

Durham E-Theses

An Archaeology of Sensory Experience: Pilgrimage in the Medieval Church, c.1170-c.1550

WELLS, EMMA, JANE

How to cite:

WELLS, EMMA, JANE (2013) An Archaeology of Sensory Experience: Pilgrimage in the Medieval Church, c.1170-c.1550, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/7735/

Use policy

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

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

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

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

AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF SENSORY EXPERIENCE:

PILGRIMAGE IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH, C. 1170-C. 1550

Two Volumes
Volume II

EMMA J. WELLS

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DURHAM UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 1.1 The Lincoln Pilgrim © Adrian Fletcher 2000-2013

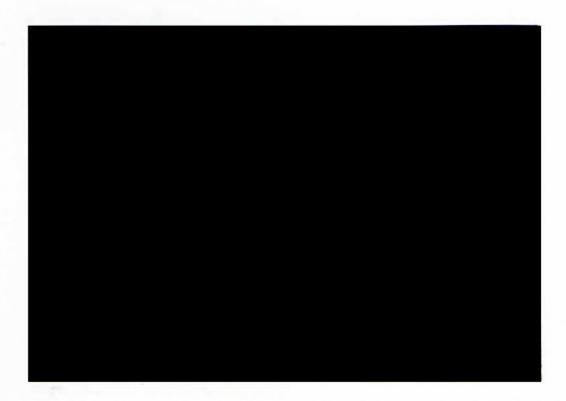


Fig 2.1 Exterior view of Durham Cathedral. ${\Bbb C}$ All rights reserved by Karen bullock photography



Fig 2.2 Exterior view of York Minster (www.york-united-kingdom.co.uk/york-minster).



Fig 2.3 Exterior view of Canterbury Cathedral



Fig 2.4 Exterior view of St Neot parish church, Cornwall © Sheepdog Rex.



Fig 2.5 Map showing location of case sites

C - Corona
M - Martyrdom
S - Shrine
(The tomb was situated in below building)

1. CANTERBURY: KATHEDRALE.

Fig 3.1 Plan of Canterbury Cathedral major showing cult sites

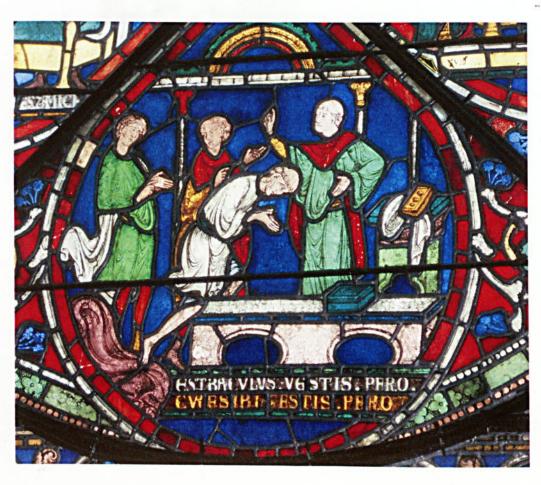


Fig 3.2 Stained glass panel showing image of Becket's tomb, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral



Fig 3.3 Stained glass panel allegedly depicting image of Becket's shrine, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral

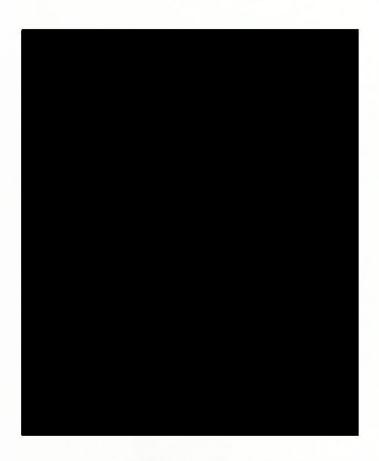


Fig 3.4 Pilgrim badges allegedly depicting Becket's shrine, mid-late 14^{th} Century. (www.musuemoflondon.org.uk).

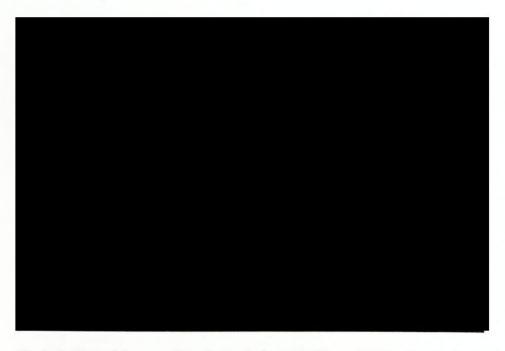


Fig 3.5 Alleged image of Becket's shrine, nV, Nave, St Mary's, Nettlestead, Kent. © Morgan, N.

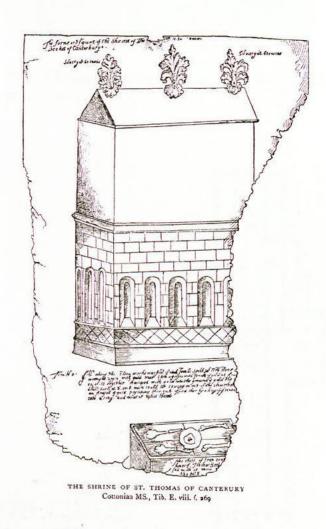


Fig 3.6 Drawing allegedly showing Becket's shrine, BL. MS Cotton Tiberius E.viii, f.278v. (after Wall 1905, 162).

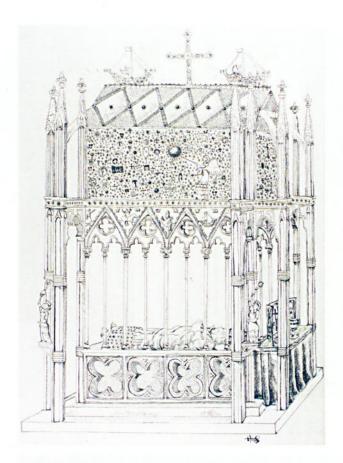


Fig 3.7 Reconstruction drawing of Becket's shrine by Sarah Blick. By her kind permission.

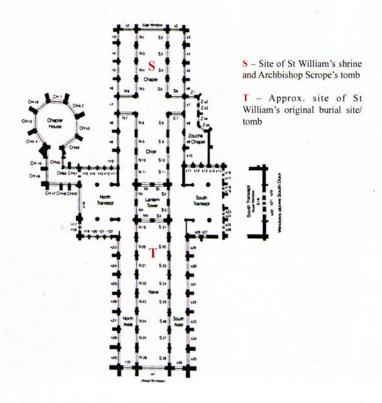
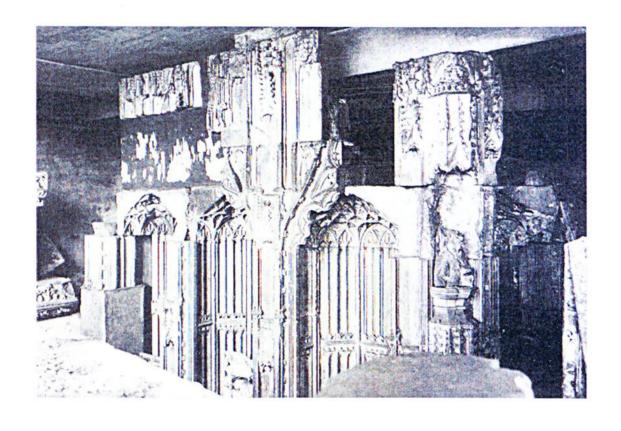


Fig 3.8 Plan of York Minster showing site of St William of York's original tomb site and other notable cult sites.



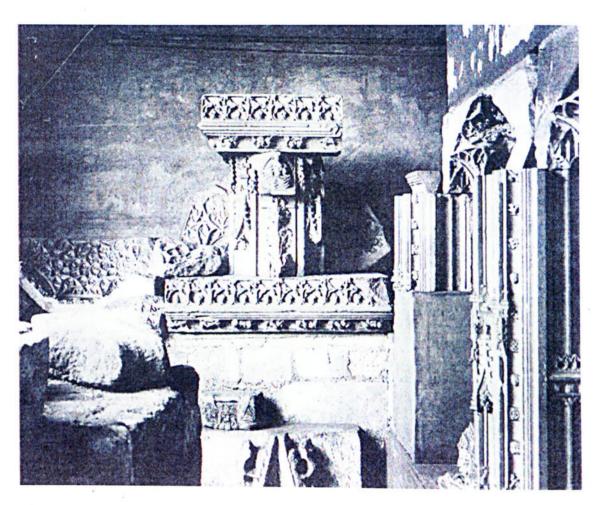


Fig 3.9 Surviving fragments from St William's shrine (by kind permission of the Yorkshire Museum).

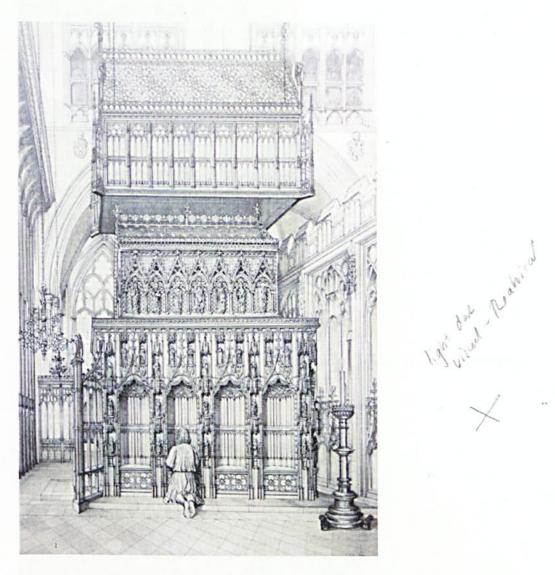


Fig 3.10 Reconstruction drawing of St William's later shrine by John Hutchinson.



Fig 3.11 Central section showing Edward IV and royal family, NXXVIII, North window, north transept, Canterbury Cathedral. By kind permission of the Dean & Chapter Canterbury.



Fig 3.12 Panel D16 depicting holy oil of St Thomas, NXXVIII, north transept, Canterbury Cathedral. © CrownCopyright. NMR

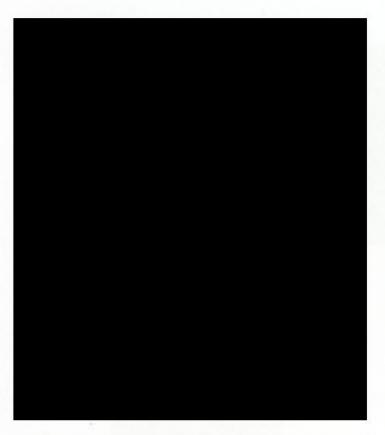


Fig 3.13 North transept, Canterbury Cathedral. This photograph from the 1950s show the nature of the space and illumination. © British National Image Library



Fig 3.14 The Great West Window (W), Canterbury Cathedral. $\ \$ CrownCopyright. NMR

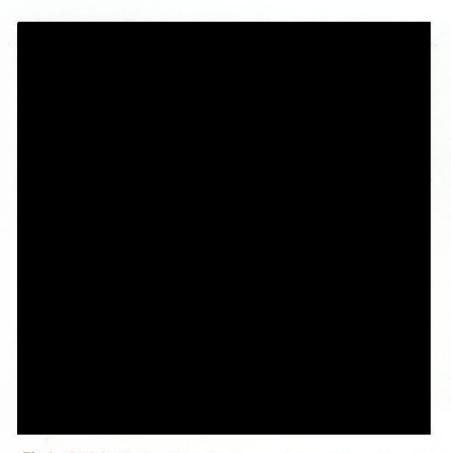


Fig 3.15 Richard II and his wives' arms, tracery, Great West Window, Canterbury Cathedral. © CHAS (Canterbury Historical and Archaeological Society).



Fig 3.16 Interior of Canterbury Cathedral showing ascents to east end chapels. o Paul o Doverpast.co.uk



Fig 3.17 Crypt, Winchester Cathedral. © Fred Dawson



Fig 3.18. Entranceway to keep, Dover Castle. $\ @$ English Heritage. NMR

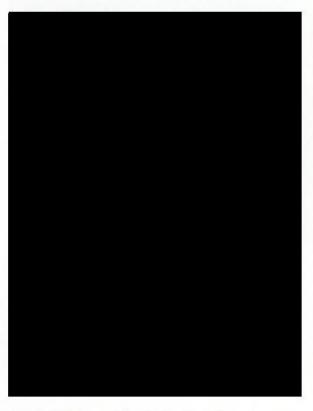


Fig 3.19 Upper chapel, forebuilding, keep, Dover Castle. © English Heritage Photo Library.

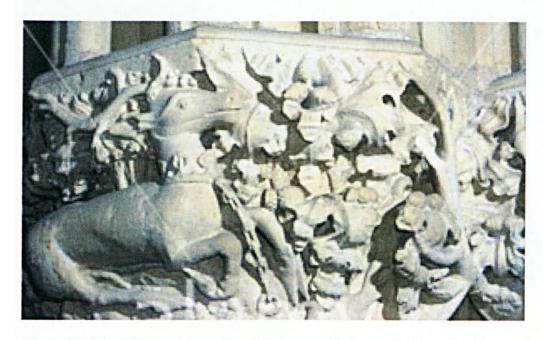


Fig 3.20 Richard II's emblem, the white hart, capital at springing of main arcade, south choir aisle, York Minster.

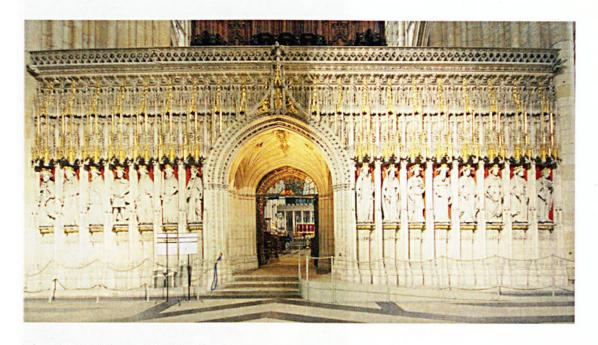


Fig 3.21 Pulpitum, York Minster



Fig 3.22 Choir Screen, Canterbury Cathedral. © 2000-2013 Alistair Cunningham BSc (Hons) FPFS.

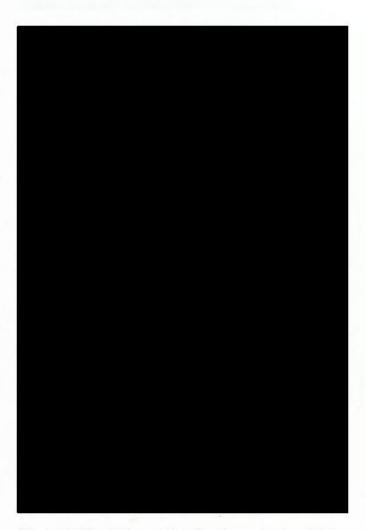


Fig 3.23 King Edward the Confessor depicted in bottom row of Great East window, 1d, E1, York Minster. © Newton, P A.

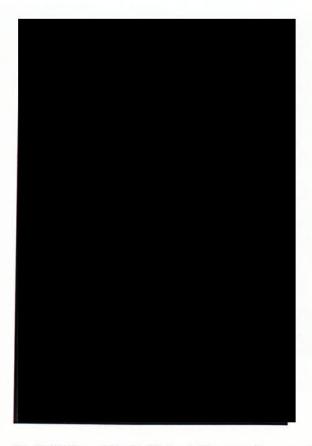


Fig 3.24 Panel 2c (left) depicting royal arms of England, N11, York Minster. © University of York.



Fig 3.25 *Opus Alexandrinum* pavement, Canterbury Cathedral by J Dudley: http://medievalarchitecturalgeometry.com/canterbury/Chapter%203%20%20The%20Ge ometry%20of%20the%20Mosaic%20Pavement.htm)



Fig 3.26 Details of zodiac signs and stones, Opus Alexandrinum, Canterbury Cathedral



Fig 3.27 Cosmati pavement in front of High Altar, Westminster Abbey. \odot [2013] The J. Paul Getty Trust.

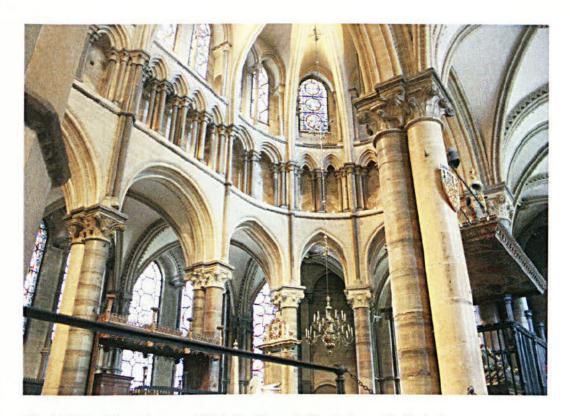


Fig 3.28 Double columns of Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral.



Fig 3.29 Masonry of choir and presbytery, Canterbury Cathedral. © Les Willis.

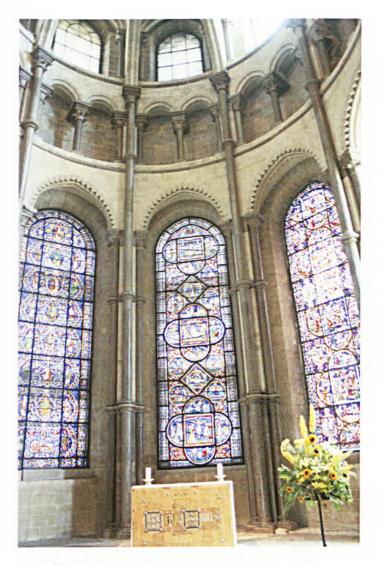


Fig 3.30 Corona chapel, Canterbury Cathedral



Fig 3.31 Chapel of Our Lady of the Undercroft, Canterbury Cathedral.

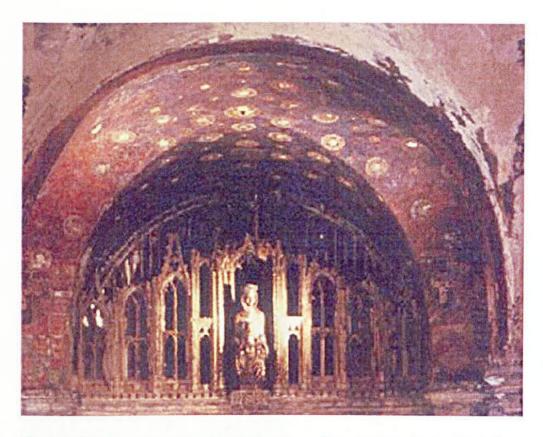


Fig 3.32 Interior paintwork of vaulted ceiling, Chapel of Our Lady, Canterbury Cathedral





Fig 3.34 Pilgrim badge depicting Chapel of Our Lady, Canterbury Cathedral. late 14th century, England, pewter. Collection: Museum of London, Photographer: Phlippe Philippio (http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/photobank/27b.jpg)

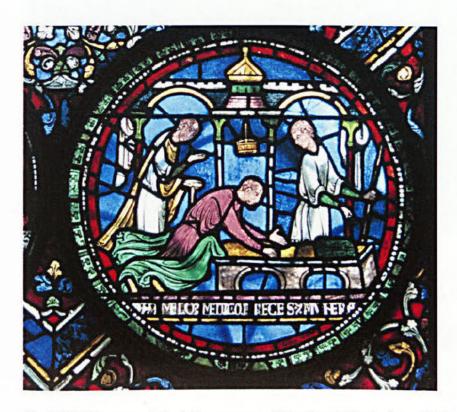


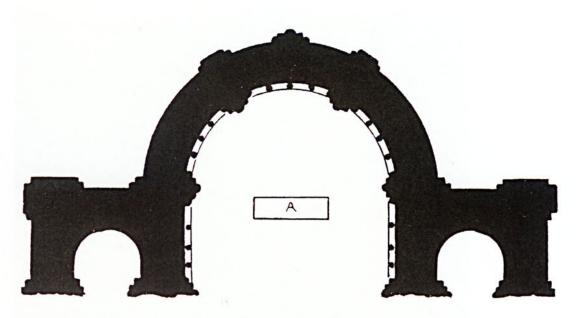
Fig 3.35 Glass panel depicting crown of Scotland, Canterbury Cathedral.



Fig 3.36 Panel 24e, of St William window, n7, York Minster. © CrownCopyright. NMR.



Fig 3.37 Pilgrim badge depicting corporeal elements (left episcopal glove) associated with Becket's cult, $c.14^{th}$ century. ©MMIII - MMXIII » CC-BY-SA The British Museum.



PLAN OF ORIGINAL NORMAN EAST END, WITH TOMB AND SHRINE OF ST CUTHBERT AT A.

Fig 4.1 Plan of east end of first cathedral at Durham (Bell 1905, 58).



Fig 4.2 Termination line of original apse shown on current feretory pavement, Durham Cathedral



Fig 4.3 Markings on floor of feretory attributed to feet of pilgrims.



Fig 4.4 The Nine Altars, Durham Cathedral. © Adrian Fletcher 2000-2013.

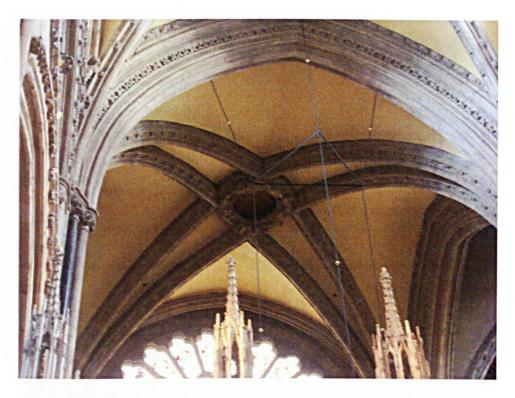


Fig 4.5 Star pattern made by cross-ribs of feretory vault.

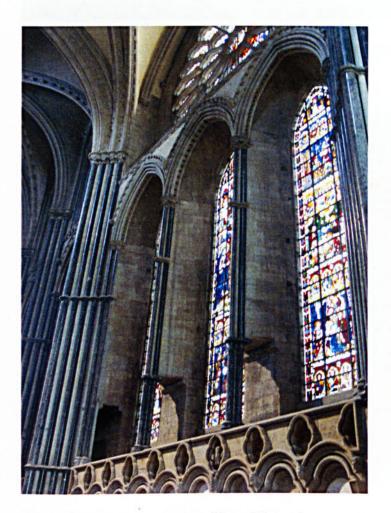


Fig 4.6 Wall textures and marbling, Nine Altars, Durham Cathedral

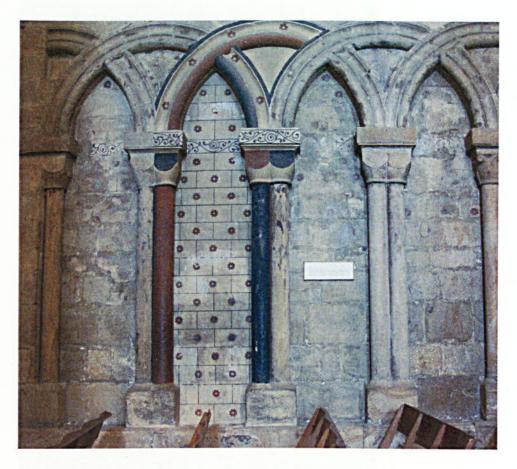


Fig 4.7 Wall painting adorning Neville chantry chapel in nave.



Fig 4.8 North recess of Galilee Chapel.

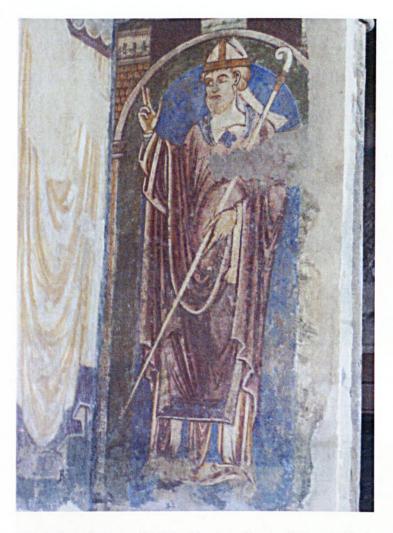


Fig 4.9 Depiction of St Cuthbert on jamb of the north altar recess, Galilee Chapel.



Fig 4.10 Surviving traces of circular painted masonry patterns, Galilee Chapel.

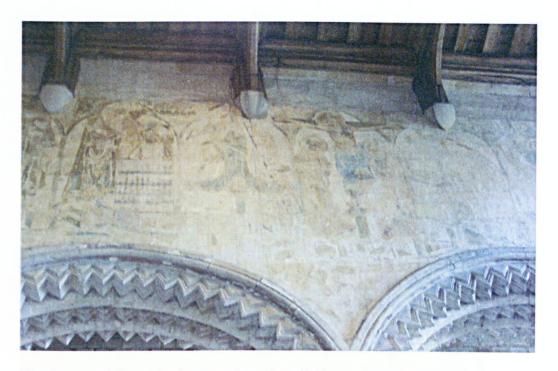


Fig 4.11 Surviving polychromy of arcade and chevron mouldings, Galilee Chapel.



Fig 4.12 Blue marble line, west end of nave, Durham Cathedral.



Fig 4.13 Tomb of the Venerable Bede, Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral. $\ \$ Adrian Fletcher 2000-2013.

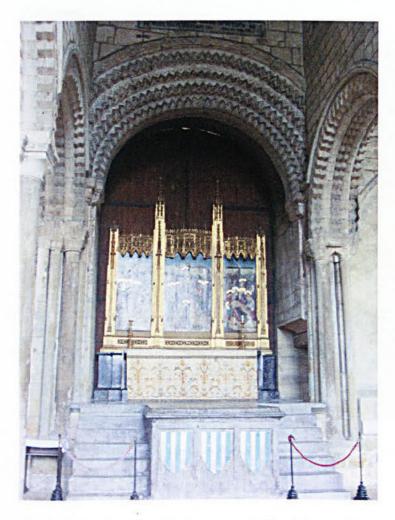


Fig 4.14 Details of north doorway, Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral.

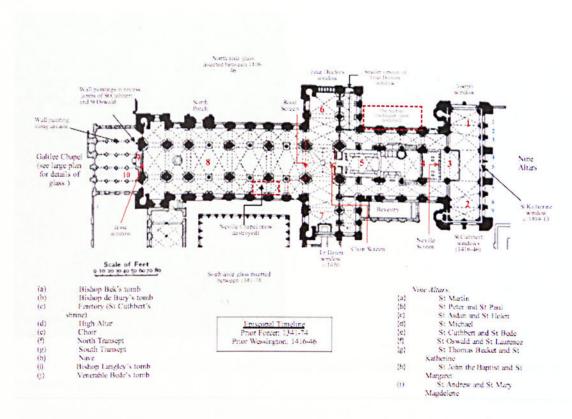


Fig 4.15 Plan showing original iconographic compositions of stained glass, Durham Cathedral.

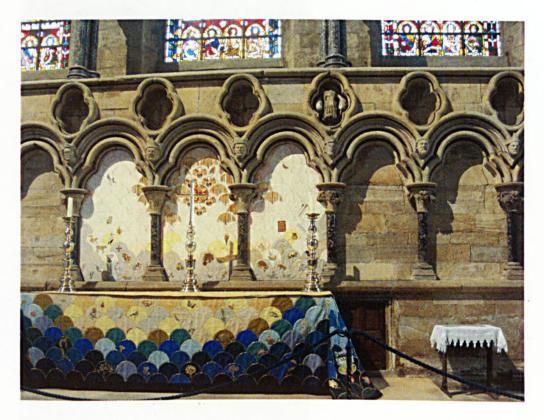


Fig 4.16 Windows and associated altars underneath, Nine Altars, Durham Cathedral.

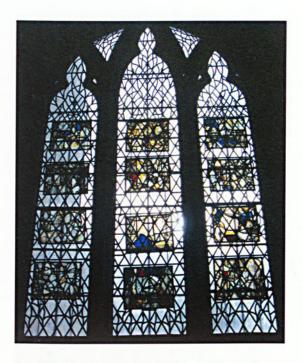


Fig 4.17 Window in Galilee Chapel displaying the cathedral's remaining fragments of medieval glass.

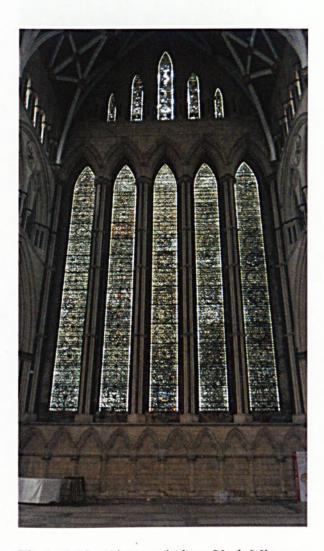


Fig 4.18 Five Sisters window, York Minster.

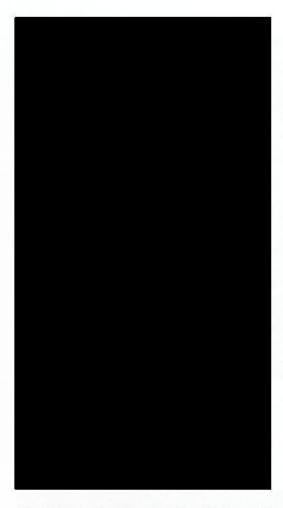


Fig 4.19 St Cuthbert holding St Oswald's head. Panel 4c, sVII, St Cuthbert window, York Minster. © Crown Copyright, NMR.



Fig 4.20 St Cuthbert praying in the sea; his feet are washed by otters, London, British Library, fol. 24r, Yates Thompson MS 26 (Add. MS 39943).



Fig 4.21 St Cuthbert and the otters. Panel 13d, sVII, St Cuthbert window, York Minster. © Crown Copyright, NMR.

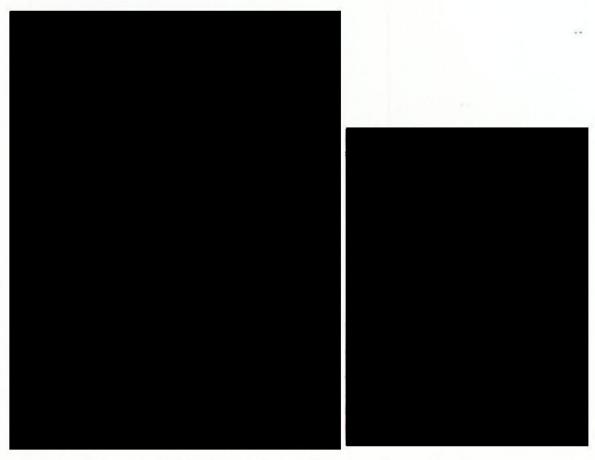


Fig 4.22 Paintings on Carlisle Cathedral choir stalls depicting the Life of St Cuthbert. © Anna Eavis



Fig 4.23 Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Univ. Coll. MS 165, fol. 163

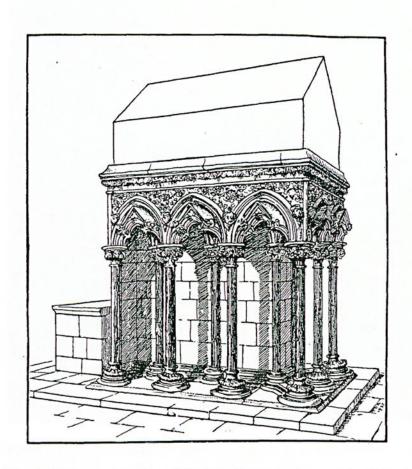


Fig 4.24 Reconstruction of St Æthelthryth's shrine, Ely Cathedral (www.british-history.co.uk)

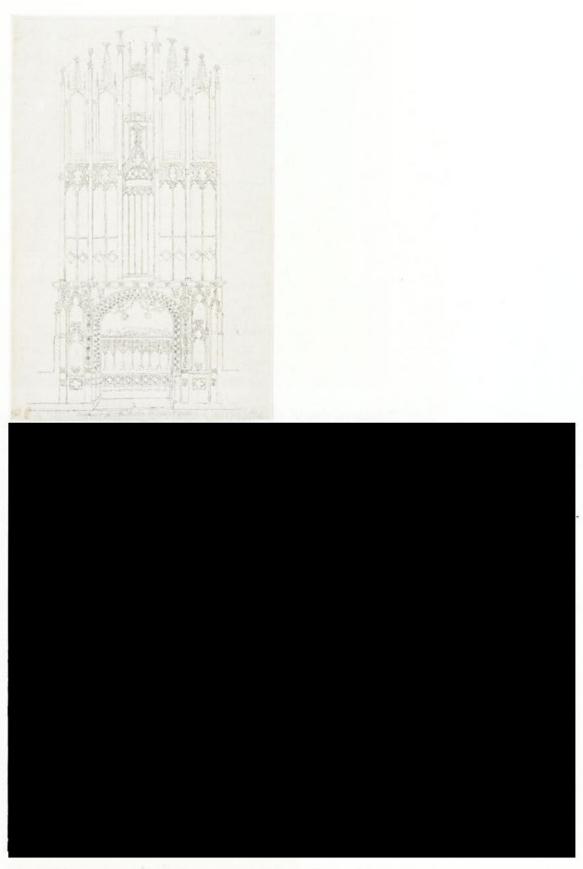


Fig 4.25 Tomb of Bishop Hatfield. Drawing: © The British Library Board.

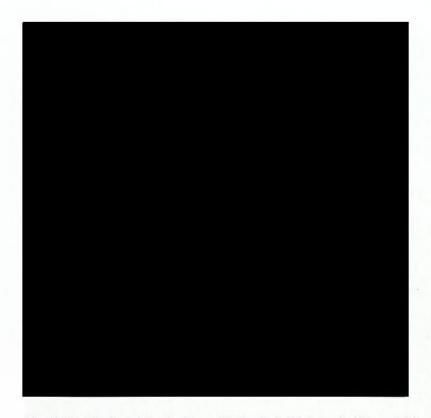


Fig 4.26 Choir stalls, Durham Cathedral. © Angelo Hornak/Corbis.

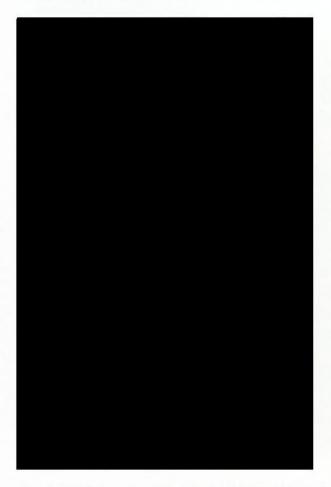


Fig 4.27 Shrine of St Werburgh, Chester Cathedral. © glff.



Fig 4.28 Spiral piers and rib vaulting in presbytery and transept arcades, Durham University. ©Adrian Fletcher 2000-2013.

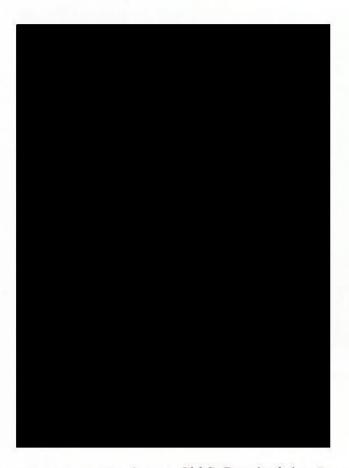


Fig 4.29 Spiral columns, Old St Peter's shrine, Rome. © Martin Belam.



Fig 4.30 Decorated piers, nave, Durham Cathedral



Fig 4.31 Piers of nave in Holy Cross and St Lawrence, Waltham Abbey (Essex). © Adrian Fletcher 2000-2013.



Fig 4.32 Grooves and rectangular holes in piers, nave, Durham Cathedral.



Fig 4.33 Moulding partially shaved-off plinth on nave pier, Durham Cathedral



Fig 4.34 BL. MS Add. 15538, f174 of drawing by Samuel Grimm of rood screen relief panels (Russo 1998, 256).



Fig 4.35 Neville Screen, Durham Cathedral



Fig 4.36 Looking east, Durham Cathedral. © Jim Gibson Photography.

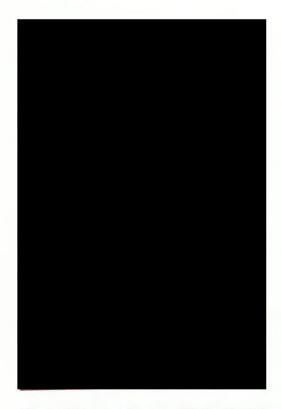


Fig 4.37 Present doors and lateral walls of feretory (http://www.durhamcathedral.co.uk/visiting/information).



Fig 4.38 Access doors in Neville Screen.

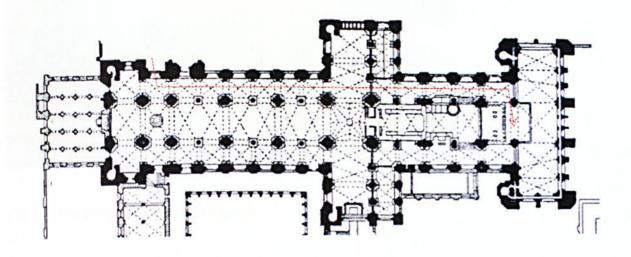


Fig 4.39 Plan showing route (in red) taken by pilgrims around east end of Durham Cathedral



Fig 5.1 The alleged shrine of St Neot



Fig 5.2 Western tower, St Neot

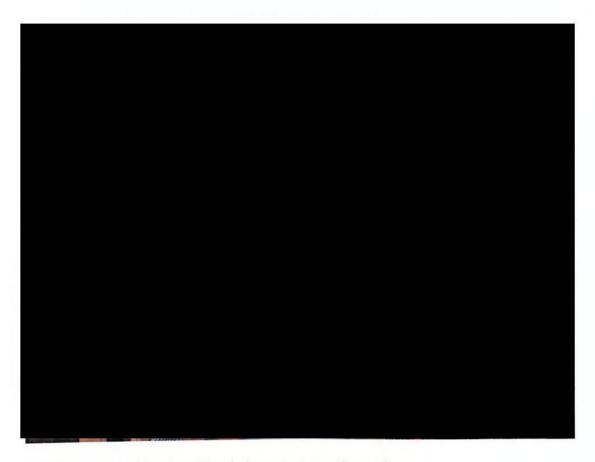


Fig 5.3 Interior of St Neot church (www.panoramio.com).



Fig 5.4 Arrangement of shrine and north chapel doorway northern resulting in the truncation of the northern arcade bays

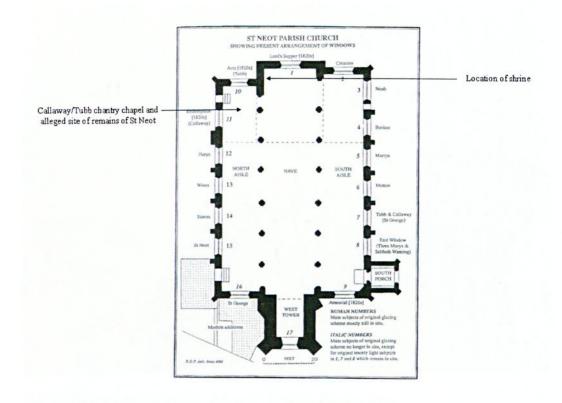


Fig 5.5 Plan of St Neot showing shrine and chantry locations (after Mattingly 2000, 25).



Fig 5.6 Shrine structure illustrating surrounding frame, ogee arch, stone casket, recess with wall painting, wooden aumbry and squint.



Fig 5.7 Granite four-centred archway showing capital form



Fig 5.8 Ogee arch detailing carving, different geologies of stone and polychromy on jamb.



Fig 5.9 Tomb canopies of Otto and Beatrice Grandisson, Ottery St Mary parish church, Devon. $\ \$ Derek Harper.



Fig 5.10 Wall painting of shrine with varied RGB balance and line drawing highlighting each element of composition

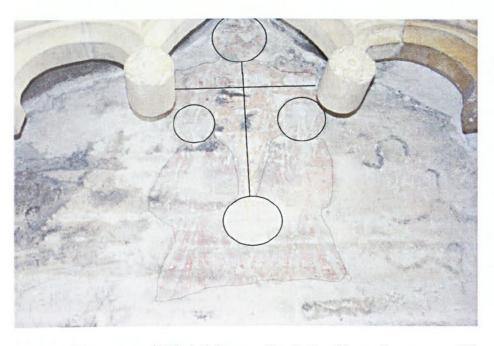


Fig 5.11 Upper part of 'Christ' from wall painting illustrating traces of deep red pigment

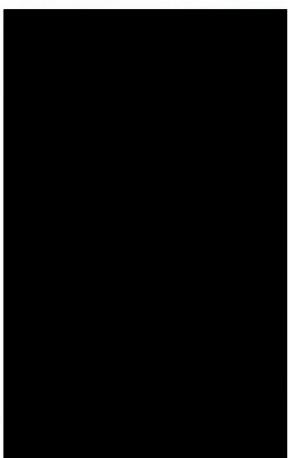


Fig 5.12 Holy Thorn Reliquary, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig 5.13 Text scrolls of wall painting



Fig 5.14 *Book of Romances* (BL Royal 15 E. vi, ff. 2v–3). (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllI D=37897).



Fig 5.15 Inscribed lines showing directions of scrollwork on wall painting



Fig 5.16 Detail of possible twisted ropes on wall painting



Fig 5.17 St Neot 'Warning to Sabbath Breakers' glass panel (Royal Museum of Cornwall) and drawing of the panel by John Pike Hedgeland (http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-36/panel-of-the-month/).



Fig 5.18 'Sunday Christ' wall painting, St Mary's church, West Chiltington (Sussex) (http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-36/panel-of-the-month/).

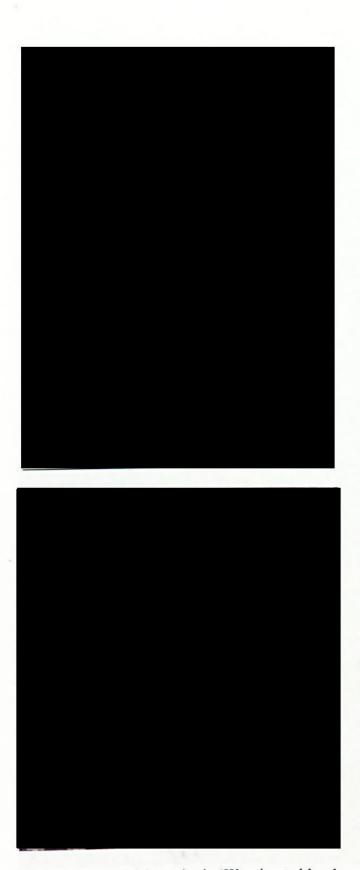


Fig 5.19 Details of draperies in 'Warning to blasphemers' painting at St Lawrence, Broughton (Buckinghamshire), (© YM Pictures), and the Passion cycle at St Peter Ad Vincula, South Newington (Oxfordshire) (http://www.flickriver.com/places/United+Kingdom/England/South+Newington/).

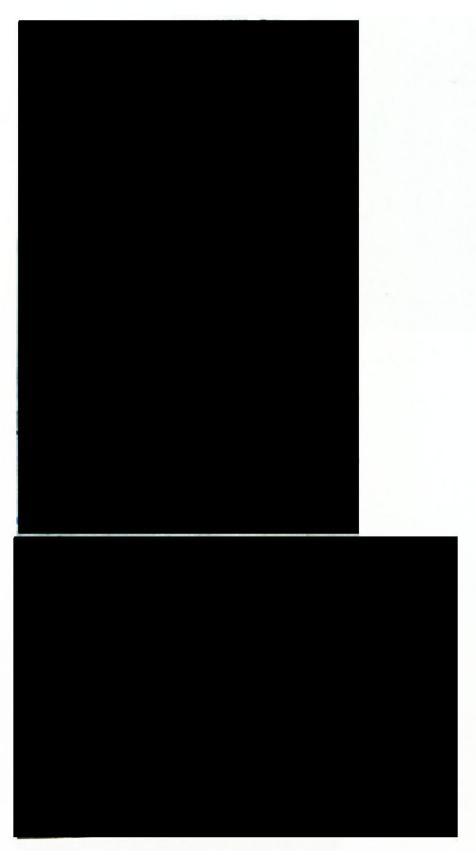


Fig 5.20 Tomb of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, Irnham (Lincolnshire) (top) (© J.Hannan-Briggs) and John Clopton's tomb at Long Melford (Suffolk) (bottom) (© Eric Hardy).

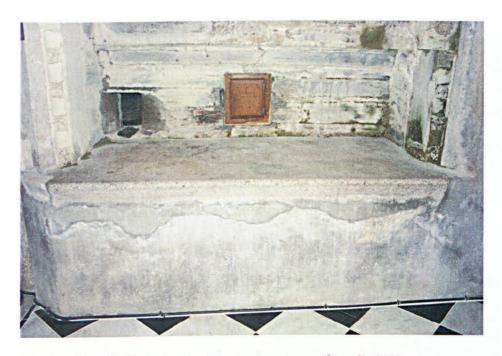


Fig 5.21 Detail of aumbry and squint in recess of tomb, St Neot

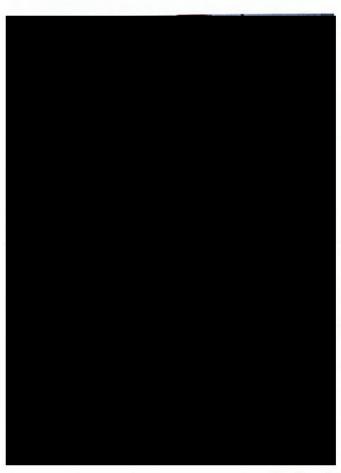


Fig 5.22 Chapel of the Virgin Mary, East Harling (Norfolk) (www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/eastharling/images/Dscf6431.jpg)



Fig 5.23 Iron hooks located at top of frame surrounding St Neot shrine



Fig 5.24 Further two hooks at top of the adjacent wall to St Neot shrine



Fig 5.25 Traces of polychromy of frame of St Neot shrine

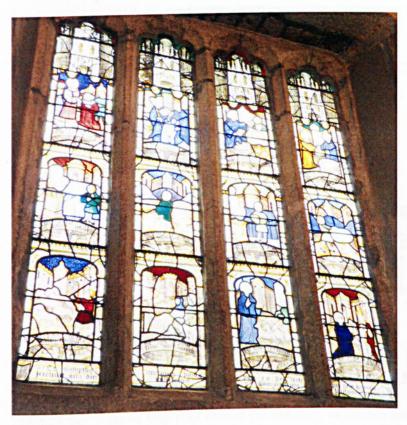


Fig 5.26 Life of St Neot window, St Neot

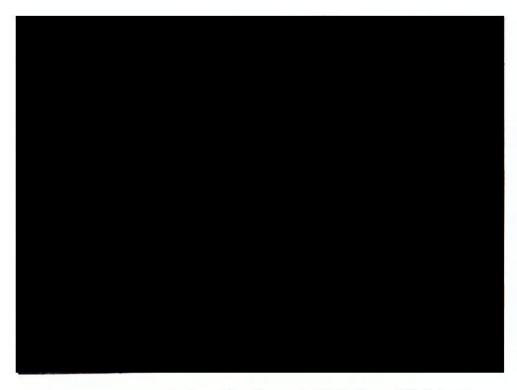


Fig 5.27 Arch and pier designs of north arcade, Holy Cross, Whitchurch Canonicorum (Dorset) (http://www.dorsethistoricchurchestrust.co.uk/whitchcanonicrm2.htm)

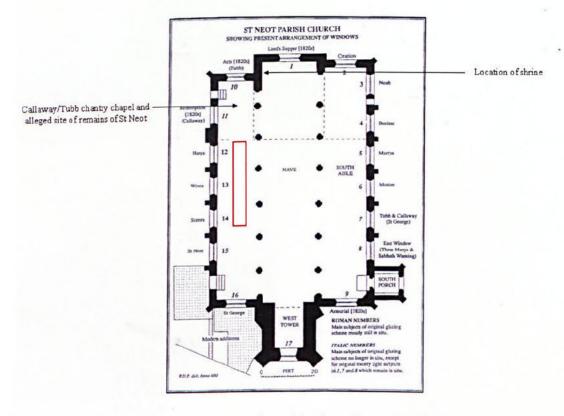


Fig 5.28 Location of four roof bosses (in red box) as shown on plan of St Neot church (after Mattingly 2000, 25)



Fig 5.29 Wooden roof bosses showing fish heads in swirling water

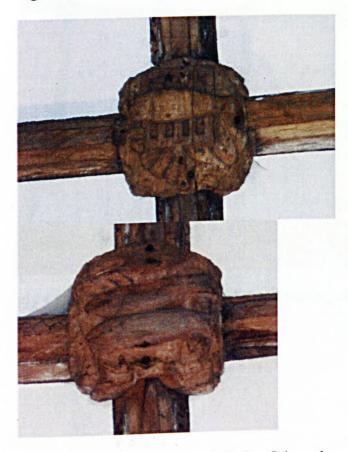


Fig 5.30 Wooden roof bosses depicting fish on the gridiron and the two fish served up on a bed of leaves



Fig 5.31 Wagon roof, St Neot

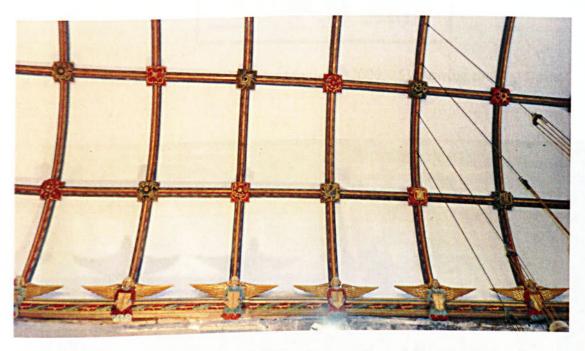


Fig 5.32 19th-century reconstructed shield-bearing angel bosses along wall plate in chancel, St Neot

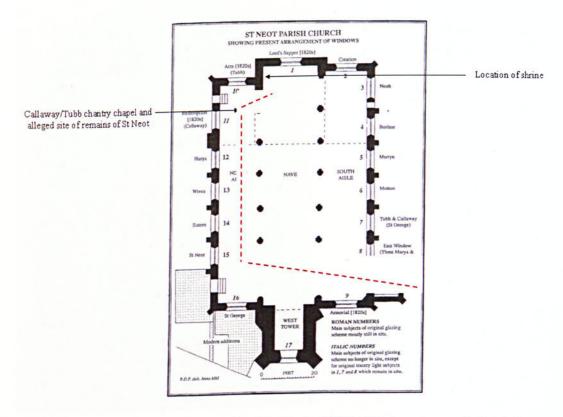


Fig 5.33 Plan of St Neot church (after Mattingly 2000, 25) showing route to shrine

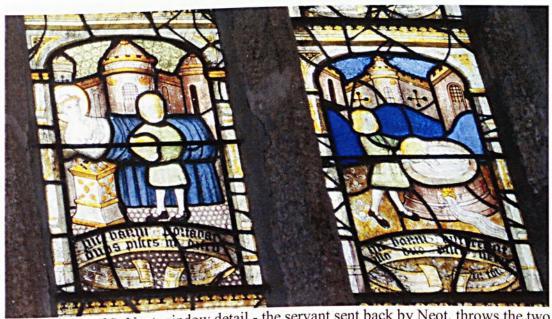


Fig 5.34 Life of St Neot window detail - the servant sent back by Neot, throws the two fishes into the well, where they are restored to life



Fig 5.35 Arms of Tubb family (three tubbe fish), easternmost window of the north aisle, St Neot in plate by J Hedgeland

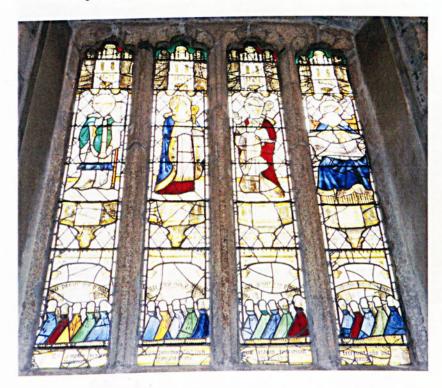


Fig 5.36 The 'Sisters'/'Young Women' window, St Neot

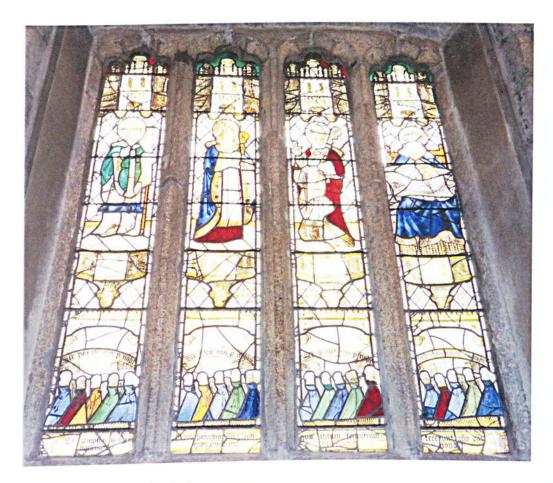
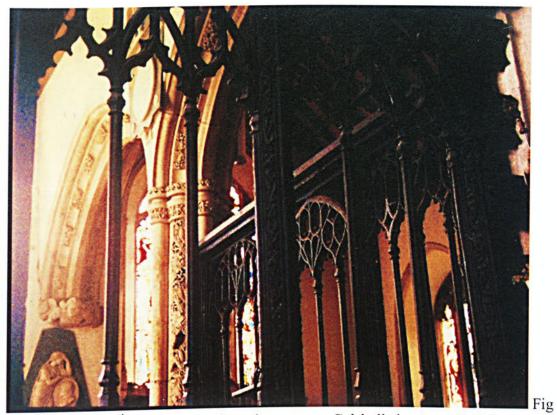


Fig 5.37 The 'Wives' window



5.38 Donor couple portraits of couples kneeling facing west, south aisle, St Neot



5.39 Reset late 15th-century carved parclose screen, Colshull chantry at St Cuby (Cornwall)

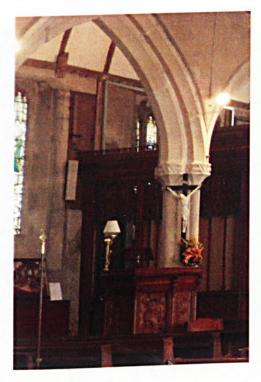


Fig 5.40 Surviving lower and upper doors of stair and tower, rood-loft/pulpitum, St Neot

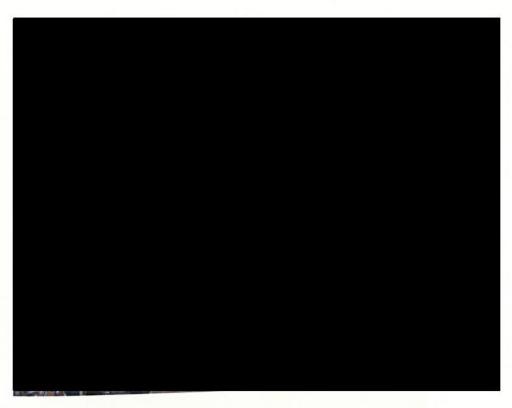


Fig 5.41 15th-century rood screen of St Mellanus in Mullion (Cornwall) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mullion_church_st_mellanus_002.JPG)

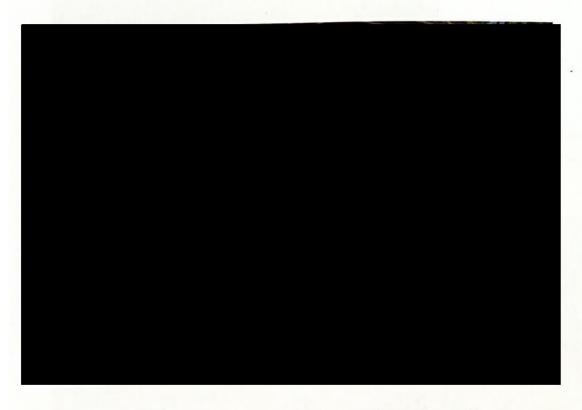


Fig 5.42 Base of c.15th-century screen, St Enodoc, St Minver (Cornwall) (http://www.flickr.com/photos/pikuseru/3660272580/sizes/l/in/photostream/)

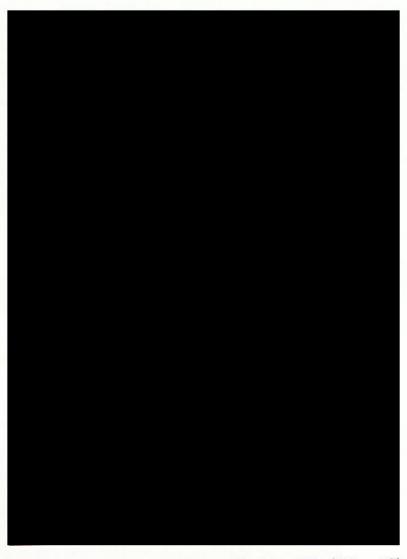


Fig 5.47 Upper chapel, Our Lady of the Mount/ Red Mount Chapel (Norfolk) © John Wastell



Fig 5.48 St Cuthbert's Isle, Lindisfarne



Fig 5.45 Paintings on north and south walls, SS Peter and Paul at Pickering (North Yorkshire) (http://www.pickeringchurch.com/wallpaintings.html)

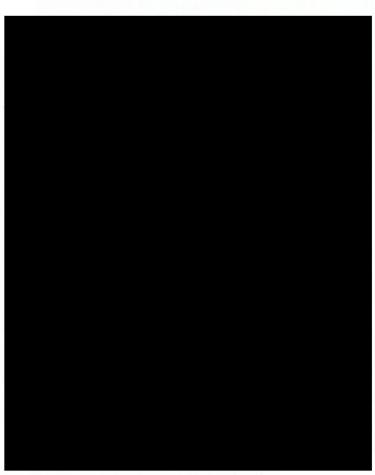


Fig 5.46 Chapel of St Winifride, Holywell (North Wales) ©muba

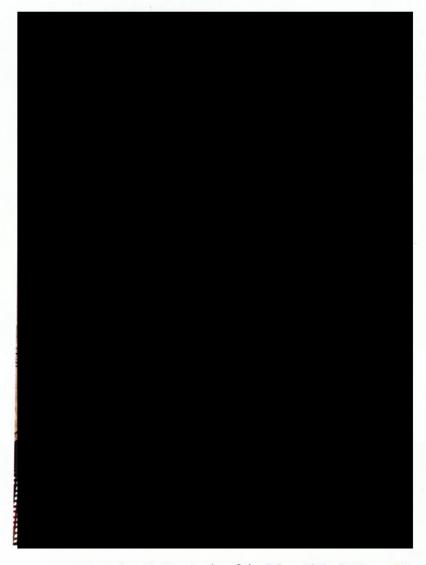


Fig 5.47 Upper chapel, Our Lady of the Mount/Red Mount Chapel (Norfolk) © John Wastell



Fig 5.48 St Cuthbert's Isle, Lindisfarne



Fig 5.49 Holy well associated with saint's cult, St Neot (Cornwall)



Fig 5.50 'M' stamped tiles of the floor and walls, Chapel of Our Lady of Bradwell, Bradwell Abbey, (Buckinghamshire) (http://www.paintedchurch.org/bradwann.htm)



Fig 5.51 Sculpture of Well of Moses, Chartreuse de Champmol (Photograph: J Howe).

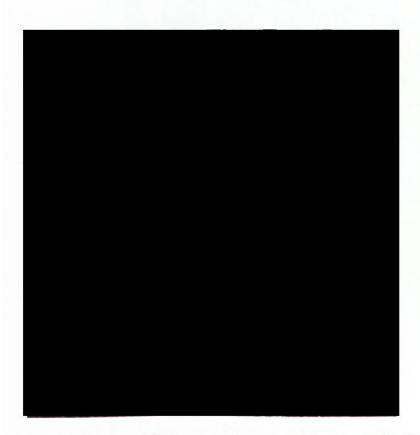


Fig 5.52 Tombs of Bishop Branscombe and Bishop Stafford, Exeter Cathedral (Photograph: Shane Mc'Auliffe).

PLATES

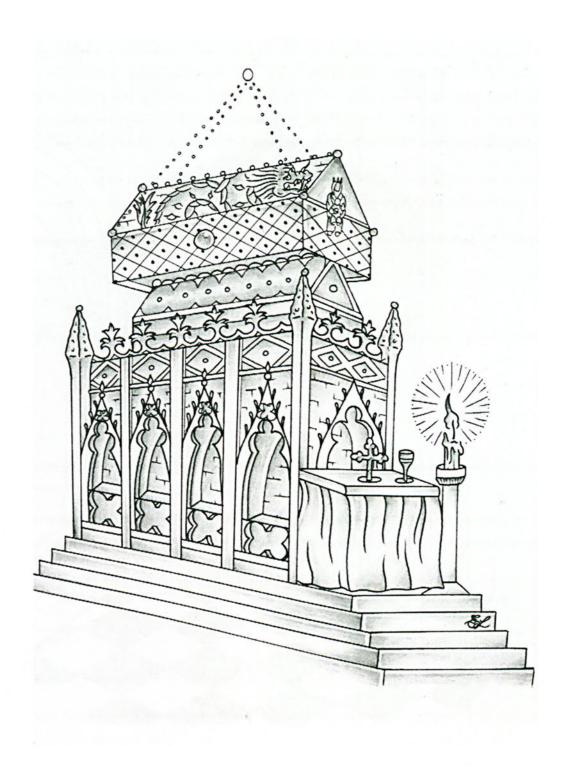


Plate 1. Reconstruction drawing of St Cuthbert's shrine

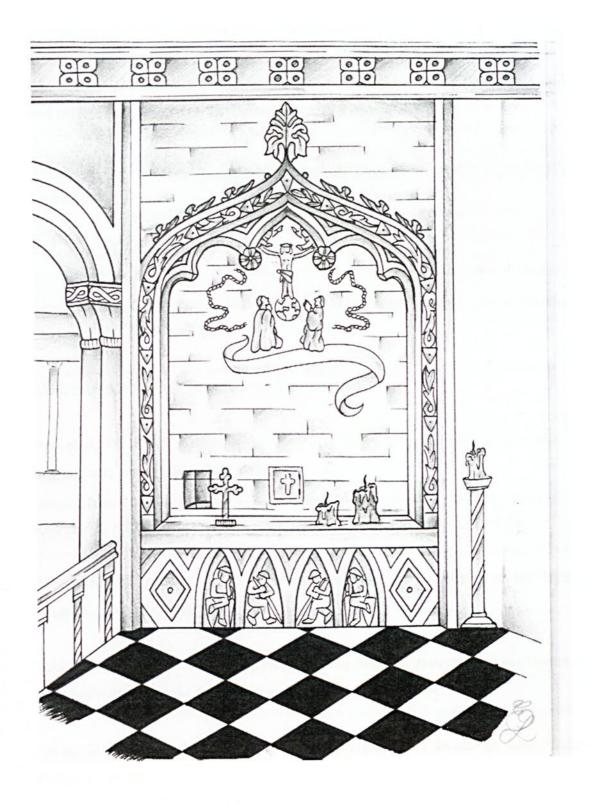


Plate 2. Reconstruction drawing of St Neot's shrine

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abercrombie, N and Turner, B S (1982) 'The Dominant Ideology Thesis', in A Giddens and D Held (eds.), *Classes, Power and Conflict*, London, 396–414.

Abou-El-Haj, B (1994) The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formation and Transformations, Cambridge.

Ackerman, D (1991) A Natural History of the Senses, New York.

Alexander, J J G and Binski, P (1987) (eds.), The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400, London.

Allen Brown, R (1983) Dover Castle Kent, London.

Anderson, W (2010) 'Blessing the Fields: A study of late-medieval ampullae from England and Wales', MA, 54, 182-203.

Angenendt, A (2011) 'Relics and Their Veneration', in Bagnoli et al., 19-28.

Ashley, K and Deegan, M (2009) Being a Pilgrim: Art and Ritual on the Medieval Routes to Santiago, Farnham.

Ashley, K and Hüsken, W (2001) (eds.), Moving subjects: processional performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Amsterdam; Atlanta GA.

Aston, M (1984) Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion, London.

Aston, M (2003) 'Public Worship and Iconoclasm', in D Gaimster and R Gilchrist (eds.), *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, Leeds, 9-28.

Austin, D (1990) 'The 'proper study' of medieval archaeology', in D Austin and L Alcock (eds.), From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology, London, 9-42.

Austin, D (2007) Acts of Perception: A Study of Barnard Castle in Teesdale, 2 vols, London.

Axworthy, W A (1906) Historical sketch of the parish of Saint Neot (Cornwall) including the Life of Saint Neot together with a description of the parish church and its windows, and the ballad of Tregeagle, Torbay.

Badham, S (2007) 'Edward The Confessor's Chapel, Westminster Abbey: The Origins of the Royal Mausoleum and its Cosmatesque Pavement', *Antiq. J*, 87, 197-219.

Bagnall Yardley, A (2006) Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries, New York.

Bagnoli, M, Klein, H A, Mann, G C and Robinson, J (2011) *Treasures of Heaven:* Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe, London.

Baker, M (1978) 'Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert', JWCI, 41, 16-49.

Bandmann, G (2005) Early medieval architecture as bearer of meaning, (trans.), K Wallis, New York; Chichester.

Barnett, C (1995) 'Late Medieval Royal Imagery at York Minster', *Medieval Life*, 2, 26–30.

Barrett, J C (1988) 'Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology', *Critique of Anthropology*, 7/3, 5-16.

Barrett, J C (1991) 'Towards an Archaeology of Ritual', in P Garwood (ed.), Sacred and Profane, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 32, Oxford, 1-9.

Barrett, J C (2001) 'Agency, the duality of structure, and the problem of the archaeological record', in I Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, Oxford.

Barthes, R (1972) Mythologies, New York.

Bartosiewicz, L (2003) 'There's Something Rotten in the State...: Bad Smells in Antiquity', European Journal of Archaeology, 6/2, 175-95.

Battiscombe, C F (1956) (ed.) The Relics of St Cuthbert, Oxford.

Baxandall, M (1987) Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures, Avon.

Beckwith, S (1993) Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings, London.

Beckwith, S (1994) 'Making the World in York and the York Corpus Christi Cycle', in Kay and Rubin, 254-276.

Belting, H (1990) The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion, New York.

Belting, H (1996) Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before of the Era of Art, Chicago; London.

Bender, B (1998) Stonehenge: Making Space, Oxford.

Bender, B (2006) 'Place and Landscape', in Tilley et al. 2006, 303-14.

Berger, J (1972) Ways of Seeing, London.

Bergeron, D M (2011) (ed.), Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater, Athens GA.

Biernoff, S (2002) Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages, Basingstoke.

Billings, R W (1843) Architectural Illustrations and Description of the Cathedral Church at Durham, London.

Binski, P (1995) Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400, New Haven; London.

Binski, P (1999a) 'The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem', *Studies in Iconography*, 20, 1–25.

Binski, P (1999b) 'Hierarchies and Orders in English Royal Images of Power', in J Denton (ed.), *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Toronto, 74-93.

Binski, P (2004) Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300, New Haven; London.

Bischoff, B (2006) Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, (trans.), D O' Coinin and D Ganz, Cambridge.

Blaauw, S L (1994) Cultus et Decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medioevale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri, Vatican City.

Blanton, V (2005) 'Building a Presbytery for St. Æthelthryth: Bishop Hugh de Northwold and the Politics of Cult Production in Thirteenth-Century England', in Blick and Tekippe, 539-565.

Blaukopf, K (1960) 'Problems of Architectural Acoustics in Musical Sociology', Gravesaner Blätter, 5, 19-20.

Blesser, B and Salter, L (2007) Spaces Speak, are You Listening? Experiencing Aural Architecture, London; Cambridge.

Blick, S (2001) 'Comparing Pilgrim Souvenirs and Trinity Chapel Windows at Canterbury Cathedral: An Exploration of Context, Copying, and the Recovery of Lost Stained Glass', *Mirator*, 1-27.

Blick, S (2005) 'Reconstructing the Shrine of St Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral', in Blick and Tekippe, 405–41.

Blick, S (2007) (ed.), Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer, Oxford.

Blick, S (2011) 'Votives, Images, Interactions and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral', in Blick and Gelfand, 21-58.

Blick, S and Gelfand, L (2011) (eds.), Push Me, Pull You: Art and Devotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art, Leiden.

Blick, S and Tekippe, R (2005) (eds.), Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage In Northern Europe and the British Isles, Leiden.

Bonner, G Rollason, D and Stancliffe, C (1989) (eds.), St Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200, Woodbridge.

Bony, J (1983) French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Berkeley; London.

Borkowska, U (1985) 'The Funeral Ceremonies of the Polish Kings from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries', *JEH*, 36/4, 513-34.

Bossy, J (1970), 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe', *Past and Present*, 47, 51-70.

Bossy, J (1973), 'Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries', *SCH*, 10, 129-43.

Bossy, J (1983) 'The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100, 29-61.

Bossy, J (1987) Christianity in the West, 1400-1700, Oxford.

Bossy, J (1991) 'Prayers', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th ser., 1, 137–50.

Bourdieu, P (1987) Outline of a Theory of Practice, Cambridge.

Bourdieu, P (1990) The Logic of Practice, Cambridge.

Bourdieu, P and Wacquant, L J D (1992) An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, Chicago.

Bourke, P M (1986) 'The Treatment of Myth and Legend in the Windows of St Neot's, Cornwall' *Folklore*, 97/1, 63-9.

Brooks, C (1990) 'Exeter Cathedral', in N H Cooper (ed.), The Exeter Area: Proceedings of the 136th Summer Meeting of the RAI, London, 24-35.

Brown, P (1981) The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Late Christianity, Chicago; London.

Brown, S (1999) Stained Glass at York Minster, London.

Brown, S (2003) 'Our Magnificent Fabrick': York Minster: An Architectural History c.1200-1500. Swindon.

Brück, J (2005) 'Experiencing the past? The development of a phenomenological archaeology in British prehistory', AD, 12/1, 45–72.

Bryant, L M (1994) 'Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy', in Hanawalt and Reyerson, 3-33.

Bryson, N Holly, M A and Moxey, K P F (1991) (eds.), Visual Theory: Painting and Interpretation, Cambridge.

Bugslag, J (2005) 'Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence', in Blick and Tekippe, 135-183.

Burgess, C (2011) 'Chantries in the Parish, or "Through the Looking-glass", *JBAA*, 164, 100-29.

Bynum, C (1991) Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion, New York.

Bynum, C (1995) The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity: 200-1336, Columbia.

Cambridge, E (1989) 'Why Did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street?', in Bonner *et al.*, Woodbridge.

Camerlenghi, N (2011) 'The Longue Durée and the Life of Buildings', in R Bork, W W Clark & A McGehee (eds.), *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Burlington; Surrey, 11-20.

Camille, M (1989) The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art, Cambridge.

Camille M (1994) 'The image and the self: unwriting late medieval bodies', in Kay and Rubin, 62-99.

Camille, M (1996) Gothic Art: Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World, London.

Camille, M (2000) 'Signs of the City: Place, Power, and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris, in Hanawalt and Kobialka, 1-36.

Candy, J (2005) 'Landscape and Perception: Medieval Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from an Archaeological Perspective', *eSharp*, 4, 1-18.

Candy, J (2009) The Archaeology of Pilgrimage on the Camino de Santiago de Compostela: a landscape perspective, BAR International Series 1948, Oxford.

Candy, J (2010) 'Following in their footsteps: investigating the medieval experience of the Camino de Santiago', *Confraternity of Saint James Bulletin*, 112, 14-20.

Capitula de miraculis et translationibus sancti Cuthberti (1882-5), Symeon of Durham (ed.), T Arnold, Symeoni Opera, 2 vols, I, 229-61 and II, 333-62.

Carpenter, D A (1996) The Reign of Henry III, London; New York.

Carpenter, D A (2007) 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the confessor: The origins of the cult', *EHR*, 122/498, 865-891.

Carruthers, M (1990) The book of memory: a study in medieval culture, Cambridge.

Carruthers, M (2000) The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images 400-1200, New York; London.

Caviness, M H (1973) 'De Convenientia et cohaerentia antique et novi operis': Medieval conservation, restoration, pastiche and forgery', T. Buddensieg (ed.), *Intuition, und Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift fur Hanns Swarzenski*, Berlin, 205–21.

Caviness, M H (1977) The Early Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral, Princeton.

Caviness, M H (1981) Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury CVMA, vol II, Oxford.

Caviness, M H (2001a) Medieval Art in the West and its Audience, Aldershot.

Caviness, M H (2001b) Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages, Pennsylvania.

Caviness, M H (2006) 'Reception of images by medieval viewers', in C Rudolph (ed.), A Companion to Medieval Art; Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe, Oxford, 65-85.

Cazelles, B (1994) 'Bodies on Stage and the Production of Meaning', *Yale French Studies*, 86, 56-74.

Champion, M (forthcoming) 'Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion: Evidence of Pilgrimage Bequests in the Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474.

Champion, M (2012) 'The Medium is the Message: Votive Devotional Imagery and Gift Giving amongst the Commonality in the Late Medieval Parish', *Peregrinations Journal*, 3/4, 103-23.

Chidester, D (1992) Word and Light: Seeing, Hearing, and Religious Discourse, Chicago.

Chieffo Raguin, V, Brush, K and Draper, P (eds.), Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings, Toronto; Buffalo; London.

Chieffo Raguin, C and Stanbury, S (2005) (eds.), Women's space: patronage, place, and gender in the medieval church, New York.

Classen, C (1993) Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures, London.

Classen, C (1997) 'Foundations for the Anthropology of the Senses', *International Social Science Journal*, 49/153, 401-12.

Classen, C (2005) The Book of Touch, Oxford.

Classen, C, Howes, D and Synnott, A (1994) Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell, London; New York.

Cohen, K (1973) Metamorphosis of a death symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Berkeley.

Cohen, M (2008) 'An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris', *Speculum*, 83 840–83.

Coldstream, N (1976) 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', JBAA, 39, 15-34.

Coldstream, N (1987) 'The Kingdom of Heaven: Its Architectural Setting', in Alexander and Binski 1987, 92-97.

Coldstream, N and Draper, P (1980) (eds.), Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral, BAACT, Leeds.

Coleman, S and Eade, J (2004) Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion, London.

Coleman, S and Elsner, J (1995) *Pilgrimage: Past and present in the World Religions*, London.

Coletti, T (1999) 'Genealogy, Sexuality, and Sacred Power: The Saint Anne Dedication of the Digby Candlemas Day and the Killing of the Children of Israel', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 21/1, 25-59.

Colgrave, B (1938) 'The St. Cuthbert Paintings on the Carlisle Cathedral Stalls', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 73, 424, 12-21.

Colgrave, B (1939) 'The History of British Museum Additional MS. 39943', EHR, 54/216, 673-677.

Colgrave, B (1944-5) 'A Note on a Stained Glass Window formerly in Durham Cathedral', *Durham University Journal*, 37, 12–14.

Colgrave, H (1947) Saint Cuthbert of Durham, Durham.

Collinson, P, Ramsay, N and Sparks, M (1995) A History of Canterbury Cathedral, Oxford.

Colquhoun, K (2012) Taste: The Story of Britain through Its Cooking, London.

Connor, M (2010) (trans.), John Stone's Chronicle, Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, 1417–1472, Kalamazoo.

Coote, L A (2000) Prophecy and public affairs in later medieval England, Suffolk.

Corbin, A (1986) The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination, Cambridge MA.

Corbin, A (1995) Time, Desire and Horror. Towards a History of the Senses, Cambridge.

Coster, W and Spicer, A (2005) Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe, Cambridge.

Craig, J (2005) 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Sacred Space in Early Modern England', in Coster and Spicer, 104-23.

Crook, J (1994) 'The Architectural Setting of the Cult of St Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral (1093-1200)', in D Rollason, M Harvey and M Prestwich (eds), *Anglo-Norman Durham*, 1093-1193, Woodbridge, 235-50.

Crook, J (2000) The Architectural Setting of the Cults of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300-c.1200, Oxford.

Crook, J (2011) English Medieval Shrines, Woodbridge.

Cross, C (1976) Church and People 1450-1660: The Triumph of the laity in the English Church, Hassocks.

Crossley, P (1988) 'Medieval architecture and meaning: The limits of iconography', *The Burlington Magazine*, 130/1019,116-121.

Crossley, P (2000) 'Introduction', in Frankl, 7-34.

Crumplin, S (2004) 'Rewriting History in the Cult of St Cuthbert from the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of St Andrews.

Davidson-Cragoe, C (2005) 'Belief and patronage in the English parish before 1300: some evidence from roods,' *Architectural History*, 48, 21-48.

Davies, J R (2011), 'Cathedrals and the cult of Saints in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Wales', in P Dalton, C Insley and L J Wilkinson (eds.), *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, Woodbridge, 99–116.

Davis, J (1672) (ed.), The Ancient Rites, and Monuments of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham, London.

Davis, P (2009) 'Defining the Castle', (http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/defin.html, accessed 7th May 2013).

De Certeau, M (1988) The Practice Everyday Life, Berkeley.

De diversis artibus (1961) Theophilus (ed.), C R Dodwell, London.

Denzin, N K (2001) Interpretive Interactionism (Applied Social Research Methods), 2nd edn., California.

Devlin, K, Chalmers, A, Brown, D (2002) 'Predictive lighting and perception in archaeological representations', UNESCO "World Heritage in the Digital Age" 30th Anniversary Digital Congress, 1-6.

Dixon, P J and Marshall, P (1992) 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle: a reassessment'. Fortress 18, 23–42.

Dixon-Smith, S (1999) 'The Image and Reality of Almsgiving in the Great Halls of Henry III', *JBAA*, 1/52, 79-96.

Doble, G H (1929) St Neot, Patron of St Neot, Cornwall, and S. Neot's, Huntingdonshire; with Notes on the Cornish Parishes of St Neot and Menheniot, (rev. and ed.), C Henderson, Exeter.

Dobson, B (1991), "The English Monastic Cathedrals in the Fifteenth Century', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th ser., 1, 151-72.

Dobson, R B (1996) Church and Society in the Medieval North of England, London; Ohio.

Dobson, B R (2001) 'Contrasting cults: St Cuthbert of Durham and St Thomas of Canterbury in the fifteenth century', in S Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and community in the West*, Aldershot; Burlington, 24–43.

Doig, A (2008) Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages, Burlington; Surrey.

Draper, P (1980) 'The Nine Altars at Durham and Fountains', in Coldstream and Draper, 74-86.

Draper, P (1981) 'Northwold and Ethelreda', and 'The Sequence and Dating of the Decorated Work at Wells', in Coldstream and Draper, 18–29.

Drewal, H J (2005) 'Senses in understandings of art', African Arts, 38/2, 1-6

Dudley, C J (2010) Canterbury Cathedral: Aspects of its Sacramental Geometry, USA.

Duffy, E (1997) 'The parish, piety and patronage in late medieval East Anglia: the evidence of rood screens', in Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, Beat A. Kümin (eds.), *The Parish in English Life*, 1400-1600, Manchester, 133–62.

Duffy, E (2003) *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, new edn, New Haven; London.

Duffy, E (2005) The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580, 2nd. edn., New Haven; London.

Duggan, A (1982) 'The Cult of Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century', in M. Jancey (ed.), Saint Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour, Hereford, 21–44.

Dyas, D (2001) Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700–1500, Cambridge.

Eade, J and Sallnow, M J (2000) (eds.), Contesting the Sacred: the Anthropology of Pilgrimage, London; New York.

Eames, E (1982) 'Notes on the decorated stone roundels in the Corona and Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before* 1200, BAACT, 67-70.

Edmonds, M (2006), 'Who Said Romance Was Dead?', Journal of Material Culture, 11/1-3, 167-88.

Ehrenschwendtner, M (2009) 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', *JEH*, 60, 45–73.

Eliade, M (1959) The Sacred and the Profane. The nature of religion, New York; London.

Erasmus, D (1849) Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and St Thomas of Canterbury, (trans.), J G Nichols, London.

Erlande-Brandenburg, A (1989) *The Cathedral: the Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*, (trans.), M Thom, Cambridge.

Fairclough, G (1992) 'Meaningful constructions – spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings', *Antiquity*, 66, 248-66.

Fassler, M (2007) 'Adventus at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions', in N Howe (ed.), Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe, Indiana; Notre Dame, 13-62.

Fawcett, R (2007) 'The architectural framework for the cult of saints, some Scottish examples', in D Higgs Strickland (ed.), *Images of medieval sanctity: essays in honour of Gary Dickson*, Leiden.

Fentress, J and C Wickham, (1992) Social Memory, Oxford.

Feld, S (1996) 'Waterfalls of song: an acoustemology of place resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea', in Feld and Basso, 95-135.

Feld, S and Basso, K (1996) (eds.), Senses of Place, Santa Fe.

Fernie, E (1980) 'The Spiral Piers of Durham Cathedral', in Coldstream and Draper, 49-58.

Fernie, E (1993) 'Design principles of early medieval architecture as exemplified at Durham Cathedral', in M Jackson (ed.), *Engineering a Cathedral*, London, 146–56.

Finch, J (2008) 'Three men in a boat: biographies and narratives in the historic landscape', *Landscape Research*, 33/5, 511-30.

Finucane, R (1995) Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England, new edn, London.

Fischer-Lichte, E (2008), The Transformative Power of Performance: A new aesthetics, (trans.) S I Jain, Oxford.

Foster, R (1991) Patterns of Thought: The hidden meaning of the great pavement of Westminster Abbey, London.

Foster, M (1994) 'Custodian of St Cuthbert: The Durham Monks' Views of their Predecessors, 1083–c.1200', in Rollason *et al.*, 53–65.

Foucault, M (1970) The Order of Things, London.

Foucault, M (1974) The Archaeology of Knowledge (London: Tavistock)

Foucault, M (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, 1972-77, (ed.), C Gordon, Brighton.

Foucault, M (1982) 'The subject and power', Critical Inquiry, 8/4, 777-95.

Flanigan, C C (2001) 'The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective', in K Ashley and W Hüsken (eds.), *Moving subjects:* processional performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Amsterdam; Atlanta, 35-52.

Fletcher, C (in press, due late 2013) 'The altar of Saint Maurice and the invention of tradition in Saint Peter's', in R McKitterick, J Osborne, C M Richardson and J Story (eds.), *Old Saint Peter's, Rome, Cambridge*, 402-18.

Ford, D F (1992) A Long Rumour of Wisdom: Re-describing Theology, Cambridge.

Foreville, R (1958) Le Jubilee de Saint Thomas Becket: du XIIIe au XVe siècle, 1220-1470, étude et documents, Paris.

Fowler, J T (1898) (ed.), Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey or Durham, vol. II, Surtees Society, 100, Durham.

Fowler, J T (1903) Rites of Durham: being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customs belonging or being within the monastic church of Durham before the suppression, Durham.

Frank, G (2000a) 'The pilgrim's gaze in the age before icons', in Nelson, 98–115.

Frank, G (2000b) The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity, Berkeley; Los Angeles.

Frankl, P (2000) Gothic Architecture, (ed. and rev.), P Crossley, 2nd edn, New Haven.

Freedberg, D (1989) The Power of the Images: studies in the history and theory of response. Chicago.

Freeman, C (2011) Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How relics shaped the history of Medieval Europe, Padstow.

French, T (1992) 'The dating of the choir of York Minster', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 64, 123-34.

French, T (2001) 'Henry IV and York Minster', JBAA, 154, 84-91.

French, K L (2001) The People of the Parish: community life in a late medieval English diocese, Pennsylvania.

French, K L (2008) The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion After the Black Death, Pennsylvania.

Frey, N (1998) Pilgrim stories: One and off the road to Santiago, Journeys along an Ancient Way in Modern space, Berkeley; London.

Frieman, C and Gillings, M (2007) 'Seeing is perceiving?', WA, 29/1, 4-16.

Frost, C (2009) Time, Space and Order: The Making of Medieval Salisbury, Oxford.

Gage, J (1982) 'Gothic Glass: Two Aspects of a Dionysian Aesthetic', *Art History*, 5, 36-58.

Gameson, R (2002) 'The early imagery of Thomas Becket', in Morris and Roberts, 46-89.

Garner, S (1994) Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama, Ithaca, NY.

Garner, L A (2011) Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England, Notre Dame.

Geddes, A (1980) 'The Twelfth-Century Metalwork at Durham Cathedral', in Coldstream and Draper, 140-48.

Gee, E (1984) 'The Topography of Altars, Chantries and Shrines in York Minster', *Antiq. J*, 4, 337-50.

Geertz, C (1973), The interpretation of cultures: selected essays, New York.

Gelfand, L (2007) 'Bruges as Jerusalem, Jerusalem as Bruges: Actual and Imagined Pilgrimage in Fifteenth-century Manuscript Illuminations and Paintings', *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université libre de Bruxelles*, 29, 7-24.

Gelfand, L (2011) 'Illusionism and Interactivity: Medieval Installation Art, Architecture and Devotional Response' in Blick and Gelfand, 87-116.

Geoffrey of Coldingham, Liber Gaufridi sacristae de Coldingham de Statu ecclesiae Dunelmensis (1839) (ed.), J Raine, Historioe Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres.

Gervase of Canterbury (1965) The historical works of Gervase of Canterbury / by Gervase, the Monk of Canterbury; edited from the manuscripts, (ed.), W Stubbs, vol 1, London.

Gibson, J J (1968) The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems, London.

Giddens, A (1984) The Constitution of Society: The Outline of the Theory of Structuration, Cambridge.

Giddens, A (1985) 'Time, Space and Regionalisation', in D Gregory and J Urry (eds.), Social Relations and Spatial Structures, London, 265-95.

Giddens, A and Pierson, C (1998) Conversations with Anthony Giddens – Making Sense of Modernity, Cambridge.

Gidlow, C (2007) Life in a Tudor Palace, Stroud.

Gilchrist, R (1988) 'The spatial archaeology of gender domains: a case study of English medieval nunneries', *ARC*, 7, 21-28.

Gilchrist, R and Oliva, M (1993) Religious women in medieval East Anglia: history and archaeology c.1100-1540, Norwich.

Gilchrist, R (1994) Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Religious Women, London.

Gilchrist, R (1999) Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past. London.

Gilchrist, R (2005) Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape, Woodbridge.

Gilchrist, R and Reynolds, A (2009) (eds), Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957-2007, Leeds, 30.

Gilderdale-Scott, H (2005) 'this little Westminster': The Chantry-Chapel of Sir Henry Vernon at Tong, Shropshire', *JBAA*, 158, 56-81.

Giles, K (2000a) An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York, c.1350 – 1630, British Archaeological Reports, British Series No. 315, Oxford.

Giles, K (2000b), 'Marking Time? A fifteenth-century liturgical calendar in the wall paintings of Pickering parish church, North Yorkshire', *Church Archaeology*, 4, 42–51.

Giles, K (2007) 'Seeing and believing: visuality and space in pre-modern England', *WA*, 39/1, 105–21.

Gilles, H (1980) 'Lex Peregrinorum', Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 15, 161-189.

Gillingham, J (2008) 'Henry II, Thomas Becket and the building of Dover Castle', unpublished conference paper.

Goodall, J A A (1999) 'Dover Castle', Country Life, 44-7.

Goodall, J A A (2011) The English castle: 1066-1650, New Haven; London.

Gorham, G C (1820) The history and antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's, in Huntingdonshire; and of St. Neot's in the County of Cornwall, London.

Gosden, C (2001) 'Making Sense: Archaeology and Aesthetics', WA, 33, 163-167.

Goulding R (2007), 'Experiencing Tudor Architecture: Exploring Masculine Identity in Post-Medieval Space', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading.

Goulding, R (2009) 'Experience is Everything: Getting to Grips with a Sensory Buildings Analysis', *Assemblage*, 10, 1-6.

Graves, C P (1989) 'Social space in the English medieval parish church', *Economy and Society* 18/3 297–322.

Graves, C P (2000) The Form and Fabric of Belief: an Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon, British Archaeological Reports, British Series No. 311, Oxford.

Graves, C P (2007) 'Sensing and believing: exploring worlds of difference in premodern England: a contribution to the debate opened by Kate Giles', WA, 39/4, 515–31.

Graves, C P (2008) 'From an Archaeology of Iconoclasm to an Anthropology of the Body: Images, Punishment and Personhood in England, 1500-1660', *Current Anthropology*, 49/1, 35-57.

Graves, C P (2009) 'Odour of Sanctity' unpublished conference paper.

Graves, C P and Heslop, D (in press; due Sept 2013) 'The Eye of the North': An Archaeological Assessment of Newcastle-upon-Tyne up to 1650, Oxford.

Green, I (2001) 'All people that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice', in S Ditchfield (ed.), *Protestantism and Music in Early Modern England'*, in Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy, Aldershot, 148-64.

Grenville, J (2000) 'Houses and households in late medieval England: an archaeological perspective', in J Wogan-Browne (ed), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, Turnhout, 309-28.

Grenville, J (2008) 'Urban and rural households in the late Middle Ages: a case study from Yorkshire', in M Kowalewski and P J P Goldberg (eds.), *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 92-123.

Griffith, D (2005) 'A Portrait of the Reader: Secular Donors and their Books in the Art of the English Parish Church', in S Kely and J J Thompson (eds.), A Portrait of the Reader: Secular Donors and their Books in the Art of the English Parish Church, Turnhout, 209-35.

Grimshaw, A (2001) The ethnographer's eye: Ways of seeing in modern anthropology, Cambridge.

Hagen, S K (1990) Allegorical Remembrance: A Study of "The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man" as a Medieval Treatise on Seeing and Remembering, Athens: GA; London.

Hahn, C (1997) 'Seeing in Believing: The construction of sanctity in early medieval saints' shrines', *Speculum*, 72, 1079-1106.

Hahn, C (2000) 'Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality', in Nelson, 169-96.

Hale, S E and Campbell, D (2007) Sacred Space, Sacred Sound: The Acoustic Mysteries of Holy Places, Wheaton

Hall, D J (1965) English Medieval Pilgrimage, London.

Hall, S (1997) (ed.), Representation, London.

Halsey, R (1980) 'The Galilee Chapel', in Coldstream and Draper, 59-73.

Hamilakis, Y (2002) 'Past as oral history: towards an archaeology of the senses', in Hamilakis *et al.*, 121-136.

Hamilakis, Y (2004) Archaeologies of the senses, Cambridge.

Hamilakis, Y (2011) 'Archaeologies of the Senses', in T Insoll, (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, Oxford, 208-25.

Hanawalt, B A and Kobialka, M (2000) (eds.), Medieval Practices of Space, Minneapolis.

Hamilakis, Y Pluciennik, M and Tarlow, S (2002) (eds.), *Thinking through the Body:* Archaeologies of Corporeality, London; New York.

Hanawalt, A and Reyerson, K L (eds.), City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe, Minneapolis; London.

Harris, A F (2005) 'Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral', in Blick and Tekippe, 243-81.

Harris, A (2008) 'Stained Glass Window as Thing: Heidegger, the Shoemaker Panels, and the Commercial and Spiritual Economies of Chartres Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century', *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art*, 1 (www.differentvisions.org), 1-30.

Harrison, F L (1963) Music in Medieval Britain, London.

Harrison, S A (1994) 'Observations on the Architecture of the Galilee Chapel', in Rollason et al., 213-43.

Hart, F E (2006) 'Performance, phenomenology, and the cognitive turn', in McConachie and Hart, 29–51

Harvey, J H (1971) 'Richard II and York', in C M Barron and F R H Du Boulay (eds.), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, London, 202–17.

Harvey, D (2000) 'Landscape organization, identity and change: territoriality and hagiography in medieval west Cornwall', *Landscape Research*, 25/2, 201–12.

Harvey, S A (2006) Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination, Berkeley.

Haselock, J and O'Connor, D E (1980) 'The Medieval Stained Glass of Durham Cathedral', in Draper and Coldstream, 105–29.

Hayes, D M (2003) Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389, New York.

Heales, A (1880) 'Brasses in Peper Harow Church', Surrey Archaeological Collections 7, 34–43.

Hearn, M F (1971) 'The Rectangular Ambulatory in English Medieval Architecture', Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 20, 187–208.

Heath, S (no date) In the Steps of the Pilgrims, 2nd ed., London.

Herbert, C (2007) 'English Easter Sepulchres: The History of an Idea', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester.

Hetherington, K (2003) 'Spatial textures: place, touch and praesentia', *Environment and Planning A*, 35/11, 1933–44.

Hill, C (2010) Women and Religion in Late Medieval Norwich, Woodbridge; London.

Hillier, B (1996) Space is the machine: A configurational theory of architecture, Cambridge.

Hillier, N and Janson, J (1984) The Social Logic of Space, Cambridge.

Hillier, J and Rooksby, E (2002) (eds.), Habitus, Aldershot.

Hoey, L (1986) 'Pier Alternation in Early English Gothic Architecture', *JBAA*, 139, 45-67.

Holton, A B (2010) 'The Archaeology and Conservation of the East Front of York Minster', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York.

Hooper-Greenhill, E (1992) Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge, London.

Houston, S and Taube, K (2000) 'An Archaeology of the Senses: Perception and Cultural Expression in Ancient Mesoamerica', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 10/2, 261-94.

Howes, D (1991) (ed.), The Varieties of Sensory Experience, Toronto.

Howes, D (2003) Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory, Ann Arbor MI.

Howes, D (2005) (ed.), Empire of the Senses, Oxford.

Howes, D (2006a) 'Charting the sensorial revolution', Senses and Society, 1/11, 113-28.

Howes, D (2006b) 'Scent, Sound and Synesthesia: Intersensoriality and Material Culture Theory', in Tilley *et al.*, 161–172.

Hurcombe, L (2007), 'A Sense of Materials and Sensory Perception in Concepts of Materiality', WA, 39/4, 532-45.

Hutchinson, J (1787) History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol II, Newcastle.

Hutton, R (2011) A Brief History of Britain: 1485-1660, London: Constable & Robinson Ltd.

Ingold, T (1992) 'Culture and the Perception of the Environment', in E Croll and D Parkin (eds.) *Bush Base: Forest Farm - Culture, Environment and Development,* London, 39-56.

Ingold, T (2000) The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill, London.

Ingold, T (2007) Lines: A Brief History, Oxon.

Innocent III De sacro altaris mysterio. PL, 217, cols 799-802.

Insley, C (2011), 'Remembering Communities Past: Exeter Cathedral in the Eleventh Century', in P Dalton, C Insley and L J Wilkinson (eds.), *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, Woodbridge, 41–60.

Insoll, T (2004) Archaeology, Ritual, Religion, London.

Ives, E, 2012, The Reformation Experience: Living through the turbulent 16th century, Oxford.

James, M (1983) 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town', *Past and Present*, 98, 3-29.

Jauss, H (1982) Toward an Aesthetic of Reception, (trans.), T Bahti, Minnesota.

Jenner, G R (2011) 'Peripheral Vision', in 20/20 Editorial Takes on Architectural Discourse, London, 253-262.

Johnson, M (1986) 'Assumption and interpretations in the study of the Great Rebuilding', ARC, 5/2, 141-53.

Johnson, M (1993) Housing Culture, Traditional architecture in an English landscape, London. Johnson, M (1994) 'Ordering Houses, Creating Narratives', in Pearson and Richards, 1170-78.

Johnson, M (1996) An Archaeology of Capitalism, Oxford.

Johnson, M (1999) Archaeological Theory: An Introduction, Oxford.

Johnson, M (2002) Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance, London.

Johnson, M (2012) 'Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape Archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, 264-84.

Johnston, R (1998) Approaches to the Perception of Landscape: Philosophy, Theory, Methodology, *AD*, 5/1, 54-68.

Johnston, A F and Rogerson, M (1979) (eds.), REED: York, 2 vols, Toronto.

Jones, C (1998) 'Interpreting the Perceptions of Past People', in Jones and Hayden, 7-22.

Jones, C J and Hayden, C (1998) (eds.), *The Archaeology of Perception and the Senses, Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 15/1, Cambridge.

Jones, M K and Underwood, M G (1992) *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby*, Cambridge.

Jordan, A A (2009) 'The "Water of Thomas Becket": Water as Medium, Metaphor, and Rhelic', in C Kosso and A Scott (eds.), *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, Leiden.

Jung, J E (2000) 'Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches', AB, 82, 622-57.

Jusserand, J J (1891) English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages, London.

Jütte, R (2005) A History of the Senses: from antiquity to cyberspace, Oxford.

Kamerick, K (2002) Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350-1500, New York.

Kantorowicz, E (1944) 'The "King's Advent" and the enigmatic panels in the doors of Santa Sabina', *AB*, 26, 207-31.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H (1957) The king's two bodies: A study in medieval political theology, Princeton.

Karant-Nunn, S C (2010) The Reformation of Feeling. Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany, Oxford.

Keefe, T (2003) 'Shrine Time: King Henry II's Visits to Thomas Becket's Tomb', *Haskins Society Journal*, 11, 115-23.

Kemp, W (1998) 'Work of art and its beholder: the methodology of the aesthetic of reception', in M A Cheetham K Moxey and M A Holly (eds.), *The Subject of Art History: historical objects in contemporary perspectives*, Cambridge, 180-196.

Kempe, M (2003) The Book of Margery Kempe, (trans.), L H McAvoy, Cambridge.

Kent, S (1993) 'Activity areas and architecture: an interdisciplinary view of the relationship between use of space and domestic built environments', in S Kent (ed.), Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space, An Interdisciplinary cross-cultural study, Cambridge, 1-8.

Kidson, P (1987) 'Panofsky, Suger and St Denis', JWCI, 50, 1-17.

Kipling, G (1998) Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in Medieval Civic Triumph, Oxford.

Kipling, G (2005) 'The Deconstruction of the Virgin in the Sixteenth-Century Royal Entry in Scotland', *European Medieval Drama*, 9, 127-52.

Kleinschmidt, H (2000) Understanding the Middle Ages: The Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval World, Woodbridge.

Klukas, A (1983) 'The Architectural Implications of the Decreta Lanfanci', in R A Brown (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 6, Suffolk, 134–71.

Klukas, A (1995) 'Durham Cathedral in the Gothic Era: Liturgy, design monument', in Chieffo Raguin *et al.*, 69-83.

Koldeweij, A M (2005) "Shameless and naked images": Obscene badges as parodies of popular devotion, in Blick and Tekippe, 493-510.

Korsmeyer, C (2005) (ed.), The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink, Oxford.

Krautheimer, R (1942) 'Introduction to an "Iconography of medieval architecture", *JWCI*, 5, 1-33.

Kroesen, J E A (2000) The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages: its Form and Function, Leuven.

Kumin, B (2001) 'Masses, Morris and Metrical Pslams: Music in the English Parish c.1400-1600', in F Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, Cambridge, 70-80.

Kus, S (1992) 'Toward an archaeology of body and soul', in J C Gardin and C Peebles (eds.), *Representations in Archaeology*, Bloomington, 168-77.

Lapidge, M (2003) Cult of St Swithun, Oxford.

Lavender, A (2006) 'Mise en Scéne, Hypermediacy and the Sensorium', in F Chapple and C Kattenbelt (eds.) *Intermediality in theatre and performance*, Amsterdam; New York, 55–66.

Layton, R (2006), 'Structuralism and Semiotics', in Tilley et al., 2006, 29-42.

Lee, J (2008) 'Ad Hoc Pilgrimages and Incidental Icons: Pilgrimage and Exterior Sculpture', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 25, 19–26.

Lefebvre, H (1991) The Production of Space, Oxford.

Legg, W and Hope, W H St J (1902) (eds.), Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury; with historical and topographical introductions and Illustrative Documents, Westminster.

Lehfeldt, E A (2005) Religious Women In Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister, Aldershot.

Leland, J (1907–10) *The Itinerary of John Leland* (ed.), L Toulmin Smith, 5 vols, London.

LeZotte, A (2011) 'Cradling Power: Female Devotions and Early Netherlandish Jésueaux', in Blick and Gelfand, 59-86.

Lilley, K D (2009) City and Cosmos: the Medieval World in Urban Form, Chicago; London.

Locker, M (2013) 'Landscapes of pilgrimage in Medieval England', unpublished PhD thesis, University College, London.

Loftus Brock, EP (1877) 'St Neot's, Cornwall', JBAA, 33, 441-6.

Lomas, R (1996) County of Conflict: Northumberland from Conquest to Civil War, East Linton.

Lowry, M J C (1983) 'Caxton, St Winifred and Lady Margaret Beaufort', *The Library*, 6th ser., 5/2, 101-17.

MacAloon, J J (1984) 'Introduction: Cultural Performance, Culture Theory', in J J MacAllon (ed.), *Rite Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, Philadelphia, 1–15.

MacCormack, S (1972) 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus', *Historia*, 21, 721–52.

Mâle, E (1972) The Gothic Image: Religious Architecture in France of the Thirteenth Century, (trans.), D Nussey, New York.

Malone, C M (2004) Façade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral, Leiden.

Maran, T (2003) 'Mimesis as a phenomenon of semiotic communication', *Sign Systems Studies*, 31/1, 191-215.

Marks, R (2000) 'Medieval Stained Glass: recent and future trends in scholarship', *Journal of Stained Glass* 24, 62-79.

Marks, R (2004) Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England, Sutton.

Marner, D (2000) St Cuthbert: His Life and Cult in Medieval Durham, London.

Marshall, P (2003) 'Forgery and Miracles in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present*, 178, 39-73.

Martindale, A (1992) 'Patrons and Minders: the Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces', in D Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts*, 143–78.

Marrow, J H (1986) 'Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance', *Simiolus*, 16, 150-69.

Masinton, A (2007), 'Sacred Space: Priorities, Perception and the Presence of God in Late Medieval Yorkshire Parish Churches', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York.

Mattingly, J (2000) 'Stories in the Glass – Reconstructing the St. Neot Pre-Reformation Glazing Scheme', *JRIC*, 3, 9–55.

Mattingly, J, Buckley, A, Hall, J (2001) 'A tin miner and a bal maiden: further research on the St Neot windows', *JRIC*, 0, 96–100

Mattingly, J (2010) 'The Warning to Sabbath Breakers from St Neot Church', *Vidimus* 36 (http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-36/panel-of-the-month/, accessed 21st April 2012).

Marx, K (1983) The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Moscow.

Marx, K and Engels, F (1932) The German Ideology, Moscow.

McClain, A (2012) 'Theory, Disciplinary Perspectives and the Archaeology of Later Medieval England, MA, 56, 131-170.

McConachie, B and Hart, F E (2006) (eds.), Performance and Cognition: Theatre studies and the cognitive turn, Oxon.

McMurray Gibson, G (1989) The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages, Chicago.

MED, (2001) Middle English Dictionary (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?size=First+100&type=headword&q1=pilgrim&rgxp=constrained, accessed 16th May 2013).

Melczer, W (1993) The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela, New York.

Merleau-Ponty, M (1962) Phenomenology of Perception, London.

Merrifield, R (1987) The Archaeology of Magic, London.

Meskell, L (2005) (ed.), Archaeologies of Materiality, Oxford.

Michael, M and Strobl, S (2004) Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, London.

Milner, M (2006) 'A Sensible Reformation: The Senses and Liturgical Life in Tudor England', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Warwick.

Milner, M (2011) Senses and the English Reformation, Farnham.

Milsom, J (1989) 'Cries of Durham', Early Music, 17, 147-60.

Mirzoeff, N (1999) An Introduction to Visual Culture, London.

Mirzoeff, N (2002) The Visual Culture Reader, London.

Moore, S A (1887) 'Documents relating to the Death and Burial of Edward II', *Archaeologia*, 50, 215-26.

Moorhouse, G (2008) The Last Office: 1539 and the Dissolution of a Monastery, London.

Morgan, D (1998) Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images, Berkeley.

Morinis, A (1992) (ed.), Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage, Connecticut; London.

Morris, C (2002) 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages', in Morris and Roberts, 143-63.

Morris, C and Roberts, P (2002) (eds.), Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan, Cambridge.

Morrison, S S (2000) Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private piety as public performance, London; New York.

Muessig, C (2002) (ed.), Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages, Leiden.

Muir, E (2007) 'The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance', in N Howe (ed.), *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, Indiana; Notre Dame, 129-154.

Murphy, N (2006) 'Receiving royals in later medieval York: civic ceremony and the municipal elite, 1478–1503', *Northern History*, 43, 241–55.

Myerhoff, B G (1984) 'A Death in Due Time: Construction of Self and Culture in Ritual Drama', in J J MacAllon (ed.), *Rite Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, Philadelphia, 149–178.

Myers, A M (2013) Literature and Architecture in Early Modern England, Maryland.

Mytum, H (2010) 'Biographies of projects, people and places: archaeologists and William and Martha Harries at Henllys Farm, Pembrokeshire', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 44/2, 294-319.

Nelson, N (2000) (ed.), Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw, Cambridge.

Newton, D (2008) 'The impact of reformation on ... a preliminary survey', *Northern History*, 45/1, 37-49.

Nichols, J G (1999) A Collection of all the Wills, Now Known to Be Extant, of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes and Princesses of Wales, and every Branch of the Blood Royal, from the Reign of William the Conqueror, to that of Henry the Seventh Exclusive: With explanatory Notes and Glossary, London.

Nilson, B (1998) Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England, Woodbridge.

Nilson, B (1999) 'The Medieval Experience at the Shrine', in Stopford, 95-123.

Norton, C (1997) 'Richard II and York Minster', in Rees Jones, 56-87.

Norton, C (2002) 'The Luxury Pavement in England before Westminster' in L Grant and R Mortimer (eds.), *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements*, Aldershot, 7-27.

Norton, C (2005) 'Sacred Space and Sacred History: The Glazing of the Eastern Arm of York Minster', in R Becksmann (ed), *Glasmalerei im Kontext Bildprogramme und Raumfunktionen*. Nűrnberg, 167-181.

O'Keefe, T (1998) 'Perceptions and Interpretations of Architecture', in Jones and Hayden, 75-93.

Olson, V (2007) 'All the World's a Stage: Pilgrimage as Performance and Portals as Props', *International Journal of the Arts in Society*, 1/4, 15-18.

Olson, L and Padel, O J (1986) 'A tenth century list of Cornish saints', CMCS, 12, 33-7

Orme, N (1986) Exeter Cathedral: As It Was 1050-1550, Devon, Devon Books.

Orme, N (1992) (ed.), Nicholas Roscarrock's lives of the saints: Cornwall and Devon, Exeter.

Orme, N (2000) The Saints of Cornwall, Oxford.

Orme, N (2007) Cornwall and the Cross: Christianity, 500-1560, Chichester.

Orme, N (2010) A History of the County of Cornwall II: Religious History to 1560, Woodbridge.

Ormrod, M (1989) 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', Speculum, 64, 849-77.

Ormrod, W M (2012) Edward III, New Haven.

O'Sullivan, D and Young, R (1995) (eds.), Book of Lindisfarne: Holy Island, London.

Padel, O J, 1988, A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-names, Penzance.

Palazzo, E (2010) 'Art, Liturgy and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages, *Viator*, 41/1 25-56.

Palazzo, E (2011) 'Relics, Liturgical Space, and the Theology of the Church', in Bagnoli *et al.*, 99-109.

Pallasmaa, J (2005) The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses, London.

Panofsky, E (1951) Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, London; New York.

Panofsky, E (1979) (ed.), Suger, Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures, Princeton.

Park, D (1990) 'The Wall Paintings in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral', Friends of Durham Cathedral, 57, 21–34.

Park, D and Cather, S (2004) 'Late medieval paintings at Carlisle', in M McCarthy and D Weston (eds), *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, BAACT, Leeds, 214–31.

Parkhurst Ferguson, P (2011) 'The Senses of Taste', American Historical Review, 116, 371-84.

Paterson, M (2007) The Senses of Touch: Haptics, Affects and Technologies, Oxford; New York.

Pearson, P and Richards, C M (1994) 'Architecture and Order: Spatial representation and archaeology', in Pearson and Richards, 38-72.

Pentcheva, B V (2006) 'The Performative Icon', AB, 631-55.

Pentcheva, B V (2010) The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium, Pennsylvania.

Pentcheva, B V (2011) 'Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics', *Gesta*, 50/2, 51–69.

Peters, C (2009) Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England, Cambridge.

Perret, D (2001) 'The Meaning of the Mystery: From Tableaux to Theatre in the French Royal Entry', in Ashley and Hüsken, 187-212.

Pevsner, N and Newman, J (1972) The Buildings of England: Dorset, Harmondsworth.

Pevsner, N and Radcliffe, E (1970) Cornwall: The Buildings of England, Middlesex.

Pitcher, D (2008) 'The Red Mount Chapel, King's Lynn', in King's Lynn and the Fenns: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology, BAACT, 31 Leeds, 17-27.

Pocock, D (1996) 'Place Evocation: The Galilee Chapel in Durham Cathedral', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new ser. 21/2, 379–86.

Ponterotto, J G (2006) 'Brief Note on the Origins, Evolution, and Meaning of the Qualitative Research Concept "Thick Description", *The Qualitative Report*, 11/3, 538-549.

Portmann, A and Ritsema, R (1974) The Realms of Colour, Leiden.

Prideaux, E K (1907) 'Illustrated notes on the church of St Candida and Holy Cross at Whitchurch Canonicorum, Dorset', *Arch. J*, 64, 119–50.

Rahner, K (1979,) Theological Investigations, Volume XVI, Experience of the Spirit: Source of Theology (trans.), D Morland, New York.

Raine, J (1828) Saint Cuthbert: with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of his tomb in Durham Cathedral, in the year MDCCCXXVII, Durham; London.

Raine, J (1859) (ed.), Fabric Rolls of York Minster, Surtees Society 35, Durham.

Rapoport, A (1969) House Form and Culture, Englewood Cliffs N.J.

Rapoport, A (1976) The Mutual Interactions of People and Their Built Environment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, Paris.

Rapoport, A (1990) The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach, Tucson.

Rastall, R (1970-71) 'Minstrelsy, Church and Clergy in Medieval England', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 97, 83-98.

Raw, B C (2009) Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival, Cambridge.

Recht, R (2008) Believing and Seeing: The Art of Gothic Cathedrals, (trans.), M Whittall, Chicago.

Rees Jones, S (1997) (ed.), The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter, York.

Reg. Brantyngham (1901) The Register of Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, 1370-1394 (ed.) F C Hingeston-Randolph, 2 vols, London and Exeter.

Reginaldi monarchi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus (1835) (ed.), J Raine, London.

Reg. Lacy (1963) The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420-55 (ed.), G R Dunstan, Canterbury & York Society/Devon & Cornwall Record Society Publications, 5 vols, Torquay.

Reiss, A (2000) *The Sunday Christ: Sabbatarianism in English Medieval Wall Painting*, BAR British Series 292, Oxford.

Remensnyder, A (1996) Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France, Ithaca.

Renard, J G (2001) 'Picturing Holy Places: On the Uses of Architectural Symbolism in Icon and Ornament', *Religion and the Arts*, 5/4, 399-428.

Reynolds, D (2007) 'The architectural setting of medieval murals in parish churches', unpublished BA dissertation, University of Leicester.

Reznikoff, I (2006) 'The evidence of the use of sound resonance from Palaeolithic to Medieval times', Scarre and Lawson, 77–84.

Richards, M H (1981) 'The Medieval Hagiography of St Neot', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 99, 259-78.

Richardson, A (2003) 'Gender and space in English royal palaces c.1160-c.1547: a study in access analysis and imagery', MA, 47, 131-65.

Riche, C (2002) The Lost Shrine of Liskeard: An Grerva Gellys a Lyskerrys, Cornwall.

Ricoeur, P (1981) Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences, (ed. and trans.), J B Thompson, New York; Cambridge.

Ringbom, S (1969) 'Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 73, 159-70.

Ringbom, S (1965) *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, Abo.

Rivlin, R and Gravelle, K (1984) Deciphering the Senses: The Expanding World of Human Perception, New York.

Robertson, J C (1876) Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 2 vols, London.

Robinson, J (2011) Finer than Gold: Saints and Relics in the Middle Ages, London.

Rodaway, P (1994) Sensuous Geographies, London.

Roffey, S (2006) 'Devotional Objects and Cultural Context: The Medieval Parish Church', in V Chieffo Raguin (ed.), Catholic collecting: Catholic reflection 1538-1850: objects as a measure of reflection on a Catholic past and the construction of a recusant identity in England and America, Worcester, 21-30.

Roffey, S (2007) The medieval chantry chapel: an archaeology, Woodbridge; Rochester.

Rollason, D W (1989) Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England, Oxford.

Rollason, D, Harvey, M and Prestwich, M (1994) (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham*, 1093-1193, Woodbridge.

Rosenfeld, S (2011) Common Sense: A Political History, Cambridge MA.

Rosenthal, J T (1972) *The Purchase of Paradise: the Social Function of Gift-Giving and Aristocratic benevolence, 1307-1485*, London.

Rosewell, R (2008) Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches, Woodbridge.

Routley, E (1967) Church Music and the Christian Faith, London.

Rubin, M (1991) 'Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages', in J Kermode (ed.), *Enterprise and Individuals in 15th-century England*, Gloucester, 132–50.

Rudolph, C (1990) Things of Greater Importance: Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art, Philadelphia.

Rudy, J (2000) 'A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothéque de l'Arsenal ms.212', Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 63/4, 494-515.

Rushforth, G McN (1927) A Short Guide to the Painted Windows of the Church of St Neot, Cornwall, Exeter.

Russo, T E (1994) 'The Romanesque Rood Screen of Durham Cathedral: Context and Form', in Rollason *et al.*, 251-68.

Ryan, G and Ripperger, H (1991) (trans), *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, New York; London.

Sandquist, T A (1969) 'The Holy Oil of St Thomas of Canterbury', in T A Sandquist and M R Powicke (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, Toronto, 330-44.

Santoro, N J (2011) Mary in Our Life: Atlas of the Names and Titles of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, Bloomington IN.

Saüerlander, W (1995) 'Integration: A closed or open proposal', in Chieffo Raguin et al. 1-18.

Saul, N (1997a) Richard II, New Haven.

Saul, N (1997b) 'Richard II and the City of York', in Rees-Jones, 1–13.

Seymour, C (1993) Sir John Mandeville, Aldershot.

Scarre, C and Lawson, G (2006) (eds), *Archaeoacoustics*, McDonald Institute Monographs, Cambridge.

Schleif, C (2005) 'Men on the Right – Women of the Left: (A)symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places', in Chieffo Raguin and Stanbury, 208-50.

Schleif, C and Schier, V (2009) Katerina's Windows. Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen in the Writings of a Birgittine Nun, Pennsylvania.

Schnitker, H (2004) 'Margaret of York on Pilgrimage: The Exercise of Devotion and the Religious Traditions of the House of York', in D L Biggs, S D Michalove, and A Compton Reeves (eds.), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Leiden, 81–122.

Scully, R E (2006) 'St Winefride's Well: The Significance and Survival of a Welsh Catholic Shrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Present Day', in M J Cormack, D Gleeson, S Lewis and W Scott Poole (eds.) *Saints and their Cults in the Atlantic World*, South Carolina, 202–28.

Searle, W G (1902) The Chronicle of John Stone: Monk of Christchurch Canterbury, 1415-1471, Cambridge.

Sedlmayr, H (1950) Die Entstehung der Kathedrale, Zurich.

Seguin, C M (2002) 'Cures and Controversy in Early Modern Wales: The Struggle to Control St Winifred's Well', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, 3/2, 1–17.

Sekules, V (1986) 'The tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the development of the sacramental shrine: Easter Sepulchres reconsidered', in T A Heslop and V Sekules (eds.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*, BAACT, Leeds, 118–31.

Sekules, V (2003) 'England: Art and Society', in S H Rigby (ed.), A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages, Malden; Oxford; Victoria; Berlin, 472-98.

Seremetakis, C N (1994) (ed.), The Senses Still, Boulder, CO.

Scott-Robertson, W A (1880) 'The Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, Part I', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 13, 17-80.

Shanks, M and Tilley, C (1992) Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice, 2nd edn., London.

Sheingorn, P (1987) The Easter Sepulchre in England, Kalamazoo.

Shepherd, S (2006) Theatre, Body and Pleasure, London; New York.

Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi Mitralis de Oficiis (2008) (eds.), G Sarback and L Weinrich, Turnhout.

Skeates, R (2010) An Archaeology of the Senses: Prehistoric Malta, Oxford.

Smuts, R M (1989) 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: the English royal entry in London, 1485-1643', in A L Beirer, D Cannadine and J M Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, Cambridge, 65-93.

Snell, L S (1955) (ed.), The Edwardian Inventories of Church Goods for Cornwall, Exeter.

Solowski, R, 2000, Introduction to Phenomenology, Cambridge.

Spencer, B (1968) 'Medieval Pilgrim Badges: Some General Observations Illustrated Mainly from English Sources', in J Renaud (ed.), *A Contribution to Medieval Archaeology*, Rotterdam, 137-53.

Spencer, B (2004) Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges (Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, London.

Spicer, A and Hamilton, S (2005) (eds.), Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Aldershot.

Stahl, A B (2002) Colonial Entanglements and the Practice of Taste: An Alternative to Logocentric Approaches', *American Anthropologist*, 104/3, 827–45.

Stanley, A P (1868) Historical Memorials of Canterbury: The Landing of Augustine, The Murder of Becket, Edward the Black Prince, Becket's Shrine, London.

Stevenson, J (2010) Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York, New York.

Stewart, K (1996) 'An Occupied Place', in Feld and Basso, 137-66.

Stoller, P (1997) Sensuous Scholarship, Philadelphia.

Stookey, L (1969) 'The Gothic Cathedral as Heavenly Jerusalem,', Gesta, 8, 35-41.

Stopford, J (1994) 'Some Approaches to the Archaeology of Pilgrimage', WA, 26, 57-72.

Stopford, J (1999) (ed.), Pilgrimage Explored, Woodbridge.

Strong, R (2005) Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy, London.

Stubbs, W (1879-80) (ed.), Gervase of Canterbury, Historical Works, 2 vols, London.

Sullivan, L (1986) 'Sound and Senses: Toward a Hermeneutics of Performance', *History of Religions*, 26, 1–33.

Suso, H (1952) The Life of the Servant, London.

Summa Theologiae (1962) Thomas Aquinas, Editiones Paulinea, Rome.

Sumption, J (1975) Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion, NJ.

Sumption, J (2003) The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God, Mahwah NJ.

Sutton, D (2001) Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory, Oxford.

Swanson, R N (1992) 'Medieval Liturgy as Theatre: The Props' in D Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts*, Oxford, 239–54.

Swanson, R N (1993) (trans.), Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance Before the Reformation, Manchester.

Swanson, R N (1995) Religion and devotion in Europe, c.12150c.1515, Cambridge; New York.

Syer, G C (1991) The Church of St Candida (St Wite) and Holy Cross, Whitchurch Canonicorum, Bridport.

Tatlioglu, T (2010) 'Biographies on a Landed Estate: an examination of an eighteenth-century joiner's workshop', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 44/2, 273-93.

Tatton-Brown, T (1998) 'The Two Great Marble Pavements in the Sanctuary and Shrine Areas of Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey', in J Fawcett (ed.), *Historic Floors: Their History and Conservation*, Oxford, 57-8.

Tatton-Brown, T (2002) 'Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines in England', in Morris and Roberts, 90-107.

Taylor, A J (1979) 'Edward I and the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury', *JBAA*, 132, 22-8.

Tekippe, R (2005) 'Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlation of Meaning, Practice and Effects', in Blick and Tekippe, 693-752.

Temperley, N (1983) The Music of the English Parish Church, 2 vols, Cambridge.

Theilman, J M (1984) 'Communitas among Fifteenth-Century Pilgrims', *Reflexions Historiaues*, 311, 253-70.

Thomas, J (1993), 'The Politics of Vision and the Archaeologies of Landscape', in B. Bender (ed.), *Landscape*, Oxford, 19-47.

Thomas, J (2002) 'Archaeology's Humanism and the Materiality of the Body', in Hamilakis et al., Thinking Through the Body, 29-45.

Thomas, J (2006) 'Phenomenology and material culture', in Tilley et al., 43-59.

Thurlby, M (1994) 'The Roles of the Patron and the Master Mason in the First Design of the Romanesque Cathedral of Durham', in Rollason *et al.*, 161-84.

Tilley, C (1994) A Phenomenology of Landscape, Oxford.

Tilley, C (2004) The Materiality of Stone, Oxford.

Tilley, C (2010) Interpreting Landscapes: Geologies, Topographies, Identities; Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 3, California.

Tilley, C, Keane, W Küchler, S Rowlands,, M and Spyer P (2002) (eds.), *Handbook of material culture*, London.

Trachtenburg, M (1997) Dominion of the eye: urbanism, art and power in early modern Florence, Cambridge; New York.

Tringham, R (2005) 'Putting Vision in its Place: the Interweaving of Senses to Create a Sense of Place at Çatalhöyük', in *Seeing the Past: Building Knowledge of the Past and Present through Acts of Seeing*, Stanford.

Tuan, Y-F (1977) Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience, Minneapolis.

Tuan, Y-F (1993) Topophilia, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

Tudor, V (1989), 'The Cult of St Cuthbert in the Twelfth Century: The Evidence of Reginald of Durham', in Bonner et al., 447-68.

Tudor, V (1984) 'The misogyny of St Cuthbert', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th ser, 12, 157–67.

Tudor-Craig, P (1986) 'Richard III's Triumphant Entry into York, August 29, 1483', in R Horrox (ed.), *Richard III and the North*, 108-16.

Turner, V (1969) The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure, New York.

Turner, V (1974) Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society, New York.

Turner, D H (1976) 'The Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket', *The Canterbury Chronicle* 70, 16-22.

Turner, S (2006) 'The Christian Landscape: Churches, Chapels and Crosses', in S Turner (ed.), *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: Shaping the Ancient Countryside*, Macclesfield, 24-43.

Turner, V and Turner, E (1978) Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture, New York.

Twining, E F (1960) A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe, London.

Vale, M (2001) The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380, Oxford.

Van der Velden, H (2000) The donor's image: Gerard Loyet and the votive portraits of Charles the Bold, Turnhout.

Van Gennep, A (1960) The Rites of Passage, Reprint, London.

Venables, E (1887) 'Some Account of the Recent Discovery of the Foundations of the Eastern Termination of Lincoln Minster, as Erected by St. Hugh', *Arch. J*, 44, 194–202.

Vincent, N (2001) The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic, Cambridge.

Vincent, N (2002) 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272', in Morris and Roberts, 12-45.

Vincent, N (2005) 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in R N Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary: Studies in Church History*, Woodbridge 2005, 126-46.

Vincent, N (2011) A Brief History of Britain: 1066-1485, London.

Vita Sancti Cuthbert (1940) (ed. and trans.) B Colgrave, Two Lives of St Cuthbert, Cambridge.

Von Simson, O (1956) The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order, New York.

Vuori, H L (2011) 'The Great Responsories of Cantus Sororum' (http://www.voxsilentii.fi/11, accessed 15th September 2012).

Wall, J C (1905) The Shrines of British Saints, London.

Walsham, A (2008) 'The Reformation and "The Disenchantment of the World", *The Historical Journal*, 51, 2, 497–528.

Webb, D (2000) Pilgrimage in Medieval England, London; New York.

Webb, D, (2001) Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West, London; New York.

Webb, S H (2004) The divine voice: Christian proclamation and the theology of sound, Grand Rapids.

Webster, P (2011) 'Crown, Cathedral and Conflict: King John and Canterbury', in P Dalton, C Insley and L J Wilkinson (eds.), *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, Woodbridge, 203–20.

Wells, E (2010) 'The Art of Buildings: The St William window, York Minster', Vidimus, 41.

Wells, E (2011), 'Making 'sense' of the pilgrimage experience of the medieval church', *Peregrinations Journal* 3 (2), 122–46.

Wells, E (2013) "...he went round the holy places praying and offering": Evidence for Cuthbertine Pilgrimage to Lindisfarne and Farne in the Late Medieval Period', in J Ashbee and J Luxford (eds.), *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, (ed.), J Ashbee and J M Luxford, Leeds, 214-231.

Weiss Adamson, M (2004) Food in Medieval Times, Westport.

Whalen, B E (2011) (ed.), *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader*, Toronto; Plymouth; Tonawanda.

Whitaker, J (1809) The Life of Saint Neot, the Oldest of All the Brothers to King Alfred, London.

Whiting, R (1989) *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation*, Cambridge.

William of Malmesbury (1870) De Gestis Pontificium Anglorum (ed.), NESA Hamilton, RS, 52, vol. I.

Willis, R (2006) The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, London.

Willis, J P (2010) Church music and Protestantism in post-Reformation England: discourses, sites and identities, Farnham.

Wilson, C (1977) The Shrines of St William of York, York.

Wilson, C (1980) 'The Neville Screen', in Coldstream and Draper, 90-105.

Wilson, C (1990) The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530, London.

Woolley, E (1924) 'Some Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire Easter Sepulchres', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 28, 67–72.

Wright, C M (2001) The maze and the warrior: symbols in architecture, theology, and music, Harvard.

Wright, C (2008) 'Coercive Sound: the Bodily Negotiation of Early English Performance Space', Language, Space, Place Research Group (http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cas/documents/landscapes/clare20wright20-20coercive20sound.pdf, accessed 17th September 2012).

Woodman, F (1981) The architectural history of Canterbury Cathedral, London.

Woodruff, C E (1925) 'The chronicle of William Glastynbury, monk of the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1419-1448', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 37, 121–51.

Woodruff, C E (1926) 'The Chapel of Our Lady in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral', Archaeologia Cantiana, 38, 153-72.

Woodruff, C E (1932) 'The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 44. 13-32.

Woodruff, C E (1939) 'The Sacrist's rolls of Christ Church, Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 48, 38–80.

Woolgar, C M (2006) The Senses in Late Medieval England, London.

Woolgar, C M, Serjeantson, D and Waldron, T (2006) (eds.), Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition, Oxford.

Woshinsky, B (2010) Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces in France, 1600-1800: The Cloister Disclosed, Farnham.

Yasin, A M (2009) Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community, Cambridge; New York.

Yates, F (1966) The Art of Memory, London.

Young, Y (1933) The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols, Oxford.

Zieleniec, A (2007) Space and Social Theory, London.