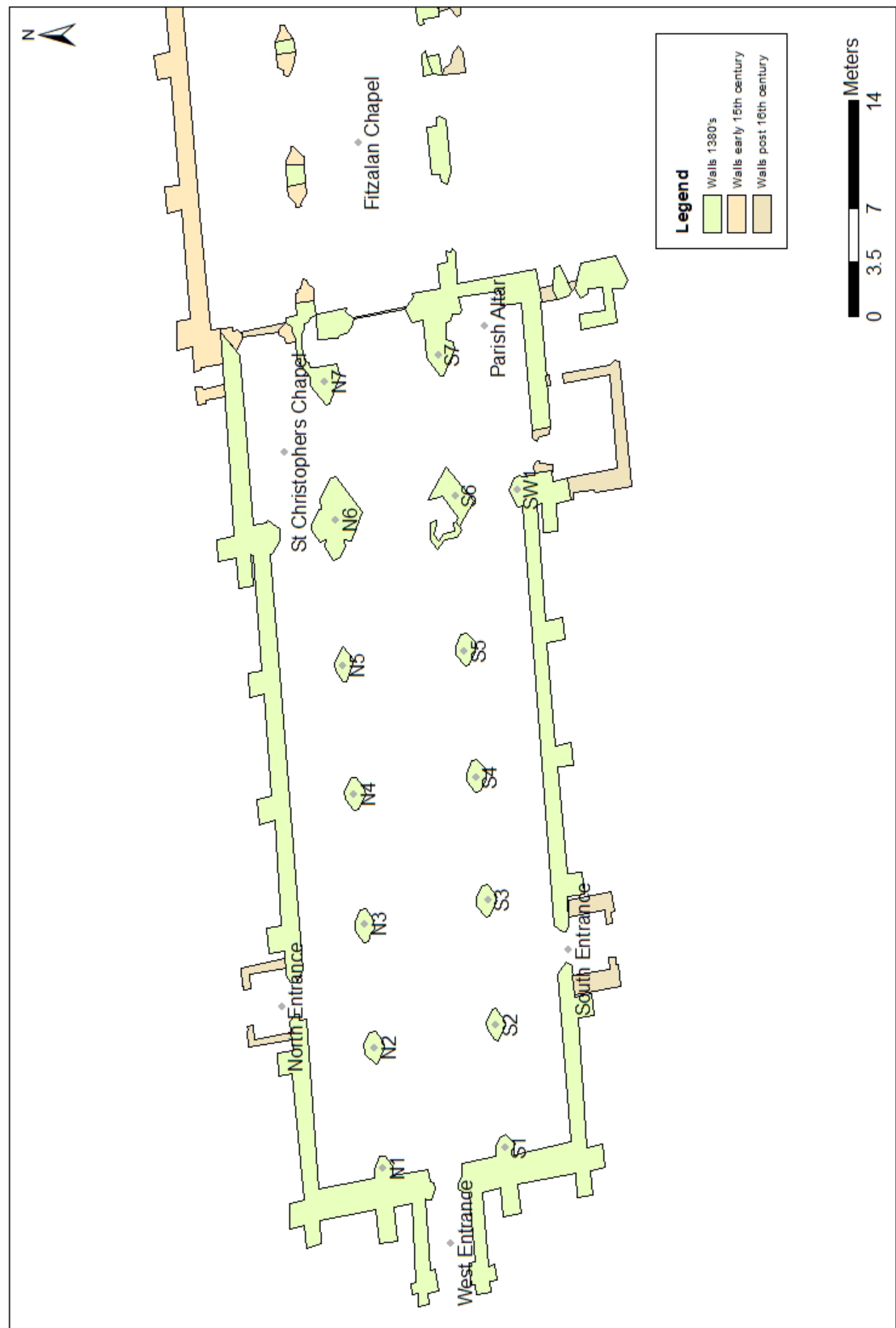
Figure 36. St Nicholas church, Arundel by construction phase (Author's own image 2020)

It is from this period of reconstruction that the segregation of the church that still exists today originates. The chancel, already segregated as God's space within the church, became the sole preserve of the college and Fitzalan family, today the Fitzalan chapel, while the nave and transepts formed the parish church for the lay community (Baggs and Warne, 1997). A now removed chapel to St Christopher was present by the 1440s within one of the transepts though uncertainty exists as the exact location, either the north (Fabric Comittee, 2018) or the south (Baggs and Warne, 1997), the other transept containing the Lady Chapel. It is my opinion that it is most likely, given the later renovations, that the St Christopher's chapel was in the north transept and the Lady Chapel in the south; a chantry to St Christopher was founded at this time at the saint's altar. The church was occupied by parliamentarian troops during the civil war and underwent significant refurbishments during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The most significant changes made during these refurbishments were the removal of the dividing structure of St Christopher's chapel prior to 1821 and the installation of box pews and organ as part of the 1815–1855 restoration of the church interior (Baggs and Warne, 1997; Wood, 2014). However, many of the internal features have survived remarkably well, including two early wall paintings (Figure 37 and Figure 38). With the church dedicated to the St Nicholas, patron saint of sailors, fishermen and merchants, and the presence of the chapel and chantry to St Christopher, the patron of transportation and travel, the church provided ample support for the mariners and other users of the Medieval port at Arundel.

Figure 37. Painting of St Christopher above the north door, St Nicholas church, Arundel

(Author's own image 2018)

Figure 38. Medieval wall painting depicting…, St Nicholas church, Arundel (Author's own image 2018)

7.2   Graffiti deposition

7.2.1   Individual marks

There is a significant deposition of twentieth-century graffiti on the arch of the western entrance (Figure 39). These pencil marks are all names placed there by boys from the priory school (Fabric Comittee, 2018). In light of the firm dating of these marks, they have not been included in the survey total.

Throughout St Nicholas Church there are a total of 545 marks, of which one hundred and nineteen are post-Medieval in nature (Table 3). With regard to the remining 426 marks, 261 can be connected to a religious origin in design, and 165 to a non-religious origin. Of this non-religious total, a significant portion (53) are masons' marks (Figure 40). In addition to these, 65 of the non-religious marks are textual, either in the form of initials or late-Medieval script, mostly names, two marks are depictions of animals including the deer on column S6 (Figure 41)and there are three merchants' marks (Figure 42).

The marks of religious origin include 74 crosses (mostly type 1), 76 Marian marks and 79 other votive marks. In addition to these, there are 27compass-drawn marks including the triple rosette located on column N7, the north supporting column of the chancel arch (Figure 43) Some of the religious marks stand out from the rest, especially the three fish symbol that was placed on column S6, facing the direction of the community altar (Figure 44).

										Number of marks by location									
Graffiti Type	South Entrance	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	SW1	North Entrance	N1	N2	N3	N4	N5	N6	N7	West Entrance	Total
Cross 1	4		6	20	5		7		1			1	8	3	2	8	2		67
Cross 2	2				2								1			2			7
Compass Drawn 1	3	1	1	5	3		2	1	1				1	1	1	2	1		23
Compass Drawn 2			1				1						1	1					4
Votive	16			6	9		9		3			2	1	2	1	29	1		79
Marian Mark	18			3	11		10					1	3		2	27			76
Apotropaic														1	1				2
Star																			0
Pelta																			0
Memorial	2			1												1			3
Architectural				1															2
Ship																			0
Heraldic																2			2
Martial												2							2
Music																			0
Anthropomorphic				1			1								1				3
Animal							1								1				2
Plant																1			1
Masons Mark	1		1	5	4	3	7	2			1	5	3	6	1	10	4		53
Construction Mark																			0
Merchants Mark			1				1						1						3
Merels																1			1
Grid	3				2		6					1		2	1	9	2		26
Text	9			10	5		1		3			1	5	5	2	22	2		65
Talley	1			1	1											1	1		5
Post medieval	14			1	9	1	33	2	8			2	2	3	11	37	3		119
TOTAL - excluding post medieval	59	1	10	53	42	3	46	3	8	0	1	13	24	22	13	115	13	0	426

Table 3. Distribution of graffiti through St Nicholas church Arundel by location and type
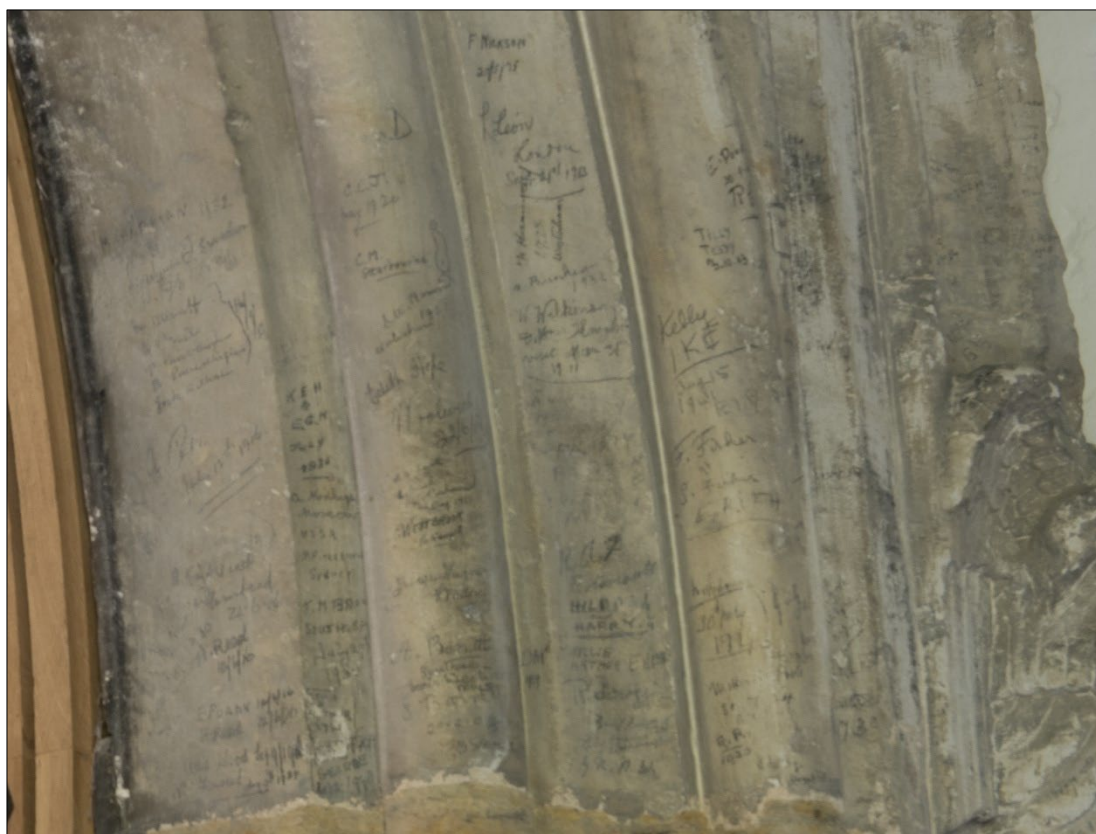
Figure 39. Early 20th-century pencil graffiti, west entrance, St Nicholas church (Author's own image)
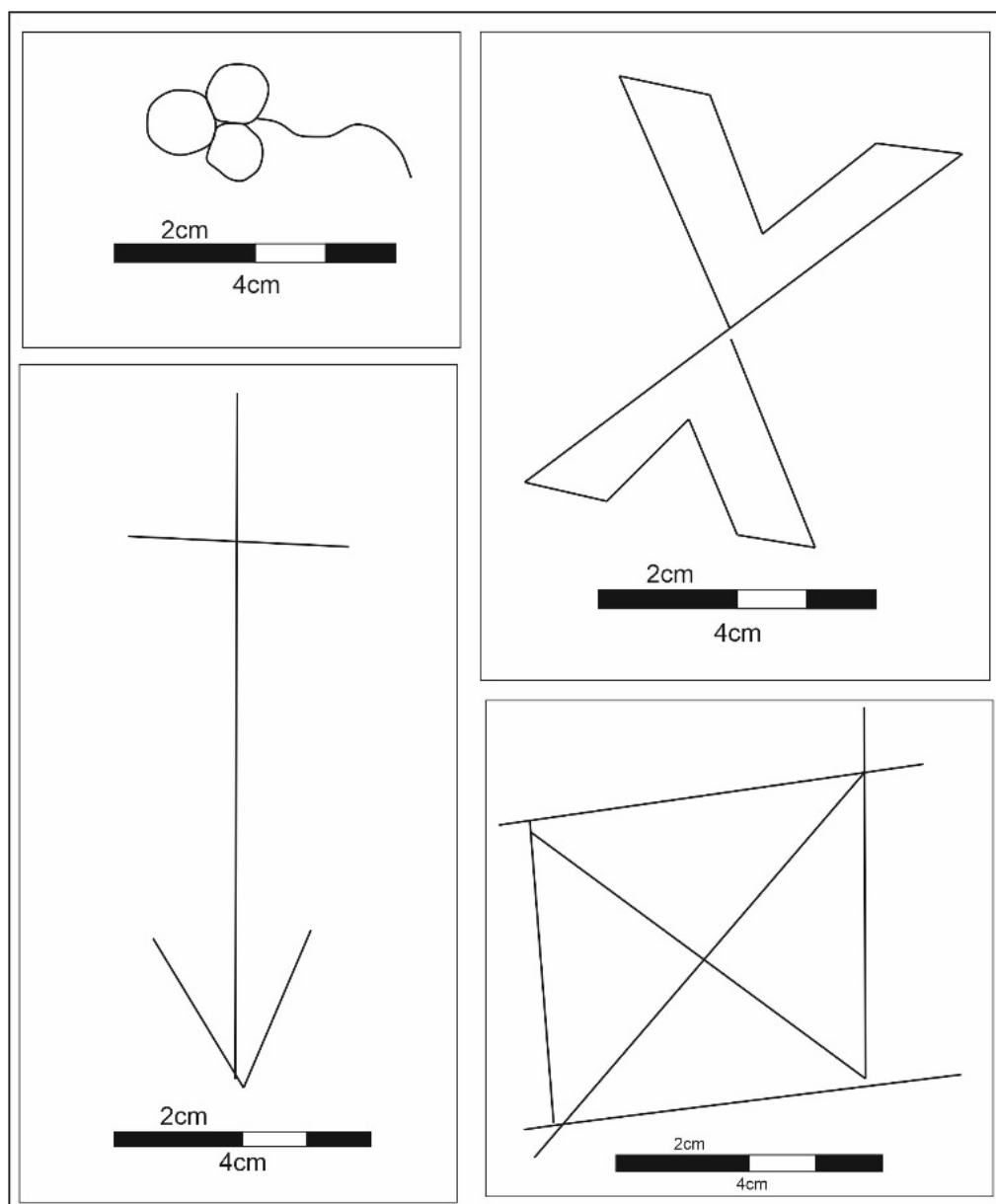
Figure 40. A collection of the masons' marks found in St Nicholas church (Author's own image 2018)
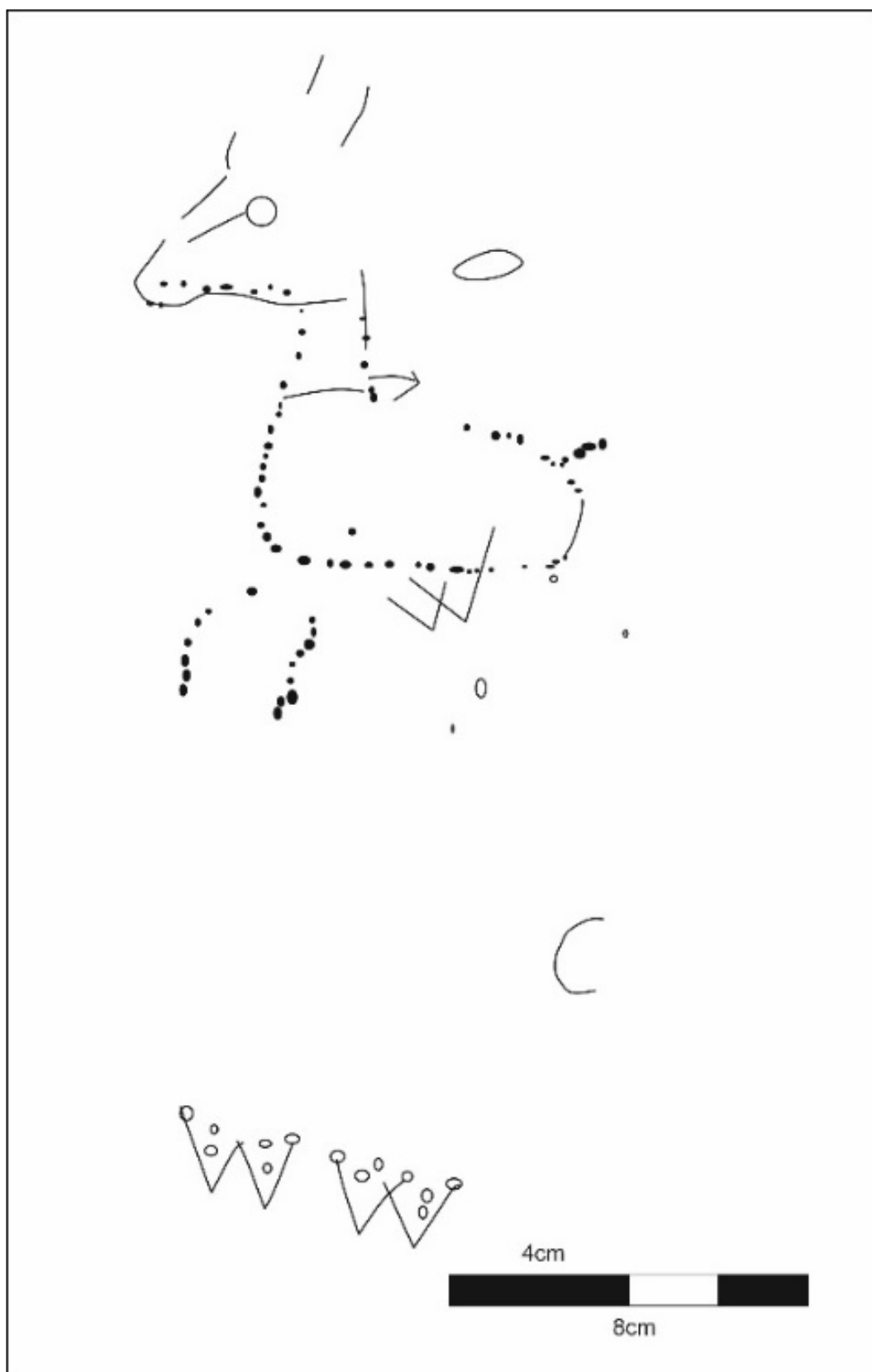
Figure 41. Depiction of an animal, possibly a deer, on column S6, St Nicholas church
(Author's own image 2020)
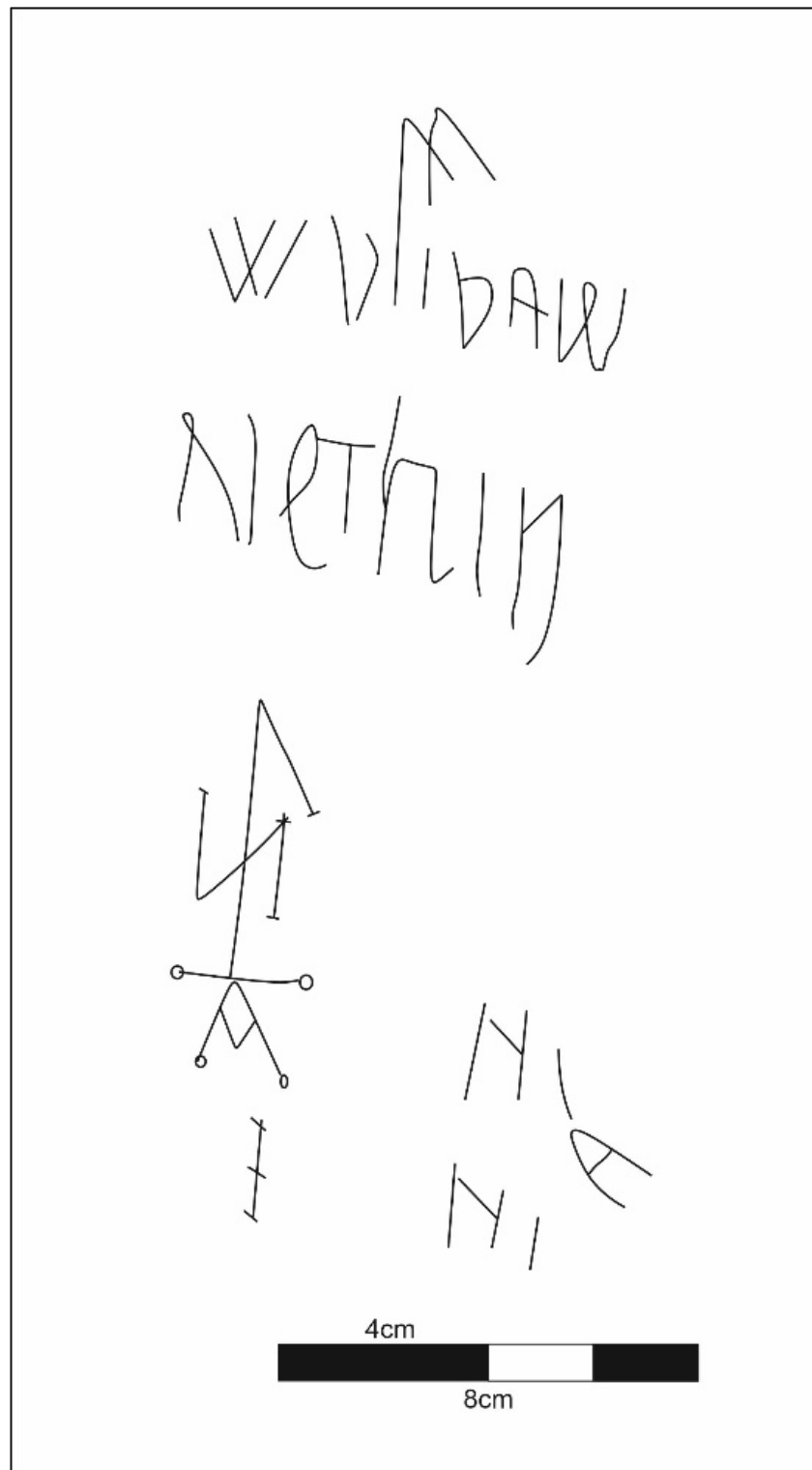
Figure 42. Merchants' mark and name (Willbaw Nethin) on column S6, St Nicholas church (Author's own image 2020)
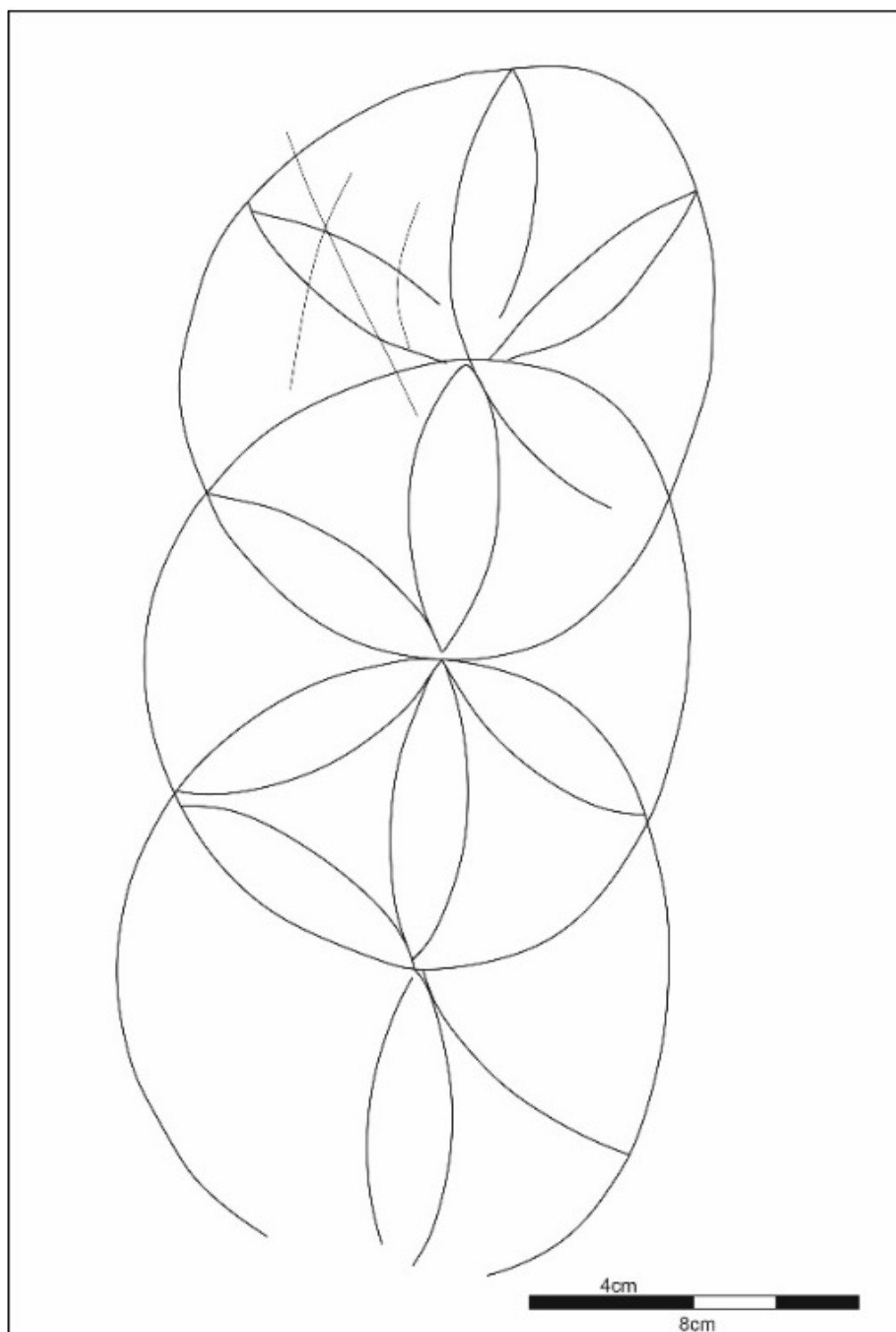
Figure 43. Compass-drawn mark located on the chancel arch at N7, St Nicholas church (Author's on image 2018)
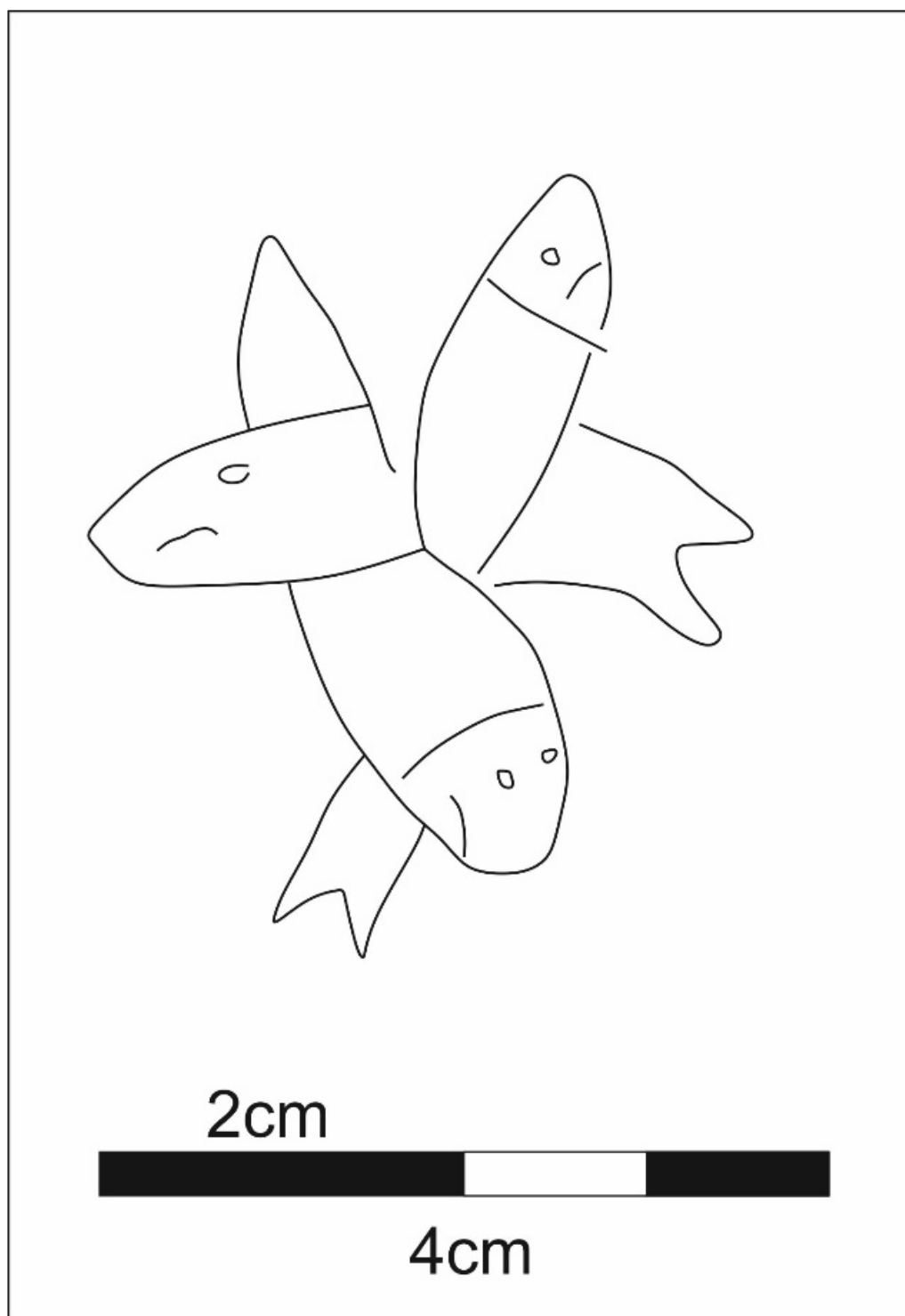
Figure 44. Three fish votive mark located on column S6, St Nicholas church (Author's own image 2018)

7.2.2 Panels

There are two three significant clusters of graffiti within St Nicholas church that were recorded as panels. The first is on the arch of the south entrance (Figure 45): as with the entrance to St Cross Hospital (discussed in Chapter 6), there is a bias towards marks of a religious origin, which comprise forty-five of the total fifty-nine, among which are sixteen votive and eighteen Marian marks. The porch itself was replaced in the eighteenth century, resulting in the loss of any additional marks that would have been present on the side walls. The second and by far the largest panel is on the column N6 (Figure 47). This consists of one hundred and fifteen marks of which sixty-eight are religious in design. The largest individual groups here are the twenty-nine votive marks, twenty-seven Marian marks and the twenty-two textual marks. The third cluster is located at S6 facing the location that contained the community alter. This cluster is smaller than those at N6 and the entrance and wrapped tightly round the column with much of the graffiti on the column enclosed by the addition of the later pulpit on the north-west side of the column.

Figure 45. South entrance to St Nicholas church (Author's own image 2018)

46. Column North 6, St Christopher's chapel column (Author's own image)

Figure 47. Column North 6, St Christopher's chapel column, traced graffiti (Author's own image)

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7.2.3   Geospatial deposition

The deposition of marks within St Nicholas church, Arundel shows three significant clusters (Figure 48). The first, and most significant, is in the porch and enveloping columns S3 and S4, which represent the principal lay entrance and the area surrounding the holy water stoop, close to the most likely original position of the font. The second is focused on column S6, closest to the community altar and the primary focus for community worship within the nave of the original church. The third is located around column N6, which formed the south-western corner of St Christopher's chapel. The distribution of marks of a religious origin (Figure 49) shows they are present in all of the clusters. However, the distribution of secular marks (Figure 50) show a significant drop in density near the entrance and a smaller drop near the community altar. As noted earlier in this chapter, a significant portion of these non-religious marks are masons' marks (Figure 51) and therefore relate to the construction of the church rather than any behaviour by the lay worshippers; once these marks are removed from the dataset the change in activity shows more clearly (Figure 52). When the masons' marks are removed from the total dataset (Figure 53) the difference compared to the total dataset (Figure 48) is noticeable but does not impact on the overall distribution pattern.
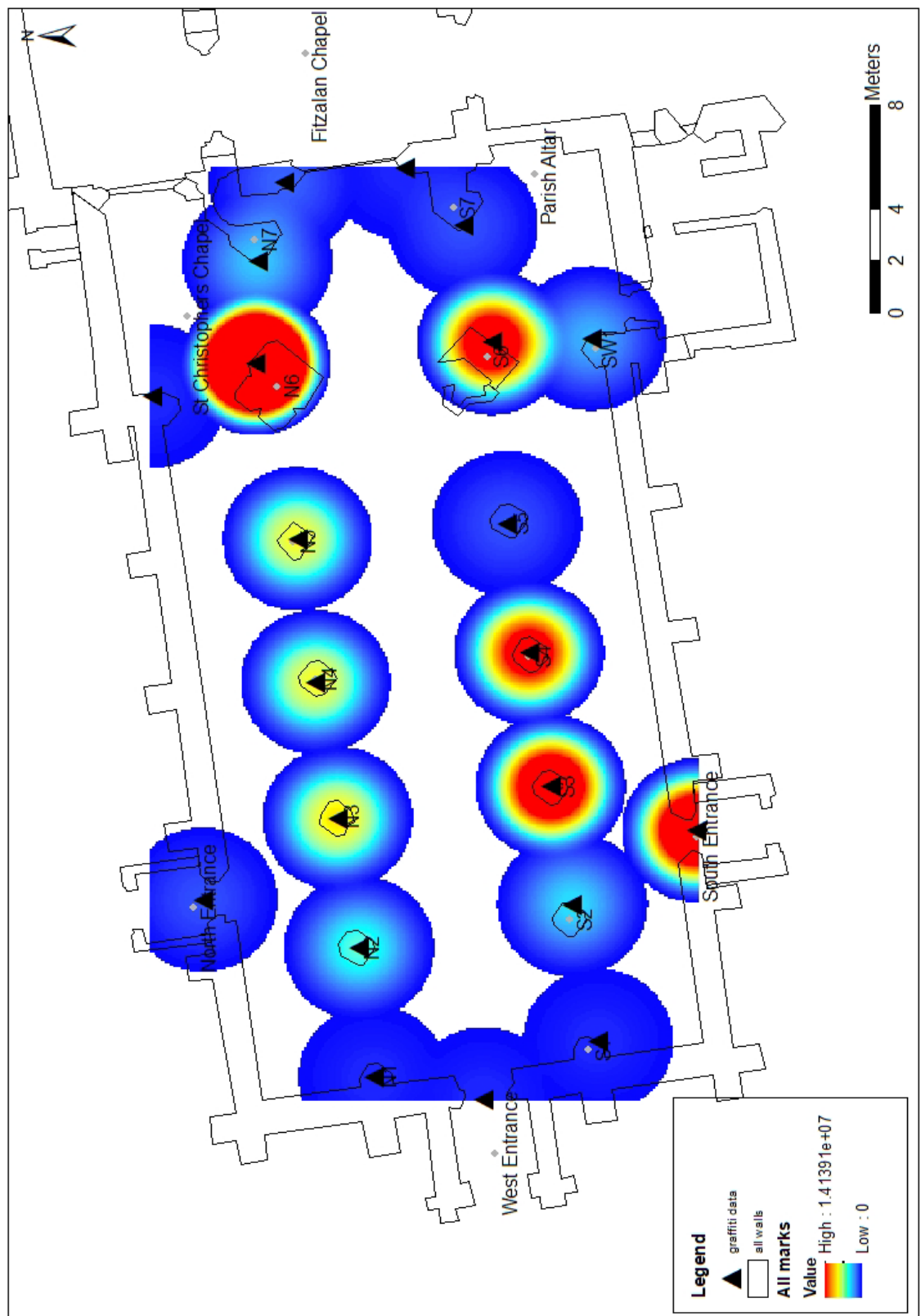
Figure 48. Distribution of graffiti within St Nicholas church, Arundel, where N=426 (Author's own image 2020)
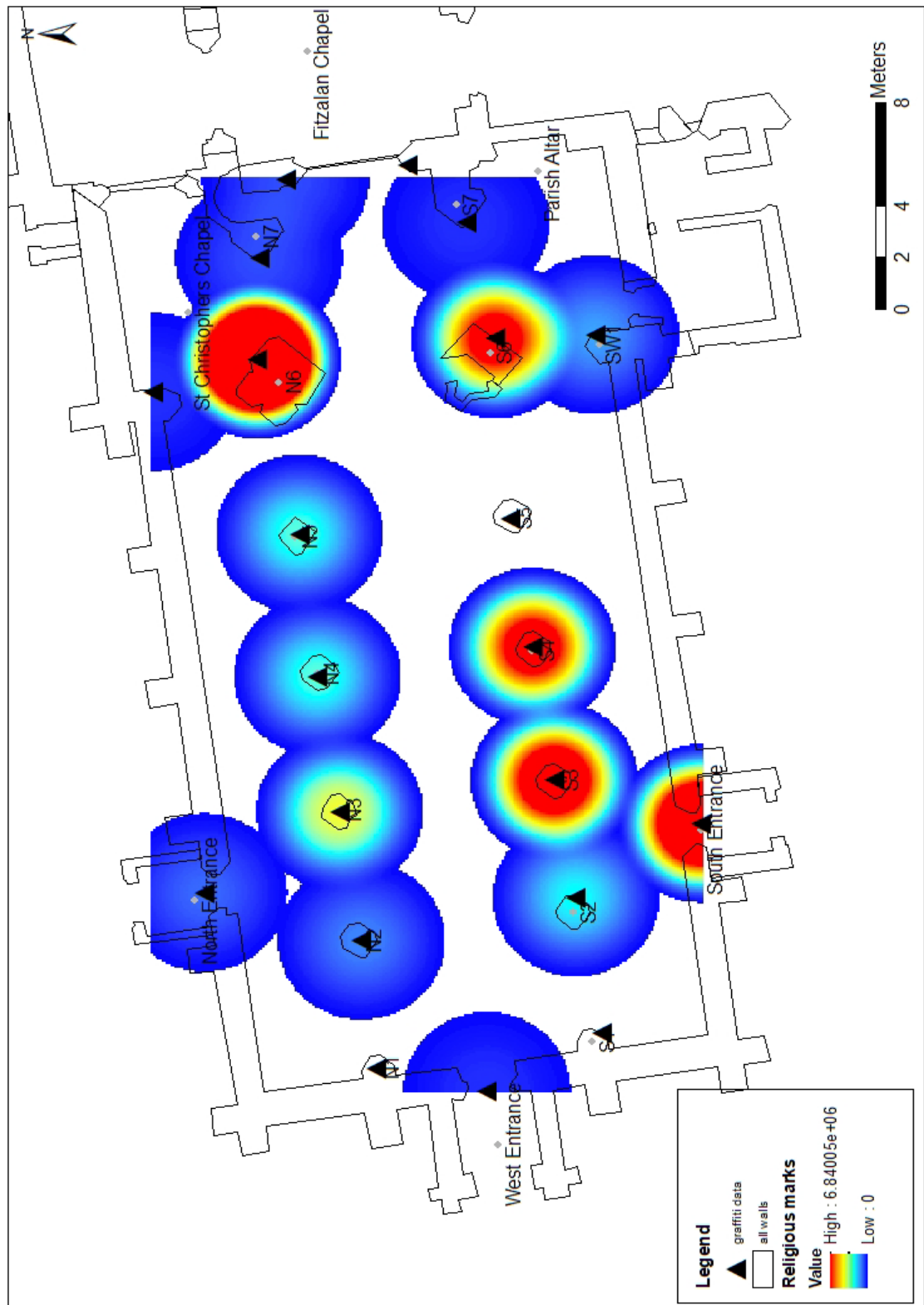
Figure 49. Distribution of graffiti marks with a religious origin, St Nicholas church, Arundel, where N=261 (Author's own image 2020)
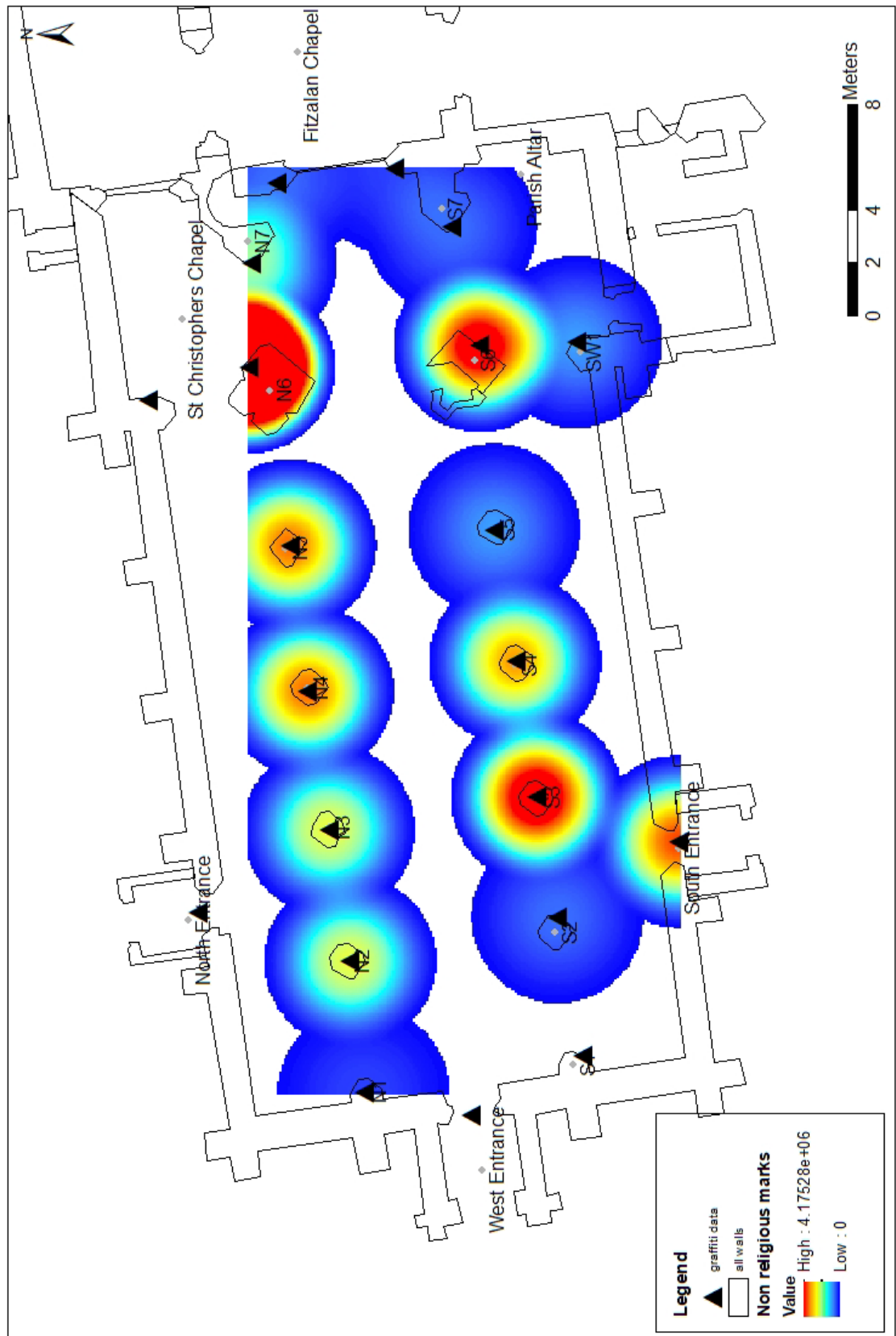
Figure 50. Distribution of graffiti marks with a secular origin, St Nicholas church, Arundel, where N=165 (Author's own image 2020)
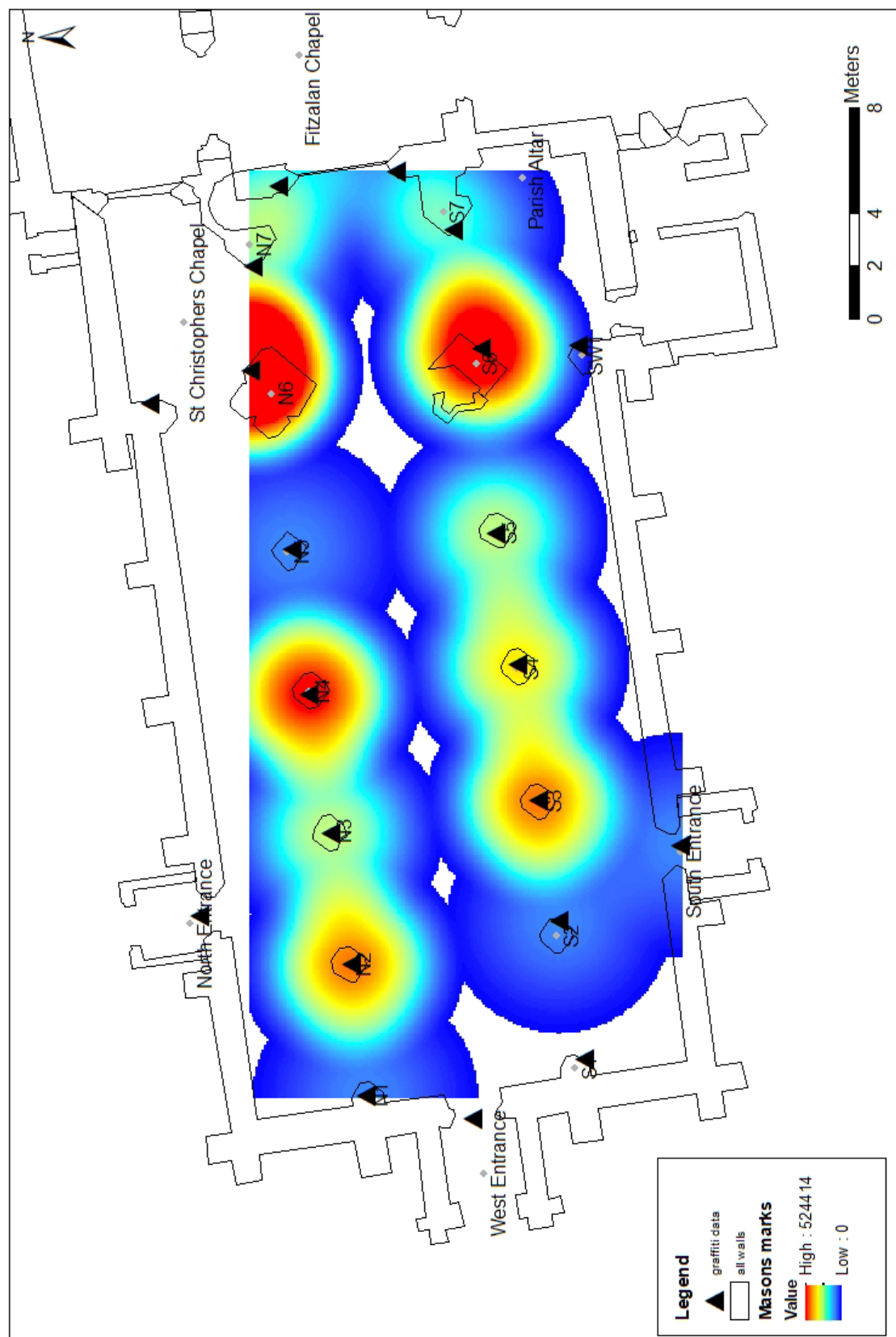
Figure 51. Distribution of masons' marks, St Nicholas church, Arundel, where N=53 (Author's own image 2020)
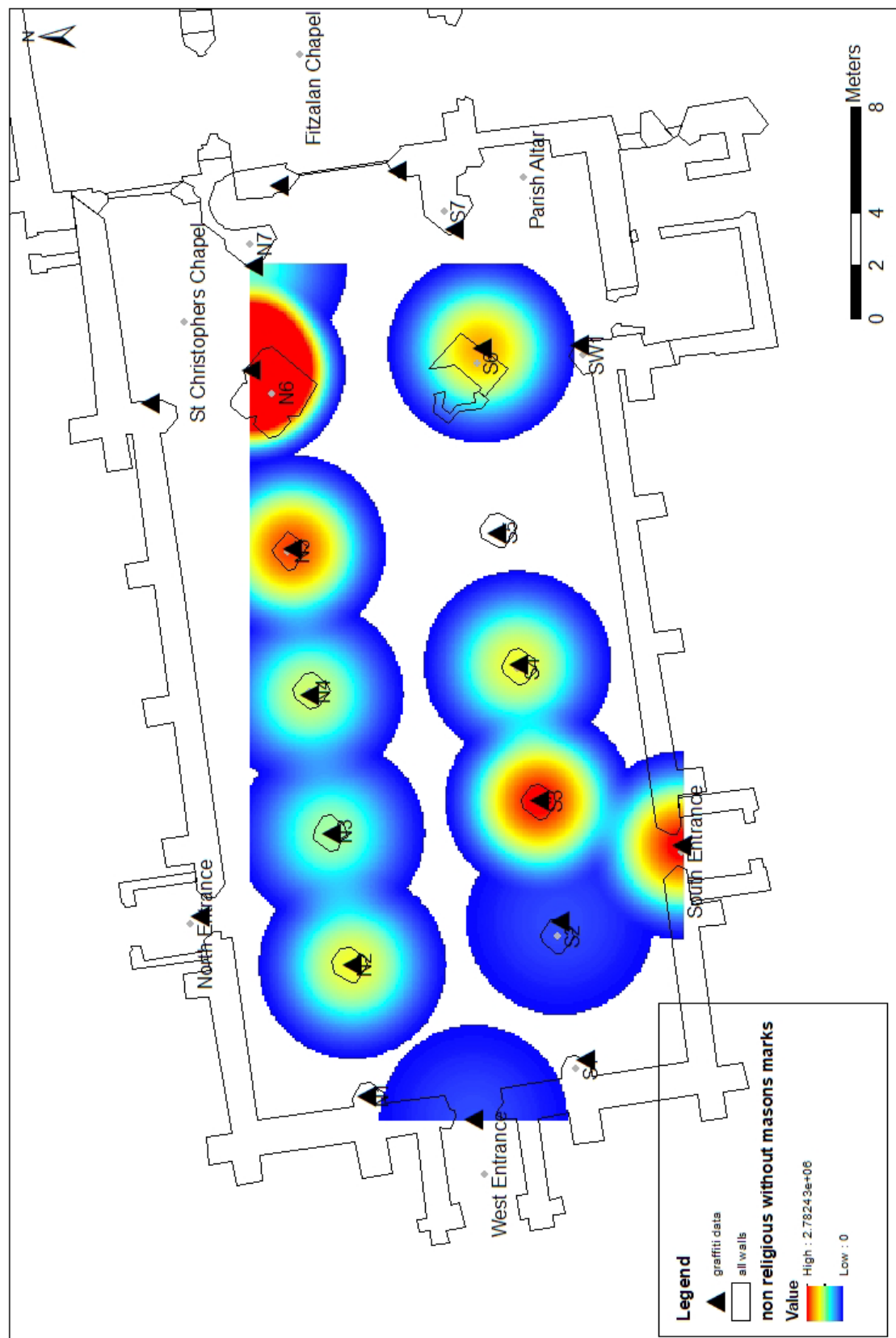
Figure 52. Distribution of marks of a non-religious origin excluding masons' marks, St Nicholas church, Arundel, where N=112 (Author's own image 2020)
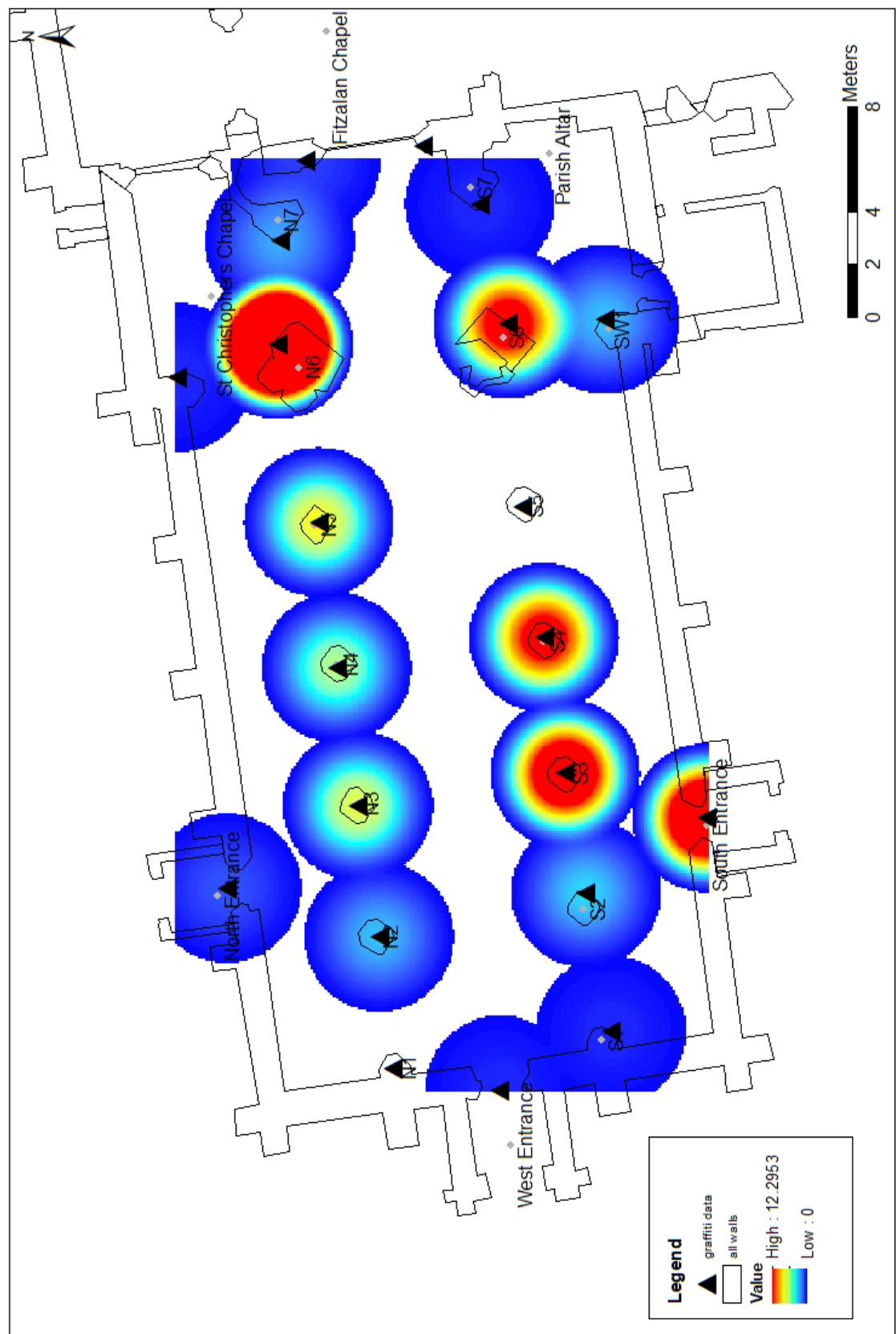
Figure 53. Distribution of all marks excluding masons' marks, St Nicholas church, Arundel, where N=373 (Author's own image 2020)

7.3   Comments on St Nicholas, Arundel

The parish church of St Nicholas provides a snapshot of activity in a parish church of the Middle Ages. The largely unmodified interior of the church, complete with some surviving Medieval wall paintings, preserves a large deposition of graffiti. The survival of the large number of masons' marks as well as the palimpsest of graffiti through the church offers a clear insight into the historic usage of the space. This site offers a valuable dataset for interpreting and understanding the practices that allowed Medieval worshippers to engage with the divine in a safe manner, initially under the guidance of the parish priest, but people could also explore this contact independently while worshiping in the side chapel and making use of the church entrance. It is during some of these acts of personal worship that the graffiti marks would have been placed. Creating the palimpsest that becomes the panels being studied here. The marks placed on N6 and S6 clearly demonstrate a high level of activity that must be analysed further. These panels may represent the ritual doings and markers for liminal entrance into nested ontologies that will be discussed in detail later in this work (Chapter 10).

7.3.1   The St Nicholas Dataset

- The marks within St Nicholas are predominantly religious, but with marks of secular origin present within the total.

- Each panel consists of a mixture of marks. These include marks that are clearly not connected to the religious practice and ritual activity undertaken in this space.

- When placed in context of the panels, a number of the secular marks become ritual doings connected to the religious and ritual activity within the space.

- The masons' marks that are scattered across the surface of the church are purely secular in nature, representing the (re-)construction of the church. The increased density of these marks on N6 and S6 reflects the size and complex nature of these columns but requires more work to fully understand.

- The merchant's mark, placed within the panel at S6, becomes a ritual doing, connected to the merchant, and usually used as a mark of business dealings in the

secular world; here it is likely to be connected to prayer-making at and interaction with the Marian chapel being conducted by the merchant, given its placement within the context of a panel reflecting religious activity.

- The principal panels of interest within this study are those found at the entrance to St Nicholas church as well as those at S3, S4, S6 and N6. The entrance, S3 and S4 form a collective assemblage around the principal community entrance to the church. S6 is located close to the modern community altar, which is the location of the Medieval lady chapel, and N6 is located on the primary column that marked the south-west corner of the chapel to St Christopher. Each of these is a point that represents significant religious activity within the church, notably the place of life-course rituals at the entrance and the two significant chapels within the church.

8 Site 4: Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Salisbury – A cathedral and place of pilgrimage destination

8.1 Salisbury Cathedral: location and history

Salisbury cathedral is located at the heart of the modern city of Salisbury (Figure 53). It was constructed predominantly in the thirteenth century following the bishop's decision to move the diocesan seat from the earthwork and city at Old Sarum. The move is reputed to have been the result of problems with the availability of both space and water supply, as well as the unwanted proximity to the royal garrison in the castle at the centre of the earthwork (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014). The result was the construction of the present cathedral church and close. The majority of the extant cathedral structure was completed between 1220 and 1266 (Salisbury Cathedral, 2020) built with significant gifts of materials from Henry III (Simpson, 1996). From its beginnings, the present cathedral was likely intended to hold the tomb-shrine of Bishop Osmund (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014). The eastern end that became the Trinity Chapel and houses the shrine was constructed of Purbeck marble, while the rest of the cathedral was of Portland-type limestone sourced from nearby quarries (Stone Masons, 2018). Salisbury cathedral, in common with most English cathedrals, was constructed in a series of phases and likewise underwent periods of alteration. The principle construction phases took place through the thirteenth century (Figure 54), with minor additions from the fifteenth to eighteenth century and a significant cleaning and repair programme between 1862 and 1878 under the supervision of George Gilbert Scott (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014)
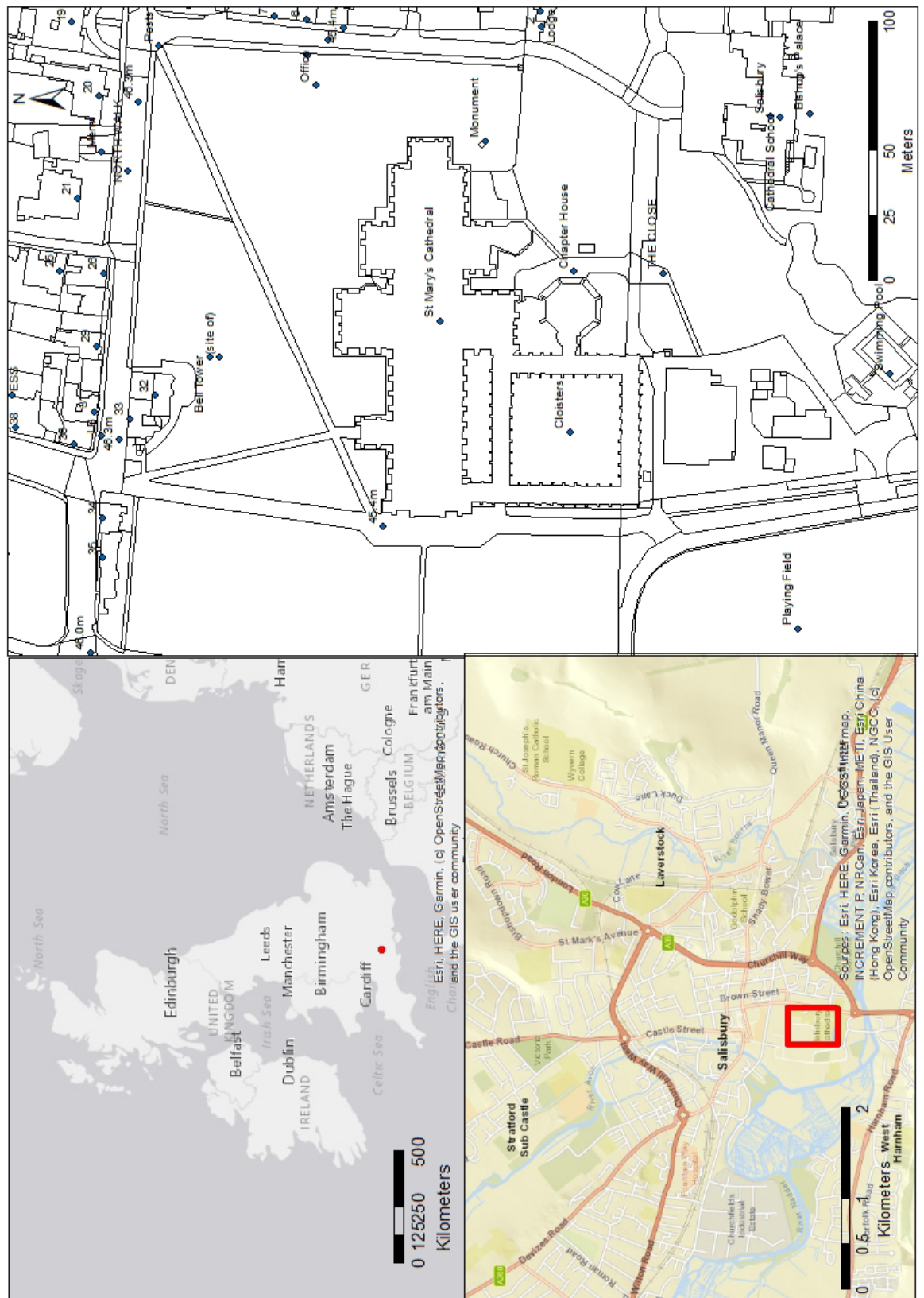
Figure 54. Location of Salisbury Cathedral (ArcMap 10.7 base map Ordnance Survey)

8.2   A pilgrimage destination

Salisbury cathedral was constructed during a period when pilgrimage was increasing in popularity and becoming a significant source of income for cathedrals and monastic sites (Chapter 2.4). It is possible to identify cultic activity associated with Bishop Osmund at the original cathedral, as evidenced from the Foramina tomb shrine, a form of tomb shrine with oval niches cut into permit pilgrims' access into the space below the remains of the deceased occupant. This tomb was translated from the old cathedral to the new in 1226 (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014). This translation would have marked a distinct and intentional break from the old to the new cathedral and would have started to draw worshippers and potential pilgrims away from the established site at Sarum and down to the new cathedral in the valley.

Despite the efforts of the cathedral and the cult of Osmund, it was not until 1457 that he was officially recognised by the Catholic Church as a saint and canonised (Webb, 2000: 63, 88); this was the result of a protracted but underfunded campaign that had begun in 1228. As such, through most of the history of the cathedral the pilgrimage it received was unofficial. Due to this late recognition, the pilgrimage industry in Salisbury was not technically permitted under church law, but this did not stop the cathedral actively supporting and profiting from the cult (Webb, 2000: 152). By the late Middle Ages, it was evident that a significant cult had been established and that not only was the shrine in place and active, but it had been joined by a pair of chantry chapels and other tombs (Figure 56).
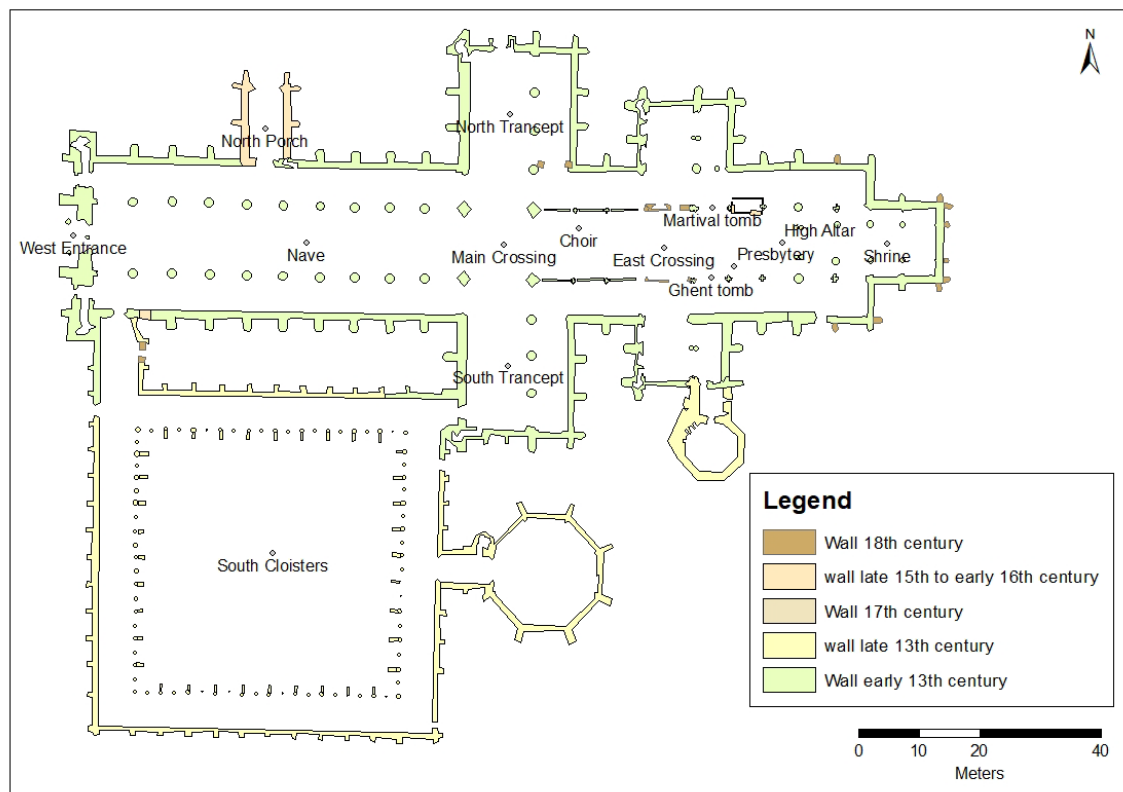
Figure 55 Salisbury cathedral by construction phase, after Tatton-Brown and Crook (2014) (Author's own image 2020)
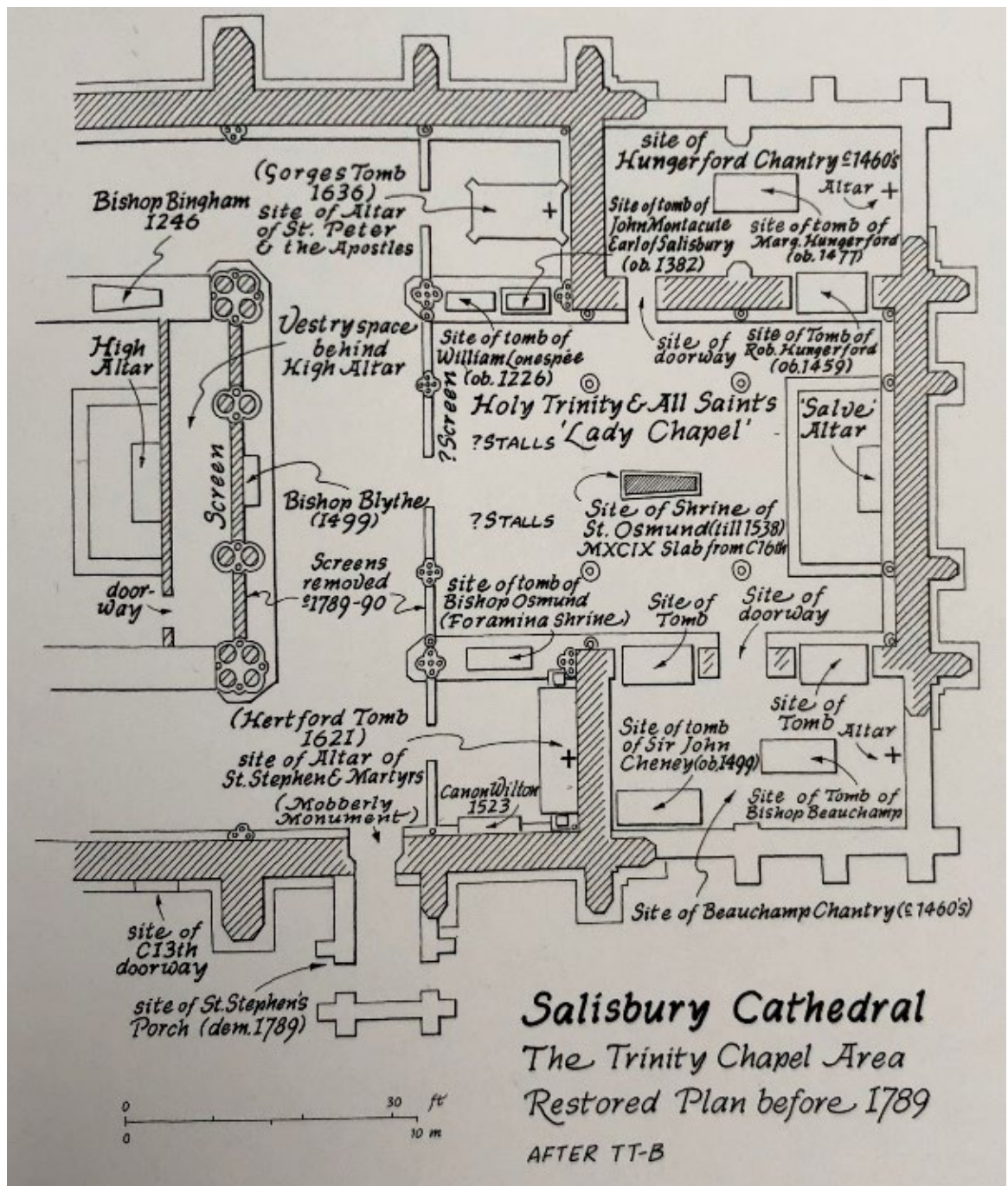
Figure 56. Reconstructed plan of the east end of Salisbury cathedral (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014: 103)

8.3   Graffiti deposition

8.3.1   Individual marks

Through the nave, choir, and transepts of the cathedral there are a total of 873, and of these, 76 are post-Medieval in nature (Table 4). Of the remaining total, 611 can be found on the two columns that form the western side of the main crossing of the cathedral (Table 5). Regarding the total count of marks, 678 are religious in origin, and 119 are non-religious. The largest single group of graffiti are crosses, totalling 456, of which 443 are type 1 crosses. The next largest groups are the Marian marks, totalling 94, and votive marks, totalling 81.

The graffiti include four anthropomorphic marks, including a leg (Figure 57) and a full figure (Figure 58). There are also 34 compass-drawn marks including a distinct group on the south-west column of the crossing (Figure 59). These marks come together to form a small number of highly concentrated clusters within the cathedral.

Number of marks by location

Graffiti Type	Nave west	Nave north	Nave south	N Transept	S Transept	NW Crossing col	SW crossing col	NE crossing col	SE crossing col	Ghent tomb	East of Martival tomb	Martival tomb	Bennet tomb	Total
Cross 1				1		188	158			57	5	14	15	443
Cross 2						2	6			4	1			13
Compass Drawn 1		1		1		2	15			1		1	2	23
Compass Drawn 2					1	2	8							11
Votive						30	40			7	1	1	2	81
Marian Mark			1	1	1	42	36			7	2		4	94
Apotropaic						7	2							9
Star														0
Pelta														0
Memorial						3	1							4
Architectural			1			2				1				5
Ship														0
Heraldic						1								1
Martial														0
Music						1								1
Anthropomorphic						1	1				1		1	4
Animal									1					1
plant														0
Masons Mark				2										2
Construction Mark														0
Merchants Mark						2	2							4
Merels														0
Grid		1		1		2	6			1	1			12
text		8	3	1	2	11	18	4	4	4	1	2	4	62
Talley						15	7			2	2	1		27
Post medieval		15	12	8	4	12	19	1	2	3	1		3	76
TOTAL - excluding post medieval	0	11	10	7	4	323	319	4	5	84	14	19	28	797

Table 4. Distribution of graffiti through Salisbury cathedral

Graffiti Type	Number of marks by location								
	NW N face	NW NE face	NW SE face	NW S face	SW N Face	SW NE face	SW SE face	SW S face	Total
Cross 1	50	62	46	30	30	31	21	76	346
Cross 2	1		1			2		4	8
Compass Drawn 1	1	1			8	4	2	1	17
Compass Drawn 2		1	1		6	1		1	10
Votive	15	5	6	4	10	6	5	19	70
Marian Mark	11	11	14	6	13	6	3	14	78
Apotropaic	4	1	2				1	1	9
Star									0
Pelta									0
Memorial	1			2				1	4
Architectural	1	1							2
Ship									0
Heraldic			1						1
Martial									0
Music			1						1
Anthropomorphic	1						1		2
Masons Mark									0
Construction Mark									0
Merchants Mark			1	1	1		1		4
Merels									0
Grid	1		1		2		2	2	8
text	3	3	2	3	4	2	2	10	29
Talley	6	6	3		2	2	2	1	22
Post medieval	6	1	5		3		4	12	31
TOTAL - excluding post medieval	95	91	79	46	76	54	39	131	611

Table 5. Breakdown of graffiti by facing on crossing columns, Salisbury cathedral
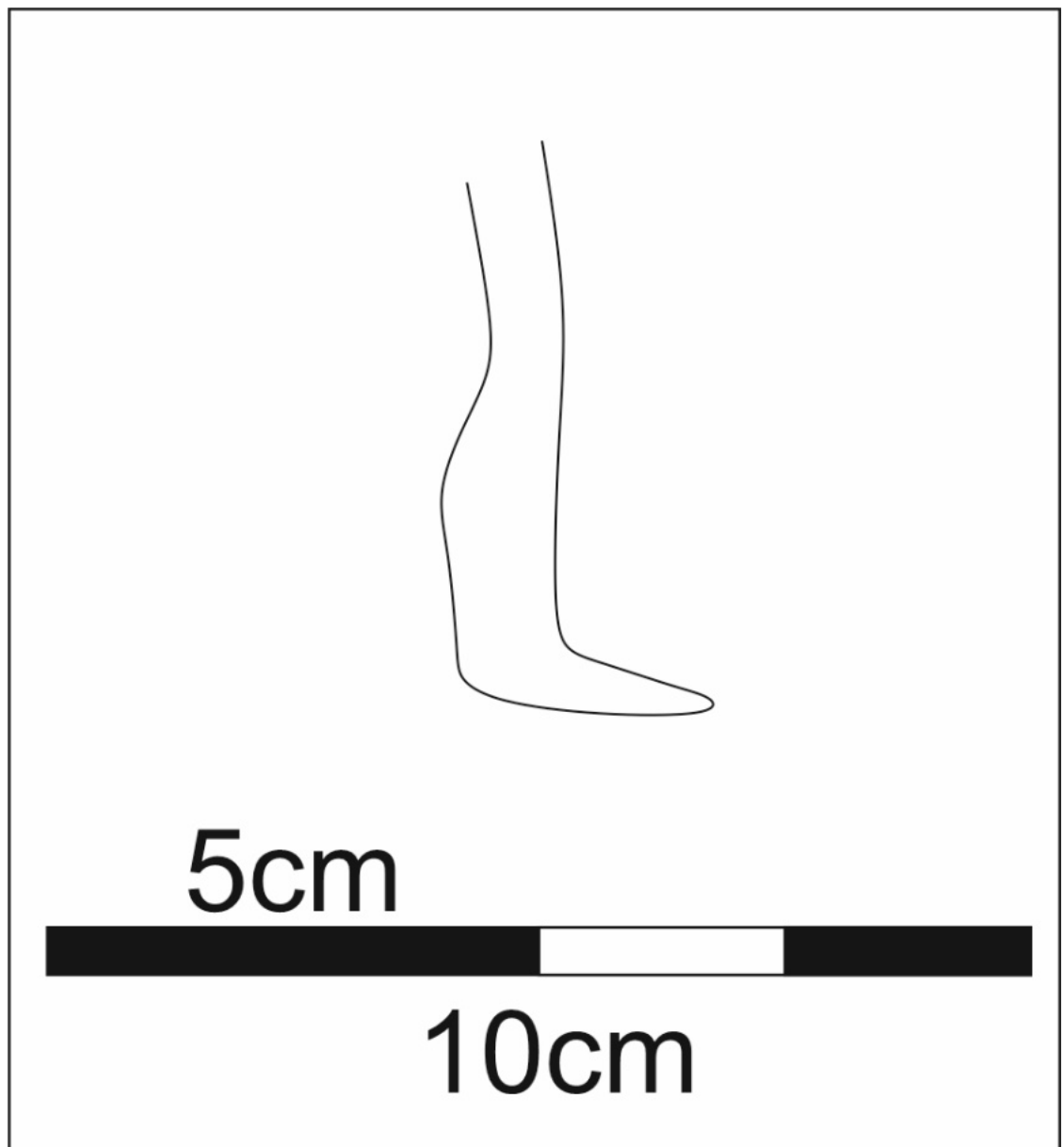
Figure 57. Leg graffito, crossing, south-west column, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)
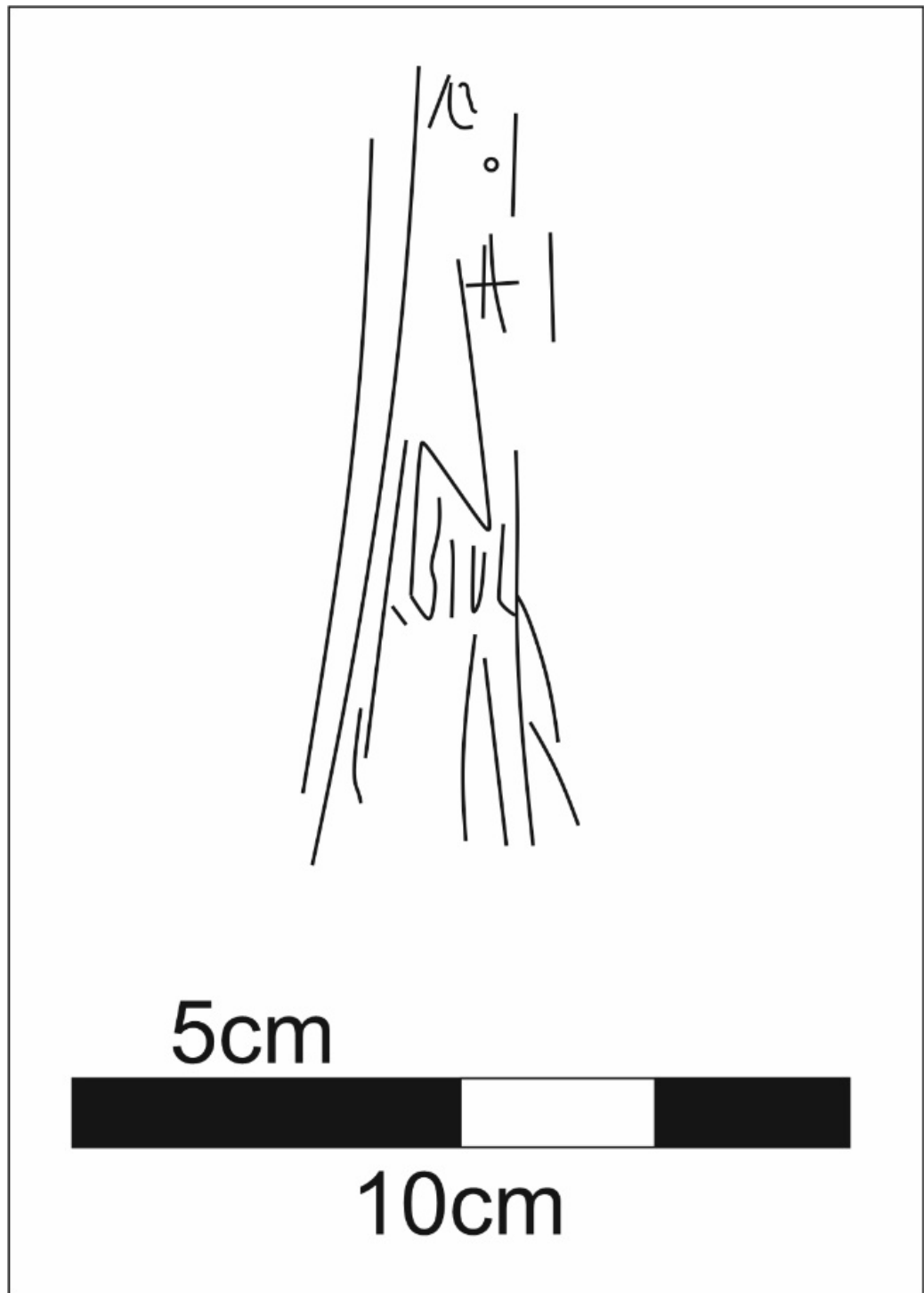
Figure 58. Human figure, crossing, north-west column, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)
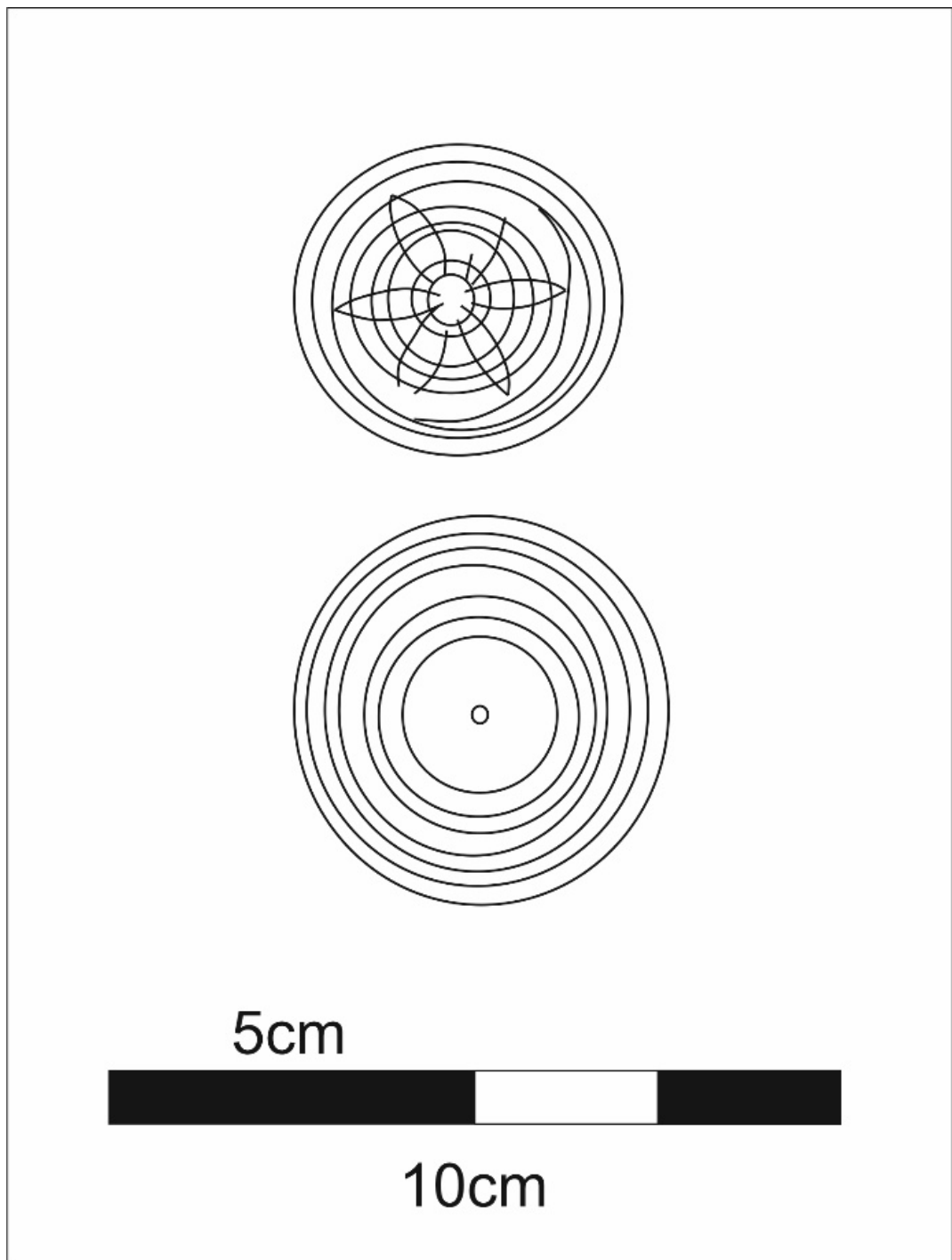
Figure 59. Compass-drawn marks, south-west column, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)

8.3.2 Panels

The most significant panels within the cathedral are located at the crossing, where the nave, choir and transepts meet. The four columns that support the structure above in this large open space became a focus for activity, as people navigated the built environment of the cathedral interior. The most significant deposition is on the western side of the crossing, as can be seen in the panels (Figure 60 - Figure 67).

The panel next to the sixteenth-century tomb of Thomas Bennet (Figure 68) is located on the screen that separates the choir south aisle from the choir. It is highly unlikely that the graffiti has any connection to the tomb due to the late date of the tomb. By contract the panels associated with the tombs of two former bishops of Salisbury, Simon of Ghent, bishop from 1297 to 1315 (Figure 69 and Figure 70) and Roger Martival, bishop from 1315 to 1330 (Figure 71 and Figure 72) are likely connected to activity around these tombs . The Ghent and Martival tombs appear to have remained as placed during the initial burial of the bishops in the early fourteenth century (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014: 60-61), and have graffiti not only on the surrounding screens but also on the structure of the tombs.
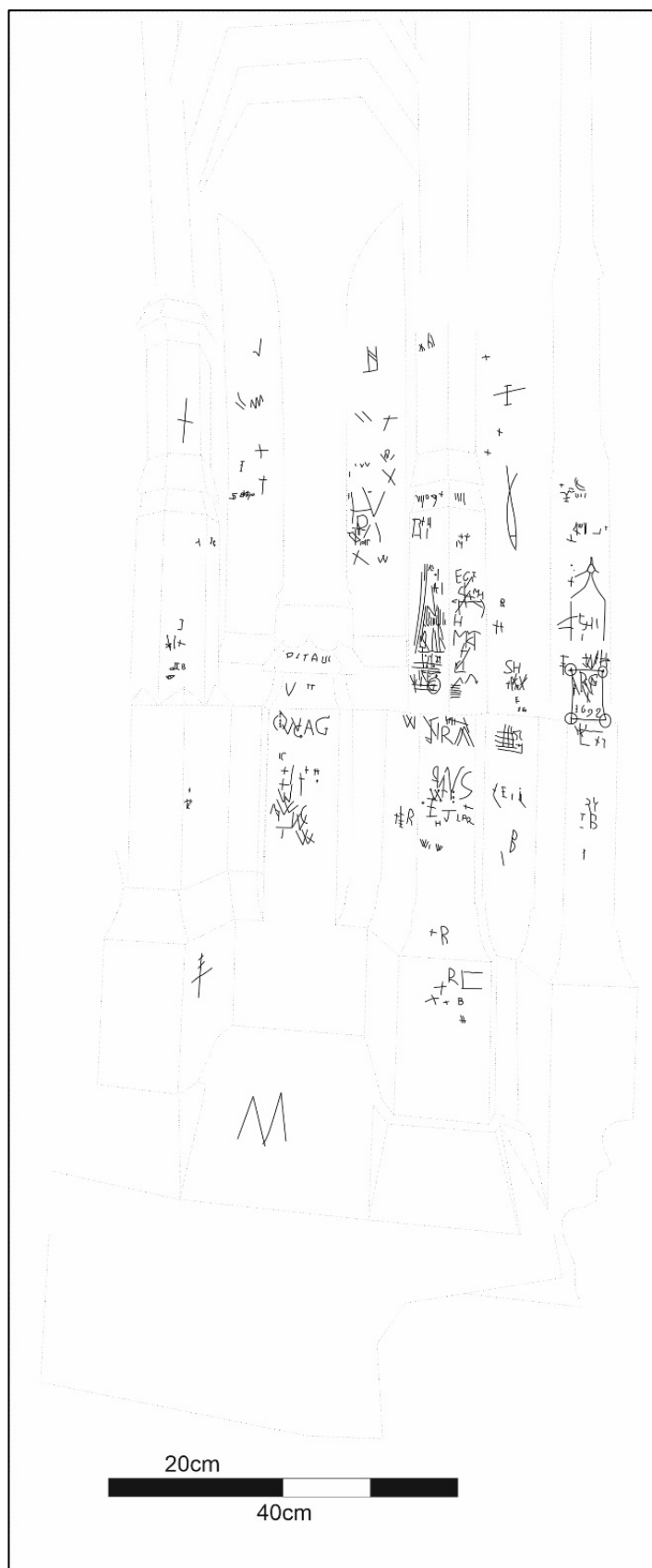
Figure 60. Crossing, north-west column, north face (Author's own image 2020)
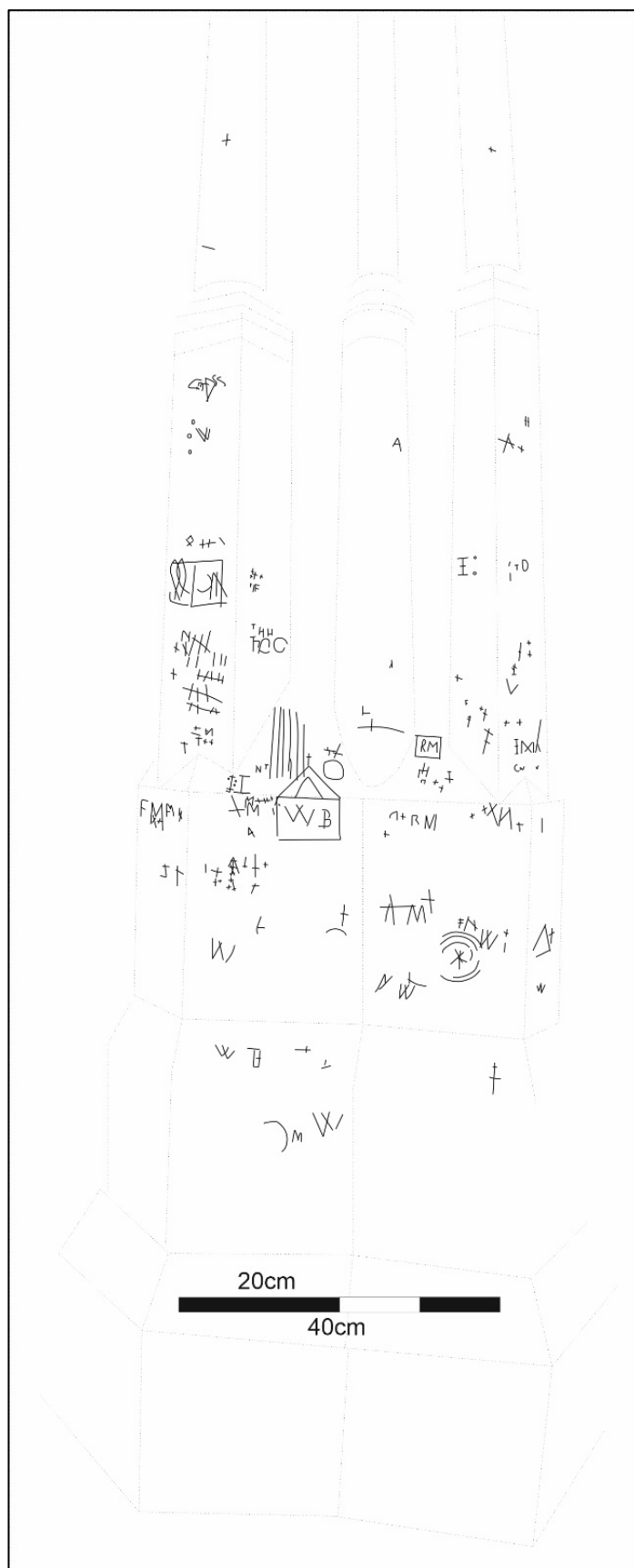
Figure 61. Crossing, north-west column, north-east face (authors own image 2020)
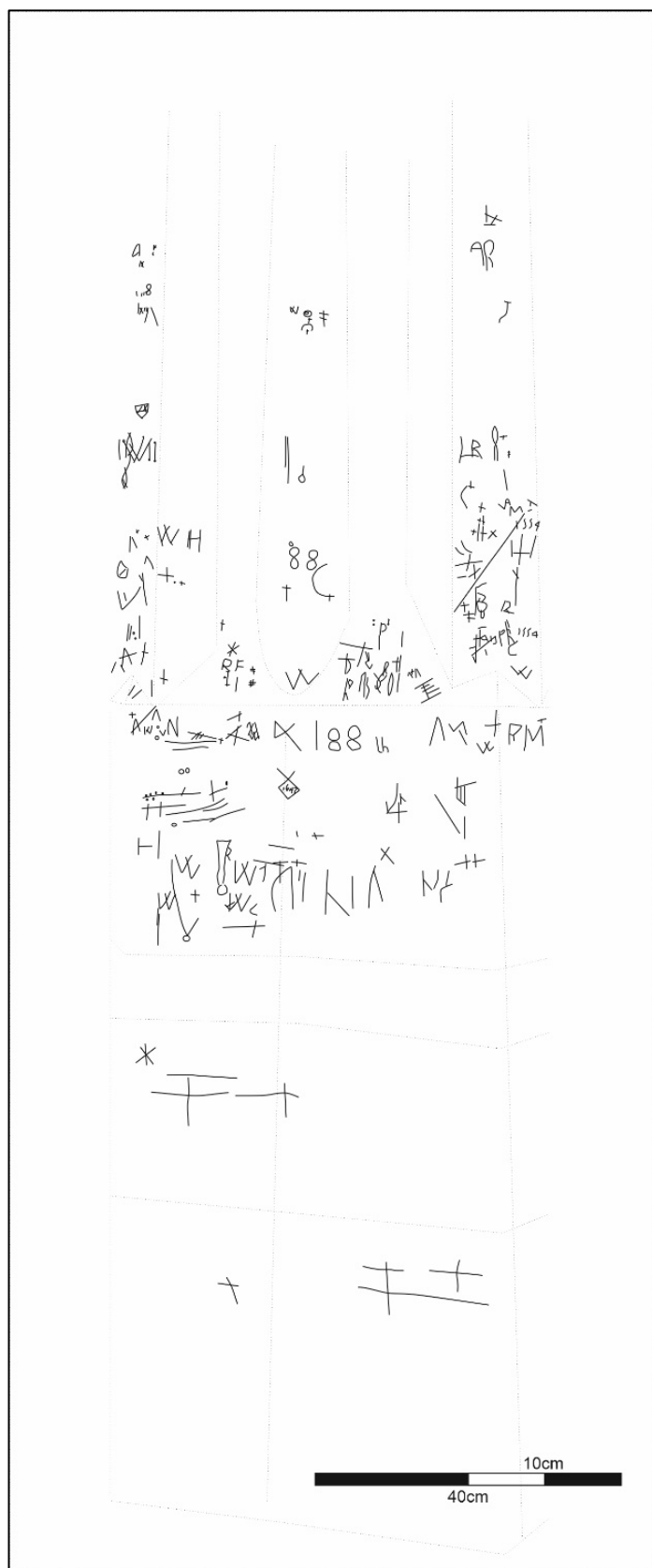
Figure 62. Crossing north-west column, south-east face (authors own image 2020)
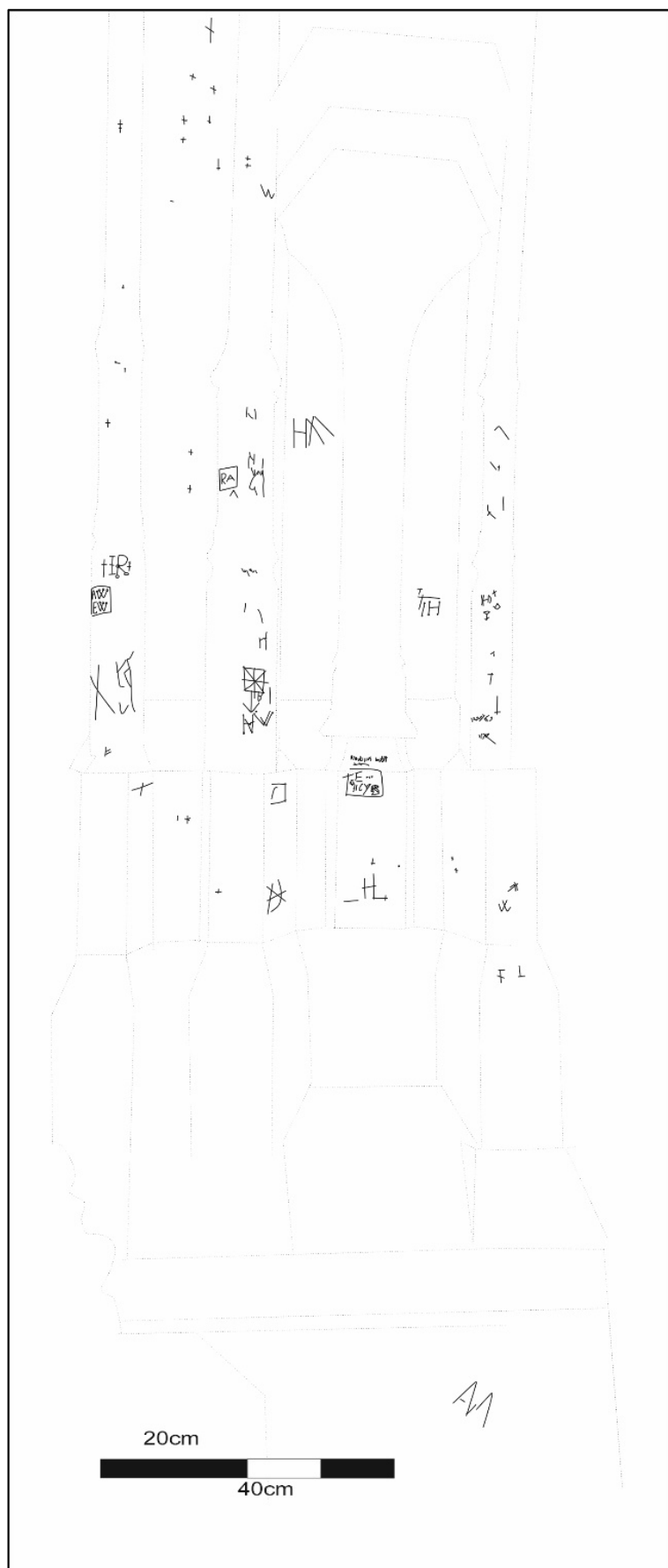
Figure 63. Crossing north-west column, south face (authors own image 2020)
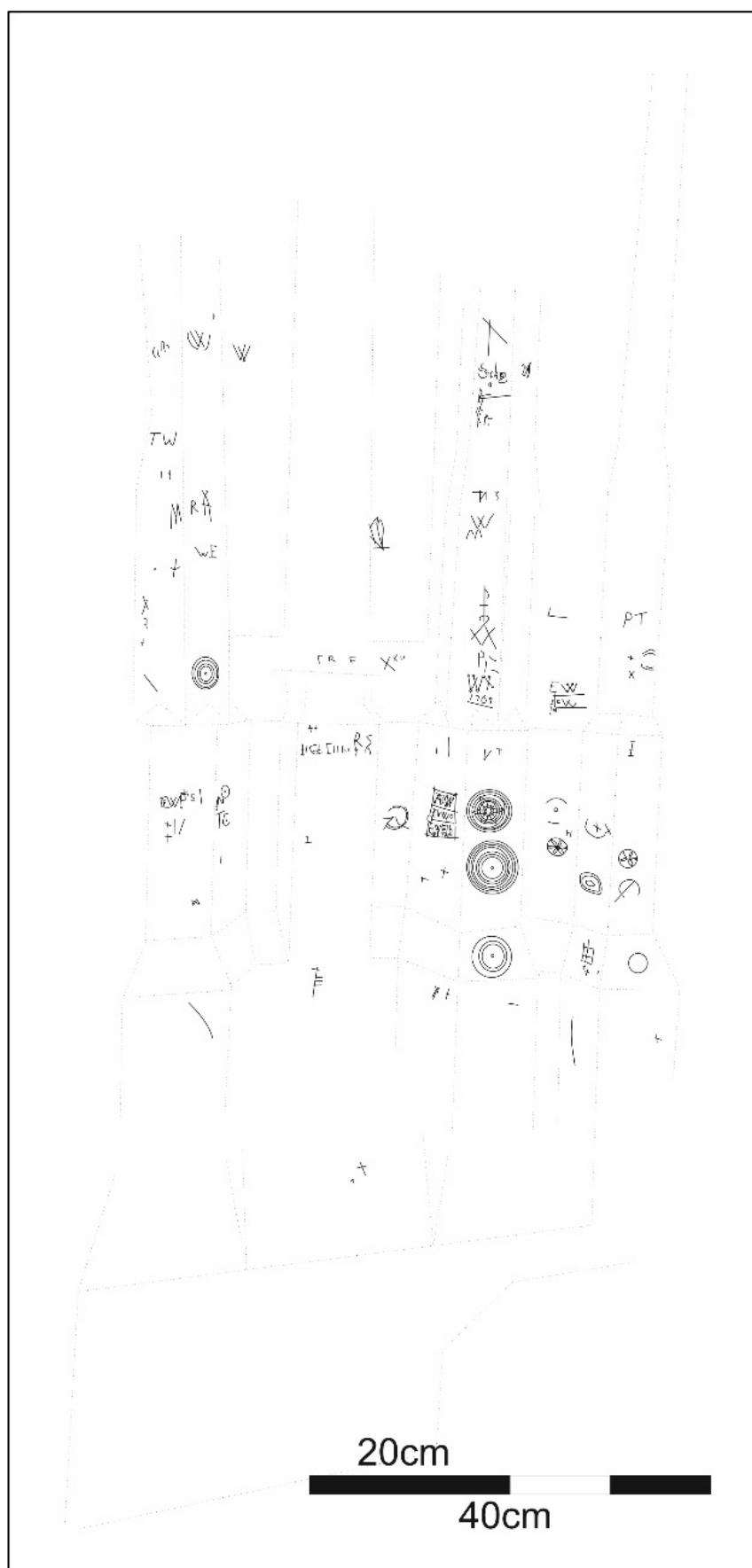
Figure 64. Crossing, south-west column north face (authors own image 2020)
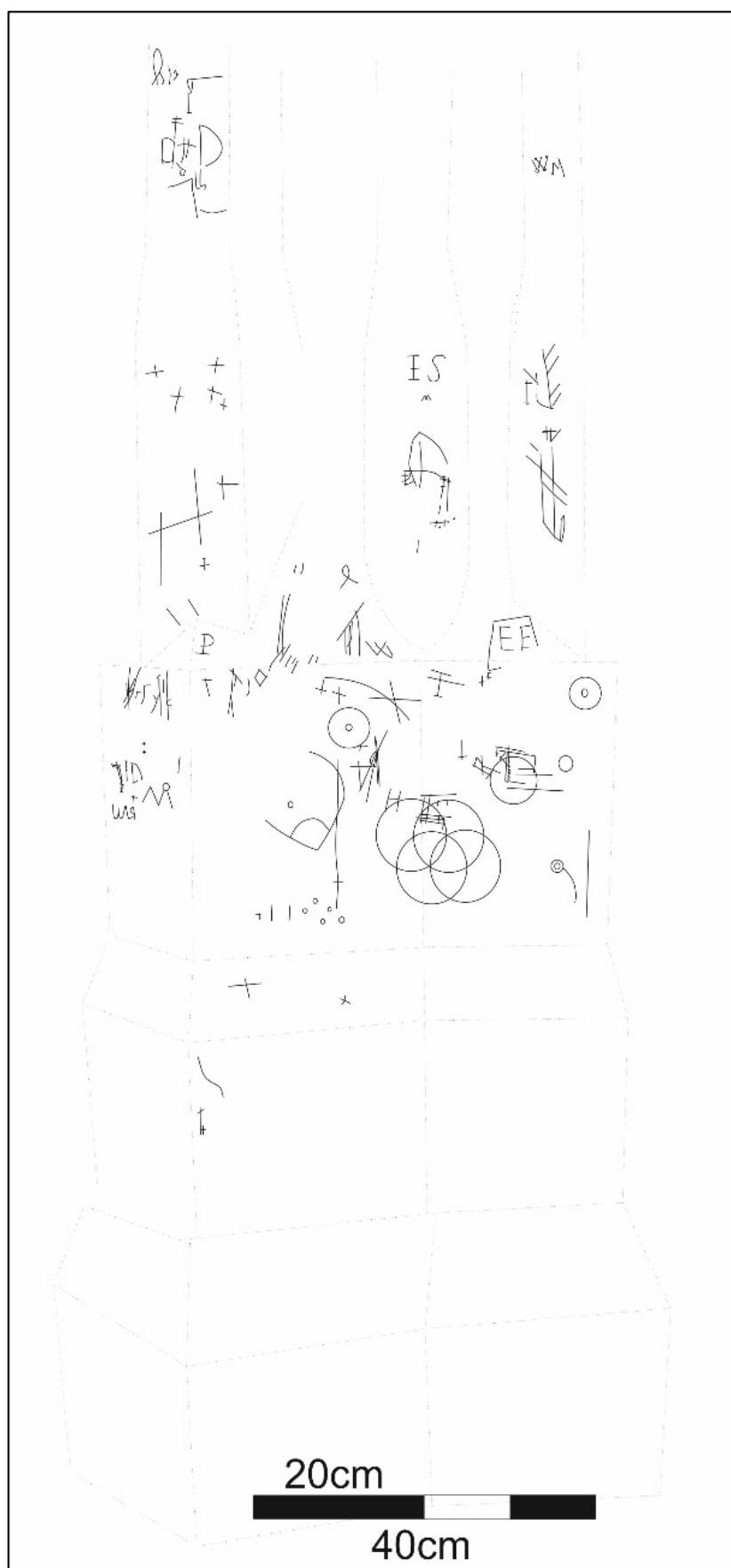
Figure 65. Crossing, south-west column, south-east face (authors own image 2020)

Figure 66. Crossing, south-west column, south-east face (authors own image 2020)
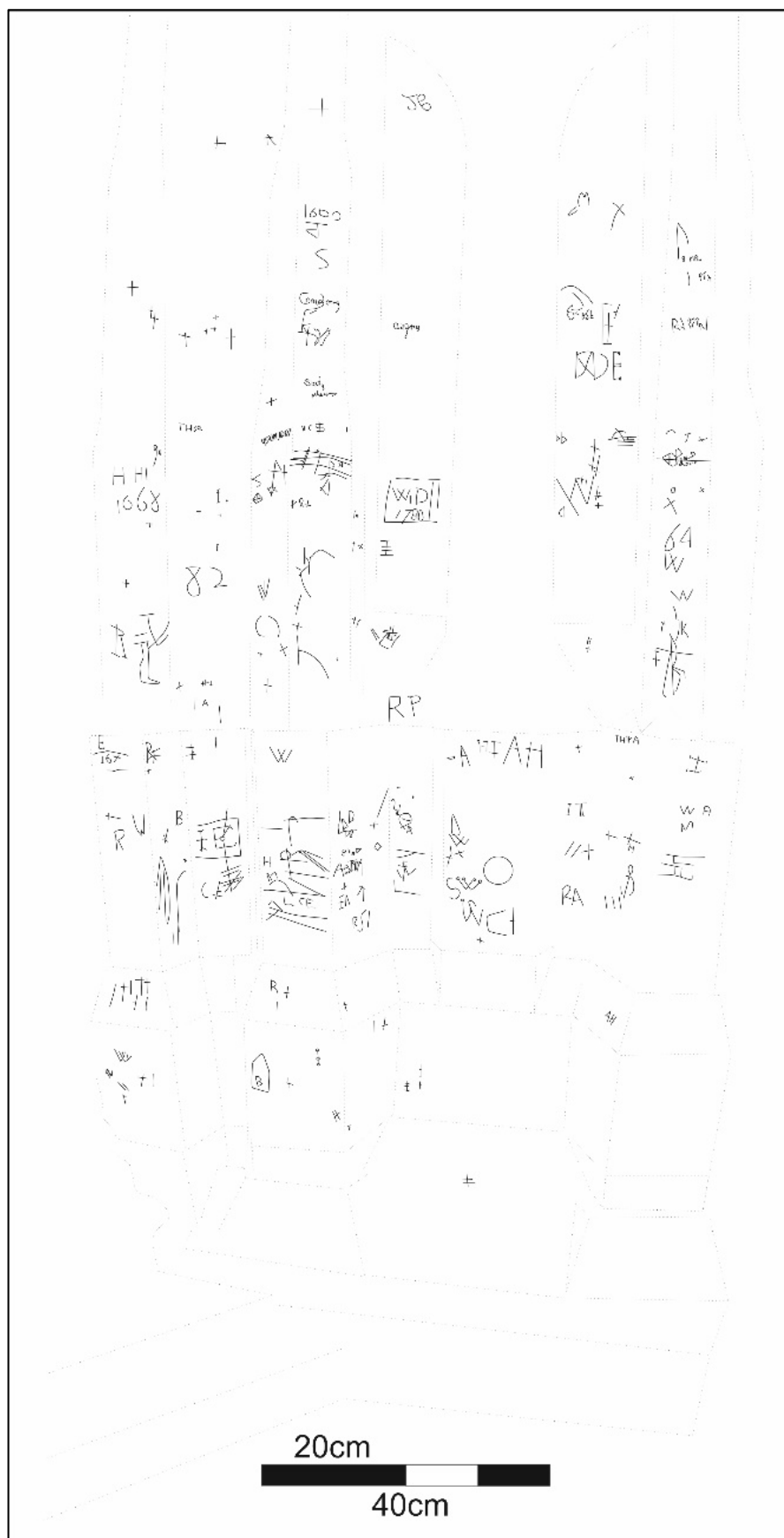
Figure 67. Crossing, south-west column, south face (authors own image 2020)
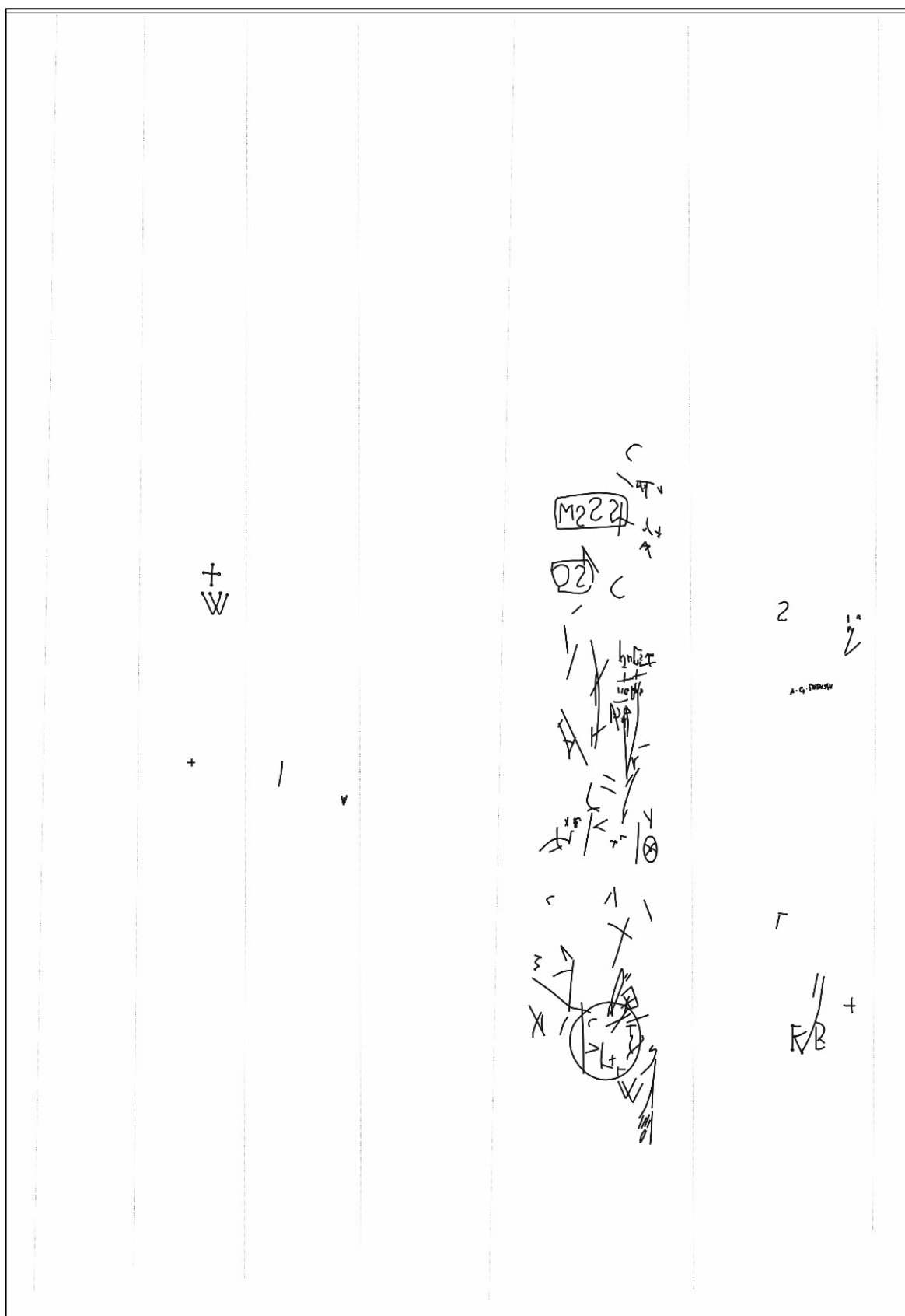
Figure 68. Graffiti on the east side of the Bennet tomb, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)
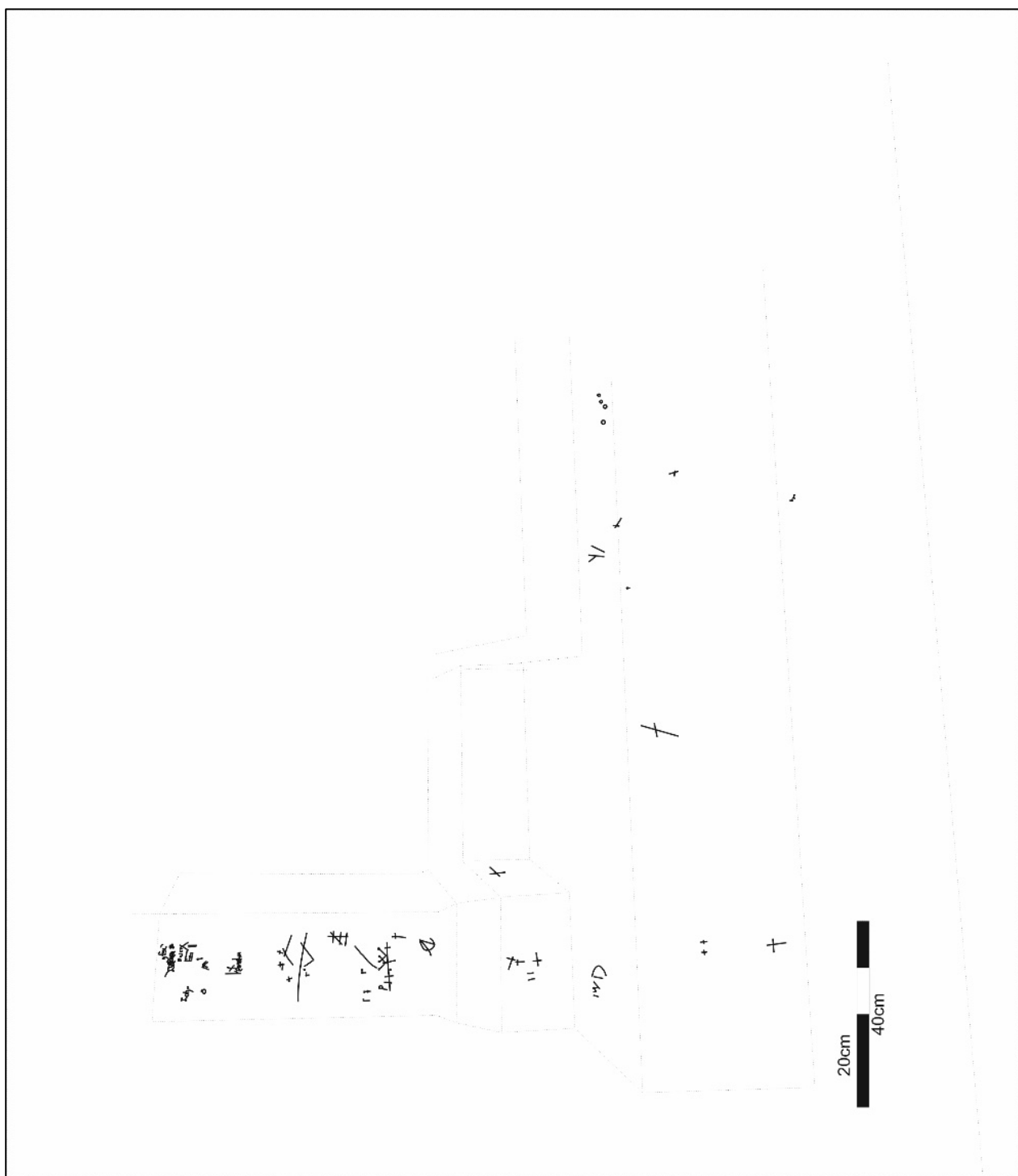
Figure 69. Graffiti on the Ghent tomb, west side, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)

Figure 70. Graffiti on the Ghent tomb, east side, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)
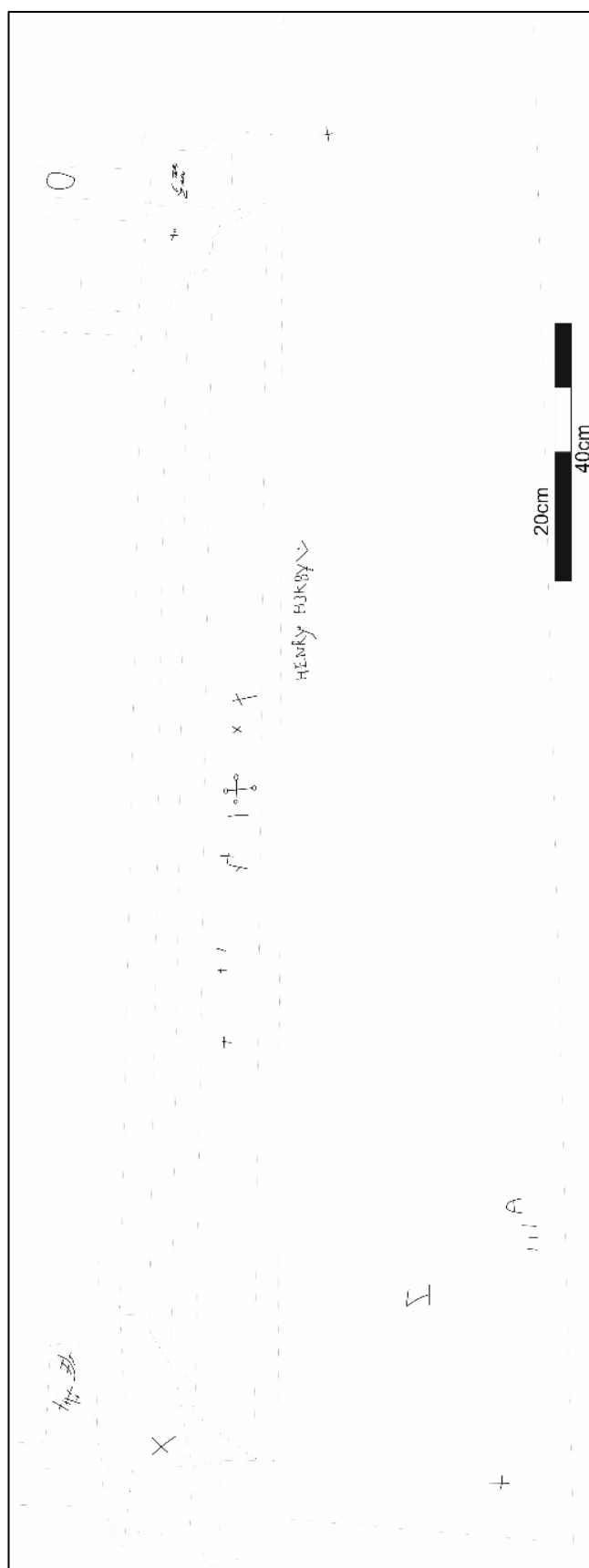
Figure 71. Graffiti on the Martival tomb, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)
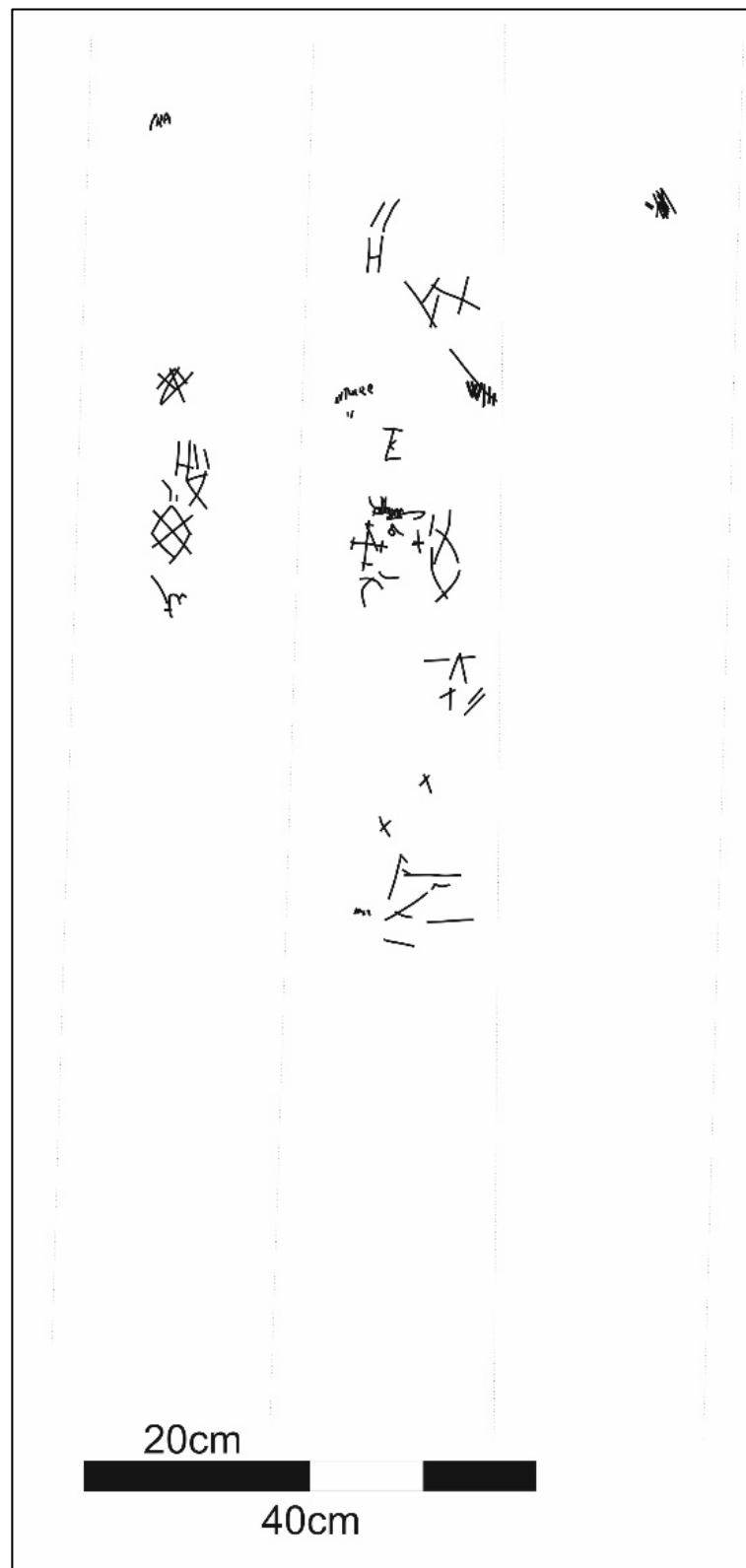
Figure 72. Graffiti on th Martival tomb, east side, Salisbury cathedral (Author's own image 2020)

8.3.3   Geospatial deposition

The deposition of graffiti within the cathedral shows significant clustering on the west side of the main crossing as well as around the Ghent and Martival tombs (Figure 73). This distribution pattern is consistent within the marks of religious (Figure 74) and secular origin (Figure 75).
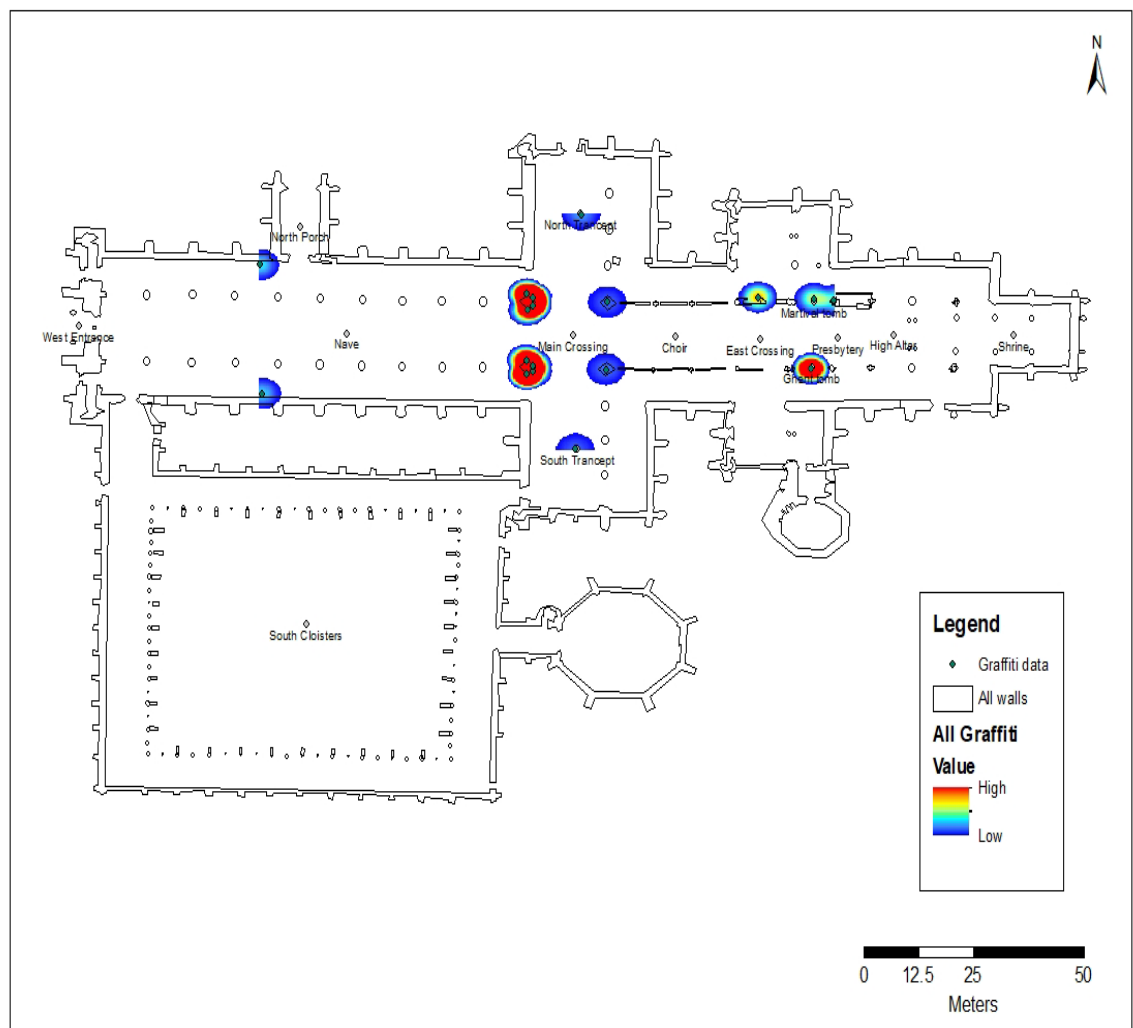
Figure 73. Distribution of graffiti within Salisbury cathedral, where N=796 (Author's own image 2020)
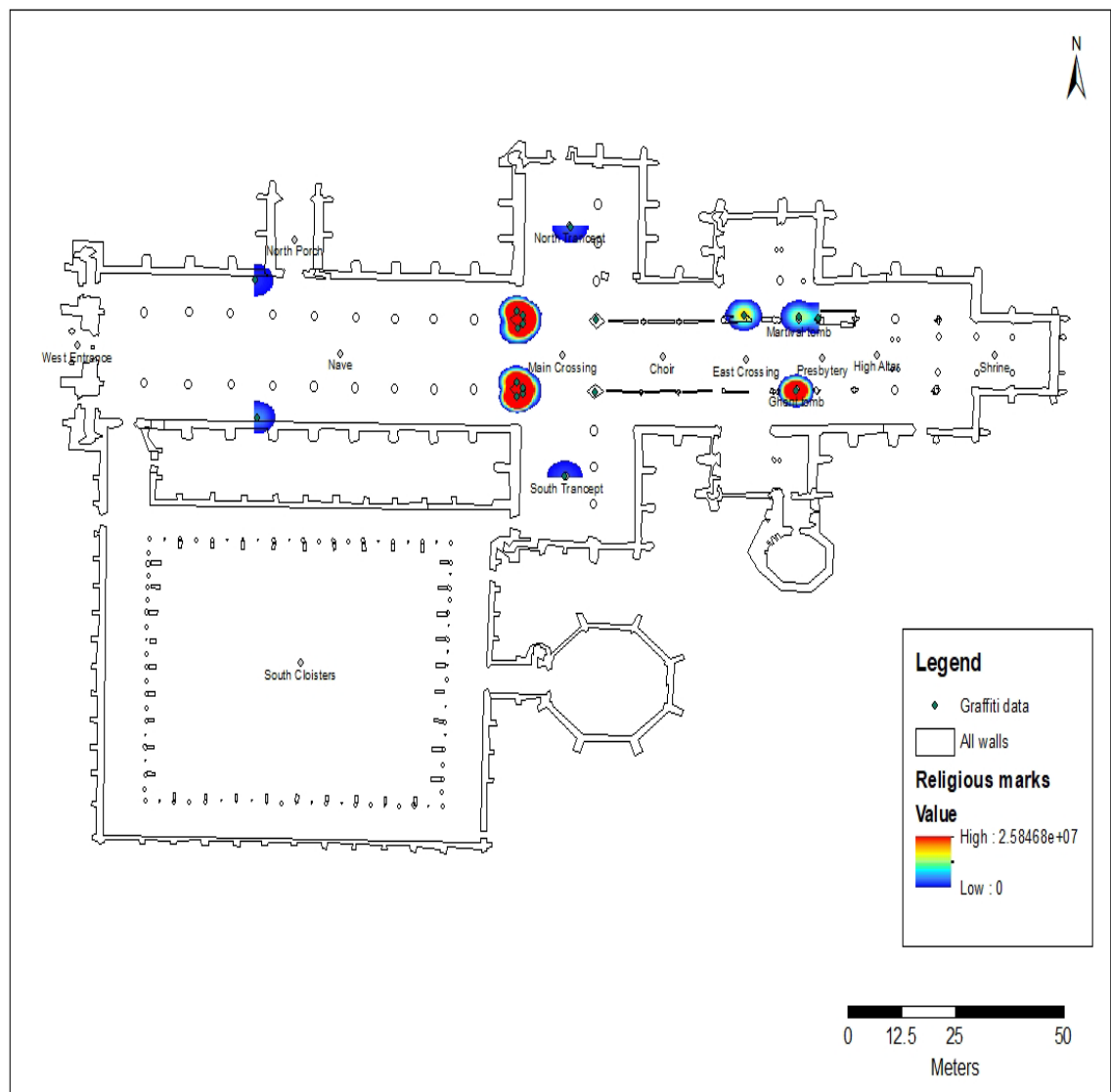
Figure 74. Distribution of graffiti with a religious origin, Salisbury cathedral, where N=678 (Author's own image (2020)
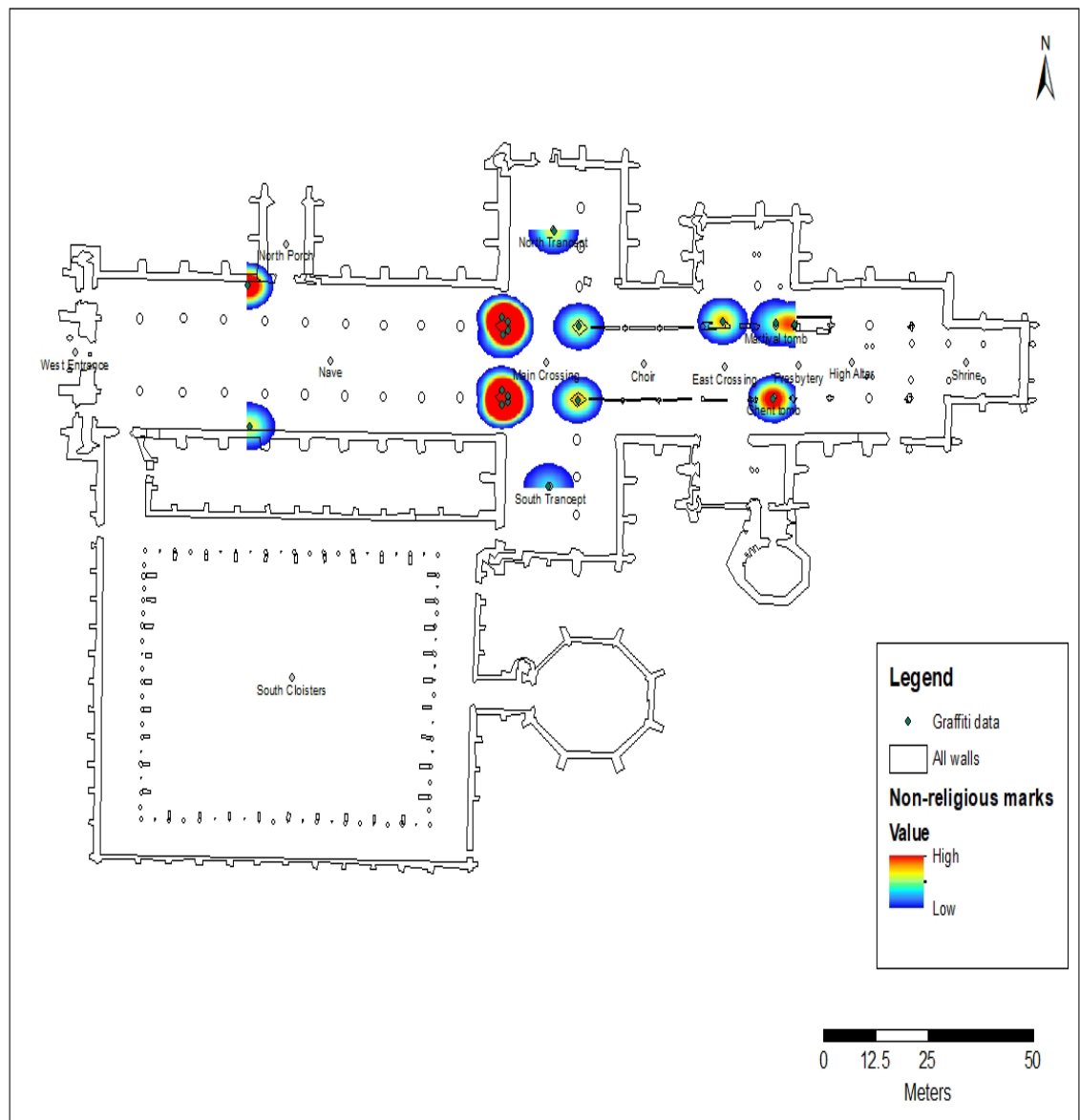
Figure 75. Distribution of marks with a secular origin, Salisbury cathedral, where N=119 (Author's own image 2020)

8.3.4 Comments on Salisbury cathedral

It is noticeable that the distribution has been impacted by imperfect preservation at Salisbury cathedral. There is very little post-Medieval graffiti with only eight post-Medieval marks found in the north transept and non-visible in the remaining walls outside of the principal panels identified earlier in this chapter. The concentration of the distributions into the specific panels that have been recorded suggests large-scale removal of marks from the stonework elsewhere. This removal would have taken place during cleaning and redressing of the stonework. Gilbert's nineteenth-century refurbishment (Tatton-Brown and Crook, 2014) is the most likely source of the removal of the graffiti. Gilbert undertook surface cleaning and redressing of the stonework. (Surface cleaning is a process whereby surviving plaster (and anything it carries) is chipped from the stone wall, usually with masons' chisels, damaging the stone and remove any graffiti that has been incised only into the plaster. Redressing the stone is much more aggressive and is performed by masons taking a dressing comb to the surface of the stonework and taking the top surface off the stone to create a new, clean surface either for new plaster or for display as clean stone.) It has been noted that the cathedral probably lost much of its Medieval artwork during this period as well (Tatton-Brown, 2019). This has resulted in the depositions showing specific spikes where the stonework would have been more difficult to resurface, i.e., on the heavily carved columns and around the tombs.

By comparing this site to a previous study at Chichester cathedral (Ingram, 2015) (Figure 76) it is possible to see that despite this loss of intervening data the nodal distribution is still present. The walls at Chichester cathedral underwent significantly less surface cleaning and as such, the general background distribution of graffiti is still present as well as the noticeable clustering. As a result of this comparison, it is possible to identify that the nodal points are still present and therefore it is still possible to analyse the data in relation to the theoretical framework that has been established.
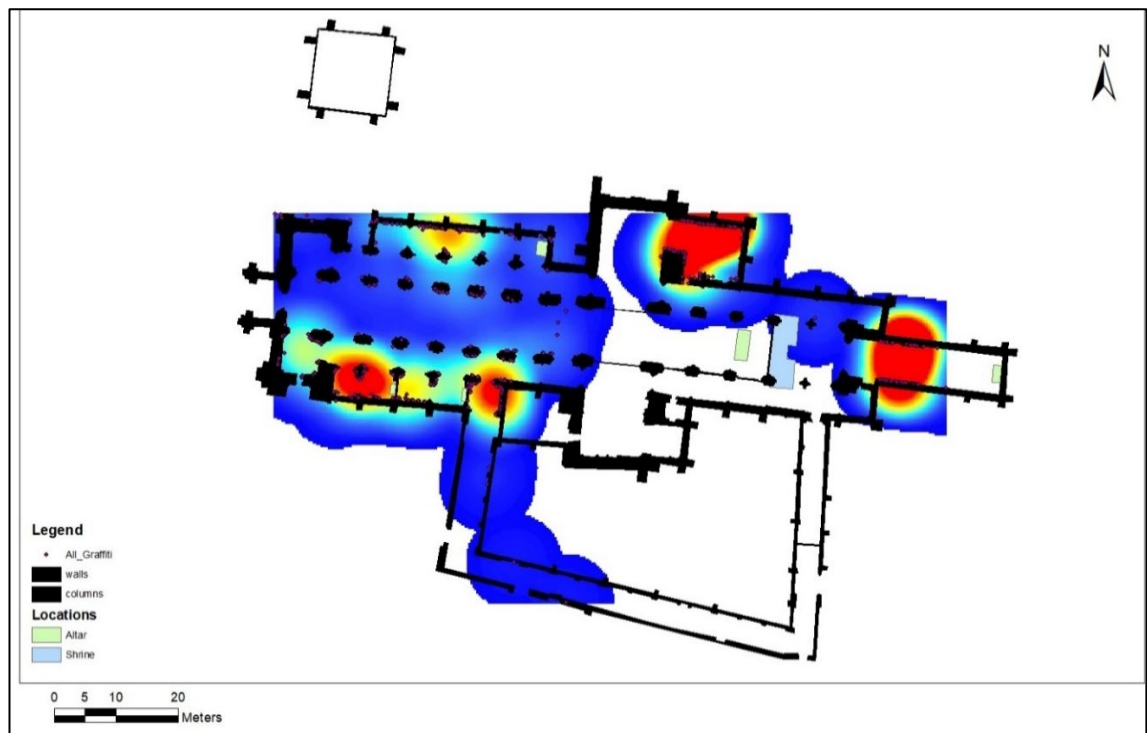
Figure 76. Distribution of graffiti at Chichester cathedral, where N=787 (Author's own image after Ingram 2021: Figure 6)

Even with this loss of background distribution, the presence of specific nodal points in the clustering at Salisbury cathedral therefore demonstrates the consistent presence of activity at the identified locations. These locations were thus the nodal points for activity within the cathedral that related directly to the navigation of the physical and spiritual space within the built environment of the cathedral, both as a place of worship and as a place of pilgrimage.

The general lack of graffiti and other marks in the area surrounding Bishop Osmund's shrine is expected. The surface is Purbeck marble, a particularly hard stone. Whilst there is no direct evidence at Salisbury, it is also likely that this area would have been covered in dedication plaques and physical votive offerings to the saint, as with other shrine sites such as Winchester (Weinryb, 2018).

The nodal points show the areas of peak activity present within the cathedral and demonstrate a continuation of practice through the Reformation with the presence of post-Medieval marks. These locations fall into specific patterns relating to the high-traffic area of the crossing and tombs of the two bishops' associated with the construction of the cathedral and the placing of Osmund into the chapel at the eastern end of the cathedral.

8.3.5 Salisbury Cathedral dataset

- The majority of the graffiti marks are religious in origin with a small number of marks that have a secular origin in their design.

- The walls of the nave and choir were heavily cleaned and redressed during the restoration periods of the cathedral. As such, almost all the graffiti is located on the panels.

- As with the other sites, the context of the secular marks can be used to identify those that are purely secular in nature, such as the two masons' marks, and those that are ritual doings.

- Prior to the analysis of the panels, the post-Reformation marks and the masons' marks must be removed from the dataset. This process is relatively simple given the low number of post-Reformation and purely secular marks present in the dataset.

- The resultant panels are made up from marks that are ritual doings of either a secular or religious origin in design. These can be analysed in the context of the space that they occupy at the nodal points for religious and ritual activity within the cathedral, in relation to the veneration of St Osmund or the other veneration points within the space.

- The lack of marks in the immediate vicinity of the shrine is not unexpected due to the harder stonework surface of the Lady Chapel that houses it. A similar reduction in direct activity at the tomb was also noted at Chichester cathedral.

- Unlike in the previous datasets where the panels were easy to record in a single imaging sequence each of the west side columns of the crossing was recorded as four distinct panels but will be analysed as two contiguous panels. This is due to the interconnectedness of the surface and the spread of marks around the circumference of the columns, with the only portion not covered with graffiti being the area facing into the nave.

- Each tomb will similarly be analysed as single panels, resulting in three additional panels for the Bennet, Ghent and Martival tombs.

9 Graffiti as place maker and ritual component

"On one feast-day of St Æthelthryth, she had herself transported in a cart with her candle, and because the crowd of people kept her not only from approaching the altar but even entering the church, she invoked the aid of the holy virgin when she was at the entrance. Without delay, before the eyes of all, that whole crippling distortion melted away. The soles of her feet became firm and she made for the holy tomb with unhampered gait, carrying a light, and she caused lips of one and all to fall open and proclaim God in a tumult of shouting"(Fairweather, 2005: Book III: section 31)

9.1 Introduction

The previous four studies have presented the data generated for this work. This chapter moves into the analysis of that data and begins the argument for a ritual space connected to the use of graffiti as ritual doings and the operation of liminal rituals for the creation of ontological place. It is here that it becomes possible to directly associated the graffiti with prayer making and the operation of it as devotional practice rather than simple scratching and doodling. In much the same way as the graffiti identified by Emberling and Davis (2019) based on a combination of the morphology and the location of the marks. This is enhanced by utilising the theoretical concepts of ritual doings, therefore placing the marks that are of a non-religious design into the same devotional framework as those of a religious origin based on their depositional location.

9.2 The compiled data set

The compiled data set from the four sites operates as a step in a progression from secular space with little or no ritual activity to the great space of an English cathedral replete with pilgrimage and informal veneration sites.

	Southampton Bargate		St Cross Hospital Gatehouse		St Nicholas church, Arundel		Salisbury Cathedral	
Location type	Secular entrance		Religious entrance		Parish church		Cathedral church and	
Pilgrimage activity	Minimal passage of pilgrims between port and pilgrimage routes		Possible presence for collection of dole		Local pilgrimage type activity to worship at chapels		Significant informal and formal pilgrimage to St Osmund and secondary informal sites.	
Panels of interest	Three		Four		Five		Five	
Marks for analysis by panel after cleaning data	Niche	4	North east column	24	Entrance	56	North west crossing	318
	South east column	27	North west column	20	Column S3	46	South West crossing	316
	Cell door area	11	South east column	9	Column S4	38	Bennet tomb	28
			South west column	30	Column S6	39	Ghent Tomb	84
					Column N6	105	Martival Tomb	33

Table 6. Compiled data for study sites

Each of the sites provides a different but connected sequence of data that can be investigated using the underlying theoretical principles laid out in the theoretical considerations chapter (Chapter 2). The individual marks listed in the aggregated data table above (Table 6) come together as a palimpsest to establish the panels that will be analysed here and in the subsequent chapter. The aggregated marks being placed through a purposeful and mindful engagement with both the built landscape as a space and the ritual landscape as a place. They also operate within the communal engagement to create a greater body of ritual activity that can produce and, through agency, sustaining that ritual place. By analysing them against these existing theoretical systems I can demonstrate that they operate in a manner that allows the creation and maintenance of a new theoretical space, the landscape of destination.

This landscape of destination finds its origins in the practices and behaviours in and around the ritual use of entrances and their role in separating ontologically distinct spaces, be that secular spaces or secular and religious spaces. These learned rituals then allow the supplicant to move into the religious spaces and conduct improvised rituals that grant them direct personal access to those spaces and to the nested ontologies that exist within them.

To establish this, I will take a progressive approach to the argument, starting with the identification of the graffiti as markers for the indication of presence and purpose within the space and moving through the use of them as ritual doings within the process of prayer-making and ritual engagement with the landscape of destination. I will then discuss the operation of the graffito marks as non-human agents and as assemblages before establishing the role of the graffiti in the creation and operation of liminal entrances to religious spaces.

In the next section I discuss the nature of the landscape of destination and the development of the improvised ritual of engagement from the known practice around the entrance to the improvised practice that permits the lay worshipper to navigate the landscape of destination, initially at the small scale in the parish church and ultimately at in the unfamiliar surroundings of the pilgrimage centre. Where armed with the knowledge and skills to generate an improvised ritual of engagement, the pilgrim can engage not only with the religious space but with the divine through the mediation of the saint without the protection of the liminal ritual of engagement and the access that grants to the nested ontologies of the great religious establishments of the Medieval pilgrimage sites.

9.3   Graffiti as agents

The graffiti marks fall into the category of non-human agents. These marks bear both the secondary agency from the person who created them and also their own primary agency as marks interconnected with the process and practice of prayer and religious engagement.

The individual graffiti marks are created through a process of human activity. Imbued with that activity and the practice of prayer-making and religious engagement, such as with the mark created by Christina of Markyate (Talbot, 2009: 5), the graffiti marks become imbued with the agency of the mark-maker. The will and engagement of the person creating them infuses them and allows them to become tangible entities in their own right. Each mark is connected with its maker and the prayer they were undertaking during the process of creation. As such, the graffito becomes a conduit for that prayer. Potentially understood in the Medieval mind as a function of prayer made form, they are akin to the leaving of offerings, and the utterance of promises in return for the enactment of that prayer, by the saint, on behalf of God.

The time and activity of the supplicant becomes enmeshed within the structure and form of the mark. The graffito speaks to the Medieval viewer of the making of that prayer and can be viewed today as the material remnant of that religious practice. Still imbued with the wants and desires of the supplicant, not in terms of the specific prayer but the intent, the marks still carrying some of that agency forward through time.

The creation of the mark, as demonstrated through experimental archaeology (Appendix 1) was a relatively rapid process, a simple cross taking seconds to produce and a more

complex circular design a minute. These designs are marked by the intent behind the creation not the duration of the action, and it is this intent that creates the agency within the mark as a piece of material culture. It is not the time taken of the complexity of the mark that makes it an agent and a ritual doing rather the performative nature of the creation that imparts the nature and ritual properties to the mark.

The marks that have been recorded and the agency that the represents are a limited set of material culture from a period where multiple practices are likely to have been in operation. They represent a compelling data set but may only offer a minority of the total activity being undertaken within the religious landscape. However the overwhelming evidence for the presence of such graffiti marks within religious structures as well as secular throughout the period (Westerdahl, 2013; Billingsley, Harte and Hoggard, 2017; Emberling and Davis, 2019b, 2019a; Hoggard, 2019; Butz and Zettler, 2021) suggests that the practice is widespread and common.

9.3.1   Graffiti assemblages – reading graffiti as panels

Whilst it is possible to identify graffiti panels as arbitrary analytical entities, they represent far more. Each panel is identified within the greater assemblage of graffiti marks that is scattered across the interior of the religious space. This greater assemblage holds the total collection of graffiti marks for the religious space and stands for all of the prayers that have been made and made material by the engagement in a ritual doing whilst conducting the prayer. The analytical panels draw from this assemblage and identify the clustering of the graffiti marks. Panels (Table 6) number from tens to hundreds of graffiti marks. It is within these panels that we find the specific assemblages that have formed through repeated use of the space for ritual engagement.

The marks created by individuals on a personal basis rather than as a collective whole can be observed as the prayers and the personal intent to engage. It is when they are observed in a collected whole, though, that they become a truly powerful agent: functioning as an assemblage, the individual marks come together in much the same way as the members of the community who have created them, to become a greater entity. This assemblage of marks gains a more significant function within the religious space. It speaks of the wishes and prayers of a multitude of individuals, and forms together to generate a nexus of

agential power. Located as they are within the region of influence of a religious or spiritual nexus, these assemblages gain even more significance as panels.

These panels radiate the religious agency granted to them in their creation, generating a palpable sense of engagement between the lay supplicant and the religious entity in the form of the divine or semi-divine being whose presence is represented by the altar or shrine.

9.3.2 Graffiti and Prayer – making the ritual

I have mentioned earlier in this work that prayer is a ritual practice and that the graffito is a component of that ritual. Prayer confirms to the requirements laid out earlier (Chapter 3)to be identified as a ritual. It is performative, intended to generate change either personally or within the world, and is processed through a ritual guide who utilises the prayer as ritual to establish and maintain social status and movement. The graffito as a ritual doing fulfils the crucial core of the performative nature of the ritual. The process of creation being as important, or potentially more important, that the symbolism of the mark itself. There is some suggestion that the resultant dust generated, being a holy matter, may have been collected and used in tinctures and potions (Wright, 2021).

I now move onto the use of that prayer as learned ritual behaviour and the ability of the individual lay worshipper to utilise these rituals in personal improvised practice. This personal prayer-making also remains operable as ritual, containing all the components that are required for ritual practice; the only significant change is that the ritual guide is also the ritual supplicant. This ritual engagement therefore becomes personal. It is within this prayer-making that the physical performance takes on a material element. Rather than the grand gestures of the ritual guide, the individual worshipper must internalise the practice. This can be contained within genuflexion or the manipulation of prayer beads or some form of iconic object, but in many cases during the Middle Ages it is apparent that the making of a mark becomes the preferred method of ensuring that this private performative element gains wider context and form.

The graffito mark that is created is formed in the manner of symbols that can be seen in the everyday life of the lay worshipper. These are symbols that are utilised in secular and religious environments and can be found in the decoration of homes and churches, used in

the marginalia of books, for those who have access to such things, and in the decoration of works of art that may be seen in the great buildings and religious establishments of the Medieval world (Jones, 2002). These designs become performative elements that are in operation for the prayer as a ritual doing.

It is here that we can now identify the graffito mark as a ritual doing, a material component of the ritual activity that can be both ritualised and non-ritualised in its nature. The graffiti marks are patterns that can be found in myriad locations, from domestic dwellings to agricultural buildings and inscribed onto personal objects, included in the marginalia of texts and in artistic imagery. These are not uncommon designs in society, but their usage makes them empowered components as a part of the ritual in much the same way as Fowles identifies the bowls which function as water bowls in everyday life and gain significance when used in ritual practice (2013: 101-107). In function, though, they are much more similar to the peck-marked and painted representations of the masks of the Katsina doings of the Taos and Tiwas Pueblo (2013: 202-216). The graffiti are about engaging with the spirit world, in this case the divine, whilst also keeping it at a spiritually safe distance. By creating the graffito mark during the process of prayer-making, the mark becomes symbolic of the ritual activity involved in that prayer.

In identifying the graffiti marks as ritual doings, they become entangled in the ritual activity of the prayer. The mark becomes the ritual engagement and contains the embodiment of that ritual it empowers, protects, and engages all in the same moment. The power to mark out the ritual, becoming an integral component of the ritual performance itself: the graffito mark becomes entangled with the prayer, the prayer-maker and the entity towards which it is directed, normally the saint, forming a bond through the ritual doings that stabilises the connection and formalises the agreement between the prayer-maker and the divinely present being of the saint.

9.3.3   Graffiti as personal marker and creation of identity within space

Every graffito mark is created by an individual. These marks therefore stand for that individual and have meaning for that person. Understanding how these marks can be personal markers, and how they can function within the space they occupy becoming more than simple marks, is more complex.

The graffiti marks that have been recorded within this study are likely to have been made in a public or semi-public manner, either directly during religious or secular ceremonies where the community is gathered, or in a busy environment where the creation of marks would have been witnessed by passing members of that community. As such, it is likely that many members of that community would be aware of the identity of the creator of each mark even if the mark is not directly recognisable as being of that person.

With some of the marks, such as the merchants mark (Chapter 7) – a marker for an individual or company, and the business in which they are engaged – the personal identity is clear. These marks would have been clearly identified by the community and understood. For the simpler marks such as crosses or Marian marks, the identity of the individual is less clear though no less potent. The graffito mark is imbued during its creation with the agency of the individual, becoming a secondary agent able to replicate and retransmit that agency as discussed earlier (Chapter 3). As an agent each mark becomes the personal marker of its creator. Representations of the individual within the space, recognised by the maker of the mark and others in the community. The mark therefore carries a small portion of the agency of the individual, is empowered and can act on behalf of that mark-maker. This operation of empowered self was understood in the Middle Ages (Chapter 3) and with that understanding of empowered object can be used as a connection from the self to the space that the graffito occupies.

With the graffiti located within the personal, attention now shifts to the space; the marks are placed in locations that have meaning and significance to the mark-maker. These are places where marks were/are observable to the desired audience, be that passing members of the community, the represented saint or God as a divine being. This becomes clear when we look at the marks visible at the Bargate (Chapter 5) and the gatehouse at St Cross (Chapter 6), which were left in clear view of the passing populace. These marks were for public consumption as much as they are private markers. They are placed in such a way that they can tell their individual biographies and impart, through agency, a part of that story to the observer. Prime amongst these are the ship and person on the Bargate (Chapter 5) placed on the interior face of the south-east column of the gatehouse, where travellers entering and leaving the city are bound to see them. Placed in solitude, they could be meaningless, but placed as they are in context with a merchant's mark and in clear sight of the docks, they become meaningful, a depiction of activity and commerce placed in clear sight and with the identification of a merchant or merchant company alongside them. It is

possible, even probable, that the ship and the merchant's mark were created at different times. However, placing the merchant's mark in the vicinity of the ship or vice versa enhances the potency of that mark to enact its agency, the creation of the assemblage enhancing the empowered nature of the individual agents. In this way, the marks begin to create identity within the space, the individual that they represent becoming known and associated with that space and therefore becoming interconnected with it.

This also functions within the religious space and with less overt marks. The crosses within the gatehouse at St Cross (Chapter 6) each tell of an individual who has made a mark. Each of these marks becomes representative of that person and connects them to that place. These marks are no less personal than the merchant's mark. Each tells the story of the individual and allows them to identify themselves within the greater whole, thus placing themselves permanently within that space. The identity of the person becomes entangled with the space, and with the function of that space. The entrance becomes synonymous with the passage of those who attend it and utilise it. The gate becomes connected to the passage of the individual and to the mass; it acquires the spiritual connection through the agency of the mark-maker and the secondary agency of the mark.

This agency and the ability of the mark to connect the individual to the space continues to function within the larger space as well. By placing a mark in the form of a graffito into the religious space of the church, an individual becomes connected with that space, either with the greater space or with the smaller specialised space around the side altar or shrine.

9.4   The ritual construction and maintenance of the liminal entrance

By accepting that the graffiti inscriptions within the religious entrance are components of prayer, we can place them into the process of the liminal ritual; they become empowered doings of the ritual activity, each mark connected with a different liminal activity. Each mark would be understood to stand for something specific and significant within the community understanding its own internal language of ritual activity and social development. With this knowledge of marks as ritual doings and the empowered nature of them as such, we must look at them as potential non-human agents (Gell, 1998). The ability of the agent to act on its own and enact some activity or performance is essential to the ability of the graffito to retain power and to be recognised as the ritual or prayer component that it is. The graffito mark retains both the essence of the ritual as a part of

which it was created, and also a component of the person who created it. Acting both as a primary and secondary agent, and would have been understood by the Medieval populace through the concepts of materiality within the compass of the ability of material to retain the power of the divine, the clergy, and even of the lay person (Bynum, 2011). This operates in much the same way as the power of holy water to remain holy following a blessing or an offering at a shrine to retain the essence of the supplicant in the presence of the saint. It is also this ability of the pilgrim token to retain the essence of the transferred power from the shrine and the blessing in the presence of the saint to enact the power of the saint and the concluded prayer and deeds, such as the protection of a pregnant woman or the blessing of a field, upon returning home. This element of material empowerment was held within the doctrine of the Medieval church (Bynum, 2011; Weinryb, 2018) and formed the very core of the ability of relics and shrines to possess the power to enact miracles and transmit the essence of the saint; it was also believed to be at the heart of the ability of witches and malevolent spirits to act on other individuals (Cummins, 2016). It also enabled the church to teach the value of offerings at shrines, ranging from wax effigies of injured body parts to valuable objects and possessions, all intended to ease the process with the saint and enable them to act upon the supplicants' petition.

Taking this cultural loading of the marks and the resultant nature of them as agents allows us to investigate the nature of the space further and look more deeply into the performance of the space in the Medieval world. It places the graffiti into a realm of empowerment that allows them to act as though the liminal ritual is still in operation. Each mark retaining a small proportion of the liminal process that they symbolise and retransmitting that back into the space. The weddings, blessings, churchings and other rituals each empowered the space to a small degree and each mark connected through those rituals to the presence of God, fully present and always aware within the main body of the church and distant without. This repeated ritual activity creates a space within the religious entrance that is neither within nor without, a space that can be bound by the rule of God directly but nonetheless lies on the periphery. This process creates a space where certain activities can be enacted, and where operable change in the sight of God can be undertaken in an informal setting and without the direct oversight of God. This provides a space where business agreements can be undertaken, trade can take place and deals struck; 'the money lenders' cast out of the temple (Matthew 21:12) can operate within sight of it but remain without, taking advantage of the liminal nature, the half and half of the secular and the divine that is created by the permanent transformative space of the religious entrance. This

also provides a space where civil disagreements can be settled, pacts sworn, and oaths taken within the sight of God but without the priest being involved and without the full weight of the church becoming present in the agreement. This can be seen in the process of wills being read and estates being divided in religious entrances, the settling of debts and the agreements between parishioners being made within these spaces (Peacock, 1888; Postles, 2007; Lunnon, 2012: 42-70). This is not just a convenient spot to conduct business but a place that allows that business to be witnessed by the ultimate witness and the agreement enforced by that divine power without breaking the law of the church and taking business inside the church proper.

The transformative nature of the religious entrance moves beyond the ability of the space to be used for activities that sit on the periphery of those permitted within the consecrated church. The empowered semi-divine nature of the religious entrance enables the separation of the interior and the exterior to be enforced spiritually as well as physically. When we take the sensorial nature of the space into account, as well as the ritual doings of the graffiti, we can see that the space becomes further empowered as a place of transformation, a liminal space between the secular and the divine. Without is the soft ground, the muddy path, the dirt, and pollution of the secular world, with disease, malodour, and filth present in all aspects of life. Spiritually without is the presence of demons, devils, and malevolent spirits each vying to corrupt and pollute the soul. Within the church is a space of brightly lit and decorated walls, strong colours mixed with golds and silvers and the hard, clean stone floor. The smell is of incense and clean oils, and of wax candles rather than tallow. On days of worship and activity the church is filled with liturgy and litany, the sounds of prayer and thanks, whilst without is the sound of hard work, toil, and animals. The religious entrance, the porch, is where this sensorial evidence mixes and mingles, and as an individual passed through it, they leave behind the secular world without and enter the divine world within. Two ontologically distinct worlds separated and conjoined by the empowered entrance through a gateway, porch, or door from soft ground to hard, from malodour to redolence, from physical toil to spiritual sanctuary. All this change was/is aided and enabled through the acts of ritual; the prayers are made physical within the graffiti forms that are created alongside the life-course rituals that are enacted in this space on the periphery of the church.

This would suggest that the religious entrance is entirely within the purview of the divine when it is clearly not. The religious entrance also functions without. When agreements fail,

fights break out then spill over into the church yard, and the place of agreement can become the place of dispute with the secular holding sway over the divine. Acts that would be viewed as inappropriate within the church itself are viewed as safe to engage in within the religious entrance, such as the acts that require a notice demanding "no fornication" to be placed near to the porch at St Mary's Breamore (P. Copeland 2018 personal communication). The entrance is thus notionally still a part of the church but functions within this liminal role as something without on this occasion. This dualistic function, a multifaceted and confused space is where Mary Douglas' noisy messy space lies (1966). It is here that the liminal is permitted to function. The breakdown of the normal social rules both of the secular and of the holy permit the space to be used for a multiplicity of functions. The religious entrance becomes a place where rites and deals are enacted and a place where the role of the religious become confused. It is a space where the religious can be enacted but so can the pre-religious and the pseudo-religious. The range of activities becomes numerous and anything that the community wishes to present as holy, blessed or divinely inspired can be undertaken within the religious entrance. These range from the clearly religious rituals of the church, mandated and controlled life-course practices, to personal prayers and the use of holy water upon entrance, to the sometimes dubious claims of merchants to be operating within the sight of God.

As has been discussed, the religious entrance is empowered by the ritualised nature of the activity that is undertaken within it. The special nature of the space as a bridge between the two ontologies, empowered by the liminal agents of the graffiti, as well as the nature of the two worlds it joins and the sensorial interplay between them, allows it to operate in this unique fashion. The permanence of the liminal opens the space to a multitude of interactions and the performance of activities that would not normally be permitted within a consecrated space. The religious entrance becomes a place where acts are undertaken, all within the guise of the empowered religiosity of the space as an extension of both the divine and the secular realms. It is a space where merchants and money lenders can operate, where the faithful can make personal prayer and where the community can gather for ceremony and celebration.

The creation of liminal agents requires the performance of liminal rituals, but once they are created the agent can provide the empowerment for further liminal activity. Marks transmit and transfer the encapsulated power of the change back into the space, allowing it to remain operable for a significant period of time beyond the ritual. This creates a space that

is understood to be linked and empowered, but not fully understood as to the nature of that empowerment. Such a place is signified as open to the sight and benefice of God but not under direct oversight and governance. This is not a place that people are assessing as active or inactive based on the level of religious and ritual activity present, but a place that is understood to be actively connected to the divine in a less formal manner that the rest of the church. It is a space that can be and is used freely and can be the scene to religious and sacrilegious acts.

9.4.1   The liminal entrance as an ontological bridge

As noted in the previous section, the graffiti and the structure combine as individual agents to generate a single assemblage. This assemblage provides the ritual empowerment for the liminal place that is the religious entrance and permits it to become a stable liminal place without the need for continual liminal ritual practice. With this permanent liminal activity in place, the entrance becomes empowered as a special class of liminal space, the ontological bridge. The ontological bridge provides the transformative liminal empowerment that permits the supplicant to transfer from one ontological space to the other with the relevant spiritual protection, whilst requiring minimal direct ritual engagement. The simple practice of praying or the engagement in a single and simple doing such as creating the sign of the cross is sufficient to transfer from the secular world without to the religious world within. As such, acts that are not in and of themselves ritually liminal become liminal in nature, permitting entry into the liminal space and place, and granting access to the ritually transformative space of the liminal.

The ontological bridge is assisted by the sensorial, but this is not the driving factor. The sensorial provides reinforcement for the success of the transference rather than facilitating it. The facilitating factor is the liminal entrance, the knowledge that the place is empowered in a permanent way, a gateway between the ontologically distinct spaces that is frequently and ritually bridged through the engagement with liminal life-course rituals that directly transfer individuals and groups into the house of God as a part of that practice.

9.5 Secular and Religious entrances – ritual empowerment of space through usage and engagement

With the nature of the graffito mark identified as a ritual doing that can become an agent, the nature of the ritual becomes important. In many cases, the prayer is part of a liminal ritual. The process of prayer-making is connected to a liminal life-course ritual, to a liminal request as part of a pilgrimage, or to the seeking of divine intervention in the life of an individual or their community (chapter 3).

Taking these theoretical connections into account, it becomes possible to analyse the first of the spaces that are of interest in the development of the pilgrimage landscape of destination. As such, this section of the study will focus on the religious entrances of the gatehouse at St Cross (Chapter 6) and the porch at St Nicholas (Chapter 7), comparing them to the high-traffic entrance evidenced by the Bargate at Southampton (Chapter 5). Analysing these entrances allows the evaluation of the ritual significance of that space and to assess the persistent liminal nature of such an entrance way and its functionality in the movement between the secular and divine ontologies that exist outside of and within the religious landscape.

9.5.1 The secular entrance

The secular entrance that is represented by the Bargate (Chapter 5) stands between two places; these physically distinct realms are the urban interior and the rural exterior. As such, the gate conforms to Van Gennep's principles of a liminal place. It was a place where checks are conducted and people are processed from one space to another; a territorial passage (Van Gennep, 1960: 15-25). Guarded or unguarded the gate operates to contain and constrict the flow of people in and out of the settlement. In this way, whilst the gate is operated it holds a liminal nature within the definitions laid out by Van Gennep (1960) in that the liminal operates whilst the ritual guide, in this case the guards, are conducting the ritual. The ritual in question is the secular process of checking the business and rights of the traveller in much the same way as Van Gennep's example of the passport hall at a modern border (1960:15). In that way, as soon as the process is completed the liminal nature of the gate passes and it returns to its status as part of the physical geography of the place and space.

The passage through such an entrance is likely a significant moment in the lives of some, for example, pilgrims about to engage on the next stage of their journey, whether foreign individuals heading to one of the English shrines, or English travellers preparing to depart for Europe or further afield and the shrines found in those lands. To others, it would be a part of daily life: the farmer bringing their livestock or crops to market, or the merchant taking their wares out of the port to sell through the wider region. The gate marked the boundary of the urban space and the protection it granted, as well as the threats it contained.

The nature of the gate can be seen in the graffiti that is present. The majority is secular in origin and business-like. The depictions of mercantile activity (Chapter 5), the marks left behind by the merchants themselves (Chapter 5) and the possible depiction of an execution speak to the nature of the operation of the gate. There is little or no religious engagement; people are generally passing through and whilst they may be queuing, they are not engaging in idle graffiti production. The marks have meaning and purpose in communication, but not in personal engagement with the space as a meaningful place.

The level of deposition of graffiti marks shows that the engagement is minimal, especially compared to the religious entrances looked at in this study.

9.5.2 Religious entrances

On first impressions, the religious entrance – be it the church porch, such as that seen at St Nicholas (Chapter 7) or the more grand gatehouse at the entrance between the outer and inner courtyards at St Cross (Chapter 6) – is similar in function to the secular entrance. As I will demonstrate below, however, this is not the case. Whereas the secular entrance, as discussed above, has a liminal function when operating as a controlled entrance way, the religious entrance holds that liminal operability even when it is not ritually active. This allows it to function as much more than a simple entrance and to provide liminal function as a spiritually protective portal at other times as well as providing access to the divine though the presence of that persistent liminal operability.

The religious entrance is that space that provides shelter at the entrance, the enlarged doorway or gate that provides unofficial space where religious and semi-religious activity could take place without the mediation of the priest. In the Middle Ages, this was a place

that was both secular and divine at the same time. Through the life of the parish, the religious entrance became an important place in its own right; not just an adjunct to the church, but a space of significance to the community. It was a place where people met to conduct business and transact exchanges either between neighbours or between itinerant merchant and resident.

Utilising the graffiti data that have been gathered, it becomes possible to establish the first stage of the development of personal rituals of encounter. The operation of the personal ritual in the religious entrance permits the initial study of such development and the focus of that ritual creation and enactment generates the unique space of the entrance within the physical landscape of the religious place.

As Champion states, this pre-eminence of distribution of graffiti within the religious entrance suggests that activity beyond that of simple entering and exiting must be occurring (Champion, 2015). This raises the issue of what these marks mean: are these idle scratchings of bored parishioners or purposeful marks The answer to this lies in the nature of the marks as much as the distribution. The majority of the marks can be seen to conform to specific religious iconography: crosses, devotional letter forms, and copies of other images and icons familiar to church goers in the Middle Ages.

It becomes evident that the graffiti markings within the religious entrances mean far more than the simple passage of people, and in fact stand for the prayers and ritual activities that have taken place in each one. These prayers also spill over in the threshold space of the church itself, a bubble of ritualised space that envelopes the entrance and its immediate surroundings, empowered in a way that stands aside from the rest of the church and the churchyard, often encompassing the approximate original location of the font when looked at within a church rather than a gatehouse complex. This can be seen clearly at St Cross (Chapter 6) and at the south entrance to St Nicholas (Chapter 7).

9.5.3 Becoming a liminal space and a liminal place

With the array of ritualised activities, many of them life-course events, being undertaken within the religious entrance, it is clear that under normal ritual operability the space becomes a receptacle for liminal activity. This ritual empowerment of practice through life-course practices, as well as rituals of arrival and departure, follow the normal markers

of a liminal ritual as discussed by Van Gennep and Turner (Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 2008). The ritual guide normally being the priest, the religious entrance provides the marker for the location, and the outer and inner portals of the religious entrance provide the entry and exit points for the initiates. However, there is something else happening within these religious entrances, and this is a residual liminal empowerment.

Under a classical interpretation of the liminal, the ritual is key. The ritual guide enacting the process of change, breaking from the normal conventions of society and the moving into the ritual place. This process of change and then ultimately the movement back from the ritual space into society, changed in some way by that ritual. This process conforms to the structures laid out by Van Gennep and Turner (Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 2008) and can be seen in the various rituals undertaken within the religious entrance.

Taking the marriage ceremony as an example: the two individuals, the initiates, are brought together in front of the priest, the ritual guide; the priest opens the ritual with a series of blessings and then progresses into the main ritual; the ritual process of transference of the bride from the father to the husband; the exchanging of vows; and the closing of the ritual with the introduction of the new couple. They exit the ritual as a new single social entity within the community whereas they entered it as two individuals. The transformation within society complete, they are released from the liminal and back into the normality of life.

This process can be seen to take place within each of the rituals that are undertaken at the religious entrance: the christening of a new child to welcome them into the community; the blessing of women post-partem to cleanse them following the birth of a child; and the initial burial rites of a deceased member of the community (Duffy, 2001, 2005; Gilchrist, 2012). Each is an act that requires the performance of a specific liminal life-course ritual, and each of these takes place at least in part within the religious entrance to the church.

The religious entrance, though, retains the ability to transform and thus to act as a cleansing portal for entry and exit to the church. It also retains, as a result, a residual connection to the divine. This results in the religious entrance being of both the secular and the divine; it therefore offers a place that holds a unique power. It becomes a place where deals, agreements and arguments can be settled both within the gaze of God but also outside of God's direct imposition. This leaves us with the question of how this retained

liminal empowerment can be present as the classic model requires the liminal to fade rapidly once the ritual is no longer in operation.

10 Navigating the Divine: The landscape of destination and personal improvised ritual encounters.

"On one occasion, as this creature was in church at Assisi, there was exhibited our Lady's kerchief – which she wore here on earth – with many lights and great reverence. Then this creature had great devotion. She wept, she sobbed, she cried, with great abundance of tears and many holy thoughts." (Kempe, 2004: 114)

Late C14th-early C15th Christian visionary Margery Kempe experienced many such revelations. Each was the result of an unmediated encounter with holy material. The methods and rituals undertaken around these encounters are not recorded by either Margery or her scribes, who focused instead on the emotionally charged nature of Margery's reaction. It is the process and practices around these encounters that are of interest here.

In this chapter I draw out the structure for this interaction: the material landscape, the metaphysical landscape, and the personal rituals which build and constitute the landscape of destination. This is a single theoretical exploration of a potential operation of religious space within the Medieval Christian paradigm that probably operated within a complex series of similar experiences and differing methods of engagement, some led and some independently operated by the worshippers. This is a generalised model rather than an absolute model and draws on ethnographic as well as historical and archaeological material.

- Built Landscape
  The built landscape establishes the nature of the space within which the landscape of destination can operate. This prescribed space requires the lay worshipper to accept and navigate it in specific ways that shape the improvised ritual and the creation of the landscape of destination.
- Nested Ontologies
  Based within the built landscape, the nested ontology is a grouping of personal ontologies that becomes anchored at specific nexus points within a built landscape. The personal ontologies become interconnected permitting the worshipper to move between them through a series of personal rituals of encounter.
- Personal ritual of encounter

An improvised ritual undertaken by lay worshippers, the performance and practice are based on learned ritual practices and modified to permit the worshipper to navigate a built landscape for religious and ritual purposes. The personal ritual of encounter permits the lay worshipper to create and navigate the nested ontologies and to access the landscape of destination.

- Landscape of destination

  A metaphysical landscape, constructed of ontologies and liminal boundaries, is created, and engaged by the worshipper through their improvised rituals. The landscape of destination is constructed from the nested ontologies and contained within the built landscape, through which it facilitates spiritual and physical movement. The landscape of destination is both changed by and changes the worshipper through their improvised ritual of engagement with the divine.

Lay worshippers' performative practice transforms a built landscape into a landscape of destination. Their improvised ritual permits the lay worshipper to engage with the liminal and ontological, enabling the supplicant to both enter the divine realms that are present within the landscape of destination and encounter the divine power in a spiritually safe manner.

10.1 Built landscape

The built landscape stands as the underlying structure necessary for any devotional ritual activity to take place. These are prescribed spaces which require the supplicant to embrace the physicality of the built landscape as found, and observe the doctrinal niceties prescribed for the site.

Guided by the writings of the monks, priests and other literate elite who recorded formal interactions of worshippers with the material culture of faith, the idealised outcome of these encounters can be identified. Pilgrims are reported as attending mass and approaching shrines following this, as well as collecting physical trinkets, pilgrim tokens and ampoules that are associated with the place and blessed to maintain a connection to the divine when they depart (Webb, 2000). These records also report the miraculous taking place at or following visits to these places (Chapter 2), often resulting from unmediated encounters with the divine.

By looking for this unmediated personal engagement with a built landscape, we can find the personal ritual encounter. It is through this that we see the landscape of destination, a ritualised ontological place of divine empowerment. For a landscape of destination to operate, an understanding of the built landscape and how that influences the supplicant as they navigate it as a space and place must be obtained.

In a conceptually idealised model of a religious built environment (Figure 76). These models represent the notional common form of the late Medieval catholic church or cathedral with the space divided into two distinct regions: the large publicly accessible area of the nave and any crossings that are present, and the smaller but religiously more significant chancel area. The placement of the font at or close to the primary community entrance marks the end of the liminal place that is the religious entrance (Chapter 9). Within the nave and crossing, side altars and chapels containing altars, provide access to saints and other canonical figures, and it is through these that limited personal worship could be undertaken. Around the upper sections of the nave walls, depictions of biblical or other educational imagery told significant moral or religious stories. The nave, illuminated by the light filtering in from the great windows or by flickering candles and with the presence of this art, was designed to bring a sense of religious power, enshrouding the space, drawing the lay worshipper into the place where God could be encountered.
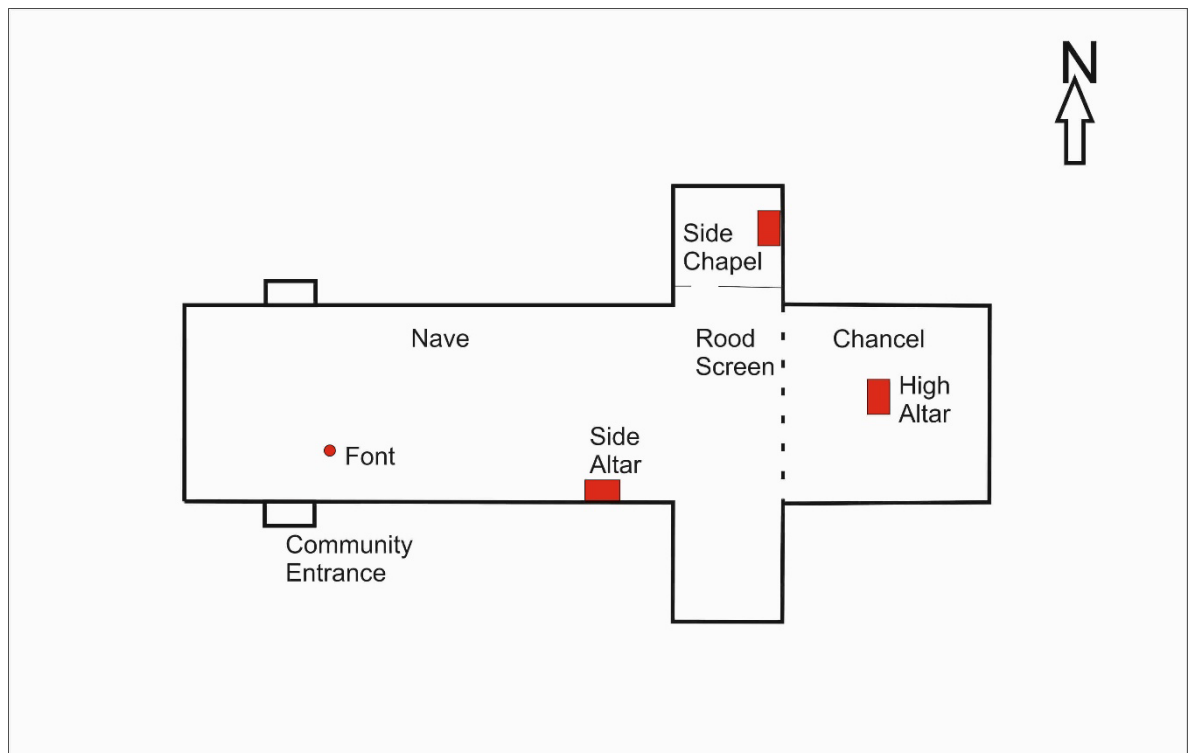
Figure 77. Idealised model of a basic parish church with one side altar and chapel (Author's own image 2020)

Beyond the rood screen is the chancel, a closed space containing the high altar. This is a place of religious power and the core of the shared ontology of God's presence within the church. Without the correct training or ritual protection provided by the priest, a chancel was spiritually dangerous to enter. Such beliefs can still be witnessed in the rock-hewn churches of Ethiopia, where ark relics are closed because of their power (Dun and Illescas, 2007; Chris Mitchell, 2014).

Within the larger space of a cathedral, with a resident shrine, the built landscape is more complex (Figure 77). The addition of more chapels and side altars demonstrates an increase in the draw of the nave and the increased number of saints that are being venerated within the space. Often these chapels became dedicated to specific families or organisations, funded by donation and used for private worship or as funerary and chantry chapels. In addition, the inclusion of one or more side altars, often referred to as secondary altars, becomes prevalent. These provide places where smaller services can be conducted where the entire space of the cathedral would be excessive.
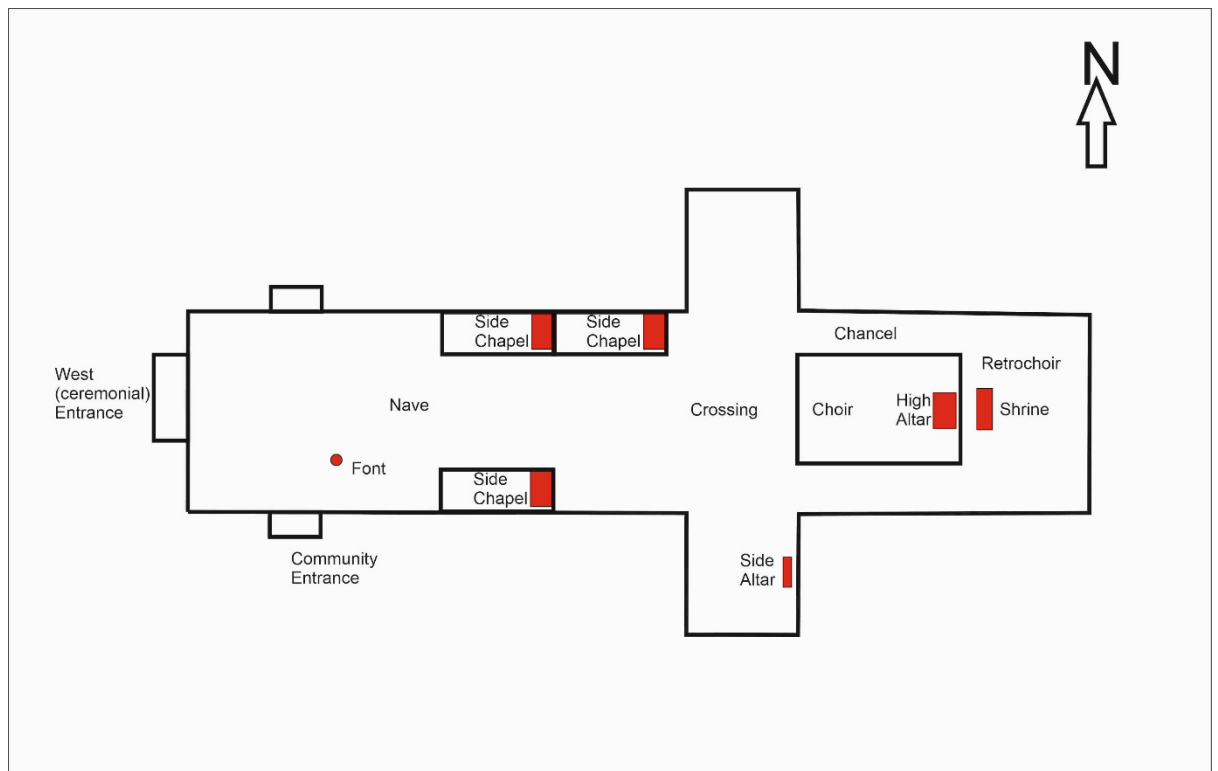
Figure 78. Idealised model of a cathedral with resident shrine (Author's own image 2020)

The high altar is enclosed within the choir area of the chancel, a closed and screened space. This is the central divine place of the cathedral. Behind this sits the shrine when present, protected from the nave by the choir but accessible when the main space of the chancel is open. This is the seat of any saintly power that is present in the cathedral, becoming a place of its own. The built landscape of these larger cathedral spaces does not end with the consecrated and dedicated markers though; within them are areas that can be identified as distinct spaces. These include transepts and crossings, colonnaded cloisters, connected chantry chapels, treasuries and libraries, tower rooms and workshops, each presenting new and distinct spaces that offer unique functions within the built landscape, and each capable of becoming a place in its own right often only delineated by the presence of columns or a change in decorative style.

10.1.1 Navigating the built landscapes

When navigating the built landscapes, Medieval worshippers would have progressed from one space to another: a guided flow providing access to the permitted areas. A lay

worshipper would move from the community entrance, with a brief stop at the holy water stoop, then into the nave where they may pause. From there they would progress either to the rood screen to gain a glimpse of the high altar, or to one of the side chapels or side altars to pray. Their religious business completed, they may pause to speak with other worshippers or the parish priest or may simply exit the church via the community entrance. If the supplicant is practicing in a life-course ritual, the worshipper would start in the outer areas of the built landscape before progressing to the internal (Chapter 9) as the ritual is performed. During formal services this practice changes slightly, the gathering of lay worshippers assembling in the nave to listen to the priest, the ritual authority, participating in the process of call and response as prayers are uttered and observing communion (Duffy, 2005: 109-130).

Movement through this built landscape came, as it does today, with the projected realisation that the supplicants are progressing into the higher space of the church, where the religiosity of the place becomes more significant. Today this is accomplished by roping off the high altar from the rest of the church. In the Medieval period, the segregation was more stringent using rood screens in the chancel arches and great screens round the central precincts of the choirs in cathedrals. Tombs and shrines were placed at the higher end of the church, using the east end for the most sacred or socially significant. Placing lady chapels and saintly shrines in the space beyond the high altar demonstrates the significance of these spaces as religious places, which can be interpreted with a basic religious education provided by the parish priest. Material and sensory perception of empowered places Made clear through the presence of art, lighting, and the structural material of the landscape.

By accepting Medieval materiality (Chapter 3.4), and the teachings of the Medieval Roman Catholic Church on the radiant nature of divine material(Bynum, 2011), we must reconsider the nature of the church as a built landscape. Consecration of a religious structure welcomes the divine into the space, creating an ontologically divine realm within the mortal, secular, world. This ritual practice creates a shared ontology, enclosed by the walls of the church, churchyard (Dymond, 1999), and audible range of the bells (Arnold and Goodson, 2012): the power of the divine diminishing as the observer moves away from the church and through the parish. This empowered materiality is reinforced by the ritual practice of the led service, which enhances the religious ontology of the built

landscape. This process of blessing provides the religiously empowered material for a divine place and portable holy objects to operate (Chapter 3.4).

Using a parish church with one side altar, we can identify specific locus points that are of interest: the entrance, the font, the high altar, and the side altar. By granting each of these the empowered nature of consecrated or ritual place, we can identify them as nexus points for divine presence.

Each nexus point generates its own unique divine radiation, interacting within the space of the church, creating a set of ontologically similar but distinct regions. The worshipper must negotiate these competing powers, a task that, when guided, is simple, but when left unsupported by a ritual guide, becomes more complex and spiritually dangerous. These places are additionally enhanced by evidence for direct personal engagement with the material of the structure. This evidence is in the form of graffiti that have been deposited, not on the nexus of divine power but in proximity to it. The graffiti, acting as agents, speak to the worshipper of past activity and the people who had been here before.

This materiality is enhanced by the sensorial, distinct audio, visual and olfactory markers (Chapter 3.4). Each area carries a sensorial element: the usual calm tranquillity of the church yard, the transition from soft ground to hard stone, and the lingering scent of burned offerings within. This sensorial shift would have been ever-present and powerful moving through the space. The transition from agricultural or urban miasma to clean incense-laden air, the flickering of candlelight on painted and sometimes gilded walls and the glint of parish plate on the altar. Together, these physical and sensorial markers demonstrated the changes in the environment and encouraged the perception of the space as different.

This built landscape forms the underlying structure for the nested ontologies and resultant landscape of destination. Through a combination of physical and sensorial markers a lay worshipper's perception is modified, permitting them to create the ontologies that they believe and perceive as they conduct their personal rituals of encounter. Through the next section I discuss the nature of the nested ontology and how it is created through this personal ritual of encounter interacting with the physical and sensorial space of the built landscape.

10.2 Nested ontologies

The concept of a nested ontological place builds upon the classic understanding of ontology. Within the traditional view, the ontological refers to different ways of being. These are perceived and experienced; the sensorial perception and spiritual belief of the individual or group interact with the world to operate within the physical and metaphysical constraints of that ontology. Within a nested ontology, the personal ontology becomes an anchored place, fixed at a nexus point within the built landscape. This personal ontology becomes a material place within the metaphysical world that can be perceived as a sensorially and spiritually different place, as well as experienced as being that other place. These nested ontologies come together to form a landscape of destination (Figure 78 & Figure 79). Each ontology is experienced and perceived as unique but connected, creating an interconnected and interlinked network of places operating as either a dissociated or integrated nested ontology.

In a dissociated nested ontology, personal ontologies sit adjacent to one another, such as with side altars of chapels. They are located within the ontology of the church but separate from one another (Figure 78). In an integrated nested ontology, the personal ontologies are interconnected and facilitate movement towards the highest point of a landscape of destination, such as with the high altar or the shrine (Figure 79). Through the rest of this section, I will show how a nested ontology forms and is experienced as a series of liminally facilitated encounters with the divine.
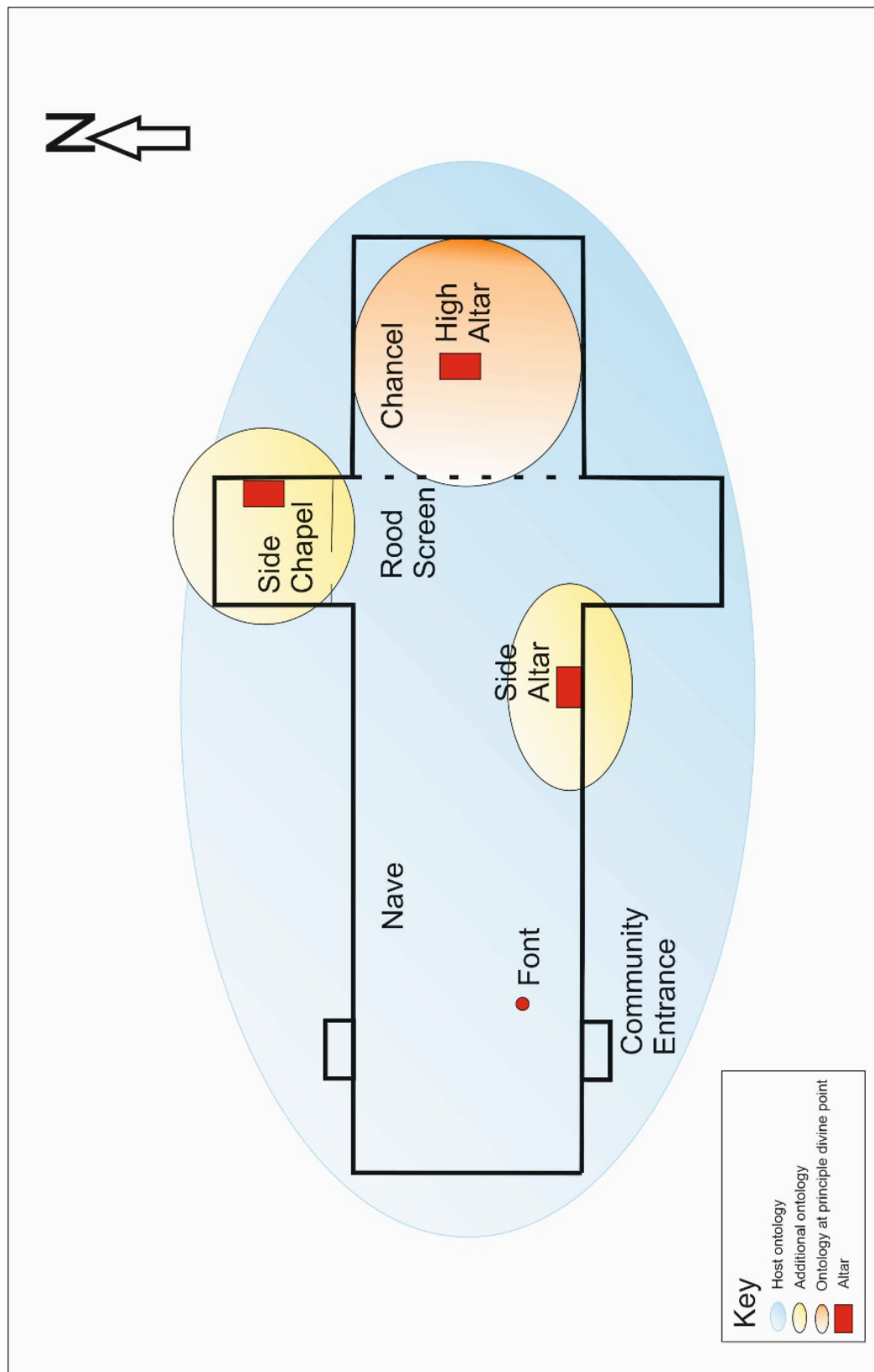
Figure 79. Idealised model of a dissociated nested ontology. Each ontology within the structure sits atop the underlying host ontology (blue)and is accessed independently from the other ontologies (Author's own image 2020).
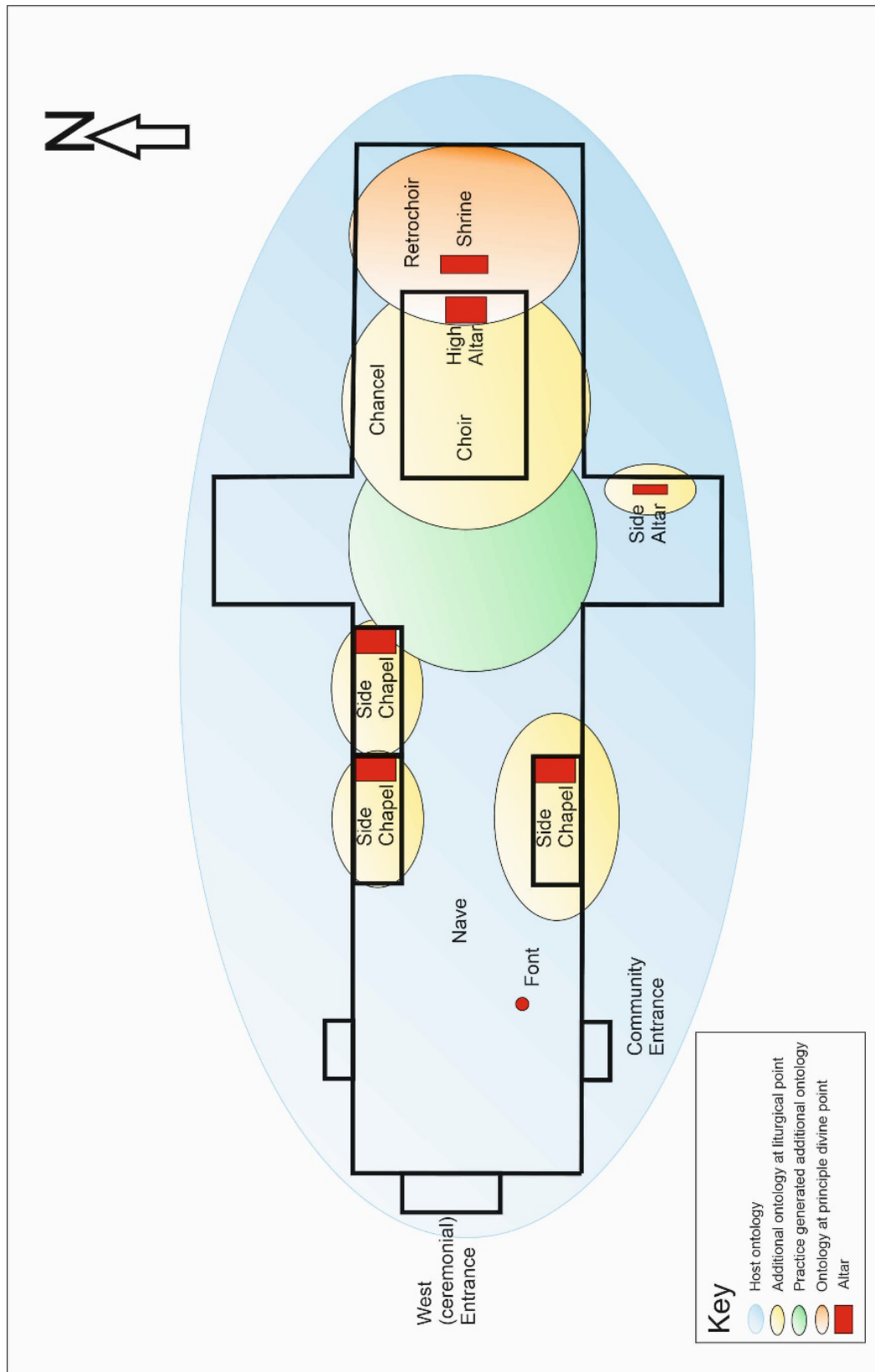
Figure 80. Idealised model of integrated nested ontology. Each additional ontology (yellow, green, and orange) sits atop the underlying host ontology (blue) and interacts with the other ontologies it connects to (Author's own image 2020).

Individual markers within a landscape of destination are nexus points: each represented by an altar or shrine, projecting their own place infused with divine radiation and connected to a divine or divinely connected being. There can be any number of distinct places within a landscape of destination. These places are accommodated within the conventional built landscape and have a direct impact on the landscape of destination. Each of these has the potential to become a point of ritual activity to the lay worshipper, a location within the landscape of destination where an encounter with divine power can take place at an increasing level of intensity and in an increasingly personal way.

10.2.1.1 The religious entrance

The religious entrance (chapter 9), with its function as the pre-eminent spiritual gatekeeper to the divine ontology of the interior, provides both protection to that interior and a permanently liminally active place where personal improvised rituals can be undertaken. The religious entrance provides a liminally safe access to that interior and entry to the landscape of destination.

Having passed through this empowered entrance, a supplicant, parishioner or pilgrim is within the initial divine ontology. Now in the presence of God, a lay worshipper, the supplicant, can undertake simple prayers, participate in the religious service of the led ritual and 'speak with God' in their own terms; this entered place is the host ontology. Accessing this ontology is conducted by performing an improvised ritual of encounter within a religious entrance (chapter 9). Without conducting a ritual of encounter upon entry, a supplicant has no access to the divine: the entrance grants only access to the built environment, allowing the observer to inspect the architecture of the space constructed for veneration of a deity does not grant access to that deity.

10.2.1.2 The host ontology

Created by consecration and continued ritual practice, a host ontology is situated within an entire built landscape. The host ontology is anchored at the high altar, the centrepiece of the church and the consecrated divine nexus within the place.

Access can be gained to a host ontology through using a personal ritual of encounter within the religious entrance. This allows the built environment to become an empowered place, such that the power of God becomes palpable within the materiality of the place. A host

ontology is a protected and connected place where personal performative ritual can take place and where change can be enacted. Without a ritual authority to intervene and undertake led rituals, a supplicant becomes reliant on their own ability to navigate any divine encounter. Within this host ontology, the personal improvised ritual of encounter provides both the spiritual protection and access to new religious places represented by side altars or chapels.

10.2.1.3 Graffiti and nested ontologies

Within the built landscape, it is possible to see the graffiti marks that have been left behind by previous lay worshippers. These marks form the panels that have been detected (Chapter 6-8) at sites where landscapes of destination are operating. Each of these panels marks the location where ritual engagement is being undertaken and acts as a draw to new lay worshippers. In the same way as side altars and shrines function as divine material, the graffiti marks and panels operate as agents and assemblages. They speak to the supplicant of the successful engagements conducted by their predecessors. Evidence of past personal rituals of encounter draws and encourages future personal rituals of encounter.

10.2.1.4 The presence of side altars and chapels

Within this host ontology of the religious place, it becomes evident that the side altars and other religious markers can generate religiosity in their own right (Figure 78). These spaces are empowered places when they are used for worship and personal rituals of encounter and allow personal ontologically distinct realms to be generated. As these personal ontologies are generated, a place within a place becomes viable through the active personal ritual performance. Evidence for this encounter with the divine can be witnessed through the placement of the graffiti, these marks being one of the performative components of the personal ritual of encounter and agents within the place. Enclosed within a new divine realm where it is possible to communicate with a single divine or divinely connected being, it becomes possible to start speaking to religious power in a direct manner. Each supplicant making a specific request to the divine that becomes the driving force behind personal worship, saintly cults, and the generation of formal pilgrimage activity. It is here at the side altar that initial deals with the divine can be struck, but at great potential spiritual risk of being lost to the power of the divine.

As with the built landscape with its physical markers and barriers to distinguish the chapel or altar from the whole, these new ontologies, much smaller and less powerful, sit within the host ontology of the divine interior of the church, superimposed on the structure of that world by their inclusion within the place, and creating new places within. They sit with a liminal portal between them, dividing them from one another and from the host ontology as well as facilitating passage.

10.2.1.5 Ontologies and nexus points

As these personal ontologies are created, they become anchored within the built landscape. These anchored spaces are the nexus points that contribute to the creation of a landscape of destination. A nexus point does not need to be a specific altar, shrine, or relic; it can be any point or location within the built landscape that becomes meaningful.

The graffiti panels act as both marker and gateway for the nexus points. The ritual nature of the marks as doings facilitates the performance of the personal ritual of encounter at the liminal portal and nexus. In spaces where there is no overt divine material to operate as a nexus, the graffiti panel becomes the primary marker for that nexus and permits the supplicant to locate the liminal portal more fully.

10.3 Creating additional ontologies

The graffiti present at these side altars and chapels provides material evidence for ritual activity being undertaken. This graffiti is not placed in direct contact with an altar or even on the surface immediately in contact with it, but at a short distance. For example, at St Nicholas, deposition of graffiti focused on columns S6 and N6 (Chapter 7 Figure 52). At these locations, the graffiti deposition marks the nearby landscape and generates a perimeter around a central nexus. These marks suggest a level of ritual doing, in proximity to but not on the object that directly contains the religious power. This delineates a boundary and a point where a personal ritual of encounter permits safe entry to an ontological place and facilitates the divine encounter: markers for the liminal portal between the two ontologies, the place where the personal ritual of encounter is undertaken to permit access to and safety within the new ontology.

Each new personal ontology is anchored at a place of material empowerment within the greater space of the built landscape. The associated nexus becomes a spiritually unique place within the greater place of the built landscape, sitting within the greater ontological place of the divine whole. Each of these ontologies becomes persistently liminal (Chapter 9.6.3). Created through a series of improvised personal rituals of encounter, the persistent nature of them becomes tangible, supported by the agency of both the nexus and the graffiti as an agent of ritual doing. These ontologies can become operable at places within the built landscape that have no overt connection to a specific divine encounter. An example of this is the creation of an ontological place at the crossing within a cathedral (Chapter 8 Figure 75). Here, the ontology that has been created through usage and engagement rather than through direct divine presence and connects to the process of movement, an interaction between the space within the built landscape and the place that is the landscape of destination. The connection between the ontologies via liminal portals becomes a metaphysical landscape within the built landscape.

The multiple ontologies located within a single built landscape acquire the ability to interact, becoming interconnected. The method of interaction and interoperability of the ontologies as places within the built landscape gives rise to the nested ontology, and through this the landscape of destination.

Constructed from the series of ontologies within the built landscape, the nested ontology is a complex collection of realities that were perceived by the Medieval worshipper not as distinct places but as areas of divine encounter and interaction. These places, each anchored at nexus points within the larger place, represent a series of different saints and the divine spirit's empowerment through materiality and devotional belief that can be encountered and interacted with. Each of these nexus points is interacted with on an individual level, or on an increasing level of access across the built landscape; each is dependent on the nature of the divine encounter, the understanding of the place and the desired outcome.

Underlying this process is the base ontology of the secular world, the outer whole that is the spiritually polluted world of human sin and demons. Onto this is superimposed the divine ontology of the consecrated religious place, the church. This divine ontology becomes the host ontology operating and contained within a built landscape. Within this host ontology the other ontologies are created, initially as personal ontologies and later

through the actions of the supplicants and the agents they generate, becoming the anchored ontologies and nexus points that facilitate the nested ontology.

Two models exist for the nested ontology: the dissociated and the integrated.

- **Dissociated nested ontologies**

In a dissociated model, the ontologies sit in proximity to one another. They exist within a built landscape but have no formal or informal interaction beyond geographical locality (Figure 78). By placing the ontologies into this format, it is possible for multiple realities to coexist and for people to interact with them in meaningful ways, but there is no interaction between the ontological places, and they cannot grant the escalating access that is required for the operability of some aspects of the landscape of destination.

This places the ontologies one next to the other on top of the host ontology, placed together like a simple dinner service on a table. The table represents the secular world and the tablecloth the consecrated church, and onto this would be placed the crockery and cutlery, each item representing a separate ontology sitting atop the underlying one but not interacting with it.

In this model, the landscape of destination is a broken one; it is possible to move in and out of multiple ontologies and to encounter the divine within each separately, but there is no interconnectedness and no interaction between them. The operability of the individual ontologies is unaffected. Each provides access to the divine encounter produced via the religiously empowered material that operates as the nexus for that ontology. Each divine agent is operable within its own place and emits its own divine radiation.

- **Integrated nested ontologies**

In an integrated model, the ontologies are connected; they nest within one another and interact (Figure 80), permitting movement, with the use of the correct ritual, from one to the next. This permits the lay worshipper, bereft of formal training, to encounter the divine at a level with which they can engage. This movement and engagement is achieved using personal rituals of encounter. Each ontology facilitates movement to the

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next, an escalating level of divine access being granted as the worshipper successfully navigates the personal ritual of encounter to make them sufficiently protected and prepared to encounter the increasing divine presence towards which they are moving.

Returning to the analogy of the dinner service, this places the plates in a stack, the most important at the bottom of the pile being the hardest to access. The ritual authority knows how to access it directly; the formal ritual granting access in a clean manner, lifting the entire stack to pick up the plate at the bottom. It is necessary for a lay worshipper to pass through each preceding layer, lifting each plate from the stack in turn, to gain access to the most important one at the base of the stack.

This model permits the lay worshipper as ritual supplicant and guide to progress through the different ontologies. Each ontology facilitates an encounter with the divine and access to the next liminal portal, permitting spiritual and physical movement towards the shrine or high altar.

The dissociated and the integrated landscapes of destination can co-exist. A dissociated landscape forms around the side chapels and altars, the encounter with a saint taking place within that ontology and then the supplicant returning to the greater place of the host ontology. If a supplicant is present to approach the higher tiers of the church, particularly if they are present on pilgrimage, seeking out a shrine or relic, then they must interact with the ontologies in an integrated manner, particularly as they progress towards the shrine and the seat of power that this nexus represents. To gain access to this place, a lay worshipper must navigate the spiritual landscape, passing into the most holy part of the religious built landscape and interacting fully with the landscape of destination. This interaction requires a lay worshipper to move through each ontology, escalating the level of protection and the potency of the encounter with the divine as they do. This integrated nested ontology drives the landscape of destination to become the empowered liminal landscape and form the end point for the pilgrimage journey where the transition occurs.

Entrance to the physical location granted access to the space, but it requires a ritual performance to gain access to the host ontology of the consecrated space. The interaction with the liminal ritual place of the porch grants access to the metaphysical place within (Chapter 9). This is facilitated via the empowerment of the religious entrance as a liminal place and only requires the most basic of learned ritual to complete.

Once within a host ontology, it is possible to perceive the other ontological places that exist. Each place is marked by the nexus that anchors it within the greater place of the religious interior, perceived as religiously empowered material and enhanced by the sensory perceptions of the place. The supplicant can now approach each ontology and conduct a personal ritual of encounter to gain access to that place and that nexus point. In doing so, the supplicant will conduct a new ritual of encounter; once completed, they are within the realm of the divine entity represented by the nexus point. Contact is possible through the agent and a conversation may commence through continued prayer. The transaction of the prayer completed, the supplicant can leave the ontology freely and return to the principal divine place of the host ontology. This practice would be familiar to many lay members of the catholic community of Medieval England, conducted within a parish church. A routine encounter with a locally venerated saint might include prayer to them including expressions of wants and desires as well as requests for support and forgiveness. Such practice is documented in the form of the graffiti panels as doings associated with the personal ritual of encounter to gain access to the place.

Moving to the larger space of a cathedral, there is a similar establishment of ontologies but on a grander scale. The multiple physical entrances either function within the larger consecrated host ontology or are activated by different means: an entrance used by the lay community is empowered in much the same way as that of a parish church, whereas a great ceremonial entrance would be empowered by the ceremony and ritual of the grand procession. Once inside the host ontology, we witness the same type of multiple ontologies at empowered nexus points as in the parish church. Each shrine and altar facilitate the generation of an ontology and creates a dissociated nested ontology. We also find evidence for an integrated nested ontology within the cathedral granting access to the more potently empowered places of the space.

In these spaces it is impossible to progress through the built landscape without encountering multiple signs of change. It is also impossible to progress through the spiritual without encountering similar changes. It is here that the integrated nested ontology exists. As the supplicant enters the host ontology, they can progress to any of the nexus points where they may interact with the empowered object of the shrine or chapel; however, rather than then returning to the host ontology they would progress to the next ontology in the hierarchy. At this point the personal ritual of encounter begins to evolve. It is no longer possible to encounter the divine in the manner that is taught by the parish

priest, to allow for entry into the church or to interact with an altar to a saint in a safe manner. The lay worshipper is in need of a ritual that will permit them to safely encounter an escalating power of divinity.

This evolution of the personal ritual of encounter allows a supplicant to enlarge and enhance their ritual. It permits a more complete interaction with the liminal transition, enhancing personal spiritual protection. As the lay worshipper progresses, the performative nature of the ritual becomes more important; they may be carrying a votive item, but these are too grand for this level of encounter so a more simple doing is enacted: the placement of graffiti and the enactment of motion, climbing steps in a specific pattern, crawling on hand and knee or the prostrate demonstration of faith (Eade, 1991; Kempe, 2004). Each action becomes a vital performative component, a doing, in the practicing of an improvised ritual of encounter. This practice is enacted at each liminal portal to permit access to the nexus point of the next ontology within the nested hierarchy. The final ontology surrounds the shrine. Here, the divine power is too great for many and they are overcome, as Margery Kempe was repeatedly(Kempe, 2004) and can be seen in operation at modern sites (Obeyesekere, 1977; Eade, 1991). Practices at this ontology are common and shared, as a supplicant encounters a shrine or reliquary, touching and gaining as close a physical access to the saint as possible and depositing the votive offering. It is here that we also see the recorded practices taking place, the removal of chunks of a shrine (Thurston, 1898: 476-477; Potts, 2018) and the pressing of tokens to the structure. Each action was intended to gain a portion of the secondary religious empowerment of the place and the object for themselves, creating secondary relics through transference of divine radiation.

Once this ritualised transition through the layers of a nested ontology is completed, the supplicant is transformed. They are returned to the host ontology and then to the secular as a successful pilgrim. This return must also be conducted in stages through further personal ritual encounter; each enactment now a process of spiritual decompression and removal, a process of movement and expansion of the time spent in contact with the divine. The journey and liminal transformation completed, they have the markers and tokens that prove they have successfully completed the process and can demonstrate this new social standing to their community. Each supplicant also transforms the environment that they are traveling through because of the performance of the improvised personal ritual of encounter. Each performance of the personal ritual of encounter changes both the

supplicant and the environment using performed liminal ritual, within a liminally empowered place that is a nested ontology.

10.4 Personal ritual of encounter

Built landscapes and nested ontologies provide underlying structure of place for personal ritual encounter of the divine. As a lay worshipper moved into these interconnected places, they undertook personal rituals of encounter. These rituals permit the safe navigation of the space and place and facilitate an encounter with the divine.

A personal ritual of encounter is generated by each supplicant and evolves as required; it is based on need and underlying knowledge rather than being an imposed rote process taught by a ritual authority. These personal rituals are based on components with which a supplicant would be familiar through the ritual process of church service and life-course rituals containing all the formality required in a ritual without the ritual authority. A personal ritual of encounter is physically performative, meeting the perceived need to enact physical movement to create a temporal space and permit an encounter with the divine to occur.

The ritual of encounter changes from person to person and from performance to performance. But each performance of the improvised ritual of encounter will contain common elements that must be observed for it to obtain the key objective of an encounter with the divine. Each ritual performance facilitates the movement into and out of an ontology (Figure 81) in the dissociated nested ontology or permits progression through an integrated nested ontology (Figure 82). Upon completing the ritualised movement to the primary place of divine power within the space, the supplicant repeats elements of the personal ritual of encounter to depart the ontology. This enables them to retain and extend elements of that encounter and depart whilst retaining a connection to that divine element, creating a circular practice of entry and exit, which takes a route in and out of multiple ontologies, through a series of liminal portals. This creates a temporal and spatial place whereby an encounter with the divine can be undertaken safely, resulting in a change in personal or social status.
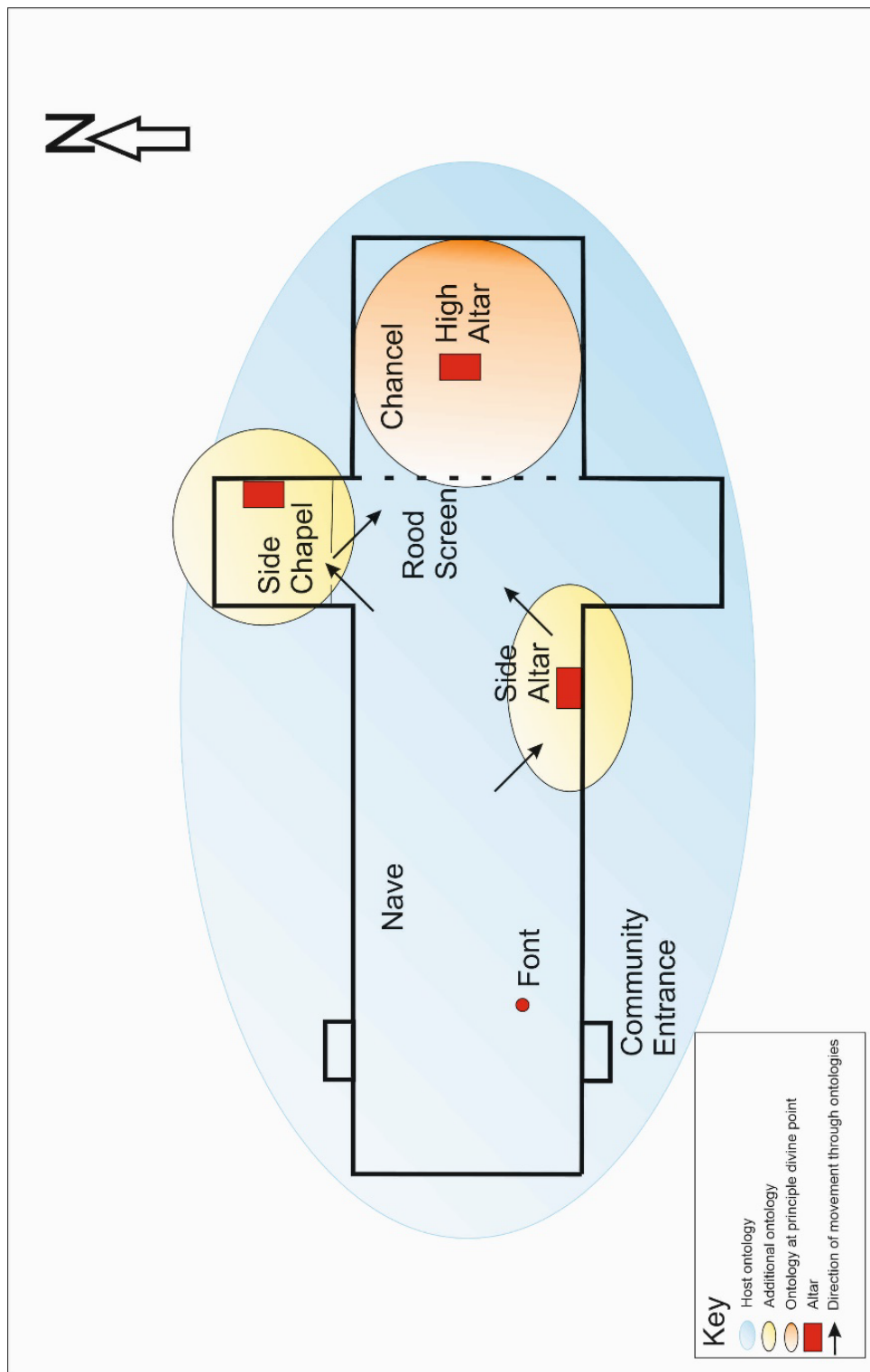
Figure 81. Movement through an idealised model of a dissociated nested ontology. A supplicant may move from the host ontology into any of the nested ontologies and then back out independent of any interaction with the other nested ontologies (Author's own image 2021).
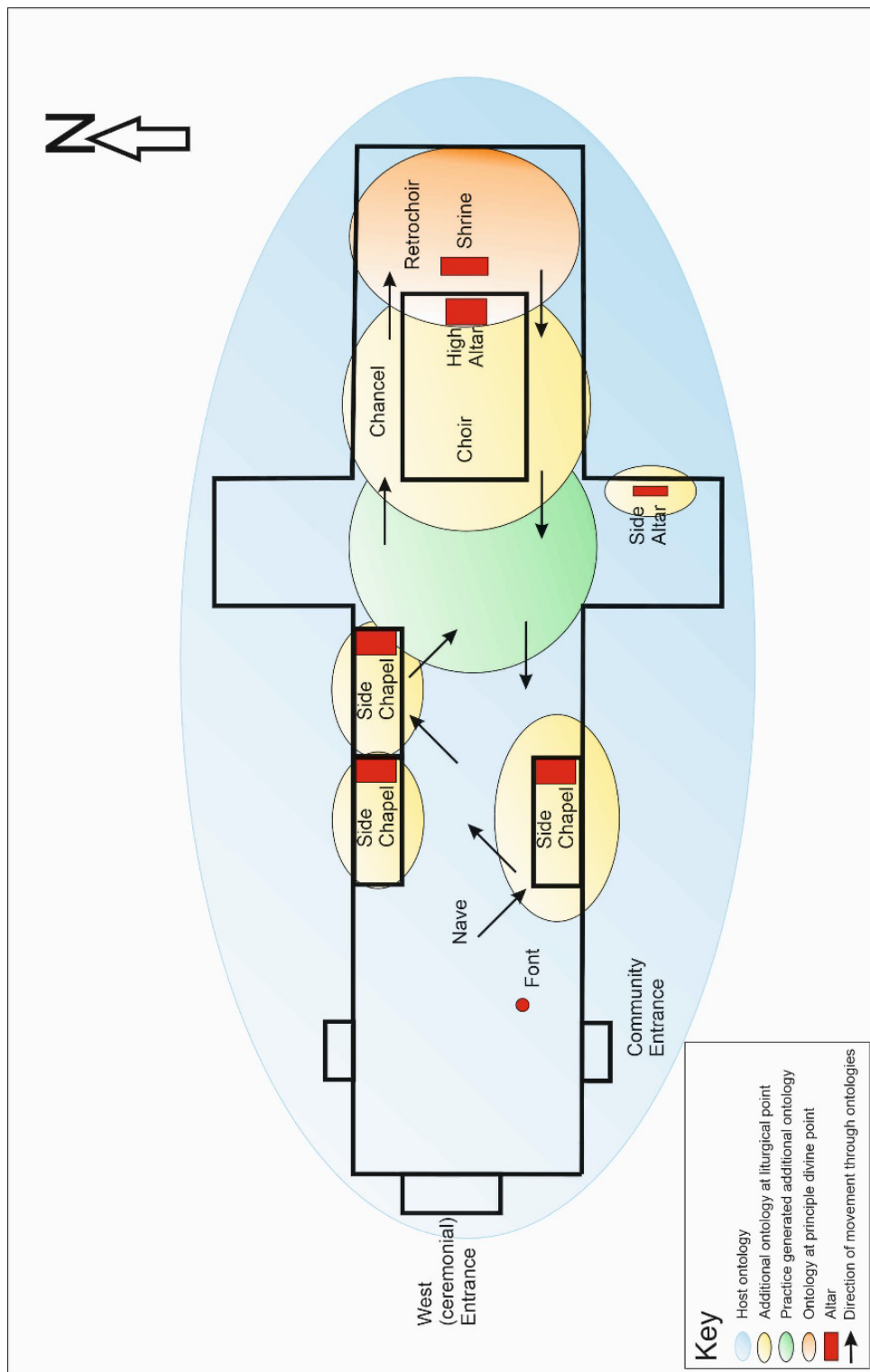
Figure 82. Movement through an idealised model of an integrated nested ontology. A supplicant may move from the host ontology into a nested ontology and then progress to the next ontology within the nested structure as they progress through the ontological places exiting and entering each in turn (Author's own image 2021)

10.4.1 Generating the personal improvised ritual of encounter

When presented with the built landscape of a religious space, the lay worshipper is presented with a series of possible religious encounters with the divine. Under the guidance of a parish priest or other ritual authority, these are guided, and the encounter made safe. In private worship and particularly during pilgrimage, this encounter is not necessarily mediated by a ritual authority, which results in the generation of the personal ritual of encounter. The personal ritual of encounter is generated using behaviours and practices observed and learned by the lay worshipper, modified for the new purpose. The enactment of these rituals makes it possible for a worshipper to transfer from the built landscape to the ritual landscape and therefore enter the ontologically complex landscape of destination. This entry permits both the physical and spiritual movement of the supplicant through the built landscape and through an escalating series of divine encounters culminating with the encounter at the high altar or shrine.

Practical application of this personal improvised ritual of encounter begins with the process of prayer making. This permits a lay worshipper to encounter the divine in a cursory manner. The performative gesturing, the use of ritual objects such as crucifixes and prayer beads, and the creation of personal markers in the form of graffiti become an entangled element in personal worship. Alongside this practice are the specific rituals taught for simple christening and blessings (Shahar, 1990: 49) for use when the priest is not available. Understood to be less powerful that those practices led by the ritual authority, they are no less functional. This basic set of practices forms the structure of the personal improvised ritual. Onto this underlying knowledge, it is possible to apply the observed performance that is practiced by the priest on a regular basis. Each observed practice serves a specific purpose in the led ritual and, as performative elements, present both sensorial and perceptive elements to be incorporated into the personal. By placing the observed doings and performance into the lexicon of personal ritual knowledge alongside the taught and the routine, the lay worshipper is equipped with a plethora of elements that can be utilised in the personal improvised ritual. Adding folk practices that surround life-course rituals and other prayer-making (Duffy, 2005: 53-87), and the placing of votives and the creation of graffiti as a part of those ritual practices, we can start to construct the whole of the personal improvised ritual of encounter.

Placing the lay worshipper into the familiarly unfamiliar, the enlarged religious space, with its enhanced levels of potential access to the divine, makes them capable of enacting the rituals that are required to progress through that space and access the places within it both physically and spiritually. The lay worshipper, now supplicant and spirit guide in one, first enacts the rituals that they know and understand to pass through the religious entrance in a manner that takes them within the divine place. Having successfully completed this, they become emboldened with the knowledge that they can undertake this act of ritual encounter and can progress.

As the lay worshippers move into the landscape of destination, they add new elements to the personal improvised ritual. In doing so, they are creating the graffiti as ritual doings and enacting them as they move into the progressive levels of the nested ontologies, being comfortable that they are spiritually safe. They then become able to interact with the divine presence that they discover within those ontological places.

This movement is conducted on a physical and spiritual level. Lay worshippers moved to a physical boundary or marker and interacted with the liminal portal that is present at this point. As they initiated the personal ritual at this physical and metaphysical location, they gained access to the connected nexus points within the nested ontology and could conduct a personal improvised ritual of encounter to gain entry into that ontology. The placement of the graffiti marks as doings on the physical markers of these liminal portals represents more than a simple ritual doing. It creates a personal ritualised connection with the materiality of the place and permits the supplicant to engage more fully with the divine. Each graffito doing becomes a core component of the personal ritual of encounter, the improvised mark being contemplated and considered as a part of the engagement rather than the quick practical mark-making that is demonstrated by experimental archaeology (appendix 1). By moving through this space and taking the time to interact with each of the realities within the nested ontology, a pilgrim can reach the shrine site and there perform their final ritual of encounter.

Protected from the spiritual dangers of this divine encounter, a lay worshipper may interact directly with the shrine, prostrating themselves or crawling into a feretory, making whatever physical contact they can with the most powerful and most dangerous of the divine materials present within the landscape of destination (Obeyesekere, 1977, 1978; Klaniczay, 2014) becoming directly, physically connected to the religious materiality of

heaven and the overwhelming power of the saint and of God. It is belief in the validity of the performed personal improvised ritual of encounter that permits a lay worshipper to be a successful pilgrim, to attain this ultimate contact with the divine and to survive it spiritually and physically intact and unharmed.

10.4.2 Liminal borders and personalised ritual encounter

The landscape of destination is constructed from a series of liminal boundaries that differentiate the ontological worlds of the nested ontology. At each ontology there is a need to navigate in and out of the place via these liminal boundaries and to transition from one to the next. In classic liminal theory (Chapter 3), each ritual space is marked with a ritual marker, a point where the ritual space begins and ends; the same is true with the liminal borders within the landscape of destination. These ritual markers are the liminal portals, the spaces within the built landscape that are marked with the remnant graffiti of the ritual of encounter and the places that contain the nexus points of the nested ontology. These liminal boundaries are a ritualised point where the personal ritual of encounter permits the transition into the next ontological place within the nested ontology and therefore permits the landscape of destination to be navigated. Through the repeated use of the liminal portal, it becomes a fixed location geographically in the same way as the nexus that anchors the ontology is fixed to the religiously empowered material of the site. In this case, however, the liminal border is created by the graffiti as the ritual doings; these markers of liminal activity, like the religious entrance, retain elements of the rituals that have gone before and remain empowered and accessible for the supplicant through the agency that has been entangled with them.

These liminal borders can be detected by analysing the distribution of Medieval graffiti within the built landscape. It is here that the graffiti panels tell their story. Each of the panels enriched by the multiple remnants of the doings from the multitudinous personal improvised rituals of encounter are the agents of those rituals. They provide the backdrop and the empowerment for each subsequent ritual, and permit the places to be the liminal ritual markers that are required for the transference into the new ontology, the new ritual space.

The personal ritual of encounter at the liminal boundary becomes the ritual of encounter within as the supplicant progresses through the space, the encounter with the divine

becoming a direct progression through the entry into the ritual place that contains the divine empowerment through the divine radiation that has been created by the nexus point of religious material and contained within the ontology to protect the unwary from accidental encounter.

During this interaction with the divine, the holy matter that resides as the nexus for an ontology becomes a palpable presence within that place. An encounter with divine power can now be undertaken within the protection granted by the liminal operability of the personal ritual of encounter that has granted safe access to the divine place. With this knowledge that they are protected, the encounter can be conducted in a transactional manner: the promise of faith and earthly activity in return for divine favour. These spiritual deals clearly held power, with a belief that failure to conduct the earthly component could bring retribution upon the supplicant being demonstrated clearly in Medieval literature, examples being contained within the writings of Medieval historians and chroniclers such as Margery Kemp (2004) and the Paston family (2008) (Chapter 2).

Graffiti as a doing becomes fully empowered as an agent through this act of divine encounter. The connection between the supplicant and the divine places a connection back to that ontology and the nexus within it and as such becomes a formative part of that ontology. Each personal improvised ritual of encounter with the divine is recorded in the graffiti as material doing of the ritual, those material doings remaining evident through time. Each time a personal ritual of encounter is repeated, this bond is connected to another place within the landscape of destination, strengthening the encounter and the spiritual connection to the resident saint at the shrine.

10.4.3 Exiting the landscape of destination

Having completed the encounter with the divine at the shrine or high altar, the process of movement through the landscape of destination must be concluded. This is met through the process of exiting both the metaphysical and the built landscapes and must be completed correctly. Moving away from physical proximity of the principle divine presence within the place, the supplicant must move away from the spiritual proximity as well. This requires them to disentangle themselves spiritually from the encounter with further ritual

performance and repetition of some elements of the personal ritual of encounter. This continued engagement through departure extends the time available to the lay worshipper to conclude their engagement with the divine. It permits them to conclude any promises that have been made to the divine or divinely connected entity and to consider the power to which they have been exposed. Potentially placing further graffiti marks as they depart, the supplicant permits themselves to spiritually decompress, returning to the secular world as the changed person. They emerge without being spiritually dangerous to others, whilst retaining a connection to the divine presence and place, a connection which is reenforced by any tokens or souvenirs that they have carried with them through the encounter.

10.5 Landscape of destination

Landscapes of destination are not created as other ritual landscapes are but are created from the bottom up. They are a result of many individual supplicants entering and engaging with the built landscape in ways that the original designers would have found difficult to forecast. They operate and gain their power from the personal ritual rather than the led ritual, and their creation as place is generated through the agglomeration of multiple personal rituals.

This is not a physical built landscape but exists within the constraints of that built landscape. By entering the structure, a supplicant does not automatically enter the landscape of destination; they enter the space that it occupies, only entering the landscape of destination through active ritual performance. It is here that the personal improvised ritual of encounter becomes essential in the navigation and utilisation of the landscape of destination.

Constructed through the nested ontology, a landscape of destination is one of repeated, believed, realities differentiated by liminal boundaries and borders. These boundaries are marked within the built landscape by the graffiti panels, agents of past activity. These panels create liminal portals where much of the personal ritual of engagement is undertaken, ritualised liminal practice to permit access and egress for the ontologies as well as to facilitate the encounter with the divine.

10.5.1 Landscape of destination and its creation through use and practice

The Medieval lay worshipper was aware that the space within the church was/is a more divine place than the space outside, and that the place beyond the screen around the high altar is particularly infused with the power of God and was therefore the most powerful place in the church, rivalled only by the presence of a shrine if one existed (Chapter 3.4). The side altars and the shrines in the open space of the church are, however, accessible, and therefore can be utilised by the lay worshipper much more freely. It is these parts of the built landscape along with the entrance that therefore attracts the primary attention of the lay worshipper as focal points for any personal encounter that they wish to undertake. As can be seen in the data sections of this work (Chapter 7 & 8), these locations become places where heavy activity can be witnessed through the deposition of graffiti and through the acts of souvenir collecting and deposition of offerings discussed earlier. Each of these activities represents a form of ritual doing, a physical manifestation of the ritual as discussed in this and the previous chapter (Chapter 9).

The ultimate example of the landscape of destination is the focal point of the pilgrimage and the place that permits that ritual encounter and personal change in status to take place, resulting in the supplicant transitioning into the complete pilgrim with certificate of completion and divine encounter that will mark their life as changed. There are, however, smaller landscapes of destination that are encountered in no less powerful a way even if they are encountered on a more frequent basis. The primary example of such a landscape of destination is the parish church, a place that would have been familiar to every Medieval Christian worshipper, but which was still a landscape of destination. Each day that worshipper's journey through the community to attend the church, they are traveling to it as a destination where they can encounter the divine, to undertake the spiritual encounter that permits them to conduct some change in their lives, no matter how small or apparently insignificant, in order that they can pass from sinner to forgiven, from man or woman to husband or wife or from adult to parent. Each encounter with the parish church is no less important than what, and each encounter requires the space and place to be navigated as a landscape of destination. This is a landscape that can facilitate that change, a landscape that is spiritual as well as physical, a landscape that can present as much danger as it could benefit if approached in the wrong manner.

These landscapes of destination are not physical places: they encompass and require the spiritual and the ritual performance necessary to access them. They lie at the midpoint or end of a journey; they are the goal of the pilgrimage. These are the places where the liminal journey falls away and the much more powerful liminal encounter occurs. The landscape of destination must be at one of the terminal points within the journey, and it must be encountered as part of a journey that is intended to have a transformational function, whether spiritually or within the socio-cultural position of the traveller. In this way, the landscape of destination fulfils the terminal component of the theoretical structures of pilgrimage whereby the journey is expected to elicit the change; however, within this model and within the landscape of destination, it is less the journey that elicits the transformation than the interaction with the landscape at the end of that journey. It is possible to undertake the journey of the pilgrimage to complete the arduous travel component without completing the ritual transformation. It is therefore incumbent on the pilgrim and the interaction with the landscape of destination to permit the completion of that journey and of the liminal and liminoid practice of pilgrimage. The emergence from the journey and into the encounter is the terminal point that permits the spiritual transition to occur.

10.5.2 Navigation of the landscape of destination

Having looked at the theoretical placement of the landscape of destination, it is possible to assess it against the example of the data gathered. These can illustrate the potential physical and spiritual navigation through the place of the religious landscape, built landscape and the religious landscape of destination.

As each supplicant enters the built landscape, the personal ritual begins, initially at the religious entrance as they prepare themselves. Entry into the initial place of the divine interior of the church is facilitated by the permanently empowered nature of the religious entrance (Chapter 9), the liminal nature of the entrance making this initial transition easier to perform without the need for elaborate personal ritual or ritual doings on a daily basis. However, if the supplicant wishes a deeper encounter with the divine within the place, then they would need to stop and initiate a personal ritual of encounter at this entrance, placing themselves fully within the divine ontology rather than relying on the ritual guide, the priest, to draw them into this ontologically distinct place during the service.

With this initial improvised personal ritual of encounter under way, the landscape of destination becomes a place that can be more fully explored. It becomes evident that the divine resides within the place and that there are multiple places within the whole that can also be accessed. Each of these places represents a new ontological realm: a place within a place that can, with the correct personal ritual of encounter, be accessed, granting that access to the religiosity of that place. The place of the altar grants access to the figure to whom it is dedicated, the shrine to the saint, be they recognised or not, and the high altar to God themself and the most powerful and most terrifying divine power imaginable to the Medieval worshipper.

10.5.3 Graffiti and the landscape of destination

The graffiti panels represent a temporal pause within the landscape of destination. The cycles of encounter and movement were broken by pausing and contemplating personal ritual and creating an individual mark. The process of mark-making in practical terms may only take seconds to inscribe, but the creation of marks as ritual doings can take minutes or even longer. By placing a graffito mark within the built landscape and integrating its making into the personal ritual of encounter, a worshipper engages with the materiality of the place and the divine. They are actively participating in the creation of an entangled agent of self and the divine, an agent that brings time into the operation of the landscape of destination.

The graffito of the individual supplicant combines with the graffiti of past supplicants to create the panels discussed earlier (Chapter 5-8). Each panel becomes another node within the landscape of destination: not a nexus of divine power, but a marker for the perimeter of each ontology within the nested ontology. Each graffiti panel becomes the navigation beacon for the entry and exit of an anchored ontology, the marker for the liminal boundary. These panels of graffiti contain the markers of the personal ritual of encounter, the marker for the transition of the liminal boundary and the marker for the encounter with the divine presence within.

As each graffiti panel represents past supplicants, the personal ritual of engagement provides as much opportunity to engage with this presence as it does the divine. The interaction with the agents of previous personal rituals of encounter enhances and energises

the new personal ritual of encounter. This informal encounter with the informal is as powerful as the informal encounter with the formal and divine.

10.5.4 Use and misuse of landscapes of destination

As Fowles (2013) expresses when discussing Pueblo doings, the doing creates the performative destination. With Medieval pilgrimage and the improvised ritual of encounter, that creation of performative destination is the landscape of destination, a place that is significant but that operates under an informal performance of ritual rather than ritual authority. As supplicants interact with the landscape of destination, it becomes more powerful, each performance of a personal ritual of encounter enhancing and fulfilling the need for the landscape of destination to exist and function. To the Medieval church, this presented an opportunity and a problem.

The place is created through usage, not through the construction of the space, and it is this creation through usage that poses a threat in the operation of folk sites such as holy wells and trees. When the practice is undertaken within known and controlled locations, it enhances the power of the built environment; it is a process that can be used to enhance the experience of the parishioner and the pilgrim, utilised to permit the encounter with God and for the individual supplicant to take that interaction on their own recognisance rather than relying on a ritual authority to protect them. However, when this practice is engaged in with the unknown and unsanctioned, it is dangerous. The creation of a landscape of destination at a healing well could be the creation of a landscape of destination around the infernal rather than the divine, and therefore must be prevented. If the landscape of destination becomes the focal point for the journey that seeks intervention – the pilgrimage – then the use of a site that is not within the protection of the divine represents a direct threat to the church and to the spiritual health of the supplicant. This distinction moves beyond the realms of spiritual ritual sanctity and safety and into the process of power management and display within ritual practice and behaviour. This is a process that can be seen in the bulls and orders issued by popes and bishops to shut down such free practice and worship at trees, rocks, and springs (Chapter 2).

This chapter has presented a single theoretical concept that engages with the utilisation of ritual doings and the operation of graffiti as a material doing for the engagement with the ontological and liminal landscape within the built environment of the Medieval Christian

religious space. By presenting the concept of the improvised ritual that can be utilised by the lay worshipper to engage meaningfully with that space and place. In the following chapter I present an idealised, imagined ethnographic narrative for two such religious engagements within a parish church and within a pilgrimage centre to further illuminate the potential engagement with the divine in such environments.

11 Putting the pilgrim into a landscape of destination: an imagined ethnography

"'see! The entrance is open, but there is no bucket at the well, nor do you have anything in which to draw water, and the well is deep.' But the man persevered in his plea that he should at least go in to pray and go right up to the well. At last despite the guard's reluctance, he was allowed to go and went in. He looked all around him and – here was a miracle – the man who had never previously been in the place to pray, then made his way to the well without guide, as if he were familiar with it. He was looking all around and did not have a bucket. Suddenly, an outlet of the spring gushed forth in front of him by the well-head: it performed its ministry for the servant of God and – to speak more truthfully – offered itself to be tasted."(Liber Eliensis, 2005: 452)

The landscape of destination is not a purely theoretical entity. It relies on the activity of the supplicant for its ability to be a transformative place and to be transformed from a space to a place. Here I present two speculative journeys through a parish church and the cathedral pilgrimage centre as imagined journeys of two lay worshippers. These explorations are presented as if they were ethnographically observed practices being undertaken in Medieval southern England and are presented to demonstrate the nature of practice within the theorised landscapes of destination that these spaces contain. As with all ethnographic texts each of these is the study of the behaviours of a single individual within a society rather than a generalised account of activity by all members of that community. Both accounts depict a successful encounter with the divine, the first at a local level and the second at a pilgrimage centre. Evidence suggests however that not all such religious encounters were successful and, in some cases, where the supplicant have failed to uphold their offer of devotion and behaviour saints can be seen to become vengeful rather than beneficial.

11.1 The parish church as landscape of destination

Saint Nicholas church, Arundel sits on the hill that rises to the north of the town adjacent to the castle held by the Duke of Norfolk. Spread out below it is the bustling Medieval port town, the harbour sits on the bank of the tidal estuary and on the far bank sits a small monastic complex. Our worshipper is 'Julia'; she is the wife of a minor merchant who operates from the harbour. He is away at sea and Julia is running their business here until he returns. Julia is pregnant, the birth of her last child was difficult, and she and her husband are still mourning for the loss of their first born. As the pregnancy nears its end,

Julia is keen for her husband to return as she will need to enter isolation soon and will need him to take the child to be christened. As such, she is taking a journey to the parish church today in hope that the Virgin and St Christopher will bring her husband home soon and ease the arrival of the child.

Julia walks up the hill from her home near the river, the castle looming above on the hill. The early morning sun is out but the day is still cool, and the traffic is light. Merchants' carts move through the town heading towards the harbour ready for the tide that is due in a couple of hours and the townsfolk are going about their business. Julia approaches the south of the church; the gate in the low wall is open and the small churchyard spreads on either side. The door to the church is closed but she knows that it will not be locked at this time of the day, the priest having already been up for the morning service. The masons are hard at work on the college building at the eastern end of the churchyard; the noise of their chisels and mallets loud as they finish the stones and drop them into place. The church is resplendent in its rebuilt glory; finished a few years ago it is hardly recognisable as the parish church of Julia's childhood. As Julia approaches the door, she sees the marks on the stone pillars and pauses. The stone arch of the door is still the one from her childhood, and the mark she made with her husband on their marriage is still there and visible. As Julia contemplates the marks, she crosses herself and utters a small prayer, and touching the mark they made on that day she feels the power of the love they bound together and the oaths they swore. Emboldened by the contact with the mark and feeling her husband's spirit is present at the church with her, she opens the door and enters. Within, the newly painted walls glisten with the colours that cost so much; the town saved hard for these paintings, and they rival anything the duke has paid for in the chancel, depicting St Christopher before her and the angel carrying its message to the virgin across the rest of the wall.

Moved by the shift from the world outside to the divine presence within the church, Julia pauses for a moment, just inside the door. The font is to her right, waiting for the next child to be brought into the light of God, and next to it is the first of the great columns that supports the roof of the church. Julia moves to the column and standing before it, contemplates the life and death of her children, the fragility of life and her purpose for being in the church today. Drawing her small knife, she presses it against the surface of the stone and incises the vertical of a cross into the stone. Uttering a prayer for the soul of her lost child, she entreats St Nicholas, the patron of the church, to care for her child until the

day she joins them in heaven; as she makes the second mark in the stone, cutting the horizontal strike of the cross, her hands shake slightly, and the angle is off so that the line slips downward. She examines the mark and, noticing that the place is quiet and that she can feel the presence of God upon her, she moves on into the church. Before her is her familiar parish church, now transformed into that place of power normally reserved for the mass. Julia can feel the presence of the divine in the place, and she knows that she will be able to speak directly to that power as she moves towards the small lady chapel.

As Julia gets to the stone column and wooden screen that divides the chapel from the rest of the nave, she pauses, knowing that her husband visited the altar before he left to pray for her safety. As she moves round the column, she sees his mark, which is obvious in its complexity, as he has inscribed the mark of the merchant company. Again, feeling the presence of her husband, Julia settles to her prayer, the other marks on the column drawing in her connections to the community, to her friends and neighbours each praying and leaving their own mark on the stone. As she prays, she kneels throwing her arms open just as the priest does in full flow, the gesture invoking the holy spirit into herself as she continues. Julia clenches her hands closed, and remembering she still has her knife drawn, she presses it against the stone once more. Drawing a curved line in the stone, her mind drifting to the Bible stories, the sea and to fishing – appropriate with her husband at sea – she inscribes a fish into the stone, then another and a third, each interlaced together into a small mark. As Julia completes her prayer, she can feel the presence of the Virgin behind her, the cold stone of the altar table replaced with the warmth and joy of the divine mother. Julia returns her knife to its sheath and takes hold of the small wooden crucifix that hangs round her neck. Holding it as she approaches the altar and the growing sense of the divine. She moves in and touches the cross to her lips, then to the stone surface. The power of the virgin and her connection to Jesus and to God palpable, Julia repeats her prayer, and pleads with Mary to make the birth easy and to protect her unborn child; the baby kicks as she finishes her prayer. Julia's mind races: it is not unusual as the child moves regularly now, but the timing is auspicious, and it must have been woken by the virgin, the blessing given and received. She drops the cross and places her hand where the small foot pressed against her from within, and smiles. Standing, Julia moves back from the altar. She touches the column; brushing her hand over the mark she has just made, and the mark left behind by her husband, she repeats her prayer and steps out of the chapel. She can feel the presence of the Virgin depart as she moves out of the place, the presence still there within; but now back in the main space of the nave she is distanced from it. On the other side of the nave

sits the chapel to St Christopher. Here, in the church dedicated to the patron of mariners, is a chapel to the patron of travellers, and the blessing of both should bring her husband back in time for the birth of the child. As the Virgin has blessed the child, so now hopefully St Christopher will bless her husband.

Moving more hesitantly to the second chapel, Julia is brought up short by the column. It is unusually powerful with so many prayers made here every day. There are so many marks cut into its surface: can St Christopher hear them all, she wonders; will he answer her amongst all those other prayers? Touching the column, Julia can feel the presence of the entire community: the multitude of people and prayers, each asking for safe passage and protection in their business away from the town. Knowing that she has connected with the virgin already, Julia determines to continue and to use that connection to assist. Approaching the column more closely, she draws the knife once more and, pressing its point into the stone, inscribes the first strike of the virgin's mark into the stone. A wave of relief washes over her as she feels the divine presence open before her, and she continues uttering a fresh prayer to St Christopher as she finishes cutting the interlaced Vs of the virgin into the stone and steps through into the chapel. St Christopher is there, less powerful than the virgin but present. She drops to her knees again and, taking hold of her crucifix, begins to pray directly to the saint for her husband's safe return. She can feel the presence of the saint with her and knows that he should hear her prayers, but she does not feel the same overwhelming sense of divine presence within this chapel. Turning to the wooden panel of the screen beside her, Julia marks the first strike of a cross, small and vertical, and as she does so, she again begs the saint for his assistance. This time, she feels his presence grow from the altar as the divine enforces its presence on the space once more. Pausing in making the mark, she makes her request to the saint: she calls for her husband's safe and speedy return, and this time, sheathing her blade, promises to return and complete the cross upon the saint returning her husband to her. A bargain can be made: the completion of veneration in return for her husband back alive and well; and if the saint demands it, she will undertake a pilgrimage as well. She feels a cool breeze waft over her and thanks the saint. As she moves away, she prays quietly to herself, muttering her thanks to the saint and to the virgin as she moves back into the nave and towards the door. As she is about to leave, she notices that one of her neighbours has entered the church and, exchanging a few words about the day, she bids him a good day. Pausing at the door, Julia looks back into the church and the two chapels and touching the mark she and her husband made on their wedding day once more, she utters a final prayer, then departs for home.

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11.2 The pilgrimage centre as a landscape of destination

In the meantime, by way of divine providence Auti and Beatrix took with them their dearest daughter Christina to visit our monastery of the blessed martyr Alban, where his sacred bones are buried, so as to beseech his protection for themselves and their child. The girl looked at the place intently, and as she thought about the impressive perfection of the monks who lived there, she declared how blessed they were and how she wished to share in their fellowship. When at last her parents fulfilled all that they had come to do, Christina scratched the sign of the cross with one of her fingernails on to the door so as to mark that in that monastery in particular she had stowed her heart's desire. (The life of Christina of Markyate, 2009: p5)

Our second speculative journey concerns that of a pilgrim traveling to Salisbury Cathedral. At the time that is being considered, the pilgrimage is well established but still not officially recognised by the church in Rome. Our pilgrim is 'Henry'. He is a labourer in his home village and has little money; what he does have has been saved and supplemented by donations from the parish so that he can complete the pilgrimage and make his prayers on behalf of all of them for a good harvest and healthy crop this year. Henry has just arrived in Salisbury; it is late afternoon, and the city is busy.

Henry separates from the group that he met on his journey and bids them a good day before heading into the city towards the spire of the cathedral that dominates the skyline. As Henry moves through the streets, he is beset on all sides by the people in this place. The noise, smell and general feel of the place is oppressive to him. In his own village there are fewer than a hundred people, he must have walked past that many already. The shop fronts are open, and the market is in full swing; people are going about their business and pay him little attention. Now within the streets of the city, Henry looks up and has lost sight of the cathedral's spire; the buildings are tall around him, and the maze of unfamiliar streets is causing him to become confused. Eventually he pauses at a street corner and looks around. He can see an inn and heads that way. Inside, the innkeeper spots him and recognising the tell-tale signs of a pilgrim, he offers a bed for a small fee and enquires if Henry has been to the cathedral yet. Henry admits that he hasn't and that in fact he is a little lost. The innkeeper encourages Henry to take food and a drink and suggests that he should wait until the morning to go to the cathedral as it will be quieter then. Henry decides that the innkeeper is right and spends the rest of the afternoon relaxing and talking to other pilgrims at the inn before retiring to bed. As the afternoon progresses Henry is joined by a well-dressed man who is wearing the scallop shell badge of a pilgrim. He offers to buy a

drink for Henry who accepts, especially as he has been holding an empty mug for some time now. The man introduces himself as William, and as they talk it becomes obvious that he is a pardoner. Henry has heard of such people; one came to the village last year and offered to make the journey Henry himself is on now, but the fee was enormous. As the talk William explains that Henry could make a good living from traveling if he wanted too, he wouldn't even need to complete all the journeys, as you can collect badges and certificates quite easily for a small fee. Henry makes his excuses and moves off to a different table quite disgusted at the man's lack of faith and profiteering from others needs and vows to himself to do penance tomorrow for the drink he accepted from such a man beset by the devil.

The following morning, Henry rises early with the sun and, leaving the inn, follows the directions he has been given to the cathedral. It is a surprisingly short walk to the gate that provides access to the cathedral close, and Henry is shocked to find it closed. Approaching the gate, Henry calls out to the guard just inside and is informed that he is too early: the monks are at prayer and he should come back in an hour. With nothing else to do, Henry settles on the side of the street and waits for the gate to be opened. As he waits, others arrive and join him, followed by merchants, opening all kinds of stalls in the approach to the gate. Some of them are permitted inside the gate and establish stalls just inside; fires are lit and as Henry watches, he sees these individuals starting to unload their wears and some open the small moulds to break out the castings. Other stalls unpack food and start selling it to the assembled pilgrims; Henry is drawn to a stall selling pies and, buying one, settles again to continue his wait while he eats. Looking around, Henry can see a stall selling wax arms and legs, and, licking his fingers clean from the pie, he approaches the stall and looks at the strange objects. Some are marked with cuts and sores; others are misshapen and mangled. Distracted by the content of the stall, Henry misses the gate being opened, and rather than being the first through, he must follow others in. As he passes the gate, Henry can see the cathedral ahead of him, even bigger than he imagined; the vast stone structure makes his lord's barn look small. The view of the cathedral and the sudden diminishing of the noise of the city behind him makes Henry pause in the gate; he crosses himself and mumbles a small prayer before continuing into the space of the cathedral close.

Henry is pulled from the moment by the cries of the merchants and peddlers selling their wares just inside the gate. Henry stops and looks over towards them, and realising they are

selling ampoules and badges, he approaches the stalls and starts to look over them. Henry finds a set of small ampoules that – the merchant explains – he can fill inside the cathedral with holy water, or for a small increase in price he can buy some that are already filled and blessed. Henry knows that such items will be valued at home and buys two of the small containers: they are shaped like scallop shells and bear the mark of the cross on one side. Henry settles on the empty ones, choosing to fill them himself inside and touch them to the shrine if he can. Moving onto the next stall, he buys a badge that bears the image of St Osmund, vowing to touch this to the shrine as well so that he can take the power/blessing of the saint with him when he leaves. The peddler tries to get him to buy a badge that has a winged penis on it as well, telling him that it will bring him good luck and fertility, but Henry declines.

Moving towards the great building of the cathedral, Henry passes the bell tower, then, as he sees people entering through the porch that faces him, he presumes that this must be the entrance for pilgrims and diverts towards it. As he approaches, he can see a short queue to enter; people pause in the porch or just inside the door as they cross themselves or grasp prayer beads in their hands. After a few minutes of slowly shuffling forward, it is Henry's turn to enter the space of the cathedral, and as he does so, he instinctively reaches for his neck and finds his crucifix, and the prayer beads that were given to him by the parish priest as he left home. He fumbles the beads through his fingers as he mutters a prayer to God, slowing to a shuffle, and as he does so, he looks around at the ornate carvings of the porch and the handful of marks that have been scratched into its surface by unknown hands. With a final step, he finds himself inside the space of the cathedral, and is drawn instantly to look heavenwards. Feeling the hand of God on his shoulder, he walks on, all the time looking at the vast ceiling of the building, and then, as he lowers his gaze, at the wall paintings and vast windows that illuminate the interior. Marvelling at the scale of the building, Henry feels overwhelmed by the presence of God in the space and is drawn to the font. Just as he gets to it, Henry is intercepted by an older man dressed in a tunic that bears the crest of the cathedral, who greets him warmly and enquires as to his purpose. Henry explains that he is there on pilgrimage and the man points him in the direction of the shrine at the east end of the cathedral, the place hidden from sight but now a presence in Henry's mind.

Henry hesitates, not moving off as he needs holy water for the ampoules that he has in his pouch. Pulling them out, he looks at them and then, glancing past the man at the font,

ponders the situation. The man judges Henry and asks about the ampoules, and on discovering that Henry needs to fill them, he steps aside allowing access to the water, but encourages Henry to make a donation to the cathedral in return for the blessed water. Henry drops a small coin into the wooden box that sits next to the font before filling the tiny containers and pressing their stoppers into them. As he does, he grasps the side of the font and prays; although normally not moved by filling a container with water, Henry feels the need to pray, because the water is connected to the divine and by filling the containers, he must sink his hand into that water as well. The direct physical connection with divine material is not lost on Henry and his prayer becomes more intense, drawing him further into the divine place of the cathedral.

With the ampoules filled, Henry turns to face the eastern end of the cathedral. The place seems distant and powerful – far too powerful to approach – so he diverts his attention to the side altars. These are more approachable: still powerfully connected to the divine, but manageable. Henry moves towards the first one and drops to his knees before it; he prays to the saint and returns to fumbling with his prayer beads, moving them from one finger to the next. He touches the beads to the altar and feels emboldened to move on. Moving down through the nave, Henry can now see the chapels in the crossing opposite him, and making to move towards those, he is brought up by the presence of the choir and the glimpse of the high altar within. Although hidden by the great screen, he can just make out the form of the altar at the far end, and he feels the overwhelming presence of God emanating from it. Too much to contemplate at the moment, he diverts round the western side of the columns of the crossing and into the south transept towards the three chapels that are before him. Moving to the furthest chapel, he recognises it as dedicated to St Michael as is his parish church and settles on that as a good place to visit next, the familiar saint bound to assist him in his needs. As he nears the entry to the chapel, he considers it carefully. The screens are of stone not wood, and he pauses at the entrance to the chapel. Here, he starts to pray, and uttering his familiar prayer to St Michael, he asks for guidance and aid in approaching the shrine. As he does, he draws his knife and starts to cut a small cross into the stone screen. Feeling the familiar presence of the saint descend upon him, he feels comforted and moves on into the chapel. Kneeling before the altar, he prays to the saint and asks for the support he needs to move on into the cathedral; he mentions his fear of the power of the saint within the shrine, and his fear of being overwhelmed and unable to complete the pilgrimage. After ten minutes at prayer, he rises to his feet feeling that the saint is with him and that he can progress. As he moves back out of the chapel, the cathedral before him

feels less threatening and more welcoming; he can feel the presence of God and the saint within the space, and as he approaches the crossing it is no longer as terrifying. The presence is there but he feels that he can manage it now.

Henry finds himself standing in the middle of the crossing looking up at the great stone arches and the ceiling that hangs between them. Around him other people are moving back and forward, praying and contemplating the space in their own way. One of the custos is standing to one side watching and directing people up to the shrine. Henry is drawn towards the column closest to the transept in which he has just finished, and as he looks at it, he can see the various marks that have been left by past pilgrims. They look just like the marks he and his community make when they pray at home. Henry feels the draw of the shrine but is still fearful of its absolute power. Comforted by the support of St Michael, he settles into prayer again, and this time – even more than the last – he can feel the place around him and can sense the increased presence of God close to the altar and the shrine, the power that is transmitted through the stone of the cathedral palpable as he touches it. Henry draws his knife and looks at the stone. There is an empty space, ideal for his purpose; he does not want to entangle his prayers with those of others he does not know. Pressing his knife to the surface of the stone column, he feels moved and starts to cut the first vertical of a Christogram. As he prays, he continues to cut the mark into the stone, and with each new line of the prayer he moves onto the next line of the mark he intends to make, a direct call to God and Jesus. His IX takes shape as the prayer reaches its conclusion. Henry turns and throws his arms open in the direction of the altar. He feels open to God and can see the crossing in a new light; he knows he must progress to the shrine and that he must do so on the correct side of the church.

As Henry passes the custos, the man says something, but Henry doesn't hear him properly. Henry is close now and is in a place between earth and heaven; a place where he can feel the presence and glory of the Lord on him. As he moves in a slow shuffle up the chancel aisle, Henry notices the tomb of the bishop. He knows the story and can see the bishop's connection to the saint and to God. He pauses at Bishop Simon of Ghent's tomb, the great stone slab, and the gleaming gold-coloured metal image of the bishop inlayed in it. Henry is drawn to the bishop and starts to pray to him in thanks for his part in the cathedral. As Henry stands there making his short prayer, he can feel the presence of the bishop, who he knows must be with God, he is shocked by the shift in the place he stands and the feeling that he is now in the presence of this holy man's spirit. Suddenly knowing that he is in the

presence of a potential saint, Henry intensifies his prayers, and again drawing his knife, he cuts a simple cross into the stone of the tomb, careful not to mark the top slab but marking the tomb itself. The rush of power that he feels, the divine connection, is exhilarating and terrifying all at the same time. Henry knows that he is in the presence of the divine and that he can ask his questions here as much as at St Osmund's shrine, so he does: recutting his cross again and again, he makes his prayers and asks his questions, beseeching the bishop to act with the saint to aid his village and support the harvest, and asking for the knowledge of the bishop, a learned man, in tending the land properly. As Henry draws this prayer to a close, he steps back. The shrine is within sight, and he can feel the push from the bishop's tomb to progress, and – no longer afraid of the power at the shrine – he can progress in safety.

With the shrine now in sight, Henry moves forward, and then stumbles as he is brought to a sudden halt. Dropping to his knees, Henry feels the presence of the saint suddenly upon him, more powerful that anything he has ever felt before. He pulls his prayer beads from his pouch and starts to work them through his fingers as he prays and moves forward slowly on his knees. As he gets close to the shrine in the centre of the space, Henry feels moved again and prostrates himself on the cold stone floor before standing and walking the last few paces to touch the shrine. As he makes contact with the structure, he recoils before again dropping to the floor and crawling into the vacant feretory hole. Inside the opening beneath the entombed remains of the saint, Henry continues to pray as he touches the ampoule and badge, he purchased earlier to the stone underside of the tomb. As he does this, he spreads his hand onto the stone each time and intensifies his prayers; finally, he remembers his prayer beads in his other hand and bunching them up, presses them against the stone surface as well. As he withdraws from the tomb, Henry slips the beads over his head, the beads that have touch the saint now touching his own flesh, the direct contact with the divine surging through him. He can see the place as a whole, bright with the light of heaven and the blessings of the saint on him and his village.

Moving away from the shrine, Henry takes the right-hand path back towards the nave, and as he walks, he can feel the saint at his back; the touch of heaven lifts as he progresses away, but he still feels that he is within the realm of the saint. He notices the tomb of Bishop Martival. Here again, the brass inlays on the tomb shine like gold, and the bishop in heaven is able to assist communication with the saint. Henry pauses and contemplates the tomb; he can feel the presence of the saint and the bishop as he prays. He can sense that the

bishop supports his case with the saint, and as the touch of the saint cools and diminishes, the presence of the beatified bishop increases, this learned and pious man supporting him as he moves back to the mundane world and away from the presence of God. Henry feels the power of the saint contained within the beads around his neck and the ampoule and badge in his bag, but knows that the saint is more distant, and he is safe now. Drawing his knife again, he scratches a small cross into the tomb of the bishop, uttering a prayer as he does so, and then standing, he moves back to the crossing and finds the mark he made on his way to the shrine. At the column, Henry touches the Christogram he made and running his fingers over it, he contemplates the prayers he has made today and the things he has seen and felt. Dropping to his knees, he weeps openly, overwhelmed by everything he has experienced. Henry can feel the presence of the saint still with him now, outside the protection granted to him by the bishop and his prayer; he can feel the full force of the divine on him and he is fearful of the power that he is carrying, the blessing of the saint. Enthralled by the power he has experienced, Henry takes the badge from his bag, and pressing the edge of it to the stone, he works it back and forward. The badge is much softer that his knife and bends under the pressure, but as he prays, he manages to mark the stone. A shallow cross is formed as he prays and weeps, and as he does, he can feel the power of the saint easing once more and the world returning to him. Hearing the noise of the other people in the cathedral, for what seems like a long time Henry looks up and feels the light from the big window on his face. The saint and God have retreated back to the heavens, and he feels free to return to the world from which he came. He looks at the badge in his hand, bent and distorted with the edge worn flat, and he presses it back into his bag and moves towards the entrance and back to the city. Outside, he breathes deeply and heads to the inn where he plans to spend the evening before returning home.

12 Conclusion

In the previous chapter I have presented two imagined ethnographies in the form of fictionalised narratives. These provide an alternative discussion of the nature of the landscape of destination; their advantage is in allowing people back into the data, rather than this work remaining a purely abstract theoretical construct. Graffiti marks were made by people as an engagement with the landscape and the spiritual. They are markers of personal identity as well as religious engagement, and this enables the person remains connected to the place and the behaviours. These narratives provide a method of comparing the physical evidence and theoretical arguments presented in chapters 5 to 10 with the literary narrative from Chaucer (Bowers and Chaucer, 1992) and the historical narratives of Margery Kemp (2004) and Liber Eliensis (Fairweather, 2005). These imagined ethnographies provide a less formal route into this work, permitting readers to enter the familiarly unfamiliar in a similar way to the process experienced by Medieval pilgrims.

12.1 Graffiti as ritual marker

Through this work graffiti has been used as a source of data for the theoretical investigation of human behaviour and the utilisation of the data set beyond the purely empirical. There is a large and growing national, and international, data set being generated, and it is important to view it as just that, a valuable data set and another set of material culture to be examined in relation to activity rather than simply as a collection of interesting marks. The marks are not just images to be recorded but have meaning and purpose; it is through the integration with literary and historical sources that the meaning can be interpreted, and that the data set become more valuable.

Key to this study has been the identification and understanding of the historic graffiti record. This graffiti is a multifaceted material component of ritual engagement within the religious built landscape; it is also an integral element of the metaphysical landscape of destination, as a doing of the personal ritual of encounter and a marker of personal continued presence in the form of a non-human agent. These graffiti marks continue to operate into the modern day albeit with reduced efficacy. In addition to the interaction with established religious built landscapes, these marks ask questions of the religious or ritual use of otherwise forgotten or unused spaces within a built landscape.

This is not the only function of a graffiti mark, though. They are complex markers of personal and folk practice, used in multiple ways through the Medieval and early modern period, becoming decoration, apotropaic ward or as ritual doing. Each use of the marker carries its own purpose and power.

12.2 Moving forward with the personal ritual of encounter

By placing their trust in their own ability to enact these personal rituals of encounter, each lay worshipper / supplicant is presuming that they can succeed in ensuring that they are safe in the encounter. Therefor there is an implicit assumption that as an individual the worshipper / supplicant will be able to control the impact that the divine presence has on them and come out the other side intact but changed. The acts of personal worship and pilgrimage would have had mixed results and the outcome, assumed to be God's will, had little impact on the continuation of these practices through the Middle Ages and even into the modern day with personal acts undertaken daily at shrines and places of spiritual significance around the world in many different cultures and faiths.

The theoretical structure presented in this work throws open questions about the nature of personal ritual engagement and its operability within other cultures, faiths and even the secular. As such, an ethnographic study of such engagement would enlighten this theoretical framework and provide further verification of the nature of the practice as well as its continuation. Of particular interest are the issues of how personal ritual encounter occurs away from formal religious practice. It would be of interest to examine these ideas in connection to other faith practices such as indigenous belief systems that have a formal but less prescribed series of practices and particularly in the light of new faith practices that have developed through personal beliefs and the coming together of new ideological systems or the re-founding of what are perceived as ancient practices. It would also be fruitful to study the nature of personal encounters and ritual practice in the vicinity of secular environments. Do people encounter theme parks, secular memorials and monuments or the homes of deceased celebrities in some form similar to the landscape of destination and the nested ontologies discussed in this work.

There must have been risk attached to such practices as well as the rewards possible through the direct interaction with the divine. A study around the perception of a failed encounter would therefore be of value. Is it possible that the perception of visions, malign

spirits and other such uncontrolled encounters was perceived as a failure to engage successfully with the landscape of destination? Is it possible through the personal ritual of engagement to become corrupted or if it is utilised at a site that is perceived to be outside of the religiously safe to encounter forces that are perceived as malign or dangerous?

The final question to rise from this study is whether this personal improvised ritual of encounter can be manipulated to drive supplicants into a specific ontology. If so, is it possible to identify the methods and tools that are utilised to exercise this level of control over something that is otherwise uncontrolled? Can the environmental and sensorial stimuli be organised in such a way that people feel a need to create such a ritual of encounter to enable them to become protected from the spiritual danger to which they are being exposed?

12.3 Looking through the landscape of destination

As I have shown, the process of creation of a landscape of destination becomes a process of ritual engagement with the built landscape and the metaphysical, as such, questions of the nature of that landscape and its function in society must be expanded beyond the Medieval Christian religious. I initially ask here whether the landscape of destination operates in other faiths: in particular, is it a uniquely European, Judaeo-Christian phenomenon or does it occur within all organised religion? Similar questions must also be asked about the extent of landscapes of destination in indigenous belief systems or in neo-pagan practices. Through the world today are these practices still ongoing and can they be observed, there are practices discussed by Eade at Lourdes (1991) that may be, and the various activities reported by Obeyesekere at Kataragama (1977, 1978) are certainly personal ritual acts of encounter. How many of these practices are still undertaken around the world with different ritual doings taking the place of graffiti making, a practice that has not disappeared but become integrated into religious and belief practices and simply hidden from plane view.

The nested ontologies and the landscape of destination are powerful processes for creation and interaction with otherness. They permit the liminal and the ontological to operate within plain sight whilst granting personal access to that otherness, granting both access and protection to the individual, allowing a separation from the secular shared ontology of the world and permitting access to something else where a personal spiritual encounter can

be undertaken. It is separate from but connected to the liminal journey through a landscape to engage in pilgrimage. The nested ontology creating the landscape of destination, and the landscape of destination providing the place for the spiritual and social change to occur.

No pilgrimage is complete only through the journey; it must culminate in the spiritual encounter at the desired endpoint and permit the return to the pilgrim's home as a changed person. This work demonstrates that such an end point is a secondary journey through a series of ontological realms. It is through the independent interactions of the lay worshipper that these ontologies and the landscape of destination that they navigate are created and it is through these that the change required for a successful pilgrimage is obtained. This work also asks more questions about the continuation of such practices and how they may be observed in the future both ethnographically and through the further study of material culture. A sequence of behaviour that has been modified and utilised rather than one that has disappeared.

13 Appendix 1: Experimental Archaeology – creation and reading of graffiti

A short piece of experimental archaeology was conducted using a section of Portland type Limestone provided by the masons at Salisbury Cathedral. In an attempt to simulate the process of deposition of graffiti various members of the postgraduate and staff community at University of Southampton were invited to create their symbols on the stone (Figure 82) using replica Medieval tools. The process resulted in the creation of a block that closely resembles the more complex panels of graffiti found within historic buildings and includes several designs both common and uncommon. It is of note that some of those making the symbols deliberately overcut existing symbols and the order of this overcutting is known. As such it is possible to utilise this block to demonstrate the feasibility of understanding the order of deposition though reading the palimpsest visible in the cut symbols.

Figure 83: Experimental graffiti block (authors own image 2017)

These marks are of particular interest as the work demonstrates that the marks made by the specialist dividers can be distinguished from those made with the more common spring steel sheer type scissor. Specifically, the mark made by the dividers forms a small sharp centre point with a narrow and well-defined outer arc to form the circumference of the circle (Figure 84). By contract, the mark generated with the domestic sheer produces a more shallow and wide centre point and a broad shallow outer arc (Figure 85). These

distinguishing features can be observed in historic marks as shown (Figure 86 & Figure 87). These marks are relatively rapid to produce, taking an inexperienced hand thirty to forty seconds to produce the simple single circle. The more complex rosette mark (Figure 88) is more time intensive taking two to three minutes to construct, therefor it is possible to extrapolate a significant increase in time required to produce the most elaborate interlocking multi-circle designs that occur on occasions.

Figure 84 Experimental compass drawn - dividers

Figure 85 Experimental compass drawn - sheers

Figure 86 Recorded example of dividers created mark: Chichester Cathedral (authors own image 2014)

Figure 87 recorded example of sheer created mark: Chichester Cathedral (authors own image 2014)

Figure 88 Experimental rosette style compass drawn mark

The other significant evidence generated from the experimental block is the ability to detect and understand overcut marks. These are marks areas where two distinct marks have been cut one through the other or where a complex mark consists of multiple lines and the order of creation may become relevant. In this example (Figure 89) it is possible to see a section of the line from a compass drawn mark overcut by the lower arm of a hatched cross. The compass drawn line was the first to be created followed by the perimeter line of the cross then the hatching with the right to left lines being cut first then the left to right lines. It can be clearly seen that the later lines incise through and break the pre-existing lines as they incise the stone. This is of particular use when looking for palimpsest within the mark making.

Figure 89 Experimental overcut marks

13.1 Developed field methodology

The development of a working methodology required a short program of trial recordings taking into account the previous methods and looking for a best practice model that could operate quickly and efficiently whilst maintaining the integrity of the data. As such work was undertaken in late 2018 to determine the methodology best suited to the production of

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photographic records of the graffiti material to ensure that it was both recorded accurately and quickly.

Having concluded this trial period it was decided that the best method was to record each panel of marks using a full frame digital camera mounted on a GigaPan Epic Pro tripod head. This allowed constant recoding of multiple images across the surface for later processing with each image having between a forty and sixty percent overlap. The Image sets are then processed to produce digital surrogates in the form of panoramic stitched images. The larger sixty percent overlap sets also allows for the creation of photogrammetry models where relevant for additional clarity on spatial relationships to surrounding structures. The digital data sets provide a relational image group with both the surrounding area and within the panels supported by the traced sketch of the graffiti marks. There are further enhanced by producing a traced sketch from the merged image and a small number of on-site sketches to allow the consistency of recording to be checked.

The photographic images and the traced sketches allow the marks to be studied in panels and interpreted into probable veneration marks, other probable pre-Reformation marks and those marks that are probably post-Reformation, early modern or modern.

These records can then be placed into a landscape model of the pilgrimage sites, taking the internal geography of the sites into account, specifically looking on entry and exit points, locations of altars and shrines as well as reliquaries where known. It is then possible to map the distribution patterns of these marks into model and analyse it for spatial distribution of the marks, spatial and visual relationships with the altars and veneration points and the visibility of the graffiti locations to others within the sites.

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