

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The permissibility of the practice of inscribing graffiti in Beverley Minster, with
specific reference to the eastern side of the reredos

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by

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Abstract

This thesis provides an understanding of the nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster in the medieval and early modern periods. It focuses on the types of graffiti that were inscribed when the upper platform of the reredos supported the shrine of Saint John of Beverley from c.1330 to 1540. This study shows that in order to interpret the meaning and significance of the graffiti for the individuals who inscribed them, it needs to be placed in a context where writing on walls was accepted and acceptable to both the clergy and the laity. The different categories of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos are described and examined in detail.

A wide range of evidence are employed to provide a holistic interpretation of the rationale behind their inscription. Comparisons with the graffiti surviving in the nave at Beverley Minster; in parish churches situated within the Humber region; and in ecclesiastical buildings from other counties across England are drawn upon to facilitate a synthesis of the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos. Literary evidence, numismatics and objects recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) are sources of evidence drawn upon throughout to supplement the lack of contextual information, and to place the practice of inscribing graffiti into a wider religious, social and cultural context. Among the types of graffiti studied are textual inscriptions, crosses, religious symbols, ships, merchants' marks and figures. The different types of graffiti are contextualised in thematic discussions based upon two aspects of religious culture, which show how graffiti can be simultaneously devotional and superstitious. In the process, this study enhances our knowledge of the ways in which individuals interacted with the fabric of church buildings on a physical level.

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Note on figures, the graffiti catalogue, appendices and place-names

Due to the large number of illustrations that support the results in the main body of the thesis, it was decided that the majority of the images needed to be organised in a separate section. The main body of the thesis contains figures that provide a general understanding of the setting of Beverley, the Minster, the graffiti and other iconographic mediums. However, these were considered as insufficient to provide a detailed understanding of the overall nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti in the medieval and early modern periods and the accompanying catalogue remedies this situation. The catalogue, together with the full appendices, can be found on a CD at the back of the thesis.

Certain figures appear in the thesis and in the catalogue. The photographs selected for the catalogue include a scale next to the graffiti in order to provide an understanding of the size of each example. This is absent from the figures in the main body of the thesis as it was decided that this would distract from a clear view of the graffiti depicted in the photograph. A full list of catalogue entries is provided at the end of the main body of the thesis to highlight the nature of the graffiti images presented. The catalogue contains photographs of the graffiti in Beverley Minster in addition to a further six sites surveyed within the Humber region.

It is also important to note that unless specified otherwise in brackets, the place-names mentioned in this thesis are from within the county of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: aims and historical context

Introduction

The medieval churches of England are a repository of centuries of graffiti inscribed for a number of different purposes whether to idle away time, to commemorate ones presence for posterity or as a deeply spiritual intercession. Although the presence of graffiti has been acknowledged for a number of years, the true scale and date of much of this corpus is only just coming to light. To understand the rationale behind its creation and the view of the medieval church establishment, a detailed exploration of a specific set and location of graffiti is required. In the modern day, the concept of spontaneously leaving a mark scrawled across a medieval church is largely considered the product of socially unacceptable behaviour, but this study shows that attitudes towards graffiti and the reasons for people participating in this practice were comparatively different in the medieval period.

This thesis is a study of the graffiti currently located on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster. The reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John of Beverley from c.1330 until the shrine was destroyed during the Reformation, probably in the 1540s. A large corpus of the graffiti on the eastern side of the structure is datable to this period, and forms the primary focus of this investigation. The graffiti inscribed after the removal of the shrine is also examined where appropriate, though there is a comparatively smaller quantity, which seems to be limited to the seventeenth century. Whether the practice continued during the Reformation and after the removal of the shrine in the late sixteenth century remains unclear. What is clear is that there is evidence of the practice of inscribing graffiti dating to the seventeenth century, but it is difficult to determine whether this practice continued beyond 1667 due to the lack of dates. This study nevertheless focusses on the graffiti inscribed in the late medieval period, while it also briefly touches upon examples extending into the early modern period in order to compare and contrast the nature of the practice across both periods.

This thesis not only examines the spatial distribution of the graffiti across the eastern side of the reredos, but also the diversity of its subject matter. The types of graffiti include, but by no means limited to, textual inscriptions, crosses, letters, shapes, religious symbols, ships, musical notation, heraldry and merchants' marks.

These types of graffiti on the eastern reredos are placed in the context of the same or similar examples discovered in other areas of Beverley Minster. This study also draws comparisons with the results of surveys undertaken at other sites, including six parish churches located within the Humber region, as well as church settings elsewhere in England. It has been too easy for scholars in the past to dismiss most graffiti as random doodles. This study shows that it is only by setting aside the commonly held stigma attached to nearly all modern day graffiti, as the product of socially unacceptable behaviour, that medieval church graffiti can be appreciated fully. This evidence contributes to our knowledge of people's past physical experience of, and interaction with, the church fabric, as the practice of inscribing graffiti was a medium through which people articulated their religious beliefs in response to both earthly and spiritual concerns. This concept is intrinsic to constructing an understanding of the ways in which the practice of inscribing graffiti had a role in the lives of the individuals and communities that inscribed it in Beverley Minster. This thesis demonstrates that this is an idea that should be applied more widely to the study of medieval and early modern graffiti. In many cases, its subject matter clearly had both meaning and function. The subject matter of the graffiti provides evidence of how devotees venerated the relics above and made inscriptions with a votive purpose, either in thanksgiving of, or in request for, divine protection. They represent expressions of faith and personal piety which embody the climax of these devotional impulses. Simultaneously, the subject matter of the graffiti was perceived as having protective properties, predicated upon the belief in the efficacy of the spiritual status of this location. Underpinning these interpretations is the concept that the practice of inscribing graffiti in the medieval period needs to be set in a context where writing on walls was permissive, meaning that it was allowed and acceptable to both the clergy and the laity.

The subject matter of the different types of graffiti is investigated in an interdisciplinary manner grounded in the assumption that they were inscribed in this location for many reasons. Drawing comparisons with the graffiti recorded in churches elsewhere reveals its importance as a geographically widespread practice, that needs to be recognised by scholars as a feature of late medieval religious culture. This study employs a range of methods that draw upon various types of evidence in order to provide a holistic interpretation of the meaning and significance of the act of inscribing graffiti in this location as a devotional and superstitious practice. In order to

understand the sources, methods and theoretical perspectives adopted by this thesis, it is first necessary to introduce the concept of graffiti and the development of attitudes towards the practice from the view of our modern day perception, and that of the medieval period. The remainder of this chapter establishes the aims of this thesis and provides a background to Beverley, the Minster, Saint John, his shrine and the reredos in order to contextualise the graffiti. In doing so, it explains the reasons for selecting the subject of graffiti, and more specifically the graffiti in Beverley Minster on the eastern side of the reredos.

The concept of graffiti

Graffiti, as the term is employed in this study, is defined as inscriptions and drawings of varying subjects and sizes cut or incised upon stone or other surfaces, which form part of the fabric of ecclesiastical buildings. The word 'graffiti' has been shown to have Italian origins from the word *graffio* meaning 'to scratch', and the English word 'graffiti' first appeared in the mid nineteenth century when it was used by antiquarians, art historians and archaeologists to describe wall drawings or inscriptions discovered in Pompeii (Rome), produced by scratching a design into a surface.¹ The concept of graffiti has evolved over the years and the modern use of the word includes any graphics applied to surfaces in a manner that constitutes a form of vandalism, with materials such as spray paint being among the most commonly used.² The prevailing modern perception regards almost all graffiti as a form of vandalism, and the result of anti-social behaviour. It is often located on a wall or other surface, usually in a public space which, without consent, is a punishable crime as specified under the *Criminal Damage Act 1971*, the *Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003* and the *Clean Neighbourhoods and Environment Act 2005*.³ A few modern examples are an exception and show that graffiti has evolved into a legitimate art form, such as the contemporary street art on the city walls of Bristol.⁴ The subject matter of the graffiti inscribed in the medieval period had different connotations than it largely carries in modern day society in terms

1 Oxford University Press, *English definition of graffiti* (2015). Available online: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/graffiti> [Accessed 4/8/15].

2 *ibid.*

3 *Criminal Damage Act 1971*. Elizabeth II, Chapter 48 (London: HMSO); *Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003*. Chapter 38 (Norwich: The Stationary Office); *Clean Neighbourhoods and Environment Act 2005*. Chapter 16 (Norwich: The Stationary Office).

4 Destination Bristol, *Bristol street art* (2015). Available online: <http://visitbristol.co.uk/things-to-do/street-art> [Accessed 6/8/15].

of content. While medieval graffiti depicts religious symbols, ships and musical notation, this contrasts with the popular messages of social and political ideals among modern examples.⁵ This study shows that the modern usage of the term, and its negative connotations which associate graffiti as an activity that is socially unacceptable cannot be applied to interpretations of medieval examples.

When considered outside the confines of modern attitudes, the study of medieval church graffiti opens new avenues in historical research for local, religious, social and cultural historians, since it provides insights into the people and communities that once visited, worshipped and worked in the churches where it survives. As a feature of medieval culture, churches were not only used for the purpose of religious worship, but also served a wide range of functions for their communities as meeting places for guilds, the performance of plays and as a place of safety in times of war, among other functions. For those situated near the sea, the church beacon would be used by travellers and passing ships as a signal for land.⁶ Understanding the physical relationship between individuals and the church is difficult in the medieval period. There were various occasions when individuals found themselves in contact with churches that follow a life cycle, marking important events in life. These occasions include baptism that represents admission into the Christian church; the formation of relationships embodied in marriage; and the final, inevitable phase of life – death, involving the last rites and burial. Upon entering a medieval church, there is little doubt that attention is easily drawn to its architecture, stained-glass and funerary brasses, which record the presence of the elite from the highest levels of the social hierarchy. These features represent contemporary artistic trends and styles, embodying the results of their patronage. Despite having an important role in both the life and death of the people it served, we know comparatively little about how individuals interacted with the fabric of these churches on a physical level. Unlike commissioned works of art, the potential existed for anybody entering the church from all social groups, whether laity or clergy, to have the opportunity to inscribe graffiti or to see others making these marks. Therefore, if the historian is to construct an understanding of medieval religious life in this period, then graffiti survivals in churches provide unparalleled evidence that throw new light upon certain aspects of the medieval church. Its distance from the official church ceremonies allows medieval graffiti to be regarded, to an extent, as a

⁵ Destination Bristol, *Bristol street art*.

⁶ D. Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti and the local historian', *Local Historian*, 23, 1 (1993), 5.

reflection of the form and nature of the relationship between individuals from across the social spectrum and the church.

Graffiti assumes greater importance to the study of medieval church buildings in periods where documentary records and other sources are scarce. In cases where written records do survive they are associated largely with formal ceremonies such as baptism, marriage and death. Many of the images and symbols depicted in the graffiti clearly had meaning for the people who inscribed them. Graffiti preserves a record of personal marks and names that reveal inscribers' trades and occupations. Other types, such as figures, provide information about the development of fashion in terms of dress, but also features including hair. As possible self-portraits they may depict the likenesses of the individuals who inscribed them. In addition, certain symbols or emblems indicate the existence of cults, devotions and religious enthusiasts. Their subject matter also indicates that merchants and mariners were involved in their creation as were educated individuals who could write in Latin. Therefore, any analysis of graffiti clearly promises to reveal much about the perceptions, interests and intentions of its inscribers and contemporary audiences.

For some medieval churches, such graffiti may be all that can be discovered about the people who visited them and ways in which the church and certain spaces within its interior were used. Concentrations of graffiti and the chosen subject matter indicate that its position was by no means random and have the potential to expand our understanding of the development, functions and use of certain locations within churches and the significance placed upon it. For instance, the presence of musical notation suggests some form of musical activity. As this study shows, graffiti can convey meanings relating to the values, customs and beliefs of those who worked and worshipped in churches in the medieval and early modern periods. It not only reflects the late medieval aspirations for an intenser devotion related to the search for direct and individual contact with God, but also superstitious concerns about the destination of the soul and the uncontrollable hazards of the natural world. In doing so, the study of graffiti has the potential to enhance our knowledge of inscribers' belief structures and their medieval conception of how the world worked, how events happened and ways in which they perceived and experienced the natural and supernatural worlds.

Studies of medieval graffiti

Few scholars have recognised the potential of graffiti as a source of historical information for the study of medieval churches. Modern historiography on medieval graffiti is not particularly extensive. In 1967 Pritchard published the first book-length treatment of the subject of English medieval graffiti, focussing on discoveries from parish churches. She carried out a series of surveys of the medieval graffiti surviving in churches from at least 12 counties that came within around a 60 mile radius of her Cambridge base.⁷ Despite the fact that she lacked the resources to undertake large-scale surveys, Pritchard's study provides a descriptive and pictorial record of a cross-section of the subjects of the graffiti that were to be found in these churches when she carried out this research in the 1950s and 1960s. Her study reveals the broad scope of the subject of medieval graffiti as a form of evidence and included illustrations of figures, animals, heraldic devices, musical notation and textual inscriptions.⁸ Apart from Pritchard's work little substantial research was published on the subject in the twentieth century. A few scattered journal articles are devoted to individual discoveries made at a single site.⁹ For example, a single graffito of a textual inscription at Hengrave Church (Suffolk) is the focus of Wormald's study.¹⁰ Others concentrate on specific subject types. Musical notation for instance, has received some acknowledgement, but the majority mention ship graffiti, which are discussed in greater detail in chapter two.¹¹

The negative attitudes that dominate the widely held perception of modern graffiti might explain this lack of interest by generations of later scholars. For many scholars in the past, graffiti has perhaps been considered outside the mainstream academic study of the medieval church. Scholarly attention of medieval churches has largely focussed on architecture, stained-glass and brasses.¹² Moreover, the ambiguous

7 V. Pritchard, *English medieval graffiti* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

8 *ibid.*

9 C. Heighway, 'A graffito in the crypt of Gloucester Cathedral', *Glevensis*, 29 (1996), 33-4; D. Jones-Baker, 'Graffito drawing of a medieval trumpet, Hengrave church, Suffolk', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 232-6.

10 F. Wormald, 'A wall-painting at Idsworth, Hants, and a liturgical graffito', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 25 (1945), 43-7.

11 D. Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music and musicians in Hertfordshire: the graffiti evidence', in D. Jones-Baker (ed.), *Hertfordshire in history: papers presented to Lionel Munby* (Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire Local History Council, 1991), 22-45; A. B. Emden, 'Graffiti of medieval ships from the Church of St Margaret-at-Cliffe, Kent', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 8 (1922), 167-73; H. H. Brindley, 'Graffiti in Upper Deal church', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 20 (1934), 235-7; D. Jones-Baker, 'Graffito of a Danish or Viking ship, church of St Mary, Stow-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), 394-6.

12 M. Woodworth, *The architectural history of Beverley Minster, 721-c.1370*. PhD thesis (Duke University, 2011).

nature of graffiti, together with the difficulties of interpreting any specific meaning and reasons for its inscription may be further explanations for this scholarly reluctance toward the study of this type of evidence. Problems for the potential researcher occur from the outset in the process of recording, which may have deterred scholars. The huge quantity of graffiti means that undertaking a full survey at a single site can be a time-consuming process and, until recent years, has been difficult to record accurately. Unlike the bold painted forms of much modern graffiti, the majority of medieval examples are only lightly-incised, and without specialist lighting, it easily goes unnoticed. Potential researchers may be unaware of its presence, or when noticed dismiss it as meaningless doodles.

However, the study of medieval graffiti has been revived in the last few years. Recent interest has taken the form of volunteer-led community archaeology projects, most notably the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey which was established in January 2010 by its project manager, Matthew Champion. The impetus for establishing the project was the recent republishing of Pritchard's book of medieval graffiti.¹³ The project marks the first systematic large-scale survey of medieval graffiti surviving in churches across various counties. By recording its discoveries in the county Historic Environment Record, the project recognises the potential historical value of medieval graffiti.¹⁴ In 2011 the ongoing success of the initial project led to the development of a number of similar groups, which expanded the geographical scope of the survey to churches in other counties including Suffolk, Sussex and Lincolnshire.¹⁵ The initial results of the Norfolk and Suffolk surveys have shown that medieval graffiti inscriptions are present in about 65% of 1100 churches studied across the two counties.¹⁶ From these modern surveys, it is evident that technology has made significant advancements since Pritchard's publication, which provide the resources to conduct larger scale surveys. While she relied largely on the traditional techniques of taking rubbings and sketches, modern day surveys employ multiple raking light

13 M. Champion, 'Reading the writing on the wall: the Norfolk medieval graffiti survey', *Current Archaeology*, 256 (2011), 37.

14 M. Champion, 'The graffiti inscriptions of St Mary's church, Troston', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 43, 2 (2014), 236.

15 M. Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk* (2015). Available online: <http://www.medieval-graffiti-suffolk.co.uk/> [Accessed 17/6/15]; M. Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in east Sussex* (2015). Available online: <http://www.medievalgraffiti-eastsussex.org> [Accessed 17/6/15]; Down Your Wolds, *Medieval graffiti* (2015). Available online: <http://www.down-your-wold.co.uk/news/medieval-graffiti-churches> [Accessed 5/8/15].

16 M. Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Norfolk* (2015). Available online: <http://www.medieval-graffiti.co.uk/page2.html> [Accessed 17/6/15]; Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

sources, image manipulation software and digital photography, which provide a greater storage capacity for images than the photographic films used in the past. These new technological developments have made it easier to discover and record the graffiti accurately, while allowing relatively rapid and non-invasive surveys to be undertaken. In July 2015, Champion published the results of these surveys in his *Medieval graffiti: the lost voices of England's churches*, which represents the most detailed study of medieval graffiti since Pritchard's work. Following Pritchard's example, Champion published images of the best discoveries with particular attention to those recorded in parish churches. His study highlights the value of medieval graffiti as a record of the attitudes of its inscribers to the church as a building and an institution. Champion also emphasizes the importance of graffiti as a medium that was employed by inscribers to express their prayers for help to God and the saints in response to their hopes and fears, which stemmed from their perception of the natural and supernatural worlds.¹⁷

By surveying churches across various counties, located mainly in the south of England, these studies, to a certain extent, allow the practice of inscribing graffiti to be seen as a national trend. However, churches in Yorkshire are not among the regions covered by either Pritchard's or Champion's publications, leaving a vast corpus of material undiscovered and unrecorded. Studies have also shown that the practice of inscribing graffiti was a feature of various types of medieval churches including cathedrals, abbeys and priories.¹⁸ The majority focus on parish churches, possibly because graffiti is found in large quantities in these types of settings, but also due to the manageable scale of a survey, since most are smaller than cathedrals and other greater churches. Yet this study shows that medieval graffiti can also be found in surviving centres of pilgrimage and Minster-type churches, which contribute to our understanding of what seems to be emerging as a widespread practice. When considered without the taint of our modern view, medieval graffiti can be appreciated as physical and cultural sources that shed light on the history of religious practices and expand our knowledge of the ways in which people interacted with the church fabric.

17 M. Champion, *Medieval graffiti: the lost voices of England's churches* (London: Ebury Press, 2015).

18 R. H. D. Short, 'Graffiti on the reredos of the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 67 (1946-8), 21-36; M. Gaimster, 'Medieval graffiti from Bermondsey Abbey', *London Archaeologist*, 11 (2007), 211; R. A. S. Macalister, 'Graffiti representing ships on the walls of Moyne Priory, Co. Mayo', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland*, 73 (1943), 107-117; E. Rynne, 'Boat graffiti in Corcomroe Abbey', *North Munster Archaeological Journal*, 11 (1968), 76-90; Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 3-19.

Aims

This research has five aims. The first aim of this thesis is to explain the practical and theoretical approaches that have been used to survey, identify, record and interpret the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster. Other studies have contributed some rich theoretical perspectives, largely focussing on the importance of the multiple layers of its locational context. They have, however, been slow to adopt a theory related to the wider social and cultural context of the practice of inscribing graffiti. A wide range of literary evidence and material culture are drawn upon as sources of comparison for the different types of motifs depicted in the form of graffiti, which assist with dating and identification, while placing it into a wider socio-cultural context. This provides a theoretical framework that could be applied regularly in future studies of graffiti. An explanation of the theories, sources and methods, underpinning the arguments presented in this thesis also provide an understanding of the ways in which the following four aims are to be achieved.

The second aim is to identify and explain each type of graffiti currently located on the eastern side of the reredos. Any investigation of graffiti requires a description of the quantity and scope of its subject matter, in order to provide a foundation upon which to base interpretations about its meaning. A description of the size, manner of execution, level of detail and deepness of incision of the graffiti allow the meaning of these features to be investigated. By applying quantitative and qualitative methods this provides an understanding of its spatial distribution across the eastern reredos, as well as the frequency of the subject matter of each type and sub-type of graffiti.

Once an understanding of the range of the graffiti has been established and contextualised, the third aim is to identify the general differences and similarities between the types of graffiti in this location with those recorded in other areas of Beverley Minster. By comparing it with the types and quantities recorded in areas of less religious importance, this aims to determine whether there are any distinctive features of the graffiti inscribed in an area of heightened spiritual significance. For comparative purposes, this study also utilises the graffiti surviving in different types of ecclesiastical buildings including six parish churches situated within the Humber region. Further comparisons are drawn from the results of other surveys carried out at sites elsewhere in England, in order to place the graffiti in Beverley Minster into a wider national context. In doing so, this examines the act of inscribing graffiti as a

geographically widespread practice.

The fourth aim is to situate the act of inscribing graffiti into a wider socio-cultural context by equating this practice with others that would take place in a church setting and objects that were involved in religious practices. The themes discussed in relation to this practice include devotion and superstition. This involves an analysis of the potential symbolic meaning of the subject matter of each type of graffiti, in order to understand the reasons why people may have chosen a specific motif.

The final aim is to encourage archaeologists and historians to be pro-active in its recording, and for future research into medieval churches to take greater account of archaeological evidence, by revealing more of the potential of graffiti as evidence for aspects of late medieval religious culture. As the ongoing projects in counties such as Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire demonstrate, graffiti continues to be discovered in churches behind peeling paintwork, presenting further possibilities of adding to our knowledge of the subject. This thesis suggests possible future research avenues and the potential of this type of evidence to aid our understanding of medieval churches.

Beverley

A brief survey of the history of the town of Beverley in the medieval and early modern periods serves as a backdrop to considering the individuals that inscribed the graffiti, and those which may have noticed it when they entered the Minster. An understanding of Beverley during these periods and the significance of Saint John in relation to the origins and development of the town, helps to place the graffiti and its different subjects in the context of the town itself. The importance of Beverley's connection to Saint John is reflected in the physical expansion of the town, economic prosperity and population increase. Other features, such as the religious functions of the guilds, the cycle of religious events and holy days, were all aspects of pre-Reformation religion in the town. This section also assesses the changes to religious life in Beverley and its Minster both during and after the Reformation, in order to appreciate fully the impact of the Minster's possession of the shrine of Saint John.

The market town of Beverley is located within the county of the East Riding of Yorkshire. It lies on the edge of the chalk Wolds above the flood plain of the valley of the River Hull (figure 1). This location was determined largely by the amount of available dry land, as the edge of the Wolds provided the most reasonably dry crossing

point within the Hull valley.¹⁹ The surrounding areas consisted of marshland, meres, watercourses and streams, which dictated the development of the town's streets.²⁰ The place-name itself alludes to the watery character of the topography originating from the late Saxon name, *Beverlac* meaning 'lake of beavers', which may refer to the colonies of beavers that inhabited a stream passing near Beverley on the River Hull.²¹ Evidence from excavations suggest that Neolithic and Iron Age settlements were located on the outskirts of Beverley, as well as a possible Roman settlement in the second and third centuries.²² However, archaeological evidence for activity in the town centre pre-dating the establishment of a church is limited, and the exact antecedents of the town remain uncertain.

The town owes its origins to some form of ecclesiastical presence. According to Bede, in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, John, bishop of Hexham and then of York, retired to his monastery at *Inderauuda* in c.714, whose tomb, after his death, in 721, became a focus of pilgrimage.²³ Beverley does not occur as a place-name in Bede's writings, and whether or not the monastery where John was buried was the present town of Beverley is not definitely established. On the basis of later documentary evidence and archaeological excavations, it is traditionally held by many commentators that the site at Beverley Minster can be equated with the foundation of Bishop John's monastery at *Inderauuda*.²⁴ By the eleventh century, the identification of Beverley with Saint John was firmly established and the archbishops of York became the lords of Beverley.²⁵ The religious community that developed was intrinsic to the economic prosperity and growth of the town until the Reformation.²⁶

19 D. H. Evans, 'The archaeological origins of Beverley Minster', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 13-14; K. Miller et al. (eds.), *Beverley: an archaeological and architectural study* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982), 7; R. Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', in K. Allison (ed.), *The Victoria County history of York, East Riding. VI: the borough and liberties of Beverley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 2-3.

20 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 2-3; Evans, 'The archaeological origins', 13-14.

21 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 7.

22 Evans, 'The archaeological origins', 13; P. Hopkins, *The history of Beverley, East Yorkshire: from earliest times to the year 2003* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2003), 3-4.

23 J. McClure & R. Collins (eds.), *Bede: the ecclesiastical history of the English people* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 244; P. Barnwell & R. Horrox, 'Introduction', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 3-4; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 2-3.

24 R. Morris & E. Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster before the early thirteenth century', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval art and architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Oxford: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 9, 1989), 9-12; Evans, 'The archaeological origins', 14-15; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 7; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 2-3.

25 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 11.

26 *ibid.*, 3-4.

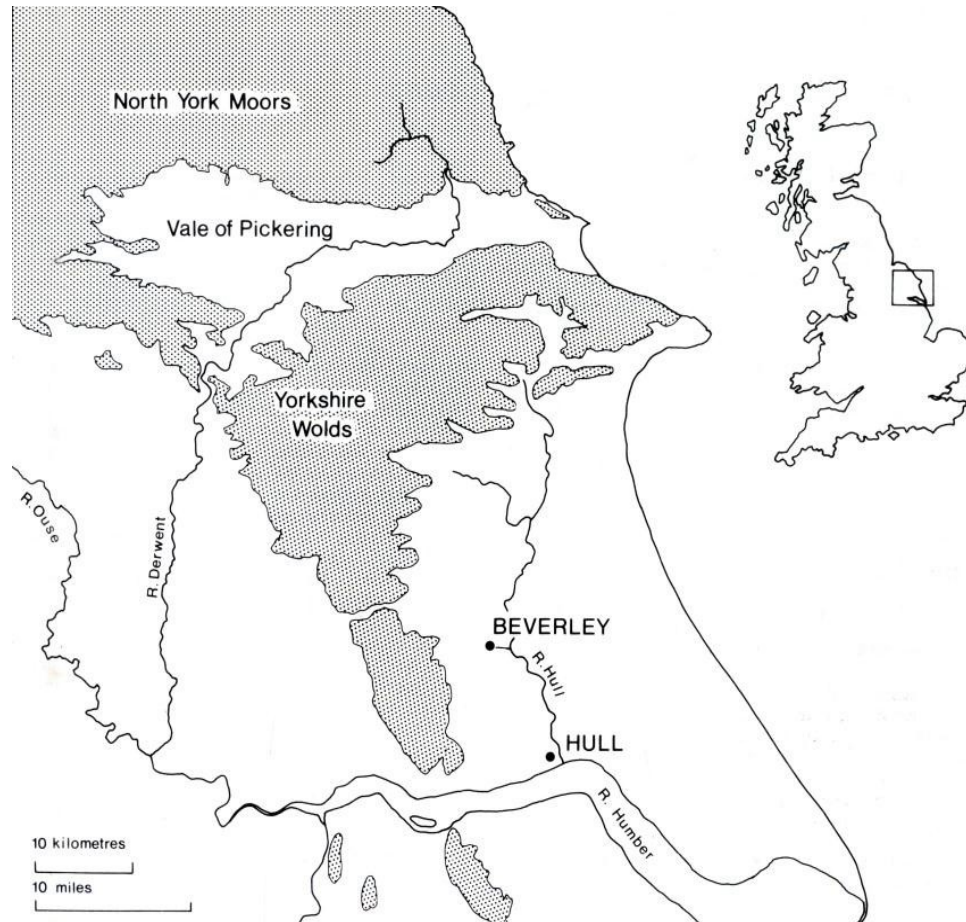


Figure 1: Location map of Beverley²⁷

The economic wealth of Beverley in the Middle Ages resulted largely from its position as an important ecclesiastical centre, focused around John's relics. Aside from boosting the town's economy by attracting pilgrims, the traditional connection between John and King Athelstan was used to support Beverley's claims of rights and privileges. King Athelstan supposedly visited John's tomb in the 930s, when he was leading his army north for battle against the Scots, who were defeated at the Battle of 'Brunanburh' in 937.²⁸ King Athelstan reportedly credited the victory to the intercession of Saint John and, as a way of showing his gratitude, allegedly established a college of secular canons at Beverley, and bestowed land and other privileges including the right of sanctuary, which extended for a mile around John's tomb.²⁹ However, the tradition

²⁷ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 261.

²⁸ Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 3-4.

²⁹ D. Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 24-5; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 3.

of this connection lacks definitive verification and scholars question whether it was Athelstan who brought about these changes.³⁰ Some connection between Athelstan and Saint John may not be out of the question. Evidence of an early tradition linking Saint John and Athelstan is suggested by the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon silver finger ring engraved with an inscription naming both individuals. On the outside of the ring the text reads ATHELSTAN.R.AN.GIFAN and IOHNSE BEVERLEY ARCEB on the inside. This translates as ATHELSTAN KING OF THE ENGLISH GIVER and JOHN OF BEVERLEY, ARCHBISHOP.³¹ However, it was not until 1136, in a royal charter of King Stephen, that Athelstan's grant of sanctuary was confirmed, along with other rights and privileges granted by Edward the Confessor and William I.³²

The enhanced importance of the Minster, based on the sanctity of Saint John's relics, encouraged the development of a thriving local trading community, which served the needs of the clergy and pilgrims that came to Beverley Minster.³³ Prosperity was also fostered by topographical factors. Before the development of the port and trading activities of Wyke upon Hull in the late thirteenth century, Beverley was an unrivalled import and export centre in the region.³⁴ Situated about a mile to the east of the town was the River Hull which stimulated economic prosperity for waterborne trade by providing a link with the Humber, in addition to other inland waterways and the sea.³⁵ By the late thirteenth century one of the streams which drained from the Wolds into the river, known as the Beck, was a well-established water-route into the suburbs.³⁶ Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, Beverley's economy depended heavily on the wool trade, and sustained a national and international reputation for its high quality scarlet and blue cloth, which was purchased by merchants from elsewhere in England, Spain, France and particularly Flanders.³⁷ The town's prosperous, long-standing merchant community is acknowledged by local street names that still exist to the present day. The tradesmen from Flanders that settled in Beverley gave their name, *Flammengaria*, later Flemingate, to the street leading from the east end of the Minster to the Beckside.³⁸ Aside from serving as the town's port, the Beckside was a centre for

30 Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 24-5; Morris & Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster', 10-12.

31 S. Wilson, 'King Athelstan and St John of Beverley', *Northern History*, 40, 1 (2003), 7.

32 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 3.

33 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 24-5; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 3-4.

34 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 34.

35 *ibid.*, 35.

36 *ibid.*

37 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 87; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 39-41; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 3.

38 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 25; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 39.

other industries including shipbuilding, tilemaking, tanning and brickmaking. The economic success of the town is reflected by the poll-tax returns for 1377, which show that with 2663 poll taxpayers Beverley was the second most populous town in Yorkshire and eleventh in the whole of England.³⁹ As mentioned above, this economic prosperity was partly due to the liberties and freedoms enjoyed by the town, which traditionally derived from John's alleged relationship with King Althelstan that was exploited by the archbishops of York and the successive kings of England.

In medieval Beverley, it was churches that had the most important role in the religious life of the townspeople. The town had three churches including Beverley Minster, Saint Mary's and Saint Nicholas's. Together, the three churches served as a reminder that the town owed much of its development and prosperity to its importance as a religious centre and place of pilgrimage. Before the Reformation, they served about 3000 at Beverley Minster, just under 2000 at Saint Mary's and about 350 at Saint Nicholas's.⁴⁰ The Minster not only surpassed the other two in terms of revenue, size and scale of possessions, but was also one of the largest and wealthiest ecclesiastical organisations in the north of England, which is reflected by the size and range of its staff complement before the Reformation.⁴¹ It comprised up to 77 individuals including a provost, a precentor, a sacrist, a chancellor, a chamberlain, as well as canons, clerks (or *berefellarii*), vicars choral, chantry priests, incense bearers, sextons and choristers.⁴²

The religious provision of the town was enhanced by hospitals, chantries and friaries.⁴³ The religious houses were occupied by various orders of friars including the Carmelites, the Dominicans and the Franciscans.⁴⁴ There was also a Preceptory to the Order of the Knights Hospitaller located to the south-east of the town, which was established in the early thirteenth century and, before its dissolution in 1540, was one of the wealthiest in England.⁴⁵ Aside from chantries, priests and friars, the religious

39 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 55; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 5; S. Reynolds, *An introduction to the history of English medieval towns* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 101.

40 D. Lamburn, *The laity and the church: religious developments in Beverley in the first half of the sixteenth century* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 2000), 2.

41 *ibid.*, 3.

42 A. F. Leach, 'Introduction', in A. F. Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster: the Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate Church of S. John of Beverley, A.D. 1286-1347*, Volume 1 (Durham: The Surtees Society, 98, 1897), xxxv; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 25.

43 Lamburn, *The laity*, 3-4.

44 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 48-54.

45 D. Evans, 'Excavations and watching briefs on the site of the Knights Hospitallers' preceptory, Beverley, 1991-94', *East Riding Archaeologist*, 9 (1997), 65-6.

needs of the town were also met by the religious functions of guilds, plays, fairs and feast days. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries different crafts formed into several guilds.⁴⁶ Beverley had at least eight religious guilds including the guild of Corpus Christi, Saint John of Beverley *de Hanhaus*, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Helena, the Pater Noster, Saint John in May, Saint Peter of Milan and Saint John the Baptist.⁴⁷ In addition to maintaining a light in one of the religious institutions in the town, the guilds also participated in religious ceremonies and processions on Rogation days and Corpus Christi day.⁴⁸ They met on the feast days of their patron saints for annual meetings and masses.⁴⁹ Throughout the year, the inhabitants of Beverley also celebrated various fairs and feast days dedicated to certain saints according to the liturgical calendar. The three main fairs took place on 25 October, which was the anniversary of Saint John's translation; 7 May, which marked the day of Saint John's death; and 21 to 25 June, which celebrated the feast of Saint John the Baptist.⁵⁰

Until the early sixteenth century, it was the Rogation or Cross days that were the highpoint of the town's liturgical year.⁵¹ On Rogation Monday, the shrine of Saint John served as a symbol of civic pride and status when it was removed from the Minster for four or five days and carried, in procession, through the central streets in the town and to the other churches.⁵² In addition to the religious celebrations at Rogationtide, there were other festivities at the Feast of Corpus Christi when members of the guilds re-enacted scenes from the Bible including the Fall of Adam, the Ascension of Christ and the Coronation of the Virgin at various designated areas throughout the town.⁵³ The performance of the Mystery Plays were first noted in town records in 1377 and by 1390, there were 38 plays in the cycle.⁵⁴ The religious or quasi-religious nature of the guilds' activities confirm the strength and vitality of religion in the town before the Reformation, and the strong attachments of its inhabitants to its devotional life and traditions.

46 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 46, 92-3.

47 Lamburn, *The laity*, 10; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 11.

48 Lamburn, *The laity*, 8-9.

49 *ibid.*, 11.

50 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 90.

51 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 10.

52 Lamburn, *The laity*, 9-11; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 10-11; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 90-91.

53 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 91-2; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 42, 44, 46-9.

54 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 43, 46-7; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 3; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 91, 148.

However, Beverley and the Minster were affected by changes to the fabric, structure and content of religious life that took place across England as a result of Henry VIII's break from the Church of Rome at the Reformation. The Acts of the Reformation Parliament (1529 and 1536) including the *Act of Supremacy 1534* declared Henry VIII as the Supreme Head of the Church of England.⁵⁵ As a result of the Reformation process, the religious life of the town experienced financial and physical changes, most obviously in regard of ecclesiastical buildings. Religious festivities such as the Corpus Christi productions, declined in the early sixteenth century. Rogation days continued to be celebrated until the 1570s in secular form, but there is no trace of any religious associations involving the procession of the shrine after the 1520s.⁵⁶ The special right of sanctuary granted to Saint John's college was also abolished in 1540.⁵⁷ In common with the rest of England, at the Dissolution of the Monasteries, religious changes in Beverley resulted in the loss of religious institutions including friaries and hospitals, some of which were destroyed while others were sold to local men.⁵⁸ Under Edward VI, the Reformation culminated in 1548 when Beverley Minster lost its collegiate status and was transformed into a parish church.⁵⁹ By the mid sixteenth century protestant ideas gained support in the town and, by the end of the century, Beverley was a notable centre of protestant preaching with the new form of religion focussing on the Bible and personal faith.⁶⁰ From the early seventeenth century, men of known puritan views were appointed as preachers to the Minster and, aside from a small number of Roman Catholic recusants, there was a well-established tradition of puritan teaching, which continued to thrive during the English Civil War (1642 and 1651).⁶¹ The impact of the Reformation process and subsequent development of the preaching ministry, therefore, changed the character of religious life at the Minster and the town.

55 D. Lamburn, 'The Minster and the Reformation', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 54.

56 Lamburn, *The laity*, 15-16; G. Kent, 'Beverley in the 16th century', in K. Allison (ed.), *The Victoria County history of York, East Riding. VI: the borough and liberties of Beverley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 76-7.

57 Kent, 'Beverley', 77.

58 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 146-7; Kent, 'Beverley', 77-8.

59 Kent, 'Beverley', 77-8; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 151; Lamburn, 'The Minster', 51.

60 Lamburn, 'The Minster', 51.

61 G. Forster, 'Beverley in the 17th century', in K. Allison (ed.), *The Victoria County history of York, East Riding. VI: the borough and liberties of Beverley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 95-6.

Beverley Minster

As outlined above, the key religious institution and, in many ways, the driving force in the development of the town was the Minster (figure 2). Beverley Minster, like other churches of pre-Conquest origin and some cathedrals, such as those at Ripon, Southwell and York, are referred to in English as a 'Minster'. The Old English *mynster* is derived from the Latin *monasterium*, meaning monastery. They could house groups of monks, nuns or secular priests. In common with Southwell and Ripon, the Minster at Beverley was a college of secular canons.⁶²



Figure 2: Beverley Minster

The Minster lies at the southern edge of the modern town of Beverley, and has been noted by various scholars as one of the finest Gothic churches in England.⁶³ At least three previous church buildings have been constructed in the region of the present Minster, but almost no visible remains of these survive. Archaeological evidence confirms the existence of a site from the eighth century, which may well be John's

⁶² Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 25-6.

⁶³ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 9; N. Pevsner & D. Neave, *The buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2nd edition (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 280; I. Hall, 'Beverley Minster observed', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 91.

monastery. Excavations carried out at Lurk Lane between 1979 and 1982, in the area immediately to the south of the Minster, revealed what may well be the southern part of a large monastic enclosure that appeared to extend beneath the Minster and was surrounded by a large ditch with an origin in the eighth century.⁶⁴ Despite the fact that none of its major buildings were uncovered, the discoveries suggest that the first Minster is probably located either near, or directly beneath, the present site. While a monastic church of this period may have been constructed of timber, the discovery of window-glass fragments from early ninth-century contexts may suggest that, at least by this date, the church was built of stone.⁶⁵

The evidence allows for a continuous religious presence on the site. No contemporary record survives that details the impact of the ninth-century Viking invasions on this monastery. Whilst local tradition maintains that it was sacked and John's monastery was re-founded in the tenth century by King Athelstan, there is no definitive evidence to suggest that there was a break in the continuity of a monastic presence at the site.⁶⁶ The existence of a tenth-century church is suggested by the discovery of two tenth-century coffins during the excavations carried out between 2003 to 2004, outside the north and south aisles of the Minster.⁶⁷ Despite the separation gap between the trenches by about 25m, both burials shared the same alignment, indicating that their positions were aligned in respect of a common focal point, which may well have been the Minster itself.⁶⁸ Documentary evidence survives that details a major building campaign of the Minster and its associated buildings in the mid eleventh century under the last three Anglo-Saxon archbishops of York, Aelfric, Cynesige and Ealdred, with a new refectory, dormitory, high stone tower and a presbytery all being constructed.⁶⁹ The canonization of Saint John in 1037 is likely to have been the key impetus for the project, as part of a trend in the development and promotion of pilgrimage sites.⁷⁰ There are no surviving records that detail any developments at the Minster between the 1060s and 1188. The extent to which

64 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 283; Evans, 'The archaeological origins', 14-17.

65 Evans, 'The archaeological origins', 15-16.

66 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 7-8; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 3; Evans, 'The archaeological origins', 17.

67 M. Johnson, *Report on an archaeological investigation at Beverley Minster East Yorkshire* [Unpublished report by the Yorkshire Archaeological Trust, Report number 2004/24], 62-89; M. Johnson, 'New light on the development of Beverley Minster', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 166 (2013), 36.

68 Johnson, 'New light', 33-7, 40, 44.

69 Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 25, 27; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 8; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 3; Johnson, 'New light', 32.

70 Barnwell & Horrox, 'Introduction', 4.

building or rebuilding continued after the Norman Conquest is difficult to discern. Fragments of re-used stones carved with chevron designs, dating from c.1120 to 1160, embedded in the back of the nave triforium of the present Minster suggest that at least part of the Minster was rebuilt in the twelfth century.⁷¹ Further evidence for building work in this period comes from the excavations outside the Minster, which revealed the presence of Romanesque stone-built buttresses of twelfth-century date, directly underneath those of the extant fourteenth-century nave. This suggests that the Romanesque nave shared the same orientation as the existing example.⁷² In 1188, a fire damaged the fabric of the Minster and, in 1197 there was a search for John's remains which were recovered and re-interred. Whether the Minster was completely rebuilt or merely repaired remains unclear, but what is known is that in c.1213 the crossing tower collapsed, necessitating a large-scale rebuilding programme, resulting in the present Minster.⁷³

The programme of the structural development of the existing Minster has been a matter of differing scholarly opinion. Prior to 1213 an oolitic limestone was used in its construction, but when the central tower collapsed, this changed to magnesian limestone from Tadcaster, which was about 40 miles from the town.⁷⁴ Between c.1220 and 1260, the east end, transepts, choir, retro-choir, chapter house and crossing were completed in the Early English style.⁷⁵ The aisled nave of eleven bays was constructed in the Decorated style from c.1308 to 1388 (figure 3).⁷⁶ By the early fifteenth century, the nave along with the western front, its two towers, the north porch and large east window were completed, which incorporated many features characteristic of the Perpendicular style.⁷⁷ With the exception of the Percy Chapel, constructed in c.1490 at the end of the north choir aisle and new choir stalls with 68 misericords in c.1520, there has been little later major work.⁷⁸

At the Reformation the collegiate church was dissolved and transformed from

71 Morris & Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster', 15-16; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 46-7; Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 283; Barnwell & Horrox, 'Introduction', 4-5.

72 Johnson, 'New light', 37-50.

73 Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 33; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 49-50; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 9; Johnson, 'New light', 33-4.

74 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 285; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 9.

75 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 9; Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 283.

76 Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 70; N. Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 107, 110.

77 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 283-4; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 9; Barnwell & Horrox, 'Introduction', 7.

78 Barnwell & Horrox, 'Introduction', 7-8; Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 283-4.

one of the largest ecclesiastical institutions in the north of England, into a mere parish church. The chapter house and possibly the south porch of the Minster were demolished.⁷⁹ The lack of evidence available does not allow for the impact of the Reformation process on Beverley Minster to be traced in detail.⁸⁰ Providing that the injunctions issued under the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI were observed, changes to the internal arrangement of the Minster would have involved the removal of Saint John's shrine, together with a range of other devotional foci including the shrine of Saint John's successor, Saint Berhthun, and various subsidiary altars, chantry chapels, statues and wall paintings.⁸¹ Fragments of the medieval polychromy that once decorated the nave can still be seen.⁸² They are difficult to discern without a bright torch, but patches of dark red can be seen on the mouldings of the trefoils and underneath the sculptures in the nave-aisle bays, suggesting that restoration and repair works were not entirely thorough. Before the Reformation there were at least a further 16 altars dedicated to Saint Anne, Saint Blaise, Saint Catherine, Saint Christopher, the Holy Trinity, Saint Nicholas and Saint Thomas of Canterbury, among others.⁸³ In common with other churches, such as York Minster, there is little doubt that prior to the Reformation Beverley Minster had a full complement of stained-glass windows.⁸⁴ There are fragmented remains of medieval stained-glass in the east window, which depict a series of prophets, angels and saints, pieced together from various different glazing schemes. It contains enough evidence to reveal that the Minster's programme of medieval glass included narrative scenes of Saint Martin, Saint Nicholas and possibly Saint Leonard.⁸⁵ It seems likely that these windows would have been in close proximity to the relevant altars. The nave and east end contain various medieval sculptures, a number of which are datable to the fourteenth century. They range in subject matter from foliage, flowers and Green Men to figurative depictions of angels, saints and musicians, which provide an insight into the appearance and character of the Minster in the late Middle Ages.

79 Lamburn, *The laity*, 17; Lamburn, 'The Minster', 56, 60; Barnwell & Horrox, 'Introduction', 6.

80 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 73-150; R. Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 41.

81 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 41.

82 Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 87.

83 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 42-3.

84 D. O'Connor, 'The medieval stained-glass of Beverley Minster', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval art and architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Oxford: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 9, 1989), 71.

85 Barnwell & Horrox, 'Introduction', 9; O'Connor, 'The medieval stained-glass', 62-90.



Figure 3: Nave in Beverley Minster

With the loss of most of its endowments at the Dissolution, the Minster became financially dependent on the town corporation and the building suffered from poverty, neglect and decay by the end of the sixteenth century.⁸⁶ There is little record of new building works until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when various programmes of restoration were carried out under the direction of two notable architects, Nicholas Hawksmoor and George Gilbert Scott.⁸⁷

A brief historiography of Beverley Minster

The fabric of Beverley Minster has been the subject of long-standing scholarly interest by historians and archaeologists. Any historiography of the Minster, and indeed the study of local medieval churches would be incomplete without recognising the earliest

⁸⁶ Lamburn, 'The Minster', 51; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 11.

⁸⁷ Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 285; Hall, 'Beverley Minster', 99, 104-105; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 11.

efforts. In the early nineteenth century, antiquarian authors Oliver, Poulson and Coltman, contributed brief histories of the town but included the Minster as part of the general discussion.⁸⁸ These works were composed by local historians for a local readership whose common interests were based on their connection to the town. Unfortunately, they provide little factual information, relying heavily on rumour and local folklore, perhaps to heighten the interests of their readerships. They rarely cited a source for their claims which makes their assertions difficult to verify, and therefore need to be approached with caution. It is impossible to separate fact from fiction, since they exaggerate their narratives by fabricating information derived from their own imagination as they wrote. It also seems that they might have copied and shared information as the content of these publications are very similar.

The most developed of antiquarian studies, at least in terms of the structural development of the Minster, was that of Bilson who published various works in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the subject of the architectural history of the Minster.⁸⁹ Another notable antiquarian historian and editor, Leach, contributed an outline of the architectural and institutional history of the Minster, detailing its constitution and relationships with associated institutions, which has been developed recently by Sharp.⁹⁰ Detailed works on the structural development of the Minster up to, and including the medieval period have been made by Hoey, Morris, Cambridge, Wilson, Palliser and most recently, Johnson.⁹¹ Studies of the later medieval fabric and

88 G. Oliver, *The history and antiquities of the town and Minster of Beverley in the county of York* (Beverley: M. Turner, 1829); G. Poulson, *Beverlac; or, the antiquities and history of the town of Beverley*, Volumes 1&2 (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1829); J. Coltman, *A short history of Beverley Minster from its foundation: including the ancient monuments* (Beverley: W.B. Johnson, 1835).

89 J. Bilson, 'Norman work on the nave triforium of Beverley Minster', *The Antiquary*, 27 (1893), 18-23; J. Bilson, 'On the discovery of some remains of the chapter-house of Beverley Minster', *Archaeologia*, 54 (1895), 425-32; J. Bilson, 'Beverley Minster', *The Architectural Review*, 3 (1897-98), 197-205, 250-59; J. Bilson, 'Beverley Minster: some stray notes', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 24 (1917), 221-35.

90 A. F. Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster: the Chapter Act Book of the church of S. John of Beverley AD 1286-1347*, Volume 1 (Durham: The Surtees Society, 98, 1897), Volume 2 (Durham: The Surtees Society 108, 1903); I. Sharp, *The Minster churches of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell 1066-c.1300*. PhD thesis (The University of Hull, 2009).

91 L. Hoey, 'Beverley Minster in its thirteenth century context', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 23, 3 (1984), 209-224; R. Morris, 'The development of the later gothic mouldings in England, c.1250-1400: Part I', *Architectural History*, 21 (1978), 18-57; R. Morris, 'The development of later gothic mouldings in England, c.1250-1400: Part II', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979), 1-48; Morris & Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster', 9-32; C. Wilson, 'The early thirteenth-century architecture of Beverley Minster: cathedral splendours and Cistercian austerities', in P. Coss & S. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England III: Proceedings of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference 1989* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1991), 181-195; Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 23-35; Johnson, 'New light', 31-49.

architectural influences on the Minster, have been compiled by Horrox and Woodworth.⁹² The Minster's wide range of medieval iconography have generated further study by O'Connor and Dawton, who described, identified, dated and interpreted the composition and meaning of the subjects depicted in the stained-glass, sculpture and monuments for the people that commissioned, constructed and viewed them.⁹³ More recently, in 2008, a collection of articles published in *Who built Beverley Minster?* highlights the importance and potential of studying the fabric of the Minster more closely by using masons' marks and carpenters' marks, in addition to the more conventional sources of documentary evidence, as a means of understanding the programme of construction of the Minster and the organisation of the medieval craftsmen.⁹⁴

As outlined above, the fabric of Beverley Minster has formed the focus of architectural studies, as has its iconography and documentary sources relating to the development of the Minster as a building and an institution, but graffiti is one source of evidence that has escaped scholarly attention. The methods by which Beverley Minster was selected for this research are discussed in detail in chapter two.

Saint John of Beverley

As noted above, Saint John's association with Beverley prompted the construction of the Minster, and the possession of his relics remained a potent force in its development as a pilgrimage site. It is helpful to include here some background on the life of John of Beverley, his miracles, the perception of his miracle-working abilities by the devotees in his following, and evidence for the ways in which he was venerated in the late medieval period, in order to contextualise the graffiti that was inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos while the shrine was situated above.

John of Beverley is traditionally believed to have been born in the mid seventh century to a noble Anglo-Saxon family in the village of Harpham, which is around

92 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 37-50; Woodworth, *The architectural history*.

93 O'Connor, 'Medieval stained-glass', 62-90; Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 107-122; N. Dawton, 'The medieval monuments', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 131-56; N. Dawton, 'The Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster: the style of the sculpture', in F. Thompson (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Sculpture* (London: Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers, New Series 3, 1983), 122-50; N. Dawton, 'The Percy Tomb workshop', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval art and architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Oxford: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 9, 1989), 121-32.

94 P. Barnwell & A. Pacey (eds.), *Who built Beverley Minster?* (Reading: Spire Books, 2008).

nine miles from Beverley.⁹⁵ He attended Abbess Hilda's monastery at *Streanaeshalch*, generally assumed to have been Whitby, and was appointed Bishop of Hexham from 687 to 706, and then Bishop of York in 706 until his retirement to *Inderauuda* some years before his death on 7 May 721.⁹⁶ John's tomb quickly became a focus of pilgrimage, drawing pilgrims with his miracle-working reputation that was enhanced by the development of his literary cult, which continued to record posthumous miracles performed in his name.⁹⁷ By 754, a Bavarian necrology included a reference to the feast day of Bishop John, 7 May, and was also noted in liturgical calendars in the north of England from at least the early ninth century.⁹⁸ Furthermore, from the tenth century, the cult was firmly established in Brittany, where the town of Saint-Jean-Brévelay was named after him, which was based on the local belief that it possessed the genuine relics of John of Beverley.⁹⁹

Miracles

The earliest source of information for John of Beverley is Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, completed in 731.¹⁰⁰ This work claims to cover the whole of English history from before the Roman occupation to Bede's present. Five chapters are devoted to recalling miracles which he claimed that John performed from the time of his appointment as Bishop of Hexham up to his death in 721. Bishop John was known personally to Bede as he ordained him deacon and priest.¹⁰¹ The stories rely on eye-witness accounts from Saint Berhthun, John's deacon and also Herebald, who was one of John's clerks.

In the first miracle Bede claims that John taught a young man, who was dumb and disfigured by a diseased head, how to speak.¹⁰² The second is narrated in the first person as if by Berhthun himself, who maintained that this miracle took place in a nunnery at Watton, which is about seven miles north of Beverley. This story describes how John healed an infected arm of the abbess's daughter after he said a prayer over

95 P. Hopkins, *St. John of Beverley* (Beverley: Hallgarth Publishing, 1999), 8; S. Wilson, *The life and after-life of St John of Beverley: the evolution of the cult of an anglo-saxon saint* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 20-21.

96 Hopkins, *St. John*, 4, 8; Wilson, *The life*, 1, 22.

97 Wilson, *The life*, 1-2.

98 J. Blair, 'Beverley, *Inderauuda* and St John', *Northern History*, 38, 2 (2001), 315-316; Wilson, *The life*, 4.

99 Wilson, *The life*, 1, 126-31; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 46-7.

100 McClure & Collins, *Bede*, 236-44.

101 Wilson, *The life*, 5.

102 McClure & Collins, *Bede*, 237-8.

her and gave her his blessing.¹⁰³ This is similar to the third miracle when John healed the wife of a *gesith* (a thegn or earl), who had suffered from a disease for almost 40 days, and was cured by drinking some of the holy water that had been used in the dedication of a church.¹⁰⁴ The fourth miracle also took place after John had been called upon to dedicate a church and invited to dinner. Here, John healed the servant of a *gesith* who recovered by a combination of a prayer, a blessing and drinking wine blessed by the Bishop.¹⁰⁵ The fifth and final miracle was experienced by Herebald himself, who suffered an accident after falling off his horse, which he believed was a punishment for his disobedience against John's order not to participate in a race with his horse. Herebald was cured after receiving John's blessings and prayers on his behalf to God.¹⁰⁶

Posthumous miracles

Miracles connected with Saint John's name continued to be recorded into the early fourteenth century, but ceased from 1323, when records appear to end. The provenance of the surviving collections that contain the miracles associated with Saint John's name is discussed in chapter two, together with the ways in which they are used in this thesis. It may be useful here to provide a brief overview of the nature of the posthumous miracles performed in John's name, in order to understand the perceptions of the Saint in the late medieval period, from the view of the pilgrims and the community at Beverley that may have visited his shrine.

The character and function of Saint John's posthumous miracles are diverse. They reveal that people required healing for different kinds of illnesses including blindness, mental illness and physical deformities.¹⁰⁷ Other stories demonstrate the perception of Saint John as omni-present and omni-potent by crediting him with the power to control the forces of nature, including storms for the safe deliverance of ships at sea, and producing rain during a drought when his aid was invoked.¹⁰⁸ It is also claimed that, through invoking his divine assistance, Saint John helped people escape

¹⁰³ McClure & Collins, *Bede*, 238-40.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 240-1.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 241.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 243.

¹⁰⁷ Wilson, *The life*, 172, 181, 182, 187-95, 203-210; J. Raine (ed.), *The historians of the church of York and its archbishops*, Rolls series 71, Volume 1 (London: Longman, 1879), 272-3, 279-80, 284-7, 299, 300-301, 307-318, 321-2, 328-337, 342-7; Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 400-401; Leach, *Memorials*, vol 2, 26, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Raine, *Historians*, 269-71, 287-8, 318-320, 324; Wilson, *The life*, 162-3, 174-6, 195-6.

from prison including innocent prisoners, but also the remorseful criminal from his penance.¹⁰⁹ Another miracle credits Saint John with saving Beverley and the townspeople from the consequences of the 'Harrying of the North' by William the Conqueror (1069 and 1070), who recognized John's power and reputation as a protector.¹¹⁰ The people who feature in the miracles differ in terms of class, gender, age and nationality. The stories also reveal that people from different social levels sought Saint John for certain types of assistance. Nearly everyone needed healing, merchant's required protection for their property and themselves at sea and, as mentioned above, kings invoked his power for war and divine intercession for their actions.¹¹¹

John's posthumous miracles not only demonstrate that his power, as it was displayed during his lifetime, was believed to continue after his death, but also reveal the perception of his ongoing presence among the living. According to the available evidence, the majority of recorded miracles must have taken place between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and therefore relate to the churches which preceded the present Minster. Moreover, as mentioned above, the date of the last recorded miracle is 1323, which occurs before the construction of the reredos in c.1330. Little is known about the ways in which he was venerated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the reredos supported the shrine. In this context, the presence of the graffiti provides a valuable insight into the development of the cult itself. In this study, the practice of inscribing graffiti is not only viewed as the development of another method in which devotion to Saint John was expressed physically and visually, but also as a means for inscribers to articulate their beliefs in, and aspirations for, divine intervention.

Late medieval perception of Saint John

Evidence for devotion to Saint John in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is unfortunately sparse. Just because the extant records of Saint John's miracles cease at the year 1323 there is no reason to believe that the miracles stopped occurring, nor is there any basis on which to suggest that support for Saint John's cult declined after this miracle. Certain traditions arose concerning Saint John that are not associated with miracle accounts, but can be found in further literary, iconographic and archaeological

109 Wilson, *The life*, 167-8, 183-8; Raine, *Historians*, 276-8, 302-304, 305-307.

110 Raine, *Historians*, 264-9; Wilson, *The life*, 159-62.

111 Wilson, *The life*, 143-229; Raine, *Historians*, 246-347; Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 400-401; Leach, *Memorials*, vol 2, 26, 32.

evidence, which confirm that devotion to Saint John was expressed through practices involving various mediums in the late medieval period.

The perception of saints as loving helpers, as family, neighbours and friends, was a feature of late medieval devotional culture.¹¹² This sort of affectionate dependence was the result of the devotion of worshippers to particular saints in the hope that they were adopted and protected in return, based on a pattern of custom and expectation. A number of saints were perceived as helper saints and invoked on specific occasions to provide help or guidance for specific reasons, for example, during serious illness or in fear of an untimely death.¹¹³ Julian of Norwich, an English mystic, singled out Saint John for his neighbourliness and homeliness, as she wrote in her *Revelations of divine love*, in 1395:

as for Saint John of Beverley, our Lord showed him very clearly to encourage us by his familiarity and he reminded me that he is a very near neighbour and we know him well; and God referred to him as 'Saint John of Beverley' quite straightforwardly as we do, and in a very pleasant, affectionate way, showing that in heaven he is a great and blessed saint in the sight of God; and at the same time he reminded me that as a child and as a young man he was God's much-loved servant, loving and fearing God greatly, and nevertheless God allowed him to fall, mercifully protecting him so that he did not perish or lose his chance; and afterwards God raised him into a state of infinitely more grace, and he lived in such contrition and humility that in heaven God has given him infinite joys, surpassing those he would have had if he had not fallen. And on earth God shows that this is true by the abundant miracles which are continually performed around his body.¹¹⁴

As the quote above suggests, Saint John was viewed as both friendly and powerful in the late fourteenth century. John of Beverley was known as the patron saint of the deaf and those with speech impediments, but was also skilled at healing,

112 E. Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England 1400-1580*, 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 155-200.

113 *ibid.*, 165.

114 J. Norwich, *Revelations of divine love*. Translated from Middle English by E. Spearing (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 94-5.

especially the blind.¹¹⁵ People sought ways in which to cultivate a relationship with Saint John through personal acts of piety. John is mentioned frequently in wills and obits, particularly by Beverley testators in pursuit of divine intercession and salvation.¹¹⁶ Saint John's name also shows up in the marginalia of books of hours, suggesting that he had a strong hold on people's daily devotions.¹¹⁷

Saint John is still known in other parts of England by church dedications, and a number of surviving examples of religious art depicting his image. In the Middle Ages, church dedications was a means through which communities sought to gain the patronage and support of a saint. At parochial level, Saint John was selected as a patron saint of the medieval parish churches at Harpham, Salton (North Yorkshire), Whatton (Nottingham) and Scarrington (Nottingham), which shows that his reputation as a saint received local and national recognition.¹¹⁸ Representations of Saint John currently feature in a late fourteenth-century wall painting in the north-aisle at the church of Saint Andrew's, Rillington (North Yorkshire), illustrated in figure 4.¹¹⁹ In the scene Saint John is depicted receiving the charter from King Athelstan. The depiction in the middle shows him kneeling before a church with a bearded figure before him and, at the bottom, John is depicted with another kneeling figure. Visual depictions of Saint John and the stories associated with him were designed to function as devotional aids to remind, guide and help the laity in their daily lives as a focus for meditation and contemplation.

The practice of making a pilgrimage to Saint John's shrine in the late medieval period is suggested by the discovery of a fragmentary lead alloy pilgrim badge, depicting Saint John of Beverley and Saint John of Bridlington.¹²⁰ It was recovered from a fifteenth-century context in London. John of Beverley is depicted on the right-hand side of the badge in episcopal vestments while, on the left-hand side, John of Bridlington is shown in a canon's habit holding a book. Between them is a two tier scrolling banner with two captions of text reading, 'B[e]uerley' and 'Bridlinton'.¹²¹ This

115 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 13.

116 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 61.

117 Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 22.

118 P. Hopkins, 'The influence of St John of Beverley', *The Friends of Beverley Minster Annual Report*, 78 (2014), 12-15.

119 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 656.

120 PAS no. LON-9040C0; B. Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 195; D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in medieval England* (London: Hambledon & London, 2000), 82.

121 PAS no. LON-9040C0; Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 82; Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 195.

provides evidence of a joint investment in the promotion of the two shrines, based around 20 miles apart, and suggests that the two Yorkshire saints were venerated by the same pilgrims. Furthermore, there is the possibility that other pilgrim souvenirs were marketed by the clergy with John's initial; a number of which have been discovered that display the letter 'J', including one found at Arnold near Beverley.¹²² Pilgrim souvenirs not only provided proof of pilgrimage, but as portable and tangible connections with the saints depicted, they were also used as private devotional aids.¹²³



Figure 4: A late fourteenth-century wall painting of Saint John of Beverley and King Athelstan at Saint Andrew's, Rillington (North Yorkshire)

The cult of Saint John achieved local, national and international status. His reputation for posthumous miracles spread rapidly, as miracle accounts indicate that

¹²² Wilson, *The life*, 136; B. Spencer, *Salisbury and South Wiltshire museum medieval catalogue: Part 2, pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges* (Salisbury: Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum, 1990), 62.

¹²³ See chapter two.

his shrine attracted pilgrims from all over England including Hexham, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Scotland and Ireland, in addition to various places in Yorkshire.¹²⁴ Although not as well-known, John's reputation brought pilgrims from overseas including France and Germany, to visit the Minster and the places where he lived, performed miracles and died.¹²⁵ The cult of Saint John of Beverley never achieved the immense degree of popularity as experienced by that of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury in the late Middle Ages, but even so, until the Reformation, his shrine was still one of the most important pilgrimage destinations in the north of England, alongside those of Saint Cuthbert at Durham and Saint Wilfred at Ripon.¹²⁶

Saint John's new shrine in Beverley Minster

There is no evidence to suggest that the cult of Saint John declined in status after the last known miracle was recorded in 1323 and the graffiti fills a gap in the history of how he was venerated. By providing a brief survey of the features of the shrine and the process of its construction, this section draws attention to the status of the reredos upon which it rested.

Saint John's relics were associated with two locations in the Minster; the tomb, which is currently located in the east end of the nave, and the shrine at the High Altar where his relics had been translated at the time of his canonization in 1037.¹²⁷ Little is known about the appearance of the first shrine, apart from that it was made of gold and silver and decorated with jewels.¹²⁸ It was on 14 September 1292 that a contract was drawn up between the Chapter of Beverley Minster and Roger of Faringdon, a goldsmith from London, for the construction of a new shrine to contain the relics of Saint John.¹²⁹ The decision to replace the old shrine, at this time, coincided with the trend from c.1270 and 1350, when a number of other churches replaced their shrines and shrine bases such as at Lincoln Cathedral, as part of their promotional campaigns to draw pilgrims to cult sites.¹³⁰ As an ideal means to compete alongside the emerging rival cults and to reassert Beverley Minster's eminence, the canons no doubt felt it necessary to reflect and inspire confidence in the miracle-working potential of the

124 Hopkins, *St. John*, 8-16; Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 32; Wilson, *The life*, 72.

125 Wilson, *The life*, 136.

126 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 47; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 22-3.

127 Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 35.

128 *ibid.*, 135.

129 Leach, *Memorials*, vol 2, 299-301.

130 Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 136-8.

relics of Saint John by the construction of a new shrine. A fund-raising campaign was launched to meet the cost of the shrine with prospective donors being encouraged to contribute by the offer of spiritual benefits in the form of an indulgence of 40 days, granted by Thomas Corbridge, Archbishop of York in April 1302.¹³¹ The appearance of the shrine is detailed in Faringdon's contract, which stipulates that it was to be 1.67m long, 0.45m wide, and of proportionate height, made from silver and gold with figures and pinnacled canopies, front and rear.¹³² The shrine was completed in 1308 when Archbishop Greenfield dedicated the High Altar to Saint John of Beverley.¹³³ The shrine would have been supported by some kind of secondary base, which elevated it by an additional 0.91m, giving audiences a clear view from the nave.

The decoration of the shrine would have been further embellished by gifts made to Saint John, such as a gold ornament donated in 1312 by Lady Margaret, widow of Edward I which was reportedly affixed to the shrine.¹³⁴ The Minster's possession of the relics of Saint John attracted other royal donations. In 1318, Lady Isabella of France, Queen consort to Edward II, offered a cloth of gold to the High Altar, a precious jewel to the shrine of Saint John, 13 shillings to the small shrines and seven shillings to the tomb.¹³⁵

There is sufficient evidence to postulate that the shrine was perceived as the focus of Saint John's power in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that being near it provided people with both spiritual strength and the assurance that Saint John was watching over them, which underlines the assumption that it was advantageous to be close to John's relics.¹³⁶ Horrox argued that the 'new shrine's eclipse of the tomb as a focus of devotion was apparent as early as 1314'.¹³⁷ She also noted that on Ascension Day in 1474 offerings of only 11s 8d were made to the tomb, compared to £11 4s 2d offered to the shrine.¹³⁸ Wills and obits show that the shrine was mentioned regularly by late medieval testators, such as Cecily Lepington who bequeathed the sum of 6s. 8d.¹³⁹ As mentioned earlier, until the 1520s the shrine served as a symbol of local pride when it was carried through the town on Rogation Monday. The portage of the shrine

¹³¹ Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 2-4.

¹³² Leach, *Memorials*, vol 2, 299-300.

¹³³ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 39; Wilson, *The life*, 113.

¹³⁴ Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 294.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 364.

¹³⁶ Wilson, *The life*, 78.

¹³⁷ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 39.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, 39-40.

¹³⁹ Lamburn, *The laity*, 5; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 61; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 148.

was the hereditary responsibility of eight men, who guarded it in times of danger, sleeping in the Minster when necessary. Before carrying the shrine they went through a period of purification and were subject to various restrictions, such as abstention from ale during the period of the procession.¹⁴⁰ Theft was a key concern and from the early fourteenth century, the Minster community were warned that they were responsible for stolen chalices.¹⁴¹ The status and concern for the safety of the shrine suggests that if the graffiti was considered offensive by church officials, then it is likely that inscribers would have been stopped from doing so. This hypothesis points to the argument that the practice was permissible by church officials.

The shrine in the sixteenth century

No contemporary record survives that details the exact year when the shrine was removed from the Minster. We can only assume that it was destroyed during the Reformation. Offerings to the shrine of Saint John and Our Lady's altar declined from over £120 in the fourteenth century to £3 in 1532.¹⁴² The injunctions of 1536 and 1538 criticized the practice of pilgrimage and singled out the destruction of images and shrines which were regarded as superstitious, outlawing the cult of saints and veneration of relics.¹⁴³ However, the absence of churchwardens' accounts for the sixteenth century makes it impossible to know the extent to which royal and diocesan injunctions were observed and affected the Minster. The injunctions, nevertheless, indicate that such ideas about images and shrines were gaining momentum in the late 1530s. There is some evidence to suggest that the injunctions did not go unnoticed. References to individual saints are non-existent in wills made in the 1540s in contrast to the fifteenth century when personal selections of saints were common.¹⁴⁴ It seems likely that the shrine was removed in the 1540s, at a time when other shrines were demolished in close proximity to Beverley. For example, the shrine of Saint Hugh in Lincoln Cathedral was destroyed in 1540 and the shrine of Saint William at York in 1541.¹⁴⁵ It may well be that the shrine of Saint John was destroyed in 1541 when Henry VIII visited Hull and ordered the removal of shrines, relics, images, pictures and

140 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 40-41; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 90-91; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 183-4.

141 Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 335.

142 Lamburn, 'The Minster', 55.

143 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 406-423; Lamburn, 'The Minster', 54-5.

144 Lamburn, 'The Minster', 55.

145 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 431.

paintings, which was prompted after he saw the widespread retention of customs and devotions.¹⁴⁶ There is the possibility that shrines survived beyond the year 1541, as under the Injunctions of 1547 issued by Edward VI, Injunction 28 gave the official sanction for the destruction of shrines and religious images that constitute objects of veneration, including stained-glass windows.¹⁴⁷

A brief historiography of the location of the shrine in the late medieval period

The position of the shrine of Saint John of Beverley remains a matter of debate among historians. Leach was the first to suggest that the reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John (figure 5).¹⁴⁸ This issue is addressed in later works of synthesis on medieval shrines by Nilsen and Crook, who were both unwilling to accept that the shrine was placed on the platform on top of the reredos, but conceded that this would have been physically possible. They argued that this position would have made it unique in all of England and dismiss this hypothesis as being unlikely, since this location would have limited access to the shrine.¹⁴⁹ However, others agree, cautiously, with Leach, as Horrox argued that the placement of the shrine on top of the reredos seems to be the 'most likely solution'.¹⁵⁰ Woodworth viewed no reason to be tentative and asserted that the evidence for the reredos functioning as a shrine-base is sufficient enough to prove that this was the location of the shrine.¹⁵¹ He claimed that spatial constraints were the primary reason for placing the shrine on top of the reredos, arguing that there was insufficient space to accommodate a Lady chapel, shrine, feretory and multiple tombs on the ground floor in the retro-choir. Security was another key reason for placing the shrine on top of the reredos. By being quarantined on top of the reredos, the shrine was in a secluded location where access could be easily controlled.¹⁵² Contrary to Nilsen and Crook, Woodworth suggested that this arrangement was probably more common than currently realized and points out that the Augustinian priory at Bridlington had almost the exact same arrangement as that of

¹⁴⁶ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 451.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ A. F. Leach, 'Introduction', in A. Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster: the Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate Church of S. John of Beverley, A.D. 1286-1347*, Volume 2 (Durham: The Surtees Society, 1903), xxxiii.

¹⁴⁹ B. Nilsen, *Cathedral shrines of medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 58-60; J. Crook, *English medieval shrines* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 256.

¹⁵⁰ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 40.

¹⁵¹ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 181-5.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 183-4.

the shrine and reredos at Beverley Minster.¹⁵³ It featured a spacious platform with the lower storey providing space beneath for pilgrims to assemble, while the upper storey contained the shrine of Saint John of Bridlington. Since John of Bridlington was the last saint to be canonised in medieval England in 1404, together with its proximity to Beverley, it seems likely that this layout was modelled on Beverley Minster. The hypotheses and conclusions drawn in this study accept the theory that the shrine was located on top of the reredos until it was removed in the 1540s. The graffiti has been one source of evidence overlooked by scholars in relation to this debate, and this study shows that its subject matter and spatial distribution provides further support to this hypothesis.



Figure 5: West side of the reredos with an arrow indicating the theoretical position of the shrine of Saint John of Beverley

¹⁵³ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 186-7.

The reredos

The reredos upon which the shrine rested was an integral part of Beverley Minster in the late medieval period. The eastern side of the reredos was chosen as the focus for this study because of its varied and high concentration of late medieval graffiti, which provides the opportunity to study this type of evidence in an area that once served as a shrine-base and focus of devotion at a site of pilgrimage.¹⁵⁴

As shown in figures 5 and 6 the reredos is a decorated screen located behind the High Altar and situated between the eastern piers of the eastern crossing. It stretches across the full width of the two crossing piers, dividing the eastern arm into two distinct areas. The upper storey of the reredos consists of a broad platform and a low balustrade, which can be accessed via a spiral staircase at the north end. This area is currently empty, but for about 200 years, it served as a platform for the shrine of Saint John. The wall on the east side, covered with carved diaper decoration, is supported by slender Purbeck marble piers with sub-bases decorated with quatrefoils. The inner space beneath the platform is crowned by a tierceron vault. For the majority of worshippers the vaulted space beneath the platform was the closest they could expect to come to the shrine, preventing direct physical contact with the shrine itself. It provided a place for the faithful to pray and venerate the relics above.

The reredos bays provided worshippers with an opportunity to touch the lower storey of the shrine-base. The eastern side is comprised of five bays including the north return bay, the south return bay and three larger bays, referred to in this study as the left-hand bay, right-hand bay and middle bay (figure 6).¹⁵⁵ The working hypothesis is that this location was specifically chosen by inscribers of the graffiti because the reredos was a potent symbol of spiritual authority. The location of the reredos marked an important spatial division in Beverley Minster, separating its primary liturgical and devotional spaces. The reredos fulfilled two separate purposes which could have been served by two different structures; as an altar screen and a shrine-base. By proximity, this location not only connects the graffiti with the spiritual significance of the shrine of Saint John, but also with the commemoration of the suffering of Christ in the performance of the sacrament of the Eucharist.

The reredos was probably envisioned from c.1292, when a new shrine was commissioned. The canons would have been eager to display the new shrine on a

¹⁵⁴ See chapter two.

¹⁵⁵ See chapter two.

reredos which complemented its opulence and prestige. Every other known shrine-base in England that was constructed in the Decorated style was under 2.43m long and 1.82m high.¹⁵⁶ By contrast, at Beverley Minster, the reredos measures 7.91m long and its upper platform is suspended 3.35m high, which is comparatively large. These relative differences in size between the shrine bases demonstrate that Beverley was competing not only on a local, but also national level.



Figure 6: Eastern side of the reredos

The reredos is adjoined to the Percy Tomb which is located at the northern side of the eastern crossing, north of the High Altar. It was installed after the reredos against the west face of the staircase. The relevance of the Percy Tomb to the reredos is an issue of chronology. The reredos was made separately and was already in place when the Tomb was installed. The date of the Tomb is still subject to debate but has been dated by its heraldry to c.1340.¹⁵⁷ Dawton identified that two of the five sculptors, the Clifford and Reredos masters, who worked on the sculpture on the Percy Tomb also executed the sculpture for other parts of the Minster including the nave and reredos,

¹⁵⁶ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 212.

¹⁵⁷ Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 120; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 157.

which confirmed the view that the Tomb was erected after the reredos.¹⁵⁸ This evidence suggests that the reredos can be reasonably dated to the 1330s or early 1340s, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the inscription of the graffiti, based on the premise that it was inscribed *in situ*.

Therefore, the inscription of the medieval graffiti might have continued in this location for around 200 years, from its construction in the 1330s to the removal of the shrine in the 1540s. The decline of this location, as mentioned above, may have occurred earlier, for there is no trace of any religious associations involving the procession of the shrine of Saint John after the 1520s.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, during all that time, at least some of the graffiti must have been visible to anyone entering this space and, it seems reasonable to suggest that, at some point, inscribers would have been noticed making the graffiti.

Iconography on the eastern side of the reredos

Although the shrine itself would have been the most important statement of the miracle-working potential of the relics of Saint John, the power of saintly intercession was also expressed in the sculptures associated with the reredos. Accessible sculptures located at standing height, which were regarded as idolatrous, were defaced at the Reformation, and those remaining, despite being stripped of their original polychromy, have otherwise been left untouched. Upon entering the space beneath the platform there are a series of 25 vault bosses which Dawton attributed to the Clifford and Reredos masters who were also responsible for the Percy Canopy (figure 7).¹⁶⁰ The sculptures are notable for the diversity of their subject matter, which relate to the themes of sin and salvation. The subjects are primarily foliage, Green Men, tongue-poking heads, demonic animals, mythical creatures, saints and musicians. A capital above the northern pier that depicts a guildsman in elaborate costume also reflects the involvement of the guilds in the cult of Saint John and the Rogationtide celebrations.¹⁶¹

The boundaries between the space in the east end and the abode of Saint John may have been mediated by wall paintings. Woodworth suggests that the lights of the blind tracery might have been decorated with painted figures, 18 in total, to emphasize the local importance of the cults of Saint John and the Virgin Mary. Specific

¹⁵⁸ Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 108-110, 113, 115-117, 121-5.

¹⁵⁹ Lamburn, *The laity*, 15.

¹⁶⁰ Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 123.

¹⁶¹ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 117, 170; Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 124.

individuals might be postulated such as Winwald, Berhthun, the Virgin Mary and, perhaps, Saint John of Beverley himself. The figures would have allowed pilgrims to interact with the imagery associated with the reredos at ground level. For visiting pilgrims, the painted figures would have been a focus for direct contemplation and close inspection. They may have prayed before the images, while venerating the relics above. However, despite the fact that the masonry is late medieval, there are no traces of gold or polychromy anywhere, nor is there any surviving record relating to its original appearance. Thus, the possibility exists that it may never have been painted.



Figure 7: Vault beneath the platform on the eastern side of the reredos

Western side of the reredos

The western side of the reredos is the product of two restorations carried out in the nineteenth century between 1824 and 1826 by William Comins, master mason of the Minster. Woodworth argues that Comins's restoration work is closely based on the remains of the original screen.¹⁶² We do not know whether there was any graffiti inscribed on this side because the original medieval screen became a prime target of iconoclasm, and most of its imagery was probably destroyed in the reign of Edward VI. The presence of any graffiti seems unlikely because this would have required access to the High Altar in the sanctuary, which was limited largely to the clergy. It currently comprises 24 canopied niches with bases for standing figure sculptures, and an upper row of panels surmounted by smaller canopied settings. The aim of the iconography would have been to forge a tangible link between the shrine and the western screen. The figures would have been designed to invoke Anglo-Saxon memory, perhaps beginning from the baptism of Paulinus and the Christianization of northern England.¹⁶³ Historical figures such as King Athelstan and Thurstan may have also joined the sculptures of saints and angels as heavenly witnesses to Saint John's sanctity.

Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. This chapter has introduced the background to, and the aims of, the research. Chapter two examines the sources, methods and theoretical perspectives employed within this study to identify, survey, record and contextualise the graffiti located on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster. It also presents the problems of using graffiti as a source for historical research which, in turn, provides an understanding of the limits of what is possible to learn about the evidence available. It not only discusses the problems of quantifying, identifying and dating the graffiti, but also draws attention to more complex issues of interpreting its meaning and significance.

Chapters three through to five contain the main results of this thesis which focus directly on the graffiti. Chapter three introduces the graffiti evidence located on the eastern side of the reredos and provides a general overview of its spatial

¹⁶² Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 160-5.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*

distribution before describing the frequency, form, size, detail and possible date for each subject category from the late medieval and early modern periods. This forms the basis for the discussion in the following two thematic chapters, which interpret the results and draw conclusions from each category of graffiti, placing it within wider contexts. Chapter four investigates the types of graffiti of the late medieval period that were inscribed as an act of personal devotion. It places the subject matter of selected types of graffiti in the context of the function and religious significance of the reredos, making comparisons with the graffiti discovered in the nave of Beverley Minster, the evidence recorded from a further six parish churches in the Humber region and the results of surveys of other ecclesiastical buildings in England. The same format is followed in chapter five which places the practice of inscribing graffiti in the context of another aspect of religious culture. It expands on the theme explored in the previous chapter and analyses the types of graffiti that were inscribed because of their perceived protective properties, which are discussed in the context of a superstitious practice. This chapter focuses on the graffiti of the late medieval period and briefly discusses the practice in the early modern period, as well as the possible reasons for why there seems to be little evidence of graffiti inscribed during the Reformation and in the late sixteenth century. The conclusions of this study are presented in chapter six, with recommendations for further research.

Summary

The importance of graffiti to the study of medieval churches has been recognised in recent years by only a few scholars, and the present thesis aims to stimulate further research into this corpus of evidence. The graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster present a unique opportunity to gain an understanding of the nature and extent of this practice when the reredos supported the shrine of Saint John of Beverley. While previous studies have concentrated largely on parish churches in the south of England, the graffiti that has been discovered, identified and recorded in Beverley Minster and other churches from the Humber region, provides the opportunity to investigate churches in an area neglected in graffiti research. As a first study of the graffiti in Beverley Minster and that of local churches, this research is located in, and contributes to, various overlapping fields of enquiry; the study of the practice of inscribing graffiti in the late medieval and early modern periods, but also

the history of Beverley, Beverley Minster and the reredos. More broadly, as a study of the graffiti in medieval churches, it provides a greater understanding of the ways in which people interacted with the fabric of church buildings on a physical level in these periods.

Chapter 2

Researching graffiti: theoretical perspectives, methods, sources and problems

Introduction

The graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster are the most important source of evidence used in this thesis. In chapter one, medieval graffiti was introduced as a type of evidence that can be used to expand our knowledge of church buildings. This chapter initially examines the theoretical perspectives that scholars have used to approach the issue of whether the act of inscribing graffiti in the medieval and early modern periods was permissive in ecclesiastical buildings, and the methods they have employed to interpret its meaning and purpose. It also discusses the sources and methods which have been used to survey, record and identify the graffiti examined in this study, and how the material was gathered and analysed in order to achieve the aims outlined in the preceding chapter. In doing so, this chapter shows that the graffiti surviving in church buildings are an important source of evidence for the study of late medieval religious culture, for religion was the medium through which people structured and experienced their daily lives. As seen in the previous chapter, graffiti illuminates many aspects of late medieval religious culture in ways that other types of evidence, such as hagiography and iconography cannot do. It offers both personal and collective insights into the cultural attitudes and experience of the past. They tangibly bear witness to a physical interaction with the fabric, which provide an understanding of various aspects of late medieval religious culture that transcended the confines of formal religious ceremony. Yet graffiti is not easy to interpret and the processes of recording, identifying, dating and contextualising this type of evidence are beset with many pitfalls. This chapter recognises that there are limits to the level of interpretation possible and considers the challenges of using graffiti as a source for historical research.

Theoretical perspectives

Theoretical discussion of the meaning and purpose of medieval graffiti is limited, but recent studies have contributed some perspectives that shed light on the motivations and implications of this form of evidence and the significance of context, which help to define the research avenues for explaining the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos

at Beverley Minster.

The main theoretical perspectives advanced in this study of graffiti views the locational context, the surrounding iconography, the individuals responsible for its inscription, the various categories and quantity inscribed as factors intrinsic to understanding the extent to which the practice of inscribing graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos was permissive. This thesis also expands upon the current theories about the practice of inscribing graffiti as the product of a devotional, superstitious and personal act.

The issue of permissibility was chosen because, although mentioned in passing by previous scholars writing on the subject of medieval graffiti, it has yet to be explored in detail.¹ Past explanations have lurched from one extreme to the other, from the forbidden and outlawed to the overtly encouraged. The majority of twentieth-century publications on medieval graffiti have simply provided brief descriptions of individual discoveries, and avoided forming any conclusions about its potential meaning or authorship. Studies have also tended to focus on a particular time period, geographical area, a specific subject matter or function, while others have simply supplied pictorial illustrations. Many lack contextual analysis and fail to recognise the value of this form of evidence for understanding the role and function of churches in late medieval culture. They often ignore the question of why the graffiti was inscribed, and its meanings to the people that inscribed it.

In 1993, Jones-Baker published an article that draws upon selected examples across England in an attempt to highlight the ways in which graffiti could be used as a historical source by the local historian, as different forms of record for understanding the role of the medieval church in the religious and social aspects of the daily lives of its parishioners.² It was as late as 1997 that a publication on ship graffiti in Gotland (Sweden) posed questions for further research such as, 'Who has doodled and sketched on the church walls during the Middle Ages and why?', 'Why were they inscribed in these locations?', 'How could this have been permitted?' and 'Were they inscribed with the permission of church officials?'.³ While a description of the graffiti is an important element of this thesis, and necessary before evaluating its meaning, this study also

1 P. Graves & L. Rollason, 'The monastery of Durham and the wider world: medieval graffiti in the prior's chapel', *Northern History*, 50, 2 (2013), 212-213.

2 Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 3-19.

3 S. Haasum, 'Ship graffiti in the medieval churches of Gotland', in O. Olsen et al. (eds.), *Shipshape: essays for Ole Crumlin-Pedersen* (Roskilde: The Viking ship museum, 1995), 247.

addresses these issues.

Without evaluating the meaning and significance of a set of graffiti in a building in the context of its location, this reduces the exercise to dating and identification. Scholars of medieval graffiti are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the religious status of certain spaces within ecclesiastical buildings, and its influence on the choice of location and subject matter of the graffiti that were inscribed.⁴ Most recently, the work of the Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey at Saint Mary's, Troston, has shown that certain locations have accumulated high densities of graffiti.⁵ Champion suggests that this is because of its proximity to areas which were perceived as particularly spiritually potent.⁶ For example, at Troston, a large number of graffiti were recorded on the eastern side of the chancel arch in close proximity to the performance of the Eucharist.⁷ Features, such as chancel screens not only represented the physical, but also the spiritual division between the chancel and the nave. The parish chancel was almost exclusively associated with the clergy, while the nave was the domain used by the laity.⁸ Champion identified other spaces, such as altars and image niches as areas where graffiti frequently accumulates, which would suggest that proximity to certain locations that were deemed spiritually important within the building, formed an important part of their creation.⁹ Both Champion and Pritchard suggested that the persona of the patron saint of the dedicated church, altar or image depicted may well have influenced the subject matter of the graffiti chosen, and that locations dedicated to certain saints would attract clusters of specific types of graffiti.¹⁰ Furthermore, Williams's research on the graffiti at All Saints, Leighton Buzzard (Bedfordshire) has shown that the density of graffiti varied across the church, and suggests that this might be related to a particular foci, for example a shrine or image.¹¹

4 P. Graves & L. Rollason, 'The medieval prior's chapel at Durham: its development and use', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 16 (2010), 24-4; Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 186-215; Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 237-9; M. Champion, 'The medium is the message: votive devotional imagery and gift giving amongst the commonality in the late medieval parish', *Peregrinations: Journal of medieval art and architecture*, 3, 4 (2012), 107.

5 Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

6 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 238-9.

7 *ibid.*, 237-9.

8 *ibid.*, 238.

9 Champion, 'The medium', 107.

10 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 93-6; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 65, 158.

11 University of Leeds, *Looking for the common voice: new perspectives on medieval graffiti* (2014). Available online: <https://imc.leeds.ac.uk/> [Accessed 31/8/15]; University of Liverpool, *Rebecca Williams English medieval graffiti research* (2010). Available online: <http://liverpool.academia.edu/RebeccaWilliams> [Accessed 31/8/15].

From these studies, the position of the graffiti suggests that they were not random, casual scratchings, but deliberate, and that their location was the product of conscious decisions rather than anti-social behaviour. They have shown that the context of graffiti altered according to its particular location within a church setting. It is, therefore, necessary that the location of the graffiti is considered in the context of its own case-study.

A study of fifteenth-century 'primitive' art in ecclesiastical buildings in Finland classified paintings sketched on the walls by individuals, with no degree of professional skill, as belonging to the same type of evidence as graffiti. For Edgren, it is clear that they were accepted in their own time as any other form of religious art. She suggests that the most convincing evidence for this hypothesis are the examples discovered in Finland's central shrine, the bishop's own cathedral in Turku.¹² In this context she argues that, 'it is quite inconceivable that images not approved by ecclesiastical authority could have been painted in a cathedral where the bishop and his clergy celebrated mass daily', implying that any behaviour considered to be offensive would not have been permitted, owing to the sacred status of the location.¹³ This situation is similar to another survey carried out in England. Jones-Baker suggests that the graffiti surviving in the Lady Chapel at Chichester Cathedral might be related to the period when the body of Saint Richard of Chichester was temporarily placed in the chapel in c.1273 and 1276, while his shrine across the aisle in the retro-choir was being completed. With his body placed in the Lady Chapel, this arrangement allowed him to be venerated by pilgrims.¹⁴ These works are both key contributions to the small body of literature that examines the graffiti surviving in the immediate proximity to the presence of the relics of a saint. By this study focussing on the graffiti located on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, it contributes to the current studies of the types of graffiti that were inscribed in close proximity to the shrine of a saint in late medieval England.

Research into graffiti also needs to be analysed beyond the context of the structure in which it is situated. Scholars are beginning to recognise the importance of

12 H. Edgren, 'Primitive' paintings: the visual world of populous rusticus', in A. Bolvig & P. Lindley (eds.), *History and images: towards a new iconology* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 301-309.

13 *ibid.*, 309.

14 D. Jones-Baker, *The Chichester Cathedral graffiti: medieval and post-medieval drawings and verbal inscriptions largely in the Lady Chapel* [Unpublished report on the graffiti at Chichester Cathedral, 2005], 48.

not only the specific architectural context of the graffiti within a church, but also the character of the community it served, the wider context of the nature of the settlement in which it is situated, and the impact of these environmental factors on the subject matter chosen to be inscribed.¹⁵ Site-specific studies have shown that, in some cases, ecclesiastical buildings contain a high proportion of certain types of graffiti, which reflect the nature of the community that the church served. In recent scholarship, there has been some discussion on the multiple layers of context necessary to interpret the meaning of the graffiti for those who inscribed them. In his recent study of ship graffiti in the Church of Saint George of the Greeks (Cyprus), Walsh proposed that scholars should analyse its meaning and significance by observing its different contextual layers which are: the relationship between other graffiti in the same location; considering the church itself and the location of the graffiti within it; understanding the nature of the settlement in which the church is situated and then placing the graffiti within a wider historical, geographical and cultural context.¹⁶ The notion that there is a connection between the subject matter of the graffiti chosen to be inscribed, and the nature of the community of the parish has been investigated in detail by Peake's recent study of the ship graffiti in three maritime churches at Blakeney, Wiveton and Cley, all based in Norfolk. Peake suggests that the detailed representations of ships from the churches reflect the importance of the fishing and maritime trade in these parishes. He infers that this practice was a custom that was accepted by their communities.¹⁷

Recent site-specific studies of graffiti have briefly addressed the issue of permissibility by attempting to identify the individuals responsible for its inscription. The work of Graves and Rollason on the graffiti surviving on a wall in the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral has shown that at least some of the graffiti was inscribed by people regularly associated with the chapel, the prior and everyday administration from the mid thirteenth to the late fifteenth centuries.¹⁸ A number of the legible inscribed names on the wall were traceable by documentary searches and, from this, both scholars suggest that the graffiti represent a roll call of associates of the prior,

15 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 190-196; J. Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion in three maritime churches', in T. A. Heslop et al. (eds.), *Art, faith and place in East Anglia: from prehistory to the present* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 148-62; M. Walsh, 'On of the princypalle havenes of the see': the port of Famagusta and the ship graffiti in the Church of St George of the Greeks, Cyprus', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 37, 1 (2008), 115-129.

16 Walsh, 'Port of Famagusta', 116-128.

17 Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 149-162.

18 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 193, 204-205, 209-212.

which identified people as men that supported his household and position.¹⁹ Graves and Rollason argue that, in this context, the 'graffiti were permissive, perhaps actively encouraged, unless or until, they undermined the interests of the prior'.²⁰ This situation is similar to that observed in another study carried out by Gerrard and Dauber of the graffiti surviving at the Hospitaller Preceptory at Ambel, Zaragoza (Spain).²¹ They suggest that the pages, servants, soldiers and slaves of the Order inscribed graffiti as a means of expressing support for their allies.²² These case studies have shown that the graffiti in these buildings can be ascribed to people regularly associated with the locations in which they survive, because access to these areas was generally limited to people who had legitimate reasons for being there. Both studies implied that the practice must have been permitted because it was members of staff working in these locations who inscribed the graffiti. This may well be true in these two cases, while for other sites this theory is difficult to verify. The extent to which it was permissible possibly varies from site-to-site as well as the locations within sites themselves.

The situation in parish churches is comparatively different because these buildings were accessible to a wider range of people including all social groups, giving them the opportunity to participate in the practice of inscribing graffiti. In her study of medieval graffiti in English parish churches, Jones-Baker argues that graffiti 'document the voices and attitudes of individuals in all social groups, the poor and others of little learning and no standing'.²³ The subject matter of the graffiti has been used as a means of providing information about the potential occupations and social status of its inscribers, with merchants' marks, ships and fashions depicted on figures, among the most obvious types.²⁴ In another study of ship graffiti in churches in Scandinavia, Westerdahl specifically attributed the practice to the lowest social classes and termed them as 'the poor man's votive ship'.²⁵ However, just because there was no financial cost incurred in the act of inscribing graffiti, there is no reason to assume that the social status of its inscribers were limited to the poor and those of little learning.

19 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 212.

20 *ibid.*, 213.

21 C. Gerrard & R. Dauber, 'Building biographies: graffiti, architecture and people at the Hospitaller Preceptory at Ambel (Zaragoza), Spain', in J. Upton-Ward (ed.), *The Military Orders. Volume 4: on land and by sea* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 235-50.

22 *ibid.*, 244-8.

23 Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 5.

24 Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 151-8; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 131-9.

25 C. Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images found in Nordic churches: the poor man's votive ships?', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 42, 2 (2013), 344.

Champion argues that it was the permanence of, and direct physical participation in the act that were key motives underpinning their inscription, and suggests that this practice was a means through which inscribers could, symbolically, maintain a presence in the building.²⁶ The same objective would not be achieved by making an offering of a gift to a church or shrine, which could be easily removed and discarded. Based on the premise that it was the degree of permanence of a graffito that motivated its inscription, for Champion its very presence implies that the practice was permitted due to the obvious lack of any attempt to remove it despite, in some cases, being easily noticed.²⁷

Much work has been done on the potential relationship between the graffiti in a setting and its surrounding iconography, with a particular focus on wall paintings in religious contexts. Plesch has examined the graffiti inscribed directly onto the surfaces of the wall paintings in the small Romanesque chapel of San Sebastiano at Arborios, Piedmont (Italy).²⁸ She argues that inscribing graffiti was an act of appropriation, which transformed a site into a location for people to express certain ideas or feelings.²⁹ Dates and textual inscriptions were inscribed onto depictions of the Passion cycle and saints from at least 1531 to 1889, which documented significant events of the life of the community including storms, heavy snow falls and earthquakes.³⁰ Plesch describes the act of inscribing graffiti onto painted figures as a state of 'contemplative immersion', meaning that it provided a means of touching and entering into a dialogue with the saint depicted, by the graffiti representing a physical interaction with the depiction of the body of the saint.³¹ She explains that the practice of inscribing graffiti represented the aspiration for an interaction with the depictions in the images, which was comparable to that of other forms of private devotional practices that involved physical interaction, such as clasping the hands in prayer and turning the pages of devotional books.³² According to Plesch, the nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti on religious wall paintings should not only be considered in the context of a devotional

26 Champion, 'The medium', 119-120, 122-3.

27 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 5; Champion, 'The medium', 113-114.

28 V. Plesch, 'Graffiti and ritualisation: San Sebastiano at Arborio', in J. Rollo-Koster (ed.), *Medieval and early modern rituals: formalized behaviour in Europe, China and Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 127-46; V. Plesch, 'Memory on the wall: graffiti on religious wall paintings', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (2002), 167-93.

29 Plesch, 'Memory', 182, 185.

30 *ibid.*, 170.

31 *ibid.*, 179.

32 *ibid.*, 177-9.

act, but simultaneously as a form of ritual. Plesch argued that the repetition, standardization and uniform manner of their execution were recognized aspects of a ritual practice.³³ Following this, no single theme is the subject of this study, but it suggests that the categories of graffiti may have been inscribed with a purpose that was simultaneously devotional and superstitious.

A few recently discovered examples may also be cited in England where graffiti has accumulated either on, or in close proximity to, a medieval wall painting which has possibly acted as a devotional focus. Examples include the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral, Saint Margaret's, Swannington (Norfolk) and Saint Mary's, Troston (Suffolk).³⁴ A study of the ship graffiti at a church in Blakeney (Norfolk) revealed that, prior to the Reformation, they would have been inscribed through the red pigment that has survived on the lower sections of the piers.³⁵ On one pier, the result would have depicted a small fleet of white ships, and the contrast between the colour of the surface of the piers with the red pigment must have made them obvious to anyone passing by.³⁶ The deliberate placing of these graffiti, frequently at high heights on piers and rarely overlapping each other, together with the lack of defacement, are observations that would suggest that they were permissive. In contrast, there is no evidence for the presence of wall paintings in the vicinity of the graffiti studied in this research. Where possible this thesis investigates the theory that the subject matter of the graffiti may well have been a response to the surrounding iconography, namely the sculpture associated with the reredos.

The practice of inscribing graffiti has been recognised as another aspect of late medieval culture, which has the potential to shed light upon our understanding of the medieval conception about how the world worked and ways in which people experienced the world.³⁷ In her article on the graffiti in churches in the Cotswolds, Jones-Baker classifies this type of evidence as 'folk motifs'. She argued that the belief in its 'talismanic' and 'curative' healing benefits underpinned the motives for its inscription, without questioning the notion or providing evidence to support this claim.³⁸ Without employing further evidence, such interpretations are purely

33 Plesch, 'Memory', 180.

34 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 187-190; Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 237.

35 Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 150.

36 Champion, 'The medium', 121.

37 See chapter one.

38 D. Jones-Baker, 'The graffiti of folk motifs in Cotswold Churches', *Folklore*, 92, 2 (1981), 160-7.

circumstantial. In this study, it is proposed that inscribers held the belief that the protective properties of certain symbols and symbolic relationships were capable of influencing actual events and invoking supernatural forces. When considered as the product of a superstitious practice, graffiti contributes to our understanding about how much control people perceived to exercise over their daily and spiritual lives in the medieval period.

Recent studies have ascribed specific functions to certain types of graffiti by drawing parallels with material evidence that were used in medieval religious culture. The theory that the act of inscribing graffiti was another type of votive practice, based on superstitious beliefs, has been developed by scholars in recent years, including Walsh, Westerdahl, Peake and Champion who largely confined their studies to ship graffiti.³⁹ Walsh suggests that ships might have been chosen to invoke a patron saint who represented maritime concerns and that, through superstition, there was some belief in the advantage to placing them in a church, which were intended to address anxieties about the dangers of travelling by ship.⁴⁰ Westerdahl and Champion made comparisons between ship graffiti and the practice of donating models of ships to shrines and churches as votive or ex voto offerings, either for the making of, or in fulfilment of a vow in thanksgiving for a safe return from a hazardous voyage.⁴¹ This methodology not only provides insights into the potential motives underpinning the inscription of certain types of graffiti, but also the occupations of its inscribers. Based on this parallel, Westerdahl concludes that 'they were both accepted as a kind of unofficial, and scarcely visible, decoration on the church walls' and considered them as direct, but simplified, counterparts to votive ship models.⁴² Champion slightly develops this methodology by identifying similar parallels with other types of graffiti including depictions of body parts such as hands and feet, models of which were also donated to churches and shrines as votive offerings.⁴³ These studies suggest that it was people that were at the greatest risk from the forces of nature who were more likely to request divine protection, such as mariners. Peake places the act of inscribing graffiti in the wider context of other medieval religious practices and stated that:

39 Walsh, 'The Port of Famagusta', 115-129; Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 337-47; Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 148-62; Champion, 'The medium', 108-114, 117-118.

40 Walsh, 'The Port of Famagusta', 120-128.

41 Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 337-47; Champion, 'The medium', 107-114.

42 Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 344.

43 Champion, 'The medium', 114-117.

Church leaders and the community both tolerated and accepted the graffiti and even encouraged it, given the richness and diversity of the array. This relationship would appear to be an extension of the symbiotic world of 'lay Christianity'...where many pious individuals incorporated 'superstitious' practices within the official devotions of the Church. The evidence for this relationship is embedded primarily in the written word but...it would appear that the transition between the sacred and the world of magic and superstition, as reflected in the graffiti, was seamless. In this context, creating graffiti was a personal devotional act that might equate with lighting a candle or having a mass sung.⁴⁴

Although not examined explicitly as a separate theme, the exploration of the notion that the practice of inscribing graffiti was a personal act is inescapable in this study. In her critique of the extent to which graffiti could be used as a historical source, Bon argues that the greatest strength of this type of evidence lies in inscribers' potential freedom from the imperatives of organised codes of commissioned forms of church iconography, because the inscriber was free from the constraints of tradition, fashion and patronage imposed on other mediums such as sculpture and stained-glass.⁴⁵ Graffiti, therefore, represents piety as a more informal dialogue between God and the inscriber. The theory that the practice of inscribing graffiti was a personal act is not a new idea as it features in recent scholarly debates, although they rarely, adequately explain the reasons why.⁴⁶ It is true that, by implication, the practice was a personal act because it was incised by the inscriber themselves rather than requiring a priest, bishop or pope, but there are further ways in which new research can expand this hypothesis to form a more convincing case. In this study, this issue is addressed by comparing the subject matter of the different types of graffiti with the motifs that appeared on dress accessories, which were chosen and worn by people in daily life. The physical element of the practice of inscribing graffiti bears comparison with the physical act of wearing dress accessories decorated with the same motifs depicted in the form of graffiti. Furthermore, similarly to that of graffiti, dress accessories were a means of self-

44 Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 161.

45 E. L. Bon, *Images out of water: aspects of the interpretation of ancient maritime graffiti*. PhD thesis (University of St Andrews, 1997), 2.

46 Champion, 'The medium', 120-123; Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 161.

expression, reflecting people's identity and the ways in which they displayed that identity. These similarities make dress accessories a suitable type of evidence upon which to base a comparison with that of the graffiti, and to advance the hypothesis that the practice was a personal act.

In more focused studies, the choices of the subject matter of the graffiti have also been considered as a factor that can provide insights into its purpose, meaning and significance. Scattered journal articles focus on specific types of graffiti. Jones-Baker published two short articles in 1984 and 1991 on the practice of inscribing graffiti of medieval musical notation in churches, which emphasized the role of music in late medieval religious culture.⁴⁷ However, a large proportion of scholarly attention has been devoted to ship graffiti, which has been used by maritime archaeologists and specialists of ship technology such as Bon, Haasum and Mott, as potential sources of technical information for shipbuilding traditions.⁴⁸ It has been used as supporting evidence to confirm the results of archaeological and historical research on ship types, which may explain why this type of graffiti has generated much literature.⁴⁹ However, other than noting the occurrence of the images themselves, these works often fail to consider any explanations for their presence, and ignore the issue of why a subject matter was chosen to be inscribed in a particular location and their potential meaning for those who inscribed them. Examples of ship graffiti have been discovered at sites from various European countries; such studies have revealed that the practice was prevalent in Denmark, Sweden, Greece, Bulgaria, Malta, Spain and Italy as well as the United Kingdom.⁵⁰ Ship graffiti has also received wider international recognition with studies undertaken on examples recorded at sites in countries such as Egypt and

47 D. Jones-Baker, 'Graffiti of medieval music in the Tresaunt, Windsor Castle', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 64 (1984), 374-6; Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 22-47.

48 Bon, *Images out of water*, 1-5, 220-232; Haasum, 'Ship graffiti', 241-7; L. Mott, 'A three-masted ship depiction from 1409', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 23, 1 (1994), 39-40.

49 Mott, 'A three-masted ship', 39-40; L. Mott, 'Medieval ship graffiti in the Palau Reial Major at Barcelona', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 76, 1 (1990), 13-21; F. Tiboni, 'The ships on the Novilara Stele, Italy: questions of interpretation and dating', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 38, 2 (2009), 400-423.

50 O. T. Kastholm, 'Six ship graffiti from Himmelev Church', *Maritime Archaeology Newsletter from Denmark*, 26 (2011), 28-31; Haasum, 'Ship graffiti', 241-7; E. Stamatatou, 'Two graffiti of sailing vessels at Paliachora on Aigina', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 92 (1997), 435-440; D. Ovcharov, 'Ship graffiti from medieval Bulgaria', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 6, 1 (1977), 59-61; D. Woolner, 'Graffiti of ships at Tarxien, Malta', *Antiquity*, 31 (1957), 60-7; M. H. Hermanns, 'Sixteenth-century ship graffiti on the town walls of Eivissa, Balearic Islands, Spain', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 39, 1 (2010), 66-75; S. W. Helms, 'Ship graffiti in the church of San Marco in Venice', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 4, 2 (1975), 231-2.

Israel.⁵¹ Such studies are limited by the confines of only one or two subjects, and they frequently fail to discuss other types, which presents a misleading depiction of the nature of the practice. There is no intention in the current study to focus on a specific type of graffiti or assign certain motifs to a single purpose, but to accept that there may be a range of motives underpinning their inscription. This study attempts to delve further into the significance of the symbolic context of the subject matter of the various types of graffiti that have been discovered and recorded. It is to investigate the graffiti to discover their meaning, purpose and significance. To achieve this, individual subject types are studied in detail to shed light on the reasons why they were inscribed, the people that inscribed them, and the beliefs that underpinned the motives for their inscription as well as the contemporary audiences that witnessed them.

The concept that the practice of inscribing graffiti was a means through which inscribers expressed fear and anxiety has been a recognised phenomenon in scholarly discussion. A notable example is Fenn's study of the graffiti inscribed by prisoners held in the Tower of London between 1533 and 1612 as they awaited execution.⁵² Fenn argues that it was the threat of imminent death that compelled prisoners to inscribe the graffiti, motivated by the fear that there may be no tomorrow. From the content of the graffiti, he concludes that they were used as a means of reaffirming faith and were, perhaps, intended as a form of memorial before execution, underpinned by the desire to leave a record of their own existence.⁵³ The concept of graffiti acting as a medium through which people documented their lives, events and believed that they could control their circumstances has been explored by Jones-Baker, Plesch and most recently, Champion. These studies have shown that surviving medieval inscriptions express feelings of fear and anxiety relating to the Black Death, conflict, unpredictable floods and meteorological disasters.⁵⁴ In this study, without dates, it is impossible to ascribe the graffiti positively to such motivations, however, to a certain extent, the subject matter has provided some indication about the potential anxieties that governed

51 R. Bowen, 'Egypt's earliest sailing ships', *Antiquity*, 34 (1960), 117-31; S. W. Helms, 'The Jerusalem ship, Isis Myrionymos and the True Cross', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 9, 2 (1980), 105-20; M. Broshi, 'The Jerusalem ship reconsidered', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 6, 4 (1977), 349-56; A. Kloner & S. Wachsmann, 'A ship graffito from Khirbet Rafi (Israel)', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 7, 3 (1978), 227-244.

52 E. H. Fenn, 'The writing on the wall', *History Today*, 19, 6 (1969), 419-23.

53 *ibid.*, 419.

54 Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 9-10; Plesch, 'Memory', 170-171, 180-181; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 187-96.

the rationale behind its inscription.

In his recent study, Champion briefly touches upon changes in the content and style of the graffiti that was inscribed after the Reformation, emphasising that further research should no longer be focusing on medieval graffiti, but for the temporal boundaries to be expanded to analyse the development of the practice over a broader period.⁵⁵ Following this, the chronological parameters of this study include the early modern period, in order to facilitate a synthesis of the practice across the two periods. A study of graffiti in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England suggests that writing and drawing on buildings of all kinds was widely practised, and not necessarily regarded as vandalism.⁵⁶ Fleming argues that the development of different forms of writing practices occurred because 'early modern England was paper-short', implying that in a period when paper was expensive and sparse, inscribing graffiti was a necessary alternative that was used for purposes, such as education and recording events.⁵⁷ When papers and documents could easily be lost, it could well be that inscribing graffiti was viewed as a more permanent record. Together, the studies outlined above have revealed that the meaning of the graffiti inscribed depended on its locational and temporal context.

Thesis methodology

This thesis uses a full range of evidence coupled with theoretical approaches to extend our knowledge of the graffiti and its multiple meanings. It has drawn upon the case-study of the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster to critique and develop these theoretical perspectives. It has employed a number of methods and sources to record, date, identify and interpret the meaning of the graffiti. With these aims in mind, observation and interpretation has combined the associated disciplines of history, archaeology and art history. The evidence has been presented according to a new, multidisciplinary, holistic approach that moves beyond description, which has dominated previous studies and towards analysis. A wide range of material culture and literary evidence were identified, collated and critically analyzed with the aim of understanding the wider social and cultural context in which the graffiti was inscribed.

This research has employed a number of practical methods for surveying and

⁵⁵ Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 199-210.

⁵⁶ J. Fleming, *Graffiti and the writing arts of early modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 9-72.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 9.

recording the graffiti at Beverley Minster and a further six parish churches situated within the Humber region. The present study employs both quantitative and qualitative methods to interpret the meaning and significance of the graffiti recorded. Quantitative methods have been used to analyse the frequency of the graffiti and its different subject categories within and between areas of Beverley Minster, in addition to the other six sites. Qualitative methods have been used to describe and analyse each type of graffiti, and suggest motives for its inscription. It is important to develop an understanding of the spatial distribution and the types of graffiti inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos in the late medieval and early modern periods and, in the first instance, it is required that it is dated and identified before inferring meanings. In order to investigate whether there is a pattern in the categories discovered in locations of varying degrees of religious significance, it is also necessary to understand what types of graffiti were inscribed in different locations in the Minster. Dating and identification have been made possible by comparing and contrasting the types of graffiti with depictions from similar studies and material culture. In this study, research energy has not been overly devoted to description, but spent on contextualising the graffiti in relation to its location and within wider social and cultural contexts.

This current research focusses on the individual categories of graffiti which have been discovered, recorded and identified by their subject matter on the eastern side of the reredos. This undertaking has been necessary to expand upon previous studies by interpreting its meaning and significance as a practice in late medieval religious culture. Part of the reason for scholars not fully exploiting this approach may well be because churches can contain large quantities of a single type of graffiti, necessitating the analysis of only one subject category. In addition, because of the wide range of subjects that graffiti encompasses it has been much easier for scholars to focus on a specific type, which does not allow the practice of inscribing graffiti to be appreciated as a whole. As shown earlier by Champion's and Westerdahl's investigations of the relationship between graffiti and votive offerings, researchers are now starting to shift their focus to comparing certain types of graffiti with material culture from related disciplines.⁵⁸ While these studies supply important insights into the potential meaning of certain subjects, there are further ways to expand medieval graffiti studies. This study has used a wider range of material evidence to investigate

58 Champion, 'The medium', 103-123; Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 337-47.

the meaning of the subject matter of the different types of graffiti. It has gone beyond comparing certain types of graffiti with votive offerings and recognised that each category can have more than one meaning.

The following sections examine the practical methods which have been used to survey and record the graffiti for the purposes of this thesis. It considers the database where information about the graffiti is recorded and the methods through which Beverley Minster, and the other six parish churches were selected. It also discusses the different types of material culture and literary evidence that have been used to identify, date and interpret the religious and cultural implications of the graffiti.

Surveying and recording the graffiti

The practical phase of this research began in 2007 and continued into 2015. This has allowed the scope of the current study to include the graffiti from almost the whole ground floor of Beverley Minster and a further six parish churches situated within the Humber region. The church interiors were examined on several occasions in various daylight conditions. A preliminary investigation of each site was undertaken by closely examining the surface of the stone using a variety of light sources. Figure 8 shows the graffiti on a stone block without a light source, while figure 9 depicts the same stone block highlighted by a light source. The contrast between the images emphasize the importance of using such equipment when searching for graffiti. This initial search for evidence of graffiti was carried out with the aid of two hand-held torches; one with a yellow light, and the other with a white light. In order to highlight the details of the graffiti, the most favourable conditions were created when the colour of the light of the torch closely matched that of the stone. Each example was photographed between two and six times. For each photograph, the torch was placed at a different angle to capture the details of the graffiti from various directions, because certain features appeared and reappeared as the position of the light changed. In cases where a graffito was only lightly-incised a 400-watt halogen lamp was used, which provided a stronger light source for a clearer image. A full photographic record of the graffiti in Beverley Minster and the six parish churches from the Humber region have been compiled and presented in the accompanying catalogue at the end of the thesis.



Figure 8: Showing the graffiti on a stone block without a light source



Figure 9: Showing the graffiti on a stone block when using a light source

In order to document the exact sizes of each graffito, they were reproduced using traditional recording techniques. For deeply-incised examples, a rubbing was taken by placing a sheet of plain paper over the surface of the stone and replicated the image by using either a hard pencil or rubbing-wax. In many cases, the scraping marks made by the tooling on the stone have obscured the lines of the graffiti on the rubbings, appearing as a mass of confused lines. The stone blocks with uneven surfaces were also unsuitable for this type of recording. In these cases, a transcription of the graffiti was made with selective tracing by hand. This was achieved by placing clear paper on top of the surface of the stone and tracing the inscribed outline of a graffito with a marker pen. This method of recording was useful in cases where a graffito was both large and lightly-incised, which made it difficult to take a rubbing or a photograph. To complement the photographic record it has been possible to manipulate the photographs and superimpose the outline of large, faintly-incised examples. These recording methods are important, since the very process of tracing or drawing encourages the translation and interpretation of the graffiti. Inter-relationships between the different examples of graffiti were noted as part of the recording process by photographing and tracing overviews of specific stone blocks with multiple examples.

The database information

The results of the recording work were collated in the graffiti database using Microsoft Excel, which can be found in Appendix one. The database forms the framework upon which the arguments and hypotheses in this thesis are based. Each graffito has been assigned a unique ID number which can be used to find information about each example on the database. The recording process involved numbering each tracing, rubbing, drawing and image. In some cases, a single graffito was reproduced using all the recording methods outlined above, while only one or two were used for others. After reproducing the graffiti it was then a process of matching these different records to the relevant examples. Information about the location, date, appearance and subject matter of each graffito are given in the database. It must be noted that much of the graffiti can only be dated to within one or two centuries unless a specific date has been incised. From the recurrence of the same motifs the graffiti have been grouped into 13 different categories, observable from variations in their subject matter.⁵⁹ The database

⁵⁹ See chapter three.

comprises a total of 905 examples of graffiti recorded from Beverley Minster and the further six parish churches. This has enabled the graffiti to be discussed in relation to each site, while facilitating an analysis of further important interrelationships within and between areas in Beverley Minster and other sites.

Selecting Beverley Minster

Beverley Minster was chosen because it provides the opportunity to study medieval graffiti at a surviving centre of pilgrimage. As mentioned in chapter one, the graffiti surviving at Beverley Minster are not only to be found on the eastern side of the reredos, but in a range of different locations including piers, nave-aisle bays, stairwells and on the walls of various rooms upstairs that appear to have escaped the hard scraping carried out at the Reformation and by later restorers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was some graffiti surviving from the medieval and early modern periods in the Percy Chapel until 2011 when, unfortunately, the repairs and cleaning of the stonework in this area resulted in its removal. This incident highlights the importance and urgency of recording this type of evidence, while acting as a reminder of its vulnerability. The date of the origin of this practice in Beverley Minster is difficult to discern due to the problems in dating the graffiti accurately. What can be suggested from the available evidence, however, is that this practice spans from the fourteenth century, as indicated by a possible mason's signature in the nave, to the twenty-first century with the year 2010 as the most recent date.⁶⁰

The other two medieval churches in Beverley lack this corpus, nor do they have a direct connection to Saint John, which necessitated the study of Beverley Minster. The current church of Saint Nicholas in Beverley was constructed between 1879 and 1880, and therefore does not contain any traces of medieval graffiti.⁶¹ It was built close to the site of the original medieval church, first mentioned in the twelfth century, which was demolished between 1691 and 1693, when it declined in use and suffered from decay.⁶² In the case of Saint Mary's, despite the fact that most of the visible architectural evidence dates between the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, no surviving graffiti were found during an initial survey.⁶³ This is unfortunate because Saint Mary's was regarded very much as the 'town' church, generating widespread

⁶⁰ See chapter five.

⁶¹ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 47-8; Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 299-300.

⁶² Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 299-300.

⁶³ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 47; Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 294-9.

support from many trade guilds, particularly the merchant community, and townspeople in general from the late thirteenth century when a vicarage was instituted there.⁶⁴ The lack of graffiti may well be explained by the fact that the church has been subjected to considerable repair, with restoration campaigns carried out in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s.⁶⁵ The evidence of graffiti in the Minster, therefore, makes it a unique case-study for analysing the role of churches in the religious life of the town for its inhabitants, workers and visitors in the medieval period. The graffiti demonstrate how inscribers recognised the Minster as a religious centre.

This profusion of graffiti in Beverley Minster is not the case for other cathedrals and greater churches in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, namely York Minster, Ripon Cathedral and Lincoln Cathedral, which are also surviving centres of pilgrimage, and were surveyed as potential sites for graffiti. York Minster contains a relatively small amount of graffiti with a few examples in the entrance to the chapter house and on a couple of nave piers, though not enough to warrant a full survey. Damage to the interior fabric may have been caused by the three fires in 1829, 1840 and 1984, and subsequent restoration campaigns.⁶⁶ A similar situation was evident at Ripon Cathedral, which was also largely devoid of graffiti during an initial survey, with the exception of a couple of compass-drawn designs on a nave pier, since much has probably been lost by restoration and extensive cleaning work. In terms of quantity, Beverley Minster's nearest rival, by proximity, would seem to be Lincoln Cathedral, but here there is a high density of examples in the east end and at the back of the Angel Choir, while graffiti is notably scarce in the nave. The stone used for the construction of the nave piers, that of Purbeck marble, may explain the paucity of graffiti on the piers. This is most likely because of the practical difficulties involving time, physical effort and opportunity that would have been required to inscribe into a much harder surface than that of the piers in Beverley Minster which are made of magnesian limestone, for example.

The graffiti in Beverley Minster discussed here provide an exception to these other sites. They demonstrate an unparalleled pattern of distribution and series of types that have not yet been found in such abundance in the cathedrals and greater churches in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

64 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 294.

65 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 46.

66 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 128.

Beverley Minster and the eastern side of the reredos

A survey of the graffiti throughout the whole Minster is beyond the scope of this study. It has, therefore, been limited to the examples surviving on the nave piers on both sides of the nave and aisle bays on the north side of the nave in order to compare and contrast the distribution, subject matter and quantities with those on the eastern side of the reredos, placing the graffiti in the wider context of the Minster. From these locations, the survey recorded a total of 779 examples of graffiti with 373 from the eastern side of the reredos and 406 from various areas in the nave. From the piers and bays in the nave, 86 examples are dated to the late medieval period and 320 to the early modern period. From the eastern side of the reredos, 71 discoveries are datable to the early modern period and 302 to the period in which the reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John from c.1330 to 1540. The eastern side of the reredos was, therefore, chosen as the focus for this research because of the greater quantity of medieval graffiti recorded in this location and its status as a shrine-base.

Recording the graffiti in Beverley Minster

Recording the graffiti in Beverley Minster has been more complex than the other six parish churches surveyed from the Humber region. The process of recording the location and spatial distribution of the graffiti has been modified according to the layout of each specific area within the Minster. Recording the specific location of each graffiti has allowed for potential relationships between them to be discerned. The five bays of the eastern side of the reredos comprise a total of 112 interlocking visible stone blocks situated from the ground upwards to the beginning of the tracery. This excludes the two columns of stone blocks covered by the Sir Michael Warton Tomb, which cannot be accessed. Of the 112 visible stone blocks, 60 contain evidence of graffiti which are spread across the five bays including the north return bay, the south return bay and the three middle bays. A hand-drawing of an overview of the graffiti across each of the five bays was made. This was important in the process of recording the precise location of each graffiti on a specific stone block. As illustrated in figure 10, each of these 60 stone blocks have been assigned a unique number from S01 to S60. Images of each separate bay with its numbered stone blocks can be found in Appendix two. It is important to note that the numbered stones are areas, not individual blocks of masonry. Further access to any possible graffiti on two columns of stone blocks in the

middle bay is prevented by the Warton Tomb, which was erected at around the time of his death in 1655. Some examples on the right and left-hand sides of the Warton Tomb are only partially visible because they appear to have been abruptly cut off by the placement of the monument.

Nave

By recording the graffiti in the nave, in addition to the eastern side of the reredos, this facilitates a further analysis of its distribution in the Minster. Each pier has been given a specific number in order to record the graffiti accurately in these locations. On the north side of the nave the piers are numbered from N1 to N10 and S1 to S10 on the south side (figure 11). These specific numbers appear in the database and are used to indicate the position of the graffiti in the nave of the Minster.

Current condition of Beverley Minster

When considered in the context of the impact of the Reformation and various successive restoration campaigns on the interior fabric of the Minster, it is surprising that any graffiti has survived at all. It seems likely that the scraping of the stonework during the Reformation and subsequent restoration campaigns simultaneously destroyed some of the graffiti and therefore, the quantities must have been greater before the scraping of the stonework began. This may explain why there is an uneven distribution of particularly medieval graffiti in areas such as the aisle bays on the south side of the nave, and the piers and bays in the transepts. Medieval examples are usually only lightly-scratched into the stone, making them more vulnerable to being destroyed than early modern examples, which penetrate relatively deeply into the stone surface and are more difficult to remove. The bays in the south-aisle of the nave were heavily restored by Hawksmoor in the early eighteenth century, mainly due to structural and aesthetic problems, which explains the lack of graffiti in these locations, while the north side was unaffected.⁶⁷ Under Scott's supervision the whole interior stonework was cleaned due to the layers of dirt that had accumulated over the centuries including the west end, nave, main transepts, choir, lesser transepts and retro-choir.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Hall, 'Beverley Minster observed', 100.

⁶⁸ D. Neave, 'The Minster in the 19th and 20th centuries', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 81.



Figure 10: The numbered stone blocks (S) across the five bays of the eastern reredos that show evidence of graffiti with the numbers at the left-hand side indicating the rows

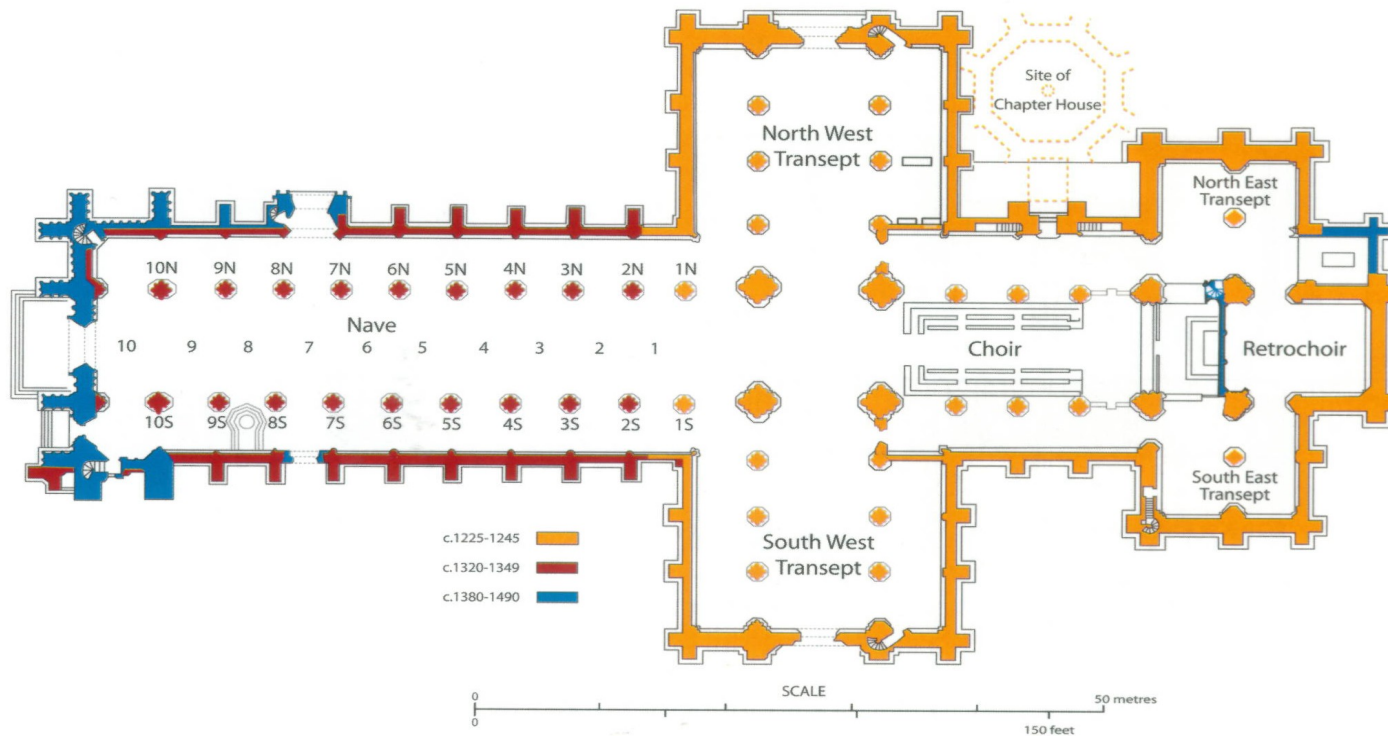


Figure 11: Plan of Beverley Minster with the numbered piers on the north (N) and south (S) sides of the nave⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Amanda Daw, 'Ground plan of Beverley Minster', in P. Barnwell & A. Pacey (eds.), *Who built Beverley Minster?* (Reading: Spire Books, 2008), 9.

Current condition of the eastern side of the reredos

At present, there is a grey coloured film on the stone blocks of the north return bay, located mainly on the upper blocks at about standing eye height. It seems to have been smeared deliberately across the stone blocks rather than caused by natural processes. Close examination of the stone blocks suggest that this grey film is embedded into the graffiti, indicating that it was applied after its inscription. This may suggest that this bay was subjected to a degree of cleaning work, and was an attempt at removing the graffiti. Alternatively, it may be the remains of some form of a painting scheme. It does not appear to have caused any damage to the surface of the stone blocks, for there is no indication of erosion on the areas to which it has been applied, yet the surfaces of the other four bays show no sign of the same treatment. The case is different elsewhere on the eastern side of the reredos where the surface of the stone blocks is weathering away as a result of erosion. The surface area of many of the lower stone blocks across all five bays shows signs of erosion and, in some cases, the growth of salt crystals. Those situated at low heights on the three middle bays appear to be particularly susceptible, perhaps, because these are more damp spaces. Figure 12 for example, shows the deteriorating surface of a stone block on the left-hand bay, leaving only fragmented remains of the original surface. The lack of graffiti in these areas limits the level of interpretation possible, since the quantity recorded is probably not fully representative of the amount that was inscribed earlier on during the period of activity.



Figure 12: The fragmented surface of a stone block as a result of the effects of erosion

Parish churches from the Humber region

Selecting parish churches

The graffiti in Beverley Minster is best studied not in isolation, but as part of a widespread practice in the context of other church buildings. Of the 905 entries in the graffiti database, 126 come from six parish churches situated within the Humber region (figure 13). The results from these surveys have provided a wider perspective of the practice of inscribing graffiti at a local level. They have also filled the gap in the lack of secondary literature about the practice in churches within the local area. The sites were selected by a number of criteria. They were to include a range of parish churches in the Humber region, which were constructed in the medieval period.

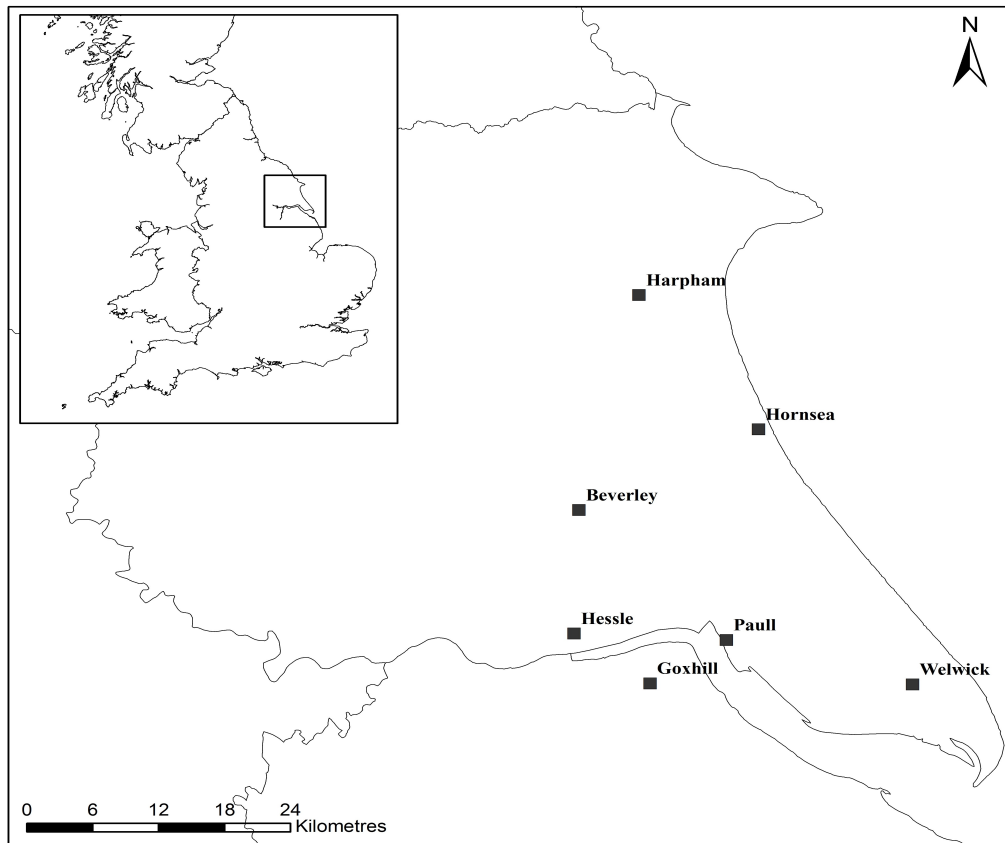


Figure 13: Location map of the six parish churches within the Humber region

Each of these six churches are situated within 27 miles via road from Beverley, with the closest being about nine miles. Five of the six churches studied are located within the county of the East Riding of Yorkshire. These include Saint John of

Beverley (Harpham), All Saint's (Hessle), Saint Nicholas's (Hornsea), Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's (Paull) and Saint Mary's (Welwick). A survey was also conducted of the graffiti surviving at All Saint's in Goxhill, situated in North Lincolnshire. The church at Goxhill was previously surveyed by Pritchard, and therefore this site was chosen simply because it was known to contain medieval graffiti prior to visiting. She published rubbings of only two examples, which included a graffiti depicting a female figure and another of a knight.⁷⁰ Some reassessment of this published material is required because Pritchard did not always provide an adequately detailed survey of a site. After conducting a more thorough survey of the graffiti in this church, it was apparent that Pritchard left many elaborate examples unrecorded. A summary of the details about each church, including the graffiti, can be found in Appendix three.

It has not been possible to visit every medieval church in the Humber region and, therefore, the sample should, by no means, be considered a complete survey of all churches with surviving graffiti within either East Yorkshire or North Lincolnshire. The dataset makes no claim to be an exhaustive study of the extent to which the practice of inscribing graffiti was prevalent in local churches in the medieval and early modern periods. Such an investigation is beyond the scope of this study, which does not examine the practice of inscribing graffiti in local churches in considerable detail, but is used to provide context for the purpose of comparative analysis. In chapters four and five, the graffiti recorded from these sites is a resource which is used, carefully, to identify the general differences and similarities of the subject matter of the types and quantities recorded in Beverley Minster and, more specifically, on the eastern side of the reredos.

Field work

The churches chosen for this research were identified and located by a process of visiting, surveying and exploring various sites for medieval graffiti. As mentioned earlier, due to the lack of medieval graffiti in the other two medieval churches in Beverley, it was necessary to venture further afield. The six parish churches investigated in this study have received little attention from scholars. With the exception of the church at Goxhill no surveys have been undertaken of the graffiti at any of the other five sites studied. It was, therefore, uncertain as to whether there

⁷⁰ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 121-2.

would be any graffiti to record prior to visiting the sites for this research. In the process of identifying sites that might have contained graffiti, it seemed reasonable to apply the commonly held theory that if a church was not entirely covered in lime-wash and its interior walls had not been resurfaced, then it was possible that graffiti would be present.⁷¹ Therefore, churches constructed in the medieval period with the smallest amount of restoration, reconstruction and lime-wash were preferred. By applying this rule, the main process of compilation has been through visiting as many of these churches in the Humber region as possible, while ensuring that the dataset was of a manageable size and that sufficient time was available to adequately survey each site. Efforts were particularly focused on visiting sites where there had been little, if any, alterations to the nave, west end and tower arches, because it is these areas where graffiti are commonly found. In preparation for visiting prospective sites that might have contained graffiti it was necessary to gather information about the present structure. A chronology and information about the condition of each church were obtained from secondary sources namely, Pevsner's series of the *Buildings of England* for Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.⁷²

Despite applying this methodology, at least 14 churches were visited within the Humber region which showed no evidence of graffiti. A full list of these churches can be found in Appendix three. Among the churches were; St Martin's (Hayton), St Mary's (Huggate), All Saints (Londesborough), All Saints (Nafferton) and Saint Patrick's (Parrington). It became apparent that this method was not applicable to all sites investigated. Nevertheless, the absence of graffiti in these churches emphasizes the importance of the extant examples at the six sites used in this study. During the search for potential sites, despite the fact that it seemed logical to theorise that the quantities which survive depend on variables such as restoration campaigns, it was evident that their survival also relied on chance. Appendix three also provides information about the condition of each church and shows that all six churches have been subjected to some degree of repair, restoration and cleaning work between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, the church at Paull has been substantially restored, and probably much graffiti was lost when it was repaired in 1663 and 1699, after being burnt in the siege of Hull in 1643.⁷³ It experienced further major restorations between

71 Champion, 'Reading the writing on the wall', 37-8.

72 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*; N. Pevsner & J. Harris, *The buildings of England: Lincolnshire*, 2nd edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989).

73 See Appendix three.

1877 and 1879, yet the church still exhibits an array of medieval graffiti.

The presence of wall paintings surviving from the medieval and early modern periods was, in theory, another indicator of a lack of restoration work. For the churches at Paull, Welwick and Goxhill (North Lincolnshire), this method of identification was successful. At Paull, the piers and arches bear traces of red paint and painted inscriptions, one of which is dated to 1657.⁷⁴ Welwick contains the remains of a post-Reformation wall painting on the clerestory walls, while at Goxhill there is a wall painting depicting the crucifixion in the south porch, dating to the mid fifteenth century.⁷⁵ However, in the process of visiting all churches which contained medieval wall paintings in the wider geographical scope of Yorkshire, it became apparent that even if a wall painting was in existence, there was no guarantee that graffiti would be present.⁷⁶ The remains of only eight medieval wall paintings survive in churches in Yorkshire, dating between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of which have been restored by a modern hand; however none contain graffiti.⁷⁷ After the surveys were completed, it became apparent that the presence of masons' marks was another feature that indicated a lack of cleaning and restoration work. The churches at Paull and Welwick were also identified as sites where graffiti might be found because they were listed in Godfrey's small illustrated catalogue of masons' marks in churches within the East Riding.⁷⁸

There were other sites which were visited that also contained graffiti but have not been included in the database. These were Saint Mary's (Cottingham), Saint Augustine's (Hedon), Holy Trinity (Hull), Saint Augustine's (Skirlaugh), Selby Abbey and Lincoln Cathedral. In some cases, the dates of the graffiti discovered in these churches were beyond the temporal parameters of this study and, therefore excluded from the study. For others, a survey would have been too time-consuming to undertake due to the large quantity of graffiti and size of the area in which it is located, such as at Lincoln Cathedral. In addition, as mentioned above, it was also necessary to keep the database and the thesis to a manageable size.

⁷⁴ Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 645.

⁷⁵ See Appendix three.

⁷⁶ R. Hiscott, *The relationship between Christian identity and the functions of the dialectical concepts in medieval wall paintings in the parish churches of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire between 1250 to 1470, with specific reference to Easby, Pickering, Corby Glen, and Friskney*. MA thesis (University of Hull, 2012).

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ P. Godfrey, *A Pictorial record of stonemasons marks (and others) found in the churches of East Yorkshire* (Driffild: P. Godfrey, 2012).

The surveys

Because Beverley Minster is open on a daily basis between around 8:30am to 6:30pm, this allowed the survey here to be carried out regularly, but this was not the case for the other six parish churches. Access was a problem on many occasions as the churches were often locked and only open for services. When the churches were locked there was usually a keyholder scheme for visitors, with the names of the people who held the keys and their contact details posted on the church noticeboard or in the porch. An appointment was made for certain days and times prior to embarking on the journey when visiting these churches outside service times.

Once the surveys were completed the results were entered into the graffiti database. It reveals that the quantities recorded from Beverley Minster and the six parish churches are uneven. The overall total of 126 examples recorded from the six parish churches is markedly smaller than the 779 in Beverley Minster, but it should nevertheless still be considered a significant quantity. This low number may be explained by the restoration campaigns, but it could also be that the practice of inscribing graffiti was not as prevalent in parish churches. Moreover, the comparatively smaller size of each parish church provides less surface area upon which to inscribe graffiti than that at Beverley Minster. In addition, more graffiti might have been inscribed in Beverley Minster because of the urban character of its location, thriving community, high population and its status as a pilgrimage site. None of which were features of the six parish churches in question.

The number of graffiti discovered and recorded at each site can be found in Appendix three. It is impossible to discern exactly the extent to which the amount of graffiti recorded at each site represent the number that were inscribed originally in the medieval period. There are further disparities between the number of examples recorded at each of the six parish churches which, again, may be partly due to the inevitable bias caused by the differences in the scale of the restoration campaigns between the churches. For instance, 52 examples of graffiti were recorded at Paull, while six were discovered at Welwick. In the case of Welwick, this relatively low quantity may have not only been caused by restoration, but also the weathering of the surface of the stone. As figure 14 shows, at present, a green, algal film can be seen on the interior of these walls and on the piers in the north and south arcades. Both of these hazards, biological and water, could have affected the surface of the building stone and

consequently, the number of surviving examples of graffiti. The differences in the number of graffiti is not as wide for the other four churches with a total of 24 at Hesse, 18 at Goxhill, 14 at Hornsea and 12 at Harpham. Each of the six parish churches have a nave with side aisles and piers that extend from the chancel arch to the west end. The spatial distribution of the graffiti at each site is generally limited to one or more of these locations.⁷⁹



Figure 14: Showing the erosion on a pier at Saint Mary's, Welwick

79 See Appendix three.

A full survey has been undertaken of the graffiti surviving in the interiors at each of the six sites. It is unlikely that the low quantities are the result of the standards of surveying, which were carried out systematically and consistently using the same methods as those at Beverley Minster, covering the entirety of their interiors. Unlike at Beverley Minster, where the surveying was restricted by various monuments, such obstacles did not pose a problem at the six parish churches because the stonework of their interiors were largely easily accessible. However, at these sites, it was not possible to highlight lightly-incised images with a strong light source as at Beverley Minster because of the lack, or limited means of access to electricity, which could well have prevented the discovery of examples.

The churches

Prior to the Reformation, prominent features of the interiors of these six churches may have included sculptures, wall paintings, bench ends, screens and windows depicting the lives of saints, moral allegories and Biblical scenes. However, little is known about the iconography that once adorned these six churches because most of their original stained-glass and wall paintings have either been restored or removed, and documentary evidence is scarce or absent. The absence of this information prevents an analysis of the potential relationships that may have existed between the types of graffiti and its surrounding iconography. In some cases, such as at Paull, the same subjects, namely ship graffiti, are distributed fairly evenly throughout the nave rather than concentrated in certain areas. This suggests that even if information about their surrounding iconography was available, relationships may still be difficult to discern.

Further notable features of each of the six churches can be gauged from the subject matter and diversity of the graffiti they contain. Each of the 126 examples of graffiti have been assigned to one of the 13 categories that are also present at Beverley Minster. A breakdown of the quantities organised into these categories for each site can be found in Appendix three. Paull has a high proportion of ship graffiti, but still exhibits the greatest diversity of subjects when compared with the other five churches, with examples of ten different categories depicted.⁸⁰ The proportional differences between the ship graffiti recorded at each church are discussed in chapter five. The churches at Hornsea and Hessle, in addition to ships, also contain various subject

⁸⁰ See Appendix three.

types, including examples from at least eight categories of graffiti. The categories common to both churches include, but are not limited to merchants' marks, heraldic devices, shapes and figures. Seven different types of graffiti were discovered at Harpham and five at Welwick. In the case of Goxhill, graffiti depicting figures dominate a significant proportion of the discoveries at this site, and overall, the 18 discoveries are also confined to five different types.⁸¹

At the time of their inscription, the churches or areas in which the graffiti are located would have been relatively new structures. It is unlikely, therefore, that the graffiti are the result of neglect but rather related to periods of activity, as is the case at Beverley Minster. None of the graffiti in these churches have been discovered on stone blocks from earlier buildings. The churches or areas in which the graffiti have been discovered at Hessle, Welwick and Goxhill (North Lincolnshire), have been dated to the thirteenth century. This indicates that this is the earliest possible date for the inscription of the graffiti in these locations, providing that it was inscribed *in situ*. In the case of Goxhill, there is only a single example located on the thirteenth-century chancel arch, while the other 17 occur in the nave, which dates from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The areas that contain evidence of graffiti in the churches at Harpham, Hornsea and Paull are also attributed to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸² Taken as a whole, evidence from merchants' marks, textual inscriptions, ship design, together with the dates of the churches and architectural locations suggest that the flourishing of the practice of inscribing graffiti at the six sites occurred from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

The churches deserve detailed attention in the context of the process of church building in the county during the medieval period. In the East Riding, the thirteenth century marked the beginning of a period of considerable investment in church building and rebuilding in the county, which continued into the mid fifteenth century, but was at its peak between c.1250 and 1350.⁸³ Monuments dating between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at Harpham, Hornsea, Welwick and Goxhill help to associate the churches with particular donors or families which, in turn, provide information about the status of each church.⁸⁴ The church at Harpham contains the most with a group of monuments commemorating the Saint Quintin family from the

81 See Appendix three.

82 See Appendix three.

83 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 38.

84 See Appendix three.

late twelfth to the twentieth century.⁸⁵ In 1374, Joan Saint Quintin was licensed to crenelate the bell tower she intended to build.⁸⁶ However, the family first rose to prominence when Herbert Saint Quintin was in military service to William the Conqueror, and was granted lands in the East Riding in the late eleventh century.⁸⁷ It was in the early thirteenth century that the family became extensive landowners in the county, acquiring land in Harpham and establishing a residence.⁸⁸ At Hornsea, a fifteenth-century monument in the form of an alabaster tomb-chest commemorates another member of the Saint Quintin family, Anthony, rector of Hornsea.⁸⁹ The graffiti discovered in these churches are, therefore, associated with periods when they were actively used and viewed by the social elite as worthy of financial investment.

Other studies

The results from other studies have been used as a means to identify, date and interpret the meaning of the graffiti examined in the course of this research. Evidence for further comparisons has also been gathered in order to assess the extent to which the subject matter and, in some cases, the quantities of each category in Beverley Minster reflect contemporary trends in the practice of inscribing graffiti across a wider geographical area. Other studies, therefore, allow a comparative analysis between the different categories of the graffiti in Beverley Minster and those from a range of regions in England, which places the evidence recorded in this study in a wider national context. These studies have revealed that certain types of graffiti are found in Beverley Minster and at sites in other counties, but not in the parish churches surveyed in the Humber region. Therefore, by using the results from other studies for the purpose of drawing comparisons, this has avoided the assumption that certain types of graffiti might be unique to Beverley Minster. It has already been noted that the number of parish churches surveyed in this study is limited, and that the quantities of graffiti from these sites are comparatively smaller than those recorded in Beverley Minster. As a counterweight to the limitations of the evidence gathered from the six parish churches, the results from the surveys at other sites have been important for providing further context about the practice of inscribing graffiti. Moreover, surveys carried out

⁸⁵ Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 449-50.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 450.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 478.

elsewhere across the country have revealed subject types which have not been recorded at any of the sites studied in this research.

As mentioned in chapter one, in recent years, the study of medieval graffiti and particularly its recording in churches in the south of England has expanded. Information about the graffiti in churches in other counties has been drawn from books, articles, unpublished reports and internet sites.⁹⁰ In addition to these resources, a large number of photographic images of the graffiti discovered in churches from the ongoing projects in Norfolk and Suffolk are readily available online and have provided valuable primary sources upon which to draw wider comparisons.⁹¹ Pritchard's study of medieval graffiti at various types of church buildings from 12 counties has also allowed further comparisons to be drawn from an even wider geographical area.⁹² They have been used to compare and contrast the architectural locations of the different types of graffiti in order to determine whether certain subjects were routinely inscribed in specific locations of religious significance. However, the results derived from other studies are often limited and provide little or no information about the specific architectural context of a graffiti. A record of their presence is still nevertheless significant, particularly when its subject matter has not been discovered at any of the six parish churches surveyed in the Humber region because, again, this avoids the assumption that certain types of graffiti only occur in Beverley Minster.

An overtly statistical approach has been avoided in this study. Most available studies have provided a general description of the relative frequency of the graffiti and certain subject types at a site rather than exact quantities in each building surveyed. Pritchard's study provides an inventory of the graffiti from church to church, highlighting elaborate examples at each site rather than identifying common subjects or providing a full survey of the graffiti at the churches investigated.⁹³ Some reassessment of published material is also required, because studies do not always identify the subject matter of the graffiti accurately, or acknowledge that there might be more than one interpretation, and as a result their meaning and purpose can be misinterpreted. For example, a few scholars suggest that the ragged staff is derived from a livery badge, but in this thesis it is demonstrated that this motif could well be

90 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*; Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 3-19; Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 1-55; Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Norfolk*.

91 Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Norfolk*; Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

92 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*.

93 *ibid.*

related to the concept of the Holy Cross.⁹⁴

However, there are limits to using examples from other studies as a means of identifying and dating the graffiti in this research. Both Champion and Pritchard draw attention to the high quality examples, most likely for the purpose of making the studies more interesting for their readerships.⁹⁵ They disregard the more numerous, crude graffiti, which is the character of the majority of examples recorded as part of this study. This has caused difficulties in relating the graffiti recorded in this thesis to those from other surveys. By scholars selecting the best examples from a church to interpret their meaning as a whole this constructs a misleading depiction of the nature of the practice.

The process of analysing the results from other studies is also complicated by the lack of contextual information about the graffiti and church in which it is situated. Pritchard's study, for example, rarely provides detailed investigations of the graffiti in terms of quantity, spatial distribution, diversity and frequency of different categories within the context of a church as a whole, but focusses on one or a few examples from each site. Establishing the precise position of a graffito has also been difficult when using the results from other studies. In her assessment of most churches, Pritchard's study does not supply information about the wider locational context of the graffiti, in relation to its surrounding iconography or proximity to other graffiti. She can also be imprecise when defining the position of a graffito within a church. For instance, Pritchard refers to one example as being located 'on a pillar' in Finchingfield church (Essex).⁹⁶ Establishing the location of a graffito has also been a key problem when using images from internet sites where only a close-up image is shown. This prevents information about their location within the wider context of the church from being known. It is important that this information is provided by future studies because, as mentioned earlier, the location of the graffiti can be used to interpret its meaning.

Material culture

Although this thesis analyses graffiti, material culture nevertheless has an important role. The lack of comparable material and established research guidelines has presented challenges for contextualising the graffiti. Drawing parallels with evidence

94 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 22; Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 197; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 116-119.

95 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 114-115; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 1, 70-71, 147.

96 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 21.

used within differing, but related areas of study, has helped to identify and date the graffiti recorded for this research. Material culture has also been used to situate the practice of inscribing graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos into a wider cultural, social and symbolic context.

The material culture used in this study have been identified and collated from both published and unpublished sources. It is relatively easy to access these types of evidence through searchable databases, catalogues of museum collections and excavation reports, which have been selected for their similarity to the subject matter of the different types of graffiti currently located on the eastern side of the reredos. Other sources have been chosen to provide context and are associated with the meaning of a category of graffiti, but do not necessarily depict the same motif. The symbols associated with each type of graffiti have been compared with contemporary artistic imagery on mediums which had a role in medieval daily life and religious culture, such as motifs in the margins of medieval manuscripts, seals, coins, brasses, effigies, sculptures and dress accessories. In turn, attention has been drawn to other personal religious practices that involved objects decorated with these motifs. Further statistical data has not been compiled for the material culture employed in this study, as these types of evidence are used for qualitative purposes. By placing the subject matter of each category into a broader visual context, this allows the wider meaning of the graffiti to be examined in relation to their role as symbols in late medieval culture.

These types of evidence not only allow a comparative analysis to be drawn between the subject matter of the graffiti with various mediums, but also across different materials including glass, metal, paper, leather, cloth and wax. The dress accessories collated and selected for this study would have been worn on the body, worn on clothing, or suspended from clothing including rings, pendants, brooches, buckles, mounts, purse frames, pilgrim souvenirs and coins. Contextual information about the objects, such as their date and circumstances in which they were found can convey meaning about the ways that the motifs they possessed were thought to function, and the reasons for why they might have been chosen as a subject to be inscribed in the form of graffiti. As sometimes mass-produced objects, they also represent a collective behaviour. In order to examine the different types of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in the context of wider iconographic trends, this study has used material culture from across England. This is because the frequent inscription

of a motif in one period in time and from a broad geographical area suggests that it had a well-known meaning.

Material culture, such as dress accessories, have been used in this study to investigate the theory that a particular subject matter of graffiti was chosen because it had a personal meaning to its inscriber. It is the portability of these types of evidence that provide an advantage for understanding the ways in which the motifs had a personal meaning for the individual. By being able to take these objects away from the locations in which they were created, the power that these motifs were believed to have was cut down to a manageable size and used for personal purposes. The role of these types of material culture in medieval daily life may reflect the motivations and expectations of the culture that reproduced the motifs in the form of graffiti. Dress accessories provide insights into individuals and their actions, in terms of their practices and beliefs. The objects selected for this study have been recovered from a variety of contexts including burials, cultivated land and river foreshores, which have been discovered by metal-detectors or excavation. Moreover, these sources have also been chosen because, similarly to that of the nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti, they highlight other ways in which people expressed religious beliefs through material practices disassociated with formal church ceremony. For example, objects with certain motifs were chosen to be worn because they were believed to have specific protective properties for spiritual and physical healing, such as pregnancy or bewitchment.⁹⁷ Therefore, iconographic comparisons with depictions in other artistic milieu can indicate which subjects of graffiti were inscribed with either devotional intent, or because they were thought to have protective powers.

In addition to shedding light on an aspect of graffiti research, drawing parallels with material culture also encourages a reflection on the meaning and purpose of these types of evidence for the people who owned them while, at the same time, reveals that these objects were more than merely decorative ornaments. This study makes no assumption that the objects were readily available to inscribers at the time of the inscription of the graffiti, but they provide a case for the argument that the motifs depicted were widely understood and easily recognised by late medieval inscribers and their audiences. There is little doubt that there were exchanges in iconography, not

97 E. Standley, *Trinkets and charms: the use, meaning and significance of later medieval and early post-medieval dress accessories*. PhD thesis (University of Durham, 2010), 126-151; E. Standley, *Trinkets and charms: the use, meaning and significance of dress accessories 1300-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2013), 79-81.

only between objects of the same medium, but also different forms of artwork. It is clear from Duffy's observation that this was prevalent among mediums, which reflected popular attitudes towards the cult of saints:

Certainly reminders of them [saints] were everywhere in late medieval England - engraved on drinking-cups and bowls, carved on lintels and gable-ends, their very names given to children at baptism. Their images filled the churches, gazing down in polychrome glory from alter-piece and bracket.⁹⁸

Material culture also assists with the process of identifying the subject matter of the different types of graffiti. Based on similarities between the graffiti and motifs depicted on material evidence, this has helped to provide a more convincing typology for the corpus on the eastern side of the reredos. Stylistic comparison between the motifs on the objects and the graffiti is not carried out in this study, but it is their subject matter which is contextualised. Comparisons with other mediums can also reveal alternative interpretations of the identification and provenance of certain types of graffiti.⁹⁹ In addition, it is helpful to examine broad artistic trends in order to situate the medieval graffiti on the eastern reredos, more firmly, within the assigned date from c.1330 to 1540, when the reredos served as a shrine-base.

Reports for local excavations

A comparison with the motifs that appear on objects recovered from excavations carried out within Beverley provides a local context, which demonstrates that the types of motifs inscribed in the form of graffiti were understood locally. Reports of discoveries made from the excavations conducted in Beverley at sites including Lurk Lane, that of the Dominican Priory and the Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers, have been used where possible to draw comparisons with the graffiti.¹⁰⁰ The diversity

⁹⁸ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 155.

⁹⁹ See chapters three and five.

¹⁰⁰ P. Armstrong et al., *Excavations at Lurk Lane, Beverley, 1979-82* (Beverley: Humberside Archaeology Unit, 1991); P. Armstrong & D. Tomlinson, *Excavations at the Dominican Priory Beverley* (Hull: Humberside County Council, 1987); M. Foreman & E. P. Allison, *Further excavations at the Dominican Priory, Beverley, 1960-1983* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); D. H. Evans, *Excavations and watching briefs on the site of the Knights Hospitallers' preceptory, Beverley, 1991-94* (Hull: East Riding Archaeological Society and Humberside Archaeology Partnership, 1997).

of personal dress fittings excavated from these sites include a broad range of glass beads, pendants, badges, bracelets, buckles and dress pins.¹⁰¹

Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)

Most of the unpublished objects have been selected from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS).¹⁰² This resource provides an extensive searchable database for a range of material culture, from rings and pendants to vessels and swords. Established in 1997, the PAS is a public finds-reporting scheme that records discoveries made in England and Wales.¹⁰³ The database holds records of objects found by the public whilst pursuing activities such as metal detecting. The scheme was founded in response to the *Treasure Act 1996*, which stipulates that all gold and silver objects and groups of coins of over 300 years old must be recorded.¹⁰⁴ By 17 August 2015, the PAS had recorded 1,109,238 objects within 694,800 records.¹⁰⁵ Every object recorded on the PAS can be searched by its unique ID number. The information given about each object includes a broad date, period, a description of its features and where it was discovered. Objects recorded on the PAS database have formed the basis of studies of dress accessories and their role in late medieval daily life and pilgrimage experience, in order to identify the general differences and similarities of this type of evidence within and between regions.¹⁰⁶ A wide variety of medieval objects have been identified and analysed for the purpose of this research. The database allows researchers to narrow the search for objects discovered in counties across England and Wales, as well as by the type of object and assigned period. This was important in the process of selecting evidence for this study, as the database allowed for medieval objects to be used from discoveries made in the local area. Where possible, this study has used examples of material culture recorded on the PAS from the East Riding but, in the absence of relevant discoveries from this region, it has been necessary to expand the search to North Yorkshire. The database has also been used to search for objects that depict the same

¹⁰¹ See chapters four and five.

¹⁰² British Museum, *PAS finds-reporting searchable database* (2015). Available online: <https://finds.org.uk/> [Accessed 28/8/15].

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Treasure Act 1996*. Elizabeth II, Chapter 24 (London: HMSO).

¹⁰⁵ British Museum, *Number of finds in database* (2015). Available online: <http://finds.org.uk/database> [Accessed 17/8/15].

¹⁰⁶ Standley, *Trinkets and charms*; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*. PhD thesis; W. Anderson, 'Blessing the fields? a study of late-medieval ampullae from England and Wales', *Medieval Archaeology*, 54, (2010), 182-200.

type of motif from different counties across England, in order to reflect the widespread dissemination of a particular symbol. Despite the fact that there is little contextual information about the circumstances in which the objects were found, the motifs they depict can still be investigated to learn more about their role on everyday accessories used in the past. A list of objects from the PAS used within this study can be found in Appendix four.

Pilgrim Souvenirs

Pilgrim souvenirs feature prominently in this study, as the subject matter of various categories of graffiti compare closely with the recurring symbols that appear on these objects, which can be organised into a similar set of types. These categories include crosses, religious symbols, letters, ships, shapes and figures. Pilgrim souvenirs are badges and tokens that were purchased by pilgrims at medieval shrines throughout Europe to remember their visits. In addition to the pilgrim souvenirs recorded on the PAS database, other resources, such as published catalogues have shown that museums in Bristol, London, Norfolk and Salisbury possess important and extensive collections.¹⁰⁷ In medieval England, they were manufactured and sold at centres of pilgrimage such as Canterbury and Walsingham, but also, as mentioned in chapter one, Bridlington Priory and possibly Beverley Minster itself.¹⁰⁸ Pilgrimages to sites in England increased in popularity after access to the Holy Land became dangerous following the expulsion of the Christians in the late thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ For pilgrims, souvenirs were readily available as the majority were inexpensive and mass-produced, facilitating the widespread dissemination of their motifs.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the lack of archaeological evidence for a particular motif in the local area does not necessarily exclude the possibility that it was circulated locally. By drawing comparisons with the graffiti and the motifs depicted on objects with provenances from different

107 S. Barker, 'Pilgrim signs and other badges in Bristol City Museum', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 95 (1977), 47-50; Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*; S. Margeson, *Norwich households: the medieval and post-medieval finds from Norwich survey excavations 1971-1978* (East Anglia: University of East Anglia, 1993); Norfolk Museums Service, *Medieval pilgrim badges, West Norfolk's greatest treasure from Lynn Museum* (2010-15). Available online: http://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/Visit_Us/Lynn_Museum/index.htm [Accessed 28/8/15]; Spencer, *Salisbury and South Wiltshire*.

108 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 37- 123, 171-5, 182-5; S. Blick, 'Comparing pilgrim souvenirs and Trinity Chapel windows at Canterbury Cathedral: an exploration of context, copying, and the recovery of lost stained-glass', *Mirator Syyskuu*, (2001), 1-27.

109 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 71.

110 *ibid.*, 70.

geographical areas, this may indicate further conformity with wider national iconographic trends. Discoveries have shown that they were used in burial practices, deposited on cultivated land, in rivers or streams possibly as offerings, and were also sewed into devotional manuscripts.¹¹¹ Pilgrim souvenirs also assist with dating. In England their manufacture peaked in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which is the date assigned to the inscription of much of the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos.¹¹² They were produced in two forms, both of which have been used in this study. The earliest examples were known as 'ampullae' and was the most commonly manufactured type from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century.¹¹³ These were portable hollow containers in the form of flasks or vials, decorated with images that could be used to bring home holy water from shrines or wells. The other type were badges attached to a pilgrims clothing and were prevalent in the fifteenth century, until they fell out of use in the early sixteenth century when shrines were demolished.¹¹⁴ According to Anderson's study of ampullae recorded on the PAS database, distribution patterns show that these objects are spread across England and Wales, with concentrations in certain regions. On the basis of their iconography, he concludes that examples decorated with the same designs are distributed throughout the country, suggesting that they were widely consumed and transported.¹¹⁵

Numismatics

Numismatic evidence, the study of coins, is also used in this thesis as a means of identifying, dating and interpreting the meaning of the subject matter of the different categories of graffiti. Numismatics encompasses a vast scope of historical disciplines including economic, political, social and maritime history, as well as theology and art. Pictorial catalogues of collections provide information about the chronological development of British coinage from the first century onwards, and have been a valuable resource on which to base a comparative analysis of their features and

111 Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 211; Anderson, 'Blessing', 182-200; M. Garcia, 'Medieval medicine, magic, and water: the dilemma of deliberate deposition of pilgrim signs', *Peregrinations: Journal of medieval art and architecture*, 1, 3 (2005), 1-13; M. Foster-Campbell, 'Pilgrimage through the pages: pilgrims' badges in late medieval devotional manuscripts', in S. Blick & L. Gelfand (eds.), *Push me, pull you: imaginative, emotional, physical, and spatial interaction in late medieval Renaissance art* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 227-76.

112 Foster-Campbell, 'Pilgrimage', 227.

113 Garcia, 'Medieval medicine', 2.

114 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 3.

115 Anderson, 'Blessing', 193-8.

function with the different types of graffiti.¹¹⁶ The coins used in this thesis date from the Anglo-Saxon period to the early sixteenth century, in order to examine the function of their motifs as symbols. In some cases these objects pre-date the graffiti, but have been used because the repetition of a motif in different areas across several centuries suggests that it was a well-known design. They have been useful for contextualising the subject matter of the graffiti including crosses, ships, heraldry, textual inscriptions and figures.¹¹⁷ From the Anglo-Saxon period, ecclesiastical dignitaries had a role in issuing coins. This influence was demonstrated by coinages carrying texts and symbols borrowed from the Bible and others minted with images of archbishops. These trends continued until Thomas Cromwell's administration when ecclesiastical coinages came to an end.¹¹⁸ In the late medieval period, coins also had value not only in the physical world of human exchange as a form of currency, but also for non-monetary purposes in the invisible world of spirits and demons, as Maguire states that they were perceived to have a 'supernatural potency'.¹¹⁹

Problems of using material evidence

The dating of objects can be difficult when they come from an unstratified archaeological context and without a secure date. When such information is provided they can still be difficult to date accurately. The process of dating is further complicated by the fact that evidence indicates that certain motifs were in use for long-periods of time. Archaeological evidence shows that in the medieval and early modern periods, older objects were reused from earlier periods. Re-used coins for instance, were pierced with holes and suspended from the neck because they were perceived to have protective properties.¹²⁰

Many motifs recorded in this study cannot be traced to a specific temporal or geographical milieu as the subjects are often ambiguous and ubiquitous. Depictions of crosses for example, are found on sarcophagi and other objects beginning from the

116 P. Seaby & P. F. Purvey (eds.), *Coins of England and the United Kingdom*, 17th edition, Volume 1 (London: Seaby, 1980); P. Seaby, *The story of British coinage* (London: Seaby, 1985); P. Skingley (ed.), *Coins of England & the United Kingdom 2015*, 50th edition (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 2014).

117 See chapters three, four and five.

118 K. Jacob, *Coins and Christianity* (London: Seaby, 1959), 30-37; Seaby, *British coinage*, 25-6, 64-5.

119 H. Maguire, 'Magic and money in the early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 1039.

120 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 155; R. Gilchrist, 'Magic for the dead? the archaeology of magic in later medieval burials', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52 (2008), 133-5.

fifth century.¹²¹ However, their connection to the subject matter of different types of graffiti can be seen as evidence for the revival or continuation of the use of these motifs as symbols from earlier eras, but also how its long-standing function may well have contributed to the belief in its protective properties.

Literary sources

Literary evidence constitutes a further component of the holistic methodology employed within this study. Additional information about the possible symbolic associations of a motif can be gained from their description in contemporary literary evidence. It has already been demonstrated in chapter one that miracle accounts can be used to assess people's perception of Saint John and his reputation for miracle-working powers. This section provides an overview of the provenance of the documents that contain the accounts of his miracles, and the ways in which they have been used in this study to understand the meaning of the graffiti inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos when John's shrine was supported by the upper platform directly above. It also discusses other types of literary evidence, such as devotional and visionary literature, which have been identified and utilised where there are references to symbols that may be equated with the subject matter of the different types of graffiti. These sources have also been used to provide a social, religious and cultural context for the perceptions of the inscribers of the graffiti.

Miracle accounts

Because there is no documentary evidence that refers directly to the practice of inscribing graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos, it has been necessary to draw upon miracle accounts in order to situate it into the potential perspectives of its inscribers in relation to Saint John. In this study, an attempt has been made to equate the subject matter of the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos to the features of the different kinds of miracles attributed to Saint John. The miracles discussed in this study have been selected for their similarities to the subjects depicted in the form of graffiti. Collections of Saint John's posthumous miracles were designed to promote and provide written evidence of his sanctity by enhancing his reputation. Archbishop Ealdred of York commissioned Folcard, a former monk of Saint Bertin at Saint Omer

121 A. W. Steffler, *Symbols of the Christian faith* (Michigan & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002), 27.

to write a life of Saint John, to promote his cult.¹²² In his *Vita Sancti Johannis*, written in the 1060s, Folcard mentioned a tradition of miracles taking place at Saint John's tomb.¹²³ This is John's official biography, which claims to provide a true narrative of his entire life. It was also written to proclaim his merits as a saint with effective intercessory powers, drawing attention to the benefits of seeking his help in Beverley. Another collection of miracles are recorded in the *Miracula Sancti Johannis*, composed in the early twelfth century and ascribed to William Ketell, a clerk of Beverley.¹²⁴ Folcard's and Ketell's sets of miracles are contained in the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, which contains three further collections that were probably compiled by members of the religious community at Beverley. These are referred to as *Alia Miracula I*, compiled in the late twelfth century, *Alia Miracula II*, which provides no clues as to its date of compilation and *Alia Miracula III*, another set of miracles assigned to the late thirteenth century.¹²⁵ The *Chapter Act Book of Beverley Minster*, a collection of Beverley Minster's legal and administrative transactions between c.1286 and 1347, contain four miracles attributed to Saint John in 1318, 1321, 1322 and 1323.¹²⁶ Leach edited and transcribed the *Chapter Act Book* in two volumes published by the Surtees Society in 1897 and 1903. The *Chapter Act Book* has formed the basis of studies about the Minster's architecture and institutional history.¹²⁷ As mentioned in chapter one, from the evidence available, there are no records of further miracles after 1323, which is possibly because other primary sources relating to the Minster have not survived.¹²⁸ In this study, it is proposed that the inscription of graffiti was a medium through which worshippers could cultivate an intimate relationship with Saint John, and must be seen alongside other practices that reflected the desire for physical proximity.

In her analysis of the documentary evidence relating to John's life and development of his cult, Wilson argues that John's hagiography 'not only reflects the perceptions and aspirations of the community at Beverley in relation to their saint, but also reveals the character and function of [the] miracles', because they embody the

122 Wilson, *The life*, 6-7.

123 *ibid.*, 59.

124 *ibid.*, 9-10.

125 *ibid.*, 11-13.

126 Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 362-3, 400-401; Leach, *Memorials*, vol 2, 26, 32.

127 Woodworth, *The architectural history*; Sharp, *The Minster*.

128 Leach, *Memorials*, vol 2, 32.

attitudes of the people towards the saint to whom they appealed for help.¹²⁹ The miracle accounts provide a glimpse into the motivations of those who visited the space beneath his shrine, and possibly inscribed the graffiti. For pilgrims visiting his shrine, the longevity of John's miracles, which were recorded over the period of 700 years, must have inspired hope and confidence in the efficacy of the miracle-working powers ascribed to his relics.¹³⁰ They show that miracle-seekers might visit either the tomb or shrine of Saint John in anticipation of a miracle, or by recipients to express their gratitude for a miracle performed in his name. The accounts also put forward examples of how John's adherents should strive to behave, and educate audiences in the proper way to petition him, or to show gratitude by offerings and prayers.¹³¹ As the miracle accounts were all written in Latin their initial readership would have been the educated elite, who either visited Beverley and read the works on display or to whom copies were supplied. The stories would then have been transmitted to the less educated by word of mouth in their own language, making them more widely available and appealing to diverse groups of people.¹³²

However, the miracle accounts are of limited value to understanding the perception of Saint John during the period in which the shrine was located on top of the reredos because, as mentioned earlier, the miracle accounts ceased from 1323, which was before it was constructed. Despite this limitation, John's hagiography still sheds light on his persona and, therefore, the sort of miracles that he was possibly called upon to perform by successive generations hoping for similar assistance.

Other written sources

In addition to the miracle collections that comprise Saint John's hagiography, this study has used other literary sources. They have been selected in the same way as the miracle accounts of Saint John; for their references to the subject matter of the different categories of graffiti. An important source of information about the late medieval perception of various saints and features of their miracles can be drawn from the *Golden Legend*. Written around the year 1260, it is a collection of saints' lives composed by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican friar. It is a valuable source for

129 Wilson, *The life*, 2.

130 *ibid.*, 1-2.

131 *ibid.*, 68, 76-8.

132 *ibid.*, 65.

ascertaining the functions of individual saints.¹³³ Although it was widely circulated, it is impossible to know whether the inscribers of the graffiti in Beverley Minster and the further six parish churches had any knowledge of their content. Others used in this study were written by English mystics in the fourteenth century, such as Richard Rolle's, *The fire of love*.¹³⁴ Such works were compiled in a period when England witnessed a flourishing of mystical writing. Rolle himself inspired a popular cult in the north of England and his works continued to be widely read in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹³⁵

Challenges of using graffiti for historical research

Although the graffiti recorded for this research allows us to gain insights into the ways in which people interacted with the fabric of these churches in the medieval and early modern periods, there are limits to the level of information they provide. Some intractable problems are always present in studies of medieval graffiti and therefore, various precautions must be taken when conducting any investigation involving this type of evidence. The problems of using graffiti as a source for historical research relate to quantification, identification, dating and interpretation, many of which are frequently experienced in projects involving the study of churches.

Quantification

As outlined above, it is difficult to understand the extent to which the amount of graffiti surviving reflects the patterns of past inscription. This is because, by its very nature, graffiti survives by chance. The chance survivors in this study serve to remind us how much must have been destroyed, and that the importance of its recording lies in the unfortunate possibility that it might decay and disappear. Its survival at the sites surveyed for this research has been hampered not only by over-painting and whitewash in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, instigated by religious changes, but also by the weathering of the stone and constant remodelling of churches that continues into the present day, which has undoubtedly resulted in much graffiti being lost. We are, therefore, constantly left asking whether the number of graffiti recorded in the database

133 J. Voragine, *The Golden Legend: selections*. Translated from Latin by C. Stace (Clays Ltd, St Ives: Penguin Classics, 1998).

134 R. Rolle, *The fire of love*. Translated from Latin by C. Wolters (Reading: Penguin Classics, 1972).

135 D. Renevey, '1215-1349: texts', in S. Fanous & V. Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to medieval English mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 105-112.

reflects the quantity that was inscribed in the medieval and early modern periods or simply indicates current surveying and reporting practices.

The problems of quantification are further aggravated in instances where a graffito is faded, fragmented or only partially visible. This is either because a stone, inserted at a later date in repair, abruptly interrupts a full image of a graffito, or where the weathering effect has caused serious degradation to the surface of the stone block. For the purpose of examining the graffiti using quantitative methods such examples, which were unable to be identified were counted and organised into a category defined as 'miscellaneous'.¹³⁶

Without suitable lighting equipment, particularly at Beverley Minster and at Paull, the graffiti can be difficult to see. Inscribers may have encountered some practical difficulties in the physical act of inscribing in churches as a result of problems with lighting at certain times of the day and year. For example, the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster is currently well lit by electrical sources of lighting that are strategically positioned close to the vaulting. But without this source of lighting the vaulted space beneath the upper platform is very dark, even in daylight during the winter season. In such conditions it is difficult to accept that inscribers would be able to see the image they were in the process of inscribing, as well as the inscriptions that had been previously created. This may explain the large amount of overwriting which has left a confused jumble of lines (figure 15). When lit by candles or the raking light during daylight hours, primarily in the summer months, the interiors of the churches surveyed for the purpose of this study can be relatively clearly seen, suggesting that this time of day and year, would have provided the most suitable setting for their incision. As a result, the amount of natural light that a location received may well have had an impact on where graffiti accumulated.

This raises further problems of quantification, as there are cases where it is difficult to distinguish individual examples at the sites. The graffiti frequently overlap one another, creating the appearance of a chaotic jumble of lines, making it difficult to identify the details belonging to each graffito. For instance, in churches with recorded examples of musical notation, it can be difficult to establish whether textual inscriptions, situated on the lines of a stave are associated with the notation itself, or inscribed as a separate graffito which intended to serve a different purpose.

¹³⁶ See chapter three.

Determining which lines form part of a graffito can also be further confused by tooling marks on the stone surface. Microscopic examination has been a means of determining which lines are deliberately related to each graffito but, in many cases, they remain ambiguous.



Figure 15: Showing a mass of overlying graffiti that cover a surface

Identifying the graffiti

Graffiti needs to be understood with attention to the obstacles that limited inscribers' ability to render a particular design accurately such as hard stone surfaces, tools and the amount of time available to execute them. Unlike commissioned forms of art such as wall paintings and sculpture, inscribers had no need to satisfy a critical audience and, therefore, the graffiti are more likely to contain inaccuracies. Mistakes made by inscribers could reflect the difficulty of physically reproducing an image or remembering a motif. There is also the possibility that incorrect details may have been made intentionally to convey a meaning by omitting or imitating features for their own

composition, which might be known only to its inscriber. The constraints of space could well have been another influence on the image depicted. For example, the ship graffiti in Beverley Minster frequently covers adjoined blocks of masonry. If there was more room, inscribers might have used the opportunity to create larger and, perhaps, more accurate depictions. In cases such as ship graffiti, it is impossible to be certain whether it was an attempt at a realistic depiction of a vessel or a visual metaphor with a symbolic meaning. There have been efforts in this study to draw parallels with the subject matter of the different types of graffiti with other mediums where there may have been similar dilemmas for their creators, particularly small objects such as rings, pendants and coins, which also have hard surfaces and a limited amount of space.

Identifying the subject matter of the graffiti can also be problematic because of the casual and informal circumstances of their creation. As this study shows, not all graffiti can be identified confidently and many are impossible to relate to material in the archaeological or historical record. The personal nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti can make it difficult to identify their subject matter, as a design may belong to the inscriber's store of personal symbols, which may be distinct from more commonly circulated examples.¹³⁷ This problem relates to the issue of human subjectivity, with the view of the past creator of the graffiti and the subjectivity of the later viewer. The meaning of such an example would have been understood by its own inscriber, but the modern viewer is at the mercy of their own perceptual experiences when attempting to identify and interpret its purpose. As a modern viewer we may misinterpret or overlook subtle, deeper levels of meaning as a result of our lack of knowledge of the psychology and emotion of the inscribers making the graffiti. This is because interpretation depends on achieving an understanding of the decision-making processes that underlie the practice in the medieval and early modern periods. Interpreting the meaning and significance of the graffiti might be considered as highly subjective. To add greater objectivity, every effort has been made in this study to incorporate evidence from other contemporary sources in order to determine possible meanings and contribute validity to the interpretations drawn from the graffiti evidence.

Dating

The task of dating the graffiti is another challenge. A degree of caution is essential

¹³⁷ Bon, *Images out of water*, 23.

when analysing the graffiti on a stone block from an earlier building, which were often reused in either rebuilding or repairing a later edifice. This practice was exercised in Beverley Minster, as evidenced by the recycled chevron decoration hidden under the aisle roofs of the Gothic nave, datable to c.1120 to 1160.¹³⁸ It is difficult to date graffiti where examples are not accompanied by a date. The majority of dated examples tend to have been inscribed in the early modern period, and were common from the early seventeenth century. Even when a date has been inscribed we can never be completely certain that it represents the exact time of inscription. It could well be that a different date was chosen because it had a sentimental meaning to its inscriber, or for the purpose of idle doodling. It is possible, in most cases, to ascribe a broad date to the graffiti, though some examples remain ambiguous. As mentioned earlier, the same motifs were in use for several centuries and, in many cases, it is difficult to date the graffiti with any accuracy. For example, compass-drawn designs are commonly recorded in medieval churches as well as vernacular buildings constructed in the eighteenth century.¹³⁹ In addition, it is possible that inscribers deliberately chose a design originating from an earlier period, which makes accurate dating difficult. In many cases, the most that can be done is to classify an example as either medieval or early modern. A broad date can be ascribed to certain types of graffiti by using features. For example in the case of textual inscriptions, this could be based upon the writing style. However, such dating methods also have the potential to be misleading, as writing styles can be anachronistic and could be either copied, or influenced by earlier manuscripts. Unless a graffito is associated with a name and date that may allow a documentary search, it is otherwise difficult to determine the exact date of such examples. Pictorial types, such as ships, can be assigned to a specific shipbuilding tradition, identified by the shape of the hull or other features, and then an attempt can be made to date it. However, styles and designs of ship types remained virtually unchanged for several centuries and therefore, cannot be dated with any certainty. Other examples, such as depictions of human figures may show clothing that can help to date an inscription. From Champion's survey at Troston for instance, the examples of two full-length figures of a male and female have both been dated between the late fourteenth to the mid fifteenth century based on the way their clothing is depicted.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ See chapter one.

¹³⁹ Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 29-44; B. Meeson, 'Ritual marks and graffiti: curiosities or meaningful symbols?', *Vernacular Architecture*, 36 (2005), 41-8.

¹⁴⁰ Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 239.

Interpreting graffiti

Because there is no direct documentary evidence related precisely to the beliefs and meanings associated with the practice of inscribing graffiti we can only speculate about the motives which may have underpinned their inscription. Given such circumstances, it is unlikely that we can do much more than survey the range of possibilities for their meaning. Such interpretations depend heavily on analysing the significance of the graffiti in relation to the original physical context in which they were created and relationships with their environment. For all churches studied in this thesis, attempts at examining the meaning and purpose of the graffiti as a direct response to their surroundings are restricted by the loss or restoration of their original imagery namely stained-glass, wall paintings and sculpture. This makes it difficult to ascertain whether inscribers' choice of subject was influenced by the surrounding imagery. Lost, damaged or unreachable graffiti prevent an accurate assessment of whether they may have formed a stimuli for the inscription of later examples imitated along similar lines. Furthermore, an inconvenience of access to potentially much undiscovered graffiti is caused by the insertion of memorials and monuments that occupy stone surfaces such as those in Beverley Minster, not only including the Warton Tomb on the eastern reredos, but also others in the bays of the nave. These problems limit our understanding of the potential interrelationships that might have existed between the graffiti. However, in this study material culture and literary sources supply further evidence so that conclusions are never based upon the graffiti and the location alone.

Other problems for modern interpreters relate to the difficulties of understanding inscribers' intentions not only in terms of the image they intended to convey, but also their meaning and purpose. A graffito may not necessarily represent the design that was originally inscribed. Graffiti discovered at public sites, such as churches, are vulnerable to being deliberately altered by later passers-by who can adjust or add detail, which may change its subject matter and meaning.

The problems of interpreting graffiti are exacerbated by uncertainties about their social context. Personal marks, such as merchants' marks, can supply information about the occupation of the people who may have inscribed certain types of graffiti, but it is otherwise impossible to identify the individuals that inscribed them in terms of their occupation, gender, social status or religious beliefs. These are all variables that

may have had a bearing on the reasons for the inscription of the graffiti, as well as the choice of a particular subject matter and its location. In essence, it is important that research into medieval graffiti acknowledges the problem of ambiguity and is treated with caution.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the study of medieval graffiti holds the potential to shed light upon contemporary aspects of religious culture, while it has also acknowledged the difficulties inherent in identifying, recording, dating and interpreting its meaning and significance. It has explored the theoretical perspectives that have been used in this study to approach the issue of the permissibility of the practice of inscribing graffiti in the medieval and early modern periods, and the methods which previous scholars have employed to interpret its meaning for the people that inscribed it. Although scholars have mentioned the issue of permissibility in passing, it has not been examined adequately. Many gaps have been identified in the current state of knowledge of medieval graffiti and the driving forces behind this practice. This may be attributed to the lack of multidisciplinary research. The theoretical approaches discussed in this chapter underpin the interpretations of the graffiti presented in this thesis. This study has employed a holistic approach that has used a range of sources, including documentary evidence and material culture in order to situate this practice into wider social and cultural contexts. The next chapter explores the distribution pattern and different types of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, which provides an understanding of the evidence before interpreting the motives for participating in the practice in this location.

Chapter 3

The graffiti evidence

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the graffiti currently located on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster. In this chapter, material culture, literary evidence and the results from other studies are used as a means to identify and date the medieval graffiti recorded in this location to the period between c.1330 to 1540, when the reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John.¹ After a brief discussion of the distribution of the graffiti across the eastern reredos as a whole, the remainder of the chapter is arranged according to a general summary of each category and sub-category of graffiti present. The intention here is to provide a straightforward overview of the different categories of graffiti, and to discuss issues relating to dating and identification. Admittedly, the criterion for each category might be debated and, in many cases, it is possible to place a graffiti into more than one. This chapter provides an understanding of the scope of the graffiti record in this location, not only in terms of spatial distribution and subject matter, but also in size, style of execution and deepness of incision for the examples assigned to each category. Measurements are included in the summaries of most categories in order to emphasize variations in terms of size. The categories are presented in chronological order, beginning with the medieval types, which are arranged in order of abundance. This chapter then surveys the graffiti inscribed in the early modern period, which is followed by a discussion of the miscellaneous examples and the motifs omitted from this study. Quantifying the graffiti is a way of indicating the extent of the practice in this location, and presenting an understanding of the relative frequency of each subject category. A breakdown of the quantities recorded for each category are shown in table 1 and in figure 16.

A brief overview of the spatial distribution of the graffiti

The eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster is notable for its diverse and extensive corpus of medieval and early modern graffiti.² The corpus of 373 examples have been grouped by subject matter into 13 categories, including a miscellaneous category for examples that were difficult to identify precisely. There are a number of

1 See chapters one and two.

2 See chapters one and two.

commonly found subjects including textual inscriptions, crosses, letters and shapes. Some motifs depict simple shapes, while others are more complex and include detailed figural representations. They also extend, among other things, to records of musical notation, and the existence of certain cults and saints' emblems. They were probably more numerous early on, but in the course of time may have been damaged by the weathering of the surface of the stone blocks.³

Category	Quantity	Percentage
Textual inscriptions	131	35.1
Crosses	41	10.9
Letters	28	7.5
Shapes	27	7.2
Religious symbols	11	2.9
Ships	11	2.9
Music	7	1.8
Heraldry	6	1.6
Figures	5	1.3
Animals	3	0.8
Merchants' marks	2	0.5
Early modern graffiti	71	19.0
Miscellaneous	30	8.0
Total	373	

Table 1: The quantity and percentage of each type of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster

³ See chapter two.

Proportions for each category of graffiti

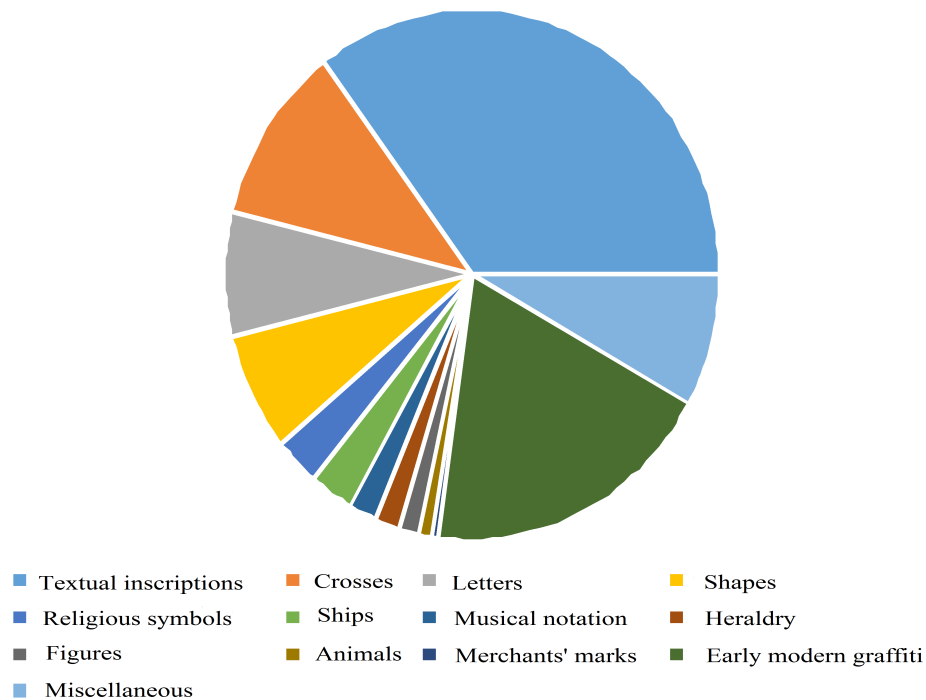


Figure 16: Showing the proportion of each type of graffiti on the eastern reredos

The graffiti occurs on over half of the visible stone blocks across all five bays of the eastern reredos.⁴ Table 2 provides a breakdown of the number of graffiti on each bay. The presence of graffiti on the north and south return bays has obvious logic as the stone blocks in these locations are always in direct light during daylight hours. Despite the fact that the three main bays do not receive as much daylight as the return bays, the quantities in table 2 show that the bays beneath the upper platform were the preferred location for the inscription of graffiti. There is a slight difference between the densities on the right and left-hand bays, with 34.5% on the right-hand bay and 40.7% on the left-hand bay. It could well be that the left-hand bay received more daylight, leading to a slightly greater accumulation. As might be expected, there is a lower density of only 8.5% on the middle bay because the stone blocks are partially covered by the Warton Tomb, which has limited the survey to either side of the monument.⁵ The graffiti may well have accumulated on the right and left-hand bays because these

⁴ See chapter two.

⁵ See chapter two.

locations would have been situated directly beneath the shrine of Saint John between c.1330 and 1540, and was also in close proximity to the performance of the Eucharist. Alternatively, this bias on the three main middle bays could well be because they each have a larger surface area in comparison to the two smaller return bays.

Location	Quantity	Percentage
Left-hand bay	152	40.7
Right-hand bay	129	34.5
South return bay	44	11.7
Right and left-hand sides of the Warton Tomb	32	8.5
North return bay	16	4.2
Total	373	

Table 2: A breakdown of the quantity and percentage of graffiti on each bay

The measurements of the stone blocks vary across the bays and at certain heights. It is helpful to provide their measurements here in order to understand the scale of the graffiti in relation to the wider surface area of the stone blocks. The stone blocks on the return bays measure about 32.5cm high and 31cm wide, while those on the right and left-hand bays also measure around 32.5cm high, but are slightly wider at 46cm. The stone blocks on the middle bay at either side of the Warton Tomb also measure around 32.5cm high, but vary in terms of width between 30cm and 34cm, depending on the amount of overlap with the monument. The tracery that begins on row seven and continues upwards also reduces the height of the surface area upon which to inscribe on these stone blocks, but does not affect the width. On the return bays, the stone blocks on row seven measure about 19.5cm high, and are 13.5cm high on the three main middle bays before the tracery begins to overlap.

The eastern reredos has been examined in detail above standing eye level in order to record the extent of the graffiti across the five bays. The graffiti are spread between rows one through seven, with definite concentrations on certain rows, which indicate that it was inscribed whilst the stones blocks were *in situ*, providing that the

floor level has not changed. Rows four and five are the most convenient locations at standing eye level and, as might be expected, have the highest concentrations of graffiti. The inscription of the graffiti on these rows might have been suited to individuals with a height of between about 1.52m and 1.82m. Row four contains the highest concentration of graffiti with 44.6% of the total occurring at this height. On row five the number of graffiti equates to 24.7%, which is still quite a high density when compared with that of other rows. Rows four and five might have been chosen as suitable locations because they received the most daylight penetration, making it easier for inscribers to see what they were inscribing. The density is still reasonably high on row three with about 20.9% of the graffiti located at this height. Inscribing at this height might have been convenient for people who were, perhaps, kneeling. Unsurprisingly, the graffiti is rather sparse on rows that are unreachable for people with a height over 1.82m. The graffiti situated at the highest levels, that it is, on rows six and seven, have a combined total of 29 examples, which equates to 7.7% of the total. To inscribe at these heights would have required both time and effort that would have inevitably attracted attention, because it is likely that their inscribers were elevated by some form of support on which they could stand. Though the viewer would have had little difficulty observing, but not reaching the finished piece from where they stood. The graffiti are also less densely packed on the lower rows. A single graffiti occurs on row one and six examples on row two which equates to a combined proportion of 1.8% of the total. As shown in chapter two, the stone blocks on the lower rows are susceptible to the weathering effect, which may explain the low numbers at these heights. Inscribing a graffiti on row two might have been convenient for an inscriber that was sitting on the floor or, perhaps, crouching. But row one can only be conveniently reached whilst lying on the floor, which might suggest that the single graffiti in this location was incised before the stone was placed *in situ*. The inconvenience caused in an effort to reach these lower heights may well be another reason for the lack of graffiti on these rows. Because the majority of graffiti are located on rows four and five at standing eye level, it seems reasonable to suggest that they were inscribed whilst the stone blocks were *in situ*. A breakdown of the number of graffiti on each row is provided in table 3.

Row	Quantity	Percentage
1	1	0.2
2	6	1.6
3	78	20.9
4	166.5	44.6
5	92.5	24.7
6	27	7.2
7	2	0.5
Total	373	

Table 3: A breakdown of the quantity and percentage of graffiti on each row

Most of the graffiti have been inscribed by free-hand, but there are a few compass-drawn designs. Others may have been incised using straight-edged instruments and required manual skills. However, the small number of graffiti which consist of straight lines and well-executed circles suggest that non-specific masonry tools were used to inscribe the majority of examples. Certain instruments used to inscribe medieval graffiti have been identified. Jones-Baker discovered a black substance embedded in the graffiti at Lincoln Cathedral which she considered as likely to be the 'remains of the sharply-pointed charcoal sticks' used to inscribe it.⁶ In contrast, there is no evidence for the use of such instruments in Beverley Minster, or at the other sites surveyed as part of this study. It seems likely that the majority at these sites were inscribed with an instrument that had a sharp point, possibly a stylus or small knife. There are variations in the deepness of the lines used in the creation of the graffiti on the eastern reredos. Some are thin and shallow which do not penetrate deeply into the surface of the stone, rendering them invisible without an appropriate light source. While others are deep and rather wide, which allows them to be easily identified without lighting equipment. The former could have been achieved quickly with relatively little labour when compared with the latter which would have required considerable pressure, prompting the question of how long it would have taken an individual to inscribe a graffiti. Certainly, the potential existed for anybody entering

⁶ Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 26.

the space in the retro-choir, whether clergy or laity, to have seen individuals inscribing the graffiti. At least, for the graffiti with deep lines and detailed drawings, their creation would not have been a private affair, but a very public one.

Textual inscriptions

The most frequently occurring type of graffiti in this location are textual inscriptions. This category comprises at least 131 examples, equating to 35.1% of the total. It is likely that there are more than this number because many are set on stone blocks heavily concentrated with overlapping textual inscriptions in addition to other types of graffiti, which hampers attempts at identifying individual examples. The textual inscriptions are spread across all five bays and occur on rows three through seven. As might be expected, there is a high concentration at standing eye level on rows four and five. Most examples are lightly-incised, but there are a few that indicate greater deliberation. None, however, are visible without favourable lighting conditions. In common with other sites, they were not hastily created and it seems, in some cases, inscribers devoted much time to their creation.⁷ The majority have been inscribed neatly, but diminutively with the smallest inscription measuring approximately 1cm high and 5.1cm wide, while larger examples measure around 10cm high and 26cm wide. Certain inscriptions are repeated which indicates return visits, as stylistic similarities between different inscriptions suggest that the same individual may well have executed two or more examples.

A feature of some examples is a single horizontal line drawn underneath the inscription. At least one example is depicted inside a box, perhaps to better position the inscription and draw attention to its presence. Figure 17 shows that in another case, a textual inscription has been scratched out deliberately, to the extent, that most of the text is no longer visible. Unlike early modern inscriptions, medieval examples are not accompanied by a date, implying that this feature was irrelevant to the meaning of the inscription, which is discussed in detail in chapter five. In many cases, individual letters are difficult to identify, while for others, a few letters are recognisable. These are usually the first or last letters of the inscription, albeit in too little detail to attempt to identify a full word. In only a few cases is a full word able to be deciphered. The quality of the epigraphy of the textual inscriptions recorded in this location are

⁷ Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 197-9.

paralleled by other late medieval examples at Saint Mary's, Troston (Suffolk) and Saint Margaret's, Cowlinge (Suffolk).⁸ As yet, there has been no detailed study of the epigraphy of the textual inscriptions undertaken. The task of dating this type of graffiti is a difficult undertaking because, as mentioned in chapter two, writing styles can be anachronistic.



Figure 17: Scratched out graffiti of a textual inscription

The majority are confined to a single word and vary in length from two to several letters. It is difficult to discern which language or languages the textual inscriptions have been written in. While a few Latin inscriptions have been identified it should not be assumed that all examples are of the same language. In the Middle Ages, inscriptions were commonly engraved as a form of decoration on mediums such as jewellery, most often in French as well as Latin, and increasingly in the vernacular from c.1400.⁹ Medieval graffiti depicting textual inscriptions are known to occur in different forms. For example, the study of the graffiti in the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral by Graves and Rollason has shown that the textual inscriptions in this location display a regional dialect.¹⁰ In addition, the recent discovery of a possible cryptogram at All Saints, Litcham (Norfolk) emphasizes the risks of delivering

⁸ Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 241; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 129-130.

⁹ M. Campbell, *Medieval jewellery in Europe 1100-1500* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), 58; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 122.

¹⁰ Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 199.

inaccurate misjudgements in the process of deciphering this type of graffiti.¹¹

Moreover, it could well be that inscribers used phonetic methods of spelling. There are other potential hazards, such as misspellings and variants for spelling particular words which may have been deliberate, as a way of reducing the amount of time and labour devoted to their inscription.

There are at least 13 examples that might be associated with musical notation, appearing above or within the confines of the staff-lines of a stave (figure 18). Most examples suggest that the individuals responsible for their inscription had a degree of skill in writing, while others also display a knowledge of Latin. The most easily recognisable example depicts the single Latin word 'hec', meaning 'this' on S46 of the left-hand bay. We do not know whether it intended to form part of a longer inscription. A further seven words are positioned sporadically on the same stone block which display strong stylistic similarities.

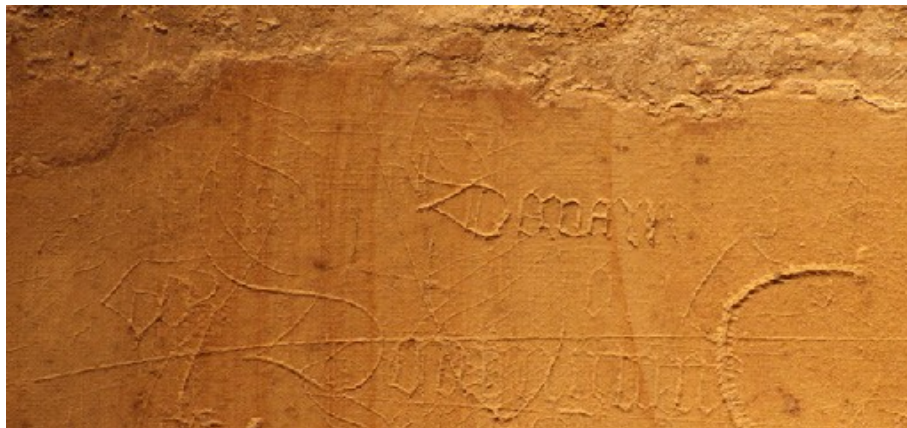


Figure 18: Textual inscriptions on a stave of musical notation

There are a few identifiable examples that represent a forename. Located at standing eye height on S16 is the name 'John' situated in close proximity to the name 'Wills', for 'William' in abbreviated Latin, each of which are executed in a different style and can be attributed to a different inscriber. In addition to forenames, there are a few examples accompanied by a surname. On S39 of the left-hand bay there is another inscription in abbreviated Latin, 'Robt' for 'Robert', which is situated immediately next

11 Archaeology News from Past Horizons, *Litcham Cryptogram: a medieval mystery* (2015). Available online: <http://www.pasthorizonspr.com/index.php/archives/10/2011/litcham-cryptogram-a-medieval-mystery> [Accessed 2/9/15]; M. Champion, 'Medieval graffiti inscriptions found in All Saints Church, Litcham', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 46 (2011), 199-208.

to a surname beginning with the letter B, although the rest of the letters are unclear. Located on S11 of the right-hand bay is a further example that depicts the word 'Thomsyn', which may well represent either a forename or surname.

Crosses

The next type of graffiti in terms of quantity are crosses with at least 41 examples recorded during the survey. They are spread across all five bays, but concentrated on the right and left-hand bays. Most examples are located at heights which might have been convenient for anyone at standing eye level, with a total of 38 on row four, two on row five and one on row three. They provide enough detail to be ascribed to at least one of ten different types of cross. The length, number and style of the tips of the arms are all features that vary markedly and can be used as a means of identification which, for the majority, are verifiable by numismatic evidence.¹² However, at least three examples consist of several dots rather than lines, which are difficult to equate with any known cross type through using numismatic evidence. In these cases, they have simply been recorded by a description of their composition, such as the dotted outline of a cross. Most examples represent arms of equal length, while others depict a longer vertical stem, such as the Latin cross. They also vary widely in size from 2cm by 2cm to 9.5cm by 7cm, but the majority measure around 5cm by 5cm. Some examples have been lightly-incised onto the bays, while others are more deeply-scored, and still other crosses have been inscribed with even greater deliberation, to the extent that they are noticeable without lighting equipment. Each type of cross varies in terms of frequency. Most common is the Latin cross with a total of 13 recorded examples (figure 19). The Fourché cross is also relatively frequent, comprising 12 examples, while less common types include the Cross pattée which features five times on the eastern reredos. The other types are more infrequent, with two Crosslet crosses and two Greek crosses, while the Cross fleury and the eight-pointed cross are also scarce, with only one example each.

Dating the crosses presents a number of challenging problems. Although numismatic evidence provides an invaluable parallel upon which to identify crosses, the same type of cross often appeared on coins for a number of centuries. Moreover, the possibility of dating the crosses is somewhat diminished by their lack of stylistic

¹² See chapter two.

development. For example, the Latin cross, the Fourché cross, the Cross pattée, the Crosslet cross, the Greek cross and the eight-pointed cross all appear on the coinage issued in the Anglo-Saxon period between c.600 and 973.¹³ The Cross pattée reappears on coins minted between the late eleventh and fifteenth centuries, while the Fourché cross is also reused on coins issued between the late fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁴ Therefore, the temporal boundaries for the wider use of these crosses fall outside the dates ascribed to the function of the reredos as a shrine-base.



Figure 19: Graffito of a Latin cross

The Latin crosses are comprised of an intersecting vertical and horizontal line, but the simplicity of their design has made it difficult for them to be distinguished from

¹³ Seaby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 32-3, 41, 46.

¹⁴ Seaby, *British coinage*, 44-5, 73-4, 83-9, 104.

accidental scratches. Therefore, during the survey many of the 13 examples on the eastern reredos could not be identified positively. For example, there are three lightly-incised possible Latin crosses on S59 of the south return bay that are set within the confines of the rigging of a ship graffito, and are not deeply-incised enough for them to be distinguished from other lines.

In contrast, the Fourché crosses are deeply-incised in a relatively precise and uniform manner, which are easily noticeable (figure 20). These crosses are consistently positioned along row four of the bays, and may well have continued across the two columns of stone blocks of the middle bay that are currently occupied by the Warton Tomb. Other examples have been drawn delicately, such as the Cross fleury with its arms tipped with minute motifs that are reminiscent of an outline of a leaf.



Figure 20: Graffito of a Fourché cross

Some crosses show evidence of alteration, perhaps by a later hand. These alterations are largely confined to the Fourché crosses. For example, the vertical stem on the Fourché cross on S02 appears to have been made longer. Other modifications have changed the subject of a graffito completely which, in one case, was almost misidentified during the survey. At first glance the Fourché cross on S26 is depicted in a similar manner to the others, however, upon closer inspection the cross appears to be framed by a comparatively lightly-incised shield, which is only noticeable under favourable lighting conditions. As a result, this example has not been included in the total number of the 12 Fourché crosses recorded in this category, but instead has been

classified as a heraldic device.

The presence of a possible Saltire cross might be postulated on S31, which comprises two intersecting diagonal lines. A circle is depicted around the top of each of the two diagonal lines. Such features may suggest that this example intended to represent a different motif, perhaps a crude depiction of two interlinked keys, which is a symbol associated with Saint Peter.¹⁵

This category also includes a possible Consecration cross located on S56 of the south return bay (figure 21). It depicts a compass-drawn cross in the centre of a compass-drawn circle with a diameter of around 3.5cm. The design of this graffito resembles the painted Consecration crosses that were created as part of the ceremony of consecration from the thirteenth century, many of which survive in wall painting schemes.¹⁶ This ceremony saw both the interior and exterior walls anointed with 12 crosses, distributed by three on each of four walls.¹⁷ According to this criterion, the graffito in question may be the only survivor of an original set of 12 crosses. This occurs at other sites, such as the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral where there are two surviving Consecration crosses of a possible set of 12.¹⁸ In contrast, the possible Consecration cross in the Beverley Minster context occurs in isolation. Moreover, other types of crosses in this location conform more accurately to the criterion of a Consecration cross, such as the Fourché crosses that occur evenly across row four on four of the five bays. Despite the fact that the survey recorded a total of 12 Fourché crosses, which would conform to another key criteria of a Consecration cross, we do not know whether they continued onto the stone blocks covered by the Warton Tomb. Alternatively, the possible Consecration cross may well be a compass-drawn design, incised by a mason practising with a compass. An identical example, discovered by Pritchard, appears next to a mason's drawing at Ely Cathedral, which lends support to the supposition that these designs are associated with masons.¹⁹ It is impossible to verify this example as a Consecration cross with any certainty, and it could easily be situated in the compass-drawn designs sub-category, within the parameters of the overarching shapes category.

15 Steffler, *Symbols*, 89.

16 E.S. Deswick, 'Consecration crosses and the ritual connected with them', *Archaeological Journal*, 65 (1908), 6-8, 20.

17 R. Rosewell, *Medieval wall paintings* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2014), 15.

18 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 199, 201.

19 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 38.



Figure 21: Graffito of a possible Consecration cross

Letters

Less common, but still prominent, are individual letters of the alphabet. Single letters or monograms comprise 28 examples of the total, which depict at least seven different letters. They are spread across all five bays, with the majority occurring at standing eye level on rows four and five, and a couple at higher heights on row six. Their distribution pattern reveals that the 28 letters appear on 17 different stone blocks, which indicates that many are isolated from each other. Most common is the letter M, while the range of this category also includes the letters B, H, O, S, T and W. Some examples clearly depict capital letters in upper case form, others are shown in lower case characters, but for further cases this is difficult to discern. Many examples are finely-incised and quite difficult to identify without appropriate lighting, while a few are more deeply scored. The most noticeable example is a deeply-incised capital letter H on S11. The style of the letters also vary. The letters M and W are rather crudely executed but, by contrast, other letters were inscribed in a neat and practised hand. They also differ in size depending on the letter depicted. For instance, the largest letter b, depicted in lower case form, measures around 7.3cm high, while a small letter T is approximately 1.8cm. Many of the same letters are known to occur on pilgrim badges in a style which scholars have termed a 'Lombardic' font, and closely resemble the style of some of the letters depicted in the graffiti.²⁰ Letters often formed the decoration or framework of fourteenth and fifteenth-century badges and brooches.²¹ In

²⁰ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 123, 155, 320-323; Anderson, 'Blessing', 192.

²¹ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 123, 154, 176-7, 190.

addition, by the early fourteenth century, drawings of large elaborate letters containing figures and scenes, known as historiated initials, emerged as a conventional element on the manuscript page, which can be used as a means of dating.²²

Identifying individual letters as examples of graffiti presents a number of problems. Certain masons' marks in Beverley Minster from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries are closely based on letter types, including a few of the same letters identified on the eastern reredos, such as H, M and W (figure 22). In her survey of masons' marks in various church buildings, including Beverley Minster and Southwell Minster, Alexander points out that many marks are similar to 'Lombard capitals'.²³ There are two ways in which they can be distinguished from each other. Firstly, masons' marks stand out by their repetition, as there are usually several examples of the same mark in close proximity. Secondly, masons' marks can be identified by their decisiveness in cutting, since they were made by people evidently skilled in using sharp tools. The process of identifying the letters in this survey has followed this methodology, eliminating the possibility that they could be masons' marks.



Figure 22: A mason's mark

M and W letters

Ten examples depict a double V which resemble either a letter M or W, with five occurring on the left-hand bay, three on the right-hand bay, one on the north return bay and another on the right-hand side of the Warton Tomb (figure 23). Seven of these

²² M. Nishimura, *Images in the margins* (London: British Library, 2009), 1-2.

²³ J. Alexander, 'Masons' marks and the working practices of medieval stone masons', in P. Barnwell & A. Pacey (eds.), *Who built Beverley Minster?* (Reading: Spire Books, 2008), 31-2.

examples can be identified positively as either a letter M or W, while the remaining three might be possible variations. At least five of these seven identifiable examples depict a letter M, two of which occur on S50 and one each on S38, S26 and S11. The other two examples can be identified firmly as depictions of the letter W, both located on S21. The ten letters are relatively uniform in size, measuring around 2cm by 2cm. The letters M and W are known to occur among the most popular pilgrim badges associated with the Virgin Mary, datable to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁴ Based on this parallel, the graffiti depicting the letter M could be interpreted as a monogram for the name Maria. The letter W may well represent another emblem associated with the Virgin and intended to convey a more subtle meaning. On pilgrim badges, the possible meaning of the letter W in the form of a double V, as discussed by Anderson, is that it may have stood for Walsingham, which was one of the most popular pilgrimage centres in late medieval England.²⁵ Alternatively, he suggests that it may represent *Virgo Virginum* or 'Virgin of Virgins', again, signifying the Virgin Mary.²⁶ On the other hand, the letter W may have referred to the name of a different saint, such as Saint William of York, or a specific living individual. As discussed later in the chapter, the letters M and W also occur in early modern graffiti which can be difficult to differentiate from medieval types. From differences in their size and form, it is apparent that the medieval examples in this case, are characteristically smaller and lightly-incised than those with an early modern context, providing a means in which they can be assigned to a particular period.



Figure 23: Graffito of a letter M

²⁴ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 135, 154-5; Anderson, 'Blessing', 192-3.

²⁵ Anderson, 'Blessing', 192.

²⁶ *ibid.*

Other letters

The remaining 18 examples depict other letters of the alphabet. Of these, only 14 can be ascribed to a specific letter. It is difficult to identify the other four possible letters because they are comparatively rather crudely executed. Most common is the letter T, which occurs seven times with each example located on a different stone block. In some cases, examples of the letter T display strong stylistic similarities, which may indicate return visits by the same inscriber. Another example of repetition are the two graffiti depicting the letter S on S16, which can be ascribed to one individual based on their close proximity and stylistic similarities. A number of examples compare closely with the first letters of certain textual inscriptions. For example, on S15 the letter T occurs directly beneath a textual inscription beginning with the same style of the letter T. This may indicate that some letters represent unfinished textual inscriptions. In addition, there is evidence for the inscription of the same letter by different individuals. For instance, the lower case letter b occurs on S15 and again on S16 of the right-hand bay, each of which vary in size and style, suggesting that they were inscribed by different individuals (figure 24). Certain letters only occur once, such as the letter O on S16. Different letters occur sporadically on S16, which contains two examples of the letter S, a lower case letter b, a letter T and a letter O. The two examples of the letter S are situated in close proximity to each other, as are the letters b and T, but it is difficult to infer any particular affinity between all the letters, because they vary in style. The various interpretations of these different letters are discussed in chapter four.



Figure 24: Graffito of a lower case letter b

Shapes

Shapes are another frequently occurring motif, comprising 27 examples of the total which depict at least three different designs. Among these there is much variation, some have been inscribed by free-hand while others, using a compass. Most common is the cross and lozenge which account for 13 examples and may well be interpreted as depictions of the Side Wound of Christ. Other examples in this category include five star shapes and four compass-drawn designs. A further five possible shapes are not as easily identified. For instance, three examples are reminiscent of a set of stairs. In addition, there are remains of other possible geometric shapes which have partially worn away by erosion and are difficult to identify positively.

The cross and lozenge shapes as depictions of the Side Wound of Christ

Depictions of the cross and lozenge represent almost half of the shapes category, and display some variation in size and decoration (figure 25). They are spread across four bays with five on the left-hand bay (S34, S37, S43, S49, S50), four on the right-hand bay (S10, S14, S19, S18), three on the south return bay (S55, S56) and one on the right-hand side of the Warton Tomb (S26). They are all lightly-incised and crudely executed which appear to have been drawn free-hand rather than ruled. The smallest example is situated on S56 and measures around 2cm high and 1.5cm wide, while the largest, also on S56, measures around 6cm by 6cm which was inscribed by a different hand. They are consistently situated at fairly similar heights, with seven examples on row three and six on row four. Most are situated on stone blocks heavily concentrated with other overlapping graffiti, making it difficult to determine whether they were intended to be seen alone or as part of a more complex scheme. Each lozenge shape is divided into four sections by a horizontal and a vertical line which stretch from each of the four points, forming a cross motif inside the lozenge. In some cases, there is either a dot or small circle in each quadrant, but for others it is possible that they have worn away along with the weathering of the surface of the stone. This feature could indicate that they originally had some form of heraldic appearance.²⁷

According to the New Testament, the Side Wound of Christ was one of the five sacred wounds Jesus suffered during the Crucifixion. Two wounds were through either his hands or wrists, with a further two through the feet where the nails passed through

²⁷ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 162-3.

and the final wound was in the side of Jesus' chest where his body was pierced by the Holy Lance in order to be sure that he was dead.²⁸ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the desire to meditate exclusively on the wound made by the lance led to an iconographic development where the Side Wound was isolated from Christ's body and depicted as an independent motif and used as a devotional focus.²⁹ Lozenge shapes are known to appear in the margins of medieval manuscripts which assist with dating and identification. For example, in the 1490s a London scribe added a depiction of a lozenge representing the Side Wound of Christ to update a century-old *Book of hours* for a new owner, Sir Thomas Lewkenor of Trotton (Sussex).³⁰



Figure 25: Graffito of a Side Wound of Christ

Stars

Each of the five stars occur on a different stone block at heights between rows one through four (figure 26). Two occur on the north return bay (S06, S07) and three on the left-hand bay (S33, S44, S50). Their compositions vary in terms of the number of points, types of triangles and other shapes which, in some cases, are rather difficult to discern. The height of each example has been measured from its lowest to its highest point and the same rule has been applied to the process of measuring the width. The

²⁸ John 19: 17-34.

²⁹ D. Areford, *The viewer and the printed image in late medieval Europe* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 230.

³⁰ E. Duffy, *Marking the hours: English people and their prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 38.

largest example is located on S07 which measures 13.7cm high and 13.8cm wide, while the smallest on S33 is around 2.1cm by 2.1cm. They are depicted with between five and a possible eight points, but only a few are in good enough condition for the number of points to be identified. The three examples on the left-hand bay possibly depict stars with five points, which are known as pentagrams. The example on S50 consists of two interlinked deeply-incised right-angled triangles, but the two triangles intersect so that the graffito depicts a star of five rather than six points. In contrast, the two lightly-incised examples on S06 and S07 may depict either six or eight points. These examples comprise a series of complex interlinked shapes using different types of triangles, but losses to the surface of the stone block make it impossible for their compositions to be discerned fully.



Figure 26: Graffito of a star

Compass-drawn designs

The four compass-drawn motifs depict variations that are commonly found among graffiti elsewhere.³¹ Compasses were sometimes used by masons to inscribe marks

³¹ Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 242-5; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 29-44.

based on circles. However, none of these four examples are reminiscent of the masons' marks in the Minster. Three are located on the left-hand bay with two on S44 and one on S33, while the remaining fourth example occurs on S53 of the south return bay. Each example has a diameter of around 3cm. They are all lightly-incised, but their compositions vary in terms of quality, design and complexity. In their most simplistic form, one example depicts a single compass-drawn circle (S53), another consists of three interlinking circles (S33), but the most complex motif displays a six petalled-flower design (S44). A single compass-drawn circle would have been relatively easy to reproduce, but the composition of the six-petalled flower is more complex. The design comprises two closely set concentric circles, which are divided into six equal parts by interlocking semi-circles taken from six equidistant points around the circumference, thus generating the symmetrical six-petal flower motif within the central circles (figure 27). It must be noted that none of these compass-drawn designs are reminiscent of the Consecration crosses that are known to occur in medieval wall paintings as at other sites.³²



Figure 27: Graffito of a compass-drawn design in the form of a six-petalled flower

A triquetra

The three-lobed compass-drawn design on S33 of the left-hand bay warrants separate consideration from the other three in this category, because it may represent a symbol

³² Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 244.

with a specific meaning. As figure 28 shows, it comprises three well-executed overlapping circles. The nodal points indicate that one single circle would have been initially created, followed by a further two. The overlap between each of the three circles is generated from the circumferences of the other circles. It measures around 4cm by 4cm, and each circle has a diameter of around 3cm. It is possible that this motif intended to represent a version of a triquetra, which is a symbol associated with the Holy Trinity.³³ Moreover, as can be seen, the intersection between the three circles creates three interlaced ovals which is, again, another variation of a triquetra motif.³⁴ It is possible that each of the three circles represent one of the three persons comprising the Holy Trinity.³⁵



Figure 28: Graffito of three overlapping compass-drawn circles

³³ Steffler, *Symbols*, 78.

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ See chapter four.

Religious symbols

Less common are religious symbols which comprise 11 examples, depicting at least four different motifs. They vary in size depending on the type of religious symbol depicted and certain types occur more than others. Most common is the sacred monogram. Of the seven sacred monograms recorded during the survey, six examples depict the Ihc type, while the other comprises the first two letters, Ih. The monogram Ihc represents the first three letters of the Greek word for Jesus, IHΣΟΥΣ. The last letter can be represented by either a C or S. The Ihs variation is sometimes interpreted as referring to the Latin term *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, meaning 'Jesus Saviour of Mankind'.³⁶ Not all examples in this category relate to the name Jesus. Other, less common subjects pertain to the features characteristic of church vestments with one graffito depicting a mitre. In addition, the graffito of an angel in this category is associated with the belief in supernatural beings. A further two examples of possible religious symbols are weapons which may depict either swords or daggers.

Sacred monograms

The sacred monogram is defined in this study as a religious symbol because it represents the name of the central figure in Christianity, Jesus Christ. The seven examples are spread across the three main middle bays, with five on the left-hand bay, one on the right-hand bay and the other on the right-hand side of the Warton Tomb (figure 29). Of the five sacred monograms on the left-hand bay there is a cluster of three large, deeply-incised examples on S48 and S49. One of the two examples on S49 depicts the two letters Ih. The letter h continues to the very edge of the masonry, suggesting that its inscriber ran out of space to add the letter C or S. The largest example is located on S48 which occupies the surface area of the whole stone block. It measures 42.5cm from the top to the bottom of the ascender bar of the letter h, and 22.5cm wide from the letter I to c. In the initial survey, these three examples were recorded as geometric shapes. They each consist of rather precisely executed straight lines and, as a result, were difficult to identify. Once the survey was complete, each distinctive letter of the sacred monograms were able to be identified firmly. Their close proximity and strong stylistic similarities suggest that all three examples may well have been inscribed by one or more of the same individuals. In addition, these three

³⁶ Steffler, *Symbols*, 68.

sacred monograms occur across adjoining blocks of masonry which lends further support to the notion that they were inscribed while *in situ*. The other four sacred monograms are markedly smaller, lightly-incised and vary in style. They occur on S16, S26 and S44, while the possible fourth example on S39 may depict another variation of a sacred monogram. In the case of this example, the letter h is possibly linked to the letter c, but it could easily represent a crudely executed textual inscription rather than that of a sacred monogram. This is the smallest of the seven examples, measuring about 4.5cm by 4.5cm.

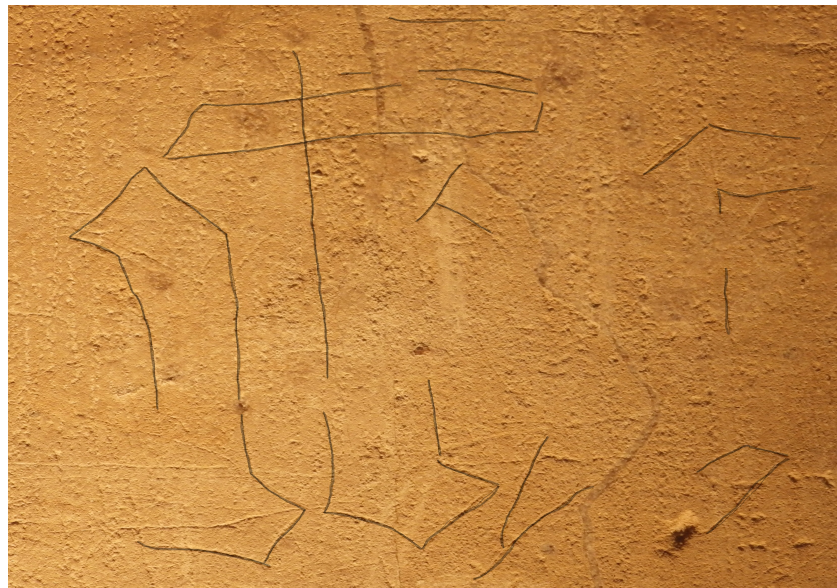


Figure 29: Graffito of a sacred monogram

In England, devotion to the Holy Name was a concept which developed and expanded in the mid fourteenth through to the early sixteenth century when its cult sustained widespread popularity.³⁷ From a range of material culture, the extent of the devotion to the name of Jesus in this period has been documented by over 800 surviving objects marked with invocations of the Holy Name.³⁸ About two-thirds of the datable examples fall in the period between c.1450 and 1550.³⁹

37 H. Blake et al., 'From popular devotion to resistance and revival in England: the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Reformation', in D. Gaimster & R. Gilchrist (eds.), *The archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, Papers Given at the Archaeology of Reformation Conference, February 2001, hosted jointly by the Society for Medieval Archaeology and Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2003), 175-7.

38 *ibid.*, 177.

39 *ibid.*

The angel

Located on S02 of the north return bay is a depiction of a supernatural being, which may have intended to represent an angel (figure 30). It is rather small and measures around 5.2cm high. The faint outline of two wings can be seen at either side of the figure, indicating the heavenly status of the angel as a celestial being, which distinguishes this motif as a supernatural creature and justifies its classification as a religious symbol rather than a figure graffito. The outline indicates that the angel is depicted wearing a garment, perhaps a robe or vestment with a motif in the centre. The wings, feet and facial features are only lightly-incised and difficult to identify. By contrast, the outline of the robe or vestment is slightly more deeply etched. Slightly to the left is another incised circle which may well be associated with the graffito. Moreover, situated in close proximity, directly beneath the angel, is a stave of musical notation which raises the possibility that the two examples might be associated with each other.⁴⁰



Figure 30: Graffito of an angel

⁴⁰ See chapters four and five.

From the late thirteenth century, depictions of angel musicians became a common method of suggesting heaven in manuscript illumination, wall paintings and architectural sculpture, among other mediums.⁴¹ This graffito has been identified as a religious symbol because of the presence of angels in religious narratives including the Bible, visionary collections and writings by fourteenth-century English mystics, which are discussed in detail in chapter five. In the Bible, angels are closely associated with the birth of Christ and the Virgin Mary. In Luke 1, for example, the Angel Gabriel, a messenger of God, foretold the birth of Christ.⁴² The function of the angel was to act as a mediator between Heaven and earth, bringing important news and announcing miraculous events. References to angels occur frequently in the Book of Revelation, which further affirms their supernatural status in the context of Christian eschatology.⁴³

Mitre

Located on S45 of the left-hand bay is a crudely inscribed graffito which depicts a rather tall hat that curves to a peak (figure 31). It measures around 2.5cm high and 2cm wide and it seems likely that this tall curved hat represents a mitre with two finely-incised lappets at either side. It can be seen that a horizontal band around the lower edge is depicted by two parallel lines. There is also a possible motif directly beneath the mitre, but is too faintly-incised to be identified. It is difficult to distinguish the lines which belong to the mitre from the other graffiti overlapping.

The mitre was a distinctive head-dress worn by abbots, bishops and archbishops, and a custom that continues into the present day. They act as a symbol of religious authority during the performance of religious services. Between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries their size grew wider and taller.⁴⁴ They were generally made of costly silk fabric, trimmed with gold or silver and gems. Depictions of clerical vestments appear in church iconography including brasses, sculpture, stained-glass and wall paintings, but it is difficult to assign a more specific date to the depiction in question due to its limited number of features.⁴⁵

41 M. Crăciun, 'Guardians or avengers?: depictions of angels on Transylvanian altarpieces from the late medieval period', in G. Jaritz (ed.), *Angel, Devils: the supernatural and its visual representation* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 93-115; Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 115.

42 Luke 1: 26-38.

43 Book of Revelation.

44 S. Bailey, *Clerical vestments* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2013), 6

45 *ibid.*



Figure 31: Graffito of a mitre

Weapons

Situated immediately next to one another on S56 of the south return bay are two possible religious symbols which represent either swords or daggers, but in either case, depict some form of weapon (figure 32). One example seems to have been left unfinished and depicts only the pommel and grip, which measures around 4cm. Both examples are depicted with a lozenge-shaped pommel, and may be ascribed to the same hand. The grip on the larger, more complete example depicts a twisted pattern represented by short diagonal lines and measures about 13cm high. An inscribed line runs down the centre of the blade, which represents the central ridge that is characteristic of a double-edged weapon. Examples of both medieval daggers and swords are recorded on the PAS database. The extensive remains of one example of a medieval dagger measures around 22.3cm long and is datable to the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, while the length of a sword from about the same period measures 76.5cm.⁴⁶ From these dimensions, the size of a dagger would fit the two graffiti more accurately, although neither example bears a close comparison. It may well be argued that both examples intended to depict a replica or smaller version of either a dagger or sword because of the time-consuming efforts and physical labour that would have been required to create proportionally accurate depictions.

⁴⁶ PAS no. SF-8CD0F4; PAS no. SWYOR-DD74E2.



Figure 32: Graffiti depicting two weapons

As yet, there are no means upon which to base a convincing argument to identify their subject matter as religious symbols with any certainty. In the medieval period both the sword and dagger served an overtly secular purpose as weapons and, in some cases, for daily use. Moreover, we do not know whether these graffiti were created with the intent to convey either a religious or secular meaning, and this information would have been known to the inscriber. It has been suggested by Pritchard and Jones-Baker, that a dagger was a symbol of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 and associated with civil unrest.⁴⁷ During the Revolt there was some unrest in northern towns including Beverley, York and Scarborough, but there is no basis to connect the use of daggers specifically with this uprising.⁴⁸ Various weapons were also used for

⁴⁷ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 141; Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 42-3.

⁴⁸ Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 101.

secular purposes in other uprisings in Beverley, such as the Craftmen's Rebellion in 1381, when the craftsmen demanded more authority in governing the town.⁴⁹

Although Pritchard and Jones-Baker pointed towards secular motives for the inscription of graffiti depicting weapons, a case can be made in favour of the proposition that religious motives underpinned the choice of this subject. While accepting their secular function, it is proposed here that they also performed a dual role as a religious symbol. In artistic depictions weapons, such as the sword, were used as symbols of military and spiritual warfare as well as martyrdom.⁵⁰ References to the sword as an allegorical motif has its origins in the Bible. For example, Ephesians 6 referred to 'the sword of the spirit', meaning the word of God.⁵¹ As symbols, both the sword and the dagger appear on mediums associated with saints, pilgrimage and miracles in the medieval period, which is discussed in chapter four. The juxtaposition between the secular and religious symbolic functions of these weapons justifies the identification of the two graffiti as possible religious symbols.

Ships

Ship graffiti are equally numerous. The survey recorded the extensive remains of at least 11 ships. They are spread across three bays at heights between rows two through six, with seven examples on the right-hand bay, three on the left-hand bay and one on the south return bay. The ship graffiti pertain to inscribers' preoccupation with the marine environment in the late medieval period; a subject matter that was common in illuminated manuscripts and medieval church iconography, which is discussed in chapter five. Occasionally overlapping and intersecting, the uneven spatial distribution of the ship graffiti indicates that they do not belong to the official artwork in this location, which is further affirmed by the rather hasty and crude execution of many of these designs. Each example has its own unique features, and this would appear to support the argument that they can be ascribed to a different inscriber. They display much diversity in terms of quality and level of technical knowledge required to create these designs. Some examples demonstrate close attention to technical detail, while others appear distinctly amateur and were possibly inscribed by people with little knowledge of ship design. For most examples, a number of rather generic features of

49 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 104.

50 D. Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary of Christian art* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1994), 315.

51 Ephesians 6: 17.

ship design can be identified such as a mast, rigging and hull lines. The outline of their hull forms are depicted in a relatively consistent manner by a series of parallel lines, curving as they run from bow to stern. Furthermore, examples with some form of rigging all depict single-masted square-rigged vessels with raised bow and stern sections. The height of each example has been measured from the top of the mast to the bottom of the hull and the width has been taken from bow to stern.

Features, such as the hull form and rigging can be used as a means of assigning at least seven of these 11 examples to three shipbuilding traditions. Among those identified are four cog vessels, two hulk vessels and a carrack. The cog and hulk vessels represent two of the main strands of the medieval northern European shipbuilding tradition, which may explain their frequency among the graffiti.⁵² The carrack was, in many ways, an amalgam of various traditions, but not as numerous in the iconographic record as cog and hulk vessels.⁵³ However, there is insufficient detail to ascribe the remaining four examples to a particular vessel. They may well depict local ship types that incorporated local modifications into more well-known designs, which are not immediately recognisable. In terms of technical detail, they contribute little to the present corpus of material on medieval ship design. The paucity of archaeological evidence for vessels such as the hulk and carrack, only allow for the seven ship graffiti to be ascribed tentatively to specific vessel types by relying on iconographic evidence and the results of other graffiti surveys. The sources relating to late medieval shipbuilding traditions can be divided into four broad categories; graffiti evidence, documentary evidence, archaeological evidence and iconographic sources, such as seals and coins.⁵⁴ Drawing comparisons with these sources allow the seven examples to be loosely ascribed to the three shipbuilding traditions. Moreover, the fact that these examples can be linked to known ship types suggests that they are fairly accurate depictions.

The task of dating the ship graffiti presents a number of difficulties. It seems reasonable to assume that the five examples which occur across two adjoining blocks of masonry were inscribed whilst the stone blocks were *in situ* and, therefore date after the construction of the reredos in c.1330. In the case of the ship graffiti on S49 the

52 G. Hutchinson, *Medieval ships and shipping* (London & Washington: Leicester University Press, 1994), 10-21.

53 J. Flatman, *Ships and shipping in medieval manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2009), 91-5.

54 I. Friel, *The good ship: ships, shipbuilding and technology in England 1200-1520* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 14-26.

rigging stops abruptly at the top of the stone block, which raises questions about whether it was inscribed before or after the stone was placed *in situ*. Another major drawback is that it is only possible for them to be dated by style, type or specific feature. Such problems are aggravated by the many indistinct features involved in the design of a vessel, which were shared by other variants originating from rather broad and long-standing traditions. The types of ships that proved seaworthy were built for centuries with little modification, and the information available on the continuity and evolution of medieval ship design is limited. For example, the cog shipbuilding tradition was extant from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.⁵⁵ There are further reasons to approach the issue of dating ship graffiti with caution. There is also the suspicion that inscribers may have depicted an earlier vessel, possibly because there was a symbolic meaning connected to its antiquity. This would be known to its inscriber, but makes the process of dating more difficult for the twenty-first century viewer. If this is the case, then the inscriber would have needed to rely on their imagination, to a greater degree, than for one that was contemporary with their own time. The possibility should not be easily dismissed. An example of this anachronism has been identified by Flatman in his study of the ship drawings in a version of the Romance of Alexander contained in a collection of legends in the *Shrewsbury Talbot Book of Romances*, dated to c.1445. He pointed out that the manuscript shows a cog vessel when, by the date of this illumination, the cog shipbuilding tradition had effectively ended, and superseded by the hulk. Flatman suggested that it was depicted as a didactic tool in order to highlight the antiquity of the events taking place.⁵⁶

Cog ships

Four examples depict a flat-bottomed shaped hull which is a key characteristic of the cog shipbuilding tradition, according to archaeological and iconographic evidence.⁵⁷ All four display a flat-bottomed vessel in a relatively uniform manner, which indicates that this feature is represented accurately. The rigging of two examples extend across consecutive stone blocks on S12 to S13, S14 to S15, while a further two appear as a whole on S49 and S59. Other features of these ships include a bowsprit, a crow's nest and a flag. These four examples vary markedly in size and represent the largest and

⁵⁵ Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 81.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 84.

⁵⁷ Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 16-21; Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 81-6.

smallest examples in the category. The smallest example on S49 measures about 4.2cm by 4.2cm, while the largest on S12 to S13 measures 44cm from bow to stern and approximately 49cm from the top of the mast to the bottom of the hull. In cases of large ships, the problem of distinguishing each graffito is exacerbated by the lightness of their incision which, even under favourable lighting conditions, their outlines are discernible with some difficulty. These problems nearly resulted in the misidentification of the vessel on S12 to S13 (figure 33). Part of the hull is easily visible when using lighting equipment and appears to depict a series of horizontal parallel lines, which at first glance may lead to the suggestion that it represents the staff-lines of a stave of musical notation without any notes. But upon closer inspection, it is apparent that the parallel lines are incised more faintly across the adjoining block of masonry where they curve into a form which appears to be part of the hull of a ship, while a lightly-incised outline of the standing rigging continues onto the stone block directly above. It is possible that it was originally the lines of a stave of musical notation which was altered by a later hand, adding the rigging and curve of the bow. Directly beneath the bow of the ship is a textual inscription which could well be either the signature of its inscriber or the name of the ship.

Cogs were known in Britain from the thirteenth century when they dominated northern European maritime trade until they were superseded by the hulk shipbuilding tradition in the late fourteenth century, which had a spacious hull to hold more cargo.⁵⁸ The cog was not only used for the transportation of goods and people, but sometimes for war.⁵⁹ According to Hutchinson, references to cogs in documentary sources were commonly found in fourteenth-century English documents outnumbering hulks, galleys and carracks.⁶⁰ As yet, no examples of the cog have been excavated in Britain, but discoveries from Germany, Scandinavia and the Netherlands have helped to identify their main attributes.⁶¹ Ship graffiti that depict vessels reminiscent of the cog shipbuilding tradition have also been identified and recorded in other studies at churches in Italy, Sweden and Denmark as well as England.⁶²

58 Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 15; Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 81-6.

59 Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 81-6.

60 Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 15.

61 *ibid.*, 15, 18, 21.

62 Helms, 'Ship graffiti', 231-2; Haasum, 'Ship graffiti', 243; Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 341; Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 17.



Figure 33: Graffito depicting a large cog ship

Hulk ships

As suggested by iconographic evidence, two examples depict a low-lying 'banana-like' shaped hull which are similar to the theorised attributes of the hulk shipbuilding tradition.⁶³ Both examples are rather crudely executed, omitting key features such as rudders, castles and oars which are also among the identifiable characteristics ascribed to the hulk tradition by maritime archaeologists, according to iconographic sources.⁶⁴ Owing to their spacious holds, they were used primarily as river or canal ships by merchants, which rivalled the cog as a major load carrier towards the close of the fourteenth century.⁶⁵ A graffito of this type is situated on S18 with its rigging extending

⁶³ Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 10-15; Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 87-91.

⁶⁴ Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 87-8; Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 12.

⁶⁵ Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 10, 12-13; Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 89-90.

onto S19. The faint outline of a slightly curved bow and stern section are discernible, but cannot be confidently identified as being reminiscent of a 'banana-like' shape characteristic of the hulk shipbuilding tradition. This class of vessel is better illustrated by the other example on S38 to S39 (figure 34). The form of the hull depicts a more convincing 'banana-like' shape, and clearly displays curved bow and stern sections. The rigging consists of stays fore and aft, supporting shrouds, an anchor beneath the bow, a flag at the top of the mast and at least one possible yard.

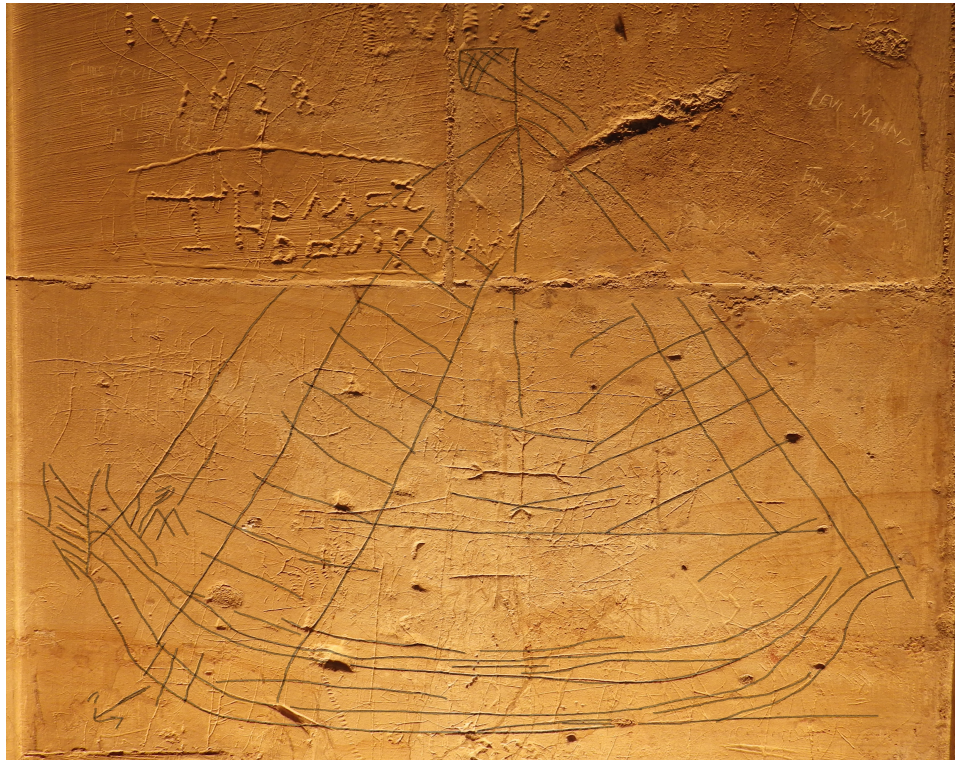


Figure 34: Graffito of a hulk ship

No proven example of a hulk vessel survives in the archaeological record, and knowledge of the tradition relies largely on a narrow range of documentary and iconographic sources.⁶⁶ With no clear parallels caution must be taken when relating the ship graffiti to the form and function of their theorised actual counterparts. Nevertheless, there is a marked similarity between these two hulk vessels and an example that appears on a fourteenth-century seal matrix discovered at Paull, recorded on the PAS, which may suggest that an image of a hulk vessel functioned as a symbol

⁶⁶ Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 87-90; Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 10-15.

in the local area.⁶⁷ The features common to both the seal matrix and the two graffiti include a low-lying 'banana-like' shaped hull, a mast and lines running from the mast to the hull, representing a form of standing rigging. Similarly to that of the graffiti there are no traces of rudders, castles or oars on the seal matrix. Iconographic evidence suggests that the hulk was not only used for trade, but also performed a ceremonial role.⁶⁸ Fourteenth and fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts embellished with drawings of hulk vessels have been studied by Flatman; those representing features that were specific to this type of ship are commonly illustrated in ceremonial and symbolic contexts.⁶⁹ The two graffiti of the hulk vessels on the eastern side of the reredos are by no means unique. Further examples of this type of ship have been recorded in other studies of the graffiti at churches in Ireland, Sweden and Denmark.⁷⁰

Carrack

Located on S18 and S19 of the right-hand bay of the eastern side of the reredos is another example that depicts a possible carrack which consists of a curved stem, high bow, integrated castles and a rounded hull shape (figure 35). Its inscriber devoted much attention to detail and it displays the greatest level of technical knowledge of all examples in this category. The depiction of the rigging also suggests an accurate knowledge of ship design with features including a fore-stay, supporting shrouds with ratlines, a top castle and a yard crossing the main mast. It is possibly a single-masted square-rigged carrack which is associated with fifteenth-century variants. From the high level of technical detail, we may surmise that this graffiti was executed by someone who was familiar with ship design.

Similarly to that of the hulk shipbuilding tradition the paucity of archaeological evidence for this vessel is problematic as a means for determining its distinctive typological traits and date range. As yet, no definite example has been identified securely, but possible ships can be suggested from iconographic, documentary and archaeological evidence. Maritime archaeologists suggest that the carrack was a complex combination of northern European shipbuilding traditions with influences of

⁶⁷ PAS no. YORYM-DDF788.

⁶⁸ Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 89-90.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁰ K. Brady & C. Corlett, 'Holy ships: ships on plaster at medieval ecclesiastical sites in Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland*, 18, 2 (2004), 29; Haasum, 'Ship graffiti', 245; Kastholm, 'Six ship graffiti', 30.

southern and western European traditions, among others.⁷¹ There is an example of the vessel carved into a bench end at a church in King's Lynn, which dates between c.1415 and 1420.⁷² In fourteenth and fifteenth-century drawings in illuminated medieval manuscripts, the carrack is depicted performing functions related to pilgrimage and war.⁷³ The *Mary Rose*, lost off Portsmouth (England) in c.1545, has been cited as one possible example of the vessel, as has the *Sovereign* of c.1488, which was discovered at Woolwich (London).⁷⁴ A number of ship graffiti that potentially represent carracks have been recorded in medieval churches in Italy and Sweden.⁷⁵

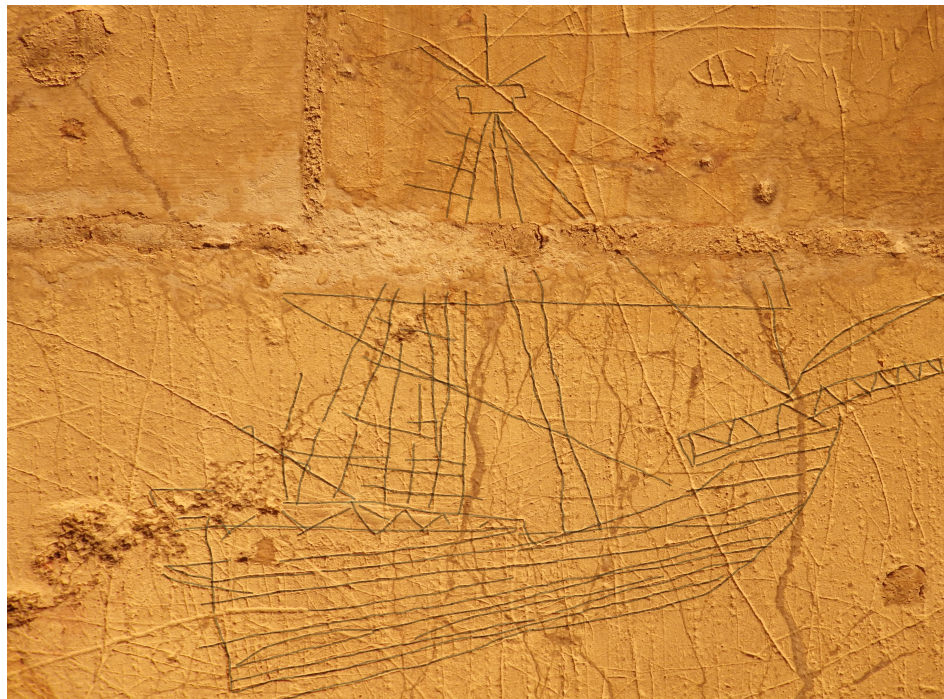


Figure 35: Graffito of a carrack vessel

Further possible examples of ship graffiti

The material investigated shows evidence of a possible barge located on S17 (figure 36). It is rather crudely executed, consisting of what may well be a forestay, backstay and a hull, but there is no trace of a central mast. It depicts a bluff-shaped hull that is characterised by a flat top and bottom, forming a rectangular shape with a rounded

⁷¹ Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 42-4, 58-9; Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 91.

⁷² Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 58.

⁷³ Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 92-5.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 92.

⁷⁵ Helms, 'Ship graffiti', 235; Haasum, 'Ship graffiti', 244.

bow and a possible stern-mounted rudder. Documentary evidence suggests that there may be a specific relationship between this type of vessel and the Beck, which was a water-route into the suburbs.⁷⁶ Its canalisation is traditionally ascribed to Archbishop Thurstan who, in the twelfth century, encouraged the townsfolk 'to make a channel from the river of sufficient depth to carry barges'.⁷⁷ The date of when this work was undertaken is a matter of conjecture, but with this evidence in mind, it may well be that the inscriber of the graffito was documenting their knowledge, and possibly, their experience of such a vessel. Barges were used for the transportation of heavy goods along rivers and canals but, more specifically to transport the stone for the construction of the Minster.⁷⁸ The proximity of the Beck prevented the Minster from being expanded eastward, which provides an understanding of the location of these vessels in relation to the Minster in the medieval period.⁷⁹

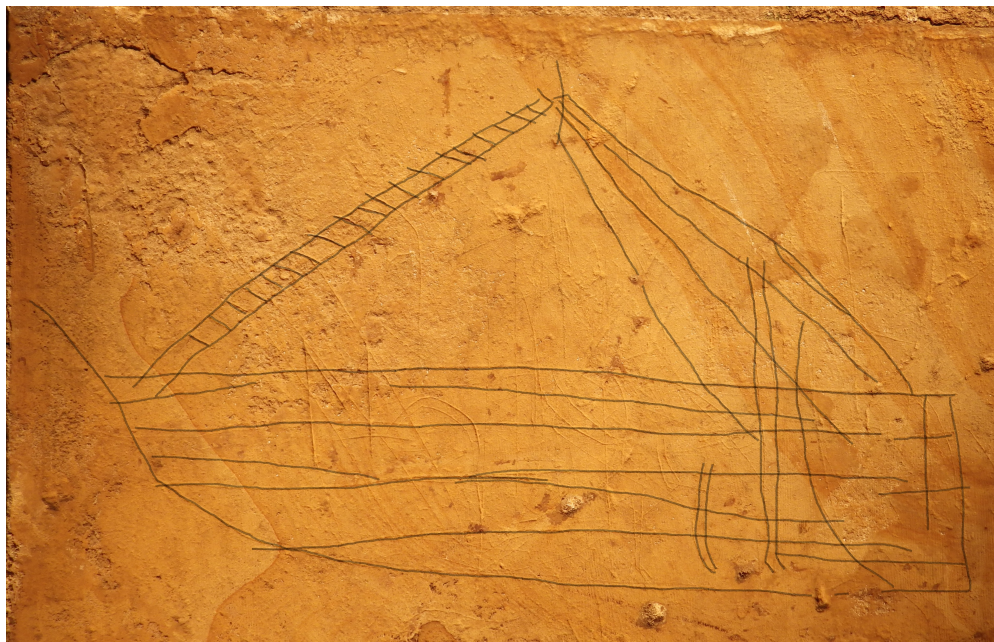


Figure 36: Graffito of a possible barge

The three other possible examples depict only one or two features, although it is uncertain whether they represent ships at all. Two are located on S14 and S21 of the right-hand bay, and one on S43 of the left-hand bay. The possible example on S14

⁷⁶ See chapter one.

⁷⁷ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 18-19.

⁷⁸ Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 23.

⁷⁹ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 155.

shows only the shape of a hull, and depicts no more than three or four lines hastily inscribed into the stone (figure 37). The lack of detail and proportional inaccuracies of these examples demonstrate a primitive understanding of the constructional details of ship design. There is, nevertheless, the potential for these examples to be identified at a later date in light of emerging research, which affords the possibility that there may be an even greater variety of shipbuilding traditions depicted among the 11 examples recorded on the eastern reredos.



Figure 37: Graffito of a possible boat

The ship graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos, however, are a restricted range of forms when compared with the diversity of the marine-themed graffiti recorded in churches elsewhere in England which extends, among other things, to marine life, including seahorses and fish, as well as mythical creatures, such as mermaids.⁸⁰ Moreover, recently the Norfolk and Suffolk surveys recorded and photographed two examples in churches at Wiveton (Norfolk) and Parham (Suffolk) that depict crewed ships, which are not a feature of those recorded in this study.⁸¹

Musical notation

Seven examples of the graffiti recorded on the eastern reredos are concerned with aspects of writing and performing music. This category includes six staves of musical

⁸⁰ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 90, 135; Jones-Baker, 'The graffiti of folk motifs', 167.

⁸¹ Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Norfolk*; Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

notation and one possible ligature. They are spread across all five bays with two on the south return bay (S57), a further two on the right-hand bay (S15, S21), and one each on the north return bay (S02), the left-hand bay (S35) and the right-hand side of the Warton Tomb (S27). The most common position for the musical notation is at standing eye level on rows four and five but, in one case, is situated at kneeling level on row three (S21). As in medieval service books, some examples display relatively high levels of artistic and musical skill. Others are rather crudely executed, consisting of only lines and dots. There are sufficient details to ascribe a broad date to at least two examples based on the features associated with them, but any attempt at precise dating and identification is hazardous because the same systems of notation persisted for several centuries.⁸² None, however, consist of enough notes for any clear tunes to be interpreted. Each of the staves are lightly-incised and it is clear that the staff-lines were inscribed free-hand and not ruled. A few examples are set among many other graffiti, creating a maze of indistinguishable random lines, making it difficult to identify those intended to be associated with a stave. Representations of musical notation are sometimes accompanied by textual inscriptions set within the confines of the staff-lines. However, as mentioned earlier, positive verification of any textual inscriptions associated directly with the musical notation is hampered by their apparent sporadic spatial distribution and a large amount of overwriting.

There is enough detail for three of the seven examples to be identified positively as staves of musical notation. Each of these staves depict five lines, a system of notation, a clef and, in one case, a ligature. All three examples are, arguably, associated with textual inscriptions, although none are legible. It seems reasonable to infer that those responsible for their inscription display a learned level of knowledge in musical notation and, in some cases, the skill of writing in a neat and practised hand. In common with contemporary musical manuscripts, the staves vary in length from a few to several notes. The remaining four examples are somewhat ambiguous, primarily because they consist of only one or two features, and these problems of identification are further aggravated by other overlapping graffiti, which causes difficulties in determining whether they are examples of musical notation.

The two examples located on the return bays (S02, S57) are positioned at standing eye height on row five. Both examples are usual sizes for those which might

⁸² J. Blezzard, 'The Wells musical slates', *The Musical Times*, 120 (1979), 26.

be found in manuscripts made for comparatively close viewing. The stave on S02 measures around 4.8cm high and 28cm wide, and has been inscribed over a deeply-incised mason's mark. It seems likely that the stave was inscribed after the stone block was placed *in situ*, but it constitutes somewhat of a puzzle as to why it was placed over the top of a mason's mark.⁸³ It is possible that this stone block was chosen because it was important for the intended function of the stave, and therefore its inscriber may have had no other option but to inscribe it in this location. This stave consists of a note form based upon a system of ticks, a clef and a single word. The example on S57 of the south return bay measures about 6.5cm high and 17.5cm wide (figure 38). It has fewer notes and may depict a system of squares, which are accompanied by four textual inscriptions and a ligature. Referring to the two graffiti, Flynn postulated that they are examples of polyphony which involves two or more simultaneous lines of melody, requiring both people to be singing at the same time. He suggested that a date of the late fifteenth century may be ascribed to the notation, as indicated by the presence of a ligature. From the sacred architectural location, Flynn concluded that the musical notation is likely to be related to Saint John of Beverley.⁸⁴

Comparisons with other examples of polyphonic music inscribed on church walls or carved on slates supports the dates assigned to the two graffiti on the eastern reredos. In her study of the music graffiti at Saint Albans Abbey, Jones-Baker identified a medieval stave of polyphonic music located in the south nave-aisle of the Abbey, which reflects the growing use of polyphony in the late medieval period.⁸⁵ Saint Albans was probably among other Benedictine Houses that were active centres in England for the cultivation of polyphony until the mid fourteenth century.⁸⁶

Further evidence for inscribed forms of music from a similar period are the slates from Wells (Somerset) and Smarmore (Ireland), which are discussed in detail in chapter four.⁸⁷ The evidence of polyphonic musical notation on four of 49 slates from Smarmore may be dated to the early fifteenth century.⁸⁸ In a study of these inscribed

83 See chapters four and five.

84 Information from W. Flynn on 5/6/13.

85 Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 30-31, 34-5.

86 *ibid.*, 34.

87 Blezzard, 'Wells musical slates', 26-30; A.J. Bliss, 'The inscribed slates at Smarmore', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 64 (1965/1966), 33-60; D. Britton & A. Fletcher, 'Medieval Hiberno-English inscriptions on the inscribed slates of Smarmore: some reconsiderations and additions', *Irish University Review*, 20 (1990), 55-72.

88 Bliss, 'Slates at Smarmore', 35.

forms of music, Blezzard observed that the slates from Smarmore are similar in appearance to those from Wells.⁸⁹ She assigned a date between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to two fragments of slate from Wells inscribed with what could well be parts of single polyphonic pieces. These examples supply evidence to support Flynn's theory that the musical notation on the eastern reredos in the Beverley Minster context would not be uncharacteristic of the late fifteenth century.

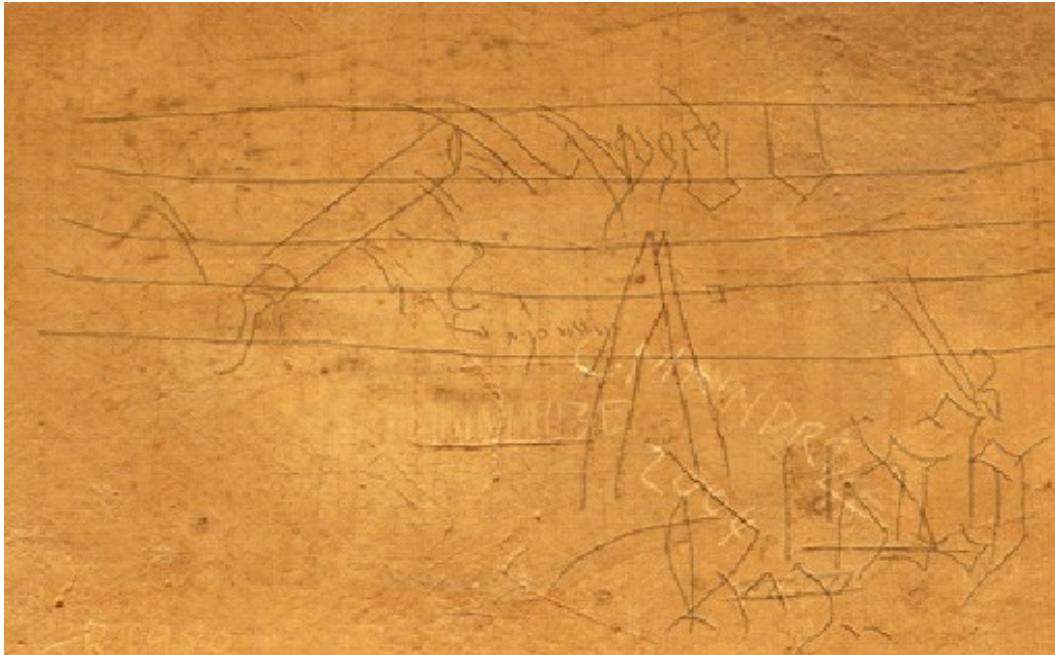


Figure 38: Graffito of a stave of polyphonic music

Another example on S15 of the right-hand bay appears to be in a different hand. The notation and clefs are different from the other two, indicating that it is unlikely to have formed part of the same musical arrangement as the two discussed above. It is the largest example in this category, measuring about 31cm high and 36.5cm wide, extending across two adjoined blocks of masonry. The notation is set among a range of other types of graffiti including lightly-incised letters, a deeply-incised Fourché cross, part of the rigging of a ship graffito and an early modern inscription that distort a clear view of the notation. There are possibly two staves of five lines on this stone block which form a whole musical arrangement, with one situated directly beneath the other in the same style. Despite its large size, only a few

⁸⁹ Blezzard, 'Wells musical slates', 26-30.

notes on the lower stave are discernible in the form of short vertical lines, though both examples display rectangular-shaped clefs in the far left-hand corner of the staves. In addition, six textual inscriptions, executed in a neat hand are possibly associated with the notation.

The other four examples in this category may, in some way, relate to music. Next to a textual inscription on S57 there is a possible ligature situated at a short distance from the stave of musical notation that depicts an example of polyphonic music. The other three examples may depict different variations of musical notation. The example on S21 consists of four lines and up to 12 dots, which are possibly notes, but do not seem to follow any logical pattern. Located on S35 are six inscribed lines, which may be associated with a textual inscription, but no evidence of any notes. Staff-lines of musical notation with no notes are known to occur in medieval service books where blank spaces were left for musical notation to be written in by the user.⁹⁰

Musical notation, as mentioned above, are important records of what was most probably actually performed. Musical graffiti contributes to the present known corpus of music from this period, which is almost wholly drawn from manuscripts. Examples of musical notation have been recorded in medieval churches, which may date until the sixteenth century when evidence for the practice seems to cease. Musically related graffiti identified elsewhere in England ranges from musical instruments to portraits of performers.⁹¹ A notable example at Saint Mary's, Lidgate (Suffolk) depicts three staves of musical notation, together with various letters and a portrait, which form part of a fifteenth-century rebus.⁹²

Heraldry

Only six examples have been identified as heraldic devices. This category comprises three shields, in addition to, perhaps less obvious examples of heraldic motifs including a possible banner and two further potential examples, which both depict a ragged staff. They display little elaboration and their size depends on the type of heraldic device depicted. Three occur on the right-hand bay (S12, S19, S22), and one each on the left-hand bay (S34), the south return bay (S56) and on the right-hand side of the Warton Tomb (S26). The juxtaposition between sacred and secular was not

⁹⁰ Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 27.

⁹¹ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 47, 64; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 173-83; Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 35-41.

⁹² Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 181-2; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 145-7.

uncommon within the context of the medieval church. From the mid thirteenth century, heraldic devices appeared on vestments and liturgical vessels used in churches and monasteries, as well as church iconography on wall paintings, stained-glass, sculpture and monuments.⁹³ At sites elsewhere in England, medieval graffiti depicting coats of arms have been ascribed to specific families and individuals, most recently in the study of the discoveries made in the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral.⁹⁴ The heraldic devices from the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, however, are more ambiguous.

The two shields on S26 and S34 are charged with basic ordinaries in the form of a Fourché cross. Earlier in the chapter, in the crosses category, the example on S26 was discussed at length. It was suggested that the graffito originally depicted a deeply-incised Fourché cross but was altered, possibly by a later hand, and is now framed by a comparatively lightly-incised shield, making it a heraldic device. In contrast, the example on S34 does not show evidence of being deliberately modified (figure 39), as both the Fourché cross and shield are consistently deeply-incised. It is quite small, and measures around 3.5cm by 3.5cm. The purpose of such devices was to depict a symbol or shape that could be easily recognised.⁹⁵ Numismatic evidence assists with dating and identification.⁹⁶ The combined Fourché cross and shield motif appears on the Sovereign-type pennies issued in the reign of Henry VII from 1489 continuing into the early seventeenth century, which would place these examples within the temporal boundaries assigned to the creation of the graffiti in this location.⁹⁷ It is, therefore, impossible to associate this motif with a particular individual or family, suggesting that they might represent pseudo-heraldic designs. The case may well be the same for the graffito of a lightly-incised shield on S19, which is charged with a combination of ordinaries. But it is difficult to identify the motifs depicted in the shield precisely because they are rather crudely drawn. At present, a clear view of its design is distorted by an early modern inscription superimposed on top. Other types of basic ordinaries of the late medieval period include the chevron, the bend and other styles of crosses, such as the Saltire cross.⁹⁸

93 A. Payne, 'Medieval heraldry', in J. Alexander & P. Binski (eds.), *Age of chivalry: art in plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 55.

94 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 195-7.

95 J. Fearn, *Discovering heraldry* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 2006), 20-22.

96 See chapter two.

97 Searby, *British coinage*, 82, 87, 89, 92, 94, 98, 104.

98 Anderson, 'Blessing', 193; Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 206.



Figure 39: Graffito of a shield charged with a Fourché cross

In addition to shields, figure 40 shows that on S56 there is another type of heraldic motif which possibly represents a banner. It measures around 5cm high and it can be seen that the shape of the banner is rectangular, which is divided into two parts by a central line. The right-hand side of the partition is filled with numerous diagonal lines and a minute indecipherable motif on the left-hand side. It may be that it intended to depict the banner of Saint John, which was lent to various monarchs in military campaigns from the thirteenth through to the fifteenth century including Edward I, Edward II, Edward III and Henry IV, motivated by the belief that its presence could aid victory in battle.⁹⁹ This hypothesis is purely speculative, however. Whether this graffito depicts the actual banner of Saint John cannot be conjectured, for there is no parallel in the iconographic record upon which to base a comparison. The banner of Saint John was kept in the Minster and rested on a bracket in the south-west transept, which is not extant today.¹⁰⁰ The role of the banner of Saint John in relation to the processional route that worshippers followed to the shrine in the medieval period is discussed in detail in chapters four and five.

⁹⁹ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 48.

¹⁰⁰ Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 117, 216.



Figure 40: Graffito of a banner

The ragged staff motifs

Two depictions of a ragged staff occur on S12 and S22 of the right-hand bay, both of which possibly represent another type of heraldic device. They depict a central vertical shaft with transverse beams at either side. The example on S12 is finely and neatly executed, but the beams seem to be depicted pointing downwards (figure 41). A heraldic device depicted upside-down was used in mediums, such as manuscripts to indicate the death of its owner. This parallel could suggest that the graffito intended to depict a heraldic motif for such a purpose.¹⁰¹ The bottom to the top of the graffito measures around 16.5cm high. Overlapping the ragged staff is part of the hull of a ship graffito, but neither shows any affinity to each other. In contrast, the example on S22 depicts the transverse beams pointing in an upwards direction, but is executed relatively crudely, and possibly topped by a rounded helm. It is slightly smaller, measuring around 5cm high. Both devices do not appear to be associated with any other surrounding graffiti, but the ragged staff motif is known to appear in medieval graffiti as a charge occupying the field of a shield at other sites, notably at Anstey (Hertfordshire).¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Payne, 'Medieval heraldry', 56.

¹⁰² Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 94.



Figure 41: Graffito of a ragged staff

The ragged staff may represent a livery badge which were adopted in the fourteenth century by lords and the king, and worn by their supporters as a sign of the wearer's secular allegiance.¹⁰³ Pritchard suggested that a ragged staff had a secular meaning, and

¹⁰³ Payne, 'Medieval heraldry', 58-9.

alluded to the possibility that it was used as a heraldic charge. She equated this motif with one that appeared in a miniature dating from c.1240 and 1300, which depicts a knight fighting a bear with a ragged staff.¹⁰⁴ In recent years, subsequent commentaries have tended to develop this line of thought, including Graves and Rollason who suggest that the ragged staff is associated with the livery badge worn by the supporters of the earls of Warwick.¹⁰⁵ This may well be true, as there are indeed examples of the ragged staff in the iconographic record that postulate a positive correlation between this motif and the earls of Warwick. For example, in artistic depictions of the fifteenth-century Beauchamp pageant, members of Earl Richard Beauchamp's retinue are depicted wearing the badge.¹⁰⁶ It was used again by the Earl of Warwick when he attended the Great Council in 1458 and the device was embroidered onto the jackets of 600 men.¹⁰⁷ However, in the context of the two on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, a secular interpretation is unlikely to be fully correct. In this study, the ragged staff is re-identified as a religious emblem associated with the True Cross. This hypothesis is supported by the discovery of two thirteenth-century pilgrim souvenirs in London, both of which were fashioned in the shape of a ragged staff motif. They were associated with Bromholm Priory (Norfolk), a Cluniac Priory founded in 1113, which was transformed into a pilgrimage site when a cross, made from fragments of the True Cross, was allegedly brought to the priory in c.1223, and attracted pilgrims with its widespread reputation for miracles.¹⁰⁸ Similarly to the graffiti, the two pilgrim souvenirs are depicted in the shape of a vertical central shaft with transverse beams at either side. The timing of their production in the late medieval period broadly coincides with the appearance and use of the ragged staff in secular contexts, making it difficult to identify a specific connection between the graffiti and either iconographic parallel. From this evidence, the possibility should not be dismissed that the subject matter of the ragged staff was drawn from religious rather than secular sources, and that the classification of the graffiti of the ragged staff as a heraldic charge cannot be verified with any certainty.

104 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 22-3.

105 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 197; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 116-117.

106 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 197.

107 C. Smith, 'The bear and the ragged staff', *Amateur Historian*, 3, 5 (1957), 217-18.

108 M. A. Stevens, 'The catalogue', in J. Alexander & P. Binski (eds.), *Age of chivalry: art in plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 223; J. C. Cox, 'Religious Houses', in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the county of Norfolk Volume 2* (London: Constable, 1906), 359-362.

Figures

The figures category comprises five examples which depict three rather crudely executed full-length figures and two portraits of a high artistic standard. All five examples are only lightly-incised and relatively similar in size. There are three examples situated on the left-hand bay, with both portraits occurring on S38, and the remains of a full-length figure on S43. The other two full-length figures are to be found on S56 of the south return bay.

The two examples on S56 are located in close proximity to each other on a stone block heavily concentrated with other graffiti, which causes difficulties in determining whether the figures were intended to be seen alone, or as part of a more complex scheme (figure 42). Among the graffiti on this stone block are a banner, a cross and a number of shapes. The depiction of a possible acorn in the immediate vicinity of the two figures may be significant. Based on the strong stylistic similarities between the figures and acorn, coupled with their close proximity, the three graffiti may well have been inscribed by the same individual. The figure closest to the top of the stone block is missing a head, arms and shoulders, showing only the bottom part of a gown. It is quite small, measuring around 6.6cm high. A figure with a missing head and hands clasped in a position of prayer are among the drawings depicted in the borders of late medieval manuscripts.¹⁰⁹ Although their meaning remains unclear, this parallel indicates that the graffiti of the figure on S56 with a missing head may have been deliberate and served a specific purpose. We cannot, therefore, assume that it represents an unfinished design or prototype for a graffiti of a complete figure. The other complete figure on the same stone block is depicted in profile facing in the direction of the altar with arms raised and open in an attitude of prayer, which measures about 6.8cm high. Both figures are depicted wearing gowns, but the latter is more obviously outlined by a series of vertical lines. In her survey of the graffiti at Saint John the Baptist's, Flitton (Bedfordshire), Pritchard took a rubbing of a collection of seven or eight figures depicted in profile wearing similar clothing, located on the south side of the tower arch that faces the nave. They may be dated to the early fifteenth century and their style of clothing fits with this dating, which is a parallel that sets the examples in this study within a late medieval context.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Nishimura, *Images*, 2.

¹¹⁰ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 5.



Figure 42: Graffiti depicting two full-length figures

In contrast to the other four examples situated at standing eye level, the position of the graffito on S43 of row three might have been convenient for anyone kneeling. The figure is depicted standing, facing forward with both arms raised in an attitude of prayer (figure 43). In religious iconography this is known as the orans posture when figures, sometimes saints, are depicted standing with elbows close to the sides of the body and arms outstretched sideways.¹¹¹ The figure has suffered some damage with the bottom part worn away as a result of the weathering of the stone block. The arms, parts of the legs and general outline of the figure are largely intact, while the face has been either damaged or omitted completely. Even upon close inspection with a magnifying glass there is no evidence of any faint or lightly-incised minute marks that indicate an attempt at the inscription of a face. A round hat is depicted above the body, but not positioned directly on top of a head. The height of the figure, including the top of the hat, measures around 9.8cm. The empty space between the body and hat would suggest that a head was intended to be part of the graffito.

¹¹¹ Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 262.



Figure 43: Graffito of a figure in the orans position

The two portraits on S38 are situated directly next each other, with one beneath the other (figure 44). Their close proximity suggests that they were inscribed by the same individual or by two different, but affiliated individuals. Both figures not only avoid any overlap with one another, but also a large ship graffito that occupies the majority of the surface area of the same stone block. With the two portraits situated beneath the bow of the ship, in the left-hand corner of the stone block, it would seem likely that their location was specifically chosen to prevent any overlap; an interpretation which implies that the two portraits were inscribed after the ship graffito. The lower example is positioned so precisely that it carefully avoids distorting the anchor extending from the bottom of the hull of the ship. We do not know whether the portraits intended to be related to the ship. At present, the ship graffito cannot be seen without lighting equipment, but the position of the two portraits indicate that their inscriber or inscribers, had an awareness of its presence and respected the image. Perhaps the ship graffito was more noticeable when it was inscribed earlier on, which

may have allowed a clearer view for a late medieval audience. This would explain why the position of both figures appear to have intentionally avoided the ship graffito.



Figure 44: Graffiti depicting two portraits

The portrait located in a higher position on S38 measures about 3.7cm and depicts a head and shoulders with an arm placed across the chest. There are some intricate details on the face including a mouth, eyes and short hair on the forehead. The portrait situated directly below displays less artistic skill. This example is shown in profile wearing either a hood or some form of head-dress and might be associated with a textual inscription. This inscription consists of a single word and may represent the name of the individual depicted or its inscriber, but this cannot be known for certain as it is difficult to decipher due its minute size and lightly-incised form. At present, the portrait measures around 2.9cm high, but when it was inscribed originally, it might have been slightly larger as a piece of masonry, possibly inserted at a later date in repair, seems to cause the lower part of the graffito to end abruptly.

As yet there are no grounds on which to confidently distinguish the gender of

the figures depicted. There is enough detail on the portraits to suggest that they may have been based on actual people, but the same case cannot be made for the full-length figures. Neither the bodily form nor the costume offers unequivocal reasons for describing any of the figures as male or female, although every viewer will have their own opinion. Whether we can take their ambiguity to indicate that these figures are generic depictions of people, and not associated with a specific individual is at present, a matter of conjecture. Alternatively, they could also depict saints, and given their location, Saint John of Beverley would be the most obvious candidate.

Depictions of full-length figures and portraits are subjects known to appear in the borders of late medieval English illuminated manuscripts, primarily occurring in sacred contexts, and were especially common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹¹² The graffiti evidence recorded in other studies demonstrates that the practice of inscribing the image of a figure was prevalent at ecclesiastical sites elsewhere in England. According to the available studies of medieval graffiti, the custom of inscribing a figure graffito continued from at least the early twelfth century onwards, diminishing in the sixteenth century.¹¹³ This broadly coincides with the period in which the reredos in Beverley Minster functioned as the base for the shrine of Saint John. Among the figures discovered and identified by Pritchard and Jones-Baker are bishops, monks, priests, musicians and soldiers, some of which reveal the trades, religious beliefs and occupations potentially of the inscribers themselves.¹¹⁴ However, this does not negate the possibility that the full-length figures on the eastern reredos may depict generic rather than actual people. In parish churches, evidence for this practice might be gauged from the depictions of generic figures performing religious services, customs and liturgical plays, as recorded by Pritchard at Saint John the Baptist's, Flitton (Bedfordshire).¹¹⁵

Animals

The remains of three animal forms have been identified. Two examples occur on S22 of the right-hand bay, while the other is situated on S38 of the left-hand bay. They are all lightly-incised and appear to be shown in profile. The bodily form, head, tail and

¹¹² Nishimura, *Images*, 1-2.

¹¹³ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 1, 5, 10, 31, 42, 47, 152, 172.

¹¹⁴ Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 6-7; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 31-2, 52, 60, 70, 77, 122, 152, 156.

¹¹⁵ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 4-5.

legs are among the features that can be identified. Unfortunately, because of the crudity of their execution no firm identification is possible. But from the surviving remains, some tentative conclusions can be made about their possible intended depictions. There are enough details to attempt to ascribe these three graffiti to specific animal types. From their surviving features, it seems likely that each of the three examples intended to depict a four-legged animal. The possible types of animals include; two examples of a lamb and a horse.

The two examples on S22 are within approximately 2.5cm of each other (figure 45). Their close proximity and stylistic similarities raises the possibility that they intended to form part of one scheme. The larger, better preserved example displays some slight intricate detail on its two back legs, which might indicate an attempt to depict an animal with hooves. The two front legs cannot be identified and have been either omitted, or worn away by the weathering of the stone. Facial features, such as eyes and ears are also lacking. There is a possible staff holding a large Latin cross, extending from the tail and body of the animal. From the top of the cross to the bottom of its legs the graffito measures around 8cm high, while the length of its bodily form is about 9cm. There can be little doubt that both the staff and cross are mutually associated with the animal as these features appear to be strategically connected to its body and tail. The size of the cross is exaggerated in comparison to the staff and bodily form of the animal, which may be an attempt to emphasize its importance. The cross may indicate that the animal was sacred and could well be a generic depiction of a sacred animal, and not associated with a specific type. Alternatively, the presence of this feature may suggest that the graffito intended to represent an *Agnus Dei* motif, in which case the animal depicts a lamb.

Situated directly beneath the larger example are the remains of another possible depiction of a lamb which, based on stylistic grounds, is attributable to the same inscriber. It is more crudely executed and slightly smaller, measuring around 1.9cm high and 6.9cm wide, and also has fewer details. The back legs may have been worn away by the weathering of the surface of the stone block, but the front legs appear to be intact. There is no identifiable depiction of either a staff or cross. If this graffito occurred in isolation then there would not be enough detail to ascribe its features to any type of four-legged animal. But since this graffito reproduces elements that are stylistically similar to the previous example, mainly the bodily form, it could be argued

that its inscriber intended to represent another, perhaps unfinished Agnus Dei motif without a cross, which implies that this graffito may depict a lamb. However, it could easily depict a different four-legged animal altogether. Alternatively, it is possible that, similarly to the previous example, this graffito intended to depict a more generic sacred animal.



Figure 45: Graffiti depicting two possible Agnus Dei motifs

The context of their location on the eastern side of the reredos suggests that these two examples are more likely to depict an Agnus Dei motif, which is a concept discussed in detail in chapter four. The Agnus Dei is a symbol of salvation closely associated with Eucharistic devotion.¹¹⁶ As an emblem of Jesus Christ, it is a visual representation of the words of Saint John the Baptist on seeing Christ approaching, 'Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world'.¹¹⁷ In her study of Christocentric seals, New confirms the late medieval context of the Agnus Dei motif by noting that the Lamb of God is the most frequently represented design from the

¹¹⁶ Steffler, *Symbols*, 12.

¹¹⁷ John 1: 29.

early thirteenth to mid sixteenth centuries. Referring to the seals with Agnus Dei motifs, she notes that, in many cases, the staff is surmounted by a banner that is either plain or decorated with a cross, symbolising the Resurrection.¹¹⁸ However, Apostolos-Cappadona points out that in artistic depictions, the lamb is often represented with an uplifted foot holding a cross.¹¹⁹ This parallel strengthens the possibility that the graffito of the animal bearing a cross intended to represent an Agnus Dei symbol. When considered in this context, the concept that the graffito beneath represents a lamb does not seem an unreasonable supposition. The forward-looking stance depicted in the two graffiti is a key inconsistency, and undermines their classification as Agnus Dei motifs. On iconographic parallels, the lamb is usually depicted with its head turned back to look at the cross-tipped staff it carries.¹²⁰ One explanation would suggest that the inscriber found such details too complex and time-consuming to reproduce and so opted for a more simplistic version. We must also take into account that inscribers might have been attempting to reproduce an Agnus Dei image from memory and, therefore, we need to allow for omissions and slight proportional inaccuracies.

Although not part of the same scheme, the graffito positioned at the bottom of S38 was evidently incised by a different hand. It measures approximately 3.1cm high and 7.2cm wide. Overlapping the animal is part of the hull of a large ship graffito which appears to be more random than deliberate, and may suggest that the animal was inscribed before this example. Its bodily form, tail, two back legs and part of a proportionally rather long neck are discernible (figure 46). Taken as a whole, the features may indicate that its inscriber intended to depict a horse. There is some damage to most of the head caused by a rather deeply-incised line. Whether this defacement was intentional remains unclear. There is reason to be cautious in identifying this graffito as a horse. Since the details of most of the head cannot be seen it is difficult to argue, convincingly, that it is a depiction of a horse. It is also possible that the graffito originally depicted the head of a different being, of either another animal, or even a human or mythical creature. At Lacock Abbey (Wiltshire) for example, Pritchard took a rubbing of a graffito that depicts a human face with an animal body, which may be dated to the thirteenth century.¹²¹

118 E. New, 'Christological personal seals and Christocentric devotion in later medieval England and Wales', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), 49-51.

119 Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 204.

120 New, 'Christological', 49.

121 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 165-7.



Figure 46: Graffito of a possible horse

The graffito of the possible horse is difficult to date because of the lack of detail and accuracy. The graffiti evidence surviving in churches elsewhere in England shows that the practice of inscribing animals continued from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, providing a context for the examples in question. In Pritchard's study, animals are among the most frequently recorded types of graffiti, the rubbings of which show detailed examples that may have been based on living animals. The animals recorded by Pritchard include dogs (Essex, Bedfordshire), cats (Cambridgeshire), horses (Huntingdonshire), pigs (Suffolk), hares (Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire), birds (Cambridgeshire) and owls (Cambridgeshire).¹²²

Merchants' marks

Less common are merchants' marks. The survey recorded two different marks on separate stone blocks, with one on S45 of the right-hand bay and the other on S53 of the south return bay. Each mark was unique to an individual merchant or trader. They functioned as a practical substitute for a name which could be quickly reproduced and identified by a society that was largely illiterate. From the thirteenth century, merchants' marks were used in England for commercial purposes, not only to identify goods as being the property of an individual, but also as production marks for payment

¹²² Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 17-18, 52-3, 59, 61, 84, 110, 119, 157.

and quality control.¹²³ The task of distinguishing merchants' marks from other types of graffiti must be approached with caution, as it is often difficult to distinguish these marks from motifs with similar compositions. Merchants' marks are vulnerable to misidentification as they share certain features that are also common to heraldic devices, crosses and masons' marks. During the survey, the two merchants' marks were initially placed into the crosses category because their compositions include a cross motif. Both examples appear to have been drawn by hand, and not inscribed with tools specifically used by masons, eliminating the possibility that they could be masons' marks. It was only upon further investigation, and the inability to ascribe them to a specific type of cross, that they were identified as merchants' marks. The existing literature on graffiti depicting merchants' marks is limited and it is possible that they have been mistaken for other types of graffiti, or dismissed as masons' marks in other surveys. The recent discovery of medieval merchants' marks in 'dozens' of parish churches across Suffolk suggests that they are more common than currently realized.¹²⁴

The features characteristic of merchants' marks can be deduced from iconographic evidence such as seals, carved stonework and monuments, which have been used as a means of classification for the two examples recorded on the eastern reredos. Walsh and McGuinness identified the same key characteristics of medieval merchants' marks using different types of evidence. While Walsh used examples carved into stonework, McGuinness analysed seals. Both scholars observed that medieval merchants' marks usually consist of an upright central vertical shaft or stem which may depict a cross, a flag, streamers or a 'four' symbol.¹²⁵ Other features that appear to be common to merchants' marks on both mediums include letters, a rectangle, a heart shape, circles, crescents, an inverted V terminal, a double X or a W and may be depicted with a shield to give the mark a heraldic appearance.¹²⁶ These features are consistent with the two merchants' marks identified on the eastern reredos. The example on S45 depicts a Latin cross rising from an inverted 'four' symbol with a streamer protruding from the right side of the vertical shaft. It measures around 11.3cm high and shows no affinity to the other graffiti on the same stone block. The second

123 A. McGuinness, 'Non-armigerous seals and seal-usage in thirteenth-century England', in P.R. Cross & S.D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth century England 5: proceedings of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Conference 1993* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), 172.

124 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 245.

125 P. Walsh, 'The medieval merchant's mark and its survival in Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 45 (1993), 1; McGuinness, 'Non-armigerous seals', 172.

126 McGuinness, 'Non-armigerous seals', 172; Walsh, 'Medieval merchant's mark', 1.

example on S53, resembles a Crosslet cross with a streamer and measures approximately 4.5cm high (figure 47). The streamer, that takes the form of a 'tick' shape, appears to be holding the shield which displays a lightly-incised minute motif. The weathering of the surface of the stone block immediately next to this graffito prevents an understanding of how it may have related and interacted with other surrounding examples.



Figure 47: Graffito of a merchant's mark

It has not been possible to identify which family or individual the two merchants' marks may have belonged to. This is because an extensive search of different merchants' marks is beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, merchants would sometimes use different versions of their assigned mark, which reduces the chances of identifying who the two marks represented.¹²⁷ As examples of their daily use, merchants' marks depicted in graffiti, might have been fashioned more casually than the formal stylised examples that appear on other contemporary mediums, such as brasses, which makes the challenge of ascribing a mark to a specific individual or family more difficult.

In late thirteenth-century England, merchants' marks appeared on seals and documents, but were used extensively on various mediums from the mid fourteenth

¹²⁷ Walsh, 'Medieval merchant's mark', 3.

through to the sixteenth centuries, until they fell out of use in the seventeenth century.¹²⁸ Further evidence for merchants' close ties with Beverley Minster places the marks more firmly within the time frame suggested for the inscription of the graffiti in this location. Located in the south-east corner of the east-aisle of the north transept is an effigy of a secular male figure, traditionally believed to commemorate a Flemish merchant. Dawton suggests that the effigy dates between c.1330 and 1350, coinciding with the construction of the reredos.¹²⁹ As a trading centre, Beverley developed a diverse economy and had about 39 craft guilds in the 1390s.¹³⁰ The presence of merchants' marks is unsurprising, as the town's wealth rested firmly on its flourishing merchant community, stemming principally from the trade in wool and cloth, which would have necessitated the constant use of marks in the local area.¹³¹ The export of wool reached its peak in the 1350s, but declined by the fifteenth century along with national trends.¹³² Perhaps two merchants' marks is a rather low quantity when considered in the context of Beverley's sizeable merchant community. Their presence is significant as they provide evidence of this type of personal practice among the merchant class whose religious beliefs are, as mentioned above, otherwise expressed by effigies, brasses and wills. Merchant testators in Beverley left money to churches, charities and hospitals.¹³³ For merchants, the lack of financial value of inscribing a graffiti might have been perceived as devaluing their spiritual potency, and may explain the low number. Another reason for the paucity of merchants' marks is that such marks are likely to have been inscribed in locations closely affiliated with merchant communities. In Beverley, this could well have been Saint Mary's for example, because this was the parish to which many merchants belonged and were expected to attend regularly.¹³⁴ In her analysis of merchants' wills in Beverley, Kermode identified that 85 % chose to be buried in Saint Mary's over the Minster between 1370 and 1420, since most merchants preferred their own parish church.¹³⁵ This evidence demonstrates that, in this period, the local merchant community maintained a strong association with Saint Mary's, which may provide another

128 Walsh, 'Medieval merchant's mark', 2-3.

129 Dawton, 'Medieval monuments', 149.

130 J. Kermode, *Medieval merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9.

131 See chapter one.

132 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 39.

133 Kermode, *Medieval merchants*, 126, 124, 145-150.

134 *ibid.*, 124-5.

135 *ibid.*, 141.

explanation for the low number in Beverley Minster. Unfortunately, since there is no graffiti at Saint Mary's, we have no means of determining whether merchants' association with this parish manifested in the form of the inscription of merchants' marks, making it impossible to draw a comparative analysis with the quantity at Beverley Minster.¹³⁶

Early modern graffiti

This category of early modern graffiti comprises 71 examples including initials, forenames, surnames, dates and individual letters. Their distribution pattern shows that, during this period, the practice of inscribing graffiti continued across all five bays between rows two through to five. The majority are confined to the right and left-hand bays. There is a concentration on row three with a total of 45 examples, which reflects a high degree of inscribing activity at heights that might have been convenient for anyone kneeling. By contrast, only one example occurs at sitting level on row two, while 25 are found at standing eye level between rows four and five. The disparities between the quantities recorded on each row may well have been different when the activity was ongoing. From their spatial distribution, it is apparent that the majority are located at relatively low heights, notably row three, where the weathering effect has led to serious degradation of the stone blocks, and this might have subsequently impacted on the number of surviving examples.

As mentioned in chapter one, it is difficult to determine whether the practice of inscribing graffiti continued in the sixteenth century after the shrine was removed, because there are no means upon which to date the graffiti with any accuracy without an inscribed date. The presence of a date is a key indicator of graffiti inscribed in the early modern period, and interpretations drawn from the examples in this category are based on the assumption that no false dates were given at the time of their incision. Dates begin to occur in the early seventeenth century with 1612 being the earliest date, which appears beneath the name 'John Shorts' (figure 48). The last date inscribed in the seventeenth century is 1667 and occurs next to the name 'C Jordan'.¹³⁷ It is important to note that the letter I is used to represent the letter J and, therefore, the name 'John Shorts' and 'C Jordan' are depicted in the graffiti as 'Iohn' and 'Iordan'. Ten examples that depict either names or initials occur next to inscribed dates, including the year

¹³⁶ See chapter two.

¹³⁷ See chapter one.

1628, 1635, 1644 and 1649, and a further six that occur without a date can be ascribed to the seventeenth century based on the stylistic similarities of repeated inscriptions of the same name or initial. There is little doubt about the authenticity of at least one example on S05 of the north return bay which depicts the name 'Thomas Cooke' accompanied by the date 1649, while the year 1656 is engraved on a plaque affixed over the top of the same stone block. This suggests that the graffito was inscribed before the placement of the plaque. An inscribed date is not the only method of identifying graffiti with an early modern context, however. All examples in this category are deeply-incised, the extent to which they are noticeable without lighting equipment. This allows them to be easily distinguished from medieval examples, which are usually lightly-incised.



Figure 48: Graffito of the name 'John Shorts 1612'

Most common are initials or what appear to be two letters situated next to each other, which account for 37 examples. In some instances, high densities appear on the same stone block. For example, the survey recorded the presence of seven examples of two letters together on S37. Stylistic similarities between six of these examples suggest that one individual was responsible for their inscription, while the other seems to be unrelated (figure 49). It is possible that these six examples represent a slightly more

complex scheme and, rather than initials, may represent an anagram. Anagrams are a type of word play, and the aim for viewers is to decipher the word by rearranging the letters. The identifiable examples depict the letters IC, IC, IN and I. Despite rearranging these letters in different ways, they do not seem to produce any recognisable word. The letters in one of the boxes appears to have been crossed out, perhaps because it was a mistake or a feature that may be related to its function. At the bottom of the stone block, the eroded remains of at least one letter further hampers attempts at deciphering the possible anagram. Located on S18 of the right-hand bay is another possible example that depicts the letters IH, HS, HS, FH which again, stylistically can be ascribed to one individual but, similarly to the previous, is also difficult to decipher. Both examples warn against the assumption that two letters together imply that they intended to depict initials. The remaining examples of two letters situated next to one another occur in isolation, which seem more likely to depict initials that possibly relate to the beginning letters of a forename and surname rather than anagrams.

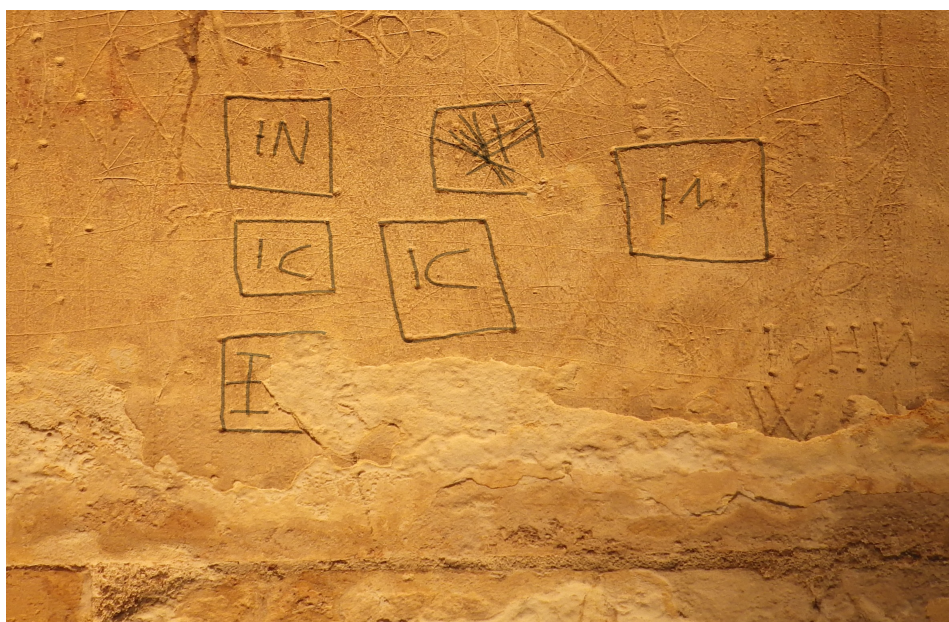


Figure 49: Graffiti depicting various letters in boxes

A further 23 examples represent longer inscriptions of forenames and surnames which are, in some cases, accompanied by a date. A number of names are repeated,

including 'Robert Bethell', 'Thomas Kirkman', 'John Waller' and 'William Waller', each of which are to be found between two and four times on the eastern reredos, indicating return visits. Repeated surnames may allow for the identification of family members, such as 'John Waller' and 'William Waller'. This repetition is further highlighted by the names 'C Jordan', 'Robert Bethell', 'William Waller' and 'John Waller', which also occur on piers in the nave. Here, these names occur alongside a date which is different to the date that appears on the eastern side of the reredos. One example is an inscription reading, 'Robert Bethell the maker hereof 30 day 1634' on pier N5, while the date 1635 occurs alongside the same name inscribed on the eastern reredos. The term 'the maker' may indicate that Robert Bethell was a workman in the Minster. This evidence suggests that artisans who carried out repair work on the Minster are among those responsible for their inscription.

The names vary in terms of detail and quality. This variety is seen in some examples which appear to have been inscribed in haste, and others with attention to detail. For instance, on S37 there are attempts at possible forenames such as 'Ro' and 'RoB' in the style of the full-length inscription depicting the name 'Robert Bethell'. Potentially unfinished examples could represent another means in which inscribers attempted to reduce the effort devoted to the act of inscribing, or perhaps because they were stopped, having been noticed. In contrast, some examples of full forenames and surnames are framed by either a box or rectangle, while others are slightly more complex, appearing inside a house-like motif surmounted by a cross. A notable example is an intricate motif which frames the name 'John Shorts 1612', perhaps, as some form of memorial with commemorative intent (figure 48).

A total of 11 examples depict single letters (figure 50). The presence of backward letters may reflect the level of literacy among their inscribers. For instance, a graffito on S14 depicts a backward letter R. But it is possible that individual letters had a symbolic meaning. Four examples consist of a double V and depict either a letter W or M, each of which occur in isolation on S30, S29, S35 and S39. Three of these depict the letter W and one represents the letter M, which are reminiscent of the examples from the medieval period associated with the Virgin Mary. Whether inscribers understood the medieval meaning of the M and W letters in relation to the Virgin Mary is uncertain, but it could well be that they provide evidence of a continuing practice. As an apotropaic mark they have recently become the subject of study in post-medieval

vernacular buildings and spelaeology, which is discussed in greater detail in chapter five.¹³⁸ Another possibility is that the letters represent unfinished inscriptions and intended to form part of a longer graffito. For example, the letter W could depict the beginning letter of the name William. However, single letters may not necessarily have had any specific meaning to the inscriber themselves. They may well demonstrate only what their inscribers knew how to write and their limited education.



Figure 50: Graffito of the letter F

Miscellaneous

Not all the examples of graffiti recorded can be identified precisely. The parameters of the above 12 categories does not cover the entire repertoire of motifs recorded on the eastern side of the reredos. By organising the graffiti into categories that depict the same basic motifs this excludes at least 30 miscellaneous examples that do not conform to the criterion of any of the above 12 types. Most examples in this category defy attempts at accurate identification according to the methods outlined in chapter two. It is also difficult to assign a date to their inscription because they are either too badly eroded for their image to be deciphered, or are unique in terms of their subject matter and do not resemble any recognisable design that could be equated with the iconography on other mediums. All examples in this category are lightly-incised which

¹³⁸ Meeson, 'Ritual marks', 46; C.J. Binding & L.J. Wilson, 'Ritual protection marks in Wookey Hole and Long Hole, Somerset', *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society*, 25, 1 (2010), 47-73.

would indicate a medieval provenance, but this cannot be established with any certainty.

The graffiti in this category are spread across all five bays and located at heights between rows two through six. A few large examples extend onto consecutive stone blocks, while others cover the surface area of a whole stone block and some are of minute size. Examples in this category include a number of random lines, dots, unfinished motifs and accidental scratches that appear to have been inscribed by hand (figure 51). There are various types of motifs, including multiple squares within squares, swirl patterns, flowers in boxes, and other quasi-geometrical and decorative designs, some of which exhibit a 'childlike' quality. Most examples depict unique designs and patterns, while others are repeated. One example of this repetition are the three motifs on S24, each of which depict a Saltire cross with a horizontal line running through the crossing point. Another example of repetition occurs on S39, where a cluster of three similar motifs depict what appear to be diagonal lines protruding from a central vertical shaft. There are also a few possible versions of identifiable motifs, such as an acorn on S56. This motif might have been a direct response to the surrounding iconography, since a sculpture on a boss on the south side of the vaulting depicts an acorn gatherer, representing the souls of the faithful.



Figure 51: Miscellaneous graffiti

There are several reasons why this graffiti should be recorded, not least because they relate to the overarching aims and issues investigated in this study, but the quantity itself suggests that they are worthy of note. It is necessary to include such examples for an accurate quantitative assessment of the scale of the practice in this location.¹³⁹ By recording their presence, this affords the opportunity for them to be identified at a later date. This seems achievable as graffiti continues to be discovered, which undoubtedly expands our knowledge of their designs, enabling more accurate classification.¹⁴⁰ To the modern eye, these examples appear to be little more than idle doodling, but they could well provide evidence of inscribers choosing from their personal supply of symbols. Their meaning and subject matter may have been understood by their inscribers and possibly contemporary viewers, but at present they elude the twenty-first century viewer.

Omissions

In addition to the graffiti, the eastern reredos is notable for its diverse and deeply-incised masons' marks. A mason's mark is a trade mark or 'signature' of a mason. Recent studies of medieval graffiti have endeavoured to record not only masons' marks, but also architectural templates.¹⁴¹ The present study departs from this trend because such an investigation is not within the confines of the aims of this research. There are three important reasons which justify their omission. Firstly, masons' marks functioned as banker marks and are used by scholars to understand the programme of construction of a building.¹⁴² Masons' marks would have been inscribed prior to the stone being laid, and therefore the religious significance of a particular location had no influence over whether they were inscribed or their subject matter, rendering them meaningless to an interpretation of the purpose of the graffiti on the eastern reredos. Secondly, the practical function of masons' marks implies that their presence on the stone was permissible, which raises questions about whether they come within the

¹³⁹ See chapter two.

¹⁴⁰ See chapter one.

¹⁴¹ Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 123-9; Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 245-6; M. Champion, 'Tracery designs at Binham Priory', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 6 (2011), 6-21; M. Champion, 'Architectural inscriptions: new discoveries in East Anglia', *Church Archaeology*, 16 (2012), 65-80; M. Champion, 'Medieval window sketch found at All Saints church, Weston Longville', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 46 (2012), 383-6.

¹⁴² Alexander, 'Masons' marks', 21-40; J. Phillips, 'Beverley Minster nave: evidence of the masons' marks', in P. Barnwell & A. Pacey (eds.), *Who built Beverley Minster?* (Reading: Spire Books, 2008), 41-58.

scope of the definition of graffiti at all. Thirdly, the scale of such an undertaking would involve time-consuming efforts. In order for masons' marks to contribute any valuable architectural conclusions, this would involve an analysis of the spatial distribution of each unique mark, and then for them to be compared and contrasted with other marks throughout the entire building. To provide an indicator of the scale of such a project there are around 306 masons' marks in the east end alone.¹⁴³

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an understanding of the types of graffiti currently located on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, and has examined the frequency of the 13 categories that appear in this location. It has demonstrated that the practice continued across all five bays in the medieval and early modern periods, with concentrations on the three main middle bays at standing eye level. This chapter has shown that by drawing parallels with iconographic and numismatic evidence, together with the graffiti recorded from other studies, this provides a means of dating and identifying the different types of graffiti inscribed in the medieval period. From the evidence available, the dates ascribed to certain types of graffiti, such as the sacred monograms, broadly coincide with the period in which the reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John from c.1330 to 1540.

The fact that many of these motifs can be paralleled with others in the iconographic record indicates that they have been rendered accurately, and reflect contemporary trends. The subjects are often ambiguous and, in some cases, their provenance cannot be understood fully. The ragged staff motif, for example, circulated within both secular and sacred contexts in the same period, making it difficult to determine which one the graffiti may have been based upon, and the meaning it intended to convey. Dating the graffiti has also been problematic because certain symbols were in use for a number of centuries and in cases of motifs such as crosses, continue into the present day which show little stylistic development.

As this chapter has shown, there is much variety within the 13 categories in terms of size, style and subject matter. Certain types such as textual inscriptions, crosses and letters are especially common. We could take this to indicate that the most frequently recurring subjects possibly show imitation from previously inscribed

¹⁴³ Information from J. Phillips on 24/10/14.

examples. Since their subjects were drawn from a limited range of motifs that, in many cases, repeat across the reredos, sometimes using identical techniques, this suggests that they were purposeful designs rather than spontaneous 'doodles'. The musical notation raises further questions about the potential historic musical function of this location. The subject matter of other types provide evidence for a following of certain cults, saints, theological concepts and objects of veneration among the inscribers of the graffiti in this location. Because of their scope and state of preservation, the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos allow observations that can cast light onto the motivations behind such inscriptions. In order to gain more information about this evidence, the next chapter examines the meaning and significance of examples from selected categories and sub-categories of graffiti in the context of a devotional practice.

Chapter 4

The act of inscribing graffiti as a devotional practice

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the graffiti evidence on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster was identified, described and broadly dated. The motifs have been grouped into 13 categories and further sub-categories by subject matter, which provide the framework for the discussion in following two thematic chapters. The graffiti is presented in this chapter as a valuable, but understudied form of evidence of a devotional practice in late medieval religious culture.

Personal devotional acts were a means through which people could express piety, in order to cultivate a personal relationship with God. Various objects developed as devotional tools to engage the user in a physical way, for example, handling rosary beads as a counting aid for private prayer and other small portable objects, such as iconographic rings, pendants and pilgrim badges, which might have been worn to allow for constant physical contact and proximity to the symbols depicted.¹ Private devotion aimed at physical participation in the use of physical gestures such as, clasping the hands whilst praying. In addition to inscribing graffiti, worshippers made other less direct forms of physical marks on churches by leaving bequests to maintain images of saints, hives of bees for wax candles and, in some cases, were buried in close proximity to areas of heightened spiritual significance.² Churches were filled with devotional images in wall paintings, sculpture and stained-glass, which depicted the lives of saints and the Holy Family, providing a focus for meditation and contemplation.³ By endowing images with strong emotional content, be it sorrowful or pathetic, these features made them suitable for private devotion and enhanced a sense of proximity between the depicted figure and the devout. This spread of devotional practices was not only reflected in iconographic mediums, but also by the proliferation of devotional literature such as books of hours, which informed readerships about how to pray.⁴ As another manifestation of devotional impulses, this chapter argues that the act of inscribing graffiti reflects these trends in the development of personal devotional

1 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 169-83, 190-200.

2 R. Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims: popular beliefs in medieval England* (London: Dent, 1977), 59-65; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 186-90, 197-200.

3 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 155-60.

4 Duffy, *Marking the hours*, 4-22.

practices in the late medieval period.

Ten different types of graffiti are examined as examples of devotional graffiti from the eastern side of the reredos. The graffiti discussed here are datable to the late medieval period when this structure served as a base for the shrine of Saint John from c.1330 to 1540. The subjects are the mitre, musical notation, crosses, letters, the possible Agnus Dei motifs, the sacred monograms, the Side Wound of Christ, the triquetra and the ragged staff, which equates to a total of 102 examples classified as devotional in nature. Certain subject types have been identified as devotional examples because of their association with Saint John of Beverley, namely the mitre and musical notation. Crosses and letters are more ambiguous, but their symbolic meanings pertain to the sanctity of this location. Others, such as the sacred monogram and the Side Wound of Christ, have been identified by their association with the significance of this location in relation to the performance of the Eucharist.

This chapter initially discusses the concept that the physical act of inscribing the graffiti was an important part of this devotional practice. Following on from this, it examines the meaning and significance of each of the ten types of devotional graffiti within the architectural context of the reredos as a shrine-base and its proximity to the performance of the Eucharist. Comparisons are made between the frequency of each type of motif on the eastern reredos with their occurrence in other areas of Beverley Minster. By presenting the evidence in such a way, this facilitates a comparative analysis between the types of graffiti inscribed beneath the shrine of a saint, and other areas of less heightened spiritual significance in Beverley Minster. Further comparisons are drawn with the parish churches surveyed from the Humber region and the sites from surveys of the graffiti discovered elsewhere in England. This places each of these types of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos within a wider local and national context. This chapter also analyses the function of each category of graffiti as a symbol in the broader context of other personal devotional practices involving these motifs in late medieval religious culture, in order to understand the extent to which the subject matter of the graffiti reflects iconographic trends. Although this chapter argues, convincingly, that devotional initiatives underpinned the motives for the inscription of these types of graffiti, it also acknowledges that they simultaneously served a secondary protective function against various misfortunes and evil spirits.

The act of inscribing graffiti and medieval devotional practices

Late medieval devotion was a physical affair. Not only seeing, but touching and kissing were ways of coming into direct contact with the intercessory power of the divine, and were acted out by the devout at images and shrines. At pilgrimage centres such as Walsingham, it was a practice for pilgrims to kiss the feet of the image of the Virgin Mary.⁵ It was widely recognised that close proximity to the holy by touching or kissing a holy man, saint or their relics, were ways by which the benefits or virtues of sanctity might be transferred between beings or to and from objects.⁶ This expectation was widespread in late medieval England. This transaction, through the use of the senses, was commonly associated with touch by the hands.⁷ There were different spiritual properties assigned to each hand: the right-hand with pity, mercy, honour and virtue and the left with justice and vice.⁸ In this context, the belief in the effectiveness of the virtues of an inscription of a graffiti in a church setting may well have relied on which hand was used to inscribe it. Hands would be clasped together in prayer, they would make physical gestures, such as the sign of the cross and use devotional objects in daily religious practices. If these were ways that touch and proximity played a part in devotional practices, then the act of inscribing graffiti which, by implication, involved touching the church fabric was in some ways similar, and might be seen as another physical expression of this type of worship.

The importance of sensory means of veneration are illustrated in images depicted in medieval stained-glass windows at pilgrimage sites, such as York Minster and Canterbury Cathedral.⁹ Throughout the glass, pilgrims are represented kneeling within the shrine niches, touching, kissing reliquary caskets and licking the shrine, emphasizing physical contact with the shrine structure. In her recent study of sensory experience at pilgrimage sites in late medieval England, Wells explains that churches intended to stimulate and appease the desire for contact with the holy and shrines in the design and construction of the features of these sacred locations, such as the plan, altars, screens, glass and paintings.¹⁰ She argues that 'the tangibility and tactility of the

5 C.M. Woolgar, *The senses in late medieval England* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2006), 41.

6 *ibid.*, 29, 41.

7 *ibid.*, 41.

8 *ibid.*, 29-32.

9 E. Wells, 'Making 'sense' of the pilgrimage experience of the medieval church', *Peregrinations: Journal of medieval art and architecture*, 3, 2 (2011), 132-6.

10 *ibid.*, 122-46.

sacred was becoming a predominant factor in the designs of shrines as the closer pilgrims were to the relic, the more genuine and more immediate access was offered to sanctity'.¹¹ In this context, the practice of inscribing graffiti could well represent a direct physical and visual climax of these sensory impulses, which were stimulated and inspired by devotional images, sculptures and other surrounding features. Physical contact was encouraged in other ways as, at some sites, tombs of saints were constructed with apertures designed for pilgrims to get closer to the relics, suggesting that contact with the sacred was considered in the construction of shrines. This can be seen in the example of the *foramina* type tomb-shrine, which had porthole-like openings that allowed for physical contact with the shrine. This type of tomb-shrine became widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; well-known examples include Saint Osmund's shrine currently located at Salisbury Cathedral, and the tomb of Saint Thomas Becket, as shown in the stained-glass windows at Canterbury Cathedral.¹²

In Beverley Minster, the engagement of the senses was inescapable in the medieval period, ranging from the chiming of bells and musicians playing instruments to the burning of wax candles. When pilgrims arrived at Beverley Minster through the north-west transept, they visited Saint John's tomb in the nave, and then his standard in the south-west transept, in order to establish his memory, and stimulate anticipation before viewing the shrine. As worshippers processed around the determined route through the exact space where miracles had been experienced and recorded, in a sense, they were physically experiencing the sanctity of Saint John of Beverley. The physical process of seeing and moving around the Minster no doubt evoked an emotional experience for viewers, arousing devotional impulses for physical interaction with the fabric and an intimate encounter with the divine which, perhaps, manifested in the form of the inscription of graffiti, as some form of response. For many of the devout visiting Beverley Minster, the eastern side of the reredos was the closest they could come to the shrine, permitting viewing but not direct access. Finucane suggests that by positioning a shrine in a place that was inaccessible to most worshippers, this elevated the saint's 'sacral status', and the aura of the supernatural power of the saint was strengthened.¹³ When considered in this context, the practice of inscribing graffiti in

11 Wells, 'Making 'sense' of the pilgrimage', 144.

12 Crook, *Shrines*, 191-205, 241; Woolgar, *Senses*, 43.

13 Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*, 27.

this location was a sensory means of veneration, evidently, involving touching.

Graffito of a mitre

Eastern reredos

The graffito of the mitre forges a symbolic parallel with the significance of the reredos as a base for the shrine of Saint John. It provides evidence of a subject that may well have been specifically chosen as an act of devotion, intending to relate to the historical character of John of Beverley as Bishop of Hexham and of York before his retirement to Beverley.¹⁴ The mitre might therefore be considered as an attribute of Saint John. We do not know whether its inscriber intended to depict a head beneath the mitre.¹⁵ But if this is the case, it is notable that, evidently, priority was given to inscribing the mitre, suggesting that its inscriber was concerned with associating the subject matter of the graffito directly to Saint John, relating to the presence of his shrine above. Since this is the only graffito of a mitre recorded in the Minster, its presence emphasizes the sanctity of this location and is, perhaps, the strongest indicator, among the graffiti, that the reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John. This connection also suggests that the graffito might have been inscribed by a devotee to the cult of Saint John. Given the use of the space under the vault as a place to pray and venerate the relics above, it is possible that the reason for its presence in such close proximity to the shrine is because it represents the highpoint of its inscriber's devotional impulses. By choosing the subject matter of a mitre the inscriber may have intended to appeal to an earlier era at the time when John held his bishopric and performed at least five miracles, recorded by Bede.¹⁶ This may well have been motivated by the belief that invoking Saint John's memory would strengthen the spiritual potency of the inscription, making it in some sense, particularly effective in the process of seeking intercession. Aside from alluding to his position as a bishop and canonization, the mitre may be said to affirm its inscriber's belief in his powers of saintly intercession.

Located on S45, the mitre is situated at a convenient height for both an inscriber to create the graffito whilst standing, and also to be noticed by subsequent viewers. Due to its small size, it is only noticeable upon close inspection, which may suggest that the graffito was not intended to serve an overtly public purpose, but

14 See chapter one.

15 See chapter three.

16 See chapter one.

instead represents an act of personal piety.¹⁷ Whether this graffito was inscribed by a clergyman, pilgrim or other worshipper visiting the space beneath the shrine remains unclear. During this period, the shrine of Saint John drew many pilgrims to the town throughout the year, particularly on feast days and Rogationtide.¹⁸ Perhaps these occasions were an obvious time to inscribe such an image in commemoration of the cheer and solace that was brought with religious celebrations and feasting, which featured prominently during this season in the town and centred around John's shrine. Moreover, it seems reasonable to advance the theory that a mitre was specifically chosen to commemorate John's status as a senior figure of the Church in northern England. There is little reason to doubt that the people visiting this space would have known of John's career as a bishop. This is confirmed by a fourteenth-century corbel located on a bracket for a statue on the north face of the reredos, which depicts Saint John of Beverley wearing a mitre alongside King Athlestan (figure 52). The close proximity of the sculptures to the eastern reredos suggest that the motives underpinning the inscription of this graffito could have been prompted by seeing the corbel, which would have been noticed just before entering this space.



Figure 52: A fourteenth-century corbel in the north choir aisle representing Saint John of Beverley and King Athelstan

¹⁷ See chapter three.

¹⁸ See chapter one.

Wider context of the mitre

From the available studies, there is no recorded evidence of a graffito of a single mitre, but mitred heads and figures are known to occur in several locations in medieval churches. From the surveys conducted at the other churches in the Humber region, a mitred head is one of six graffiti recorded at Welwick. It is located on a pier on the south side of the nave nearest the chancel. It has no facial features, but the style of the mitre resembles those commonly dating between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the sides were no longer made vertical but slightly diagonal.¹⁹ In contrast to Beverley Minster, the exact identity of the mitred head remains unclear as it is difficult to associate it with a particular saint within its architectural context. The mitred head is situated on the east face of the pier, which sits directly facing towards the altar and, perhaps, its proximity to the chancel represents an attempt to place the graffito in close proximity to an area of heightened spiritual value. Similarly ambiguous examples of mitred figures have been recorded in parish churches elsewhere in England. Unlike the example at Welwick, Pritchard recorded two figures wearing mitres depicted in the orans position at Croxton (Cambridgeshire) and Sible Hedingham (Essex), which were associated with arches in both churches. Based on the style of the mitres, she suggests that they may date from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries.²⁰ But in common with the situation at Welwick, for Pritchard the evidence was insufficient upon which to determine whether they intended to depict a particular saint or a generic depiction of a bishop. Saint Thomas Becket was one possible candidate, though Pritchard conceded that these motifs are too ambiguous to ascribe to a specific individual with any certainty.²¹ Beyond the interpretation that they are devotional in nature, other theories are rather limited. As a symbol of ecclesiastical authority, it seems reasonable to infer that the mitre was chosen as a more generic motif. Interpreted in this way, the graffiti depicting mitres and mitred heads may represent inscribers' devotion and dedication to the Church as an establishment and its practices.

It is possible to link the symbol of the mitre with the custom of the Boy Bishop when a boy was chosen to imitate a real bishop. The custom of electing a Boy Bishop was a widespread tradition among churches in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²²

¹⁹ Knight, *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

²⁰ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 31-2, 45.

²¹ *ibid.*, 32.

²² C. Green, *Boy Bishop tokens* (2015). Available online: <http://www.caitlingreen.org/2015/01/st-nicholas-or-boy-bishop-tokens-in.html> [Accessed 1/9/15].

The boy that was chosen carried out episcopal or priestly functions and exercised authority over their seniors from the Feast of Saint Nicholas (6 December) until the Feast of Holy Innocents (28 December).²³ Vestments served an important role in this practice. The elected Boy Bishop would be dressed in pontifical vestments including a mitre, cope, pastoral staff and gloves.²⁴ Recent research indicates that lead Boy Bishop tokens were issued in commemoration of the festival with an image of either the Boy Bishop or a mitre, which was a practice particularly prevalent in East Anglia.²⁵

The custom of the Boy Bishop may have existed in Beverley shortly before being abolished by Henry VIII in 1512.²⁶ However, it is unlikely that the mitre in Beverley Minster is associated with the celebrations of the Boy Bishop. There is no reason to connect the celebrations of the Boy Bishop directly to the eastern reredos. Moreover, in December, at the time of year of the Boy Bishop celebrations, the space beneath the shrine would have received little light, even during daytime hours, making it difficult to inscribe such a small motif.

In support of a devotional and, perhaps, a secondary commemorative function of such a motif, it may be significant to bring into the discussion the depiction of a mitred head recorded in Jones-Baker's survey of the graffiti in the Lady Chapel at Chichester Cathedral. In her drawing of the graffiti, the mitred head is accompanied by a rather crude image of a cathedral showing a pitched roof and fragments of two towers.²⁷ Jones-Baker suggests that the mitre may have been inscribed between Bishop Richard's death in 1253 and his canonization in 1262. Alternatively, it is possible that it was inscribed between 1273 and 1276, when the body of Saint Richard of Chichester was temporarily moved to the Lady Chapel while his shrine was being completed in the retro-choir. This arrangement allowed for Saint Richard to be venerated by the influx of pilgrims to the cathedral.²⁸

The mitre as a symbol

The mitre is a well-known symbol of a senior figure of the Church, such as a bishop or

23 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 430; N. Mackenzie, *The medieval Boy Bishops* (Leicester: Matador, 2012), 6.

24 Mackenzie, *Boy Bishops*, 32.

25 Green, *Boy Bishop tokens*.

26 A. Spedding, 'Music in the Minster', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history* (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), 184; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 106-107; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 62; Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 44-5.

27 Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 6-8.

28 *ibid.*

archbishop. Depictions of mitres and mitred heads not only appear in medieval stained-glass, sculpture and wall paintings, but are commonly found on portable devotional devices including pilgrim badges, notably those that were purchased at the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury, who served as Archbishop of Canterbury between 1162 and 1170.²⁹ In this context, the mitre served as a symbol of pilgrimage. The mitre may well have been viewed as a generic symbol of pilgrimage that functioned as an emblem of a saint who had served as a bishop or archbishop. A popular cult dedicated to Saint Thomas emerged from the time of his murder in 1171 until at least the mid fifteenth century, when Canterbury was among the most popular centres of pilgrimage in late medieval England.³⁰ According to the PAS database pilgrim badges depicting mitred heads have been found in contexts across England including Dorset, Kent and Norfolk.³¹ Their extensive geographical distribution suggests that the mitre was a widely circulated motif, and would have been readily understood by a late medieval audience as a symbol of pilgrimage. Other dress accessories excavated from London contexts of the late medieval period show that mitred heads appear, in minute form, on pewter rings, strap ends and buckles.³² A close stylistic affinity between these dress accessories and pilgrim badges is readily apparent, and a few may well have been pilgrim souvenirs. In this context, the graffito of the mitre on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster reflects contemporary trends that might be expected beneath the shrine of a saint who once held the position of a bishop and, as outlined above, may well be a more generic symbol associated with pilgrimage.

Musical notation

Eastern reredos

Much is still to be learned of the music associated with Beverley Minster in the medieval period, and more specifically the graffiti of the musical notation inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos, which raises the possibility that this location might have served a musical function. It is not surprising to find musical notation in this location since processions would have been frequent here. As mentioned in chapter three, two of the seven examples in this category provide evidence of polyphonic music, which

²⁹ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, 112-120.

³⁰ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 190-191; Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 50-61.

³¹ PAS no. SOMDOR-29F941; PAS no. NMS-2D4373; PAS no. PAS-B1BD65.

³² G. Egan & F. Pritchard, *Dress accessories 1150-1450* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), 333-5.

may be dated to the late fifteenth century. They are located on each of the return bays which, based on their location, are likely to be related to Saint John. From this evidence, it is apparent that they were inscribed by someone educated and skilled in writing musical notation. The size of the two staves indicate that they were made for close viewing at a person's standing eye level.³³ They may have served a liturgical function as a mnemonic aid for the performance of a ritual or procession that was conducted once or twice a year. Moreover, the location of the two staves beneath the shrine of Saint John suggests a function in connection with processions, possibly on feast days or at Rogationtide when the shrine was taken out of the Minster and carried around the boundary of the town.³⁴ In this context, the musical notation could have served as prompts or as teaching aids for performances and rehearsals. The east end of the Minster could easily have been shut off from the main body of the building when privacy was needed to rehearse, and therefore this location may well have been attended by members of a song school. The size of the largest example on S15 would have been easily viewed from a short distance, providing that it was more deeply inscribed earlier on. This would have made it an effective teaching aid. From these perspectives, the notation functioned as an important and cost-effective mnemonic aid that provided a substitute for the more expensive service books, either for the purpose of practising in rehearsals or occasional performances. From at least the fourteenth century, the precentor was officially in charge of what was seen primarily as a choir school, which catered for the training of choristers.³⁵ Whether there was a song school specifically associated with this location remains unclear due to the lack of documentary evidence. Leach noted that a song school is briefly mentioned in the only extant fabric roll for 1423 and 1424, which reveals that the Master of Choristers, George Morsell, conductor of the Mass of Our Lady, and the name of Jesus, received a stipend of 46s. 8d, but makes no specific mention of any association with this location.³⁶

Wider context of musical notation

There are traces of at least a further six examples of musical notation in the nave in Beverley Minster. Two examples are on different piers, while the other four are in the

³³ See chapter three.

³⁴ See chapter one.

³⁵ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 45.

³⁶ Leach, 'Introduction', *Memorials*, vol 1, lxx-lxvi.

bays of the north-aisle of the nave. With the exception of one example, the other five graffiti depicting musical notation in these areas are located at low heights, which might have been convenient for an individual either sitting or kneeling. One example, located in the bay between N2 and N3 depicts a notational system of square-shaped notes and possibly a clef but, unlike the others, this is a stave of four lines, and may be the earliest example of musical notation in the Minster.³⁷ There are at least a further three examples located in the bays towards the west end of the Minster, with two in the bays between N9 and N10, plus another in the bay between N10 and the west end. In these locations, some of the notes are overlapping, possibly to correct a mistake, or could be an attempt at another tune completely. It is conceivable that these three examples served as prompts, perhaps for a musician during processional events. Their location in the nave would not have been convenient for anyone that was singing or to call out in the course of a ceremony, in which case it may be more likely that participants would stand. Another possibility is that they were related to the location of other shrines and altars in the Minster and used for the veneration of their associated saints. It may be significant, therefore, that the example on N6 is close to the north entrance and that the altar of Saint James was probably situated somewhere nearby.³⁸ Apart from their use in connection with processions, services and other liturgical purposes, it is also possible that this medium was used in these locations for teaching music. This may have taken place in the west end, due to its high concentration.

The importance of music in Beverley Minster is well-documented by numerous fourteenth-century sculptures of secular musicians and angels depicted with their instruments on the corbels, capitals and label stops throughout the nave.³⁹ The musical instruments depicted include lutes, harps, portative organs and tambourines. Dawton attributed some of these to the Clifford Master, and a greater number depicting angels playing musical instruments to the sculptor referred to as the Angel Master.⁴⁰ During the period when the shrine was positioned on top of the reredos, before the Dissolution, musical life in Beverley Minster was maintained, under the precentor, by nine vicars, eight choristers and a number of chantry priests who would sing masses for departed souls.⁴¹ From their practical locations in the Minster, convenient for

37 Information from Flynn 5 June 2013.

38 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 43.

39 G. Montagu & J. Montagu, 'Beverley Minster reconsidered', *Early Music*, 6, 3 (1978), 401-402.

40 Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 109.

41 Spedding, 'Music in the Minster', 184.

certain uses, we may surmise that the musical notation might have been the work of one of these individuals or, at least are among those who would have found them useful. In the medieval period, Beverley gained a reputation for secular music through its waits and minstrels, and also had a special significance as the headquarters of an important guild of minstrels in the north of England who met annually in the town to choose their alderman and stewards.⁴² The term 'wait' is a Nordic word meaning 'watcher' or 'guard'.⁴³ Often in towns, the watchmen who guarded the walls and gates during hours of darkness and reported any wrong-doing, formed themselves into bands of instrumentalists. They would perform at civic events and had an important part in the Rogationtide procession.⁴⁴ It is possible that the town waits are among the musicians depicted in the sculptures in the nave of the Minster, emphasizing their significance in the musical life of the town.⁴⁵ It is by no means inconceivable that the north-aisle musicians were intended to commemorate their services to the church. For pilgrims and important lay guests entering by the north porch, musicians would have formed a permanent welcoming committee, whose very presence no doubt emphasized the status of Saint John, enhancing the experience of visiting the Minster.⁴⁶ A recorded total of 13 examples of musical notation throughout the Minster is a rather low quantity when considered in the context of the prominent role of music in the culture of the town in the late medieval period. Since many in the nave are situated at low heights where the stone is vulnerable to the effects of erosion, it is likely that this number only represents surviving examples, and may not necessarily reflect the amount that was originally inscribed in this period.

Fewer examples of musical notation were recorded among the graffiti in the parish churches surveyed in the study region. Fragments of only six examples have been recorded at two of the six parish churches surveyed from the Humber region with four at Hessle and two at Paull. Each of the six examples from these sites are located at about standing eye level. At Hessle, the four staves occur on piers or walls close to the west end, three of which have been classified in this study as possible examples as they consist of only lines and dots. We may infer from their practical location in the west end that they were possibly used by singers and musicians. At Paull, each of the two

⁴² Miller et al., *Beverley*, 3.

⁴³ Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 100.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 113-114.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 114.

examples are located on a different pier on the north side of the nave, both of which are close to the north door. Their position at standing eye level, together with their proximity to doors, suggests a purpose in connection with processions, similarly to that in Beverley Minster.

In common with the sites surveyed in this study, musical graffiti are known in several locations. Jones-Baker has written of the possible devotional implications of graffiti depicting musical notation, and used the evidence discovered in Lincoln Cathedral.⁴⁷ She noted the location of a number of staves of notation on walls and piers that were known to have been medieval shrines, along the pilgrims route eastward through the south-aisle toward the shrine of Saint Hugh.⁴⁸ In addition to their use in connection with services or for venerating saints, further evidence from Lincoln Cathedral confirms that notational graffiti was used as a medium for teaching music, as Jones-Baker noted the presence of a black substance embedded in the lines of a stave from the use of charcoal sticks, located on the west wall of the medieval choir school in the south-east transept.⁴⁹ She also explored the ceremonial and liturgical functions of graffiti depicting musical notation and used the example of evidence found in the Tresaunt in the Deanery of Saint George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.⁵⁰ Between c.1240 and 1483, this space was used as a ceremonial or liturgical passage which, for Jones-Baker was at 'the very centre of the liturgical and ceremonial life of this royal establishment'.⁵¹ She argues that the practice of inscribing musical notation in this location was 'largely deliberate and not a random pastime'.⁵² In the case of musical graffiti surviving in churches across England, Jones-Baker observed that few were inscribed in the chancel, and most were incised on arches, piers, or walls, and particularly near doors, usually the north door.⁵³ They were commonly located at standing eye level and, given their frequent proximity to doors she suggests that they had a liturgical function and were used in connection with processions as a mnemonic aid.⁵⁴

47 Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 26-9, 30-31.

48 *ibid.*, 31.

49 *ibid.*, 26.

50 D. Jones-Baker, 'Graffiti of medieval music in the Tresaunt, Windsor Castle', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 64 (1984), 374-6.

51 *ibid.*, 374.

52 *ibid.*, 375.

53 *ibid.*

54 *ibid.*

Music in other forms

In the earlier Middle Ages, music in churches was largely sung from memory, but the requirement to memorize was later dropped in favour of proficiency in reading music from service books.⁵⁵ In the late Middle Ages, there was an increased use of music in the performance of the Mass. This was among the developments that took place during this period in response to changes towards the celebration of the Mass, when there was greater emphasis on Christ's presence in the host.⁵⁶ Increased use of music during the Mass aimed to raise the emotional response, and affect the attitudes to what was occurring for the laity, suggesting that the performance of music was an indicator of sanctity.⁵⁷ Throughout the late medieval period, service books with notes were prized and were mentioned individually in wills where they were bequeathed.⁵⁸ Vellum and paper were scarce and highly valued, making it necessary to find other mediums upon which to record musical notation.⁵⁹

As mentioned in chapter three, archaeological and illustrative examples of musical notation from this period come from the exhibits in Wells Museum (Somerset) in the form of two fragments of slate upon which are inscribed staves of musical notation. They were discovered in c.1886 by the vicar of Wedmore (Somerset), while excavating the site of an old manor house at Mudgley, near Wedmore.⁶⁰ Between c.1255 and 1550 the house had been the home of successive deans of Wells Cathedral, alluding to the possibility that the slates had religious rather than secular origins, although this is still a matter of conjecture. While admitting that the discovery of the Wells slates in the deans' former manor prompts speculation about their date, use and ownership, Blezzard explored the various religious implications associated with the slates and advanced the theory that they might have been continually displayed in the choir of the Cathedral to show what should be sung by each officiant at every feast.⁶¹ Certain property in the area of Mudgley also belonged to the nearby abbey of Glastonbury, which may well have maintained schools in the area. Another possibility, advanced by Blezzard, was that the slates were used by either the abbey or cathedral as

55 Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 26-7.

56 R. Swanson, *Religion and devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 141.

57 *ibid.*

58 Jones-Baker, 'Medieval and tudor music', 27.

59 *ibid.*

60 Blezzard, 'Wells musical slates', 26.

61 *ibid.*, 30.

a teaching aid for church choristers, noting the advantage that they could be used by successive groups of learners.

Another example of inscribed musical slates from a similar period are four of the 49 slates from Smarmore, currently displayed in the National Museum of Ireland (Dublin).⁶² These slates were discovered either in or near the ruins of a church situated in the village of Smarmore (Ireland) during the process of excavating the site in the late 1950s. In addition to musical notation, the other slates contain medical or veterinary prescriptions and food recipes, but the majority contain ecclesiastical inscriptions written in Latin.⁶³ The four slates inscribed with musical notation have been dated to the fifteenth century. Similarly to the Wells slates, scholars Blezzard, Britton and Fletcher, have suggested that the subject matter of the Smarmore slates indicate that they might have functioned as a teaching aid for school use to teach polyphonic music, possibly to church choristers based on their association with a church from the archaeological context in which they were found.⁶⁴ They might be interpreted as written in a school, either by a master as a basis for instruction, or by pupils as exercises. As examples of inscribed forms of musical notation, possibly functioning as teaching aids, these slates were portable devices that could be used and passed around to other people, while the graffiti of musical notation inscribed in church contexts was limited to a single location. From the size of the musical notation inscribed in churches, it seems likely that they acted as a prompt for occasional and specific musical performances, designed to be seen by one or a few individuals at such times rather than for teaching groups consisting of several choristers who may have found it difficult to see from a distance.

Crosses

Eastern reredos

Crosses are another defining feature of devotional graffiti. The 41 examples recorded on the eastern reredos have been grouped into ten different sub-types, and it could well be that specific types served certain purposes.⁶⁵ As mentioned in chapter three, the uniform position and appearance of specific types, such as the 12 Fourché crosses

62 Britton & Fletcher, 'Slates of Smarmore', 55-72.

63 Bliss, 'Slates at Smarmore', 33-60; Britton & Fletcher, 'Slates of Smarmore', 55-72.

64 Britton & Fletcher, 'Slates of Smarmore', 55-72; Blezzard, 'Wells musical slates', 27.

65 See chapter three.

suggests that they might have served as a way of sanctifying this location.⁶⁶ However, some of these examples may well be imitations of earlier inscribed crosses, and not the product of any formal consecration ceremony. It is possible that the function of the reredos as a shrine-base underpinned inscribers' motives for choosing this type of graffiti, and was influenced by the sanctity of this part of the Minster as a focus of devotion with the shrine above. The minute size, combined with the simplicity of some designs, such as the Latin crosses, suggest that little time was devoted to their creation. This would have made this type an appropriate choice for a visiting pilgrim. They might have been inscribed as a symbol for the making, or fulfilment of a vow to God through the divine intercession of Saint John of Beverley. As a destination for penitential pilgrims, evidence of inscribed crosses may represent a tangible expression of their inscribers hope of achieving reconciliation with God through the intercession of Saint John, possibly by undertaking a pilgrimage to this location.⁶⁷ Whether we can take these crosses to indicate that they relate to the sanctity of this location as a shrine-base or because of its proximity to the performance of the Eucharist is a matter of conjecture, since it is difficult to relate them specifically to either context. It is equally plausible that crosses are generic motifs associated with the sanctity of this location in a more general sense.

At least two crosses show evidence of modification, possibly by a later hand.⁶⁸ As discussed in chapter three, one example, which may have been altered by a later hand was placed into the 'Heraldry' category during the process of recording the graffiti.⁶⁹ The deepness of the incision of the Fourché crosses and, in some cases, the Cross patteé types allows them to be noticed without lighting equipment, which would have increased the chances of them being either copied or altered. The practical difficulties associated with prospect of inscribing an entirely new graffiti, such as time, labour and thought are potential reasons for the modification or copying of an earlier graffiti. Copying and modifying earlier examples was therefore both convenient and practical. It is also possible that this was the result of more than just practical incentives, but of a devotional nature. Such observations suggest that the act of viewing inscribed crosses not only inspired viewers to closely inspect examples, intensifying what was already a personal experience even more intimate, but that they

⁶⁶ See chapter three.

⁶⁷ Wilson, *The life*, 1.

⁶⁸ See chapter three.

⁶⁹ See chapter three.

also encouraged viewers to become participants in the practice. The alteration of a graffito represents the social element of the unity of a community. Evidence of modifying and copying reinforced the authority of the image created by the preceding inscriber. Physical engagement with previously inscribed crosses was a means through which subsequent inscribers could share in the intercessory benefits that were perceived to have been invoked by the initial incision of the cross. For those who might have visited the eastern reredos at a time when there were many of these crosses, the quantity may have inspired faith, hope and confidence for subsequent worshippers visiting for their own needs, encouraging participation in the practice and the inscription of a graffito of their own. Other types of graffiti which are easily noticeable, such as the weapons and stars have not been altered or copied. When compared with these other types of graffiti, we may surmise that the act of seeing the crosses prompted a response that was distinct from other examples visible without the need for lighting equipment. It may be that subsequent viewers identified certain types of graffiti that they could relate and respond to. Crosses might have reminded viewers of Christ's presence and the events connected to the cross, in addition to emphasizing the sanctity of the location as a shrine-base.

Wider context of crosses

The number of crosses located in the nave is comparatively low, with a total of eight examples recorded on four piers. A cluster of five similar crosses occur on pier N5, plus one each on N6 and S10 and another possible example on S4. They may have been inscribed in devotion to a particular shrine, altar or image in close proximity. Alternatively, the crosses could be associated with a crucifix that stood inside the north door, which was an object of local devotion mentioned by fifteenth-century testators.⁷⁰ It may be no coincidence, therefore, that the cluster of five crosses on N5 would have been the closest of the piers to the crucifix when it was placed here. A play of the crucifixion featured as part of the festivities on Corpus Christi Day in medieval Beverley, and the inscription of the crosses may well reflect their inscribers' devotion to Christ.⁷¹ Another possibility is that they were related to the line of sanctuary crosses situated about a mile from the edge of the town and were associated with the privilege

⁷⁰ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 41.

⁷¹ Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 42, 47.

of sanctuary derived from Saint John of Beverley.⁷² Of these, the remnants of three crosses survive in the local area at Bishop Burton, Walkington and Bentley.⁷³ These crosses represented the connection between Beverley, Saint John and the right to claim sanctuary which, as mentioned in chapter one, was granted by King Athelstan as a gift, and confirmed by Stephen in 1136. Based on this parallel, the crosses in Beverley Minster, and the large proportion on the eastern side of the reredos, might indicate that they were inscribed in devotion, more specifically, to Saint John.

The inscription of crosses was not the only personal devotional practice associated with this motif in the local area. The practice of possibly wearing crosses in late medieval Beverley is suggested by the discovery of a pendant in the shape of a cross with bulbous terminals and a quatrefoil in the centre from a context dating between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries at Lurk Lane.⁷⁴ From the excavations at Eastgate, another relevant example, a brooch, was found in a context dating to the mid thirteenth century. It depicted a cross with splayed arms of equal length, resembling a Greek cross and a pellet between each arm.⁷⁵ These types of accessories may have been worn and used in other ways to express personal piety and the wearer's commitment to pursuing a Christian life.

In contrast, from the graffiti recorded in the other parish churches in this study, it is apparent that the inscription of crosses was not a practice employed by the laity as an act of devotion at these sites in the late medieval period. Only four possible Consecration crosses were recorded at two sites including three at Paull, and one at Goxhill. At Paull, one example occurs on a pier located on the south side of the nave, while the other two are situated on opposite walls of the chancel. The presence of the possible Consecration crosses in the chancel might indicate that their inscription in this location was for the space to be set apart for divine service, and possibly the product of the ceremony of consecration. This seems to be the most likely possibility since these Consecration crosses are two of only six graffiti recorded in the chancel at Paull, while 46 are located in the nave, the majority of which are ships. These three examples at Paull compare well with another compass-drawn cross recorded at Goxhill which is situated on a pier on the north side of the nave, though, not an area of heightened

⁷² See chapter one.

⁷³ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 34.

⁷⁴ Armstrong, *Excavations at Lurk Lane*, 149.

⁷⁵ D. Evans, *Excavations at 33-35 Eastgate, Beverley, 1983-86* (Sheffield: J.R. Collins, University of Sheffield, 1992), 146.

spiritual significance. All four examples occur in their own isolated space within the two churches, suggesting that their inscription was purposeful.

However, according to other studies of the graffiti at parish churches elsewhere in England, the practice of inscribing crosses does not appear to have been confined to the act of consecration during the late medieval period. In a survey at the church of the Holy Cross at Sarratt (Hertfordshire) Pritchard discovered a graffito of a cross next to a name on a pier in the nave and another in the south transept.⁷⁶ Based on palaeographic techniques, she suggested a date between the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, at a time when the focus on the human nature of Christ began to emerge as a central feature of the less communal and more personal kinds of religious devotion.⁷⁷

Moreover, Champion's recent study at sites largely in the south of England reveals that crosses are among the most common types of graffiti recorded in church settings, with many located around doorways or in the church porch, and notable concentrations around the south door.⁷⁸ He suggests that the inscription of crosses in the church porch and doorways may be linked to the religious and social activities associated with these locations in the medieval period that involved taking or making vows.⁷⁹ For Champion the crosses were appropriate in these locations since 'a number of church services, such as the marriage ceremony, the churching of women after childbirth and the burial service...took place at the porch or at the church door'.⁸⁰ He argues that the crosses were placed deliberately in these locations, and suggests that they were either physical symbols of these vows made before the church door intended as a request for the church's blessing acting as visual reminders of the agreements made, whether between people or with God, and concedes that some examples may have been made by pilgrims.⁸¹ In contrast, there were no crosses discovered in the porch of Beverley Minster, nor was this a feature of the parish churches surveyed in the Humber region, which may be due to the weathering of the stone in this location. Nevertheless, the association between the locations of inscribed crosses and ceremonies for making vows at other sites provides evidence that supports the theory that the concentration of crosses on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster

⁷⁶ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 112.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 63.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 65-8.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 65.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 68-9.

were linked to the practice of making, or fulfilling a vow to God, or divine intercession of Saint John, perhaps relating to the journey of undertaking a pilgrimage.

Evidence for the practice of inscribing crosses at other pilgrimage sites supports the concept that this type of graffiti was inscribed as part of a devotional act symbolic of a vow that had been completed or was about to be undertaken. Jones-Baker observed that crosses were among the most frequently occurring type of graffiti in the Lady Chapel in Chichester Cathedral which, as mentioned earlier, was where the body of Richard of Chichester was temporarily placed in the late thirteenth century.⁸² A potential relationship between crosses, pilgrims and saints, is also suggested by evidence of crosses inscribed into stone surfaces at pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. Clusters of graffiti depicting Latin crosses have been discovered inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the steps leading to the chapel of Saint Helena, for example.⁸³ In this context, evidence for the practice of inscribing crosses would not be uncharacteristic at a pilgrimage site, and the crosses on the eastern side of the reredos reflect this continuing trend.

The cross as a symbol

Literary references to crosses that may well be associated with pilgrimage are described in William Wey's, *The Itineraries*, written in 1458, whilst undertaking his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He observed that a stone outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was 'engraved with many crosses', and repeatedly noted their presence.⁸⁴ Since the term 'graffiti' was first used in English in the nineteenth century, we cannot determine whether Wey was describing crosses that had been inscribed by pilgrims or was referring to examples that had been formally commissioned onto a stone.⁸⁵ The fact that Wey commented on the crosses implied that they captured his attention. He noted that before entering Jerusalem, there was a wall with 'many crosses which are kissed by pilgrims', and upon moving into the city repeated again, 'we kissed the stone covered with crosses'.⁸⁶ From this description, in the case of the crosses on the eastern reredos, it could well be that, for contemporary viewers, the act of seeing a

⁸² Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 12.

⁸³ C. Morris, *The sepulchre of Christ and the medieval west: from beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 203.

⁸⁴ *The itineraries of William Wey*. Translated from Latin by F. Davey (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2010), 75, 80-81.

⁸⁵ See chapter one.

⁸⁶ *The itineraries*, 74, 80.

cross in this location precipitated a similar sensory experience. Not only would the inscription of a cross be offered in devotion, but might have been inscribed as a votive act. Further documentary evidence reveals that there may have been a long-established tradition of a relationship between pilgrimage, crosses and the discharging of a vow. Writing in the early twelfth century about the First Crusade, Robert the Monk states that 'accepting the cross shall be taken as a promise to set out on a pilgrimage'.⁸⁷

In addition, it is possible that a cross was chosen to be inscribed because they were perceived to have protective properties. Crosses were not only associated with votive offerings, but also other superstitious practices in late medieval culture. During this period, it was widely believed that making the sign of the cross during the recitation of the Passion narrative in Holy Week was a charm against all evils and that the person making the sign would come to no harm that day.⁸⁸ In the tenth and eleventh centuries, it was held that one needed to make the sign of a cross when yawning, to prevent the Devil from entering the body.⁸⁹ Moreover, in a study of medieval superstitious beliefs and practices, Jolly argued that the sign of the cross was the most common ritual action deployed in the medieval period as a result of the development of vernacular literature and hagiography, that were widely disseminated.⁹⁰ Contemporary literary works contain anecdotes designed to demonstrate the beliefs in the protective properties of the act of the physical gesture of making the cross against demons and the Devil. The *Golden Legend*, completed in c.1266, contains stories of saints using the sign of the cross for such purposes.⁹¹ For example, in Saint Margaret's story, a dragon which appears in a vision, representing her enemies, disappeared when she made the sign of the cross.⁹² Similarly, the manual on witchcraft, *Malleus maleficarum*, written in 1486, educates its readership on the protective measures that could be taken against the Devil and evil intentions of witches. The manual gives an anecdote of a young woman who protected herself against demons from revealing themselves to her in human form by making the sign of the cross.⁹³ The manual was

87 Robert the Monk's *history of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*. Translated from Latin by C. Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 92.

88 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 215.

89 Woolgar, *Senses*, 33.

90 K. Jolly, 'Medieval magic: definitions, beliefs and practices', in K. Jolly et al. (eds.), *Witchcraft and magic in Europe. volume 3: the Middle Ages* (London: Athlone, 2001), 44.

91 Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 162-4, 243-4.

92 *ibid.*, 162-3.

93 H. Kramer, *The hammer of witches: a complete translation of Malleus maleficarum*. Translated from Latin by C. Mackay (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 312.

written by a Catholic clergyman, Heinrich Kramer, and is often also attributed to Jacob Sprenger, a priest and Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Cologne. Sprenger was possibly added as co-author in order to lend official authority to its claims. Although first published in Speyer, Germany, *Malleus maleficarum* had much influence in the witch trials in England and Western Europe between the late fifteenth and seventeenth centuries when it was used as a judicial case-book for the detection and persecution of witches, specifying the rules of evidence and procedures by which a suspected witch would be tortured and put to death.⁹⁴ It incorporated elements of divination, astrology and healing rituals, as well as Biblical teachings and concepts advanced by theologians such as Thomas Aquinas.⁹⁵ In addition, the physical gesture of making the sign of the cross to ward off demons and evil spirits has a long-standing tradition as a literary motif in visionary literature, which was used by the protagonists in the accounts of the visions of Tundale (1149), Saint Patrick (c.1153) and the Monk of Evesham (1196).⁹⁶

Another common protective device found in manuscripts and textual amulets in this period was the Measure of Christ. In the late Middle Ages, the precise measurement of the height of Christ's body was thought to have been known. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Measure of Christ was represented as a cross that, when multiplied 15 or 21 times, was believed to equal the length of Christ's body.⁹⁷ The Measure of Christ was believed to offer a degree of protection against evil, misfortune and sudden death, not only for the makers of the symbol, but also for viewers.⁹⁸ Based on this parallel, it is conceivable that inscribers of the crosses in churches intended to provide subsequent viewers with a degree of protection. In the case of the example of the large Cross pattée on S31 on the eastern reredos in Beverley Minster, it could be that superstitious impulses relating to the Measure of Christ underpinned the motives for the inscription of its longer vertical stem.⁹⁹ This may indicate another subtle devotional element of the practice of inscribing graffiti.

94 C. Mackay, 'Introduction', in H. Kramer, *The hammer of witches: a complete translation of Malleus maleficarum*. Translated from Latin by C. Mackay (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-8.

95 Kramer, *The hammer of witches*, 130, 240, 268, 551.

96 E. Gardiner (ed.), *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York: Italica Press, 1989), 137, 147, 152, 202, 203, 215.

97 Jolly, 'Medieval magic', 44; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 275; D. Skemer, *Binding words: textual amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 142-3.

98 Skemer, *Binding words*, 143; Woolgar, *Senses*, 54.

99 See chapter three.

M and W letters

Eastern reredos

The examples of the letters M and W may well draw attention to the Virgin Mary as a focus of devotion among the inscribers of the graffiti in this location. Over a third of the letters category depict either a letter M or W, both of which may have been intended to depict an emblem associated with the Virgin Mary.¹⁰⁰ Stylistic differences suggest that the ten examples can be ascribed to nine different inscribers. For two examples on S50 that depict the letters MM alongside each other it seems likely that they were inscribed by the same hand, and that their inscriber repeated the letter M, possibly as a way of emphasizing their devotion to the Virgin, or as a reference to Mary Magdalene. At least three of these ten letters are situated in the immediate vicinity of other types of devotional graffiti. For example, the same two M letters on S50 occur in close proximity to two crosses, while another example on S11 also overlaps a graffiti of a cross. Whether the M letters were inscribed before or after the crosses cannot be determined. Since this overlap between crosses and M letters occurs twice on different stone blocks, it is a possibility that the proximity of the two types of graffiti was deliberate and purposeful rather than accidental, perhaps as part of a custom. If this is the case, then the deliberate placing of the two types of graffiti might have been an attempt to reinforce Mary's status as the mother of Christ by combining her emblem with another associated with the suffering of Christ.

When considered within the wider iconographic context of the eastern reredos, this supports the inference that the ten M and W letters were inscribed in devotion to the Virgin. The belief in the power of saintly intercession found expression in the sculpture associated with the reredos, emphasizing the sanctity of this location. In the late medieval period, the sculptures of the Virgin associated with the reredos may well have acted as meditative aids which functioned as a mnemonic prompt for acts of devotion. The accumulation of two M letters and a further two possible examples on S50 might be explained by their close proximity to the sculpture depicting the Coronation of the Virgin located in the southern bay of the vault (figure 53). The sculpture was derived from the mariological interpretation of the Song of Songs and reflects her exalted position in the heavenly hierarchy. The belief in her ability to intercede on behalf of sinners was closely connected with her corporeal presence in

¹⁰⁰ See chapter three.

Heaven. The sculpture of the Coronation of the Virgin might have intended to affirm the power of the Virgin to intercede on behalf of the sick, and to emphasize the importance of penitence and prayer for miracle-healing. Another figure of the Virgin probably stood in the niche over the southern pier of the eastern reredos.¹⁰¹ Devotion also focused on the image of the Virgin above a red ark located in the Lady Chapel to the east of the reredos, which was regularly mentioned by late medieval testators.¹⁰² This was probably an image of the Virgin, which may have represented Mary's Assumption or Coronation.¹⁰³ Until the Reformation, one of the most sought after burial places in the Minster was before the image of the Virgin above the red ark.¹⁰⁴ In addition to the reliquary and the High Altar, it is possible that the red ark served as an offertory box for the shrine for visiting pilgrims, since they were treated separately from the offerings at Saint Mary's altar.¹⁰⁵ The possible establishment of the guild of Our Lady of the Red Ark emphasizes its importance as a source of local devotion.¹⁰⁶ Examples of personal manifestations of piety expressed in wills provide a measure of religious devotion associated with both the Virgin and this location. In his will dated 24 December 1450, Robert Rolleston, who was provost of Beverley Minster between 1427 and 1451, expressed his devotion to the Virgin by bequeathing funds for the stonework of a new east window to be glazed, illustrating her miracles.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, late medieval testators sought to be associated with this location, in addition to the Virgin Mary. In this context, the high proportion of letters associated with the Virgin on the eastern reredos is not surprising. Furthermore, it may well be argued that the inscription of the M and W letters were a response to the act of seeing the surrounding depictions of the Virgin, and represents a manifestation of devotional impulses encouraged by the imagery.

Wider context of M and W letters

The letters M and W occur more frequently in the nave with a further 25 examples inscribed on various piers. Of these, eight examples depict the letter M on pier N3. Six occur on S4, plus two each on N2 and S3 and another two in the west end. A further

¹⁰¹ Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 123.

¹⁰² Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 41-2.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Lamburn, 'The Minster', 52-3; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 61; Lamburn, *The laity*, 5.

¹⁰⁵ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 40.

¹⁰⁶ Lamburn, *The laity*, 11.

¹⁰⁷ O'Connor, 'Medieval stained-glass', 71-2.

five can be found on piers N8, N9, S5, S2 and S10. In cases such as N3 and S4 which have accumulated many examples, their inscription was perhaps prompted by an image of the Virgin Mary that was situated either in close proximity to the pier or was visible from a distance. This may well have been the images of the Virgin in the middle of the nave and at the south door.¹⁰⁸ A chapel and altar dedicated to the Virgin further heightened her prominent status in the Minster.¹⁰⁹ In common with other churches, the south porch of the Minster housed a subsidiary chapel of the Virgin, which were among the buildings destroyed in the reign of Edward VI.¹¹⁰ Worshippers and the clergy in Beverley Minster would have been submerged in imagery, depicting the miracles and aspects of the life of the Virgin until the Reformation.¹¹¹



Figure 53: Sculpture representing the Coronation of the Virgin

Dozens of local cults dedicated to the Virgin flourished during this period, one of which had a role in the devotional life of the inhabitants living in Beverley. In 1355,

108 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 42.

109 *ibid.*, 45.

110 *ibid.*, 42.

111 Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 79; O'Connor, 'Medieval stained-glass', 69, 71.

nine married couples, two women and the vicar of Saint Mary's founded the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹¹² The guild staged religious dramatic or mimetic performances on its feast day when one of its members would be dressed as the Queen of Heaven, and carried a doll to represent the Christ child.¹¹³ In addition to the guild, Marian devotion is shown by a twelfth-century church dedicated to her, and a hospital that also bore her name, which received bequests from 1434 onwards.¹¹⁴

The quantity of inscribed M and W letters from the parish churches surveyed in the Humber region are seemingly low, recording the presence of only two examples at Hornsea that both depict the letter W. They are situated in close proximity to each other on a pier on the south side of the nave, and can be ascribed to the same hand based on close stylistic similarities. It is impossible to ascertain whether they were associated with some form of imagery depicting the Virgin due to the loss of the majority of the original iconography that once adorned its interior.¹¹⁵ Moreover, it is difficult to determine whether this example should be ascribed to the medieval period, since it is rather deeply-incised, which is characteristic of early modern examples.

Most recently, in his study of medieval graffiti in Norfolk and Suffolk, Champion observed that the double V in the form of the letters M and W are among the most common motifs, with some churches containing several dozen examples.¹¹⁶ Similar designs to those in this study have been recorded at numerous sites in Suffolk, including churches at Lidgate, Lindsey, Mendlesham, Weybread and Worlington.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Pritchard took a rubbing of three M letters at Anstey (Hertfordshire), which seem to have taken a more rounded form. Based on the epigraphy they may be dated to the thirteenth century.¹¹⁸ She suggested that the inscribers intention may have been to invoke the help of the Virgin Mary, and that the same meaning was reflected by the inscription 'Our ladi help', repeated three times on the wall behind the hagioscope.¹¹⁹ These examples are evidence that the inscription of emblems associated with the Virgin was practised from at least the thirteenth century.

112 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 48.

113 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 93; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 20; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 48.

114 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 53.

115 See chapter two.

116 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 55.

117 Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

118 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 97.

119 *ibid.*

Symbols for the Virgin Mary

In England, the Virgin Mary was a figure of considerable importance in late medieval devotional culture, invoked and worshipped by all levels of society, and actively promoted by the Church.¹²⁰ It was her relationship with God and his Son that secured her status as a saintly intercessor during this period, which led to greater commemoration of her life and emphasis on her role in Heaven. Her significance also manifested into its own prayers and praises, among them being the *Ave*, which became one of the prayers that all levels of society were expected to know and recite regularly.¹²¹ Recitations of the *Ave* accumulated into another personal religious practice, that was the use of the rosary as a counting aid for prayer, which originated in the thirteenth century.¹²² It was usually a set of ten beads, depending on the number of prayers of the devotion. The rosary was used as an aid for private devotion until it was forbidden by the 1547 Injunctions issued in the reign of Edward VI.¹²³ In the medieval period the liturgical calendar acquired several Marian feast days, often with their own indulgences, which celebrated the events of her life, including the Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity and Immaculate Conception. Such occasions might have been considered a suitable time for the inscription of an emblem associated with the Virgin. Practices observed in devotion to the Virgin also stimulated devotion to her family. It was prayers to the Virgin and Christ that helped develop the intense 'relationship of affectionate penitential intimacy with Christ and his Mother which was the devotional *lingua franca* of the late Middle Ages'.¹²⁴ Devotional texts written by mystics such as, Julian of Norwich expressed her desire to share imaginatively in the life of the Holy Family stating, 'how I wished I had been there at the crucifixion with Mary Magdalene and with others who were Christ's dear friends'.¹²⁵ In this context, the practice of inscribing emblems associated with the Virgin could well represent inscribers' aspirations for union with the Holy Family.

Throughout England, the Virgin was depicted in stained-glass, sculpture and wall paintings, among other mediums.¹²⁶ Images of the Virgin became a foci for pilgrims, which would remind, guide and help the laity in their daily lives and

120 Anderson, 'Blessing', 189-90; Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 195-200.

121 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 64.

122 *ibid.*

123 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 450.

124 *ibid.*, 234.

125 Norwich, *Revelations*, 3.

126 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 154.

devotion. Offerings of jewels and dress accessories, such as brooches, were made to images of the Virgin at Canterbury Cathedral, Chichester Cathedral and Walsingham.¹²⁷ Pilgrim souvenirs of Our Lady, discovered in London, have revealed that they were being produced and sold at Canterbury and Walsingham, which provided a portable and tangible connection to the Virgin that could also be used as private devotional aids.¹²⁸ She was believed to be a universal protector. Her shrine at Walsingham transformed the town into a centre for pilgrimage until its destruction in 1538.¹²⁹ A crowned letter M was one of the most popular badges of the Virgin Mary, while others fashioned in the shape of a W were sold at the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.¹³⁰ A number of pilgrim souvenirs depict other types of motifs associated with the Virgin such as the lily, crescent, heart and arrow, but as yet, none have been recorded in the graffiti record, perhaps because of the greater complexity of these designs.¹³¹

That Marian devotion was recognised in late medieval East Yorkshire is affirmed by the discovery of various objects marked with devotional inscriptions relating to the Virgin recorded on the PAS. Accessories recovered from the region provide examples of objects that would have been worn and used in personal acts of devotion. These objects include a purse frame, a seal, a pendant and a harness pendant all bearing various images, inscriptions and emblems associated with the Virgin.¹³² A mostly complete copper alloy purse frame from Pocklington is decorated with a devotional inscription on the arms inlaid with niello. One side reads, [AVE MAR]IA / G[R]ATIA PLE[NA]. The niello has been lost from most of the letters on the left-hand side of I and A at the end of MARIA. The words GRATIA and PLENA are not misspelt, but depict Latin abbreviations of the 'Ave Maria', which is possibly because there was not enough room for the full inscription. The inscription on this face has been separated by a shield-shaped lozenge and decorated with a double V. The inscription on the opposite side reads P DOMINV / S / TE[CVM]. The full inscription translates as 'Hail Mary Full of Grace, the Lord is with Thee'. Written forms of prayers on purses made these objects sacred and associated with the powers similar to that attributed to the primers. According to the PAS database, the frame dates between 1475

127 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 66; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, PhD thesis, 106.

128 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 135-7, 154-7.

129 *ibid.*, 135.

130 *ibid.*, 157.

131 *ibid.*

132 PAS no. LANCUM-0A0606; PAS no. SWYOR-4C7652; PAS no. NCL-FD6AD1; PAS no. YORYM-653EBF.

and 1550, and its style fits with this date.¹³³ It would seem plausible to suggest that the inscription of the letters in Beverley Minster could well have been created by devotees to the Virgin Mary from the local area. Against this background, the proportion of M and W letters within the letters category seems unsurprising.

Further evidence recorded on the PAS reveals that signet rings marked with the letter M were used during this period in the Yorkshire region, which might represent the beginning letter of a forename or surname of a specific person. For example, a fifteenth-century copper alloy finger ring with a bezel, engraved with the letter W, was discovered at Selby (North Yorkshire).¹³⁴ Positive iconographic correlations can be drawn with the graffiti depicting the letters M and W, and are evidence that they may represent a monogram for the name of an actual person rather than the Virgin Mary. However, other dress accessories are decorated with a crown above the letter, which is another emblem associated with the Virgin, and may suggest that they were worn as a sign of devotion. One example, discovered in Ryedale (North Yorkshire), is a copper alloy finger ring with a bezel, marked with the letter W and surmounted by a stylised crown.¹³⁵ Another variation was discovered at Hambleton (North Yorkshire), which is a fifteenth-century copper alloy finger ring with a bezel marked with the letter V and a crown above, again, both of which are symbols associated with the Virgin.¹³⁶

Prayers written down in devotion to the Virgin were frequent in medieval amulets. The *Ave*, one of the most basic medieval prayers, was endowed with apotropaic associations. It was believed that reciting the prayer, with devotion, was a divine remedy to protect the faithful in their daily struggle against the Devil, and acted as a demon repellent for each day it was said. The prayers may well have been recited in multiples of three, five, or a different sacred number. In devotional rituals, repetition was a common feature that was believed to be a means of enhancing efficacy.¹³⁷ The letter M appeared as a motif in textual amulets between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, which were used by both the laity and the clergy. One example is the Canterbury amulet, written in a late thirteenth century hand, and currently held in the Cathedral Library.¹³⁸ It depicts the letter M, together with different types of crosses

¹³³ PAS no. LANCUM-0A0606.

¹³⁴ PAS no. LVPL-76EC91.

¹³⁵ PAS no. YORYM-174B82.

¹³⁶ PAS no. SWYOR-5B2226.

¹³⁷ Skemer, *Binding words*, 92-3.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, 199.

including the Greek and Latin variations as well as other symbols, such as the Side Wound of Christ and multiple textual inscriptions.¹³⁹ The accompanying textual inscriptions instruct that anyone who carried or looked at the symbols would enjoy personal protection.¹⁴⁰ Other textual amulets instructed for the recitation of prayers from memory, and it was probably understood that the supplicant needed to make appropriate devotional gestures.¹⁴¹ This could be making the sign of the cross traced with the hands in the air, possibly during the prayer. It could well be that the inscription of emblems associated with the Virgin, such as the letters M and W in church settings denotes another means through which devotees sought to invoke the Virgin to protect against evil spirits.

Other letters

Eastern reredos

Other types of letters recorded on the eastern reredos provide evidence of a similar devotional practice. In addition to the letters M and W, a further 18 examples depict other letters of the alphabet including B, H, O, S and T.¹⁴² Interpretations of these letters are, for the most part, unverifiable, but worth reviewing. Stock motifs of certain letters suggest that they had a specific meaning and that their inscription was purposeful. For example, the letters B, H, S and T are each repeated at least twice. It is a possibility that they may signify affiliations with individuals or households, functioning in a similar way as livery badges which were produced from the mid fourteenth century.¹⁴³ This seems unlikely, since the sacred context in which they are located suggests that religious rather than secular motives prompted their inscription. They could well represent a desire for inscribers to identify and affiliate themselves with certain saints. In the same way as the letters M and W, these other letters might have also stood for the names of saints. For example, based on parallels between the graffiti of the letters and pilgrim badges, the letter T may have intended to represent Saint Thomas Becket.¹⁴⁴ As mentioned in chapter one, Beverley Minster was not a single place of worship solely for Saint John of Beverley, but subsumed a whole range

139 Skemer, *Binding words*, 199-211.

140 *ibid.*, 202-204.

141 *ibid.*, 93.

142 See chapter three.

143 See chapter three.

144 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 122.

of devotional sites. It had at least 16 altars, in addition to the High Altar, and dedications of other altars were made to Saint Anne, Saint Blaise, Saint Catherine, Saint Christopher, Saint Nicholas, Saint Thomas of Canterbury, Saint William and Saint John's successor, Saint Berhthun, also had a shrine.¹⁴⁵ Almost every guild maintained altars and lights in the Minster, presumably because they felt a particular affinity to a saint. For example, the cooks maintained a light before the image of Saint Catherine.¹⁴⁶ During the fifteenth century, Beverley testators expressed their hope for redemption through the merits and suffrage of individual saints, which was a trend that began to decline in the early sixteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Among those named were the saints, Nicholas, John of Beverley and John of Bridlington.¹⁴⁸ Based on this analogy, the inscription of a letter might represent a personal manifestation of devotion towards a specific saint. This theory, however, would make more sense if the letters were located in close proximity to the altar of the dedicated saint that the letter intended to represent.

The possible meaning of the two graffiti depicting a lower case letter b is that they may have been inscribed in devotion to Saint John of Beverley, each by a different individual. The letter may well represent the first letter of the Latin place-name, *Beverlacum*, now Beverley, alluding to the location of the shrine of Saint John of Beverley. Motifs associated with saints sometimes related to the place-name of their shrines.¹⁴⁹ For example, the pilgrim badges that took the form of the letter W may denote the Virgin's shrine at Walsingham, which was also known to have been a site of souvenir manufacture.¹⁵⁰ In addition, the upper case letter B appears on pilgrim souvenirs purchased at the shrine of Saint John of Bridlington, representing the first letter of the location of his shrine at Bridlington Priory.¹⁵¹ However, it is surprising that there are no examples depicting the letter I signifying the first letter of his name J in the medieval period. This letter may have been associated with Saint John, as it appeared on a number of pilgrim souvenirs, one of which was discovered at Arnold near Beverley.¹⁵²

145 See chapter one.

146 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 42.

147 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 61.

148 *ibid.*

149 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 192-8.

150 Anderson, 'Blessing', 189.

151 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 195.

152 See chapter one.

A quarter of examples in the letters category depict the letter T which, as mentioned above, may relate to Saint Thomas Becket who was provost of Beverley Minster between 1154 and 1162.¹⁵³ This historical connection could well be the reason for the high proportion of his emblems inscribed on the eastern reredos, reflecting the popularity of the saint among the inscribers of the graffiti.

The two examples of the letter H may well be associated with Henry VI for whom Robert Rolleston, provost of Beverley Minster between 1427 and 1451, had acted as master of the works at the palace of Westminster and keeper of the wardrobe.¹⁵⁴ The letters could well be seen as symbols of political allegiance, but also devotion to Henry VI who was known as a miracle worker for healing people and reviving the dead.¹⁵⁵ His shrine at Windsor was popular in the fifteenth century and associated with badges that were fashioned in the form of a lower case letter h.¹⁵⁶

Based on further parallels with pilgrim souvenirs, the letter S could have stood for *Sanctus*, perhaps meaning 'Saint', 'holy' or 'sacred'.¹⁵⁷ In this context, the two graffiti of the letter S might have intended to relate to the sacred status of this location as the base for the shrine of Saint John, in addition to its close proximity to the High Altar.

However, the letters H, O and S cannot be equated with letters related to the names of saints associated with the altars that were located in the Minster. The letter O could be linked with Saint Osmund of Salisbury and the letter H with Henry VI, while the letter S is more ambiguous, but whether this was the case is difficult to determine. It is possible that the inscription of a letter may have been a way of an inscriber identifying themselves as a pilgrim visiting the shrine of Saint John of Beverley, and therefore the choice of letter was not necessarily representative of a specific saint, shrine or household. It is conceivable that the letters were copied from another medium by an illiterate pilgrim who may not have understood the textual significance of the letter. This hypothesis could well apply to the letters H, O and S, while for others, this seems unlikely because, as mentioned above, stock motifs of letters, especially in the case of the letter T on the eastern reredos, suggests a specific meaning.

153 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 48.

154 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 45.

155 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 195; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 74.

156 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 189-191.

157 Anderson, 'Blessing', 192-3; PAS no. YORYM-865F93.

Wider context of other letters

The number of letters recorded in the nave is seemingly low, with only one example on pier S4, which depicts a lower case letter h fashioned in a Lombardic font. Moreover, letter motifs are relatively uncommon at the six parish churches surveyed in the Humber region, recording the presence of only two possible examples at Paull. Both examples are situated in close proximity to each other on the south side of the chancel, which would suggest a religious meaning. One example appears to be either a letter I or L, while the other could be a lower case letter f, both of which are depicted in a Lombardic font. They may be attributed to the same hand based on their similarities in style, size and location, but do not appear to create a discernible word, or letters of any obvious religious significance.

Similarly to the parish churches surveyed in this study, letter motifs seem to occur infrequently at sites elsewhere in England. Pritchard took a rubbing of an elaborate letter R from Saint Mary's, Wilby (Suffolk), which was discovered on a pier in the south arcade.¹⁵⁸ The rubbing shows that the letter was inscribed upside-down, suggesting that it could have been placed there when the church was constructed in the fifteenth century, possibly by a mason.¹⁵⁹ Alternatively, it could well be a re-used piece of stone from a previous church, or inserted in repair at a later date. The limited amount of surveys conducted at other sites may explain these low numbers, but it could also suggest that the inscription of letters was more common at pilgrimage sites.

Letters as symbols

As discussed above, many letters are commonly associated with pilgrim badges that were manufactured and purchased at pilgrimage sites during the late Middle Ages. Inscribing emblems related to other saints in church settings might be equated with the contemporary practice of leaving souvenirs acquired at one shrine at another as a votive offering or donating them to the local parish church upon the pilgrim's return home, transmitting these symbols to other worshippers.¹⁶⁰ By the end of 2007, nearly a third of 408 late medieval ampullae with an identifiable form of decoration recorded on the PAS depicted either letters or monograms.¹⁶¹ Addressing the phenomenon of letters on pilgrim souvenirs, Bredehoft suggests that they might not have been

¹⁵⁸ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 158

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 18; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 73.

¹⁶¹ Anderson, 'Blessing', 186.

understood as letters at all, but rather a form of 'pseudo text' or symbols that were intentionally chosen for their ambiguity by people with no specific knowledge of the textual significance of them.¹⁶² At the same time, drawings of large decorated initial letters appear in late medieval manuscripts containing figures, animals, foliage and other motifs.¹⁶³ As mentioned in chapter three, letters were a conventional element of the manuscript page that appeared primarily in sacred contexts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the late Middle Ages, letters were also engraved on various dress accessories. Examples recorded on the PAS database provide evidence of the personal religious practices that might have been associated with letters in the Yorkshire region. Of local significance is a fifteenth-century gold ring engraved with various letters which was discovered near Driffield. It comprises ten joined beads, five circular and five rectangular. The rectangular beads are each inscribed with a letter surrounded by a sunburst rectangular border. The letters appear to read L, C, N, R and possibly Y, but their meaning and correct order are unclear.¹⁶⁴ It could well be a variation of a decade ring, also known as a rosary ring. Prayers could be said, inconspicuously, at any time over a ring instead of a rosary. By linking the subject of letters with the practice of using rosaries, this ring provides evidence that letters might have served a devotional purpose in the local area. Before they were officially prohibited in the sixteenth century, the rosary was frequently used among all levels of society as a private devotional aid for counting prayers.¹⁶⁵ Other devotional trinkets engraved with letters, such as pilgrim souvenirs, are also recorded on the PAS from North Yorkshire. These include three ampullae, two of which are marked with the letter T and the other decorated with the letter S.¹⁶⁶ This evidence demonstrates that pilgrims signs, decorated with letters, circulated within the region. The two examples marked with the letter T are similar to those recovered from contexts in London which were purchased at Canterbury.¹⁶⁷ In the late medieval period, the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket was one of the most popular pilgrimage sites in England alongside others, such as

162 T. A. Bredehoft, 'Literacy without letters: pilgrim badges and late medieval literate ideology', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 433-45.

163 Nishimura, *Images*, 4-11.

164 PAS no. NCL-807A73.

165 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 64-5.

166 PAS no. YORYM-B6F7D0; PAS no. DUR-F52413; PAS no. YORYM-865F93.

167 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 122.

Walsingham and Norfolk.¹⁶⁸ The popularity of the practice of undertaking a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket might provide another explanation for the frequency of the graffiti depicting the letter T on the eastern side of the reredos.

Letters also inspired personalised dress accessories and were used in the daily lives of those who lived through the late Middle Ages. Archaeological and illustrative examples from this period show that letters appear on a range of dress accessories including rings, pendants, girdles, strap ends and mounts.¹⁶⁹ According to the PAS, a further two signet rings engraved with a capital letter T were discovered in North Yorkshire.¹⁷⁰ These examples are evidence that letters also had a direct personal meaning to the identity of their owners, perhaps relating to the initials of their name.

While letters may have been commonly regarded as devotional motifs, at the same time, it is also possible that they served a protective purpose. Branding heretics on the forehead or cheek with a letter H indicated that these individuals possessed an evil virtue.¹⁷¹ In a similar way, the letter F for *fauxine* (falsity) was used under the statute of 1361 for labourers who broke the terms of their employment.¹⁷² During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they appeared on secular badges and brooches as love tokens and good luck charms given as sentimental gifts, presumably bearing either the giver's own initial or that of the recipient.¹⁷³ Moreover, techniques for predicting the future used calculations derived from the letters of a person's name, and curses may be prepared using letters of the name of the intended victim.¹⁷⁴ Common to all these examples was the belief that letters were symbols that had powers which could affect the human body and influence the course of events.

The possible Agnus Dei motifs

Eastern reredos

The two possible Agnus Dei motifs provide evidence of another type of devotional graffiti. In chapter three both examples were ascribed to one hand based on their close proximity and stylistic similarities. By repeating the motif this may indicate a further

168 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 190-191.

169 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 28; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, PhD thesis, 128, 130; Egan & Pritchard, *Dress accessories*, 40, 150, 202.

170 PAS no. YORYM-126278; PAS no. YORYM-B3CFC1.

171 Woolgar, *Senses*, 56.

172 *ibid.*

173 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 319-21.

174 Woolgar, *Senses*, 56-7.

attempt to enhance the potency of their inscription as a devotional act. Situated on row four, they would have been convenient for the inscriber at standing eye level (S22) and to be noticed by subsequent viewers upon close inspection.

As mentioned in chapter three, the Agnus Dei is symbolic of the title for Jesus that appears in the Gospel of John where John the Baptist refers to him as 'the Lamb of God'.¹⁷⁵ By choosing an Agnus Dei symbol the inscriber may have intended to depict a rebus for the name 'John', which is a device that uses pictures or symbols to represent words or names. The theory should not be easily dismissed. A rebus was commonly used as a form of expression during the Middle Ages to denote forenames and surnames. They had a distinctive role in seal designs, in addition to churches where they occur on monuments, stained-glass windows and other forms of architectural ornamentation.¹⁷⁶ Whether the two graffiti were associated with the name of Saint John as an act of devotion in response to the shrine above, or the inscriber's own name remains unclear. From their location beneath the shrine, it is possible to interpret these two graffiti as symbolic statements of personal devotion to Saint John. In this context, the two motifs could be seen alongside other examples of graffiti that might have been chosen for their resonance with the importance of this location in relation to Saint John, such as the mitre which, similarly to the Agnus Dei motifs, only occur in this location in the Minster.

Another possibility is that these two graffiti may be a physical manifestation of their inscriber's devotion to Saint John the Baptist, who was known as the patron saint of monks and clerics, and was commonly depicted on seals holding the Agnus Dei.¹⁷⁷ Evidence for devotion to Saint John the Baptist comes from the Minster's glazing scheme in the east window which depicts the saint holding an Agnus Dei medallion, datable to the fourteenth century. However, the inscription of the two graffiti might not have been a response to the act of seeing the figure of Saint John the Baptist in this glazing scheme since much of the material in the east window is fragmentary and comprised of the remnants of the scheme that was once located in the nave aisles.¹⁷⁸ This does not negate the possibility that these graffiti may well represent a manifestation of their inscriber's devotion to Saint John the Baptist. The concept that it

¹⁷⁵ John 1: 29.

¹⁷⁶ J. Goodall, 'The use of the rebus on medieval seals and monuments', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2003), 448-71.

¹⁷⁷ New, 'Christological', 49.

¹⁷⁸ See chapter one.

was inscribed in devotion to Saint John the Baptist is strengthened by evidence of the inscription of emblems associated with saints other than Saint John of Beverley, such as the letters which may represent the emblems of different saints. At a local level, devotion to Saint John the Baptist was also well-attested by the establishment of a hospital dedicated to him in c.1440, which might have been associated with the guild of Saint John the Baptist.¹⁷⁹

However, the close proximity of the reredos to the High Altar raises the possibility that there may have been a connection between the two possible Agnus Dei motifs and the performance of the Eucharist. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the only two examples recorded in the Minster occur on the eastern reredos. The Agnus Dei was a term that formed part of the formula which might have been repeated up to three times during the Mass: 'Ecce Agnus Dei' meaning 'Behold the Lamb of God'.¹⁸⁰ The presence of two examples may be a parallel for the repetition of the phrase during the celebration of the Eucharist, as well as symbols of Christ. There is no doubt that it would have been audible to people situated on the eastern side of the reredos, and perhaps this occasion was an obvious time to inscribe this type of graffiti. If these two graffiti are accepted as depictions of an Agnus Dei, then they might represent an expression of Christocentric piety, the meaning of which was amplified by the Eucharistic significance of the location of the reredos behind the High Altar. Further to this hypothesis, it may be conjectured that the creation of the two graffiti was an affirmation of the inscriber's belief in the real presence of the sacred body of Christ at the Eucharist. Moreover, as a familiar emblem of Christ, these two motifs may be seen in the context of other types of devotional graffiti of a Christocentric nature in this location, such as the sacred monograms and the Side Wound of Christ. The presence of these two possible Agnus Dei motifs may therefore reflect the increased emphasis placed on the Eucharist in late medieval England, as indicated by the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264.¹⁸¹ Of more local significance is that from the mid fourteenth century the lesser clergy of Beverley, as well as laymen, joined the guild of the Corpus Christi, which organized and promoted the annual Corpus Christi Day procession.¹⁸²

179 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 49; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 53.

180 New, 'Christological', 50.

181 Swanson, *Religion and devotion*, 142.

182 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 45-6.

Wider context of the Agnus Dei

There were no examples of an Agnus Dei motif recorded at the other six sites studied in the Humber region. With an increasing emphasis on the Eucharist in late medieval England, it is surprising that the Agnus Dei is not a more common subject. From the evidence available, it is apparent that Agnus Dei motifs are a rare subject in medieval graffiti, as the only other known example was recorded by Pritchard at Carlisle Cathedral (Cumberland).¹⁸³ The seemingly low number of discoveries might be explained by the constraints involved in the process of creating what might have been considered a complex design. As evidenced by the rather crudely executed examples in Beverley Minster, the inscription of an accurate Agnus Dei, comprised of a lamb with an uplifted foot and a backward-looking stance on a hard stone surface would not have been easily achieved. The recorded presence of another Agnus Dei motif at a site in addition to Beverley Minster is significant, since it provides evidence of this practice by people in other regions and types of church settings. In contrast to the two motifs tentatively identified as examples of Agnus Dei symbols in this study, Pritchard's rubbing of the example from Carlisle Cathedral depicts a detailed depiction of an Agnus Dei symbol that might be more accurately paralleled with those represented in medieval iconography.¹⁸⁴ It is depicted with a backward-looking head and an uplifted foot, which are both characteristic features of the Agnus Dei motifs that appear on other mediums, such as pilgrim badges and seals.¹⁸⁵ The graffito was found by Pritchard on a pier in the north arcade of the chancel, but was too high up to have been inscribed by a person standing on the ground.¹⁸⁶ This may not necessarily imply that it was inscribed by a mason who may have been working at such heights. It could well have been a block of masonry from either another site or a previous building. However, in common with other sites, for example the eastern reredos in Beverley Minster, it is also conceivable that the inscriber devoted greater efforts to position the graffito at such a height. It may be no coincidence that the recorded examples at Beverley Minster and Carlisle Cathedral are located in close proximity to the High Altar. In addition, Pritchard described that the Agnus Dei was located next to another graffito depicting the face of the Virgin Mary and a single crown, which is an emblem

183 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 66.

184 *ibid.*

185 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 171.

186 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 66.

also associated with the Virgin.¹⁸⁷ Whether they were created by the same hand as the Agnus Dei motifs remains unclear. However, combined, the close proximity of these graffiti might be interpreted as a means through which inscriber's attempted to emphasize their christocentric significance. As Pritchard failed to more provide information about the scope of the survey of Carlisle Cathedral, and any other medieval graffiti this prevents further insights into their relationship to other examples in the Cathedral.

The Agnus Dei motif as a symbol

The seemingly low number of Agnus Dei motifs in the graffiti record does not reflect the popularity of the symbol in contemporary iconographic trends. The increased emphasis on the Eucharist in late medieval religious culture is well-attested by a variety of objects. An Agnus Dei symbol would have been easily recognised by late medieval audiences as it appeared on stained-glass, wall paintings, reliquary boxes and wax medallions, but as mentioned in the previous chapter, it was commonly used as a symbol on Christocentric seals.¹⁸⁸ The image of an Agnus Dei appears on badges produced at Westminster Abbey, which were probably used as aids for devotion.¹⁸⁹ In a study of seals from the north of England, McGuinness notes that the lamb with the banner was one of the most common designs from a sample of anonymous non-armigerous late thirteenth-century personal seals.¹⁹⁰ These were used by many social and religious groups including women, laymen and priests.¹⁹¹ In East Yorkshire, the lamb and cross motif appears on fonts and other forms of church ornamentation, dating from the twelfth century.¹⁹² Further objects of the late medieval period that depict an Agnus Dei motif have been recorded from the local area on the PAS database. For example, a seal matrix from Hessle depicts an Agnus Dei bearing the legend + ECC[E] AGNVS DEI, which translates as 'Behold the Lamb of God'.¹⁹³ Similar seal designs appear on others discovered in counties including Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Yorkshire, which may have been owned by priests or clerics.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 66.

¹⁸⁸ New, 'Christological', 49-50.

¹⁸⁹ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 171.

¹⁹⁰ McGuinness, 'Non-armigerous seals', 114.

¹⁹¹ New, 'Christological', 49.

¹⁹² Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 35.

¹⁹³ PAS no. YORYM-BF1F58.

¹⁹⁴ PAS no. IHS-2FF8C3; PAS no. IHS-015FD2; PAS no. NMS-BF29E7; PAS no. SF-D375D5; PAS no. NLM-EA2BD4.

Motifs associated with the Eucharist were believed to possess quasi-magical powers, and it is conceivable that, in the graffiti, the Agnus Dei motif was chosen to be inscribed for its protective properties. Wax discs were traditionally impressed with the image of an Agnus Dei made from the remnants of the Paschal candle from the previous year.¹⁹⁵ During their consecration, the blessing prayers mention perils from storms, pestilence, fire, flood and the dangers faced by women during childbirth.¹⁹⁶ The Agnus Dei symbol appeared on dress fittings such as rings, badges, pendants and buckles, dating between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which would have been worn as aids for personal devotion, while doubling as a protective charm.¹⁹⁷ Its superstitious appeal might have been enhanced by the use of the image over time, as this motif appears on objects dating from the early Middle Ages. For example, the symbol occurs on the front of the bezel of an Anglo-Saxon finger ring which was discovered in a field in West Yorkshire in 1870.¹⁹⁸

The sacred monogram

Eastern reredos

The graffiti evidence on the eastern reredos indicates that Christocentric piety also found expression through the inscription of sacred monograms. The seven examples that depict the first three, and in one case two, letters of the Greek name for Jesus Christ, provide evidence of devotion to the Holy Name.¹⁹⁹ In terms of quantity, they represent more than half of the religious symbols category, and their distribution pattern shows that devotees inscribed the sacred monogram in different locations on the eastern reredos.²⁰⁰ Similarly to the possible Agnus Dei motifs, their inscription in this location might have been influenced by the proximity of the reredos to the High Altar, linking the Holy Name with the performance of the Eucharist. The recurrence of the same type of sacred monogram in different styles, sizes and locations on the eastern reredos suggests that multiple devotees participated in the practice of inscribing this motif. The seven examples might be attributed to at least five different inscribers.

¹⁹⁵ Knight, *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

¹⁹⁶ Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 81-2; Knight, *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

¹⁹⁷ É. Palazzo & J. Robinson, 'Catalogue 55-76', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 131; Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 171-2; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 81-2.

¹⁹⁸ S. Marzinzik, 'An outstanding hoard of gold objects deposited in the late Saxon period', *Medieval Archaeology*, 58 (2014), 265.

¹⁹⁹ See chapter three.

²⁰⁰ See chapter three.

Four of the seven examples vary in style, size and location, and were evidently incised by different individuals.²⁰¹ The cluster of the three large deeply-incised sacred monograms on the left-hand bay are attributable to either one inscriber or two or more affiliated devotees based on their strong stylistic similarities and close proximity. The repetition of the sacred monogram may well have been considered not only as an effective method for emphasizing their own devotion to the Holy Name, but also for focusing the thoughts on Jesus Christ for subsequent viewers. Located on rows two and three, the position of the three examples might have been chosen for practical reasons because it was more convenient to inscribe such large deeply-incised examples while sitting or kneeling rather than standing.²⁰² At the same time, the process of their incision might have also formed part of a devotional act at this height. Their size and deepness of incision support the concept that they may have been incised on different occasions rather than in one sitting. This would suggest that there was an ongoing process of inscription that required return visits to this location. These arguments indicate that they were inscribed by someone working in the Minster, perhaps a member of the clergy, who would have been regularly associated with the building. It seems clear from the size and deepness of incision that the cluster of three examples intended to serve an overtly public purpose. For late medieval viewers, the act of seeing these three examples may well have functioned as a prompt and inspired devotional impulses, while providing a prototype for subsequent inscribers to imitate this type of graffiti.

Wider context of the sacred monogram

The number of sacred monograms recorded in other parts of the Minster are seemingly low, which suggests that the eastern side of the reredos was the preferred location for the inscription of this type of graffiti. The survey of the nave piers recorded the presence of only one example of the Ihc type of sacred monogram located on N8. This example is one of four religious symbols recorded in the nave, while the other three represent variations of the Holy Name. These include two different versions of the Alpha and Omega symbols on N6, which represent the combined first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, symbolizing Jesus as the beginning and end of all things.²⁰³

201 See chapter three.

202 See chapter three.

203 Steffler, *Symbols*, 65.

Another variation appears on pier S2 and depicts the two letters IR, which represent the first letters of the Latin for 'Jesus the Redeemer'.²⁰⁴ The differences in the quantities of inscribed sacred monograms between the architectural areas in the Minster are not great enough to conclude that the proximity of the reredos to the High Altar governed the rationale for the inscription of the variations of the sacred monograms in this location. Whether these other symbols for the name 'Jesus' had a different meaning to that of the Ihc monograms remains unclear, since none of these types occur on the eastern side of the reredos.

Manifestations of Christocentric piety expressed through the inscription of sacred monograms are not the only measure of devotional attitudes to Jesus Christ in late medieval Beverley, however. As mentioned earlier, the guild of Corpus Christi was in existence from the mid fourteenth century and was primarily associated with the lesser clergy of Beverley. During the late medieval period, the guild's chaplains were in much demand at funerals and were chosen to provide requiem masses or obits by testators.²⁰⁵ At both Saint Mary's and Beverley Minster, a guild was founded at each church to provide torches for the Corpus Christi processions and maintain a light until their demise in c.1520.²⁰⁶ In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, religious guilds dedicated to the Holy Name proliferated throughout England, one of which was established in Hull, and provides evidence of further support for the cult in the local area.²⁰⁷ Invocations of Christ's name were also a frequent feature of merchant testators in medieval Hull, and can be interpreted as another manifestation of devotion to the Holy Name.²⁰⁸ Given the geographical proximity of Hull and Beverley, it is not surprising to find the graffiti of the sacred monograms in Beverley Minster.

Devotion to the Holy Name was also expressed at a local level in other churches through the inscription of sacred monograms. Of the five religious symbols recorded from three of the six parish churches surveyed within the study region three examples depict an Ihc sacred monogram. Two of these occur at Harpham and one at Hornsea. The two examples at Harpham are positioned immediately next to each other, both of which display strong similarities in terms of size and style, and may provide another example of the repeated inscription of the sacred monogram by one inscriber.

204 Steffler, *Symbols*, 71.

205 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 46.

206 Lamburn, *The laity*, 11.

207 Blake et al., 'Holy Name of Jesus', 177.

208 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 324.

All three examples at Hornsea and Harpham are situated on the west arches of both churches, which does not appear to have any obvious religious value. A similar case is discernible from the results of other studies, which also show evidence of devotion to the Holy Name through the inscription of sacred monograms in various architectural contexts in church settings. A single example of the Ihc type of sacred monogram was recorded by Pritchard on the tower arch at Saint John the Baptist's (Bedfordshire), and another two by Jones-Baker in a study of the medieval graffiti in the Lady Chapel and Chapel of Saint George in the nave at Chichester Cathedral.²⁰⁹ More recently, the photographic record of the work of the Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey reveals that examples of both the Ihc and Ihs type appear among the graffiti surviving in the parish churches at Spexhall, Troston and Walsham-le-Willows.²¹⁰

There were various ways in which churches promoted devotion to the Holy Name. By the early fifteenth century, the Mass in honour of the Holy Name of Jesus became one of the most popular votive masses in England.²¹¹ The clergy and choristers were frequently involved in the daily activities of the cult. Fraternities and guilds devoted to the Holy Name emerged throughout England in the mid fifteenth century, which were based in religious houses and cathedrals at Exeter, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Rochester and London.²¹² At the same time, altars, chapels, chantries and masses were established for the maintenance of worship of the Holy Name at Durham Cathedral, Lichfield Cathedral, Lincoln Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.²¹³ Altars dedicated to the Holy Name were set up in parish churches including Saint Lawrence, Reading (Berkshire) and Holy Trinity, Long Melford (Suffolk).²¹⁴ The presence of inscribed sacred monograms in ecclesiastical settings, therefore, reflect another medium through which devotees to the Holy Name interacted with the church fabric.

The sacred monogram as a symbol

In a period when devotion to the Holy Name found expression through a variety of mediums, the practice of inscribing sacred monograms, in the form of graffiti, reflect this trend. In fourteenth-century England, devotional attitudes towards the Holy Name

209 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 5; Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 14-15.

210 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 241-2; Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

211 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 115; Blake et al., 'Holy Name of Jesus', 176.

212 Blake et al., 'Holy Name of Jesus', 177; D. Mateer & E. New, 'In Nomine Jesu': Robert Fayrfax and the guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral', *Music & Letters*, 81 (2000), 510.

213 Mateer & New, 'Guild of the Holy Name', 508-509.

214 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 113.

were expressed in the writings of mystics such as Julian of Norwich, Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, whose works promoted personal attachment and affection to the name of Jesus through private forms of devotion.²¹⁵ It was a sense of close kinship with the suffering of Christ that underpinned the English form of devotion to the Holy Name.²¹⁶ When considered against this background, the graffiti of the sacred monograms may represent the climax of this contemplative impulse. For mystics, sacred monograms did not work because of the perceived power of words or letters, but as emblems of faith and devotion in the hope of enjoying God's protection. In his, *The scale of perfection*, Hilton warned that iconographic representations of the name of Jesus could be viewed in an idolatrous way, and alluded to the sacred monogram while instructing his readership on its true devotional meaning, as he wrote:

This word is Jesus: I mean not this word Jesus painted upon the wall, as written in letters on the book...but I mean Jesus Christ, that blessed person, God and Man, Son of the Virgin Mary.²¹⁷

At the same time, personal enthusiasm for devotion to the Holy Name in the late medieval period is well-attested by a variety of objects marked with a sacred monogram recorded on the PAS database. Objects from East Yorkshire bearing the Ihs symbol include a mount, a dress fastener and a hooked tag.²¹⁸ In the wider geographical context of objects discovered in North Yorkshire, variations of the sacred monogram were engraved on a brooch, a strap fitting, a pendant and a finger ring.²¹⁹ An example of a fuller inscription of the name 'Jesus' occurs on a silver pendant that reads IESVS NAZAREN, meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth'.²²⁰ Similar inscriptions were engraved on other objects discovered in North Yorkshire, including two finger rings and a possible stylus.²²¹ Furthermore, according to New's quantitative analysis of late medieval seals, the Ihc type of sacred monogram was more common than the Ihs type

215 Norwich, *Revelations*, 16-19; R. Rolle, *The fellowship of angels: the English writings of Richard Rolle*. Translated from Middle English by H. Hick (Leominster: Gracewing, 2008), 17-18; W. Hilton, *The scale of perfection*. Translated from Middle English by J. P. Clark & R. Dorward (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 67.

216 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 236.

217 Hilton, *Scale of perfection*, 67.

218 PAS no. SWYOR-6C9E31; PAS no. YORYM-7FF1D4; PAS no. PUBLIC-2A8E62.

219 PAS no. YORYM-6CE0B1; PAS no. SWYOR-B392B7; PAS no. YORYM-AC2A61; PAS no. SWYOR-02CB7D.

220 PAS no. YORYM-763D18.

221 PAS no. YORYM-33D0A3; PAS no. YORYM-469553; PAS no. NCL-2E2A48.

in England. Since the graffiti of the sacred monograms recorded in this study only depict the IHC type they would have, therefore, been readily identifiable to a late medieval audience.²²²

Alternatively, or as well as, it is possible that a sacred monogram was chosen to be inscribed because of its perceived protective properties. By the end of the twelfth century, the sacred monogram was used in England for its multiple protective properties. It appeared on dress accessories such as brooches, finger rings, buckles, mounts and pendants as a protective device against demonic agents, sudden death and other ills.²²³ Objects engraved with the Holy Name were also used as amulets in priests' burials. Examples of patens decorated with the Holy Name appear as grave goods with priests. In addition, the sacred monogram was engraved on a sandstone pillow discovered in a grave in the choir at the Carmelite friary in Coventry, dating to c.1400.²²⁴

References to the Holy Name as a protective device were frequent in medieval literature. Fifteenth-century manuals for witchcraft such as, *Malleus maleficarum*, encouraged and legitimised the use of the names of God as amuletic charms.²²⁵ The belief that invocations of the Holy Name could ward off evil spirits also has a long-standing tradition in visionary literature. Examples include the accounts of the visions of Wetti (c.824) and Saint Brendan (c.900), and features prominently in the vision of Saint Patrick (c.1153).²²⁶ The medieval belief in the protective power of the Holy Name has its origins in the New Testament. It claims that, for those who believe in the power of Jesus' name, this will protect them against illness and other dangers, including demons and evil spirits and drinking poison.²²⁷

Side Wound of Christ

Eastern reredos

There is evidence in the investigated material to suggest that the wounds of Christ were a focus of devotion among the inscribers of the graffiti on the eastern reredos, which was a subject that occupied a place in late medieval piety similarly to that of

222 New, 'Christological', 60.

223 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 68-9, 80-81; Gilchrist, 'Magic', 126.

224 Gilchrist, 'Magic', 126.

225 Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum*, 448.

226 Gardiner, *Visions*, 74, 119, 137-43.

227 Mark 16: 17-18.

other Christocentric devotions.²²⁸ Devotion to the Side Wound is represented by the 13 examples of the cross and lozenge.²²⁹ Their distribution pattern shows that the practice of inscribing this motif occurs on 12 different stone blocks across four of the five bays.²³⁰ They are identified in this study as examples which would have been inscribed by devotees to the Side Wound of Christ. The position of seven of the 13 examples on row three are situated at a convenient height for anyone kneeling, suggesting that their inscription was routine and purposeful.²³¹ From the simplicity of their designs it seems unlikely that they would have been created whilst in a kneeling position for practical purposes, since they appear to have been only lightly-incised and created with little labour, which suggests that their inscription formed part of a devotional act. No examples have been recorded elsewhere in Beverley Minster, and this exclusive association with the eastern side of the reredos raises the possibility that this location was chosen for its close proximity to the High Altar and performance of the Eucharist. This links the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice to the graffiti depicting the Side Wound of Christ.

The motif of the cross and lozenge symbolizes the Side Wound of Christ in the shape of the lozenge and represents the body of Christ in the form of the cross and, therefore, represents the body within one part. Areford advances the theory that late medieval depictions of Christ's body in fragments reinforce the Eucharistic concept of parts standing for the whole.²³² The inscribed Side Wound depicted as a cross and lozenge could have been viewed as a fragmentation similarly to that of the Eucharist, which may be said to affirm the belief in transubstantiation, Christ's presence. Alternatively, or as well as, this motif could be associated with the shrine of Saint John of Beverley, as an affirmation of the belief that the saint was believed to be fully present in every part.

The iconography surrounding the reredos provides more information about the imagery which might have prompted impulses of devotion to the Passion of Jesus Christ and practices in honour of the wounds. The sculptures on the north face of the Percy Canopy depict Christ showing his wounds, flanked by angels carrying the instruments of the Passion, for it was believed that when Christ came to judge he

228 Swanson, *Religion and devotion*, 142-3; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 234-9.

229 See chapter three.

230 See chapter three.

231 See chapter three.

232 Areford, *The viewer*, 246-7.

would display his Wounds (figure 54).²³³ The sculptures form part of an image of the Last Judgement, at which time it was held that the bodies of the dead would rise from their graves to be reunited with their souls.²³⁴ The sculptures provided a meditative aid for late medieval viewers to recall and imagine the events of the Passion, and to contemplate the suffering of Christ who redeemed humanity from sin. It may well be that the sculpture acted as a mnemonic prompt for the inscription of a Side Wound of Christ. In the sculpture, the Side Wound of Christ is linked with the sins of mankind, judgement and intercession for the dead.



Figure 54: Christ pointing to his Side Wound from the apex of the north side of the Percy Canopy

²³³ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 246.

²³⁴ Dawton, 'Medieval monuments', 135.

Wider context of the Side Wound of Christ

Despite the fact that no examples of the Side Wound of Christ were recorded at the six parish churches surveyed in the study region, there is evidence of this practice elsewhere in England from other studies. In the survey of the graffiti on the walls of the Lady Chapel in Chichester Cathedral, Jones-Baker recorded at least two similar designs of a Side Wound of Christ in the form of a cross and lozenge.²³⁵ It not only appeared in cathedrals, but recently further examples of this motif have been documented in the photographic record compiled by the Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey where it appears among the graffiti in the parish churches at Stoke-by-Clare, Walsham-le-Willows and Westleton.²³⁶ Another example was discovered on a wall of an arch at Saint Mary's, Barnham (Sussex). A photograph shows that it is located between two lines of a Latin inscription that translates as, 'Pray for the soul of my father who died at Agincourt'.²³⁷ It remains uncertain whether the two were intended to be related, but their close proximity suggests that they were incised by the same inscriber. From these photographic records it is difficult to discern exactly where they occur within the churches since only close-up images are shown. Nevertheless, their presence demonstrates that the inscription of this motif was not only practised at pilgrimage sites, but also in parish churches.

The Side Wound of Christ as a symbol

The cult of the Five Wounds was widespread in late medieval England when parts of Christ's body and his wounds became the focus of devotion, commemorated with prayers and a popular votive mass.²³⁸ This was cultivated by the belief that large indulgences could be gained by acts of devotion performed in the presence of their images, such as praying by or kissing the image.²³⁹ The pious fixation on the wounds of the hands, feet and side developed alongside other Christocentric devotions, such as the Holy Name and the instruments of Christ's Passion as sources of veneration, at a time when religious culture centred on God's human nature and the feelings of love

²³⁵ Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 14.

²³⁶ Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

²³⁷ Sussex Parish Churches, *St Mary, Barnham* (2015). Available online: http://www.sussexparishchurches.org/spc_V31/west-sussex/22-west-sussex-a-b/362-barnham-st-mary [Accessed 1/9/15].

²³⁸ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 238-9.

²³⁹ Areford, *The viewer*, 244; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 245.

and pity stimulated by his bodily suffering.²⁴⁰ The *Revelations of divine love*, written by Julian of Norwich begins by telling of her desire for imaginative identification with Christ as a suffering man and to experience his Passion, as she states:

I asked for three graces of God's gift. The first was vivid perception of Christ's Passion, the second was bodily sickness and the third was for God to give me three wounds.²⁴¹

When considered against this background, the inscription of a Side Wound of Christ could be seen as a manifestation of medieval affective piety, which may have been chosen by pilgrims as an emblem of their commitment and devotion to Christ.

Such an imaginative and personalized approach to Christ's suffering was reinforced by other practices in religious culture. The graffiti of the Side Wound of Christ represents a broad devotional trend, since in the late medieval period this motif was ubiquitous, especially on portable objects used in personal devotional practices such as inexpensive jewellery, seals, reliquaries, tapestries, woodcuts, prints and drawings in books of hours.²⁴² These mediums emphasize the importance of the Side Wound of Christ as a devotional focus. For example, a drawing of the Side Wound occurs in an illustration of Christ as Man of Sorrows for a poem entitled 'The Heart' in a collection of devotional texts, compiled in c.1450, from the Carthusian monastery of Mount Grace near York. In the drawing, the Side Wound is given a special status where Christ presents his oversized heart, with its centre pierced by a lozenge-shaped Side Wound.²⁴³ Other archaeological and illustrative examples excavated from London contexts of the late medieval period show that dress accessories such as rings, mounts, pendants and strap fittings, were fashioned in the shape of a lozenge.²⁴⁴ This shape may have held some significance in a period where geometry had a subtle meaning. It is, however, difficult to correlate the concept that jewels in the form of a lozenge-shape specifically intended to represent the Side Wound of Christ. Equally, it is possible that this shape simply functioned as a decorative motif. Among the best known examples is the sixteenth-century Hockley reliquary pendant held at the British Museum. On the

240 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 238-9, 245.

241 Norwich, *Revelations*, 3-4.

242 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 238-248; Areford, *The viewer*, 230, 243.

243 Areford, *The viewer*, 234-5.

244 Egan & Pritchard, *Dress accessories*, 198-9, 333-4.

front of the pendant is a figure supporting the cross, while the reverse depicts blood and the Wounds of Christ.²⁴⁵ Against this background, it is unsurprising that depictions of the Side Wound of Christ are found among the graffiti in churches in England.

Another possibility is that the Side Wound of Christ was chosen for its protective properties in addition to its devotional purpose. Similarly to that of the Measure of Christ, devotion also focused on the exact measurement of the Side Wound which was depicted in fourteenth and fifteenth-century prints.²⁴⁶ It was believed that physical contact could activate the image's powers by wearing or carrying the Measure of the Side Wound, and that this would not only provide general protection against sudden death and misfortune, but also for safe deliveries in childbirth and dangers for men on the battlefield.²⁴⁷ Based on this parallel, it may be that the physical element involved in the act of inscribing a graffito of a Side Wound of Christ was believed to enhance the efficacy of the inscription in gaining God's favour. The apotropaic purpose of this symbol is confirmed by depictions of the Side Wound in textual amulets which proliferated in the late medieval period. For example, a fifteenth-century amulet roll, held at the British Library, offers broad promises of protection through text and figures including a lozenge-shaped red Side Wound of Christ, a Tau cross and the Three Nails of the Passion.²⁴⁸

The triquetra

Eastern reredos

The graffito of a triquetra is another example that provides evidence of Christocentric piety among the inscribers on the eastern reredos. The triquetra is one of four compass-drawn designs that consists of three overlapping circles, each of which may represent one of the three persons of the Holy Trinity.²⁴⁹ It is a possibility that this graffito is another compass-drawn design inscribed by idle masons practising using a compass. However, a case can be made for the argument that it intended to serve a specific purpose and is, therefore, differentiated from the other three compass-drawn designs. This example appears to be isolated from other compass-drawn designs. In close

245 J. Robinson, 'From altar to amulet: relics, portability, and devotion', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 115.

246 Areford, *The viewer*, 245-6

247 *ibid.*

248 Skemer, *Binding words*, 263-4.

249 See chapter three.

proximity is a lightly-incised minute star, but whether it intended to be related to the triquetra remains unclear. In contrast to the other three compass-drawn designs that are located at standing eye level, the triquetra appears on row three (S33), alluding to the possibility that the inscriber was kneeling in the act of inscribing this motif. The position of the graffito may support the concept that the process of its inscription formed part of a devotional act.

The triquetra, a symbol closely associated with the Holy Trinity, relates to the words uttered by Jesus Christ, 'go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'.²⁵⁰ It may be surmised that the inscription of this graffito was part of an act of devotion to the Holy Trinity. Related to this concept is the further theory that its inscriber intended to affirm their belief in the monotheistic existence of these three identities as one omni-potent God. However, it would be easier to accept this interpretation if the location of the triquetra was in close proximity to the altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but unfortunately, the precise position of the altar is not known, and the situation is complicated by the fact that altars would be relocated.²⁵¹ Nor are there any examples of a triquetra recorded elsewhere in the Minster. As a motif inscribed in devotion to the Holy Trinity, there is no obvious relevance of the triquetra to the reredos as a base for the shrine of Saint John. But there is the possibility that the position of this graffito was chosen because of its close proximity to the High Altar and performance of the Eucharist, and may be viewed in the context of Christocentric devotion. Similarly to that of Christ and the saints, the complete Holy Trinity could be invoked. Invocations of the Holy Trinity, that was the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit was an act of consecration used in sacraments.²⁵²

An alternative possibility is that it was inscribed by a devotee to both Saint John of Beverley and the Holy Trinity. In medieval Beverley, the guild of the Holy Trinity developed as a craft guild for merchants and drapers of the town. It is likely that by the fifteenth century, the guild of Saint John of Beverley *de Hanshus* had lost any specific craft associations and instead, served the urban elite, necessitating the establishment of the craft guild, that was known as the Trinity guild.²⁵³ There was considerable overlap between the membership to the guild of Saint John of Beverley

250 Matthew 28: 19.

251 See chapter one.

252 Knight, *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

253 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 47-8.

de Hanshus and the Trinity guild.²⁵⁴ For example, in 1446 the merchant, John Middleton, was steward of the Trinity guild, who held the same office in the guild of Saint John *de Hanshus* two years later, and made bequests to both in his will.²⁵⁵ Therefore, the possibility that the triquetra on the eastern reredos was inscribed in devotion to Saint John and the Holy Trinity should not be dismissed.

Wider context of the triquetra

It is surprising not to find more variations of the triquetra elsewhere in Beverley Minster. The Holy Trinity was a source of local devotion. As mentioned above, corporate devotion is shown in the establishment of a guild that bore the name of the Holy Trinity. At Saint Mary's, merchants supported a light dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the chancel.²⁵⁶ A hospital was also dedicated to the Holy Trinity along with a chapel which was founded in c.1397 by John Ake, a Beverley draper, and was one of at least six hospitals established in Beverley.²⁵⁷ Another ecclesiastical structure dedicated to the Holy Trinity was the Preceptory of the Knights Hospitaller founded in Beverley after 1201.²⁵⁸

There were no examples of graffiti that show devotion to the Holy Trinity recorded at the other parish churches surveyed within the study region, but variations of the triquetra are known to occur in church settings elsewhere in England. Further examples of the triquetra have been recorded in surveys undertaken at parish churches in Essex and Suffolk by Pritchard and, most recently Champion. Pritchard recorded a graffito of a triquetra at Saint Andrew's, Great Yeldham (Essex) located on a pier in the north-aisle. Her rubbing depicts three interlinked fish, inscribed free-hand, in the shape of a triangle.²⁵⁹ In the case of this graffito, the hypothesis that the triquetra might have been an expression of christocentric piety may have some merit because the fish was an early emblem of Christ, derived from the letters that represent the Greek word for fish, 'ichthus', ΙΧΘΥΣ, which translates as 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour'.²⁶⁰ Based on iconographic parallels and the architectural features of the church, the triquetra may be dated to the thirteenth century, and could well represent the earliest example

²⁵⁴ Lamburn, *The laity*, 8-9; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 47-8.

²⁵⁵ Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 48; Lamburn, *The laity*, 8-9.

²⁵⁶ Lamburn, *The laity*, 9.

²⁵⁷ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 54.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 90.

²⁶⁰ Steffler, *Symbols*, 9.

inscribed in the form of graffiti.²⁶¹ Another variation of a compass-drawn triquetra appears in Champion's photographic record of the graffiti at Westleton (Suffolk), which shows three compass-drawn ovals.²⁶² Despite the fact that no information is provided about its specific architectural location, its presence is significant since this demonstrates that the custom of inscribing a compass-drawn triquetra was practised in churches elsewhere in England.

The triquetra as a symbol

From the twelfth century there was an increased desire for clarification on the problems and complex relationship of the three Persons of the Trinity.²⁶³ Devotional attitudes to the Holy Trinity developed and expanded in the fourteenth century by the works of English mystics, such as Julian of Norwich and Richard Rolle.²⁶⁴ References to the Holy Trinity served to educate their readerships about the mystery of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Julian of Norwich stated that:

For the Trinity is God, God is the Trinity; the Trinity is our maker and protector, the Trinity is our dear friend for ever, our everlasting joy and bliss, through our Lord Jesus Christ.²⁶⁵

Prayers to the Holy Trinity was another practice inspired by devotional literary works such as books of hours, which were regarded as personal objects. In addition to literature, figurative depictions of the Holy Trinity in textual illuminations and marginal decorations provided a focus of devout contemplation.²⁶⁶ In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these works were popular, particularly with the laity, which facilitated the widespread transmission of devotional attitudes towards the Holy Trinity to the broader public of devout laypeople.

During this period, devotional attitudes to the Holy Trinity were not only reflected in the inscription of graffiti, but pious practices also inspired trends in

261 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 90.

262 Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

263 Swanson, *Religion and devotion*, 12-17.

264 Rolle, *Fire of love*, 63-5; Norwich, *Revelations*, 46.

265 Norwich, *Revelations*, 46.

266 Duffy, *Marking the hours*, 18, 23, 26, 77.

material culture including architecture, glass and jewellery.²⁶⁷ On these mediums, the Holy Trinity is not only depicted figuratively, but also in threefold motifs such as trefoil, a foliated three-lobed type of architectural ornamentation common in tracery designs. The three-lobed design appears on personal fittings such as mounts and buckles, where this motif may have served a decorative and devotional function.²⁶⁸ In either case, the devotional function of the three-lobed symbol for the Holy Trinity becomes more obvious when it is paired with others of a Christocentric nature. A relevant parallel can be drawn with a fifteenth-century window-glass quarry stained with three overlapping circles where each of the three letters of the IHC sacred monogram have been placed within one of the roundels.²⁶⁹ In the case of the triquetra in Beverley Minster, this evidence supports the theory that it was placed deliberately on the eastern side of the reredos for its proximity to the performance of the Eucharist, as an expression of Christocentric piety.

At the same time, invocations of the Holy Trinity were perceived to have protective properties. A case may well be made for the notion that the subject of a triquetra was chosen to be inscribed in the graffiti because it was believed that the inscription of such a motif would provide a degree of daily protection. From the fourteenth century, the Holy Trinity was invoked for help against epidemics such as the Black Death, which inspired devotional jewels worn as amulets. The Middleham Jewel, a lozenge-shaped gold and sapphire-jewelled capsule, currently held in the Yorkshire Museum is one probable example. It dates from c.1450 to 1475 and shows a figurative depiction of the Holy Trinity and the Nativity on the reverse. This gold pendant takes the form of a small gold box that probably contained relics to provide protection against demons and disease.²⁷⁰

Invocations of the Holy Trinity as a protective device was a practice derived from earlier traditions in a variety of contexts. From at least the eighth century, in verbal and written charms, Latin formulas invoking the Holy Trinity were prescribed in medical treatise as protective amulets for women during labour, as well as for healing.²⁷¹ For inscribers of symbols associated with the Holy Trinity in churches, the

267 Swanson, *Religion and devotion*, 162.

268 Egan & Pritchard, *Dress accessories*, 100, 185.

269 Blake et al., 'Holy Name of Jesus', 179.

270 C. Rider, *Magic and religion in medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 2012), 104-105; Robinson, 'From altar to amulet', 114-115.

271 Jolly, 'Medieval magic', 38, 41-2, 43, 48.

long-standing tradition of the practice of invoking the Trinity may well have added to its superstitious appeal.

The ragged staff

Eastern reredos

The two ragged staff motifs on the eastern reredos suggest that they held a religious significance for those who inscribed them. Their differences in style, size and location on the eastern reredos are great enough to attribute them to two different inscribers.²⁷² As mentioned in chapter three, it is impossible to verify the claim that their inscribers intended to depict a motif affiliated with the earls of Warwick by imitating the symbol that appeared on their livery badge. It is equally conceivable that this motif functioned in a similar way to that of the other heraldic devices in this category, as an ambiguous pseudo-heraldic motif, and may not be linked to specific individuals or families.

Although we do not know who inscribed these designs, it is unlikely that they were intended as politically charged displays of allegiance to the earls of Warwick. The popularity of the earls of Warwick in Beverley cannot be measured, but there were prominent local nobles, such as the Percy family, whose association with Beverley and the Minster is reflected in a collection of monuments that accumulated around the High Altar and the shrine of Saint John when it was located on top of the reredos. The Percy Canopy depicts various coats of arms associated with the Percy family. It is located between the reredos staircase and the north-west pier of the eastern crossing.²⁷³ Yet despite the close proximity of the Percy monuments to the reredos, and the prominent status of the family in Beverley, their coats of arms are absent from the graffiti recorded in Beverley Minster. Nor are there depictions of any other type of livery badge among the graffiti evidence that can be associated with a specific family or individual, which is surprising since livery had a significant role in the late medieval guilds of Beverley.²⁷⁴ For members of a local guild, their livery was the most important visible sign of corporate identity. Guilds ordered that their livery should be worn on occasions, such as feast days and processions.²⁷⁵

However, a possible connection between the ragged staff and the True Cross

272 See chapter three.

273 See chapter one.

274 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 46.

275 *ibid.*

would suggest a religious association for this motif.²⁷⁶ As mentioned in the previous chapter, representations of the ragged staff in the iconographic record broadly coincide with the use of this motif as a livery badge and in the form of the pilgrim souvenirs sold at Bromholm Priory, which allegedly possessed fragments of the True Cross. This makes it difficult to differentiate between the two meanings for the graffiti of the ragged staff motifs inscribed in churches.

Saint Helena, mother of the Roman Emperor, Constantine, who allegedly discovered the True Cross during a visit to the Holy Land in 326 AD, was a focus of local devotion in Beverley.²⁷⁷ Although we do not know whether the graffiti of the ragged staff motifs were intended to relate directly to Saint Helena, the strength of devotion to the True Cross in late medieval Beverley can be seen in the establishment of the guild of Saint Helena, the ordinances of which date from 1378, and was identified with a chapel in the church of the Franciscan friars.²⁷⁸ Other forms of public devotion were expressed on the saint's feast day, when the cross and spade were carried in procession to signify the discovery of the Cross.²⁷⁹ When considered against this background, the ragged staff motif may well have been associated with the True Cross and imitated the shape of the souvenirs manufactured at Bromholm Priory.

Wider context of the ragged staff

Depictions of the ragged staff motif not only occur on the eastern reredos, but a further four variations are located on piers N9, N8 and two on S4. The designs are similar to the examples on the eastern side of the reredos, but one on S4 is depicted with crosses in the centre of the vertical shaft. In common with the reredos, the ragged staff motifs in the nave are among the most frequently represented heraldic devices. It seems, therefore, that the location of the ragged staff was more randomly chosen. The presence of the ragged staff at one of the six parish churches surveyed in this study allows an analysis of the practice at a local level. At Hornsea, the ragged staff is the most commonly depicted motif, accounting for three of the 14 examples recorded at the church. The three examples appear in a cluster confined to the north side of the

²⁷⁶ See chapter three.

²⁷⁷ A. Nagel, 'The afterlife of the reliquary', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 212; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 48-9; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 93.

²⁷⁸ Miller et al., *Beverley*, 52; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 48-9.

²⁷⁹ Lamburn, *The laity*, 11.

arch in the west end; a location that has no obvious religious importance. However, it may be significant that all three are situated in close proximity to other devotional motifs, such as the Ihc sacred monogram.

The custom of inscribing a ragged staff motif was not limited to this geographical milieu in the medieval period. A similar situation is suggested by the surveys carried out in church settings elsewhere in England including, among others, Buckinghamshire, Dorset, Durham, Hertfordshire, Kent, Norfolk and Suffolk. In common with the distribution pattern of those recorded in this study, at these sites the ragged staff motif has been found in several locations including piers, chancel arches and doorways.²⁸⁰ It may be argued that the national scale of this practice was the product of the popularity of the earls of Warwick but, as Champion points out, in the context of East Anglia, the livery symbols of other prominent regional nobles, such as the dukes of Norfolk and earls of Oxford, who possessed substantial land holdings, were notably absent in the graffiti.²⁸¹ The lack of a positive correlation between the earls of Warwick and the ragged staff inscribed at ecclesiastical sites points towards religious rather than secular impulses behind their inscription. Given the geographical proximity of the Norfolk sites to Bromholm Priory, also in Norfolk, this may explain the popularity of the ragged staff in this region, and supports the theory that this motif may relate to a devotional cult surrounding the True Cross.

Recently, Champion explored the possible devotional implications of this motif. He noted a number of ragged staff graffiti in areas close to where images of Saint Christopher were once painted, for example those discovered around the north door at Saint Peter's (Norwich), and suggests that these inscriptions may relate to a devotional cult associated with the saint.²⁸² However, in the Beverley Minster context, the positions of the different ragged staff motifs appear to be more random rather than concentrated in certain spaces. There is no reason to suggest that the ragged staff motifs on the eastern reredos are associated with any imagery of Saint Christopher. However, for the examples located on piers it is possible that an altar dedicated to Saint Christopher, and perhaps an image of the saint would have been in the view of the inscribers of the ragged staff motifs, which was probably located somewhere in the

280 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 22, 94-5; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 117; Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 197.

281 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 251; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 117.

282 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 118.

nave.²⁸³ Champion's theory may well apply to the cluster of the three examples in the Hornsea context where they are located on the north side of the west arch, close to the north entrance, as his image was commonly associated with doorways, but it remains unclear whether there was an image of Saint Christopher.

The ragged staff as a symbol

An understanding of a more widespread function of the ragged staff in other religious contexts could signal some element of continuity between this motif and late medieval devotional practices. Images of a combined cross and ragged staff motif appear in late medieval printed images across Europe. A late fifteenth-century tinsel print of the Passion, produced in Germany, shows the Christ child with the *arma Christi* holding a Latin cross which consists of two intersecting vertical and horizontal motifs that are reminiscent of a ragged staff symbol.²⁸⁴ This image may suggest that the practice of inscribing a ragged staff motif was Christocentric in nature. In the same period, the symbol also appeared on mediums associated with relic culture. For example, a depiction of a cross consisting of a ragged staff was among the objects illustrated in a catalogue of relics collected by Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (Germany).²⁸⁵ In England, examples of the ragged staff come in the form of badges, one of which was discovered along the Thames foreshore. The badge is fashioned in the shape of a ragged staff with a single cross in the centre. Spencer suggests that this was a livery badge and that the cross was possibly an allusion to the pilgrimage to the Holy Land undertaken by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick between 1408 and 1410.²⁸⁶ The watery context in which it was discovered closely resembles other deposits found nearby such as, pilgrim badges possibly deposited as votive offerings.²⁸⁷ Champion also points out that a number of badges of the ragged staff are decorated with references to the Virgin Mary.²⁸⁸ This evidence might suggest that the ragged staff was a generic symbol associated with saints and pilgrimage.

Other evidence from catalogues of museum collections highlights the significance of the ragged staff as a symbol of Christocentric piety. As mentioned in

283 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 43.

284 Areford, *The viewer*, 32.

285 Nagel, 'The afterlife', 213.

286 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 292.

287 *ibid.*

288 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 118.

chapter three, a thirteenth-century ampulla discovered at Billingsgate (London), for example, was fashioned in the shape of a ragged staff bearing an image of the crucifixion of Christ engraved with the inscription, IESVS NA/SARENVS on the reverse, meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth'.²⁸⁹

In each of the cases mentioned above, the ragged staff is combined with other religious symbols, namely crosses and inscriptions, which support the theory that the ragged staff was a religious symbol associated with devotional practices relating to pilgrimage, the True Cross and Christological imagery. This almost exclusive ecclesiastical association of the ragged staff motif on these mediums would support the argument that they were intended as religious symbols, which had a devotional element rather than any particular attachment to the earls of Warwick.

Alternatively, it is also possible that the motives underpinning the practice of inscribing ragged staff motifs can be ascribed to superstitious impulses and might have served a secondary protective function. The image of a possible ragged staff on one side of an ampulla recorded on the PAS may support this theory. The ampulla, which may be dated to c.1300 and 1500, is broadly consistent with the date ascribed to the two ragged staff motifs on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster.²⁹⁰ According to the PAS, the ampulla was discovered using a metal-detector on cultivated land in the local area from Barmston. This archaeological context closely resembles other deposits of pilgrim souvenirs recovered from elsewhere in England and Wales.²⁹¹ In a study of the depositional pattern of ampullae recorded on the PAS, Anderson noted that those discovered on farmland near to what used to be medieval villages indicates that they were discarded deliberately, perhaps in a 'blessing the fields' ceremony.²⁹² This theory may well apply to the example under discussion and was purposefully deposited as a ritual offering. This is supported by the evidence that the ampulla may have been intentionally broken as its neck appears to have been bent. Anderson identified that evidence of deliberate breakage is one of the clearest indications that ampullae were objects of a ritual practice.²⁹³ They may be related to the broader context of the phenomenon of bending and cutting objects, supposedly as a means of

289 D. Krueger & A. Angenendt, 'Catalogue 1-35', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 223.

290 PAS no. YORYM-53C757.

291 Anderson, 'Blessing', 199-200.

292 *ibid.*, 198.

293 *ibid.*

releasing their contents, which were then ritually discarded.²⁹⁴ If this is the case, then it may well be that the ampulla was ritually discarded, perhaps to ensure a good harvest or to cure sickness or failing crops. Based on these parallels, the ragged staff motif may have been chosen as a symbol to be inscribed in the graffiti because of its perceived protective properties and superstitious dimension.

Discussion

This chapter has advanced our knowledge of the act of inscribing graffiti as a devotional practice on the eastern reredos in Beverley Minster. The heights at which these graffiti are located have shown that certain examples situated at kneeling level, such as the triquetra, might have been inscribed as part of a devotional act. The evidence presented in this chapter has also demonstrated that there are similarities and differences between the types and quantities of devotional graffiti located on the eastern side of the reredos with those recorded in the nave in Beverley Minster. The musical notation, crosses, letters, sacred monograms and the ragged staff motif are devotional types common to both locations. The mitre, the possible Agnus Dei motifs, the Side Wound of Christ and the triquetra are types that only appear on the eastern side of the reredos. Aside from the letters M and W, the high number of various other letters and crosses are a notable feature of the devotional graffiti in this location. We may therefore be seeing a difference between the types inscribed in the two locations and possibly a greater popularity of certain motifs in areas of heightened spiritual significance.

This chapter has shown that many of the same types of devotional graffiti recorded in Beverley Minster were also inscribed in local parish churches, including the mitre, the possible Consecration crosses, the letters M and W, musical notation, sacred monograms and the ragged staff motif. From the available studies, all types of devotional graffiti in Beverley Minster reflect contemporary trends in the wider context of the practice in church settings elsewhere in England.

The geographical extent of the inscription of devotional types of graffiti indicate the existence of a widespread need to physically and visually express personal piety. This hypothesis has been supported by analogies with similar representations in attested sacred contexts. The increase in the availability of commercially produced

²⁹⁴ Anderson, 'Blessing', 198.

devotional objects that could be used in private devotion, such as pilgrim souvenirs and other types of dress accessories in the late medieval period has helped to explain the appearance of these subjects in the form of graffiti. The religious context allows for the graffiti to be seen alongside other personal and public devotional practices, most significantly those that involved the use of the senses, such as kissing statues and images of saints and the Holy Family, and the physical gesture of making the sign of the cross.

Conclusion

In the medieval period, Beverley Minster's importance as a pilgrimage site derived from its possession of the shrine of Saint John located on top of the reredos. The devotional graffiti inscribed on the eastern reredos are a tangible record of the piety of the people who visited this location in the late medieval period. Devotees to Saint John of Beverley, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Name, the Holy Trinity and the Side Wound of Christ, among others, may well have been involved in their creation. However, this chapter has also shown that often the ambiguity of the subject matter of the graffiti precludes the availability of definitive answers and, while some are clearly devotional in nature, such as the mitre, others, for example, the ragged staff, have no obvious devotional element. As mentioned above, differences between the types and quantities of graffiti in this location and the nave have shown how the people who visited the Minster recognised the reredos as a place of heightened spiritual significance, relating to its purpose as a shrine-base and its proximity to the performance of the Eucharist. Therefore, the graffiti on the eastern reredos are the product of a devotional act that represent a desire for physical interaction with an area of religious value. We do not know how accurately the graffiti that survives represents the patterns of past inscription in Beverley Minster or any other church surveyed, but this chapter has nevertheless demonstrated that the act of inscribing graffiti was a widespread devotional practice.

This chapter has shown that when considered in the context where writing on walls was accepted and acceptable to late medieval society, without the modern connotations that associate it as an activity that is socially unacceptable, graffiti can be appreciated as the product of a personal devotional act that might be equated with other practices and symbols. This chapter has also considered the perceived protective

properties of the subject types, but there are other categories of graffiti that point, more overtly, to a superstitious dimension, which is a theme examined in greater detail in chapter five.

Chapter 5

The act of inscribing graffiti as a superstitious practice

Introduction

The concept that certain types of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos were the product of a devotional act was advanced in chapter four. However, there are other types of graffiti in this location that point to superstitious motives, underpinned by the belief in the protective properties of the symbols inscribed. While the previous chapter argued that a superstitious function acted simultaneously as a secondary purpose of the devotional graffiti, this chapter investigates the types of graffiti in this location that were more overtly associated with protection from spiritual and physical harm. It argues that other types of graffiti were inscribed because of their perceived protective properties that were believed to invoke supernatural forces and influence the actions of living beings and events that happened in actual reality. This argument implies that the process of their inscription was based on the perception that something or someone needed protection against a visible or an invisible harm-causing agent, and believed that this threat could be countered by inscribing graffiti in a church setting. Interpreted in this context, the graffiti raises questions about how much control any individual perceived to exercise over their own future and perhaps that of others, not only in the physical world, but also the next. The majority of the graffiti discussed in this chapter were inscribed in the late medieval period when the reredos served as a base for the shrine of Saint John from c.1330 to 1540, but a brief discussion of the graffiti inscribed in the early modern period is also provided.

During these periods, England was afflicted with calamities such as recurrent waves of the plague beginning with the Black Death in 1348, social unrest, popular rebellions and warfare, which must have contributed to the appeal of superstitious practices offering protection. Evil spirits were held responsible for various sorts of human misery from the plague to natural disasters. Such circumstances not only fostered the belief in the Devil, but also the practising of witchcraft and the powers of witches to inflict bodily harm on individuals.¹ Belief in the phenomenon persisted into the eighteenth century, and provided a further incentive for people to employ practices

¹ R. Horrox, 'Purgatory, prayer and plague: 1150-1380', in P. C. Jupp and C. Gittings (eds.), *Death in England: an illustrated history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 90-91.

to defend themselves.² These conditions created an anxiety around death, leading to a change in attitudes towards death and the afterlife.³ It was believed that after death the soul was judged by God and that there were three destinations where the soul would be delivered; Heaven, Hell or Purgatory.⁴ From the twelfth century, Purgatory was believed to be a halfway stage between earth and Heaven where the soul was purged of sin and purified for entry into Heaven.⁵ The doctrine of Purgatory was widely accepted by the mid thirteenth century, which constituted a shift in thinking about death and the destination of the soul in the afterlife.⁶ These developments in attitudes, arguably, coincided with the rise of individualism and concept of individual judgement of the soul immediately after death.⁷ A range of responses emerged in relation to these developments and concerns in the late medieval cult of death, including numerous practices through which people sought to protect themselves and secure rewards for a speedy transit through Purgatory. Books, prayers, charms, spells and wearing dress accessories decorated with certain motifs were not only incorporated into daily life, but also burial practices.⁸ People from all social levels attempted to control events and prepare for their destination into the next using these methods. Advanced preparation for the moment of death and being remembered were also central religious preoccupations, and people would go to lengths to maintain a vivid sense of permanence among the living.⁹ The desire to ease these concerns may well have been among the driving forces behind the graffiti that were inscribed in church buildings in the medieval and early modern periods.

The subject matter of the graffiti from 11 different categories located on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster are discussed as the product of superstitious impulses. The subject matter of these categories are not overtly religious in nature. Some types have been identified by their association with Saint John's miracles and their importance in relation to his reputation in the late medieval period. The subject matter of the categories identified according to this criteria include ships,

2 E. Rennison, *Yorkshire witches* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2012), 8-12, 65-6; Rider, *Magic and religion*, 7-23.

3 Horrox, 'Purgatory', 90-115.

4 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 308.

5 Horrox, 'Purgatory', 90.

6 J. LeGoff, *The birth of purgatory*. Translated from French by A. Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 209, 237-88.

7 Horrox, 'Purgatory', 110-115; LeGoff, *Purgatory*, 210-211.

8 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 79-91, 99-112; Gilchrist, 'Magic', 119-153.

9 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 328, 334.

merchants' marks, heraldry, weapons and figures. Posthumous miracles were designed to demonstrate how the spiritual power of Saint John continued after death. In this chapter, it is argued that the superstitious meaning of these examples of graffiti to their inscribers was the belief that they could harness the power of Saint John through their inscription. Miracle accounts help to understand the reasons why people visited his shrine, and consequently why they might have chosen to inscribe a motif of a particular subject matter. By correlating the subjects of the graffiti with the nature of Saint John's miracles, this methodology considers the role of invoking his memory and how this was believed to contribute to their efficacy. Further examples discussed in this chapter relate to the surrounding iconography, such as the graffiti of the angel. The subject matter of the other late medieval examples are more ambiguous in terms of their possible meaning, but were perceived to have protective properties which commonly appeared on dress accessories and various objects used as amulets and charms. These include textual inscriptions, stars, compass-drawn designs and animals. The number of graffiti organised into these 11 different subjects equate to a total of 238 examples.

The protective function of the subject matter of these types of graffiti was predicated upon the belief in the magical efficacy of powerful words and symbols, and their ability to win God's favour. The graffiti are discussed in chronological order, beginning with the medieval types which cover the majority of the chapter, and then early modern examples. The format of this chapter follows the same as the previous one and examines the significance of each of these categories in the context of the eastern side of the reredos, and any possible similarities and differences with the graffiti located in the nave of Beverley Minster. Further comparisons are made with the graffiti recorded at the six parish churches surveyed within the Humber region, and at sites across England drawn from other studies. After considering the regional and national context of each type of superstitious graffiti, there follows a discussion of the symbolic context of their subject matter by drawing comparisons with depictions from other artistic milieu such as dress accessories, in order to provide insights into the ways in which these symbols were thought to have protective properties.

The act of inscribing graffiti and medieval superstitious practices

To grasp an understanding of the superstitious significance of the graffiti on the eastern

side of the reredos we need to look at them as a repository of anxieties and concerns of their inscribers, and as a practice comparable to that of medieval and early modern individuals who used amulets and charms as methods of protection against demons and other evil spirits that were perceived to have the ability to cause harm. Graffiti was never the sole means of securing protection through words, symbols or actions. The medieval Church fostered and encouraged these beliefs in a variety of ways. In the late medieval period, the physical performance of the sacraments were central to the services of the church. For example, the performance of the Eucharist and the ringing of church bells were activities that conveyed the power of physical acts believed to banish evil spirits.¹⁰ Another common superstitious practice, influenced by the Church, was the widespread belief that looking upon an image of Saint Christopher would protect the viewer from sudden death that day.¹¹

As deliberate interventions into the church fabric, the act of inscribing graffiti may be paralleled with the practice of coin-bending that involved deliberately damaging a coin. This practice would take place in diverse conditions, for example, at the moment of making a vow of pilgrimage as a way of marking a particular coin to be given as an offering. In a storm at sea was another situation when this practice would be employed, which was symbolic of a confirmation of a vow to a saint for safe deliverance. Other circumstances when this practice was used included to cure a blind horse, to cure certain parts of the body or on the deathbed.¹² Such beliefs were commonplace in late medieval England and had their origins in established tradition rather than formal doctrine.

The shrine of Saint John of Beverley, located on top of the reredos in Beverley Minster, was perceived as the focus of his power in the late medieval period which provided people with spiritual assurance that he was watching over them. It was widely believed that the bodies of saints differed from those of ordinary people, for they maintained a connection to their holy souls, even after death.¹³ The belief that divine intervention could be obtained by some form of physical contact with the fabric

10 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 217.

11 E. Pridgeon, *Saint Christopher wall paintings in English and Welsh churches c.1250-c.1500*. PhD thesis (University of Leicester, 2008), 90.

12 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 183-4; Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*, 94-5; Gilchrist, 'Magic', 134-5.

13 D. Krueger, 'The religion of relics in late antiquity and Byzantium', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 5.

located beneath the shrine may well have been a driving force behind the inscription of the graffiti. The motifs may well embody the reasons for visiting or undertaking a pilgrimage to Beverley Minster. There were a multitude of incentives for making a pilgrimage, for example, to discharge a vow, sickness or danger, to obtain forgiveness for sins, to secure protection in pursuit of divine intervention and salvation. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, at Beverley Minster, touching the fabric on the eastern side of the reredos was the closest that the majority of worshippers could come to physical contact with the shrine and to the performance of the Eucharist.

However, at other pilgrimage sites that permitted immediate access to the shrine, devotees would either place objects near the shrine or even touch the shrine, transmitting the saint's protective powers.¹⁴ Drawings and other images of this period show people interacting physically with shrines, emphasizing the act of bodily participation. These include the stained-glass windows that depict the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral. By depicting only the receivers of a cure making physical contact with the shrine, the images in the stained-glass emphasize that physical interaction and a sense of closeness with the relics was intrinsic in fulfilling a cure.¹⁵

The physical act of inscribing a graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos necessarily involved scraping fragments of stone. The remnants from the action caused by the scraping may well have been retained and contained in a flask, perhaps an ampulla, as a way of preserving the stone as a form of secondary relic. This might be equated with the practice of pilgrims returning home with pieces of stone and other types of substances collected from shrines and pilgrimage sites. From at least the sixth century, pilgrims were eager to collect and return home with tangible evidence of their journeys, including stones.¹⁶ The sacred status of these substances was affirmed by preserving them in reliquary boxes with images identifying their contents.¹⁷ At shrines that permitted easy and direct access, pilgrims would pour water or oil over the reliquary sarcophagus and collect it at the other side, which they sought to preserve in order to claim some physical contact with the shrine.¹⁸ They collected a variety of substances believed to be infused with spiritual and curative powers, among them were

14 Wells, 'Making 'sense' of the pilgrimage', 131.

15 *ibid.*, 135.

16 Nagel, 'The afterlife', 219.

17 *ibid.*

18 Krueger, 'Religion of relics', 9-10.

dust, oil, earth, water and stones.¹⁹ The veneration of wood and stone flourished in medieval England.²⁰ In 1458 William Wey, an English priest, returned home from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with a bagful of stone, including a piece of a pillar and stone from the Holy Sepulchre.²¹ Further evidence for this practice is suggested by the discovery of a sealed ampulla from Yorkshire which, when opened, revealed that it contained a powdery material.²² It may well be that the physical act of inscribing a graffito and collecting the remnants were important elements of the practice, in addition to the choice of subject matter.

Ship graffiti

Eastern reredos

Of the 11 ship graffiti across the eastern reredos there is a cluster of seven examples concentrated on the right-hand bay, with six of these situated in close proximity to each other between rows two to four.²³ This spatial distribution may suggest a ritual and symbolic element to their placement. Some of these on the right-hand bay may well have imitated previously inscribed examples, leading to this accumulation. For contemporary viewers, the visual display of ships may have inspired faith and hope for similar purposes, and through their identification with these prototypes, stimulated their perception of, and response to them. The positions of the remaining four of the 11 ship graffiti on the south return bay and left-hand bay could, therefore, have been chosen because there was not enough space on the right-hand bay. The lack of space on the rows reachable at standing eye level on the right-hand bay, caused by the concentration of ship graffiti, may explain the rather isolated position of the example on S12 and S13 of rows five and six. Its inscriber might have gone to considerable efforts to place the graffito at such a height in order to prevent future inscribers from distorting the image, while simultaneously showing respect for previous examples. Alternatively, or as well as, the graffito may have been inscribed in this location in order to situate it in even closer proximity to the shrine.

It is a possibility that it was the deeply-incised hull of the ship graffito located on S14 and S15 that prompted the inscription of the other examples nearby on the

19 Krueger, 'Religion of relics', 10.

20 Webb, *Pilgrimage*, 141.

21 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 3.

22 PAS no. YORYM1080.

23 See chapter three.

right-hand bay. This claim is strengthened by the further proposition that there may be evidence that more than one hand is at work here and that different inscribers were responsible for the creation of certain features of the ship, as the hull and rigging display different styles of execution. Indeed, the neatly deeply-incised hull contrasts with the comparatively crudely and lightly-incised rigging, which may suggest that this feature was added by a later hand to an incomplete drawing. This interpretation implies that the deeply-incised hull had been noticed and may have prompted a different individual to finish the graffito.

The ship graffiti are mostly confined to the lower rows of the bays, which allow further observations that can cast light onto the motivations behind such inscriptions. Eight examples are located in a position where the only possible interpretation at present is that their inscribers were either sitting or kneeling. Seven examples appear on row three with the rigging of four of these graffiti extending onto the row above, while another occurs on row two.²⁴ Perhaps the position of kneeling while inscribing was another measure that was believed to enhance the efficacy of the perceived protective properties of the ship graffiti, adding a devotional element to their inscription.

For certain examples, the scale and detail evident in the ships also suggests that they were not casual doodles or the product of idleness, but that they conveyed a symbolic meaning. An anchor is a feature that appears on the example reminiscent of the hulk shipbuilding tradition located on S38 to S39, which may well offer an understanding of a deeper visual meaning.²⁵ In religious art, the anchor served as a symbol of the soul, of hope and steadfastness.²⁶ Moreover, in a discussion of the symbolism of the anchor in ship graffiti, Bon suggests that it was used as a metaphor for faith, originating from its possible link with a pun between the Greek noun for 'anchor' and the term 'in the Lord' which was used by early Christians.²⁷ A graffito of the letter M that occurs in the vicinity of the same ship may suggest that its inscriber intended to invoke the help of the Virgin or Mary Magdalene. We do not know whether the letter was intended to be related to the ship graffito. However, its location may be no coincidence since, in the medieval period, the Virgin Mary was also referred to as 'the Star of the Sea' and was known as a patron saint of sailors, which suggests that a

²⁴ See chapter three.

²⁵ See chapter three.

²⁶ Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 23.

²⁷ Bon, *Images out of water*, 42, 117.

connection may very well be immediate.²⁸

The impetus for the inscription of the 11 examples of ship graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos may be explained when considered against the background of Saint John's reputation as protector of travellers at sea, which is well-attested in the stories of two miracles, compiled in the twelfth century. Ketell's, *Miracula Sancti Johannis*, recalls how the crew of a ship were saved from a dangerous storm at sea after invoking the aid of Saint John by calling his name.²⁹ Similarly, *Alia Miracula I* describes that a storm also threatened the safety of a ship carrying pilgrims to Jerusalem until they made a vow to Saint John.³⁰ In both miracles, Saint John was credited with the safe deliverance of the ships and their crews from storms at sea, avoiding imminent danger. Following each of these incidents the survivors, who were recipients of Saint John's intercessory powers, made offerings and discharged their vows of prayers in thanksgiving for divine intervention. It seems reasonable to suggest that the ship graffiti could be attributed to the same impulses and might have been inscribed in thanksgiving for rescue at sea, or in preparation for a hazardous journey in request for Saint John's protection. They may have also intended to commemorate and remind others to pray for people at sea and for those who had drowned. These references to Saint John of Beverley in miracle accounts support the theory that the ship graffiti could well reflect successive generations calling upon his aid.

Wider context of ship graffiti

When considered in the wider context of the ship graffiti throughout Beverley Minster, it is evident that there is a distinct concentration on the eastern side of the reredos. Only two examples are located in the nave, one of which is situated at a low height on the right-hand side of the west doors, while the other, incised by a different hand, depicts only half of a rather large hull of a ship in a bay in the north-aisle of the nave, between piers N5 and N6. The latter has been cut off abruptly at the edge of the stone block, suggesting that this example was inscribed before the stone was placed *in situ*, possibly by a mason or was a stone from a previous building. The concentration of ship graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos would support the theory that the rationale behind their position in this location was governed by its close proximity to

28 Walsh, 'The Port of Famagusta', 124; Steffler, *Symbols*, 82.

29 Wilson, *The life*, 174-6; Raine, *Historians*, 287-91.

30 Raine, *Historians*, 318-20; Wilson, *The life*, 195-6.

the shrine of Saint John.

The ship graffiti reflect the maritime and trading community who generated much of the local prosperity for the town.³¹ The potential dangers of the sea may well have compelled people from these communities to engage in the practice of inscribing images of ships into the stonework of local churches. In the late medieval period the Beck canal, situated to the east of the Minster, formed an important link with the River Hull and the Humber, which was intrinsic to the town's overseas trade of wool and cloth.³² The sizeable community that developed around the Beck became one of the most prosperous suburbs in Beverley.³³ The development of a maritime community in Beverley in this period was not only reflected in the ship graffiti, but also in other religious practices. By c.1160 a church was established north of the Beck and dedicated to Saint Nicholas who was, among various other things, the patron saint of sailors.³⁴ The existence of this church attests to the growing commercial community nearby. This influence might be discerned in Beverley Minster with the establishment of the Chantry of the Fraternity of Saint Nicholas in the early fourteenth century, although, the position of the altar is not known.³⁵ Ships would have been a regular sight for the tradesmen and residents based along the Becksides with the livelihoods of many depending on shipping. Among those associated with the Beck were shipmen, basket-men, freshwater fishermen, fowlers, brickmakers, potters and tanners.³⁶ Many would have been in direct contact with ships for either fishing, or building and unloading vessels.³⁷ The guilds of the shipmen, tilers, freshwater fishermen and fowlers amalgamated together to form a single craft guild with the common denominator being that all these groups kept boats on the Beck. The guilds kept their own individual plays and the shipmen, appropriately, played Noah's Ark in the Corpus Christi cycle.³⁸

In this period, clergy, monks and nuns were equally as well travelled and familiar with ship design as the lay population.³⁹ Certainly, it should not be assumed

31 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 24.

32 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 23; Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 37.

33 Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 39; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 36; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 30-31.

34 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 19, 47; Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 52.

35 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 37; O' Connor, 'Medieval stained-glass', 65.

36 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 37, 41-2.

37 *ibid.*, 36-7.

38 *ibid.*, 44.

39 Flatman, *Ships and shipping*, 28.

that the inscribers of the ship graffiti, if they were members of the clergy, were unfamiliar with nautical technology. As at least seven of the 11 examples of ship graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos can be equated, albeit tentatively, to well-known shipbuilding traditions, it is difficult to ascribe them specifically to local residents in Beverley.⁴⁰ As a site of pilgrimage that may well have been visited by individuals from countries that required travelling overseas such as France and Italy, this supports the theory that the ships may well have been inscribed by pilgrims.⁴¹

The practice of inscribing ship graffiti in parish churches was relatively common in the Humber region when the flourishing of this activity occurred in the late medieval period.⁴² During the survey, a total of 41 ships were recorded at five of the six sites, which equates to almost a third of the discoveries from the parish churches studied. A clear distribution pattern among the parish churches is evident. The church at Paull contains most of the ship graffiti with 31 examples concentrated largely in the nave. However, the numbers are seemingly low for the other churches with five at Hessle, two at Hornsea and only single examples at Harpham, Welwick and Goxhill (North Lincolnshire). For the latter three sites, the low quantities might be interpreted as a reflection of the rural character of their surrounding topographies, and that the graffiti in these churches were created by communities with close agricultural connections in the late medieval period.

In these five churches, the ships are mainly confined to the nave piers, the west end and arches at about standing eye level. At Harpham, the ship graffiti possibly depicts a vessel of the hulk shipbuilding tradition. It is located on the western arch in close proximity to a graffiti depicting two interlinked birds. Similarly to Beverley Minster, Harpham possessed a connection to Saint John of Beverley as tradition maintains that this was his place of birth.⁴³ The church and a nearby well are also dedicated to his name. Based on the assumption that the church was dedicated to Saint John of Beverley in the medieval period, it is a possibility that a ship was chosen because of his reputation for the safe deliverance of ships from storms at sea. At Welwick, a graffiti of another possible vessel of the hulk shipbuilding tradition is located on a pier on the north side of the nave which depicts features such as castles, a rudder, a mast and a hanging sail. The example at Goxhill (North Lincolnshire) depicts

40 See chapter three.

41 See chapter one.

42 See chapter two.

43 See chapter one.

a lightly-incised, but detailed, graffito of a ship situated slightly above standing eye level on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave. In contrast, two examples from Hessle, which are attributable to the same hand, must have been made when their inscriber was either sitting or kneeling on the floor in the west end of the church. A possible three-masted example of a carrack vessel is located above the doorway leading to the central tower, and another small hulk vessel on a pier in the nave. The present topography shows that Hessle is situated on the north bank of the Humber Estuary.⁴⁴ In the late medieval period, ships operated from Barton to Hessle, which linked travellers going to and from Lincoln Cathedral and Beverley Minster.⁴⁵ When interpreted against this backdrop, the graffiti might have been created by members of a local maritime community. However, at Hessle, ships still comprise only five of the 24 examples recorded at the site, which does not suggest that the church was strongly linked to a maritime community. This could well be because, despite its maritime links, Hessle was also an agricultural settlement noted for sheep farming.⁴⁶ Its church, therefore, may well have served parishioners whose livelihoods did not rely heavily on the Humber Estuary.

Surprisingly, the number of ship graffiti from the church at Hornsea is comparatively low too. The two examples recorded at this site are situated at about standing eye level on a pier on the north side of the nave. The church is dedicated to Saint Nicholas whose role as patron saint of sailors and fisherman was popularised in the *Golden Legend*.⁴⁷ This low number is even more perplexing when considered against the background of its coastal location. In the medieval period the town of Hornsea was a flourishing port, and Saint Nicholas's was situated at a short distance from the sea.⁴⁸ This would suggest that the livelihoods of the residents in this area came directly from the sea.

However, in the cases of Hornsea and Hessle, the restoration campaigns carried out at both sites in the nineteenth century may explain these low numbers, and it could well be that other ships have not survived in the graffito record.⁴⁹ Overall with few ships recorded at four of the five sites and little knowledge about their interior

44 See chapter two.

45 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 467.

46 *ibid.*

47 Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 11-15.

48 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 477.

49 See chapter two.

arrangements, it is difficult to interpret the rationale that governed their position within these churches. Without this knowledge, in contrast to Beverley Minster, their positions within the church appear to have been more randomly chosen. Despite the fact that the number of ship graffiti are quite low at most sites surveyed, their presence in these other churches in the local area provide evidence of this practice by a range of people who may not have been linked to a maritime community. But their inscribers may well have believed that there was some form of spiritual advantage to inscribing a ship graffiti within a church.

The church at Paull presents a series of lightly-incised and detailed ships that because of the quantity, spatial distribution and maritime links, warrant separate consideration from the examples in the other parish churches. About 59.6% of the 52 discoveries recorded at this site are ship graffiti. They are mostly confined to the nave piers, except for one on the north wall of the chancel, perhaps in an effort to place it in close proximity to an area of heightened spiritual significance. Little information can be gauged from their even spatial distribution on the piers throughout the nave. There is no overlap between the examples, which appear to have been carefully placed and respect the space around each other with a few placed slightly above standing eye level. The prevalence of the practice of inscribing ship graffiti reflects its character as a mariners' church in the late medieval period. The present topography shows that the church is situated near the bank of the River Humber.⁵⁰ Maritime links were further emphasized in the fifteenth century when Saint Andrew, patron saint of fishermen, was added as a patron saint of the church in addition to its original dedication to Saint Mary when it was first constructed in the mid fourteenth century.⁵¹ The proportion of ship graffiti indicates a positive correlation between the persona of the patron saint, geographical location and the maritime occupations of the community it served.

In common with Beverley Minster, other studies have shown that concentrations of ship graffiti might be related to a particular foci within a church such as chancel walls or within the vicinity of chapels, niches and altars that were originally associated with a saint linked to maritime concerns. A study of the medieval graffiti surviving in Saint Thomas's, Winchelsea (Sussex) has revealed that although various different types occur throughout the church, almost all the ships were confined to the north arcade with a distinct concentration occurring on the most easterly pier. They are

⁵⁰ See chapter two.

⁵¹ Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 645.

concentrated on the east and north-east face of this pier, facing directly towards an area where, according to documentary evidence, a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas was once located.⁵² A similar situation occurs at Saint Hilda's, Hartlepool (Durham), where a graffito of a cog that may date from c.1300 was located in close proximity to a former chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas.⁵³ A recent survey of the graffiti at Saint Nicholas's, Blakeney (Norfolk) by Champion, also seems to show that the distribution pattern of at least 40 ships focuses on specific areas within the church, namely the piers in the south arcade with a particular concentration on a pier near a side-altar and an empty niche.⁵⁴ Moreover, Peake observed that at Blakeney (Norfolk) and Winchelsea (Sussex), the ship graffiti were placed deliberately in locations in order to avoid any overlap with previous inscriptions.⁵⁵ He suggests that this practice flourished in these churches in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when they served maritime communities.⁵⁶ As at Beverley Minster, this careful positioning of the ship graffiti, together with their concentration around a particular foci, indicates that their positions were the result of conscious decisions which formed part of a widespread practice.

Other studies have shown that this practice was by no means confined churches in coastal locations. Ship graffiti have been discovered in church settings throughout England including inland locations, such as Hertfordshire.⁵⁷ It may be no coincidence that there should be a graffito of a ship at Saint Margaret's, St Margaret's-at-Cliffe (Kent) located opposite a font, which might have been an attempt to link the image with the sacrament of baptism that marked admission into the church and the beginning of a journey as a Christian.⁵⁸ Inscribed in this location, the ship may well have been intended as a symbol of a spiritual rather than an actual sea voyage, which could explain why examples occur in churches with no obvious connection to the sea. The available graffiti evidence, moreover, shows that the practice of inscribing ship graffiti in England dates back to at least the Viking period. Among the earliest identified is Jones-Baker's discovery of a Viking longship with oars at Saint Mary's, Stow-in-Lindsey (Lincolnshire) located on a stone on the north face of the south-east

⁵² Champion, 'The medium', 113-114.

⁵³ Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 15.

⁵⁴ Champion, 'The medium', 111-114, 121.

⁵⁵ Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 156.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 154.

⁵⁷ Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 86-7.

⁵⁸ Emden, 'Graffiti of medieval ships', 167-73.

pier of the crossing. Based on its features it may date from the ninth century.⁵⁹

In late medieval England when many livelihoods depended directly on the sea and the risk to property and loss of life were ever-present hazards, it is unsurprising that superstitious practices were employed to ease such concerns. Vessels and cargoes were not only lost through natural hazards, but also by the activities of pirates operating along the coast or when there was conflict with the Hanseatic League.⁶⁰ The risk of such losses and hearing of tragedies must have had a profound impact on the mindset of the people and communities in occupations connected with the sea. Mariners themselves, their wives, widows and family members would have no doubt turned to the church for protection. Inscribed ships may well have functioned as a form of memorial, reminding viewers by the stimulus of the graffiti to pray for the souls of lost seamen, and for their own future voyages.

The ship as a symbol

The symbolic use of ships is well-known in early medieval practices. The best known example in the archaeological record is the burial of a large oak ship with a richly furnished chamber of various precious objects, which was deposited at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) in c.625. Whether it was a cenotaph or grave of an Anglo-Saxon king remains unclear but, in either case, it shows that ships held a long-standing ritual, religious and symbolic significance linked with early medieval beliefs in life after death.⁶¹ In this context, inscribing ships on church walls could well be considered as another example of a ritual religious practice associated with the symbol of the ship in the medieval period.

The religious implications of ships provides the key to understanding the meaning of the ship graffiti. In medieval contexts ships are commonly found in church iconography, appearing not only in the form of votive models, but also on doors, bench ends, fonts, stained-glass windows and paintings.⁶² A notable example in Yorkshire is the twelfth-century ironwork on the south door at Saint Helen's, Stillingfleet (North Yorkshire), which depicts Adam and Eve and Noah's Ark in a Viking-style ship.⁶³

59 Jones-Baker, 'Graffito of a Danish or Viking ship', 394-6.

60 Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 158-160.

61 S. Plunkett, *Suffolk in anglo-saxon times* (Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2005), 82-96.

62 Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 338; Hutchinson, *Medieval ships*, 13.

63 Pevsner & Neave, *Yorkshire*, 35, 711-714.

Scholars writing about the cultural implications of ship graffiti have linked them to the phenomenon of votive ship offerings, which were donated to shrines and parish churches.⁶⁴ These would have taken a variety of forms, from models of ships made of precious metals, wood or wax to simple images. This is known to have been practised in late medieval England, but the ships have now disappeared. The tradition was certainly prevalent at York Minster where, in the sixteenth century, offerings made at the shrine of Richard Scrope amounted to a small fleet of votive ships.⁶⁵ Moreover, from a short survey of votive ship models, a total of 27 made of wood and five of silver were recorded in Saint Anne's chapel (Bristol), dating to the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ Votive ship models held both a symbolic and metaphorical significance. There were various reasons for participating in this practice, for example, in memory of individuals lost at sea, to commemorate particular events, in thanksgiving for the safe conclusion of a journey or anticipation of a journey.

Images of ships were commonly used as religious symbols. There is the existence of an etymological link between the church and ships through the word 'nave'. In a metaphorical sense, the nave represents the body of a church where the congregation gathers so that their souls might be enlightened, and eventually transported to Heaven. The ship is therefore a symbol associated with the salvation of the soul. The name derives from the Latin *navis*, meaning ship. This analogy originated from the Biblical story of Noah's Ark. The metaphor of the church as a ship in which the faithful move safely through worldly dangers to Heaven, recalls the protection of Noah's Ark.⁶⁷ The early church fathers likened the church to a ship where worshippers found safety and moved towards salvation, comparing this journey to a ship at sea.⁶⁸ This ecclesiastical association suggests that an explanation for the meaning of the ship graffiti must be embedded in Christian tradition, and would support the argument that they were intended as religious rather than secular symbols.⁶⁹

Representations of ships were also used as symbols of saints and pilgrimage. It may be no coincidence that concentrations of ship graffiti accumulate in close proximity to altars, chapels and shrines dedicated to certain saints. The ship is a

64 See chapter two.

65 Champion, 'The medium', 108; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 197.

66 Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 338.

67 Steffler, *Symbols*, 44.

68 *ibid.*

69 PAS no. YORYM-DDF788; Seaby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 100.

symbol associated with Biblical figures and saints who represent maritime concerns. It appeared in artistic depictions of Saint Clemens, Mary Magdalene, Saint Michael, Saint Nicholas, Saint Thomas Becket, Saint Ursula and the Virgin Mary.⁷⁰ A symbolic link between ships, pilgrims and saints is also suggested by the discovery of a number of pilgrim badges that depict possible vessels of the hulk shipbuilding tradition, sometimes with an anchor, commemorating the return of Saint Thomas Becket from exile in France. The badges have been recovered from contexts in London dating to the late fifteenth century, which were probably produced and sold at Becket's shrine in Canterbury.⁷¹ Ships are also depicted on the coin-like badges that were associated with Henry VI's shrine at Windsor, which was thriving in the fifteenth century.⁷² In these cases the ships, particularly of the hulk type, are clearly declaring a symbolic link between pilgrims and saints. This evidence supports the concept that the concentration of the ship graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster are associated with the proximity of this location to the shrine of Saint John, for the purpose of invoking his aid for either a spiritual journey or an actual sea journey.

Merchants' marks

Eastern reredos

While the distribution pattern of the ship graffiti in Beverley Minster draws attention to Saint John's reputation for delivering vessels safely from storms at sea, the presence of two merchants' marks on the eastern reredos emphasizes his popularity specifically among merchants, who sometimes arranged for a joint pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint John of Bridlington.⁷³ The two marks reveal that this space was possibly visited by merchants when it served as a base for the shrine of Saint John. That these two merchants' marks are the only examples currently present in Beverley Minster would support the argument that the choice of location must have been deliberate. Miracle collections provide evidence which suggests that Saint John was perceived to have a specific affinity with merchants from at least the early twelfth century. In Ketell's, *Miracula Sancti Johannis*, it was a group of York merchants travelling to Scotland who found themselves in danger during a raging thunderstorm, and placed their hopes of

⁷⁰ Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 307.

⁷¹ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 81.

⁷² *ibid.*, 191.

⁷³ See chapter one.

salvation in the ability of Saint John to preserve their lives.⁷⁴ It is significant that, after having successfully completed their business, the merchants returned to Beverley to fulfil the vows they made when their lives were in danger where they probably gave offerings and prayers in thanksgiving for their salvation.⁷⁵ This miracle added a degree of legitimacy to his reputation as a protector of itinerant merchants which may have encouraged local traders to take precautionary action by visiting the shrine, and possibly making offerings before undertaking potentially hazardous journeys. Perhaps each of these merchants' marks represents a symbol of a vow made either before embarking on a journey or in thanksgiving for a safe return.

In medieval Beverley, the senior guild was the great guild of Saint John of Beverley *de Hanshus*, which was a merchant guild recognised by Archbishop Thurstan in the early twelfth century.⁷⁶ It seems likely, therefore, that merchants were among Saint John's cult following. Given the nature of merchants' occupations in Beverley, which involved overseas trade, it is a possibility that merchants were among the inscribers of the ship graffiti. Moreover, from merchants' association with ships and shipping, it may be inferred that the graffiti of merchants' marks and ships intended to serve similar purposes. This would support that the concept that the merchants' marks were inscribed as a form of votive offering for either requesting protection, or in thanksgiving for the safety of their goods and ships at sea, functioning in the same way as the ship graffiti. Neither of the two merchants' marks appear in close proximity to any of the 11 ship graffiti which, if this was the case, would imply a more direct connection between the different types.

Since both merchants' marks are only noticeable upon close inspection due to their small size as well as being isolated from one another, this may indicate that they carried a personal meaning. It is worth remembering that, as mentioned in chapter three, merchants' marks functioned as another form of personal signature. Therefore, these two graffiti may have been envisaged as personal and direct appeals for intercession of Saint John motivated by the belief in the efficacy of this location for invoking his aid by its proximity to his shrine. At the same time, their inscribers may have intended for them to serve a more public function as a means of preserving their memory. This is a possibility because if indeed they were noticed by contemporary

74 Raine, *Historians*, 287-8; Wilson, *The life*, 69.

75 Wilson, *The life*, 70; Raine, *Historians*, 288.

76 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 48.

passers-by, irrespective of their level of literacy, they would have been easily recognised by a late medieval audience, and may have known the people the marks represented. The merchants' marks may well have been associated with individuals trading through the Beck who were residents of Beverley.

There were dangers for wealthy merchants travelling with money in Yorkshire. In 1441 John Brompton, a wool merchant, presented a petition to the House of Commons against John Hayton. Brompton recalled an incident when Hayton, along with 24 of his companions, ambushed him whilst riding from York to Beverley carrying a considerable sum of money.⁷⁷ Several of the men were armed with bows and arrows who left Brompton and his companions seriously wounded. Threats of imminent death must have turned the thoughts of merchants back to the church to which they were attached. In his will, Brompton held Saint John with affection by stipulating that his body was to be buried in Beverley Minster.⁷⁸

In Beverley, merchants assumed roles of responsibility within their own church where they occasionally served as warden of the lights, which was a minor office usually subordinate to that of the churchwarden who had overall responsibility for the fabric of the church.⁷⁹ In 1392 John Beaume of Beverley served as warden of the fabric and lights in Saint Mary's chapel at Beverley Minster, while in 1417 his fellow merchants William Holme and Thomas Skipwith, both served as churchwardens in Saint Mary's.⁸⁰

The wealth of Beverley merchants and their families such as the Coppandales, Frosts, Holmes, Kelsternes, Sigglesworths and Tyrrwhits were considerable enough for them to provide substantial loans to Edward III for his continued hostilities with the Scots and the French.⁸¹ Perhaps the graffiti of the two marks demonstrate that wealthy merchants put aside financial gifts in favour of their inscription, as a more humble act of piety. In Kermode's study of late medieval wills of merchant testators in Beverley, Hull and York, she identified that the concepts of Purgatory, the power of intercession, and the mitigation of charitable acts were among the aspects of merchants' religious belief systems.⁸²

⁷⁷ Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 123-5.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 125.

⁷⁹ Kermode, *Medieval merchants*, 138.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 87-8.

⁸² Kermode, *Medieval merchants*, 121.

Wider context of merchants' marks

For late medieval merchants, the parish church was the focus of lay piety, and this is reflected in the comparatively higher number of merchants' marks from the other sites surveyed in the Humber region. A total of five examples were recorded from three churches including two from Hornsea, two from Paull, plus one from Hessle. None of these five depict the same mark and each example has distinctively different features, while sharing the characteristics of a typical merchants' mark.⁸³ All five merchants' marks depict a central vertical shaft that rises from an inverted V terminal. Individual characteristics include a circle, a streamer, a cross, a heart-shaped motif and, in most cases, the merchants' marks show a combination of these features. The five examples occur on piers at eye level. The example from Hessle is situated on a pier in the west end, while the two examples at Hornsea appear next to one another on a pier on the south side of the nave, and the two from Paull occur on separate piers on the north side of the nave. The merchants' marks appear in parish churches where their surrounding topographies indicate that they may well have been served by maritime communities. Most notably, the merchants' marks at Paull are situated among an abundance of ship graffiti, which also had a patron saint with a maritime association. The geographical context, together with the relative proportion of ship graffiti recorded from these three parish churches, draws attention to a possible link between the two categories and maritime communities. This concurs with the theory that the merchants' marks may well have been inscribed for similar reasons as the ship graffiti, perhaps as a form of votive offering.

The sites examined as part of the Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey have revealed that inscribing merchants' marks was a widespread practice in parish churches across the county. Photographic records show that they have been discovered in the churches at Bury Saint Edmunds, Stoke-by-Clare, Troston and Walsham-le-Willows, among others.⁸⁴ In common with the trends at the churches surveyed in this study, recorded examples of merchants' marks suggest a positive correlation with sites that show evidence of an abundance of ship graffiti. This has been observed in more focussed site-specific studies of parish churches served by maritime communities, namely the surveys carried out at Blakeney and Wiveton, both in Norfolk.⁸⁵

⁸³ See chapter three.

⁸⁴ Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

⁸⁵ Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 154.

Merchants' marks as symbols

In the late Middle Ages, a merchant's mark acted as a symbol that represented an individual merchant in order to identify goods as being their property.⁸⁶ From the late thirteenth century, they were used as personal symbols across England, as evidenced by the signet rings and seal matrices recorded on the PAS database. Examples of these objects decorated with motifs which share common features with the merchants' marks depicted in the graffiti recorded at the sites in this study have been recovered from Daventry (Northamptonshire), East Lindsey (Lincolnshire), Hambleton (North Yorkshire), Market Weighton, Ryedale (North Yorkshire) and Stratford-upon-Avon (Warwickshire).⁸⁷ According to the PAS database these objects date from c.1275 and 1600, but the majority may be dated to the fourteenth century. Material evidence for merchants' marks on personal items worn on the body such as finger rings, supports the argument that there was a relationship between a merchant, their associated mark, their individual identity and the use of the marks in daily life. In this period, merchants' marks were used by various classes, not only by individuals, but also families, farms, towns, churches, bookbinders, trading guilds and craftsmen.⁸⁸ A secular interpretation might be that the graffiti of merchants' marks are linked with the patrons of these churches, and were territorial in nature. This may well be the case at sites such as Blakeney and Wiveton, where a study has recorded that at both churches, there is one deeply-incised mark that occurs repeatedly on many, if not every pier on the north side of the nave, making them easily noticeable.⁸⁹ In contrast, the merchants' marks at the sites recorded in this study are currently too small and lightly-incised to have been intended for the purpose of visually defining ownership over territory, which may indicate a more personal and less public significance.

Merchants not only made lasting expressions of personal piety on the church fabric, but merchant testators sought other ways in which to maintain a connection with their parish in order to keep their memory alive. In the late Middle Ages merchants' marks appeared on commemorative brasses. For example, figure 55 shows a vintner's mark engraved on an early fifteenth-century Purbeck marble slab belonging to Simon Seman at Saint Mary's, Barton-upon-Humber (North Lincolnshire).

⁸⁶ See chapter three.

⁸⁷ PAS no. IHS-C0F733; PAS no. DUR-7F2876; PAS no. SWYOR-CA6DS31; PAS no. LIN-B43895; PAS no. WAW-F7CA94; PAS no. NARC-6981C5.

⁸⁸ Walsh, 'Medieval merchant's mark', 2.

⁸⁹ Peake, 'Graffiti and devotion', 152-4.



Figure 55: A merchant's mark on a fifteenth-century Purbeck marble slab at Saint Mary's, Barton-upon-Humber (North Lincolnshire)

Merchants left money for various reasons such as, for parish prayers, to establish chantries and to pay for obits as ways of guaranteeing remembrance. Testators would leave bequests of money to maintain and adorn churches based on the belief in the efficacy of good works in relieving the pains of purgatory.⁹⁰ Making such bequests was a medium through which testators could display their wealth and social status. Studies of wills show that merchants maintained a formal association with their parish. However, the inscription of their marks in the form of graffiti demonstrates that merchants interacted with their parish on a more informal and personal level.⁹¹ Merchants might, therefore, be considered a deeply pious class and that the inscription of their marks in church settings represents another means in which they sought to

⁹⁰ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 355.

⁹¹ Kermode, *Medieval merchants*, 126.

maintain a symbolic presence after death, perhaps, simultaneously acting as a personal form of votive offering to the patron saint associated with the church, shrine, altar or image that may be located in close proximity to the mark.

Heraldry

Eastern reredos

The four heraldic motifs that depict a banner and three possible pseudo-heraldic designs on the eastern side of the reredos are examples of graffiti which may have been inscribed because of the protective properties associated with the symbols depicted. They are differentiated from the ragged staff because, as discussed in chapter four, according to iconographic parallels, this motif is more devotional in nature. However, these four other heraldic devices may well have served a religious function with a superstitious dimension. The addition of the shield around the Fourché cross on S19 may suggest that these types of heraldic devices were not inscribed for secular purposes, but carried a religious significance for those who inscribed them.⁹²

These examples of heraldic graffiti may allude to Saint John's reputation as a military saint, and were inscribed as a means of commemorating the success and efficacy of his intercessory powers in battle by invoking his memory. In 1415, Henry V credited his victory at the Battle of Agincourt to the intercession of Saint John as it was fought on the feast day of his translation (25 October). He was consequently raised to the status of the patron saint of England.⁹³ The graffiti of the banner may relate to the custom of using the banner of Saint John in various military campaigns in the late medieval period.⁹⁴ The earliest recorded instance of the banner's use in battle was at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, when a Scottish force was defeated by Archbishop Thurstan of York on Cowton Moor near Northallerton (North Yorkshire).⁹⁵ The banner was kept in the Minster on a bracket in the south-west transept which pilgrims would pass along the processional route after visiting his tomb.⁹⁶ As mentioned in chapter three, the graffiti cannot be identified positively as a depiction of the actual banner of Saint John because of the lack of visual evidence. In the late medieval period banners were also believed to have been effective devices for banishing demons, which may

92 See chapter three.

93 Wilson, *The life*, 1.

94 See chapter three.

95 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 7-8; Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 32.

96 See chapters three and four.

suggest that it was inscribed because of its more general protective properties.⁹⁷ At the same time, knights of senior rank would display their arms upon banners, and this parallel may suggest that the graffito represents a specific individual or family rather than Saint John.⁹⁸

Alternatively, it may well be that the inscription of a heraldic device was intended as a votive offering in request for divine protection either for going on a pilgrimage, going into battle or on a crusade, motivated by Saint John's reputation as a military saint. This seems plausible when considered against the background of Beverley's involvement in military campaigns. In the early fifteenth century, Beverley lost its immunity from contributing soldiers to the king's army. Prior to this, military activity in Beverley had been relatively small-scale with soldiers recruited infrequently. In 1405 recruits from Beverley were sent north to deal with the lawlessness caused by the Earl of Northumberland and to the Scottish borders on at least three occasions in 1436, 1438 and 1449.⁹⁹ It was necessary that the soldiers were suitably equipped as they could be used as representatives of Beverley to project a positive image of the town in terms of its wealth and status. Considerable sums of money were spent on uniforms as well as a banner for the Beverley contingent, in order for soldiers to display their civic pride.¹⁰⁰ In 1449 each soldier was provided with a heyke (a form of livery jacket) of blue and white cloth embroidered with red crosses.¹⁰¹ Used as a form of civic and military display, the cross motif became a symbol of battle associated with soldiers recruited from Beverley. This association supports the theory that the inscription of the pseudo-heraldic motifs, especially the two examples charged with a Fourché cross, may well have been inscribed as votive offerings before going into battle, while simultaneously commemorating an important event in the town, in addition to Saint John's military reputation.

Wider context of heraldic graffiti

At the same time, the practice of inscribing pseudo-heraldic motifs was not uncommon in the nave of the Minster. The survey recorded the presence of a further four pseudo-

⁹⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 217.

⁹⁸ Payne, 'Medieval heraldry', 58.

⁹⁹ Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 121; N. Jamieson, 'The organisation of military levies in Beverley, 1400-1450', *Medieval Yorkshire*, 23 (1994), 36-40.

¹⁰⁰ Jamieson, 'The organisation of military', 39.

¹⁰¹ Hopkins, *The history of Beverley*, 121.

heraldic motifs located on piers and bays in the north arcade. But there is no evidence of banners anywhere else in Beverley Minster, which supports the theory that this graffito may relate to the banner of Saint John. The four pseudo-heraldic motifs in the nave differ from those on the eastern side of the reredos in terms of the type of charge depicted. The chevron, another motif reminiscent of a basic ordinary, appears as a heraldic charge in the cases of two examples on pier N8.¹⁰² Another shield depicts a form of cross-hatching located on the blind arcading in the bay directly opposite between N8 and N9. The final example is an interlaced design that resembles a knot device, situated above eye level on a bay in the west end by the doorway leading to the north-west tower. Although this device is not framed by a shield, it is associated with both livery badges and heraldic emblems.¹⁰³ None of the charges of these heraldic designs share any similarities with the examples on the eastern side of the reredos, demonstrating that particular types of charges are confined to certain locations in the Minster. It is surprising that there are no examples of heraldic graffiti that may commemorate visits of individuals or families associated with the Minster given the presence of other personal identification marks, such as merchants' marks and textual inscriptions of names. Beverley Minster was certainly viewed as an opportunity for heraldic display, as evidenced by the various coats of arms depicted in the Percy Canopy, for example. The heraldic shields in the cusps of the Percy Canopy depict the coats of arms belonging to the Lordship of Clun, the families of Warrene and Clifford, the Lacy family as well as the royal arms of England as a sign of loyalty to the Crown.¹⁰⁴ The lack of heraldic devices associated with specific families or individuals may suggest that, in the Beverley Minster context, heraldic devices were intended as religious rather than secular symbols.

Heraldic motifs are relatively common in the parish churches surveyed in the Humber region, ranging from pseudo-heraldic designs to more complex motifs of coats of arms. Six heraldic motifs that each depict a shield have been recorded at three sites including four at Paull, plus one each at Hessle and Welwick which occur on arches and piers. At Paull, with the exception of one example on the west side of the chancel arch, the other three are located on the same pier in the south arcade. The charges of two shields possibly depict basic ordinaries including the Saltire cross and the bend,

¹⁰² See chapter three.

¹⁰³ Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 38.

¹⁰⁴ Dawton, 'Medieval monuments', 139.

while the other two may represent coats of arms associated with specific families or individuals due to the complexity of their designs. At Hesse, a shield with a flower in the centre and three crosses has been inscribed on the east side of the doorway to the central tower, which may well represent a specific family or individual. The example from Welwick is located on a pier on the south side of the nave. The motifs depicted on this shield comprise three stars on the right side partition, a fleur-de-lis in the lower corner of the partition on the left-hand side and another, though illegible, minute motif in the upper left-hand corner. There are, therefore, identifiable differences with those from Beverley Minster. The heraldic motifs in these parish churches possibly represent specific individuals, households or families, perhaps to commemorate a visit or, similarly to the merchants' marks, may have been territorial in nature and associated with the patrons of these sites.

Other studies have shown that heraldic devices vary in the complexity of their designs. Both pseudo-heraldic motifs and coats of arms have been recorded in medieval ecclesiastical buildings across England. At sites such as the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral, a number of examples appear to show a complete recognisable coat of arms, comprising a helm, a crest and a mantle surmounting a shield drawn on an angle.¹⁰⁵ Graves and Rollason suggested that the coats of arms represented the Normanville family of Yorkshire, and John Hemingbrough, prior of Durham between 1391 and 1416, by drawing parallels with the heraldic designs that appeared on their official seals.¹⁰⁶ In the Durham context, these heraldic motifs could be a record of an alteration made to the chapel under the patronage of the people, or the families represented by these designs.

However, entire coats of arms seem relatively rare. Pritchard took rubbings of the pseudo-heraldic motifs at All Saints, Worlington (Suffolk), which depict two shields charged with a large central cross between four plain Crosslet crosses.¹⁰⁷ She recorded various pseudo-heraldic designs, coats of arms and other devices in churches at Shillington and Toddington (Bedfordshire), Haslingfield and Borough Green (Cambridgeshire), as well as Anstey and Stevenage (Hertfordshire).¹⁰⁸ The majority of heraldic motifs recorded in the current studies are rather simplistic, such as the possible pseudo-heraldic design carved into a stone block that was recovered from the

¹⁰⁵ Graves and Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 195-7.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 162-3.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 15, 19, 25, 30, 50, 94-6.

excavations at Bermondsey Abbey (London). It showed a rather crudely executed shield charged with a Saltire cross crowned by a helmet and a sword crossing behind it, which may be dated to the late fourteenth century.¹⁰⁹ From the available studies, it is apparent that the complexity of heraldic designs vary from site to site with no discernible relationship with specific churches or architectural locations. For the majority of recorded examples, scholars have found it difficult to reconcile them with actual heraldic designs, which may suggest that they had a meaning that was not simply to represent the heraldry of a family or individual. The fact that they occur in church settings and beneath the shrine of Saint John of Beverley also points to religious rather than secular motives.

Heraldic devices as symbols

In the late medieval period heraldic charges acted as symbols of personal ownership and became an integrated feature of daily life, which were employed by a wide spectrum of society when their use reached its zenith in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹¹⁰ Heraldic devices appeared on private possessions such as domestic plates, furniture, illuminated books and seals.¹¹¹ They were used by merchants, esquires, families, dioceses, religious houses, hospitals and colleges.¹¹² Public displays of coats of arms are common in medieval churches and there are examples which suggest that chapels, monasteries and other ecclesiastical settings were viewed as an opportunity for heraldic displays of lay benefactors or founders.¹¹³ Between 1245 and 1269 a series of shields, including the arms of Henry III, were carved into the stonework of the choir aisles of Westminster Abbey, which was the first known instance of the practice used in a church setting.¹¹⁴

Examples of the daily use of heraldic devices as symbols come from numismatic evidence.¹¹⁵ Heraldic devices are commonly found on medieval coins, such as the coinage issued by Edward I, Edward II and Edward III bearing the royal arms.¹¹⁶ In these cases heraldic designs were used as symbols of power, status and wealth. A

¹⁰⁹ Gaimster, 'Medieval graffito', 211.

¹¹⁰ Payne, 'Medieval heraldry', 55, 59.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, 58.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 56.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 56-7.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, 57.

¹¹⁵ See chapter two.

¹¹⁶ Seaby, *British coinage*, 48, 55, 65; Seaby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 89, 92.

secular interpretation might be that the graffiti of heraldic designs represent the patrons of these churches. This theory is supported by the use of heraldry in church settings as discussed above. However, this concept seems unlikely in cases where the heraldic designs cannot be equated with those of specific individuals or families.

Heraldic devices commonly appeared as symbols on objects used for devotional and superstitious purposes. For example, Spencer's catalogue of pilgrim souvenirs, recovered from contexts in London, recorded the discovery of a fifteenth-century ampulla, which contains three compartments, each decorated with a shield on either side.¹¹⁷ On the front, the shields are charged with motifs including the cross, the bend and the chevron, which are matched on the reverse by three further pseudo-heraldic charges.¹¹⁸

Pseudo-heraldic designs not only appear on pilgrim souvenirs, but also other widely circulated mediums such as coins, which could be used for non-monetary purposes. It may be no coincidence that there are at least two heraldic devices charged with a Fourché cross in Beverley Minster. Numismatic evidence suggests that the royal arms over a Fourché cross had both national and regional importance. The device appears on the 'Sovereign' type pennies minted in York, Durham and London under Archbishop Rotherham of York and Bishop Sherwood of Durham between 1484 and 1494.¹¹⁹ It is recorded on the PAS database that one of these coins was found at Selby (North Yorkshire).¹²⁰ It was pierced with a suspension loop to allow the coin to be worn around the owner's neck and used as a pendant. This modification indicates that the coin had sentimental value to its owner and the symbols engraved may have added to its superstitious appeal. This association between heraldic devices and objects used for devotional and superstitious purposes suggests that an explanation for their meaning inscribed in church contexts must be linked with religious motives, and in this respect the graffiti draw attention to the significance of heraldic designs as religious symbols.

Weapons

Eastern reredos

The subject matter of the two weapons of either swords or daggers on S56 of the south return bay are another type of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos that represent

¹¹⁷ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 206.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Searby, *British coinage*, 82-3, 87, 89, 92, 94, 98, 104.

¹²⁰ PAS no. SWYOR-D11D26.

the juxtaposition between sacred and secular and, in this context, a religious association is likely to have been intended.¹²¹ We do not know why one example was left unfinished. It may well be that it was a trial version that was abandoned in favour of a better example or the inscriber was stopped from completing their work.

The hagiography relating to Saint John indicates that the protective properties of weapons, and specifically daggers, might have been understood by his cult following. The two miracle collections, *Miracula Sancti Johannis* and *Alia Miracula I*, both recall how King Athelstan allegedly visited Beverley Minster on his way north to battle after he encountered a group of pilgrims returning from Beverley who had received a variety of cures at Saint John's shrine. Impressed by Saint John's intercessory powers, Athelstan made a detour to Beverley where he prayed to him for support in battle. As a guarantee of his vow he placed his dagger on the altar, promising that it would be redeemed if he was successful. After achieving victory, he returned to Beverley and collected the dagger.¹²² In a similar way that a dagger was placed on the altar as a token of a vow, these two graffiti may reveal their inscribers belief in the symbolic use of such weapons as a form of votive offering, derived from the alleged connection between Saint John and Athelstan. Since there are no other examples recorded elsewhere in Beverley Minster, their exclusive association with the eastern side of the reredos supports this theory. Further to this, it may be significant that the two graffiti are situated on the same stone block as the graffiti of the banner. Like the weapons, the banner is also associated only with this location in Beverley Minster and simultaneously invoked the memory of Saint John. It could well be that one of these examples influenced the inscription of the other, perhaps to emphasize the analogy between them to the stories and reputation of Saint John. They may, therefore, provide evidence of the desire to cultivate a link with Saint John in order to enhance the efficacy of the protective powers of the symbols in the graffiti.

In the medieval period, the Minster sought to preserve the memory of the legend associating Saint John with Athelstan. The fourteenth-century corbel depicting Athelstan and Saint John on the north side of the reredos could have acted as a mnemonic prompt, reinforcing the authenticity of the legend.¹²³ In addition to this form of commemoration there is further documentary evidence, written in the fourteenth

¹²¹ See chapter three.

¹²² Wilson, *The life*, 165-6, 178-9.

¹²³ See chapter four.

century, which suggests that the canons were eager to assert their eminence through the connection between Saint John and King Athelstan by a daily reminder of this association. A ruling in the *Chapter Act Book*, dated 1309, stipulates that a chapter mass for the soul of Athelstan should be celebrated daily, with singing in a low voice. Attendance appears to have been considered important as vicars who were absent would be fined 2d. per day, and clerks who were not punctual would not be ordained that year.¹²⁴ There is no record of further references to such masses, but there is no reason to suggest that they stopped. Through this form of habitual, ritual commemoration, Athelstan's authority and the memory of his alleged connection with Beverley continued to be invoked.¹²⁵

Wider context of weapons

No further examples of this type of graffiti have been recorded at the six parish churches surveyed from the Humber region. However, other studies show that weapons are not a phenomenon unique to Beverley Minster, but are known to occur in church settings elsewhere in England. A graffito of either a sword or dagger was recorded by Pritchard at Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's, Kedington (Suffolk) located on a pier in the south arcade. She describes the graffito as a 'single-edged dagger' pointing upwards, which may be dated to the late fourteenth century.¹²⁶ A similar situation was recorded by Jones-Baker in her study of the medieval graffiti on the south wall of the Lady Chapel in Chichester Cathedral. Her drawing of the graffito shows a rather small crudely executed example of either a dagger or sword, also pointing upwards.¹²⁷ Other studies have recorded examples on the south side of the doorways at churches in Hertfordshire including All Saints, Kings Langley and All Saints, Saint Paul's Walden but provide no details about whether they point upwards or downwards.¹²⁸ All examples so far discovered, including the two at Beverley Minster, are confined to the south side of their architectural locations. They also appear to be associated with doorways, which may suggest that these locations were chosen deliberately and that this was an important element of their creation. The studies that provide information

¹²⁴ Leach, *Memorials*, vol 1, 241.

¹²⁵ See chapter one.

¹²⁶ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 141.

¹²⁷ Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 42-3.

¹²⁸ All Saints' Church, *All Saints' Church, St. Paul's Walden Parish* (2015). Available online: <http://stpaulswaldenchurch.org/history/> [Accessed 9/7/2015]; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 141; Jones-Baker, *Chichester*, 42-3.

about the direction of the weapons have shown that they point upwards rather than downwards, which may suggest a secular purpose in these cases. As evidenced by other mediums such as, heraldic motifs, a weapon pointing upwards is associated with readiness for battle and victory.¹²⁹ In contrast, the two in Beverley Minster are shown pointing downwards, which may be interpreted as a feature that points to a religious rather than secular meaning. Moreover, the relative scarcity of swords and daggers in the graffiti record supports the theory that the inscriber of the two on the eastern reredos may have intended to forge a direct connection with Saint John of Beverley by relating the subject matter of the two examples to the legend of King Athelstan.

Weapons as symbols

Evidence for the ritualistic use of weapons is well-attested in the archaeological record, and the religious associations of such objects are to be found embedded in earlier traditions. The deposition of weapons, including swords and daggers in watery contexts dates from the Bronze Age.¹³⁰ Miniature or models of these types of weapons are known to have been included in votive deposits of the same period, which have been destroyed deliberately by bending the object, perhaps as part of the ritual practice of making an offering.¹³¹ It may be no coincidence that in the graffiti, weapons are repeatedly positioned on the south side locations of their architectural contexts, and this bias could be considered as evidence for the development and continuation of the ritualistic functions associated with weapons from earlier periods.

As a symbol, the sword commonly appeared on coins, such as those issued from c.920 at York, known as the 'Saint Peter's' type coinage. This type of coin depicts a sword that divides two lines of inscription bearing the saints name.¹³² A sword also appears on pennies of the Lincoln mint which cite the name Saint Martin, a patron saint of that city.¹³³ In addition, images of the King holding a sword occur on the coinage issued in the reign of William I and by many of his successors through to Henry VII.¹³⁴ In these cases, a sword is used as a symbol of their respective cities as

129 Fearn, *Heraldry*, 39; Searby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 93.

130 R. Bradley, *The passage of arms: an archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoards and votive deposits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 160-161, 186-7.

131 R. Merrifield, *The archaeology of ritual and magic* (London: Batsford, 1987), 30; Bradley, *Passage of arms*, 157-89.

132 Searby, *British Coinage*, 35; Seaby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 47.

133 Seaby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 35.

134 *ibid.*, 68, 92-4, 100-101, 103, 105, 108-109, 115, 129.

well as a national symbol for the monarchy, which point towards secular rather than religious connections for the wider use of this motif in the medieval period.

At the same time, offerings made to shrines would often reflect the instrument that had been used to commit the act for which a supplicant was seeking forgiveness.¹³⁵ Perhaps, then, the graffiti depicting weapons represent the instrument that their inscribers had used to perform a sinful act, in which case they might also represent a request for forgiveness.

Weapons were also commonly used as symbols associated with saints. Aside from Saint John of Beverley, the offer of a dagger is a feature that can be approximated with the miracles of other saints such as Saint Osmund.¹³⁶ In the late medieval period, subsequent offers of a dagger would be made to his shrine if the sinful act committed involved this type of weapon.¹³⁷ In religious art either a sword or dagger are shown with certain saints including Saint Agnes, Saint Peter the Martyr and Saint Thomas Becket.¹³⁸ In this period swords and daggers are therefore linked with saints in more general terms, and it may be incorrect to interpret any specific connection between the two graffiti in Beverley Minster, Saint John of Beverley and King Athelstan. Their ecclesiastical association is further augmented by material evidence in the form of pilgrim badges recovered from contexts in London, dating between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As the instrument of his martyrdom the sword appears on pilgrim badges which were purchased at the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury.¹³⁹ This type of evidence encompasses the symbolic implications of weapons and their relationship with the saints in late medieval religious culture. In this context, the graffiti highlight the religious uses of weapons as symbols in church settings.

Figures

Eastern reredos

The figures on the eastern side of the reredos are also a category classified as superstitious graffiti in this study.¹⁴⁰ The full-length figure situated on row three of the left-hand bay (S43) at kneeling level might suggest that, similarly to examples of ship

¹³⁵ Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 190.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

¹³⁸ Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 95, 315; Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 172.

¹³⁹ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 93, 96-7, 177.

¹⁴⁰ See chapter three.

graffiti, there was a symbolic element in the act of its inscription.¹⁴¹ Depicted with its arms raised upwards in an attitude of prayer, it may be that this position represents a subtle layer of meaning, perhaps as a symbolic reference to the location of Saint John's shrine above. Another possibility is that it could represent Saint John himself as an intercessor between the faithful supplicant and God. The stone block is partially damaged, but from its current position the graffiti appears to be isolated from other examples. The complete example of the full-length figure on S56 of the south return bay is depicted in a similar position. The figure is shown in profile with its hands raised in the direction of the High Altar, which could also be a means of pointing towards the location of the shrine or to the performance of the Eucharist.¹⁴² It could well be that both examples represent visual expressions of personal prayers intended as requests for divine intercession. The figures depicted in an attitude of prayer could well be depictions of the inscribers themselves, and intended to do their worshipping for them in their place. Whether this was either in anticipation of a successful visit or in gratitude after a supplicant had been healed, forgiven, or had other requests satisfied is unclear.

The figures may attest to the more literal desire for their inscribers' own bodily physical proximity to the divine. This argument is better illustrated by the two possible portraits of higher quality. It is conceivable that the inscribers intended to associate their own image, or that of someone known to them, with the performance of the Eucharist and the shrine of Saint John. This may have been considered as a means of obtaining spiritual benefits. As evidenced by the presence of the Percy monuments and those of others, burial near the shrine of Saint John and the High Altar were highly sought after by Beverley testators, linking the identification of their own burial with both Christ and Saint John.¹⁴³

As mentioned in chapter three, the two portraits on S38 of the left-hand bay have both been carefully placed in the left-hand corner of the stone block, avoiding any overlap with a large ship graffiti. Their close proximity to a ship graffiti would appear to suggest that a significant and, perhaps, deliberate relationship was intended between these examples. Drawing upon the tradition of the ship as a symbol associated with pilgrimage, saints and the journey towards the salvation of the soul, the ship graffiti

¹⁴¹ See chapter three.

¹⁴² See chapter three.

¹⁴³ Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 45; Lamburn, *The laity*, 5.

was possibly viewed by the inscribers of the two portraits as a symbol of protection. The position of the portraits in close proximity to the ship graffito might suggest that this was perceived to be a means in which they could enhance the efficacy of their own inscriptions. The inscribers of the portraits may have viewed the ship graffito as 'evidence' of Saint John's effectiveness.

The lack of expression in the face of the portrait at the bottom of the stone block contrasts with the detailed example above. On the example above, both eyes are slightly uneven and rather crudely executed, with the left eye appearing much larger than the right.¹⁴⁴ This observation might reflect the difficulties of its inscriber in executing the graffito on a hard surface. Alternatively, this disfigurement may have been intentional and was related to the affliction that Saint John was being asked to heal. Interpreted in this way, the relevance of the subject category turns to the belief in the miracle-working powers of Saint John's relics situated above and might relate to his reputation for healing blindness.¹⁴⁵ *Alia Miracula III*, written in the early thirteenth century, describes how a blind man from Ely recovered his sight through the intercession of Saint John, which is said to have happened upon completing his pilgrimage to Beverley Minster.¹⁴⁶ Another possibility is that, similarly to the other figures, these portraits were believed to provide more general physical and spiritual protection for the individuals depicted.

In the late medieval period, people believed that illness and other physical afflictions were a consequence of divine intervention. They would employ practices such as embarking on a pilgrimage to a shrine in pursuit of a miraculous cure. In this context, the figures may represent a visual manifestation of the motives underpinning the visits of their inscribers to Beverley Minster. There is little doubt that devotees visited this space in the hope that requesting the intercession of Saint John would relieve suffering from diseases and other conditions. The subject matter of various sculptures associated with the eastern side of the reredos reminded viewers of the dangers of excessive merrymaking, and its negative impact on the spiritual and physical welfare on potential culprits. For example, a fiddler at the northern end of the reredos is depicted with an open mouth showing his teeth, which is particularly common in figures symbolizing rudeness, lust or anger. The sculptures of musicians

¹⁴⁴ See chapter three.

¹⁴⁵ See chapter one.

¹⁴⁶ Wilson, *The life*, 209-210.

associated with this location also appeal to the conscience by alluding to the animal passions that music had the potential to inspire.¹⁴⁷

Healing miracles are a prominent feature of Saint John's hagiography. It is recorded that Saint John not only performed healing miracles during his lifetime, but were also an element of his posthumous miracle stories continuing into the fourteenth century. According to Bede, writing in the eighth century, the five miracles performed by Bishop John were all concerned with healing.¹⁴⁸ In a study of the miracle collections of Saint John, Wilson observes that some of his posthumous healing miracles are said to have occurred in the Minster and notes that in Ketell's, *Miracula Sancti Johannis*, all healing miracles took place within the Minster itself, with many occurring on feast days.¹⁴⁹ This underpins the assumption that it was advantageous to be in close proximity to John's relics, promoting the effectiveness of visiting the shrine, especially in pursuit of a cure for illnesses. Wilson estimated that 68% of the miracles ascribed to Saint John were cures of human illnesses which, as mentioned in chapter one, covered a range of ailments including blindness, dumbness, fever, insanity, lameness, lechery, swellings and a number of mutes.¹⁵⁰ Healing miracles formed about 90% of all recorded miracles from English and European shrines between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, with only 10% relating to other miracles.¹⁵¹ The comparatively high proportion of non-healing miracles ascribed to Saint John reveals that the perception of his power was, by no means, limited to miracle cures, which may explain the low number of figure graffiti on the eastern reredos. However, it is surprising not to find types of graffiti that relate more directly to Saint John's healing miracles, since figures are difficult to strongly link to a specific ailment. If indeed these graffiti were related to either a request for, or in thanksgiving of, a healing miracle associated with Saint John's reputation, it might be expected that the afflicted body part would have been depicted. Gifts offered to late medieval shrines would take various forms, but among the most common were offerings of anatomical models made of lead, wax or other materials which were left in churches in the hope of healing a particular organ or body part.¹⁵² As described in his posthumous miracle stories, this was an element of the

147 Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 122.

148 McClure & Collins, *Bede*, 239, 241.

149 Wilson, *The life*, 72.

150 *ibid.*, 98.

151 *ibid.*

152 Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*, 95-7.

reciprocal nature of the relationships that developed between Saint John and his petitioners. For example, a miracle story attributed to Saint John in *Alia Miracula I*, written in the late twelfth century, claims that a peasant from Norwich made a wax offering, which measured the same length and size of his leg, in thanksgiving for restoring the use of his own leg.¹⁵³ Graffiti depicting body parts such as legs or feet would equate with Saint John's reputation for healing the lame, although, this is not feature of the corpus recorded in Beverley Minster. In the cases of the figures, it may well be that they were intended as more generic expressions of personal prayers to Christ through the intercession of Saint John.

Wider context of figure graffiti

Figures are equally as common in the nave. The five figures in the nave are located at kneeling level on piers N2, N5, N8 and a possible example on N9. However, there are notable differences in terms of size, features and expressions from those on the eastern reredos. Most examples are larger and none of the five figures in this location are shown in a position of prayer.

Located on pier N2 is the largest example of a full-length figure which measures about 24.5cm high. It depicts one arm on its head, while the other is shown bending and resting on its waist. On pier N5 another example depicts a face in profile, possibly wearing a clerical hat, with a noticeably long pointed nose that may well be a caricature. The hand of the same inscriber can be attributed to a similar example, also on N5. A further, rather crudely inscribed figure is located on N8, but can no longer be seen because speakers have been placed over the top of this section of the pier. It is small and depicts only the faint outline of a mouth, nose and eyes which could easily be dismissed as simply a few scratches. In the case of the example on N9 it is difficult to determine whether the graffiti displays a face or depicts a different subject altogether as it is distorted by various other overlapping lines. In contrast to the figures on the eastern side of the reredos, the examples in the nave seem less likely to depict visual expressions of personal prayers, or have a religious meaning.

There are a number of medieval figures surviving at the sites surveyed in the Humber region. A total of 19 examples were recorded from five parish churches including 13 from Goxhill (North Lincolnshire), two from Hessle, two from Harpham,

¹⁵³ Wilson, *The life*, 188.

and one each from Paull and Hornsea. They range from the very simple such as the single ambiguous figure discovered at Paull, to many detailed figures, possibly based on actual people as at Goxhill. With the exception of the example at Goxhill located in the chancel, the majority are confined to nave piers, arches and the west end of these churches.¹⁵⁴ At Hornsea, the graffito may well be a caricature of a person associated with the parish and served a commemorative purpose. It depicts a face in profile with a pointed nose, which is located on a pier in the north arcade at about standing eye height. The example at Harpham shows a face with a large smile wearing a hat decorated with various intricate motifs, which seems to convey a rather comical expression. Overall, it is difficult to discern any specific meaning from their locations in these churches. In common with those situated in the nave in Beverley Minster, exactly what their intended function was, whether as a form of recreation, asking for aid, in thanksgiving, or as a form of commemoration remains unclear, but they seem markedly different from the expressions of prayer on the eastern side of the reredos.

Notable examples are to be found at Goxhill (North Lincolnshire) where there are various figures that, because of their diversity, detail and distinctly high artistic quality, merit individual attention (figure 56). The 13 examples are spread evenly across most piers on the north and south sides of the nave with one located on the eastern side of the chancel arch, which may well have been placed deliberately in close proximity to the altar. A profile of the face of the same woman wearing a hat is depicted at least three times, in addition to a large full-length example on the westernmost pier in the south arcade, which measures approximately 26.5cm high. The attention to detail in these portraits suggests that they were based on a specific person in reality, perhaps a self-portrait. Directly opposite the graffito of the full-length figure of a woman is a large depiction of a knight in a standing position and dressed in armour, wielding a sword in his left-hand, which measures about 33cm high. It is currently situated in direct view of an effigy of a knight dating to the late thirteenth century, suggesting that it may well have been a form of memorial. Many, if not all the figures in this church are attributable to the same hand. The repetition of some examples and similarities between the features and style of the figures implies that there was an on-going process of inscription. We may surmise that their inscriber was a regular local worshipper. Based on the details of the figures depicted, which mostly

¹⁵⁴ See chapter two.

appear to be based on actual individuals it seems likely that, in this context, they were intended as a form of commemoration to sustain a symbolic presence among the living.



Figure 56: Graffito of a lady located on a pier at All Saints, Goxhill (North Lincolnshire)

In other studies, figures have been among the most common types of graffiti recorded in churches.¹⁵⁵ Jones-Baker has written of the possible protective properties of such material, for example that discovered in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. The survey revealed that two rather crudely executed faces appear to be associated with textual inscriptions, which may date to the twelfth century. They are located at about standing eye level on either side of the doorway in the wall dividing the apse from the main body of Saint Gabriel's chapel.¹⁵⁶ She suggested that they may have intended to represent the face of Christ, also known as the Veronica and that, based on their location, served a votive function.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the work of the Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey at Saint Mary's, Troston has also shown that figures, depicted in an attitude of prayer, occur on particular areas of the church.¹⁵⁸ In common with the figures on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, at Troston it has been recorded that two of the figure graffiti were also depicted in profile with their hands raised up in an attitude of prayer on the chancel arch, with one facing towards the altar.¹⁵⁹ Champion suggested that their deliberate placing on the chancel arch in close proximity to areas deemed spiritually important argue against their being random scratches.¹⁶⁰ But there are important differences between the sites surveyed as part of this research and the results of other studies of the graffiti undertaken elsewhere. Inscribed examples of hands, shoes and feet that parallel votive offerings of anatomical models of body parts relating to healing have been identified in almost half of the churches surveyed in Norfolk.¹⁶¹ However, the sites studied in this thesis are lacking in these types of motifs.

Figures as symbols

Figural forms of decoration are commonly found on medieval objects made of glass, ivory, metals, stone and wood. Saints depicted figuratively with their arms outstretched sideways and raised in prayer appear on glass vessels, lidded cylindrical boxes (a pyxis), caskets, plaques, pilgrim souvenirs and pendants.¹⁶² From at least the fourth

¹⁵⁵ Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 6.

¹⁵⁶ D. Jones-Baker, 'Graffiti of runic inscriptions and the associated drawings of two human heads, St Gabriel's chapel in the Crypt, Canterbury Cathedral', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 72 (1992), 183-7.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 186.

¹⁵⁸ Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 239.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Champion, 'The medium', 115.

¹⁶² Krueger & Angenendt, 'Catalogue 1-35', 34-6, 40-43, 45.

century, some of these objects would have adorned Roman catacombs and were possibly given as votive offerings.¹⁶³ The position of prayer, known as the orans posture, as described in chapter three, is a symbol associated with divine power and protection.¹⁶⁴ It was the original position of prayer in Christianity, which signified openness to God. The motif of the orans posture was integrated into religious iconography where, for early Christians, the appeal was based on its analogy to the figure of the crucified Christ.¹⁶⁵ When used as a symbol for a saint, the orans posture indicates that the person is a blessed dweller in paradise.¹⁶⁶ Among the most popular saints depicted in the orans position was the Virgin Mary.¹⁶⁷ Female figures depicted in the orans position denoted a specific person and acted as a symbol for a generic Christian soul.¹⁶⁸ Given its long-established association with saints, it seems plausible to suggest that the graffiti of the figures depicted in the orans position were intended as religious symbols, possibly of saints. In this context, perhaps the figures in the graffiti are linked in some way with the saints associated with the church, shrine, altar or image which may be in close proximity.

Figural motifs were commonly used as symbols of saints in the late medieval period. The desire for physical proximity to saints is reflected in the proliferation of dress accessories engraved with their image. Iconographic accessories such as finger rings and pilgrim souvenirs, which were used for personal devotion, often depicted portraits or full-length figures of saints. According to Spencer's catalogue of pilgrim souvenirs from this period, those originating from the shrines of Saint Edward the Confessor, Saint Thomas Becket and Henry VI have been found decorated with figural representations of the saints.¹⁶⁹ Other fifteenth-century examples come in the form of finger rings recorded on the PAS database. Iconographic finger rings have been recovered from locations in Chester, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Suffolk and Sussex. They feature bezels divided into between one and three sections, each of which depicts an image of a different saint. Commonly represented saints include Saint Barbara, Saint Catherine, Saint Christopher, Saint Helena, Saint John the Evangelist,

¹⁶³ Krueger, 'Religion of relics', 5.

¹⁶⁴ A. M. Gruia, 'Images to influence the supernatural: apotropaic representations on medieval stove tiles', in G. Jaritz (ed.), *Angel, Devils: the supernatural and its visual representation* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 165-6.

¹⁶⁵ Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 262.

¹⁶⁶ Kreuger & Angenendt, 'Catalogue 1-35', 35.

¹⁶⁷ Gruia, 'Supernatural', 166.

¹⁶⁸ Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 262.

¹⁶⁹ Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 75, 185, 190.

Saint Margaret, Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary.¹⁷⁰ Depictions of saints not only appeared on dress accessories, but were also among the devotional themes of early printmaking. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the mass production of printed images, which would be hung in public and private spaces made images of saints practical and accessible, integrating them into daily life.¹⁷¹

At the same time, as saints gained a reputation for posthumous miracles, ritual practices were established at shrines.¹⁷² A votive offering of thanks for being saved often took the form of either an image of the person saved, a model of a healed body part, or objects associated with the rescue.¹⁷³ As evidenced by surviving lists of offerings at the shrines of Richard Scrope in York Minster and Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford Cathedral, models made of precious metals or wax of either human figurines, heads, eyes, breasts, arms, hands, crutches or animals, were among the items that accumulated around late medieval shrines.¹⁷⁴

Moreover, the opportunity for people to leave an image or model of part of themselves reflects the desire for a symbolic personal presence among the living. This is evident in the number of surviving monuments, brasses, effigies and painted images in medieval churches. For example, John and Katherine Goldalle left paintings of themselves on a pulpit they had erected at Saint Margaret's, Burnham Norton (Norfolk).¹⁷⁵ Based on this parallel, portraits of actual individuals in the graffiti may well have functioned as a form of commemoration that might also be linked with the desire for the salvation of the soul of the person depicted.

The graffiti of the angel

Eastern reredos

Unlike many of the previous subject types that relate to features of the real world, the graffiti of the angel depicts a creature associated with the belief in the existence of a supernatural world. Based upon the premise that angels are commonly held to be 'heavenly creatures', the angel could have been inscribed by someone who believed in

170 PAS no. SUSS-603855; PAS no. SUSS-72D0D5; PAS no. LIN-00BB62; PAS no. DENO-E67DD7; PAS no. SF-A044F4; PAS no. LVPL-306A66; PAS no. GLO-EF23B6.

171 Areford, *The viewer*, 1-3.

172 A. Abgenendt, 'Relics and their veneration', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 24.

173 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 197.

174 Finucane, *Miracles and pilgrims*, 98; Abgenendt, 'Relics', 24.

175 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 333-4.

the existence, and powers of, supernatural beings. The presence of an angel infers that its inscriber not only believed in the existence of angels, but also its antithesis, and might be seeking protection from the Devil and Hell. Its position on the north return bay may well have been chosen in order to emphasize the status of an angel as a mediator between this world and the next, by inscribing it in a location that acted as a form of doorway. This draws a further analogy with the belief in the transition of the soul from the real world to the afterlife, by a door marking the boundary between the entrance from one space into another.

Angel sculptures, dating to the fourteenth century, are to be found in various locations in the Minster. They are situated in the north and south sides of the nave on the label mouldings of the arches in addition to the eastern reredos. Most examples are depicted playing musical instruments, which even outnumber sculptures of musicians themselves. The graffiti of the angel may well have been a deliberate reaction to the act of seeing the surrounding iconography. On a boss in the northern bay of the vault of the reredos there is a sculpture of an angel with a horn, which could be viewed from the position of the graffiti on the north return bay. Further examples, in close proximity to the reredos, are the angel sculptures on the Percy Canopy. Here, the sculptures of music-making angels reinforce the impression that the Canopy as a whole intended to represent a vision of heavenly paradise.¹⁷⁶

Sculptures of angel musicians are often found in churches which possess important shrines. Their intended purpose was to emphasize this fact by symbolizing the state of celestial bliss enjoyed by the soul whose mortal remains lay within the church.¹⁷⁷ Another example is the Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral where the position of the music-making angels coincide with the presumed site of the shrine of Saint Hugh.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps the graffiti of the angel on the eastern side of the reredos served a similar purpose, and the numerous sculptures of music-making angels in the Minster acted as mnemonic aids that prompted its inscription (figure 57). Since there are no other examples of graffiti depicting supernatural figures elsewhere in Beverley Minster, the inscriber may have intended to affirm their belief in the heavenly status of Saint John by inscribing an angel on the base that supported his shrine. Its presence, therefore, emphasizes the sanctity of this part of the building. In view of this potential

¹⁷⁶ Dawton, 'Medieval monuments', 135.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Dawton, 'Gothic sculpture', 115.

relationship between the subject matter of the graffiti and its iconographic counterparts in the Minster, there is a surprising lack of demons, Devils, monsters and other mythical creatures in the graffiti, as a number of these other types of supernatural beings are depicted on the bosses of the vault on the eastern reredos. Perhaps this is because these sculptures did not provoke the same impulses that prompted the inscription of the graffiti of the angel.



Figure 57: Sculpture of a music-making angel in the nave of Beverley Minster

Located directly beneath the graffiti of the angel is a stave of musical notation. It may be significant that the space of each of the two examples appears to have been respected. Taken together, it may well be that both examples intended to invite viewers

to associate the angel with music, encompassing the two elements of the sculptures of the music-making angels. The angel is only lightly-incised, in contrast to the relatively deeply-incised stave of musical notation, which indicates that they were inscribed by different individuals. Whether the angel or musical notation was inscribed first remains unclear. The significance of the stave of musical notation in question was discussed in detail in chapter four, where it was argued that its location was intrinsic to fulfilling its function as part of a polyphonic piece. This conclusion suggests that the location of the stave was predetermined and its position would not have been influenced by the angel. If the angel was inscribed in this location after the musical notation it may have been in response to seeing it, and perhaps indicates a further level of subtlety in relation to the sculptures of music-making angels. The relative scarcity of supernatural figures and musical notation on the eastern reredos may suggest that the correlation between the two is deliberate, but this hypothesis cannot be accepted with any certainty.

Wider context of graffiti depicting angels and other supernatural creatures

Another possible example of an angel is located on a pier in the north arcade at Hornsea. It is situated at a low height which, at present, would have been most convenient for an inscriber that was sitting. This graffito shows a full-length figure with two compass-drawn circles at either side of the body, which could well represent a pair of wings. It may depict a grotesque as the face does not appear to be human but is more reminiscent of an animal, with some form of a beak. The same church contains a further example of a possible supernatural creature located on the west arch which may depict a dragon, with both of its wings spread out. In contrast to the example at Beverley Minster, there is no surrounding iconography that would indicate any specific meaning for these two motifs.

As yet, no other graffiti depicting angels have been recorded in church settings elsewhere in England. However, the presence of supernatural creatures such as demons, Devils, mermaids and zoomorphic creatures are known at other sites.¹⁷⁹ These recorded examples of supernatural creatures point to the possibility that depictions of angels are waiting to be discovered. The Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey recorded a graffito of a full-length figure of a Devil at Saint Mary's, Beachamwell. The face is depicted with a wide mouth filled with many teeth, a tongue lolling out, bulging eyes,

¹⁷⁹ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 78, 165-6, 168; Jones-Baker, 'Graffiti in Cotswold churches', 165-7.

a large nose and ears reminiscent of an animal, while holding some form of weapon in its left-hand.¹⁸⁰ The most recently discovered example of a supernatural creature was recorded by Champion in a survey at Saint Mary's, Troston (Suffolk). It depicts the head of a demon or Devil in profile on the eastern face of the chancel arch. He suggested that, in a similar way as the graffito of the angel in Beverley Minster, its position might have been a direct response to the location itself, because there was once an extensive Doom painting on the other face of the arch.¹⁸¹

The angel as a symbol

In medieval religious culture, the Devil and his fallen angels were believed to be the source of all the evils which afflicted humanity.¹⁸² The angel is a symbol of God's triumph over the Devil that is commonly associated with the belief in Heaven. It was believed that angels were not only the guardians of the innocent and the just, but also messengers of God.¹⁸³ The scarcity of angels in the graffito record does not reflect the comparatively wider level of popularity of this motif on other mediums such as coins, dress accessories and references in literary works.

The symbol of an angel was used on gold coins known as, *the Angel*, which was a new issue of the noble introduced in the reign of Edward IV in 1465, and appeared on the coinage issued by many of his successors through to the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁴ The obverse depicted the Archangel Michael spearing the Devil in the form of a dragon, while the reverse displayed a ship at sea with a coat of arms. In the sixteenth century, people would have these coins melted down and transformed into rings and other trinkets, before being bequeathed as heirlooms to relatives.¹⁸⁵ Standley suggests that *the Angel* gold coins were kept specifically because of their symbolic importance and scarcity.¹⁸⁶ Other examples that demonstrate the use of the angel as a symbol in the late medieval period come from dress accessories recorded on the PAS. Examples discovered in Lincolnshire bearing the symbol of an angel include a pendant, a ring and a badge, which may date between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The pendant depicts Christ with an angel at either side, accompanied by a

180 Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Norfolk*.

181 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 247-50; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 50-51.

182 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 268.

183 Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 24-5.

184 Searby & Purvey, *Coins of England*, 116, 121-2, 125-6, 129, 137, 146, 150, 152, 160, 165.

185 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 96-8; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, PhD thesis, 153-4, 158-160.

186 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, PhD thesis, 153, 159; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 98.

religious inscription relating to the Agnus Dei. The other face shows a cross motif and the IHS symbol.¹⁸⁷ Another example is an iconographic silver finger ring that possibly represents the Annunciation. The bezel consists of two panels with the one on the left engraved with the figure of a kneeling angel and the one on the right with two standing figures.¹⁸⁸ Other accessories recorded on the PAS from Lincolnshire bearing an angel is a badge which is decorated with an engraved image of the Virgin Mary seated and receiving the messenger, the Angel Gabriel.¹⁸⁹ On these objects the symbol of the angel was associated with saints and other aspects of medieval religious culture including the cult of the Holy Name, devotion to the Virgin Mary and specific angels derived from Biblical stories. Such links on these mediums support the theory that the graffito in the Beverley Minster context intended to allude to the heavenly status of Saint John.

Angels in general and specific angels were invoked as powerful protectors. Prayers to the archangels Gabriel, Michael and Raphael, requesting protection against visible and invisible evil spirits were a prominent feature of late medieval devotional culture.¹⁹⁰ Each angel had a specific role, Saint Michael, for instance, represented the belief in the communion of saints, while he also featured prominently in artistic depictions of the deathbed weighing the souls on the scale of justice, battling the Devil and receiving the soul. As an analogy, these images were frequently placed near doorways, for he stood at the door between this world and the next.¹⁹¹ It is conceivable that the graffiti depicting angels were inscribed by devotees to a particular angel rather than appealing to angels in general.

Literary works provide more information about late medieval superstitious beliefs concerning the perceived function of angels and their supernatural status. In the fourteenth century, the English mystic, Richard Rolle, wrote a *Prayer to the Guardian Angels* appealing to his guardian angel to, 'Defend me and keep me from bodily harm, defend me and keep me from spiritual perils, for God's worship and the saving of my soul'.¹⁹² This evidence supports the theory that the subject matter of an angel was appealing to inscribers of graffiti on account of its protective nature derived from the contemporary perception that this symbol was believed to provide a degree of personal

187 PAS no. LIN-8F8C76.

188 PAS no. NLM-688C74.

189 PAS no. NLM-66F7F3.

190 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 270-1.

191 *ibid.*, 325.

192 Rolle, *Fellowship of angels*, 13.

protection against evil spirits, physical harm, as well as sudden and unprepared death. It is a possibility that inscribers chose the subject of an angel predicated upon the belief that this was a means in which they could invoke their own guardian angel for protection from spiritual and physical harm.

The symbolic context of an angel motif also encapsulates the medieval concern for the condition and fate of the soul after death and desire for spiritual protection from sin. This association between angels, spiritual protection and eschatology is supported by further references in visionary literature. As part of literary tradition, angels are credited with three roles in relation to the condition of the soul as; instructors, protectors and soul-takers. Descriptions of angels as robed figures fulfilling such functions occur in visionary accounts including the visions of Gregory the Great (593-4), Fursey (633), Drythelm (699 CE), Wetti (c.824), Charles the Fat (885), Saint Brendan (c.900), Tundale (1149) and Thurkill (1209), among others.¹⁹³ Whatever the case, it seems likely that the graffiti depicting angels were perceived to possess protective and other apotropaic properties and that the inscription of an image of a supernatural creature was a means of invoking protection or warding off evil spirits.

Textual inscriptions

Eastern reredos

Unlike the previous types discussed, textual inscriptions are commonly represented, comprising over a third of the total of examples of graffiti recorded on the eastern side of the reredos.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, textual inscriptions account for 21 of the total 29 examples of graffiti spread across rows six and seven of the eastern reredos.¹⁹⁵ They are, therefore, also the most common type of graffiti that occurs above standing eye height. Their location on the eastern side of the reredos, and neatness of execution may suggest that they were inscribed by educated individuals, possibly clerics, who had gone to considerable efforts to position their inscriptions at such a height. This argues against the assumption that they were inscribed by masons working in this location who may have had the opportunity to engage in the practice of making graffiti at these heights. Situated at these heights are the largest examples of textual inscriptions. This pattern may suggest that it was believed that Saint John would be more likely to

¹⁹³ Gardiner, *Visions*, 13-29, 149-97, 219-36.

¹⁹⁴ See chapter three.

¹⁹⁵ See chapter three.

respond favourably to a larger inscription positioned in close proximity to the shrine.

As discussed in chapter three, there are a few recognisable forenames, and others accompanied with a surname among the corpus of textual inscriptions. By inscribers possibly incising their own names into the fabric, this acted as a way of maintaining a symbolic personal presence in this location.¹⁹⁶ Stylistic similarities between different inscriptions suggests that some examples may well have been executed by the same individual, implying that they were made by people who were regularly associated with the Minster. Possible variations of the name 'Thomas' are repeated at least seven times in the same hand. Since loyalty to Christ and Saint John of Beverley could be withdrawn at any time, repeated inscriptions may well have been a means through which inscribers believed that they could reinforce their continuing devotion and personal request for protection. Whether the forenames 'John' and 'William' intended to represent the names of ordinary individuals or those of saints is impossible to discern.¹⁹⁷ The name 'John', for example, could relate directly to Saint John of Beverley himself, or a forename of an actual person, or was perhaps intended to be associated with both. This issue is further complicated by the development of naming practices in early fourteenth-century England when parents began to name their children after specific saints rather than their Godparents, entrusting a particular saint with the protection of the child.¹⁹⁸ When this practice developed and expanded in the fifteenth century saints' names such as, Christopher and George, appeared more widely and these trends were also affected by the development of local cults.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, in the late medieval period, the evocation of saints' names was itself believed to be a powerful intercessory mechanism.²⁰⁰ It is conceivable that the graffiti depicting forenames represent the names of different saints aside from Saint John of Beverley. This might have been in honour of the saint named or as a request for protection from a specific saint who may have been skilled at providing certain types of guidance. The names may well have been inscribed on the eastern reredos predicated upon the belief that this area held a degree of heightened spiritual significance, which made the saints represented more likely to reply. From this

196 See chapter three.

197 See chapter three.

198 Swanson, *Religion and devotion*, 168-9.

199 *ibid.*, 169.

200 M. Bagnoli, 'The stuff of Heaven: materials and craftsmanship in medieval reliquaries', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 142.

viewpoint, these textual inscriptions could be seen alongside other symbols and emblems for saints with a textual significance, such as letters.²⁰¹

This is the only category of graffiti which contains an example that appears to have been scratched out deliberately.²⁰² It is one of the larger examples on row six of the left-hand bay (S46), while seven other inscriptions in close proximity remain untouched. It may be no coincidence that this example was chosen to be scratched out. Situated above standing eye level, the location of the graffito suggests that the inscriber of the original inscription had gone to considerable efforts to inscribe a textual inscription in this position, indicating that the person who made the graffito may well have returned to scratch it out. It may represent an intentional act of ritual defacement, possibly by the inscriber of the initial graffito. This may well have been a response to either the perceived success or failure of invoking the help of Saint John by the original inscription. In the late medieval period, rituals were devoted to the humiliation of saints who had proven ineffective when they failed to fulfil their role as a protector. Such rituals involved insulting the saint by hurling complaints and curses against either his image or relics.²⁰³ The scratched out graffito could represent another example of such a ritual that was brought about because Saint John had proven ineffective in providing a remedy for the concerns of a petitioner. If this is the case, then the graffito in question strengthens the argument that the practice of inscribing textual inscriptions was motivated by the belief in the efficacy of written words as a means through which the inscriber could enter into a reciprocal relationship with Saint John, or possibly other saints. An alternative explanation is that the meaning of the original inscription was deemed offensive by either church authorities or a member of the laity, and was subsequently scratched out.

Wider context of textual inscriptions

The number of medieval textual inscriptions in the nave of Beverley Minster are comparatively low with only seven examples recorded, most of which are situated at standing eye level. These include one example that depicts the word 'Malton', and another possibly of the word 'Maltun', which suggests a connection with the master

201 See chapter four.

202 See chapter three.

203 É. Palazzo, 'Relics, liturgical space, and the theology of the church', in M. Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in medieval Europe* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 106.

mason William of Malton who was appointed 'Mason of the Minster' in October 1335.²⁰⁴ Both examples are situated at either side of a bay east of the Highgate porch in the north-aisle of the Minster between piers N5 and N6. Located on the same bay is a smaller and well-executed example that depicts the word 'myllyngton' which may refer to either the village, now spelt Millington, which is situated about 20 miles from Beverley, or a surname of a specific individual. Another possible surname, perhaps reading as 'Maburn' or 'Nayburn', is clearly visible on pier N8 which could well be another surname. The name 'Thomas' also occurs on pier N4, but in a different hand from those on the eastern side of the reredos. In addition to forenames and surnames there is also a possible example on N8 that depicts a foreign word, although its exact language is uncertain.

There seems to be little difference between the meaning of the content of the legible inscriptions in the nave and those on the eastern reredos, with the evidence in both locations confined to names. However, there is a rather large disparity between the quantities in each location. Inscribed names in the nave may well be more memorial or territorial in nature for the purpose of posterity. In the cases of the possible names of masons, they could well be a symbol of pride in their work. In contrast, the relatively large quantity on the eastern side of the reredos may suggest that they served a more religious purpose linked to the spiritual significance of the location, which explains this accumulation. Inscribing one's own name might be equated with the practice of parishioners of modest means making a bequest to the Minster to earn the inclusion of their name in the *bede-roll*, which was a list of benefactors for whom parishioners were encouraged to pray.²⁰⁵

Overall, the large number of textual inscriptions in Beverley Minster reflects the town's reputation as a vibrant centre of learning in the north of England in the medieval period with an established Grammar School that was subject to the Minster's control.²⁰⁶ Books, liturgical texts and writing tables are among the items mentioned in the wills of Beverley testators, which demonstrate that the town had booksellers and that the townspeople engaged in intellectual pursuits.²⁰⁷ In 1509 Beverley was still of

204 R. Petch, 'William de Malton master mason', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 53 (1981), 37-9, 44; Phillips, 'Beverley Minster nave', 56.

205 Horrox, 'The later medieval Minster', 46-7.

206 Leach, 'Introduction', in *Memorials*, vol. 1, lix-lxv; A. F. Leach, *Early East Yorkshire schools*, Volume 1 (London: Yorkshire Archaeological Record Series 27, 1899), xxxix-lvi.

207 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 62.

sufficient prestige for a printing press to be established next to the Minster.²⁰⁸

Textual inscriptions are relatively scarce in the parish churches surveyed from the Humber region. The nine examples recorded from four sites including Harpham, Hessle, Paull and Welwick appear to have been originally executed in a neat and practised hand. Although they are neatly incised, it is difficult to identify individual letters, which makes them difficult to transcribe. They are situated at standing eye level on arches, doorways, piers and in the west end. Of these, seven examples consist of a single word, while the other two depict long inscriptions of between one and two lines comprising several words. The two long textual inscriptions are located on the west side of the chancel arch at Harpham. In addition to these two, there are a further five at Hessle, plus one each at Paull and Welwick. The textual inscriptions at Hessle are isolated from each other and occur in the west end and near the doorway leading to the central tower. A small example at Paull is located on a pier in the north arcade and may be associated with a stave of musical notation, while at Welwick an inscription occurs on the door jamb on the south-west doorway. The seemingly low number of textual inscriptions recorded at these parish churches could be interpreted as a result of lower literacy levels among their parishioners, particularly in rural areas in the medieval period as at Harpham, for example. This might explain the large number of pictorial graffiti at sites such as at Goxhill (North Lincolnshire), where there are no textual inscriptions but, as mentioned earlier, contain a large proportion of figures, accounting for 13 of the 18 discoveries recorded at this church which equates to 72.2%. However, it is unfortunate that they cannot be ascribed to any particular purpose due to the difficulties with transcribing the textual inscriptions or based on their architectural locations.

Textual inscriptions have been recorded at sites across England with their location, quality and length being almost as variable as the meaning of their content, with some examples being easily transcribed, while others are indecipherable. The meaning of the inscriptions that have been discovered and translated in other studies appear to be commemorative, historical and liturgical in nature. Examples of rather long inscriptions from Saint Edmund's, Acle (Norfolk) and Saint Mary's Ashwell (Hertfordshire) document the impact of natural disasters, epidemics and devastating events that took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, referring to the Black

208 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 5.

Death and famine.²⁰⁹ These examples provide evidence for the use of the stone as a surface for documenting significant events, which might have been viewed as a substitute for paper, in a period when it was expensive. Paper can also easily be lost, while walls are more difficult to move, suggesting that it may well have been a practical means of ensuring that the inscription would, to some degree, be permanent. These inscriptions may well have been created by the clerical community who would have had the opportunity and skill to inscribe them. Similar inscriptions made by clerics have been recorded in other churches at Lidgate (Suffolk) and Ludham (Norfolk), suggesting that this practice was relatively common.²¹⁰

Other studies have investigated the possible liturgical implications of textual inscriptions. One example was recorded and translated by Wormald on the north wall of the chancel of the chapel at Idsworth (Hampshire). Wormald's photograph shows that the inscription consists of nine lines and provides a set of benedictions. It is associated with a fourteenth-century wall painting, while the inscription may date to the late fifteenth century. Wormald suggested that it might have been used as a mnemonic aid for feasts dedicated to the Virgin.²¹¹ In contrast to the examples in Beverley Minster, these inscriptions consist of several words or lines and may well have been used in connection with processions, as aids or cues to memory for the performance of a ritual.

Inscriptions that can be equated with the names of saints are not unique to the eastern reredos in Beverley Minster. Pritchard's work has shown that textual inscriptions referring directly to saints' names have also been discovered in parish churches elsewhere. She took a rubbing of one example at All Saints, Chalgrave (Bedfordshire), which reads 'S[anc]ti David' on a pier. Pritchard suggested that the dedication of the church may have influenced the inscribers choice of textual inscription and that they may have intended to dedicate the pier to this saint.²¹² As mentioned in chapter four, at Anstey (Hertfordshire) she recorded the inscription 'Our Ladi help', repeated three times across the church, which may have been intended as a direct and personal appeal to invoke the help of the Virgin.²¹³ Another study of the

209 G. Coulton, 'A medieval inscription in Acle Church', *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, 20, part 2 (1921), 143; Jones-Baker, 'English medieval graffiti', 9-10.

210 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 241; Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 144-9, 181-3.

211 Wormald, 'A wall-painting and liturgical graffiti', 43-7.

212 Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 5.

213 *ibid.*, 97.

graffiti on the reredos of Gloucester Cathedral has also shown that various textual inscriptions of the names of saints may correlate with the saints whose wall paintings or statues had once been placed there.²¹⁴ In the Beverley Minster context, it is a possibility that the textual inscriptions could be associated with now lost wall paintings or other devotional art on the eastern side of the reredos, but this cannot be established with any certainty.²¹⁵

The recent survey of the medieval graffiti at Saint Mary's, Troston (Suffolk), seems to show that a concentration of textual inscriptions are related to a particular foci within the church, since they are largely confined to the chancel arch.²¹⁶ They have also been neatly inscribed by individuals educated in the art of writing, and may well date from the late fifteenth century.²¹⁷ They include names that can be linked, via documentary evidence, to specific individuals and families associated with the church.²¹⁸ This spatial distribution is paralleled in the Beverley Minster material in that there is a high density of textual inscriptions on the eastern side of the reredos, which may well be related to its status as an area of heightened spiritual significance.

Graves and Rollason's study of the graffiti in the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral also seems to show that there are a high proportion of textual inscriptions alongside consecration crosses, compass-drawn designs, coats of arms and ragged staff motifs.²¹⁹ In a few cases of the textual inscriptions, possible identifications have been made by tracing the names through documentary records. This has shown that they represent the names of individuals employed by the priory for everyday administration or as household staff.²²⁰ It was observed that among the graffiti were a number of textual inscriptions that had been crossed out. Graves and Rollason suggested that these examples indicated either a dispute or 'visual punishment' for the individuals named, which may have been the result of 'everyday factional politics' in the convent.²²¹ This negation of graffiti has been observed elsewhere among other types.²²² In Norfolk sites such as, Bale and Swannington, there are a number of

214 Short, 'Gloucester Cathedral', 21-36.

215 See chapters one and two.

216 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 241.

217 *ibid.*

218 *ibid.*, 241-2.

219 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 190-199.

220 *ibid.*, 212.

221 *ibid.*, 213.

222 V. Groebner, *Defaced: the visual culture of violence in the late Middle Ages* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 48-9.

heraldic shields that have been badly damaged or completely defaced which, again, might have been another way of insulting the individual or family represented.²²³ Both studies agree that a scratched out inscription had negative connotations as either a visual form of insult or punishment. This hypothesis could well be applied to the scratched out inscription in the Beverley Minster context, if indeed it was the name of a family or individual, but this is impossible to ascertain because the graffito has been removed almost completely. Moreover, it still remains a possibility that it was intended as a form of visual punishment or disapproval towards Saint John, as a consequence of not responding favourably to the request made by the initial inscription.

Textual inscriptions as symbols

Other archaeological and illustrative examples of material evidence from the late medieval period show that objects decorated with engraved words were used in a number of different practices. Textual inscriptions were perceived to have a range of protective properties. This perception was predicated upon the belief in the magical efficacy of words and the existence of invisible spiritual powers, which had the ability to cause changes in the material world. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries amulets bearing written inscriptions were worn to protect, cure and exorcise evil spirits.²²⁴ Clerics, parish priests and monks were among those who not only used charms with written inscriptions, but were also responsible for their production and distribution, which the laity believed provided an additional degree of protection.²²⁵ In some cases, they consist of a series of meaningless words or letters such as ABRACALABRA, which was a word commonly found in English magical manuscripts between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.²²⁶ The word is possibly derived from the Hebrew *Ha-Brachah-dabarah*, meaning 'Name of the Blessed'. Used in a late medieval context, it appeals to an earlier heritage, and lends a degree of learned authenticity which was believed to enhance its efficacy.²²⁷ Perhaps the textual inscriptions in the graffiti were believed to possess protective properties irrespective of the meaning of their content. Moreover, unlettered people may have read these inscriptions in the graffiti and believed that they were filled with protective properties

223 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 119-20.

224 Skemer, *Binding words*, 1-5.

225 *ibid.*, 21, 58.

226 *ibid.*, 204.

227 *ibid.*, 25.

because of the mystery of what they may represent, even if not intended, functioning in a similar way to the letters discussed in chapter four.

Evidence of textual inscriptions engraved on personal items contribute further support to the theory that the inscription of graffiti was another medium through which the protective power of divine words and names was employed in late medieval culture. Finger rings are among the mediums upon which names, with an ecclesiastical provenance, were used as amuletic charms for their protective and curative properties. There are at least three well-preserved finger rings recorded on the PAS from Derbyshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire, decorated with similar inscriptions. Each of the three rings, dated to the fifteenth century, are engraved with slight variations of spelling the names of the three Magi, Balthazar, Caspar and Melchior.²²⁸ The Magi were protective patrons against epilepsy, fever, headaches and sudden death, and it was believed that finger rings engraved with their names protected the wearer from these ills.²²⁹ Other objects recorded on the PAS provide parallels that warn against the assumption that small words or syllables depicted in the graffiti are devoid of any meaning.²³⁰ The letters or syllables that comprise textual inscriptions engraved on medieval finger rings are often divided across the band, and separated by a form of decoration. For instance, the inscription on one example from Hambleton (North Yorkshire) reads IN/DO/MI/NO/CON/[FIDO] translated as, 'I trust in God (or the Lord)'.²³¹ Each of the two or three letters alternate with the different bands of decoration in order for parts of the inscription to be read along the ring.

The inscription of names in church settings was never the only means through which people attempted to ensure their name would be remembered after death. It may be no coincidence that concentrations of textual inscriptions are found inscribed in close proximity to the performance of the Eucharist, such as the case of the examples in the Beverley Minster context. Among the objects upon which people would have their names engraved, the chalice was the most popular choice with one's name engraved on the lip or foot, so that when the priest raised it he would read it, linking the name with the spiritual benefits obtained from the Eucharist.²³² Another way in which people sought to link the perpetual memory of one's own name was to give the

228 PAS no. PAS-A33562; PAS no. NMS-EDFA64; PAS no. WMID-2EFC07.

229 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 79-80.

230 See chapter three.

231 PAS no. NCL-5E5264.

232 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 330.

church a missal, vessel, vestment or other ornament with an appropriate inscription.²³³ As mentioned above, a cost-effective way of securing the perpetual recollection of one's name in the course of the worship of the parish was to have it entered on a bed-roll, which was a form of immortality that appealed to those of limited means.²³⁴ It may well be that the inscription of a name in the graffiti was another, cheaper, alternative for achieving the same objective, and that it was for the purpose of posterity, influenced by contemporary beliefs in life after death to sustain a presence among the living.

At the same time, it was a commonly held belief that the act of saying saints' names was a protective device against evil spirits and a remedy for healing. This is well-attested in popular literary works to which the general public were exposed. The story of Saint Justina in the *Golden Legend* demonstrates the protective power of the act of saying saints' names. The Devil attempted to harm Saint Justina's pious reputation as a virgin by assuming her appearance and seducing a Cyprian, who was a sorcerer that lusted after her. Once the Cyprian 'uttered the name of Justina, the Devil was unable to bear it: the instant her name was spoken he vanished like smoke into thin air'.²³⁵ This story confirms the late medieval belief in the protective properties of saints' names, which might explain the inscription of possible forenames in church settings.²³⁶

Stars

Eastern reredos

The graffiti depicting five star shapes on the eastern side of the reredos are further examples that could be associated with seeking some form of protection from physical and spiritual harm. Each example varies in terms of size, number of points and deepness of incision, and these may well be variables that indicate subtle ways in which inscribers believed they could obtain protection.²³⁷ These features may have varied depending on the perceived level of threat. One example occurs on S50 in close proximity to two M letters and a cross, which were both symbols that had a devotional

233 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, 330.

234 *ibid.*, 334.

235 Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 245.

236 See chapter two.

237 See chapter three.

as well as a protective element.²³⁸ However, the four examples remaining are isolated from other graffiti. Since there are no star shapes recorded elsewhere in Beverley Minster, their exclusive association with the eastern side of the reredos may suggest that they have been inscribed deliberately in this location due to its perceived spiritual significance. This may well be because the star shape had a distinct and identifiable function as a mark that intended to provide protection.

Wider context of graffiti of stars

From the graffiti recorded in the parish churches surveyed within the Humber region, it is apparent that this motif is relatively rare, with only one example recorded on the western arch at Harpham. The five-pointed star sits on the east side of the arch at a low height in close proximity to a comparatively lightly-incised graffito of a face, although the two show no discernible affinity to each other.

The concept that the star motif was inscribed in a church setting because it was believed to be a powerful symbol of protection, especially against demons, is supported by the example recently recorded by Champion at Saint Mary's, Troston (Suffolk). His study has shown that, on the east side of the chancel arch, there is a graffito of a demon's head, which may well be associated with a deeply-incised star across the surface of the head.²³⁹ Champion suggested that, based on the relative scarcity of stars and supernatural beings elsewhere in the church, the correlation between the two appears to be deliberate, and may have been associated with the image of a demon that was once painted on the other face of the arch.²⁴⁰ Further examples recently recorded by Champion in the churches at Horne (Surrey) and Swannington (Norfolk) depict stars crossing over the graffiti of figures with more human features.²⁴¹ Compared to the rather low quantity discovered at the sites surveyed in the Humber region, this motif is comparatively more common in Suffolk churches. The Suffolk Medieval Graffiti Survey has recorded clusters, as well as isolated examples of star shapes in the churches at Cavenham, Lidgate, Lindsey, Linstead and Stoke-by-Clare, among others.²⁴²

238 See chapter four.

239 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 248-250.

240 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 50-51.

241 *ibid.*, 51.

242 Champion, *Medieval graffiti project in Suffolk*.

The star as a symbol

The concept that the star was regarded as a powerful symbol of protection is well-attested by archaeological and literary evidence. The motif of the star was commonly used as a religious symbol, specifically associated with protection, in earlier cultures. The origins of this motif dates to 3000BC, when it was used as part of the pictorial language of the Sumerian civilization in Mesopotamia, which relied on the use of symbols.²⁴³ For the Greeks, the star was considered as a symbol of mathematical perfection, which had protective properties. It was also used by Byzantine armies as a sign of salvation on their flags.²⁴⁴ As a symbol of the five wounds Christ suffered upon the cross, the star appeared in artistic depictions as a Christian symbol.²⁴⁵ In Christian tradition, it is associated with divine guidance, derived from the Biblical account of the Magi who followed the star to the infant Jesus.²⁴⁶ In the late medieval period the star was commonly regarded as the symbol of King Solomon which, according to Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions, was inscribed in a ring that was delivered to the King by angels.²⁴⁷ It was believed that the ring gave the bearer various powers, including the ability to exorcise demons and summon angels.²⁴⁸

The concept of a star as a symbol of protection is further supported by references in literary evidence. The instructional manual on witchcraft, *Malleus maleficarium*, written in the fifteenth century, instructs that, 'Demons are subordinate to the virtues of the stars, as is clear from the fact that certain enchanters observe constellations in order to invoke Demons'.²⁴⁹ During the late medieval period, the star was used frequently in learned magic and in ritual diagrams that instruct readers about how demons and angels could be invoked by means of rituals.²⁵⁰ In another aspect of learned magic, divination, it was believed that predictions or the right decisions could be made by interpreting the relative positions of the stars.²⁵¹

Lead spindle whorls decorated with the symbol of a star are among the objects recorded on the PAS from Yorkshire. Examples from Elloughton, Pocklington and

243 Gruia, 'Supernatural', 162.

244 *ibid.*

245 Steffler, *Symbols*, 82.

246 *ibid.*

247 *ibid.*, 82-3.

248 *ibid.*

249 Kramer, *Malleus maleficarium*, 91.

250 Rider, *Magic and religion*, 113.

251 Jolly, 'Medieval magic', 53-5; A. Lawrence-Mathers & C. Escobar-Vargas, *Magic and medieval society* (London, New York: Routledge, 2014), 33.

Selby (North Yorkshire), dating between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, are each decorated with slightly different versions of a star motif.²⁵² Spindle whorls were a type of domestic object used daily in the practice of spinning. They could be modified or designed to be used as charms and imbued with protective magic against curses, ills, misfortune or witchcraft. Spindle whorls are often found in female burials as keepsakes or protective amulets, and spinning itself was a practice often associated with witches, spells and magic.²⁵³ Other objects from East Yorkshire recorded on the PAS indicate that the star was also employed in the decoration of finger rings.²⁵⁴

As suggested by literary and archaeological evidence, the star motif was a widely recognised symbol of protection in the late Middle Ages with the particular power to protect against the influence of demons. It is possible to apply this explanation for the recorded graffiti inscriptions. Perhaps the inscription of a graffiti of a star motif was a way of asking for protection from an evil such as, demons. Whether this was for the protection of the inscriber themselves, an individual known to them, or to protect the building in which they were inscribed against harm, remains unclear.

Compass-drawn designs

Eastern reredos

Three of the four compass-drawn designs on the eastern side of the reredos represent symbols with a more ambiguous meaning.²⁵⁵ In contrast, the remaining example, the triquetra, as mentioned in chapter four, could be identified as a motif with a more specific meaning and is therefore differentiated from this analysis of the other three.

Compasses would have been readily available to masons working in the Minster in the medieval period. The two examples on S44 that appear in close proximity to each other suggests that they may well be the result of masons practising using a compass, with one possibly left unfinished as a trial version and the other appearing complete.²⁵⁶ The complexity of the six-petal motif would have been well suited to the task of teaching apprenticed masons the basic principles of geometric

252 PAS no. FAKL-9FE6BB; PAS no. DUR-B8BFF3; PAS no. SWYOR-D58AF4.

253 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 84; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, PhD thesis, 135-6; Gilchrist, 'Magic', 132-3.

254 PAS no. NCL-807A73; PAS no. YORYM-F882A3.

255 See chapter three.

256 See chapter three.

designs. At the same time, they may represent a tradition among masons and other workmen constructing and repairing the Minster. However, their presence in this location suggests that they may have had some form of religious significance.

Wider context of compass-drawn designs

The number of compass-drawn designs recorded on the eastern reredos is not unusually high, and variations of these motifs are to be found elsewhere in the Minster. The survey recorded eight examples in the nave with two on S4 and one each on piers N1, N7, N10, S3, S10 and the bay between N10 and the west end. They occur in larger quantities in the stairwells, doorways and various other rooms in the north-west tower and areas upstairs as remote as the roof, with little light. Their association with these other areas of the Minster would support the concept that they were inscribed by masons, as they would be the only individuals who would have needed to venture into such remote locations upstairs with a compass. In these cases the compass-drawn designs take the form of either six-petalled flowers, or more complex motifs with additional segments around the inner or outer perimeter of the main circle. From their largely even spatial distribution throughout the Minster, it is difficult to determine whether the examples on the eastern side of the reredos intended to have some form of religious meaning.

A similar situation can be seen at the parish churches surveyed from the study region where there seems to be no obvious significance linked to their distribution pattern or variation of their designs. A total of nine examples have been recorded from four churches surveyed within the Humber region, with four at Paull, plus two each at Hessle and Goxhill and one from Hornsea. Most are situated on piers at standing eye level, and range from a series of concentric circles to six-petalled flowers. At Paull three of the four examples are located on piers in the north arcade, while the other is situated on a pier in the south arcade. Similarly, at Hornsea, there is an example on a pier in the south arcade towards the west end, and the two examples from Goxhill (North Lincolnshire) are also located on nave piers. A further two compass-drawn designs at Hessle depict six-petalled flowers which are situated in the west end and above the door frame, leading to the central tower. Overall, in common with Beverley Minster, the compass-drawn designs appear to be rather randomly placed in terms of their architectural location.

Recent studies have observed that compass-drawn designs are among the most commonly recorded types of graffiti in medieval churches, with large quantities of both simple and elaborate examples discovered at sites across England.²⁵⁷ Concentrations of these motifs have been recorded around the original location of the font from sites in Devon and Norfolk. This may well have intended to link the compass-drawn designs with the sacrament of Baptism and possibly to ward off evil spirits.²⁵⁸ However, there is no evidence of such a relationship in the churches surveyed in this study. Further studies have recorded instances of these designs at other sites in counties such as Suffolk, with no clear relationship to any specific location of religious significance.²⁵⁹

Compass-drawn designs as symbols

By breaking down the geometric compositions of the compass-drawn designs into their components, this reveals that the pattern repeated in all examples is the symbol of the circle. As a symbol that has no beginning and no end, the circle is associated with eternity and permanent union.²⁶⁰ Compass-drawn designs appear on various mediums which suggest that compasses were not only used by masons, but also by other craftsmen. Examples comparable with the most simplistic compass-designs in the graffiti record, the circle, share parallels with the ring and dot motifs that are commonly found on gaming pieces, such as chess sets and dice made of bone and antler. Archaeological evidence indicates that such activities were an important pastime in Beverley. The excavations carried out at Lurk Lane and Eastgate have shown that recreational activities may well have involved the use of dice, which depict numbers using either double or single ring and dot motifs.²⁶¹ Evenly spaced single and double ring and dot designs appeared as decorative schemes on comb-cases, mirror cases and mounts found in archaeological contexts, dating between the mid twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.²⁶² In her study of late medieval dress fittings, Standley argues that circular-shaped accessories such as rings, brooches, pendants, buttons, beads and coins were worn because of their symbolic importance to their owners. She concludes that

257 Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 242-5; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 29.

258 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 40-43.

259 *ibid.*, 40.

260 Steffler, *Symbols*, 74.

261 Armstrong, *Excavations at Lurk Lane*, 196; Evans, *Excavations at 33-35 Eastgate*, 134.

262 Evans, *Excavations at 33-35 Eastgate*, 147, 171, 174.

circles were symbolic of feelings and memories that would never end, but also of control and bonding, whether they were used in betrothal, livery, devotion or protection.²⁶³

Further late medieval examples of objects decorated with compass-drawn designs have been recorded from East Yorkshire on the PAS database. These include an ampulla and a mount, both of which are engraved with a six-petalled compass-drawn design.²⁶⁴ Another example recorded on the PAS from Scarborough (North Yorkshire) is an ampulla which is reminiscent of the types of pilgrim souvenirs associated with the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury.²⁶⁵ It depicts a compass-drawn six-petalled flower on one side, and a capital letter T in a Lombardic font on the other. The symbols on the ampulla suggest that there was a relationship between saints' emblems, compass-drawn designs and pilgrimage. The pilgrim souvenirs provide evidence of a religious meaning for the compass-drawn designs, particularly for the six-petalled flower variation. By these motifs appearing on objects in conjunction with emblems of saints, this indicates that an explanation for the meaning of the examples inscribed in church settings could well be religious in nature, and in this regard the graffiti further emphasize the significance of these designs as religious symbols. Perhaps, then, each of the compass-drawn designs inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster are related to the significance of this location as a base for the shrine of Saint John, which would have been frequently visited by pilgrims in the late medieval period.

Other types of evidence suggest that compass-drawn designs are linked with superstitious beliefs. The inscription of circular designs may well have had eschatological and cosmological origins based upon the belief that geometry had a supernatural and sacred dimension.²⁶⁶ Sandro Botticelli's, *La Mappa dell'Inferno*, painted between 1480 and 1490, depicts Hell as a sort of funnel consisting of concentric circles designed to illustrate Dante's *Divine Comedy*.²⁶⁷ During the late medieval period, concentric circles were associated with magic, medicine and experimental science. In a fourteenth-century English manuscript known as the *Ars Notoria*, a ritual magical text used by university students, there is a depiction of a

263 Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, 117; Standley, *Trinkets and charms*, PhD thesis, 194.

264 PAS no. YORYM-DF4281; PAS no. SWYOR-DE0FF6.

265 PAS no. YORYM-B6F7D0; Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 121-3.

266 Robinson, 'Altar to amulet', 115.

267 P. Binski, *Medieval death: ritual and representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 168.

series of concentric circles used in diagrams for explaining theories about astrology and astronomy.²⁶⁸ Other fifteenth-century depictions of concentric circles are illustrated in manuscripts such as English leech-books, as a charm for protection against the plague.²⁶⁹ They also feature on textual amulets used in late medieval England, which would be posted on domestic walls, or near valuable property such as stables and trees for protection against disease and fire.²⁷⁰ In addition, interlaced and circular designs appear in the form of decorative schemes on objects of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon origin from dress accessories such as brooches, mounts, buckles to shields, weapons and armour.²⁷¹ It may well be that by using circular motifs derived from earlier traditions this contributed to the perceived protective properties of the compass-drawn designs inscribed in medieval churches.

Animals

Eastern reredos

Other symbols recorded among the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos include depictions of animals that may have also held a religious significance. The graffito of a horse is one of three examples grouped into the animals category.²⁷² In contrast to the two possible Agnus Dei motifs which were discussed in chapter four as a devotional type of graffiti, the symbolic meaning of a horse is not as easily understood in a religious context, and therefore this graffito is differentiated from the other two.

In medieval England, horses were a valuable asset for hunting, farming, travelling and war.²⁷³ The graffito of the horse may be understood as further evidence for the predominance of secular symbols in religious spaces, and can be seen alongside other types of graffiti with a secular provenance, such as heraldic motifs and weapons. With a wide range of explanations for its inscription it is difficult to determine any specific meaning. Exactly what the intended motives for the inscription of this graffito were, whether requesting for, or in thanksgiving of, a cure for an injury caused by a horse or for a horse itself remains unclear. Another possibility is that horses, in some

268 Lawrence-Mathers & Escobar-Vargas, *Magic and medieval society*, 33.

269 Rider, *Magic and religion*, 64.

270 Skemer, *Binding words*, 166-7.

271 I. Stead, *Celtic art: in Britain before the Roman Conquest*, 2nd edition (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 74, 76; Plunkett, *Suffolk*, 140; C. Karkov, *The art of anglo-saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2011), 23, 30, 44.

272 See chapter three.

273 Horrox, 'Medieval Beverley', 27, 62; Jamieson, 'The organisation of military', 38.

way, held a specific personal meaning to its inscriber, either as part of their occupation or social and religious status, functioning in a similar manner as a heraldic motif. Similarly to the possible Agnus Dei motifs, the graffito of the horse may well have also acted as a rebus and represents a name or word.

Wider context of animal graffiti

Animals are relatively scarce in Beverley Minster with no other examples recorded elsewhere, which is also reflected at a local level from the parish churches surveyed in the Humber region. The surveys from two sites recorded the remains of a possible three animals. These include two from Harpham and one, noted earlier, from Hornsea that depicts a possible bird or dragon. At Harpham a depiction of two interlinked birds, which form part of one scheme can be found on the west side of the west arch, while a possible fish is situated on the other side of the arch. Slightly less related, but still significant to this discussion is a graffito at Goxhill (North Lincolnshire) on a pier in the north arcade, which depicts a rather crudely inscribed figure riding a horse. Similarly to the animals recorded in Beverley Minster, they each occur as a single isolated example.

According to other studies of medieval graffiti, depictions of animals are known to occur at sites across England, ranging from dogs to seahorses.²⁷⁴ However, horses appear less frequently than other animals such as birds and fish, which are relatively common.²⁷⁵ Pritchard recorded a seemingly realistic graffito of a horse on a wall in the chancel at Saint James', Little Paxton (Huntingdonshire), while her rubbing of another example from Saint George's, Anstey (Hertfordshire) appears to form part of a heraldic motif, which is located in close proximity to other heraldic designs.²⁷⁶ In contrast to the single isolated examples recorded at the sites in this study, Champion's survey of the graffiti at Saint Mary's, Troston (Suffolk) has shown that a cluster of animals including fish, birds and a few depictions of a deer occur on the tower arch.²⁷⁷

Animals as symbols

In the late medieval period, different types of animals were used as symbols on a variety of mediums including paintings, manuscripts illustrations, pilgrim badges and

²⁷⁴ See chapter three.

²⁷⁵ Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 163-8.

²⁷⁶ Pritchard, *Medieval graffiti*, 92, 119.

²⁷⁷ Champion, 'Graffiti inscriptions', 255.

effigies. Specific animals were also associated with individuals and families. They commonly appeared as a feature of personal identification marks, such as heraldic devices and merchants' marks. From the late thirteenth century, seals began to depict a greater variety of designs with more animals including monkeys, dogs, rabbits, squirrels and birds.²⁷⁸ The seals of this period show noble lords on horseback, while the motif of the mounted knight is a feature of equestrian seals.²⁷⁹ As components of heraldic devices, this may explain the horses and other animals inscribed in the graffiti, especially in the case of the example at Saint James', Anstey (Hertfordshire) where a horse forms part of a heraldic motif, which could well represent a family or individual. In this context, similarly to the merchants' marks and textual inscriptions, the graffiti depicting animals may have been territorial in nature, or perhaps inscribed with commemorative intent.

In artistic depictions, animals were commonly used as recognised symbols of saints. Among the animals that may have conveyed a symbolic meaning are the fox, the deer, the lamb, the ox, the pig and the lion.²⁸⁰ In religious art, the horse is also a symbol associated with courage and generosity, and their riders who controlled the horse were the ideal of moral virtue.²⁸¹ The horse could well be a generic symbol of saints and pilgrimage. Saints are frequently represented on horseback, such as Saint Martin of Tours.²⁸² Figurative depictions of Saint Edward the Confessor, Saint George, Saint Thomas Becket and Henry VI on horseback were among the souvenirs associated with their shrines in the late medieval period.²⁸³ It may well be that the graffiti of the horse on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster was symbolic of its inscriber's status as a visiting pilgrim, and relates to the significance of this location as the base for the shrine of Saint John.

At the same time, real animals were used in a variety of superstitious practices. According to medieval medical manuscripts both healing and protective practices used materials such as animal parts as amulets to empower objects, and produce medicines for the treatment of either human conditions or illness in animals themselves. People participated in these practices based on the belief in the virtues of naturally occurring

278 McGuinness, 'Non-armigerous seals', 113.

279 Payne, 'Medieval heraldry', 58-9.

280 Apostolos-Cappadona, *Dictionary*, 26.

281 *ibid.*, 162-3.

282 *ibid.*, 163.

283 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 82, 184, 188, 190.

products.²⁸⁴ They were taken either internally or applied externally and sometimes involved ritual actions.²⁸⁵ Moreover, drawings of animals appear in charts and manuals used for practices of divination. For example, the calendars ornamented with the signs of the Zodiac at the beginning of books of hours.²⁸⁶ In these contexts, depictions in the graffiti may provide evidence of another superstitious practice associated with animals, in anticipation of receiving some form of protection from physical or spiritual harm.

Early modern graffiti

Eastern reredos

As mentioned in chapter one, without any dates there is no clear evidence to suggest that the practice of inscribing graffiti continued in the sixteenth century after the removal of the shrine of Saint John in c.1540. The total of 71 early modern examples on the eastern side of the reredos is a relatively small quantity when compared to the 302 ascribed to the period in which the shrine was situated on top of the reredos.²⁸⁷ There is no means of dating the graffiti securely unless accompanied by a date. It was shown in chapter three that 16 early modern examples can be ascribed to the seventeenth century based on dates and stylistic similarities in the text between repeated inscriptions. Therefore, if indeed inscriptions were added in the sixteenth century after the removal of the shrine, it seems unlikely that it accumulated to a large quantity, unless they were inscribed on the lower rows and have subsequently been lost due to the weathering of the stone blocks.

The proportion of medieval graffiti equates to 80.9% of the total number recorded on the eastern reredos. This would support the argument that the presence of the shrine of Saint John on top of the reredos was certainly a key driving force behind the flourishing of the practice of inscribing graffiti in the late medieval period. The lack of examples datable to the late sixteenth century may reflect how quickly Saint John was forgotten at the Reformation, and acceptance of the new form of religion, which involved changes in the structure and organization of the Minster. These alterations to the Minster as a building and an institution changed the nature of the religious experience and practice it provided for the town.²⁸⁸ As a result of the

284 Gilchrist, 'Magic', 136.

285 Jolly, 'Medieval magic', 30-31, 35, 42-3.

286 Duffy, *Marking the hours*, 228.

287 See chapter two.

288 See chapter one.

Reformation process Beverley emerged as a notable centre of protestant teaching by the end of the sixteenth century.²⁸⁹

Unlike medieval graffiti, the subject matter of the examples inscribed in this location during the early modern period are devoid of pictorial symbols. In line with the changes brought about by the Reformation there was also a marked change in the content, types, style and motives underpinning the practice of inscribing graffiti in Beverley Minster. Symbols and pictorial graffiti such as crosses, musical notation, shapes, heraldry and animals disappear, and are replaced by other subject types that suggest more secular motives. Early modern inscriptions are confined largely to dates, initials and names, which are sometimes framed by other motifs, such as a house with a steeply pointed roof and a cross.²⁹⁰ Certain types that are a feature of the medieval graffiti, such as the letters M and W and other single letters, continue in the early modern period. Most of the early modern graffiti are situated at kneeling level, which is a position that might have been chosen because of the practical, time-consuming and physical difficulties of inscribing the deeply-incised examples.²⁹¹ It could well be that the inscription of dates, names and initials were more territorial, memorial and directly individualistic in nature than those of the medieval period, perhaps for commemorating a visit for the purpose of posterity.

It is also a possibility that the motives for their inscription were underpinned by superstitious impulses. As evidenced by the presence of early modern monuments, most notably, the Sir Michael Warton Tomb in the middle bay of the eastern side of the reredos, this area was still considered a place of spiritual significance. Although the shrine had been removed, miracle collections of Saint John of Beverley continued to be produced and owned in various parts of England through to the seventeenth century, demonstrating an on-going and widespread interest in the written cult of Saint John.²⁹² Saint John may have gained some momentum in the late seventeenth century when the cavity that contained his tomb was opened in 1664 for the first time since the twelfth century.²⁹³ A report was made of its contents which provides an example of interest in relics and burial in the early modern period. The report stipulated that a plaque was

289 See chapter one.

290 See chapter three.

291 See chapter three.

292 Wilson, *The life*, 64.

293 Palliser, 'The early medieval Minster', 33; Miller et al., *Beverley*, 9; Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 41-2.

found, recording that after the fire in 1188 John's bones were rediscovered and re-interred in 1197, while other items included dust, beads, pins and nails.²⁹⁴ It is conceivable therefore, that the motives for the inscription of the graffiti during this period can be ascribed to some form of spiritual benefit sought by inscribers.

Wider context of early modern graffiti

Early modern inscriptions are to be found throughout the Minster in greater quantities, in areas such as the nave, stairwells, transepts and upstairs rooms. There are at least 320 early modern examples in the nave, which is a significant quantity when compared with the 86 examples ascribed to the late medieval period in the same location, which equates to 21.1% of the total in the nave.²⁹⁵ The earliest inscribed date in the nave is 1590 next to the letters AN on pier S4, followed by the year 1600 on pier S6 with other early seventeenth century dates including 1607 and 1608. Similarly to the eastern reredos, dates appear increasingly in the 1630s, 1640s and again in the 1660s, usually accompanied by either a name or what appears to be an initial. The increase in names reflects the development of literacy levels in the town from the graffiti inscribed in the medieval period, which is attested by the establishment of at least three schools and a resident bookseller by the end of the seventeenth century.²⁹⁶

The dates inscribed in Beverley Minster from the seventeenth century broadly coincide with the periods when Beverley experienced outbreaks of the plague in 1604 and 1605, recurring again in 1610 and 1664.²⁹⁷ It was a constant concern for the town throughout the seventeenth century. When there was an outbreak in Hull in 1637, the town took precautions to prevent the disease from spreading. These measures prevented the townspeople from visiting Hull, and excluding visitors coming to Beverley from Hull. They were enforced again between 1645 and 1646 due to a further outbreak, which was successfully avoided but proved unsuccessful in the case of 1664. Archaeological excavations carried out at the site outside the Preceptory of the Knights Hospitaller revealed many skeletons in a large 'tumulus' which, it has been suggested, were plague victims.²⁹⁸

Special relief in the town was also made for sufferers from fires, notably for the

294 Woodworth, *The architectural history*, 42.

295 See chapter two.

296 Forster, 'Beverley in the 17th century', 110.

297 *ibid.*, 105-108.

298 Miller et al., *Beverley*, 52.

residents at the Beckside in 1674, and a severe storm in 1676, which caused damage to Saint Mary's and the Minster.²⁹⁹ Such circumstances provided further incentives for people in the town to engage in superstitious practices to protect themselves against disease and fires.

However, there was not only the threat of imminent death from epidemics, fires and storms in Beverley during this period, but the town was also implicated in military activity. This centred on the significance of its proximity to Hull during the English Civil War, which had an impact on the Minster and the town as a whole. Charles I moved his headquarters to Beverley for a period of three weeks in July 1642, hoping that a show of force would bring about the surrender of Hull from parliamentary governor, Sir John Hotham.³⁰⁰ The town was used by the royalists as a base for their operations during the siege of Hull, and in 1643, between March and June, soldiers were garrisoned in the town. The Minster also suffered damage from military action, but it is unclear whether it served any specific role during the Civil War.³⁰¹

It was not only the outbreak of the plague and Civil War that were reasons to be superstitious, but new ideas about witchcraft were widely accepted by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when belief in the phenomenon was at its height.³⁰² The development of these new ideas about witchcraft began to be defined in the fifteenth century when it was believed that witches renounced God and were in league with the Devil.³⁰³ Books and pamphlets about witchcraft proliferated in England from the sixteenth century onwards, informing their readerships on ideas such as black magic.³⁰⁴ There is the possibility that the graffiti inscribed in the early modern period intended to ward off evil spirits predicated upon the belief in witchcraft, the Devil, demons and their ability to harm others through using evil magic. Whether this was to protect the Minster from evil spirits or the inscriber themselves remains unclear. The theory should not be easily dismissed. In a period where disasters, illness and any misfortune lacked explanation, it is not surprising that people placed their trust in practices that were as irrational as the threat itself, such as inscribing graffiti in church buildings as a good luck talisman. Many people were accused, prosecuted and

299 Forster, 'Beverley in the 17th century', 110-111.

300 See chapter one.

301 Forster, 'Beverley in the 17th century', 92-3.

302 Rider, *Magic and religion*, 16.

303 *ibid.*

304 *ibid.*

executed for witchcraft in Yorkshire. Specific to Yorkshire were witch-posts, which were wooden posts engraved with a cross built into houses, possibly as a measure employed to guard against witches entering in the house.³⁰⁵ The dates of executions coincide with the dates inscribed in Beverley Minster in the seventeenth century. These include but are, by no means limited to, Joan Jurdie in 1605, Jennet Preston in 1612, Elizabeth Crossley in 1646, Elizabeth Lambe in 1653 and Alice Huson and Doll Bilby in 1664.³⁰⁶

From the surveys carried out at sites in the Humber region, the presence of a single early modern example was recorded at one church, Goxhill (North Lincolnshire), which depicts the name 'George Roberts' in the west end. Clusters of early modern inscriptions have been recorded at several sites across England including Cookley (Worcestershire), Lidgate (Suffolk), Litlington (Cambridgeshire), Troston (Suffolk) and Wickhambrook (Suffolk).³⁰⁷ In common with the examples from this study, their subject matter are largely limited to simple letters, initials, names and dates with increases in the practice during periods of war, such as the English Civil War (between 1642 and 1651).³⁰⁸

Specific types such as the letters M and W and compass-drawn designs continued to be inscribed not only in church settings, but also vernacular buildings, farm buildings and caves between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁰⁹ These types of graffiti are what scholars have termed 'ritual protection marks', that were believed to provide a degree of protection.³¹⁰ A study of the caves in Wookey Hole (Somerset) discovered a large concentration of graffiti consisting of examples of the letters M and W.³¹¹ By the early eighteenth century there was a strong association between the cave of Wookey Hole and the story of a witch and the forces of evil, with origins dating to at least 1628.³¹² Binding and Wilson argued that the ritual protection marks in the caves provide evidence for the belief in witches in the area and suggested that they were inscribed in the cave in order to obtain a measure of protection against

305 Rennison, *Witches*, 11-12.

306 *ibid.*, 30-32, 55-7, 85-8.

307 S. Boutler, *Church of St Michael, Cookley. Archaeological recording of the tower wall fabric and tower roof graffiti* [Unpublished report undertaken by the Suffolk County Archaeological Service, 1999], 1-5; Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 204-210.

308 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 204-208.

309 Meeson, 'Ritual marks', 42, 44, 46; J. Thorp, 'Protective charms on Devon buildings', *Devon Buildings Group Newsletter*, 18 (2000), 12-15; Binding & Wilson, 'Ritual protection marks', 47-73.

310 Meeson, 'Ritual marks', 46; Binding & Wilson, 'Ritual protection marks', 47-73.

311 Binding & Wilson, 'Ritual protection marks', 49-60.

312 *ibid.*, 60-74.

evil spirits.³¹³

The practice of inscribing continued beyond the seventeenth century not only in Beverley Minster, but elsewhere across England until it diminishes in the nineteenth century.³¹⁴ It could well be, therefore, that it was the nineteenth century when graffiti began to be regarded as a form of defacement and socially unacceptable behaviour.

Discussion

This chapter has contributed to our understanding of the act of inscribing graffiti as a superstitious practice on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, not only when this structure served as the base for the shrine of Saint John of Beverley, but also the nature of the practice after the removal of the shrine. A plethora of reasons for its existence have been advanced. They could be personal votive marks requesting for, or in thanksgiving of, general or specific protection. This may well be for a safe voyage for example, while simultaneously acting as memorials and reminding others to pray for the people who died in such circumstances. Certain types such as ships, merchants' marks, heraldry and weapons, among others, can be identified as features described in miracle collections, linking the graffiti with the medieval perception of Saint John. This potential relationship between Saint John's reputation derived from his written cult, and the types of graffiti that were inscribed beneath his shrine could well be interpreted as evidence of successive generations calling upon the aid of Saint John, forging a symbolic connection by invoking his memory.

There are important differences between the types and frequencies of certain categories of graffiti that occur in the nave and on the eastern reredos. Merchants' marks, weapons, animals, stars and angels are types that only appear on the eastern side of the reredos, while compass-drawn designs, heraldry, ships and early modern inscriptions occur in both locations. It was also observed that figures depicted in an attitude of prayer and certain charges on heraldic shields were confined to the eastern side of the reredos. These disparities may suggest variations in the underlying motivations behind the practice in different locations, and may reflect the importance that inscribers placed on an area of heightened spiritual significance when it served as a shrine-base.

Most types of superstitious graffiti identified in Beverley Minster were also

313 Binding & Wilson, 'Ritual protection marks', 68-9.

314 Champion, *Medieval graffiti*, 206.

recorded in the parish churches surveyed from the Humber region, while all categories have been discovered at sites elsewhere in England. This has revealed that the practice of inscribing ships and merchants' marks equates with churches being served by maritime communities. The wide geographical distribution of superstitious types of graffiti and the parallels drawn with other objects employed for similar reasons, indicate the existence of a widespread need for people to protect themselves against perceived threats from the natural and supernatural worlds. The practice of inscribing graffiti should be seen alongside other methods that were employed in the quest to secure the safe transition of the soul to Heaven and through which people believed they could control how events happened in the material world.

Conclusion

In the medieval period Saint John's shrine was believed to be the focus of his power in Beverley Minster. This chapter has shown that the graffiti may well represent a physical manifestation of the belief in his power of saintly intercession. It has also argued that the superstitious graffiti are attempts to obtain some form of protection from physical or spiritual harm. The graffiti has provided insights into the systems of belief of the people who inscribed them in relation to saints, relics and the advantage to inscribing in a church setting. Rather than assuming that all superstitious graffiti reflect a single tradition, it has acknowledged that they may represent a range of beliefs, which are observable from their distribution patterns and subject matter depicted. It is apparent that the types of graffiti inscribed depended on a range of factors, such as the surrounding topography, the patron saint and the nature of the community it served. This chapter has demonstrated that certain types may well have been inscribed for specified needs, while others were made as a request for more general protection. In addition, the graffiti may supply tangible evidence of a means through which people believed that they could enter into a reciprocal relationship with God based on the concept of custom and expectation, and the belief that this could provide protection from spiritual and physical harm. In this context, the graffiti embodies inscribers' strive for salvation and control over events that happened in the material world.

This chapter has shown that the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos are an important source of information for the ways in which people engaged in personal superstitious practices, operating at a personal level, but also interactively with other

worshippers. The evidence provides an understanding of the people who participated in superstitious practices in this location and how they might have perceived Saint John, the Minster and the world around them. Mariners, merchants and possibly educated members of the clergy were involved in their creation, as evidenced by the ships, merchants' marks and textual inscriptions. But we cannot forget the symbols that were probably produced by the less skilled. Inscribing animals or figures was a way in which illiterate people could participate in the practice, who also needed to engage in personal acts in the quest for protection. Whether these types of graffiti were inscribed for personal protection or that of Beverley Minster, from dangers and evil spirits remains unclear. It is also uncertain whether superstitious types of graffiti were intended to be seen by other people or perhaps by demons to ward off evil spirits. This chapter has shown that the physical act of inscribing the graffiti was as important as choosing the subject itself. However, what is not known is whether the act of making the graffiti was accompanied by any other form of ritual, such as spoken words, or formed part of a formal exorcism rite.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study has examined the quantity and diversity of the graffiti inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster in the late medieval and early modern periods. The evidence presented in this thesis augments our understanding of a largely unrecognised cultural, religious and social practice that flourished in these periods. By drawing comparisons with other churches, the act of inscribing graffiti has emerged as a widespread cultural phenomenon that took place in church settings across England, which transcended the boundaries of class and education. This has developed our understanding of human experience in the Middle Ages, and ways in which people interacted with church buildings in response to their beliefs and perceptions about how they could influence events in the physical world and the destination of their soul after death. By adopting a holistic approach, this research has interpreted the meaning and significance of the graffiti for the people that inscribed it and subsequent observers. This has been achieved by drawing upon a wide range of sources such as PAS data, numismatics and literary evidence. These sources have featured in this thesis in order to identify, date, interpret and contextualise the subject matter of each category of graffiti, which has allowed it to be placed into a wider social and cultural context. In doing so, this thesis has provided a multidisciplinary perspective by investigating the graffiti alongside a number of associated disciplines including history, archaeology and art history. Moreover, this thesis has charted new grounds for a theoretical framework and methodology to be regularly and systematically employed in future research into graffiti. This chapter briefly summarizes the meaning and significance of the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos in relation to the issue of permissibility. It then discusses the main conclusions of this thesis and proposes new ideas for further research.

The permissibility of the practice of inscribing graffiti

This study makes an original contribution to our understanding of the practice of inscribing graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos, when it was situated directly beneath the platform that supported the shrine of Saint John of Beverley from c.1330 to 1540. It has also examined the development and nature of the practice in the early modern period. The descriptive element of this study falls in line with previous

historiography.¹ However, this thesis has moved beyond the simple descriptive accounts that have dominated preceding studies of medieval graffiti. Instead, the focus here has been narrowed to the subject matter of the graffiti, with inferences about who inscribed a particular subject type, the reasons for its inscription and the purposes it intended to serve for their inscribers and subsequent viewers. This study has demonstrated that these issues can only be addressed when the practice of inscribing graffiti is placed in a context where writing on walls was accepted and acceptable to both the clergy and the laity, in contrast to the modern day consensus, which largely considers the activity as morally and socially unacceptable.

This has been achieved by investigating the graffiti from a thematic perspective based on two aspects of religious culture. Recent interpretations of the motives underpinning its inscription have often assigned one function to a certain type of graffiti, however, this research contributes a more complex understanding.² Chapter four discussed the act of inscribing graffiti as a personal devotional practice that might be paralleled with others, such as saying a prayer or lighting a candle. It concentrated on examples of devotional graffiti, which simultaneously may have served a secondary role as symbols with protective properties. The types of graffiti that represent a manifestation of superstitious impulses were then discussed in chapter five. However, this research has not only examined the subject matter of the graffiti, but also the importance of the physical act of inscribing in church settings. The crudeness of the execution of some examples suggest that the image depicted was not necessarily the most important concern for inscribers, but that the physical act of inscribing may have had some religious value. It was, perhaps, believed that they did not work because of the detail and accuracy of the motif depicted, but as emblems of faith and devotion made in the hope of enjoying God's protection irrespective of the accuracy and detail of the final inscription.

In the medieval period, a plethora of church-sanctioned or consecrated sources of protection could be purchased at ecclesiastical sites. These included, but were not restricted to, pilgrim souvenirs, bells, whistles, pictures and other religious trinkets, which were ritually discarded as votive offerings, fixed at entrances to yards and stables, sewn into devotional books and deposited in burials as keepsakes or protective

1 See chapter three.

2 See chapter two.

amulets.³ Both the clergy and the laity could select from an abundance of sources for physical and spiritual protection manufactured and sold by the church. Also available to medieval people were objects that did not enjoy formal priestly consecration, such as jewellery, hand-crafted by skilled artisans, and cheap trinkets engraved with religious motifs. As chapters four and five have shown, pendants, rings and other dress accessories decorated with religious imagery, divine names and scriptural quotations were common in this period. Pilgrim souvenirs that depicted images and emblems of saints stimulated religious imagination, providing a focus for private prayer and meditation. The prevalence of such objects in the medieval period has helped to explain the act of inscribing graffiti as a personal, devotional and superstitious practice.⁴

The extent of the legitimisation of the graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos remains unclear. There is no evidence to suggest that this practice was officially sanctioned by the church establishment or by the officials working in Beverley Minster. Nor is there any evidence to infer that it was actively encouraged. But given the quantity and diversity of the graffiti in this location, it must be concluded that it was permissive and accepted by both the clergy and the laity. This study has shown that the majority of the graffiti was inscribed on the eastern side of the reredos in the period when the platform above supported the shrine of Saint John of Beverley, during which time the status of this location was at its height. It is, therefore, unlikely that any behaviour deemed morally or socially unacceptable would have been permitted in an area of considerable spiritual significance. It also seems inconceivable that images not approved by ecclesiastical authorities or expressly disliked by the laity would have been tolerated. In addition, its very presence and lack of obvious defacement shows that there has been little attempt to remove it.

The positioning of the graffiti, often at heights above eye level, together with their size and detail, argue against them being random scratches, but deliberate and purposeful. In some cases, their position might have been influenced by previous inscriptions, since the space of certain examples appears to have been respected by subsequent inscribers. The religious implications of the different categories also suggests that the practice formed an aspect of piety that may well have been allowed by people working in the Minster, and possibly undertaken by members of the clergy

³ Skemer, *Binding words*, 68-70; Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs*, 16-17; Gilchrist, 'Magic', 124-53.

⁴ See chapters two, three, four and five.

themselves. Certain categories, such as musical notation and textual inscriptions, imply that educated people regularly associated with the Minster were among those responsible for its inscription.

In contrast, Graves and Rollason's study of the graffiti in the former prior's chapel at Durham Cathedral concludes that the practice was 'actively encouraged'.⁵ Differing scholarly opinions about the extent to which the practice of inscribing graffiti was permitted suggests that its degree of acceptance may have varied from site to site, and possibly within and between areas at a site. This study therefore, contributes another unexplored case-study in relation to the debate about the permissibility of medieval and early modern graffiti, by providing an understanding of this practice in an area that was situated directly beneath the shrine of a saint.

Main conclusions

This study undoubtedly advances our knowledge of the practice of inscribing graffiti in the medieval and early modern periods, but there are, of course, limitations to the conclusions possible. As outlined in chapter two, research into graffiti is beset by many pitfalls, generated by the nature of this type of evidence. As this study has shown, we do not know the extent to which the available material reflects the patterns of past inscription and sometimes examples are fragmented, making identification difficult. Despite the limitations of the evidence recorded from the sites, some conclusions can be proposed about the distribution and context of the graffiti that indicate directions for future research.

This research represents the first detailed study of the graffiti in Beverley Minster. It is also the foremost in-depth study of this type of evidence in a location that once served as the base for the shrine of a saint and centre of pilgrimage in late medieval England. It augments our understanding of the physical interaction between people, church buildings and late medieval shrines, shedding light on an aspect of the cult of saints. Yet the significance of this study is not only located in the current debates about graffiti, but should also be positioned in the context of the historiography of Beverley, Beverley Minster and specifically, the reredos.⁶ It has provided a rare opportunity to gain a detailed understanding of the functions, and use of, arguably, the most important devotional foci in Beverley Minster in the late

⁵ Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 213.

⁶ See chapters one and two.

medieval period. The theory that the reredos served as the base for the shrine of Saint John has been accepted as fact in this thesis. The graffiti has been overlooked as a type of evidence that could contribute to the debate about its location. Some key observations have been made which hint at a degree of variation of the different types of graffiti between the eastern reredos and the nave. The subject matter and spatial distribution of certain types of graffiti contribute to the on-going debate about whether the space on top of the reredos supported the shrine of Saint John of Beverley.⁷

Chapters four and five demonstrated that certain types of graffiti have an exclusive relationship with the eastern side of the reredos. Weapons, merchants' marks, animals, the Side Wound of Christ, star shapes, supernatural figures and figures depicted in an attitude of prayer were only recorded in this location in Beverley Minster. Moreover, other types of graffiti were recorded in comparatively larger quantities on the eastern reredos than in the nave including crosses, letters, sacred monograms, ships and textual inscriptions. For some types of graffiti this bias may be the result of the presence of the shrine of Saint John of Beverley.

In chapter four, it was suggested that at least two types of graffiti represent the climax of inscribers' devotional impulses to Saint John. The graffiti of the mitre in this location was the most valuable example in support of this argument, which may have alluded to Saint John's status as a bishop during his lifetime.⁸ In addition, investigations into the subject matter of the graffiti have shown that this space was not only used for prayer, meditation and contemplation, but also served a musical purpose, relating to Saint John.⁹

Religious devotion blended with superstitious beliefs had an important role in a period with few abilities for a remedy against illness, injury or aid for natural disaster. In the Middle Ages, people desired a comfortable familiarity with the saints and engaging in devotional and superstitious practices provided a degree of confidence in a world beset with hazards and anxieties. Chapter five examined the subject matter of the types of graffiti that could be identified as features of Saint John's miracle collections, where it was argued that this relationship may suggest that they were consciously placed on the eastern reredos because of its proximity to the shrine. The notion that the inscribers of the graffiti intended to forge a symbolic connection with

⁷ See chapter one.

⁸ See chapter four.

⁹ See chapter four.

Saint John by invoking his memory is a reoccurring theory advanced in the two thematic chapters. An investigation into his written cult has shed light on the potential relationship between Saint John and the inscribers of the graffiti that depict weapons and merchants' marks. To this may be added the concentration of ships on the eastern reredos. With no further miracles recorded after 1323, this thesis has shown that the graffiti is a valuable source of evidence for understanding the ways in which Saint John might have been venerated from c.1330 to 1540 and invoked by successive generations.¹⁰

It is also a possibility that the results may be revealing a relationship between specific types of graffiti and this location not only because of the function of the reredos as a shrine-base, but also due to its close proximity to the performance of the Eucharist. For example, the triquetra, the Side Wound of Christ, the sacred monograms and the possible Agnus Dei motifs were symbolically associated with Christocentric devotion in the late medieval period.¹¹ However, other types were more ambiguous such as the crosses, letters, ragged staff motifs and textual inscriptions.¹²

It was suggested that the inscription of the letters M and W and the angel may well have been prompted by the sculptures associated with the reredos.¹³ These results add to our knowledge of the theory that, in some cases, there was a relationship between the graffiti and its surrounding iconography.¹⁴ As mentioned in chapter two, in other studies carried out by Plesch, Graves, Rollason and Champion, this theory has been explored in the context of the relationship between graffiti and wall paintings. In the present study, there was no evidence to suggest that there was a correlation between the subject matter of the graffiti and any potential wall paintings since, in many cases, examples of the same type were spread across the eastern reredos. This eliminates the possibility that the subject matter of the graffiti was a response to that of a wall painting. However, this conclusion does not necessarily undermine arguments which suggest that wall paintings once decorated this location, as the graffiti may not have reflected the subject matter depicted in a potential wall painting.¹⁵

The cultural perspectives explored in this study enhance our understanding of

10 See chapter two.

11 See chapter four.

12 See chapters four and five.

13 See chapters four and five.

14 See chapter two.

15 See chapter one.

the ways in which people in medieval and early modern Beverley interacted with the Minster on a physical level. It has revealed that the types and quantities of graffiti reflect the religious and social culture of late medieval Beverley. The categories of graffiti have been placed within the wider context of Beverley, which has helped to provide an understanding of their possible meanings and of the people that may have inscribed them. This has been achieved by contextualising the graffiti in relation to Beverley's guilds, religious festivals, education and nature of its economy. In doing so, this study has argued that among the social ranks of inscribers were clergy, pilgrims, musicians, merchants and mariners. Other subject types provide evidence of devotion to the Virgin Mary, the Holy Name and the Side Wound of Christ, as well as Saint John of Beverley.¹⁶ This study is not only of local significance, as by drawing comparisons with other studies carried out at sites elsewhere in England this has shown that the practice of inscribing graffiti in church settings was a widespread cultural and social phenomenon in the medieval and early modern periods.

In more broad terms, this research adds to the growing body of work on the subject of medieval graffiti in churches. Churches within the Yorkshire region and pilgrimage centres have been relatively neglected in the current studies on medieval and early modern graffiti; research of graffiti elsewhere has more often focused on parish churches in southern counties.¹⁷ To counter this trend, this work has endeavoured to consider a range of parish churches within the Humber region, while using other surveys carried out elsewhere in England for the purpose of comparative analysis. This has provided a synthesis of the types of graffiti recorded in northern and southern parts of England, which has placed the practice in a wider national context.

The period of study, spanning between the medieval and early modern periods, was chosen to break down the traditionally imposed focus on medieval graffiti and to facilitate a synthesis of the nature of the practice across both periods.¹⁸ Despite biases in the graffiti record and difficulties in comparing the graffiti from one site with another, the recorded evidence suggests a degree of homogeneity in the types of graffiti inscribed at the different sites including Beverley Minster, the churches from within the Humber region and the available studies from elsewhere in England.

The discoveries recorded in this study also add to our knowledge of the types

¹⁶ See chapter four.

¹⁷ See chapter one.

¹⁸ See chapter two.

of graffiti not frequently found. By drawing comparisons with other sites, this study has shown that letters, angels, horses and weapons are rare subjects among the graffiti, while sacred monograms, ships and compass-drawn designs appear to be relatively common. Unlike previous studies, this research has not been restricted to the best, high quality examples, but encompasses a rather wide cross-section in terms of artistic skill.¹⁹

Today, we are reminded of the piety and contributions of the wealthiest members of the social spectrum when we enter churches such as Beverley Minster, by its architecture, monuments, effigies, stained-glass and other forms of iconography. This study sheds light on an overlooked aspect of Beverley Minster and churches within the Humber region. The practice of inscribing graffiti has emerged from this study as another important aspect of medieval religious culture. It has demonstrated that these interventions in the fabric are valuable sources of evidence of a religious and cultural practice that lay outside the confines of the official church, that can develop our understanding of the ways in which people interacted with churches on a personal and physical level.²⁰

The methods and sources employed in this thesis form another contribution that provides an adaptable template for the future study of graffiti at other sites. A quantitative approach has been adopted in order to gain insights into the frequency of the different types of graffiti at the churches surveyed, while qualitative methods have been used to investigate the reasons why. The churches, PAS data and literary evidence were carefully selected to interpret the meaning and significance of the different types of graffiti on the eastern side of the reredos.²¹ Similarly to the recent studies undertaken by Champion and Westerdahl, this research makes comparisons with other mediums, but it is more deliberately holistic, drawing together multiple layers of context, with a wider range of sources.²²

Further research

This investigation has highlighted a number of significant gaps in, and problems with, our current knowledge of medieval and early modern graffiti, which can only be addressed by further research. The present study must be regarded as a preliminary one

19 See chapter two.

20 See chapters four and five.

21 See chapter two.

22 Champion, 'The medium', 111-122; Westerdahl, 'Medieval carved ship images', 337-47.

that provides a basis from which further research can develop by expanding its geographical, spatial and temporal parameters. Further work in a number of areas is required to take the discussion forward: through an exploration of more themes; a survey of the graffiti throughout Beverley Minster; a wider geographical survey at sites within the Humber region and comparisons with other medieval ecclesiastical and secular buildings.

Thematic analyses have restricted what conclusions could have been made about the graffiti. The scope of this research has been confined to analysing the graffiti in the context of two themes, but a plethora of other reasons for its existence can be advanced further. In both thematic chapters, this study has accepted that each type of graffiti may have served more than one purpose and, in many cases, could have been analysed under the headings of either chapter.²³ In a study of this scope, it is impossible to test widely all the implications of each type of graffiti, or to analyse critically, the validity of each hypothesis as a result of the ambiguity of the evidence. In many instances, the intended purpose of the graffiti is impossible to determine, since most types are open to a range of possibilities. Positive verification of hypotheses relating to the graffiti are hampered by the apparent ambiguity of their meaning. Scholars should accept and embrace the ambiguity of the symbolic significance of the motifs in their examinations of graffiti so as to achieve a broader consideration of the workings of medieval religious belief, practice and experience.

It must also be admitted that there are types of graffiti examined in this study that would benefit from further investigation. With so many categories and sub-categories of graffiti recorded, some examples could not be studied to the degree of detail that others were subjected to. It can be hazardous to stray into disciplines in which one is not formally trained, and therefore it has not been possible to examine each type of graffiti as many require a specialist level of knowledge of a particular subject matter. For instance, further research into the textual inscriptions is needed to learn more about the meaning of their content. Moreover, the graffiti that form the foundation of this thesis are not only varied in type, but also in size, manner of execution, deepness of incision, location and relationship to other examples. As this thesis has shown, these details are important factors in the investigation of the potential meaning of the graffiti. To carry out such a detailed analysis would require a separate

²³ See chapters four and five.

research project for each graffito.

Spatially, the next stage of the research would be to extend the recording of the graffiti throughout Beverley Minster including the transepts, stairwells and upstairs rooms. Quantification of this graffiti would facilitate a further comparative analysis between different locations. In addition, by carrying out additional surveys of the graffiti in other churches located within the Humber region, this would provide a more accurate understanding of the nature and extent of the practice in the area. In certain churches surveyed as part of this research, such as Paull, the evidence has shown that a high proportion of a specific type of graffiti may not only reflect the occupations of the people that worshipped in the church, but also the character of the surrounding topography of the church itself, and the persona of its patron saint. These results have emphasized the importance of analysing each site as its own case-study.

This study has drawn comparisons largely with parish churches, but perhaps the most valuable results would come from other Minster churches established in the medieval period or sites that housed secular canons, which would involve widening the geographical scope of the survey. As mentioned in chapter two, this study initially investigated other Minster churches, but preliminary surveys showed little evidence of graffiti. Southwell Minster is a prospective site for future study, which was not surveyed in the process of selecting sites due to its further distance. Additional comparisons could be drawn from other pilgrimage sites, such as Canterbury Cathedral. This may aid a greater understanding of the nature and extent of the practice of inscribing graffiti at centres of pilgrimage, providing a contrast with Saint John at Beverley Minster, who never achieved the degree of popularity of Saint Thomas Becket, but was more well-known in the north of England in the late medieval period.²⁴ Moreover, there are further distinctions to be made with the graffiti at secular sites, such as castles and vernacular buildings, which could develop our knowledge of any trends from the different sites.

The study of the graffiti in Beverley Minster could be extended to recording all examples inscribed up to the present day, permitting an analysis of the quantity, types and spatial distribution from each period. By extending the temporal parameters, this might reveal more information about the development of social attitudes towards the act of inscribing graffiti, and would also address questions relating to the nature of the

²⁴ See chapter one.

practice across the different periods.

In recent years there has been an increase in amateur researchers embarking on independent projects to record graffiti in specific geographical areas, which have received widespread media attention such as the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey.²⁵ Community-led archaeology projects are, perhaps, a means in which to accomplish these further research aims, especially in terms of recording the graffiti. It is also encouraging that other publications such as Fewins', *The church explorer's handbook*, notes church buildings that contain graffiti as a feature of interest for the church explorer.²⁶ This accessible guide provides an example of graffiti being used as a means for promoting the interaction between the general public and local churches, assisting the development of a greater understanding of their cultural heritage.

Graffiti is beginning to appeal to academic fields that have already benefited in recent years. For example, in Graves and Rollason's study of the former prior's chapel, the graffiti provided a unique opportunity to gain a detailed understanding of the development, functions and use of, a major monastic lodging, which has stimulated further questions about the religious and musical roles of this location.²⁷ Art historians, cultural historians and historians of religion need to expand their fields of inquiry to include graffiti in order to build upon the work being done in the developing fields of visual culture in churches. Such expansions will prompt further inquiries into human experience in the Middle Ages, and allow considerations of the relationships between churches and the people they served. Having examined the nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti, scholars interested in religious experience and devotional and superstitious behaviour will benefit from incorporating this type of evidence into their analyses.

Future studies of graffiti need to continue and expand the methodological approach taken in this study and move beyond simple recording, dating and description, towards interpretation and analysis. The same methods used in this thesis to understand the permissibility of the practice of inscribing graffiti in Beverley Minster and, more specifically on the eastern side of the reredos, can be applied to further studies. Graffiti needs to be studied within its architectural context at a site, and then compared with the results from other surveys. It is also necessary that studies

25 BBC, *Norfolk graffiti survey uncovers 'medieval selfies'* (2015). Available online: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-norfolk-33098831> [Accessed 18/9/15].

26 C. Fewins, *The church explorer's handbook* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2005), 135.

27 Graves & Rollason, 'Monastery of Durham', 199-214.

investigate the symbolic context of the subject matter of the different types of graffiti, in order to place it within wider cultural and social contexts. As this study has shown, inferences can then be drawn from the evidence to address questions about why it was inscribed, and how it was understood by contemporary viewers.

Epilogue

As the first in-depth study of the graffiti located beneath the shrine of a saint, it lays the foundations for further debates about the extent to which the practice was permissive in the medieval and early modern periods. It has demonstrated that attitudes were comparatively different from those in the modern day, certainly with regard to medieval graffiti. It has also shown that the act of inscribing graffiti was a cultural practice in which people from across the social spectrum could articulate their religious beliefs, who needed to engage in personal devotional acts and seek protection from natural and supernatural forces. The act of inscribing graffiti was a widespread cultural practice that took place in churches across the Humber region in the medieval and early modern periods. Only by undertaking the further research outlined above can a fuller understanding of the permissibility of the practice in these periods be achieved. Future research into medieval churches needs to take more account of graffiti, in order to expand our understanding of their role in the cultural, religious and social aspects of the daily lives of the people who worked and worshipped in them. There is little doubt that much more graffiti is waiting to be discovered in other medieval buildings, and it is hoped that this study will encourage people to be pro-active in recording this valuable form of evidence before it weathers away forever.

Glossary

Aisle: the sections of the church to the north and south sides of the nave, which usually run the full length of the nave and are separated from it by a row of arches.

Ampulla: a small flask or bottle with handles at either side that may display some form of decoration. They may be used to contain holy oil, water or other substances collected from pilgrimage sites.

Anagram: a type of word play. The result of rearranging the original letters once in order to produce a new word or phrase.

Apotropaic: a term that originates from the Greek word *apotropaios*, meaning to 'ward off evil'. It may be used to refer to markings, symbols or objects that supposedly have the power to avert evil influences or bad luck.

Arcade: a row of arches supported by piers which usually separate the nave from the aisles. They may be open or closed (blind arcading), and are used to either strengthen a wall or simply decorate it. Arcades may also support the clerestory walls which form the roof of an adjacent aisle.

Arma christi: weapons of Christ or the instruments of the Passion. These are the objects associated with Jesus' Passion in religious art. Among the instruments are the cross, crown of thorns, the nails and Holy Lance.

Banana-like hull: a technical term for the theoretical shape of the hull of a ship of the hulk shipbuilding tradition.

Banner: a common visual method used by the nobility and knighthood, but also by towns and countries in the medieval period. They were sometimes used as military ensigns, decorated with the relevant heraldry to distinguish one from another.

Bay: section of an arcade between two consecutive columns, piers or pillars.

Berefeallarii: a rather broad term in the context of Beverley Minster for people who may well have been clerks.

Boss: a projecting ornament which is located at the intersection of the ribs in the vaulting or roof. This is to disguise the point at which the ribs join. In medieval churches, bosses are usually carved with some form of decoration either foliage or figures and could be made of wood or stone.

Bow: forward end of a vessel.

Bowsprit: spar protruding from the bow of a vessel used as an attachment point for the bowlines.

Brasses: inscribed memorial tablets that often show portraits of the deceased on the surface of a copper alloy sheet, inlaid in a stone slab or other medium. They are usually located on the floor or wall of the church to mark the spot where the person is interred.

Canopy: a covering above an altar, tomb pulpit or niche. They can be ornamental and decorated with images of saints or foliage, among other subjects.

Capital: a large carved headstone of a column or pilaster which supports the arches or vaulting ribs. They are often carved with different designs such as foliage, human figures or animal designs.

Carrack: a three or four-masted sailing ship that developed in the fifteenth century. They are usually depicted as square-rigged vessels, which had a characteristically high rounded stern-section with a large aftcastle and bowsprit at the stem.

Chancel: section of the church in the east end which contains the main altar. Access is

usually reserved for the clergy and those celebrating the Mass.

Chancel arch: a single span at the west end of the chancel, marking the space between the nave and east end.

Chantry chapel: a small chapel or side altar in which masses are said for the soul of the individual or souls of the groups of individuals that endowed it. This ensured that prayers for their soul continued after death, reducing the amount of time spent in Purgatory. Such areas often include the tomb of the donor and may be found in a separate building or as part of the aisle of the church.

Charge: in heraldry, it is a term used to define any emblem occupying the field of a shield. This may be a geometric design, animal, plant, object or other device.

Chevron: zigzag pattern characteristic of Norman decorative moulding.

Choir: section of the church occupied by the choristers and the clergy. This is usually the eastern arm of the building, and for this reason a section of the chancel is sometimes called the choir even in cases when it is not strictly used for this purpose.

Cog: a flat-bottomed medieval ship with straight stems and clinker-built sides. They are often depicted as single-masted square-rigged sailing vessels with a prominent raised bow.

Consecration cross: one of twelve usually incised or painted on the interior and exterior walls of the church during the dedication ceremony which, by tradition, was performed by a bishop. The places where the oil was applied to the walls were then marked with a cross.

Corbel: a short block of stone or timber which projects from a wall in order to support a beam and weight of a structure. Corbels are often decorated and carved into images of heads or grotesques.

Crosslet cross: a cross with the ends of each arm crossed by a shorter vertical stem.

Cross of eight points: a cross comprised of eight arms, combining examples of the Greek cross and the Saltire cross.

Cross fleury: a cross with the ends of the arms tipped with an outline of a fleurs-de-lis. Variants depict motifs that generally resemble flowers, trefoils or leaves.

Cross pattée: a cross that has straight parallel lines with a broader perimeter. Variants often have flared arms that curve.

Crow's nest: a small shelter on the fore- or mainmast of the masthead, originally made from a cask or barrel. Some nests were used for fighting with soldiers stationed in them.

Dedication: the name of a saint, concept or special event which is given to each church. In some cases, the church dedication would change, depending on the needs of the community.

Diaper: orderly, repetitive and comprehensive decoration of squares or diamonds, carved or painted on a plain surface wall.

Divination: the practice of seeking knowledge of the future or the unknown by supernatural means in an attempt to forecast the future.

Doted cross: the outline of a cross represented by a series of dots.

Effigy: a sculptural likeness of a person which could be created using various mediums including stone, brass, marble or alabaster.

Epigraphy: the study of inscriptions or writing.

Ex-voto: an alternative term to votive, meaning 'from a vow', in consequence of a vow

to powers believed to be efficacious. It is a votive offering made to a saint or divinity in gratitude of a vow being fulfilled.

Foliated: carved with a leafy ornamentation, which is mostly applied to the finials and capitals.

Fourché cross: a type of heraldic cross which usually has arms of equal length forked at the tips.

Gesith: a thegn or earl.

Graffiti: inscriptions and drawings of varying subjects and sizes cut or incised upon stone or other mediums.

Greek cross: a cross with arms of equal length.

Grip: the handle of a weapon such as a sword or dagger.

Guild: there are two different types of medieval guilds; trade (craft) guilds and religious guilds. Trade guilds were established to regulate a craft trade within a particular locality. They controlled the hiring of apprentices, quality control and the pricing of goods. Most trade guilds also undertook religious and social duties such as maintaining a light in a local church, looking after members who became ill and ensuring prayers for the souls of departed members. Religious guilds took a similar form, but without the requirement of being involved in a particular craft organisation to join them. Wealthy guilds frequently had the financial responsibility of maintaining dedicated altars within churches.

Hagiography: a literary genre of the writing and study of the lives of saints.

Heyke: a form of livery jacket.

Hulk: a medieval ship with a rounded hull-form. It was one of the main strands of the

northern European shipbuilding tradition, commonly used from the fourteenth century.

Iconography: an aspect of art history that involves the identification, description and interpretation of the content of images. It studies the imagery or symbolism of a work of art, an artist or body of art.

IHC or IHS: the sacred monogram that represents the name Jesus. The monogram IHC represents the first three letters of the Greek name for 'Jesus', IHΣΟΥΣ. The last letter can be represented by either a C or S. A Latin interpretation of the letters IHS is *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, meaning 'Jesus Saviour of Mankind'.

Latin cross: a common type of cross which has a longer vertical stem intersected by a shorter horizontal stem about three-quarters of the way up the vertical. It is often identified with the crucifixion.

Leech-book: a book that contains charms, some of which may be poetic, and recipes for treating ailments afflicting humans and livestock such as lice and boils.

Light: wall opening for the purpose of letting in light. A window or the spaces created by dividing a window with vertical bars known as mullions.

Mason: craftsmen who work with stone.

Masons' marks: incised marks created by masons to identify the stone blocks they laid and areas of the building they worked on. They were used as banker marks, allowing the master mason to calculate the wages owed to each mason as well as for the purposes of quality control.

Mast: a vertical or near-vertical timber or assemblage of timbers supporting the yards on which sails are set.

Master mason: an architect, technical director and clerk of works. Aside from

designing the building, master masons were often contracted to oversee construction and supervise the everyday activities of the workforce.

Merchants' marks: each merchant would have their own individual mark that was unique to them, acting as a form of 'signature'. They were used to mark their goods, sign documents and adorn their property, which could be easily understood by both the literate and illiterate.

Minster: the Old English *mynster* is derived from the Latin *monasterium*, meaning monastery. They could house groups of monks, nuns or secular priests. In common with Southwell and Ripon, the Minster at Beverley was a college of secular canons.

Misericord: derived from the Latin *miser cordia*, meaning 'to have mercy upon'. They are a feature of choir stalls that take the form of a carved bracket, which supports a hinged seat when it is turned up for use. They are often ornamented with ecclesiastical subjects.

Monument: any permanent item which commemorates a person or event. This term usually describes an effigy or carving which depicts the likenesses of people.

Nave: derived from the Latin word *navis*, meaning ship, which refers to the main body or western arm of the church. This is where the congregation would be situated during services. It comprises the area between the chancel and the west end.

Niche: a vertical hollow, or ornamented recess in a wall originally designed to hold a small statue.

Numismatics: the study or collection of currency including coins, tokens and paper money.

Orans position: a common figure depicted in religious art. It is a Latin term meaning 'one who prays'. The figure is depicted in a posture either of prayer or blessing.

They are usually represented standing, with the elbows close to the sides of the body, the hands outstretched sideways and palms facing upwards. The origin of the figure is an intercessory image to assist the soul at death.

Ordinary: in heraldry, this is a term used to describe a simple geometrical design that runs from side to side or top to bottom of the field of a shield. Ordinaries in the medieval period included the bend, the chevron and crosses.

Patens: a small plate, usually made of gold or silver, used to hold Eucharistic bread which is to be consecrated.

Petitioner: a request from a person who expresses their desire for it to be granted.

Pier: a vertical, free-standing pillar. They may be cylindrical, octagonal, rectangular or in clusters.

Polyphonic music: different sounds or different voices. It consists of two or more simultaneous lines of independent melody, but all harmonizing. It may contain an element of imitation, where one voice or instrument copies what another has just played.

Pommel: an enlarged fitting at the top of the handle of a sword, dagger or other similar weapon. They appeared in a variety of shapes, including crescents, disks and wheels.

Presbytery: sanctuary reserved for the clergy which can usually be found beyond the choir at the east end of the church.

Quatrefoil: a four-lobed flower.

Ratlines: rope steps running up the shrouds of a mast from the sides of the hull.

Rebus: a puzzle which often takes the form of a mixture of letters, words and images

designed to represent a name or phrase.

Reredos: a decorated screen or wall covering behind the altar. This could be a tapestry, painting or a stone construction beneath the east window.

Retro-choir: part of a church situated to the east of the choir, and behind any presbytery.

Rudder: a device for steering a vessel.

Saltire cross: two diagonally intersecting lines in the form of a Saint Andrew's cross.

Sanctuary: the area to the east of the main altar rails, which includes the altar.

Shrine: usually a tomb, altar or special chapel associated with a saint.

Shrouds: ropes leading from the masthead to the sides of the vessel to support the mast.

Side Wound of Christ: the name for one of the Five Sacred Wounds of Christ suffered during the crucifixion. In the medieval period, the wounds were a focus of devotion which were depicted in religious art. Representations of the wound in Christ's side are shown in the form of either a straight line, a lozenge or an almond shape. It was believed that they were accompanied with promises of significant benefits, such as for healing and childbirth. These benefits could be gained by various means; through simply looking at the image, or by wearing it or kissing it.

Stained-glass: painted pieces of glass which, when held together by a lead-work frame, form a complete picture. The result is bound by the tracery of a window, and collectively often forms scenes relating to stories from the Bible and the lives of saints.

Stays: these form part of the 'standing' (as opposed to the 'running') rigging of a vessel.

They are the ropes that extend from the masthead to the sides of a ship, which help support the strain on the mast.

Stern: after-end of a vessel.

Supplicant: a person who asks God or someone who is in a position of power for something in a humble way.

Terminus post quem: a Latin term for 'limit after which'. The earliest possible date for something.

Tierceron ribs: subsidiary pairs of ribs that do not cross through the centre. They begin at the same point as the main supports, but meet at an angle and do not complete a continuous line across the vault.

Tracery: perforated, ornamental stonework in a window or screen panelling.

Transepts: an arm of the crossing in a cruciform church.

Transubstantiation: the belief in the conversion of the substance of the Eucharistic elements into the body and blood of Christ at consecration. They are not merely a symbol, but are in actual reality believed to be the body and blood of Christ.

Trefoil: foliated, three-lobed ornamentation in a pierced circle or at the head of an arch.

Tumulus (plural tumuli): a mound of earth and stones raised over a grave or graves. Tumuli are also known as barrows or burial mounds.

The Veronica: it relates to a piece of cloth which, according to legend, bears the likeness of the face of Jesus, not made by human hands.

Vestments: clothes of office worn by people regularly associated with the church, such

as the clergy and choristers.

Votive: the word comes from the Latin *votus*, meaning vow or promise. It is a term applied to an object given or act performed that signified the fulfilment of a holy vow which was vowed or dedicated to God or a certain saint. They were made in order to gain favour with supernatural forces. This may be during a time of crisis, but could also be presented in gratitude for a safe recovery or deliverance without having been previously promised.

Wait: a Nordic word meaning 'watcher' or 'guard'. In the medieval period, they would form themselves into a band who would play their instruments through the town, in processions, and for other purposes.

Wall painting: any form of painted decoration within a church. They may depict scenes from the Bible, images of the Holy family, saints or decorative motifs.

Yard: a spar crossing the mast of a ship horizontally or diagonally, from which sails are set.

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- Catalogue entry 69: Graffiti of two full-length figures on S56
- Catalogue entry 69a: The superimposed outline of the two full-length figures and a possible acorn on S56
- Catalogue entry 70: Graffito of a full-length figure depicted in profile on S56
- Catalogue entry 71: Graffito of a figure missing a head on S56
- Catalogue entry 72: Graffito of a portrait showing an arm folded across on S38
- Catalogue entry 73: Graffito of a face depicted in profile, wearing a head-dress on S38
- Catalogue entry 74: Graffiti depicting two possible Agnus Dei motifs on S22
- Catalogue entry 74a: The superimposed outline of the graffiti of the two possible Agnus Dei motifs on S22
- Catalogue entry 75: Graffito of a possible horse beneath the hull of a ship on S38
- Catalogue entry 75a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the possible horse on S38
- Catalogue entry 76: Graffito of a merchant's mark depicted with a heraldic shield on S53
- Catalogue entry 77: Graffito of a merchant's mark on S45
- Catalogue entry 78: Graffito depicting the name 'John Shorts 1612' framed by an elaborate design on S21

- Catalogue entry 79: Graffito of the name 'Thomas Kirkman 1644' on S55
- Catalogue entry 80: Graffiti depicting the name 'Thomas : Kirkman 1644' and the initial 'ES' on S18
- Catalogue entry 81: Graffito of the name 'C Jordan 1667' on S15
- Catalogue entry 82: Graffito of a possible acorn on S56
- Catalogue entry 83: Graffito of a possible wagon wheel on S34
- Catalogue entry 84: Graffito of a box divided into smaller boxes on S22

Nave, Beverley Minster

- Catalogue entry 85: Graffito of a textual inscription reading 'maburn' on N8
- Catalogue entry 86: Graffito of a foreign textual inscription on N8
- Catalogue entry 87: Graffiti depicting various crosses of a similar style on N5
- Catalogue entry 88: Graffito of a cross on N6
- Catalogue entry 89: Graffito of a pseudo-heraldic device on N8
- Catalogue entry 90: Graffito of an interlaced design located in the west end near the door leading to the north-west tower
- Catalogue entry 91: Graffito of a ragged staff with crosses incised in the centre on S4
- Catalogue entry 92: Graffito of a stave of musical notation with a clef and four notes on N2
- Catalogue entry 93: The notes and clef on the stave of musical notation on N2
- Catalogue entry 94: Graffito of a four-lined stave of musical notation located in the bay between piers N2 and N3
- Catalogue entry 95: Graffito of a large figure on N2
- Catalogue entry 95a: The superimposed outline of the large figure graffito on N2
- Catalogue entry 96: Graffito of a profile of a face on N5
- Catalogue entry 97: Graffiti possibly depicting two interlinked alpha and omega symbols on N6
- Catalogue entry 98: Graffito of the name 'Francis' in abbreviated Latin spelt

'FRACIS' on N3

Catalogue entry 99: Graffito of the name 'Robert Cvttts 1622' on N9, possibly for 'Cutts'

Catalogue entry 100: Graffito of the name 'Thomas Ashlet 1613' on S8

Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's, Paull

Catalogue entry 101: Graffito of a ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 101a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of a ship on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 102: Graffito of a small ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 102a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the small ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 103: Graffito of a ship as it appears without using a light source located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 103a: Graffito of a ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave, with lighting equipment

Catalogue entry 104: Graffito of a possible cog type ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 105: Graffito depicting the hull of a ship without rigging located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 106: Graffito of a merchant's mark located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 107: Graffito of a small possible Consecration cross located on the south side of the chancel

Catalogue entry 108: Graffiti depicting a series of concentric compass-drawn circles within circles located on a pier on the north side of the nave

All Saints, Hessle

Catalogue entry 109: Graffito of a ship located on a pier close to the west end

- Catalogue entry 110: Graffito of a ship showing the detail of the shrouds, yards, crow's nest and planking, situated at a low height on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 111: Graffito of a ship showing the detail of its hull and rigging, above the door frame leading to the central power
- Catalogue entry 112: Graffito of a textual inscription located on a pier on the north side of the nave towards the west end
- Catalogue entry 113: Graffito of a stave of musical notation with diamonds and square shapes representing notes, situated above standing eye level near the doorway leading to the central tower
- Catalogue entry 114: Graffito possibly depicting a four-lined stave of musical notation consisting of lines and dots, situated at a low height facing east near the door jamb leading to the central tower
- Catalogue entry 115: Graffito possibly representing a stave of musical notation consisting of lines and dots, located in the west end near the door leading to the tower
- Catalogue entry 116: Graffito of a compass-drawn design of a six-petalled daisywheel, located above the door frame leading to the central tower
- Catalogue entry 117: Graffito of a compass-drawn design consisting of a six-petalled daisywheel, located in the west end near the doorway to the tower
- Catalogue entry 118: A faintly-incised graffito of a face located in the west end near the doorway leading to the tower
- Catalogue entry 118a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the face located in the west end near the doorway leading to the tower
- Catalogue entry 119: Graffito of a merchant's mark on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 120: Graffito of a shield located on the westernmost pier near the doorway leading to the tower

Catalogue entry 121: Graffito of a time keeping device located in the west end

Saint Nicholas's, Hornsea

Catalogue entry 122: Graffito of a ragged staff located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 123: Graffito depicting a possible angel with compass-drawn circular wings, situated at a low height on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 124: Graffiti of two merchants' marks located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 125: Graffiti of two W letters consisting of a double V located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 126: Graffito of a compass-drawn design depicting a faintly-incised daisywheel, located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 127: Graffito of a face depicted in profile located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 128: Graffito of a possible bird located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Saint John of Beverley, Harpham

Catalogue entry 129: Graffiti of two sacred monograms located on the east side of the west arch

Catalogue entry 130: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch

Catalogue entry 131: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch

Catalogue entry 132: Graffito possibly depicting a hulk type ship located on the north side of the west tower arch facing towards the nave

Catalogue entry 133: Graffito of a portrait, possibly a caricature wearing an elaborately decorated hat located on the east side of the west

arch

Catalogue entry 134: Graffiti depicting two birds located on the west arch of the tower

Saint Mary's, Welwick

Catalogue entry 135: Graffito of a mitred head located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 136: Graffito of a shield located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 137: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the door jamb on south-west entrance

Catalogue entry 138: Graffito of a possible hulk type ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

All Saints, Goxhill

Catalogue entry 139: Graffito of a face wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 140: Graffiti of two faces depicted wearing hats located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 141: Graffito of a face depicted wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 142: Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 143: Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 144: Graffito of a figure in armour wielding a sword located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 145: Graffito of a full-length figure located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 145a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the full-length figure on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 146: Graffiti of two figures situated at a low height on the east side

of the chancel arch

Catalogue entry 147: Graffito depicting a horse being ridden by a figure located on the easternmost pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 148: Graffito of a faintly-incised ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 148a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the faintly-incised ship, located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 149: Graffito of a compass-drawn design located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 150: Graffito of a possible Consecration cross located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 151: An early modern graffito depicting the name 'George Roberts' located in the west end

Appendix 1

The graffiti database

The graffiti database provides the framework for the arguments and hypotheses presented in the main body of the thesis. Chapters two through five draw upon the information presented in the database, which provides details about the graffiti discovered at Beverley Minster and the other six sites from the Humber region. This includes a description of the appearance, location and potential date for each of the 905 examples of graffiti recorded in this study. Further information is provided about the ways in which each graffiti has been recorded, whether by a photograph, a tracing, a drawing, or a combination of these methods. The following table begins with the 373 examples from the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster as this is the main focus of the thesis. It then provides information about the 406 discoveries in the nave of Beverley Minster followed by the 126 examples recorded at the six parish churches from the Humber region. For each site the database is arranged according to the examples of graffiti by category, beginning with the most abundant type at a site and ending with the category with the fewest examples. Key 1 provides the codes for the table which mainly relate to the different types of methods used to record the graffiti, while key 2 provides the codes for the categories and sub-categories of graffiti.

Key 1: Codes for table Appendix 1.1

Codes	
D	Drawing
F	Folder
P	Possible example
R	Rubbing
S	Stone
SD	SD Card
T	Tracing

Key 2: Codes for the categories of graffiti in table Appendix 1.1

Category		
	Categories	Sub-categories
A	Animal	
C	Cross	
Ccc	Cross	Crosslet cross
Cco	Cross	Consecration cross
Cd	Cross	Cross outlined in dots
Cf	Cross	Fleuretty cross
Cfc	Cross	Fourché cross
Cg	Cross	Greek cross
Cl	Cross	Latin cross
Cp	Cross	Cross pattée
Cs	Cross	Saltire cross
C8	Cross	Cross of eight points
EM	Early modern graffiti	
F	Figure	
H	Heraldry	
Hrst	Heraldry	Ragged staff
I	Textual inscription	
Imu	Textual inscription	Situated on a stave of musical notation
L	Letter	
Lcv	Letter	Conjoined 'V' letter that forms either a letter W or M
M	Maritime, ship graffiti	
Misc	Miscellaneous	
MM	Merchant's mark	
Mu	Musical notation	
RS	Religious Symbol	
RSa	Religious Symbol	Angel
RSm	Religious Symbol	Sacred monogram for the name Jesus
RSmt	Religious Symbol	Mitre
RSW	Religious Symbol	Weapon, either a sword or dagger
Sh	Shape	
ShC	Shape	Compass-drawn design
Shcl	Shape	Cross and lozenge
Shs	Shape	Star

Table Appendix 1.1: The graffiti database														
Eastern side of the reredos, Beverley Minster														
ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Date		Architectural Location	Media Type					
						Period	Specific		jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0113	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return	1929/SD06		R0054/F006	D0004/F001	4	S09
0140	I				Inscription with the beginning interpreted as 'Spary'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6057/SD06, 4231/SD07		R0084/F006	D0006/F001	5	S23
0141	I				Inscription beginning as 'Dy'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1597/SD06, 6068/SD08		R0085/F006	D0006/F001	5	S23
0360	I				A long minute inscription beginning 'wy..'. The highest letter of this inscription measures 1cm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4216/SD07			D0006/F001	5	S23
0361	I				Inscription beginning with 'th'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1590/SD06, 6063/SD08			D0006/F001	5	S23
0362	I				Inscription partially understood as 'Rolb...yff'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1572/SD06, 4214/SD07		R0086/F006	D0006/F001	5	S23
0363	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1605/SD06			D0006/F001	5	S23
0147	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6098/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0364	I			Graffito possibly depicting the name Thomas.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6087/SD08, 6091/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0365	I				Inscription beginning with T.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6087/SD08, 6091/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0366	I				Inscription beginning with B.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6088/SD08, 6089/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0367	I				Inscription beginning with S.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6082/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0368	I				Inscription beginning with S located in close proximity to a box with multiple crosses.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1489/SD06, 6082/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0369	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6085/SD08, 6094/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0370	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6083/SD08, 6098/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0374	I				An inscription interpreted as reading 'Ty...ym'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6110/SD08, 6146/SD08		R0087/F006	D0006/F001	5	S20
0375	I				Inscription beginning with 'By...'. 	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6111/SD08, 6138/SD08		R0087/F006	D0006/F001	5	S20
0376	I				Inscription beginning as 'Syll..'. 	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6112/SD08, 6141/SD08		R0087/F006	D0006/F001	5	S20
0154	I				Inscription beginning with S.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6113/SD08, 6142/SD08		R0087/F006	D0006/F001	5	S20
0155	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6143/SD08		R0087/F006	D0006/F001	5	S20
0377	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4378/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S19
0380	I				Inscription beginning 'Tho'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6128/SD08, 6151/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S19

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0181	I				Graffito possibly depicting the name of the author of the drawing of the ship graffito above, located beneath the Right-hand side of the hull.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1873/SD06, 6357/SD08		R0096/F006	D0006/F001	5	S12
0182	I			Graffito possibly depicting the name Thomas.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6315/SD08, 6358/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0420	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6334/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0421	I				An inscription possibly depicting a name or word reading as 'Rom' or 'Ron'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6369/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0183	I				Inscription of either a name or word, 'Thomsyn We..cl'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6317/SD08, 6362/SD08	T0034/F001	R0044/F001	D0006/F001	4	S11
0422	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6346/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0210	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	6667/SD08		R0082/F006	D0006/F001	6	S28
0425	I				Inscription depicting the word/letters 'Go'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1841/SD06	T0034/F001	R0044/F001	D0006/F001	4	S11
0426	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	2117/SD06, 6031/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S26
0427	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	2094/SD06			D0006/F001	4	S26
0428	I				Inscription beginning with the letter S.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	6030/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S26
0212	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	6045/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S26
0429	I				A particularly large inscription.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	4119/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S26
0433	I				Inscription depicting the word 'mon'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	2261/SD06			D0006/F001	6	S32
0219	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	2260/SD06			D0005/F001	6	S32
0443	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	6019/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S31
0444	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	6018/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S31
0222	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	6020/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S31
0446	I				Inscription beginning with the letter W.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	6015/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S30
0448	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	6017/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S30
0449	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2217/SD06, 5954/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S36

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0227	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2218/SD06, 5955/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S36
0452	I				Inscription depicting the word/letters 'ha'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5980/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0229	I				Inscription beginning with the letter W.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5976/SD08, 5978/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0455	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5998/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0230	I				Inscription beginning with the letter T.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5970/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0250	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5822/SD08			D0005/F001	7	S41
0456	I				Inscription beginning with the word/letters 'Ro'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5823/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S40
0457	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5825/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S40
0458	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5826/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S40
0459	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5827/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S40
0253	I				Inscription beginning with the letter W.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5830/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S40
0254	I			Graffito possibly depicting the name Thomas.	An inscription possibly depicting the name Thomas.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5824/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S40
0257	I			Graffito of the abbreviated Latin 'Robt', for 'Robert'.	Possibly an abbreviated version of Robert since it is spelt 'Robt'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2298/SD06, 5879/SD08	T0037/F001	R0047/F001	D0005/F001	5	S39
0258	I				Inscription possibly depicting the word/name 'Dawby'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5867/SD08, 5879/SD08	T0037/F001	R0047/F001	D0005/F001	5	S39
0259	I				Textual inscription beginning with the letter W.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2299/SD06, 5866/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0460	I				Inscription possibly depicting the word/name 'Bauton'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5869/SD08, 5904/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0464	I				Inscription possibly depicting the word/name 'Clayton'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5868/SD08, 5907/SD08	T0037/F001	R0077/F006	D0005/F001	5	S39
0260	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5876/SD08, 5899/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0461	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5870/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0465	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5917/SD08, 5927/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0466	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5918/SD08, 5928/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0467	I				Inscription beneath the right side of a graffito of a ship.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5921/SD08, 5930/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0468	I				An inscription located above a graffito of a profile of a head.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5922/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0469	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5933/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0470	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5924/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0471	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5934/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0285	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5716/SD08		R0067/F006	D0005/F001	7	S47
0286	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5714/SD08, 5749/SD08	T0042/F001	R0069/F006	D0005/F001	6	S46
0287	I			Graffito of the Latin word 'hec'.	The Latin word 'hec', meaning 'this'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5721/SD08	T0042/F001	R0070/F006	D0005/F001	6	S46
0476	I				Inscription beginning with 'Tho', possibly for Thomas.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5729/SD08	T0042/F001	R0074/F006	D0005/F001	6	S46
0289	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5725/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S46
0290	I			A graffito of a scratched out inscription.	This inscription has been scratched out with the partial remnants of only a single letter at the end that can be seen.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5712/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S46
0477	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5720/SD08, 5765/SD08		R0072/F006	D0005/F001	6	S46
0478	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5713/SD08			D0005/F001	6	S46
0291	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5727/SD08, 5755/SD08	T0042/F001	R0073/F006	D0005/F001	6	S46
0293	I			Graffito of an inscription reading as 'oheo'.	It may be significant that this inscription occurs in close proximity to a graffito of a cross.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5671/SD08, 5697/SD08	T0042/F001		D0005/F001	5	S45
0479	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5662/SD08, 5685/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S45
0480	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5664/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S45
0481	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5673/SD08, 5696/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S45
0296	I				A small inscription that begins with the letter W.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5706/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S45
0312	I				A large inscription which measures 10cm by 26cm across two adjoined stone blocks of masonry.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2421/SD06, 3967/SD07		R0040/F001	D0005/F001	6	S52
0313	I				A particularly large inscription situated within a box.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2426/SD06, 3954/SD07			D0005/F001	5	S51
0488	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5641/SD08, 5650/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S51
0489	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5615/SD08, 5620/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S51
0490	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2429/SD06, 5632/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S51
0491	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5616/SD08, 5627/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S51

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0492	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5618/SD08, 5638/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S51
0315	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5576/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0345	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5409/SD07, 5470/SD08			D0007/F001	5	S57
0347	I				Inscription beginning with the letter T.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5394/SD07, 5473/SD08			D0007/F001	5	S57
0349	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5441/SD07, 5444/SD07			D0007/F001	5	S57
0350	I					Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5430/SD07, 5495/SD08			D0007/F001	6	S58
0450	I	Imu				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5962/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0451	I	Imu				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5968/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0331	I	Imu			Inscription located between the second and third lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	2013/SD06, 4755/SD07			D0004/F001	5	S02
0409	I	Imu			Inscription of a word reading as 'port' located within the confines of the lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6198/SD08, 6241/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0410	I	Imu				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6205/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0411	I	Imu				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6201/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0412	I	Imu				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6206/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0413	I	Imu				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6206/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0174	I	Imu			An inscription located between the lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6224/SD08, 6248/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0346	I	Imu			An inscription located between the lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5458/SD07, 5460/SD08			D0007/F001	5	S57
0328	I	Imu			An inscription located between the lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5388/SD07, 5447/SD07			D0007/F001	5	S57
0329	I	Imu			An inscription located between the lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5389/SD07, 5454/SD07			D0007/F001	5	S57
0348	I	Imu			An inscription located between the lines of a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5390/SD07, 5405/SD07			D0007/F001	5	S57
0144	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.	A typical Latin cross with horizontal arm and a longer intersecting vertical arm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6106/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S22
0379	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	0598/SD06			D0006/F001	4	S19
0209	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6320/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0185	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6361/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0186	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6319/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0371	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6107/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0335	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.	A typical Latin cross with horizontal arm and a longer intersecting vertical arm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5518/SD08, 5521/SD08	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0485	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2334/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S44
0299	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5711/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S44
0243	C	Cl		Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3717/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0355	C	Cl	P	Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5507/SD08			D0007/F001	4	S59
0356	C	Cl	P	Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5509/SD08			D0007/F001	4	S59
0357	C	Cl	P	Graffito of a Latin cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5514/SD08			D0007/F001	4	S59
0116	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.	This graffito depicts a variation of a Fourché cross. Similarly to the others its identifying feature is its pronged ends divided into two.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	4736/SD07		R0037/F008	D0004/F001	4	S01
0115	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.	A cross with arms of equal length and pronged ends that divide into two. Most of these examples measure 5cm by 5cm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	4701/SD07, 4706/SD07		R0036/F008	D0004/F001	4	S09
0146	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1476/SD06, 4258/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S22
0121	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay: located underneath a memorial plaque above the name 'Thomas Cooke'.	N/A			D0004/F001	4	S05
0159	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4368/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S19
0173	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.	This example has been distorted by the overwriting of an early modern inscription depicting the name 'C Jordan 1667' or 'C Iordan 1667'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1192/SD06, 4486/SD07	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0184	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1816/SD06, 4599/SD07	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0271	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2311/SD06, 3667/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S38

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0318	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3938/SD07, 5592/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0300	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	4023/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S44
0432	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	2115/SD06, 4188/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S26
0223	C	Cfc		Graffito of a Fourché cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	2187/SD06, 3747/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S30
0156	C	Cp		Graffito of a Cross pattée.	A cross with flared ends at each arm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	0587/SD06, 4400/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S19
0153	C	Cp		Graffito of a Cross pattée.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1402/SD06, 4307/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S21
0132	C	Cp		Graffito of a Cross pattée.	This cross is similar to the Fourché crosses found on most stone blocks on row four. It has been engraved in a similar style to the others, but may have been altered at the tips of the flared arms.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3405/SD06, 3415/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S59
0220	C	Cp		Graffito of a Cross pattée.	This is a slightly different version of the other Cross pattée examples. It is slightly larger than the others. The arms are in the style of a Latin cross with the horizontal cross much shorter than the vertical cross with flared tips, in contrast to the other examples of this type which depict equal arms.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	2183/SD06, 3738/SD07		R0081/F006	D0005/F001	5	S31
0129	C	Cp		Graffito of a Cross pattée.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3307/SD06, 3339/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S56
0236	C	Cd		Graffito of a cross outlined by a series of dots.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2238/SD06, 6001/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0237	C	Cd		Graffito of a cross outlined by a series of dots.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2238/SD06, 6002/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0238	C	Cd		Graffito of a cross outlined by a series of dots.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2238/SD06, 6003/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0317	C	Cg		Graffito of a Greek cross.	A cross with arms of equal length.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3471/SD06, 5588/SD08		R0068/F006	D0005/F001	4	S50
0242	C	Cg		Graffito of a Greek cross.	A cross with arms of equal length.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2244/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S34
0145	C	Ccc		Graffito of a Crosslet cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1523/SD06			D0006/F001	4	S22
0431	C	Ccc		Graffito of a Crosslet cross.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	6045/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S26

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0133	C	Cf		Graffito of a Cross fleury.	This cross has been lightly-incised with flowered or leaved ends which resembles a leaf.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return	3407/SD06, 3414/SD06	T0052/F001		D0007/F001	4	S59
0111	C	C8		Graffito of a cross of eight points.	A cross that comprises eight lines, and is reminiscent of combined examples of the Saltire cross and Greek cross.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	4717/SD07			D0004/F001	4	S09
0124	C	Cco	P	Graffito of a possible Consecration cross.	The graffito depicts a compass-drawn design that consists of four semi-circles within one circle and has a diameter of 3.5 cm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3341/SD06, 3296/SD06	T0018/F003	R0062/F006	D0007/F001	4	S56
0221	C	Cs	P	Graffito of a possible Saltire cross or a crude depiction of two interlinked keys.	This graffito may well depict either a Saltire cross or resemble interlinking keys because there is a faintly-incised circle inscribed at the top of each arm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	2184/SD06, 6026/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S31
0320	L	Lcv		Graffito of the letter 'M'.	Two interlinked 'V' letters.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5585/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0267	L	Lcv		Graffito of the letter 'M'.	Two interlinking 'V' letters.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5933/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S38
0430	L	Lcv		Graffito of the letter 'M'.	This has been inscribed with two interlinking 'V' shapes that overlap.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	4188/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S26
0204	L	Lcv		Graffito of the letter 'M'.	This has been inscribed with two interlinking 'V' shapes that overlap.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6330/SD08, 6361/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0135	L	Lcv		Graffito of a 'W' letter.	Two interlinking 'V' letters.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	8030/SD08			D0007/F001	3	S21
0206	L	Lcv		Graffito of a 'W' letter.	This has been inscribed with two interlinking 'V' shapes that overlap.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	8021/SD08			D0006/F001	3	S21
0319	L	Lcv		Graffito of the letter 'M'.	Two interlinked 'V' shapes	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5594/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0495	L	Lcv	P		Shape or religious symbol similar to that of interlinking 'V' shapes.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5587/SD08, 5589/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0112	L	Lcv	P	Graffito of three interlinking triangular shapes.	This may be a variation of the interlinking 'V' letters as a form of ritual mark.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	1938/SD06, 4730/SD07		R0034/F006	D0004/F001	4	S09
0316	L	Lcv	P		Shape similar to interlinking 'V' shapes.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5586/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0424	L			Graffito of the letter 'T'.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6338/SD08, 6365/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0395	L			Graffito of the letter 'T'.	The letter 'T' written in a Gothic font.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6183/SD08, 6255/SD08		R0091/F006	D0006/F001	5	S16
0130	L			Graffito of the Letter 'T'.	A letter 'T' that is similar to those that occur in other parts of the reredos.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3426/SD06, 3427/SD06			D0007/F001	5	S60
0407	L			Graffito of the letter 'T'.	Overlaps a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6197/SD08, 6245/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0239	L			Graffito of the letter 'T'.	Similar style to the inscription of the possible name 'Thomme' or 'Thome'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2244/SD06, 5997/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34

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0288	L			Graffito of the letter 'T'.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5723/SD08		R0071/F006	D0005/F001	6	S46
0372	L			Graffito of the letter 'T'.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6081/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S22
0408	L			Graffito of the letter 'b' in a Lombardic font.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6199/SD08, 6237/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0169	L			Graffito of the letter 'b' written in a Lombardic font.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6613/SD08, 6625/SD08			D0006/F001	5	S16
0401	L			Graffito of the letter 'S'.	The letter 'S' inscribed repeatedly within the same 'S'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6192/SD08, 6271/SD08		R0043/F001	D0006/F001	5	S16
0397	L			Graffito of the letter 'S'.	The letter 'S' inscribed repeatedly within the same 'S'.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6187/SD08, 6263/SD08			D0006/F001	5	S16
0463	L			Graffito of the letter 'h' in a Lombardic font.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5875/SD08, 5900/SD08		R0078/F001	D0005/F001	5	S39
0423	L			Graffito of the letter 'H'.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6366/SD08, 6331/SD08	T0034/F001		D0006/F001	4	S11
0399	L			Graffito of the letter 'o' in a Lombardic font.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6189/SD08, 6262/SD08			D0006/F001	5	S16
0344	L		P		Right side beneath stave five of the musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5408/SD07, 5467/SD08			D0007/F001	5	S57
0137	L		P			Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	2445/SD06	T0032/F001	R0042/F001	D0007/F001	6	S54
0447	L		P	Graffiti of two possible 'T' letters together.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	6016/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S30
0442	L		P		Unidentified shape in the form of a 'd' letter.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Left side	2141/SD06, 2183/SD06			D0005/F001	5	S31
0486	Sh	Shcl				Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	7278/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S19
0389	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4403/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0414	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4258/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S14
0188	Sh	Shcl			The lozenge shape appears to have a cross at each of the adjoining end.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4616/SD07, 4628/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S10
0214	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	4314/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S26
0234	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	6694/SD08, 6697/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0273	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3705/SD07			D0005/F001	3	S37

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0305	Sh	Shcl			A early modern inscription has distorted a clear image of this graffito.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5776/SD08, 6703/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S43
0340	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3299/SD06, 5539/SD08			D0007/F001	4	S56
0341	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3332/SD06, 5550/SD08			D0007/F001	4	S56
0359	Sh	Shcl			The name 'Thomas Kirkman' has been drawn over the lozenge shape.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5531/SD08, 5536/SD08			D0007/F001	3	S55
0438	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	6676/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S49
0321	Sh	Shcl			Graffito of a cross and lozenge as a version of the Side Wound of Christ.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5562/SD08, 6718/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0245	Sh	ShC		Graffito of three interlinking circles that have been drawn with a compass.	An example of the types of graffiti drawn with a compass possibly representing the holy trinity, known as a triquetra.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2250/SD06, 4084/SD07			D0005/F001	3	S33
0304	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a motif drawn using a pair of compasses possibly practising a 'daisy wheel'.	Comprising of three interlinked circles, or it could well be another, crude example of a triquetra.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	6732/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S44
0302	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a six petalled 'daisy wheel' drawn with a compass, within two concentric circles.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2375/SD06, 3991/SD07		R0060/F006	D0005/F001	4	S44
0358	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a compass-drawn circle.	A circle drawn with a compass.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3381/SD06, 3393/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S53
0119	Sh	Shs				Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	4724/SD07			D0004/F001	1	S06
0248	Sh	Shs		Graffito of a small star drawn with two interlinking triangles with six lines.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2251/SD06, 4083/SD07			D0005/F001	3	S33
0484	Sh	Shs		Graffito of a star of David comprised of two interlinking triangles.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2334/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S44
0496	Sh	Shs			Geometric shape in the form of a star drawn with two interlinking triangles.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5567/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50

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0118	Sh	Shs			The shape of a large star across the stone drawn by six vertical lines.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	4652/SD07, 4678/SD07			D0004/F001	2	S07
0189	Sh		P		Possibly the depiction of part of a geometrical shape.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1769/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S10
0114	Sh		P		A geometrical shape in the form of a diamond that has been formed through four diagonal lines.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return	4730/SD07			D0004/F001	4	S09
0338	Sh		P		Possibly a depiction of a set of stairs.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3342/SD06, 3882/SD07	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0339	Sh		P		Possibly a depiction of a set of stairs.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3289/SD06, 3334/SD06	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0125	Sh		P		Possibly the depiction of a set of stairs.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	5527/SD08	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0402	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram of the Holy Name.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	6193/SD08, 6270/SD08			D0006/F001	5	S16
0211	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram of the Holy Name.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	6040/SD08, 6046/SD08			D0006/F001	4	S26
0462	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram of the Holy Name.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2305/SD06, 5889/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0482	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram of the Holy Name.	The process of inscribing this graffito appears to have been aided by a straight edged instrument.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5768/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S44
0560	RS	RSm		Graffito of a variation of a monogram for the name 'Jesus Christ' using the letters 'IH'.	The process of inscribing this graffito appears to have been aided by a straight edged instrument. The dimensions of this graffito measures 24.5 by 25.5.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3925/SD07, 6762/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S49
0326	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram of the Holy Name.	The dimensions measure 29.8 cm wide and 9.5 cm high.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3925/SD07, 6762/SD08	T0031/F001		D0005/F001	3	S49
0441	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram of the Holy Name.	This is the largest example of the sacred monogram, measuring 42.5 cm high and 22.5 cm wide.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2407/SD06, 6759/SD08	T0033/F001		D0005/F001	2	S48
0109	RS	RSa		Graffito of an angel.	The features of this graffito include; wings, a robe, a face with eyes and a mouth. The angel measures at a height of 5.2 cm and is situated in close proximity to a stave of musical notation.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	North return bay	4760/SD07, 4770/SD07	T0025/F008	R0033/F008	D0004/F001	5	S02
0295	RS	RSmt		Graffito of a mitre.	Features include a rather tall hat which rises to a peak, possibly with two lappets at either side. It is rather small measuring 2.5 cm high and 2 cm wide.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2364/SD06, 4054/SD07	T0136/F003		D0005/F001	5	S45

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0336	RS	RSW	P	Graffito of either a sword or dagger pointing downwards.	This graffito can easily be seen since it has been deeply engraved; it measures 13 cm long.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3291/SD06, 5550/SD08	T0018/F003	R0064/F006	D0007/F001	4,3	S56,S55
0337	RS	RSW	P	Graffito of the handle of another example of either a sword or dagger.	The pommel, grip and cross-guard of another example intending to point downwards.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3291/SD06, 5551/SD08	T0018/F003	R0063/F006	D0007/F001	4	S56
0161	M			Graffito of a large hulk type ship.	The features include; one mast with standing rigging that likely represents stays and shrouds; although these are difficult to distinguish. This is one of the larger examples measuring at a height of 25.5 cm by a length of 36.4 cm.	Medieval	Early-Mid Fourteenth century	Right-hand bay	4441/SD07		R0045/F001	D0006/F001	3, 4	S18, S19
0162	M			Graffito of a carrack type ship.	The features include lines representing; planking, shrouds, stays, castles, and a bowsprit. This was one of the smaller examples that measures at a height of 14.9 cm and width of 15.3 cm.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	0701/SD06, 4432/SD08		R0045/F001	D0006/F001	3, 4	S18, S19
0176	M			Graffito of possible a cog type a ship.	The features of this ship includes; planking, a single mast, yards, and a bowsprit. The mast extends onto the upper stone block and measures at a height of 29.1 cm and length of 21.7 cm, overlapping the largest example of musical notation.	Medieval	Fourteenth century	Right-hand bay	1284/SD06, 4519/SD07	T0029/F001	R0039/F001	D0006/F001	4, 3	S14, S15
0179	M			Graffito of the largest depiction of, what appears to be a cog type ship on the reredos.	This has been very finely engraved. It has a characteristic 'thick' mast with a crow's nest and clinker planking. The hull measures 44cm in length and the top of the mast measuring at 49cm in height.	Medieval	Fourteenth century	Right-hand bay	1760/SD06, 1860/SD06, 1886/SD06	T0058/F001		D0006/F001	6, 5	S12, S13
0265	M			Graffito of a large hulk type ship.	The features include planking, rigging, and a pennant at the mast head. The hull measures 46.7cm and from the hull to the peak of the mast is 42cm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5322/SD07	T0030/F001	R0046/F001	D0005/F001	5, 4	S39, S38
0325	M			Graffito of a cog type ship.	The features of the ship represented include; hull planking, a bowsprit, stern castle and possibly a mast and a backstay and forward shrouds. The dimensions of the graffito measure at 25.6cm high and 18cm wide.	Medieval	Fourteenth century	Left-hand bay	2433/SD06		R0066/F006	D0005/F001	3	S49
0131	M			Graffito of a cog type ship.	The features of this ship include; a mast, planking, stays, shrouds and a flag. It measures 25.6 cm high and 18 cm wide.	Medieval	Fourteenth century	South return bay	3401/SD06, 3420/SD06	T0039/F001		D0007/F001	4	S59

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0168	M		P	Graffito possibly depicting a 'barge' type ship.	The features of this relatively simplistic graffito of a ship include; stays and planking. The shape of the hull is rectangular which is rather flat on both the top and bottom. This measures at a 18.3cm high and 28.9 cm wide.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	0879/SD06, 4454/SD07		R0038/F001	D0006/F001	2	S17
0178	M		P	Graffito of a boat without rigging or a mast.	This graffito depicts the shape of a hull with several horizontal lines.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1317/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S14
0151	M		P	Graffito of possibly part of a ship.	The ship has the features that include clinker planking and rigging.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1418/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S21
0437	M		P		Possibly the depiction of a ship with clinker planking.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3969/SD07, 6746/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S43
0107	Mu			Graffito of a five lined stave of musical notation which forms part of a polyphony arrangement.	The features of the musical notation include; the remnants of a clef at the Left-hand side, notes in the form of 'tick' shapes, and which is possibly accompanied by a prompt Latin word. The stave measures at a height of 4.8 cm and length of 28 cm. The stave is located in close proximity to the depiction of an angel.	Medieval	Late Fifteenth century	North return bay	2013/SD06, 4755/SD07	T0057/F001		D0004/F001	5	S02
0342	Mu			Graffito of a five lined stave of musical notation, forming the second part of a polyphony arrangement.	The features of this example of musical notation include; five staves, notes, words, and a ligature. The stave measures at a height of 6.5cm and length of 17.5cm.	Medieval	Late Fifteenth century	South return bay	3358/SD06, 3790/SD07	T0019/F003		D0007/F001	5	S57
0172	Mu			Graffito of the largest example of musical notation.	The first section of the notation has little or no notes but contains a rectangular clef at the edge. This example resembles a musical manuscript with prompt words accompanying the stave. It extends over two adjacent stone blocks and measures at a height of 31 cm by a width of 36.5 cm.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1253/SD06, 6280/SD08	T0028/F001	R0041/F001	D0006/F001	4	S15
0152	Mu		P		This example could be interpreted as musical notation that has been drawn with four lines representing the staves and dots as notes.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1449/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S21
0213	Mu		P	Graffito of possibly an example of musical notation.	Eroded and difficult to interpret with the tooling on the stone.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	2070/SD06			D0006/F001	5	S27
0343	Mu		P		Possibly a ligature that has been drawn separately from the musical notation.	Medieval	Late Fifteenth century	South return bay	3366/SD06, 3794/SD07		R0059/F006	D0007/F001	5	S57

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0228	Mu		P	Graffito of possibly an example of musical notation that has an absence of notes.	If this is musical notation the notes have been omitted but words have been inscribed onto the lines.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2224/SD06			D0005/F001	5	S35
0215	H			Graffito of a Fourché cross framed by a faintly inscribed shield.		Medieval	c.1330-1540	Warton tomb: Right side	2086/SD06, 4124/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S26
0235	H			Graffito of a Fourché cross framed by a shield.	The arms of the cross itself still has the pronged tips as a Fourché cross. The arms are also of equal length.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2235/SD06, 3723/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S34
0126	H			Graffito of possibly either a flag or banner.	The flag/banner takes the form of a rectangle that has been divided into two sections with one having diagonal lines covering one half. The other side has a small unidentified motif inscribed.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3318/SD06, 3340/SD06	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0158	H			Graffito of a pseudo-heraldic motif.	This may well be a pseudo-heraldic motif that combines various different basic ordinaries. It is only lightly incised and slightly distorted by an early modern graffito superimposed on top.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	0601/SD06, 4384/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S19
0149	H	Hrst	P	Graffito of a small ragged staff.	This ragged staff has been inscribed pointing the 'right way up' and measures 5 cm high.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	5352/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S22
0180	H	Hrst	P	Graffito of a ragged staff pointing downwards.	This example measures 16.5cm high and has three transverse beams at either side.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	1873/SD06, 4559/SD07		R0095/F006	D0006/F001	5	S12
0268	F			Graffito of a minute portrait.	The features of this portrait include; two eyes, a mouth, hair, shoulders and an arm. It measures 3.7cm high and 2.3cm wide.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3651/SD07	T0040/F001	R0076/F006	D0005/F001	4	S38
0269	F			Graffito of a profile of a hooded head.	The graffito depicted a person wearing a hood, one eye, nose, and mouth. This example measures 2.9cm high and 1.9cm wide.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	3667/SD07	T0040/F001	R0076/F006	D0005/F001	4	S38
0307	F			Graffito of a full length figure wearing a hat.	The graffito shows a full length man with a helmet. It measures 9.8cm high.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2394/SD06, 3526/SD06	T0041/F001	R0061/F006	D0005/F001	3	S43
0127	F			Graffito of a full length figure.	This depiction has been very finely engraved. They are possibly depicted with their hands about to form a prayer position. This example measures 6.8cm high.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3318/SD06, 3338/SD06	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0128	F			Graffito representing a partially drawn full length figure, missing the head.	The face of this graffito has been omitted either intentionally or unintentionally. It measures 6.6 cm high.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3325/SD06, 3335/SD06	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0191	A			Graffito of a possible Agnes Dei motif.	It measures 3.6cm high and 9cm wide. A cross appears to extend from the back of the animal suggesting that it was a lamb, and intended to depict an Agnes Dei symbol.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	5346/SD07, 5350/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S22
0190	A			Graffito of a possible Agnus Dei motif.	The animal is possibly a lamb as it is similar to the example situated directly above (0191). Its dimensions are 1.9 cm in height and 6.9 cm in length.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Right-hand bay	4273/SD07, 4295/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S22
0266	A			Graffito of a possible horse.	It depicts a general outline of a bodily form, a tail and two back legs. The head has possibly been scratched out. This graffito measures 3.1cm high and 7.2cm wide. It has been inscribed beneath the 'hulk' type ship.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	5293/SD07, 5330/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S38
0294	MM			Graffito of a merchant's mark.	This merchant's mark takes the form of a Latin cross with the vertical line longer than the horizontal. A streamer extends three quarters from the vertical line.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	Left-hand bay	2366/SD06, 4023/SD07	T0042/F001		D0005/F001	5	S45
0134	MM			Graffito of a merchant's mark depicting a distinctive minute motif in the form of a shield.	This merchant's mark takes the form of a crosslet cross that has a streamer extending from the crossing holding a shield inscribed with a minute motif.	Medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3383/SD06, 3393/SD06	T0043/F001		D0007/F001	4	S53
0120	EM				This graffito has been inscribed with the name 'Thomas Cooke' next to the year 1649. Its authenticity is verified by the fact that it appears underneath a memorial plaque dated 1656.	Early modern	1649	North return: located underneath a memorial plaque.	N/A		R0053/F006	D0004/F001	4	S05
0150	EM			Graffito of the name 'John Shorts 1612'.	Drawn within an elaborate motif that resembles a photoframe/flares from a fire, which resembles a tombstone.	Early modern	1612	Right-hand bay	1396/SD06, 4293/SD07		R0083/F006	D0006/F001	3	S21
0164	EM			Graffito of the name 'Thomas Kirkman' 1644.	This has been deeply engraved within a rectangle along with the symbol : for separating the two names.	Early modern	1644	Right-hand bay	0836/SD06, 4421/SD07		R0058/F006	D0006/F001	3	S18
0171	EM			Graffito of the name 'C. Jordan 1667'.	A simplistic inscription of the name with the use of an I type 'J' for Jordan.	Early modern	1667	Right-hand bay	1192/SD06		R0088/F006	D0006/F001	4	S15
0175	EM			Graffito of the name 'William Waller 16..'. .	An example of a simple early modern name inscribed within a rectangle	Early modern	16..	Right-hand bay	1347/SD06		R0065/F006	D0006/F001	3	S14
0187	EM			Graffito of the name 'John S'.	The 'J' for John has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an I at the beginning.	Early modern		Right-hand bay	1769/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S10
0217	EM			Graffito of the name 'Edward' possibly 'Nor...'. .		Early modern		Warton tomb: Right side	2134/SD06, 4208/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S25

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0218	EM			Graffito of the name 'John Wart'.	With the name John spelt with the letter I at the beginning.	Early modern	16..	Warton tomb: Right side	2134/SD06, 4208/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S25
0246	EM			Graffito of the name 'Thomas Thompson'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	2253/SD06			D0005/F001	3	S33
0453	EM				The beginning of the name 'Thomas'-'THO'-in the same style to that of Davison	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5979/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0247	EM			Graffito of the name 'John'.	With the name John spelt with the letter I at the beginning.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	2253/SD06			D0005/F001	3	S33
0256	EM			Graffito of the name 'Thomas Davison'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	2315/SD06, 5320/SD07		R0079/F006	D0005/F001	5	S39
0275	EM			Graffito of the name 'John Waller'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'I'.	Early modern	1640's	Left-hand bay	5784/SD08		R0075/F006	D0005/F001	3	S37
0276	EM			Graffito of the letters 'Ric' possibly 'Richard'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	5802/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0277	EM			Graffito of a motif inscribed in the style of one of the Waller's which depicts the letter W.	This shows only the letter W for a Waller due to the erosion of the stone. The name is depicted within the shape of a 'house' with crosses at the top of the roof and sides of the 'house'. This example occurs in the same cluster of where John Waller inscribed his name.	Early modern	1640's	Left-hand bay	5789/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0324	EM			Graffito of the name 'Robert'.	The name 'Robert' has been inscribed in a style similar to that of 'Robert Bethell'.	Early modern	1635	Left-hand bay	2433/SD06			D0005/F001	3	S49
0136	EM			Graffito of the name 'Thomas Kirkman'.	This was the second example of the inscription of his name.	Early modern	1644	South return bay	3372/SD06, 3378/SD06			D0007/F001	3	S55
0278	EM			Graffito of the name 'John Waller'.	With the first letter for John spelt with a I.	Early modern	1640's	Left-hand bay	5783/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0306	EM			Graffito of the name 'William Waller 1635'.		Early modern	1635	Left-hand bay	2380/SD06			D0005/F001	3	S43
0308	EM			Graffito of the name 'William' .	Written in the style of 'William Waller', this inscription has omitted a date.	Early modern	1630's	Left-hand bay	2381/SD06			D0005/F001	3	S43
0323	EM			Graffito of the name 'Rob' framed within the motif of a 'house'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	5555/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0472	EM				Partial name beginning 'Ro' in the same style as Robert Bethell	Early modern	1630's	Left-hand bay	5788/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0279	EM			Graffito of the name 'Rob'.	This has been inscribed in the style of 'Robert Bethell' which occurs through the minster.	Early modern	1630's	Left-hand bay	5787/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0373	EM			Graffito of a 'I' letter.	A single letter J shown as I.	Early modern		Right-hand bay	1417/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S21

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0416	EM			Graffito of the letter 'R' written backwards.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	1330/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S14
0445	EM			Graffito of the letter R.		Early modern		Warton tomb: Left side	2187/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S30
0231	EM			Graffito of the letter 'M'.	Comprised of two conjoined 'V' letters.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5979/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0224	EM			Graffito of the letter 'W'.	Comprised of two conjoined 'V' letters.	Early modern		Warton tomb: Left side	6012/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S30
0225	EM			Graffito of the letter 'W'.	Comprised of two conjoined 'V' letters.	Early modern		Warton tomb: Left side	6007/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S29
0261	EM			Graffito of the letter 'W' inscribed within a box.	Comprised of two conjoined 'V' letters.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5320/SD07			D0005/F001	5	S39
0435	EM			Graffito of the letter 'I'.	Letter 'J' has been inscribed in the early modern form of an 'I' letter.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5786/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0483	EM			Graffito of the letter 'R'.	Possibly formed part of an initial.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	2336/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S44
0327	EM			Graffito of the letter 'c'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	3925/SD07, 6686/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S49
0281	EM			Graffito of the letter 'I'.	This graffito was probably part of an initial but cannot be seen.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5790/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0207	EM			Graffito of the letters 'IC'.	The 'I' letter could be interpreted as a 'I' letter.	Early modern		Right-hand bay	1426/SD06, 4293/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S21
0301	EM			Graffito of the letters 'CS'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	2336/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S44
0274	EM			Graffito of the letters 'EB'.	The initial 'EB' has been written inside a house with a cross at the top of the roof.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5800/SD08		R0075/F006	D0005/F001	3	S37
0216	EM			Graffito of the letters 'IN' within a square	The I could possibly represent a lightly-incised letter 'I'.	Early modern		Warton tomb: Right side	4208/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S25
0249	EM			Graffito of the letters 'TW'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	2253/SD06, 5982/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S33
0255	EM			Graffito of the letters 'IW' next to the date 1628	The 'J' takes the form of an early modern 'I' shape with a horizontal line in the centre.	Early modern	1628	Left-hand bay	2303/SD06, 5320/SD07		R0047/F001	D0005/F001	5	S39
0148	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RP'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	1523/SD06			D0006/F001	4	S22
0393	EM			Graffito of the letters 'ES'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	4421/SD07, 6174/SD08		R0045/F001	D0006/F001	3	S18
0166	EM			Graffito of the letters 'MF'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	0836/SD08, 4421/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0232	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JW'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'I'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5980/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S35
0454	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JN'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'I'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	3717/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S34

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0240	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JN'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'T'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	3717/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S34
0241	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RJ'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'T'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	3717/SD07			D0005/F001	4	S34
0244	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RS'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	4080/SD07, 5982/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S33
0473	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RB'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	5796/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0434	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JC'.	The initial 'JC' has been inscribed within a box with the 'J' taking the early modern form of an 'T'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5791/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0280	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JC'.	The initial 'JC' has been inscribed within a box with the 'J' taking the early modern form of an 'T'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5795/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0436	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JM' inside a box.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'T'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5792/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0282	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JN' inside a box.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'T'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5793/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0283	EM				An empty box similar to those intended for an initial however the initial has been crossed out.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5794/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0309	EM			Graffito of the letters 'SP' inside a box.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	5776/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S43
0310	EM			Graffito of the letters 'CJ'.	The 'J' takes the form of an early modern 'T' shape with a horizontal line in the centre.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5379/SD07			D0005/F001	2	S42
0497	EM			Graffito of the letters 'TH'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	5590/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0322	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JC'.	The 'J' takes the form of an early modern 'T' shape with a horizontal line in the centre.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	5588/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S50
0332	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RD'.	The letter 'D' has been written backwards.	Early modern		South return bay	3307/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S56
0333	EM			Graffito of the letters 'FSB'.		Early modern		South return bay	3298/SD06, 5529/SD08			D0007/F001	4	S56
0334	EM			Graffito of the letters 'TC'.	An example of interlinking 'TC' initials.	Early modern		South return bay	3307/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S56
0352	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JB'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'T'.	Early modern		South return bay	3420/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S59
0208	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RG'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	4293/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S21
0157	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RP'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	0601/SD06, 4384/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S19

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0390	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JH'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'F'.	Early modern		Right-hand bay	0747/SD06, 4421/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0391	EM			Graffito of the letters 'HS'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	0788/SD06, 4421/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0392	EM			Graffito of the letters 'HS'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	0792/SD06, 4421/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0163	EM			Graffito of the letters 'FH'.		Early modern		Right-hand bay	0804/SD06, 4421/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0353	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JK'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'F'.	Early modern		South return bay	3420/SD06, 2483/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S59
0439	EM			Graffito of the letters 'JT'.	The 'J' has been inscribed with an early modern version that appears as an 'F'.	Early modern		Left-hand bay	6683/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S49
0440	EM			Graffito of the letters 'RS'.		Early modern		Left-hand bay	6679/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S49
0117	Misc				Depiction of a square which has numerous diagonal lines running through.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	North return bay	4675/SD07			D0004/F001	3	S08
0122	Misc				Small squares drawn into larger squares similar to that of a labyrinth.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	North return bay	4782/SD07, 4780/SD07			D0004/F001	2	S04
0110	Misc				Possibly a ship which spans across two stones that may have a rudder but no other features of a ship can be fully identified. It also encompasses music, a masons mark, and an angel.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	North return bay	4776/SD07, 4777/SD07	T0057/F001		D0004/F001	6, 5	S02, S03
0138	Misc				Possibly a cross drawn as a saint Andrew's cross with a line running in the middle.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	1629/SD06, 1633/SD06, 4336/SD07			D0006/F001	6	S24
0207	Misc				Possibly a cross drawn as a saint Andrew's cross with a line running in the middle.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	1635/SD06, 1634/SD06, 4336/SD07		R0093/F006	D0006/F001	6	S24
0139	Misc				Possibly a cross drawn as a saint Andrew's cross with a line running in the middle.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	1634/SD06, 1636/SD06, 4336/SD07		R0093/F006	D0006/F001	6	S24
0142	Misc				Possibly an example of a partially eroded cross or form of decoration. This decoration has taken the form of a square within which has been drawn 'petal' shapes.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	4331/SD07			D0006/F001	4	S22
0143	Misc				Possibly a form of decoration mimicking a stained glass window, comprising crosses and squares.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	4264/SD07, 4328/SD07		R0094/F006	D0006/F001	4	S22
0378	Misc					Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	0610/SD06			D0006/F001	4	S19

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0165	Misc			Graffito of a decorative motif.	It appears to resemble a backwards 'S' shape as a labyrinth.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	0720/SD06, 4421/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S18
0177	Misc			Graffito of a possible large lozenge shape.	The diamond shape has running from each of the ends to form a cross symbol.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	4557/SD07			D0006/F001	3	S14
0415	Misc				The depiction of a 'circle' shape that resembles a similar shape on the boat in close proximity.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Right-hand bay	1319/SD06			D0006/F001	3	S14
0233	Misc				A circle drawn with a free hand with 2 diagonal lines running through with a further horizontal and vertical lines.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5999/SD08			D0005/F001	4	S34
0226	Misc				This takes the form of several 'wave' lines.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Warton tomb: Left side	6007/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S29
0499	Misc					Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	2243/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S34
0123	Misc			Possibly the graffito of an acorn.		Possibly medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3321/SD06, 3337/SD06	T0018/F003		D0007/F001	4	S56
0262	Misc				Miscellaneous shape or religious symbols that appears as a 'stick figure'.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	2309/SD06, 5872/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0263	Misc				Miscellaneous shape or religious symbols that appears as a 'stick figure'.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	2309/SD06, 5873/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0264	Misc				Miscellaneous shape or religious symbols that appears as a 'stick figure', similarly to 0262 and 063.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	2309/SD06, 5874/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S39
0272	Misc				It depicts a 'bow' with a line through the centre of where two triangles intersect.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5785/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0284	Misc				Intentionally inscribed dots.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5780/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0474	Misc			Graffito of possibly a cross or flower within a box.		Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5799/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0475	Misc					Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5780/SD08			D0005/F001	3	S37
0297	Misc					Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5670/SD08, 5704/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S45

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0298	Misc				An unidentified graffito that takes the form of a 'heart shape' with a 'tail'.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	6728/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S45
0303	Misc				This was clearly a hand drawn example given the crudeness in the rendering of its design.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	2376/SD06			D0005/F001	4	S44
0311	Misc				Cannot be seen clearly due to erosion.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5379/SD07			D0005/F001	2	S42
0487	Misc					Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Left-hand bay	5643/SD08, 5653/SD08			D0005/F001	5	S51
0351	Misc				Possible a devotional symbol. This graffito a line running through a 'V' shape with four dots framing each corner.	Possibly medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3420/SD06, 3257/SD03			D0007/F001	4	S59
0354	Misc				Deeply engraved star drawn with four straight lines meeting a common centre.	Possibly medieval	c.1330-1540	South return bay	3420/SD06, 2482/SD06			D0007/F001	4	S5

Nave, Beverley Minster

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0317	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N2				D0028/F005		
0318	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N2				D0028/F005		
0319	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0027/F005		
0320	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0027/F005		
0321	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0028/F005		
0497	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0028/F005		
0322	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0028/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0323	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0028/F005		
0324	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0028/F005		
0325	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0028/F005		
0560	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0028/F005		
0326	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0028/F005		
0124	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N9				D0026/F005		
0334	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S3				D0028/F005		
0335	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S3				D0026/F005		
0441	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S5				D0028/F005		
0123	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	West end				D0028/F005		
0332	L	Lcv			M letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	West end				D0028/F005		
0327	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0028/F005		
0438	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0028/F005		
0439	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0028/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0440	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0028/F005		
0333	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S2				D0028/F005		
0336	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S10				D0026/F005		
0337	L	Lcv			W letter comprising interlinked 'v' letters.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8				D0026/F005		
0282	Sh				A wagon wheel, with spouts. It could well be an emblem associated with Saint Catherine. The circle may well have been drawn by hand.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N4				D0033/F005		
0490	Sh				A circle with a cross inside. The circle may well have been drawn by hand.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	West end	6583/SD08					
0481	Sh				A wagon wheel with six spouts. The circle may well have been drawn by hand.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N4	4950/SD07, 4963/SD07					
0305	Sh				A wagon wheel with five spouts. The circle may well have been drawn by hand.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Bay between piers N8 and N9	6370/SD08					
0492	Sh				A lightly-incised hand-drawn labyrinth that resembles a maze.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	4993/SD07					
0304	Sh				A lightly-incised hand-drawn labyrinth that resembles a maze.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S5	5203/SD07, 5206/SD07					
0485	Sh	ShC			Six-petalled daisywheel drawn with a compass.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N7	0146/SD03					
0307	Sh	ShC			Six-petalled daisywheel drawn with a compass.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S10	6438/SD08					
0308	Sh	ShC			Six-petalled daisywheel drawn with a compass.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N10	6467/SD08					
0487	Sh	ShC			Six-petalled daisywheel drawn with a compass.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4	6449/SD08					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0313	Sh	ShC			Six-petalled daisywheel drawn with a compass.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S3				D0039/F005		
0488	Sh	ShC			A series concentric compass-drawn circles.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4	6447/SD08					
0489	Sh	ShC			A deeply-incised single compass-drawn circle.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N1				D0041/F005		
0495	Sh	ShC			This graffito depicts a single compass-drawn circle with with an additional four circles radiating from the perimeter of the single central circle. It also resembles a compass-drawn flower.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Bay between pier N10 and the west end.	6545/SD08			D0028/F005		
0283	I			Graffito of the name 'Thomas' written in a neat and practised hand.	Textual inscription of the forename Thomas, which is of minute size, but is written in a neat hand practised in the art of writing. It bears no similarities, however, to the possible examples of the name 'Thomas' on the eastern side of the reredos.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N4				D0033/F005		
0284	I			Graffito of a textual inscription possibly reading as 'Myllynton'.	Textual inscription reading 'Myllynton', which may relate to the town, now spelt, 'Millington', or possibly the surname of a person.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Between bays N5 and N6				D0034/F005		
0474	I				A lightly-incised textual inscription that may well begin with a letter b.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Between bays N1 and N2				D0044/F005		
0475	I			Graffito of a textual inscription 'Maltun'.	Textual inscription reading as 'Malton' or 'Maltun'. It may well be the signature of William of Malton, who was made master mason of the Minster in October 1335.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Between bays N5 and N6				D0023/F005		
0285	I			Graffito of a textual inscription of 'Malton'.	Textual inscription reading as 'Malton', in a similar style to 0475. It, again, could well be the signature of William of Malton.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Between bays N5 and N6				D0023/F005		
0338	I			Graffito of a textual inscription 'Maburn'.	Textual inscription reading as 'Maburn' in a similar style to 0475 and 0285. It would well be another masons' signature.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8				D0026/F005		
0339	I				A textual inscription that depicts a word in a foreign language.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8				D0026/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0477	H			Graffito of a possible pseudo-heraldic device charged with a chevron.	Depicts a shield with chevron decoration, which could well be a basic ordinary.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8	6481/SD08					
0478	H			Graffito of a possible pseudo-heraldic device charged with a chevron.	Similarly to 0477, this example depicts a shield with a chevron motif.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8	6478/SD08					
0496	H				This heraldic motif is not encompassed by a shield shape, it depicts a knot. It is reminiscent of the designs on livery badges, mentioned in chapter five of the main body of the thesis.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	West end	6581/SD08					
0306	H			Graffito of a possible pseudo-heraldic device charged with a Saltire cross.	This is another pseudo-heraldic device that depicts a Saltire cross, similarly to that of a Saint Andrew's cross, as a charge on a shield.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Bay between piers N8 and N9	6373/SD08					
0288	H	Hrst	P		A ragged staff with three crosses in the inscribed in the central vertical line. It depicts three or four transverse beams at either side.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4	5192/SD07, 5194/SD07					
0476	H	Hrst	P		A small ragged staff motif that depicts at two transverse beams at each side. It is only lightly-incised.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4	5197/SD07					
0309	H	Hrst	P		A ragged staff that depicts two lightly-incised transverse beams at each side.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N9	6524/SD08					
0310	H	Hrst	P		A lightly-incised ragged staff that possibly depicts two transverse beams at either side in a similar style to 0309.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8	6484/SD08					
0296	C	Ccc			A crosslet cross that has short vertical arms that cross the tips of horizontal arms three-quarters of the way down the line.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	5013/SD07, 5030/SD07					
0297	C	Ccc			A crosslet cross that has short vertical arms that cross the tips of horizontal arms three-quarters of the way down the line.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	5015/SD07, 5033/SD07					
0298	C	Ccc			A crosslet cross that has short vertical arms that cross the tips of horizontal arms three-quarters of the way down the line.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	5045/SD07, 5056/SD07					
0299	C	Ccc			A crosslet cross that has short vertical arms that cross the tips of horizontal arms three-quarters of the way down the line.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	5047/SD07, 5056/SD07					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0300	C				A motif that resembles a Latin cross with an additional horizontal line through the central vertical arm. It has been inscribed in a similar style to 0296, 2097, 0298 and 0299.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	5045/SD07, 5056/SD07					
0483	C	Cl			A large deeply-incised Latin cross. Within the shape of the cross are various horizontal lines.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N6	5087/SD07, 5090/SD07					
0316	C	Cd			A cross comprised of various dots that when joined together would make the outline of a cross.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S10	6437/SD08					
0303	C		P		A possible cross with a 'heart' shape at the end of the cross with 'branches' at either side of the cross.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4	5173/SD07, 5179/SD07					
0291	Mu				A form of musical notation that consists of diamond-shaped notes. It is situated at a low height that might have been convenient for sitting or kneeling.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	North side nave bay between N9-N10				D0035/F005		
0293	Mu				Various notes located in close proximity to textual inscriptions that might be associated with the notation.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	North side of nave bay between N9-N10				D0035/F005		
0294	Mu				A stave of musical notation that may be associated with a textual inscription. The staff-lines can be identified and a possible clef, but it is difficult to recognise any notes. It is situated at a low height that might have been convenient for sitting or kneeling.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Between N10 and the west end				D0039/F005		
0286	Mu				A stave of musical notation comprising four lines and a few notes, largely depicted in the form of box shapes. It may well be the earliest example of a stave of musical notation in the Minster with the fewest lines. It is situated at a low height that might have been convenient for sitting or kneeling.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Nave aisle bay between piers N2 and N3	4934/SD07, 4944/SD07					
0295	Mu				A stave of musical notation that comprises five lines. It depicts four notes and a rectangular-shaped clef in the left-hand corner. It is situated at a low height that might have been convenient for sitting or kneeling. It is in close proximity to the 0295 in the opposing bay, but do not appear to be related to one another.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N2	4849/SD07, 4851/SD07					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0479	Mu				A stave of musical notation that has been partially eroded due to the weathering of the stone. The lines of the stave can be identified with a few examples of notes that are depicted as short vertical lines. It is situated at a low height that might have been convenient for sitting or kneeling. It may be significant that this example is located in close proximity to the north door, mentioned in chapter four.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N6	5126/SD07, 5129/SD07					
0281	F			Graffito of a caricature or portrait of a male face.	A face depicted with a long nose and possibly a mitre or hat with religious importance. It could well be a caricature of a member of the clergy.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5	4974/SD07, 4988/SD07					
0436	F				Another caricature or portrait of a male face, in a similar style to 0281. It may well have been a trial version, but appears to depict a larger and different style of hat.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N5				D0032/F005		
0480	F				Graffito depicting a person with one arm on their hip and the other on their head.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N2	4879/SD07, 4880/SD07					
0484	F			Graffito of a lightly-incised face.	It depicts features including eyes, a mouth and possibly a nose. They could easily be dismissed as simple scratches on the surface. It can no longer be seen because since this graffito was recorded speakers have been placed over the top.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8	0192/SD03					
0437	F		P		A possible graffito of a face that may well be either a caricature or a crudely incised face. Its features are difficult to discern among other overlapping lines, but it may well depict eyes, a nose and a mouth. The features are encircled around a rather long face-shape, if indeed it is a graffito of a face.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N9	6380/SD08					
0312	RS	RSm		Graffito of a sacred monogram.	It depicts the letter Ihc, the first letters of the Greek name for Jesus, which have been discussed in chapter four. It is the only example in the nave.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N8	6486/SD08					
0311	RS			Graffito of the letters IR.	The letters I and R, may well stand for 'Jesus the Redeemer'. It might be considered as another variation of a sacred monogram for Jesus, discussed in chapter four.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S2				D0036/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0482	RS			Graffito possibly depicting two interlinked Alpha and Omega symbols.	This example possibly depicts two interlinked Alpha and Omega symbols, which are A and Ω. It is similar and in close proximity to 0301.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N6	5070/SD07, 5075/SD07					
0301	RS				This example depicts what appears to be a possible Latin cross with Alpha and Omega symbols at each side which are A and Ω. It is similar and in close proximity to example 0482. The two examples may well have been incised by the same hand.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N6	5107/SD07, 5111/SD07					
0287	M				A lightly-incised square-rigged ship, which depicts a 'banana-like' shaped hull.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	West End-lower Right-hand side in blind arcading	6589/SD08					
0302	M				A fragment of part of what could well be a large ship graffito which depicts a section of the hull, but cuts off at the end of the masonry. This may suggest that it was inscribed before the stone was placed <i>in situ</i> or may have been re-used from an earlier building.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Bay between piers N5 and N6	5143/SD07, 5149/SD07					
0315	L			Graffito of a letter h.	The letter is depicted in a 'Lombardic' font that was discussed in chapters three and four of the thesis.	Medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	S4				D0044/F005		
0125	Misc				A small oval shape that may be a model of a small foot or a crudely drawn shell. It could well be a different motif altogether, however.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0025/F005		
0289	Misc				A motif that possibly depicts figures in some form of a scene, which is encompassed in a rectangular shape with decoration at the bottom.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N9	5663/SD02					
0491	Misc				Possibly an architectural graffito that mimics the lead in the window opposite.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	Inside the left side of the West doors	6607/SD08					
0126	Misc				Possibly a face, a hand-drawn circular design.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0025/F005		
0127	Misc				A motif possibly depicting a candle.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0025/F005		
0340	Misc				Possibly a maze or labyrinth.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth/sixteenth century	N3				D0025/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1073	EM				Depiction of the letter E.	Early modern		S5			R0300/F011			
1061	EM				Depiction of the letter H.	Early modern		S5				D0016/F005		
1138	EM				Depiction of the letter M 1661.	Early modern	1661	S10	5207/SD05					
0976	EM				Depiction of the letter M, conjoined v.	Early modern		West end			R0339/F011			
0977	EM				Depiction of the letter M, conjoined v.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		
0666	EM				Depiction of the letter M, conjoined V.	Early modern		N9				D0042/F005		
1130	EM				Depiction of the letter N.	Early modern		S9	0195/SD04, 5368/SD05					
1157	EM				Depiction of the letter R.	Early modern		N5				D0023/F005		
1158	EM				Depiction of the letter R.	Early modern		N5				D0023/F005		
1159	EM				Depiction of the letter R.	Early modern		N5				D0023/F005		
1156	EM				Depiction of the letter T.	Early modern		N5				D0024/F005		
0681	EM				Depiction of the letter W 1640.	Early modern	1640	N10				D0038/F005		
1166	EM				Depiction of the letter W.	Early modern		S1				D0041/F005		
0995	EM				Depiction of the letter W, conjoined V.	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
0659	EM				Depiction of the letter W, conjoined V.	Early modern		N8				D0042/F005		
0646	EM				Depiction of the letters AA.	Early modern		N6				D0042/F005		
1059	EM				Depiction of the letters AN 1590.	Early modern	1590	S4				D0016/F005		
0350	EM				Depiction of the letters AR.	Early modern		N3				D0026/F005		
1175	EM				Depiction of the letters AT.	Early modern		N2				D0025/F005		
0341	EM				Depiction of the letters BP.	Early modern		N2				D0025/F005		
1155	EM				Depiction of the letters CB.	Early modern		N5				D0024/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1164	EM				Depiction of the letters CH.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
0658	EM				Depiction of the letters CJ with a I.	Early modern		N8				D0042/F005		
1161	EM				Depiction of the letters CJ with a I.	Early modern		N5				D0023/F005		
1162	EM				Depiction of the letters CJ with a I.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
0128	EM				Depiction of the letters CJ with a I.	Early modern		N2				D0025/F005		
0999	EM				Depiction of the letters CJ with a I.	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
1121	EM				Depiction of the letters CM.	Early modern		S8	0147/SD04, 0150/SD04		R0270/F011			
1043	EM				Depiction of the letters CR.	Early modern		West end			R0345/F011			
1071	EM				Depiction of the letters CTH.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
0351	EM				Depiction of the letters EC.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
1072	EM				Depiction of the letters EC.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1070	EM				Depiction of the letters EF.	Early modern		S5			R0287/F011	D0017/F005		
0604	EM				Depiction of the letters EF.	Early modern		N6				D0045/F005		
1079	EM				Depiction of the letters ELD.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
0637	EM				Depiction of the letters ER.	Early modern		N6				D0045/F005		
0661	EM				Depiction of the letters ER.	Early modern		N8				D0042/F005		
1091	EM				Depiction of the letters ER.	Early modern		S6				D0018/F005		
1068	EM				Depiction of the letters ES.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1082	EM				Depiction of the letters ET.	Early modern		S6				D0017/F005		
0674	EM				Depiction of the letters EW.	Early modern		N10				D0039/F005		
1095	EM				Depiction of the letters FD.	Early modern		S7				D0018/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0690	EM				Depiction of the letters FS.	Early modern		N10				D0040/F005		
0981	EM				Depiction of the letters FS.	Early modern		S1			R0323/F011	D0041/F005		
0344	EM				Depiction of the letters FS May 1646.	Early modern	1646	N3				D0025/F005		
0650	EM				Depiction of the letters Fr Hi.	Early modern		N6				D0042/F005		
1035	EM				Depiction of the letters F8.	Early modern		S3				D0036/F005		
1177	EM				Depiction of the letters F8.	Early modern		S6				D0017/F005		
0998	EM				Depiction of the letters F8.	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
0601	EM				Depiction of the letters GB.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
1105	EM				Depiction of the letters GF.	Early modern		S7	0088/SD04, 5383/SD05					
0997	EM				Depiction of the letters GF 1643.	Early modern	1643	S2				D0041/F005		
0974	EM				Depiction of the letters GM.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		
0971	EM				Depiction of the letters GS 1635.	Early modern	1635	N10				D0040/F005		
0664	EM				Depiction of the letters GW 1622.	Early modern	1622	N9				D0042/F005		
1182	EM				Depiction of the letters HA.	Early modern		S5			R0290/F011	D0016/F005		
0357	EM				Depiction of the letters HC.	Early modern		N4				D0024/F005		
0685	EM				Depiction of the letters HC.	Early modern		N10				D0038/F005		
1007	EM				Depiction of the letters HJ with a f.	Early modern		S3				D0041/F005		
1009	EM				Depiction of the letters HJ with a f.	Early modern		S3				D0041/F005		
1069	EM				Depiction of the letters HJ with a f.	Early modern		S5			R0277/F011	D0017/F005		
1189	EM				Depiction of the letters HM.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1186	EM				Depiction of the letters HR.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0973	EM				Depiction of the letters IC 1763 with a f.	Early modern	1763	N10		T0313/F011		D0040/F005		
0657	EM				Depiction of the letters JB with a f.	Early modern		N8				D0042/F005		
1183	EM				Depiction of the letters JB with a f.	Early modern		S7	6147/SD04, 6151/SD04			D0043/F005		
0665	EM				Depiction of the letters JB with a f.	Early modern		N9				D0042/F005		
1074	EM				Depiction of the letters JB 1654 (in the style of John Brown), with a f.	Early modern	1654	S5			R0300/F011	D0017/F005		
0683	EM				Depiction of the letters JB 1755, with a f.	Early modern	1755	N10				D0038/F005		
1102	EM				Depiction of the letters JC with a f.	Early modern		S7	5311/SD05			D0020/F005		
1165	EM				Depiction of the letters JC with a f.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
1098	EM				Depiction of the letters JC with a f.	Early modern		S7				D0018/F005		
1129	EM				Depiction of the letters JD 1803 with a f.	Early modern	1803	S9	0195/SD04, 5368/SD05					
1066	EM				Depiction of the letters JE with a f.	Early modern		S5			R0286/F011	D0017/F005		
1180	EM				Depiction of the letters JH with a f.	Early modern		S9	0082/SD04					
1099	EM				Depiction of the letters JH with a f.	Early modern		S7	5882/SD04, 5269/SD05			D0018/F005		
0680	EM				Depiction of the letters JH 1782 with a f.	Early modern	1782	N10				D0038/F005		
1124	EM				Depiction of the letters JJ with a f.	Early modern		S8	4863/SD05		R0265/F011			
1176	EM				Depiction of the letters JJ with a f.	Early modern		N2				D0029/F005		
1081	EM				Depiction of the letters JJ with a f.	Early modern		S6				D0017/F005		
1163	EM				Depiction of the letters JJ with a f.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
0688	EM				Depiction of the letters JJ 1762 with a f.	Early modern	1762	N10				D0038/F005		
1190	EM				Depiction of the letters JM with a f.	Early modern		N1				D0049/F005		
0676	EM				Depiction of the letters JM 1781 with a f.	Early modern	1781	N10				D0039/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0990	EM				Depiction of the letters Jo which may form the beginning of a name. It is accompanied by the date 1661	Early modern	1661	S2			R0326/F011	D0041/F005		
1011	EM				Depiction of the letters JP with a f.	Early modern		S3				D0041/F005		
1191	EM				Depiction of the letters JP with a f.	Early modern		N1				D0050F005		
0988	EM				Depiction of the letters JP with a f.	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
1125	EM				Depiction of the letters JR with a f.	Early modern		S8	6098/SD04, 6010/SD04		R0264/F011			
1168	EM				Depiction of the letters JR with a f.	Early modern		S1				D0041/F005		
1122	EM				Depiction of the letters JS.	Early modern		S8	5815/SD04		R0272/F011			
0675	EM				Depiction of the letters JS.	Early modern		N10				D0039/F005		
1123	EM				Depiction of the letters JW with a f.	Early modern		S8	4868/SD05		R0267/F011			
1147	EM				Depiction of the letters JW with a f.	Early modern		West end	0085/SD04					
1111	EM				Depiction of the letters LC+RC.	Early modern		S7	0160/SD04		R0211/F002	D0043/F005		
0689	EM				Depiction of the letters LW.	Early modern		N10				D0038/F005		
0992	EM				Depiction of the letters MC.	Early modern		S2			R0330/F011	D0041/F005		
0602	EM				Depiction of the letters MG.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
0972	EM				Depiction of the letters MS 1784.	Early modern	1784	N10				D0040/F005		
0968	EM				Depiction of the letters MS 1672.	Early modern	1672	N10				D0040/F005		
0982	EM				Depiction of the letters NS.	Early modern		S1			R0212/F002	D0041/F005		
0983	EM				Depiction of the letters NS.	Early modern		S1			R0212/F002	D0041/F005		
1126	EM				Depiction of the letters PE.	Early modern		S8	5392/SD05					
0654	EM				Depiction of the letters PS.	Early modern		N7				D0042/F005		
1169	EM				Depiction of the letters RB.	Early modern		S1				D0041/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1154	EM				Depiction of the letters RC.	Early modern		N5				D0024/F005		
1181	EM				Depiction of the letters RC.	Early modern		S5				D0016/F005		
0656	EM				Depiction of the letters RD 1643.	Early modern	1643	N8				D0042/F005		
0991	EM				Depiction of the letters RE 1640.	Early modern	1640	S2				D0041/F005		
0660	EM				Depiction of the letters RF.	Early modern		N8				D0042/F005		
1084	EM				Depiction of the letters RF.	Early modern		S6				D0017/F005		
1113	EM				Depiction of the letters RH.	Early modern		S7	5950/SD04, 5963/SD04			D0043/F005		
0979	EM				Depiction of the letters RH.	Early modern		S1				D0041/F005		
0980	EM				Depiction of the letters RH.	Early modern		S1			R0321/F011	D0041/F005		
0645	EM				Depiction of the letters RH.	Early modern		N6				D0042/F005		
1160	EM				Depiction of the letters RM.	Early modern		N5				D0023/F005		
1052	EM				Depiction of the letters RM.	Early modern		S4			R0311/F011	D0036/F005		
1110	EM				Depiction of the letters RP.	Early modern		S7	5298/SD05, 5310/SD05			D0020/F005		
0668	EM				Depiction of the letters RS.	Early modern		N9				D0042/F005		
1179	EM				Depiction of the letters RT.	Early modern		S6				D0018/F005		
1107	EM				Depiction of the letters RT.	Early modern		S7	0111/SD04, 0170/SD04		R0281/F011	D0020/F005		
1028	EM				Depiction of the letters SA.	Early modern		S3				D0035/F005		
1139	EM				Depiction of the letters SH.	Early modern		S10	4845/SD05					
0598	EM				Depiction of the letters SS.	Early modern		N5				D0022/F005		
0131	EM				Depiction of the letters TJ.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
0352	EM				Depiction of the letters TJ.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0686	EM				Depiction of the letters TL 1760.	Early modern	1760	N10				D0038/F005		
1120	EM				Depiction of the letters TP.	Early modern		S8	5234/SD05, 5236/SD05					
1142	EM				Depiction of the letters TT.	Early modern		S10	5334/SD05, 5337/SD05					
0651	EM				Depiction of the letters TW.	Early modern		N7				D0042/F005		
0684	EM				Depiction of the letters TW.	Early modern		N10				D0038/F005		
0353	EM				Depiction of the letters WB.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
0647	EM				Depiction of the letters WB.	Early modern		N6				D0042/F005		
0639	EM				Depiction of the letters WK.	Early modern		N6				D0045/F005		
1143	EM				Depiction of the letters WM 1757.	Early modern	1757	S10	6112/SD04					
1106	EM				Depiction of the letters WP.	Early modern		S7	0109/SD04		R0282/F011	D0020/F005		
0638	EM				Depiction of the letters WP JS.	Early modern		N6				D0045/F005		
1083	EM				Depiction of the letters WT.	Early modern		S6				D0017/F005		
1103	EM				Depiction of the letters WT.	Early modern		S7	5921/SD04, 5934/SD04			D0020/F005		
0655	EM				Possibly a name or word reading as Areminton?	Early modern		N7				D0042/F005		
0970	EM				Depiction of the name A Shaw.	Early modern		N10				D0040/F005		
0670	EM				Depiction of a possible surname: Aske.	Early modern		N9				D0039/F005		
1078	EM				Possibly a name or word reading as: Boward.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1049	EM				Depiction of a possible surname reading as: Bumps.	Early modern		S4				D0036/F005		
1047	EM				Depiction of the name: Charles D.	Early modern		S3				D0036/F005		
1005	EM				Depiction of the name: Charles Fairfax 1664 within a gateway.	Early modern	1664	S3				D0041/F005		
0691	EM				Depiction of the name: Charles Witty 1641.	Early modern	1641	N10				D0040/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1056	EM				Depiction reading as 'Christo', possibly for the beginning of the name Christopher.	Early modern		S4				D0016/F005		
1202	EM				Depiction of the name: Christopher.	Early modern		S4			R0308/F011	D0036/F005		
1014	EM				Depiction of the name: Christopher Barret 1635.	Early modern	1635	S3				D0041/F005		
0648	EM				Depiction of the name: C IORDAN 1657.	Early modern	1657	N6				D0042/F005		
1048	EM				Depiction of the name: Cristopher Iordan.	Early modern		S4				D0036/F005		
1093	EM				Depiction of the name: C Mason Beverley 1844.	Early modern	1844	S7				D0018/F005		
1152	EM				Depiction of the possible surname: Davison.	Early modern		Bay between S10 and the west end.				D0051/F005		
0130	EM				Depiction of the name: FRACIS which is abbreviated Latin for FRANCIS.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
0641	EM				Depiction of the name: FRANCIS WOOD.	Early modern		N6				D0045/F005		
1153	EM				Depiction of the name: Francis Severson.	Early modern		Between bay S10 and the west end.		T0273/F011				
1119	EM				Depiction of the name or word 'Gilbat'.	Early modern		S8				D0037/F005		
1144	EM				Depiction of the name: G Sleadow.	Early modern		S10	6087/SD04					
1039	EM				Depiction of the name: Haldamby.	Early modern	1630s	S3				D0036/F005		
0349	EM				Depiction of the name: Haward.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
1027	EM				Depiction of the name: HAWARD 1664.	Early modern	1664	S3				D0035/F005		
1076	EM				Depiction of the name: Henry Holmes.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
0345	EM				Depiction of the name: Henry Holmes 1636.	Early modern	1636	N3				D0025/F005		
0671	EM				Depiction of the name: Henry Sandwith.	Early modern		N9				D0039/F005		
0358	EM				Depiction of the name: Henry Thornton.	Early modern		N5				D0024/F005		
1090	EM				Depiction reading as 'Hob'?	Early modern		S6				D0018/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1063	EM				Depiction of possibly a surname reading as: 'Hood'.	Early modern		S5			R0306/F011	D0016/F005		
0348	EM				Depiction of a name possibly reading as: Hugh Fahr? 1630?	Early modern	1630s	N3				D0025/F005		
1200	EM				Depiction of the name: H Weldon.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		
0673	EM				Depiction of the name: I Boss 1755.	Early modern	1755	N10				D0039/F005		
1055	EM				Depiction of the name: Iacob 1634 with a letter I.	Early modern	1634	S4				D0036/F005		
1020	EM				Depiction of the name: James	Early modern		S3				D0035/F005		
0355	EM				Depiction of the name: Iames Hardye Ferr 1656.	Early modern	1656	N4				D0024/F005		
0687	EM				Depiction of the name: Iames Spencer 1717.	Early modern	1717	N10				D0038/F005		
0662	EM				Depiction of the name: J Ford 1886.	Early modern	1886	N8				D0042/F005		
1170	EM				Depiction of the name: Ioeph Barton 1643 possibly meaning 'Joseph'.	Early modern	1643	S2				D0041/F005		
1034	EM				Depiction of the name: Iohn.	Early modern		S3			R0314/F011	D0036/F005		
1141	EM				Depiction of the name: Iohn.	Early modern		S10				D0053/F005		
1133	EM				Depiction of the name: Iohn Bear.	Early modern		S9	6172/SD04					
1085	EM				Depiction of the name: Iohn Boss 1755.	Early modern	1755	West end				D0040/F005		
0987	EM				Depiction of the name: John Cax?	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
1024	EM				Depiction of the name: John Elles? with a letter I.	Early modern		S3				D0035/F005		
1146	EM				Depiction of the name: John Hamilton.	Early modern		S10	5840/SD04, 5848/SD04					
0329	EM				Depiction of the name: John Harwad.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
1003	EM				Depiction of the name: John: J with a letter I.	Early modern		S3				D0041/F005		
1197	EM				Depiction of the name: John : J inside a church or ship.	Early modern		S3			R0310/F011	D0036/F005		
1088	EM				Depiction of the name: John Jo.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1086	EM				Depiction of the name: John Jodd? 1716.	Early modern	1716	West end				D0040/F005		
1041	EM				Depiction of the name: John Lamb 1643.	Early modern	1643	S3				D0036/F005		
0652	EM				Depiction of the name: John Leason.	Early modern		N7				D0042/F005		
1167	EM				Depiction of the name: John R?	Early modern		S1			R0332/F011	D0041/F005		
1134	EM				Depiction of the name: John Richard.	Early modern		S9	0237/SD04					
1115	EM				Depiction of the name: John Routh (possibly Rauth).	Early modern		S8	4865/SD05			D0043/F005		
1002	EM				Depiction of the name: John Shorts with a letter I.	Early modern	Early seventeenth century	S3				D0041/F005		
1050	EM				Depiction of the name: John Thornton.	Early modern		S4				D0036/F005		
1040	EM				Depiction of the name: John V.	Early modern		S3				D0036/F005		
1033	EM				Depiction of the name: John Vaile.	Early modern		S3				D0036/F005		
1100	EM				Depiction of the name: John Waller..	Early modern	1630s	S7	5265/SD05, 5266/SD05			D0018/F005		
1199	EM				Depiction of the name: John Waller..	Early modern	1630s	S3				D0036/F005		
1187	EM				Depiction of the name: John Waller.	Early modern	1630s	N5				D0024/F005		
1101	EM				Depiction of the name: John Waller.	Early modern	1630s	S7	5421/SD05			D0020/F005		
1131	EM				Depiction of the name: John War Depp.	Early modern		S9	5816/SD04					
1132	EM				Depiction of the name: John War Depp.	Early modern		S9	5319/SD05					
1094	EM				Depiction of the name: John Warter 1643.	Early modern	1643	S7				D0018/F005		
0975	EM				Depiction of the name: John Witty.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		
1087	EM				Depiction of the name: John 1716.	Early modern	1716	West end				D0040/F005		
0996	EM				Depiction of the name: Jon.	Early modern		S2			R0335/F011	D0041/F005		
1145	EM				Depiction of the name: J Railton.	Early modern		S10	6046/SD04					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1150	EM				Depiction of the name: I Warr.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		
0994	EM				Depiction of the name: Ioseph.	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
0354	EM				Depiction of the name: Ioseph Cletheray I LIKE THE3 DAY 1649.	Early modern	1649	N4				D0025/F005		
0134	EM				Depiction of the name: Ioseph Cletheray 1648 March 4.	Early modern	1648	N5				D0024/F005		
1171	EM				Depiction of the name: Ioseph Fairbvrne 1649.	Early modern	1649	S2				D0041/F005		
1096	EM				Depiction of the name: K lark.	Early modern		S7				D0018/F005		
1057	EM				Depiction of the name: M Booth.	Early modern		S4				D0016/F005		
0343	EM				Depiction of the name: Michael the maker 1635.	Early modern	1635	N3				D0025/F005		
1151	EM				Depiction of the name: Nehemiah.	Early modern		Left-hand side of the west Door				D0053/F005		
1008	EM				Depiction of the name: P Clark 1695 in the shape of a house.	Early modern	1695	S3				D0041/F005		
1038	EM				Depiction of the name: R Haldamby.	Early modern	1630s	S3				D0036/F005		
0328	EM				Depiction of either a word or name reading as: Rianium?	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
0347	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
0356	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard Bedolph made this 1644?	Early modern	1644?	N4				D0024/F005		
1016	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard Bedolph 1634.	Early modern	1634	S3			R0331/F011	D0041/F005		
0132	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard Hall February 1651.	Early modern	1651	N4				D0024/F005		
0135	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard Remington 1646.	Early modern	1646	N5				D0024/F005		
1042	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard Robinson 1631.	Early modern	1631	S3				D0036/F005		
1080	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard T.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1018	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard 1695.	Early modern	1695	S3				D0041/F005		
0649	EM				Depiction of the name: Richard 165?	Early modern	1650s?	N6				D0042/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1060	EM				Possibly the beginning letters of a name reading as: Ro.	Early modern		S5				D0016/F005		
1051	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert.	Early modern		S4				D0036/F005		
1058	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert (in the style of Robert Bethell).	Early modern	1630s	S4				D0016/F005		
1114	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	S7				D0043/F005		
0136	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Bethell the maker hereof 30 day 1634.	Early modern	1634	N5				D0024/F005		
1172	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Bethell 1634 December.	Early modern	1634	N2				D0025/F005 D0029/F005		
1174	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert the Maker 30th day Christmas 1634.	Early modern	1634	N2				D0025/F005 D0029/F005		
0663	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Cvts.	Early modern	1622	N9				D0042/F005		
1149	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Cvts Sept 12 : 1622.	Early modern	1622	Left-hand side of the west Door				D0040/F005		
0137	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Dvke.	Early modern	Seventeenth century	N5				D0024/F005		
1205	EM				Depiction of the name: Robourt -similar to Brown in Beverley Guildhall.	Early modern		N5				D0024/F005		
1054	EM				Depiction of the name: Robourt Brown with a misspelling, adding an 'ou' instead of 'e'.	Early modern		S4			R0309/F011	D0036/F005		
0129	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Gyearny? 1655.	Early modern	1655	N3				D0025/F005		
1188	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Gyearny? 1656.	Early modern	1656	N5				D0024/F005		
0667	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Haldamby 1636.	Early modern	1636	N9				D0042/F005		
0978	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Hinchlif.	Early modern		S1				D0041/F005		
1112	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert H W.	Early modern		S7	5898/SD04		R0275/F011	D0043/F005		
1025	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Smith 1695.	Early modern	1695	S3			R0316/F011	D0035/F005		
0644	EM				Depiction of the name: Robert Smithson.	Early modern		N6				D0042/F005		
1148	EM				Depiction of the name: Rob Witty.	Early modern		West end				D0040/F005		
1196	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger (in the style of Roger Bethell).	Early modern	1630s	S3				D0036/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1032	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger (in the style of Roger Bethell).	Early modern	1630s	S3			R0313/F011	D0035/F005		
1036	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger (in the style of Roger Bethell).	Early modern		S3				D0036/F005		
0984	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	S1				D0041/F005		
0669	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	N9				D0039/F005		
0986	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	S2			R0325/F011	D0041/F005		
0993	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	S2				D0041/F005		
1001	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	S2				D0041/F005		
1109	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell.	Early modern	1630s	S7	0124/SD04			D0020/F005		
0643	EM				Depiction of the name: Roger Bethell 1634 30 the day.	Early modern	1634	N6				D0045/F005		
1000	EM				Depiction of the name: Samwell Norton.	Early modern		S2				D0041/F005		
1075	EM				Depiction of the name: Samuel Norton.	Early modern		S5			R0291/F011	D0017/F005		
0342	EM				Depiction of the name: SAMWELL RIDLEY the maker hereof AVGVST 1636.	Early modern	1636	N3				D0025/F005		
1178	EM				Depiction of the name: Samvell Ridley.	Early modern	1630s	S6				D0018/F005		
0989	EM				Depiction of the name: Samwell Ridley 1636 Avgvst the Monthe.	Early modern	1636	S2				D0041/F005		
1006	EM				Depiction of the name: S Ridley.	Early modern	1630s	S3			R0329/F011	D0041/F005		
1017	EM				Depiction of the name: S Ridley 1636.	Early modern	1636	S3				D0041/F005		
0653	EM				Depiction of the name: S. Ridley.	Early modern	1630s	N7				D0042/F005		
1029	EM				Depiction of the name: Simon Appleton on 10 day 1664.	Early modern	1664	S3			R0312/F011	D0035/F005		
1004	EM				Depiction of the name: Simon Appleton 1668 within a gateway.	Early modern	1668	S3				D0041/F005		
1030	EM				Depiction of the name: Simon Appleton.	Early modern	1660s	S3			R0317/F011	D0035/F005		
1031	EM				Depiction of the name: Simon Appleton.	Early modern	1660s	S3			R0315/F011	D0035/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
1037	EM				Depiction of either a word or name reading as: Tartious.	Early modern		S3				D0036/F005		
1026	EM				Depiction of the name: T: HEBLETHWAYTE 1656.	Early modern	1656	S3				D0035/F005		
1022	EM				Depiction of three letters reading as: THO.	Early modern		S3				D0035/F005		
1023	EM				Depiction of the three letters reading as: THO.	Early modern		S3			R0201/F002	D0035/F005		
1021	EM				Depiction of letters and possibly a name and date reading as, THO : Ferrot 1607.	Early modern	1607	S3				D0035/F005		
0672	EM				Depiction of six letters together, separated into three reading as: THO:LIC, which may have intended to be 'CATHOLIC'.	Early modern		N9				D0039/F005		
0642	EM				Depiction of the name: Tim Robinson Feb 1651.	Early modern	1651	N6				D0045/F005		
1135	EM				Depiction of the forename: Thomas.	Early modern		S9	0095/SD04, 5255/SD05					
0359	EM				Depiction of the forename: Thomas.	Early modern		N5				D0024/F005		
1067	EM				Depiction of the forename: Thomas.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1062	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas A.	Early modern		S5				D0016/F005		
1136	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Ashlet (with the S's fashioned backwards) 1668.	Early modern	1668	S9	0083/SD04					
1117	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Ashlet 1613 (with the S's fashioned backwards).	Early modern	1613	S8	5223/SD05			D0043/F005		
1137	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Croft 1671.	Early modern	1671	S9	5244/SD05					
1013	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Habvrne.	Early modern		S3				D0041/F005		
1118	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas K.	Early modern		S8	0133/SD04		R0273/F011	D0037/F005		
1019	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Lumldy within a square.	Early modern		S3				D0041/F005		
1116	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Mason 1608.	Early modern	1608	S8	6014/SD04, 6020/SD04		R0274/F011	D0043/F005		
1127	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Robith (Routh?).	Early modern		S8	0180/SD04					
1065	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas T.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
1064	EM				Depiction of the name: Thomas Thomas.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0969	EM				Depiction of the name: T Smith 1784.	Early modern	1784	N10				D0040/F005		
1097	EM				Depiction of the name: W Camton 1760.	Early modern	1760	S7			R0283/F011	D0018/F005		
1015	EM				Depiction of the name: William.	Early modern		S3			R0331/F011	D0041/F005		
0346	EM				Depiction of the name: William.	Early modern		N3				D0025/F005		
1198	EM				Depiction of the name: William (in the style of William Waller).	Early modern	1630s	S3				D0036/F005		
0636	EM				Depiction of the name: William P.	Early modern		N6				D0045/F005		
1173	EM				Depiction of the name: William Pvcervence 1637.	Early modern	1637	N2				D0025/F005 D0029/F005		
1044	EM				Depiction of the name: William Waller.	Early modern	1630s	S3				D0036/F005		
0603	EM				Depiction of the name: William Witty.	Early modern	1631	N6				D0045/F005		
1077	EM				Depiction of a possible name and letters reading as: Wittye : JEP.	Early modern		S5				D0017/F005		
0677	EM		P		Depiction of the name Wyllym, possibly for the forename spelt as 'William'.	Possibly early modern		N10				D0039/F005		
0678	EM		P		Depiction of the name Wyllym, possibly for the forename spelt as 'William'. It may well be medieval rather than early modern.	Possibly early modern		N10				D0039/F005		
0679	EM		P		Depiction of the name Wyllym, possibly for the forename spelt as 'William'. It may well be medieval rather than early modern.	Possibly early modern		N10				D0038/F005		
1108	EM		P		Depiction of the name Wyllym, possibly for the name spelt as 'William'. It may be medieval rather than early modern.	Possibly early modern		S7	5423/SD05, 5431, SD05			D0020/F005		
1092	EM				Depiction of the year 1600.	Early modern	1600	S6			R0285/F011	D0018/F005		
1201	EM				Depiction of the year 1634.	Early modern	1634	N2				D0025/F005 D0029/F005		
1128	EM				Depiction of the year 1639.	Early modern	1639	S9	0110/SD04					
1012	EM				Depiction of the year 1654.	Early modern	1654	S3				D0041/F005		
1010	EM				Depiction of the year 1656.	Early modern	1656	S3			R0324/F011	D0041/F005		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0133	EM				Depiction of the year 1656.	Early modern	1656	N4				D0024/F005		
1184	EM				Depiction of the year 1661.	Early modern	1661	S7	5179/SD05			D0043/F005		
1140	EM				Depiction of the year 1661.	Early modern	1661	S10	4846/SD05					
1053	EM				Depiction of the year 1664.	Early modern	1664	S4				D0036/F005		
1185	EM				Depiction of the year 1678.	Early modern	1678	S5			R0293/F011	D0017/F005		
1104	EM				Depiction of the year 1704.	Early modern	1704	S7	6033/SD04, 6073/SD04			D0020/F005		
0640	EM				Depiction of the year 1760.	Early modern	1760	N6				D0045/F005		
0682	EM				Depiction of the year 1763.	Early modern	1763	N10				D0038/F005		

Saint Mary's and Saint Andrew's, Paull

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0540	M				A graffito of a ship with a hull depicted with a form of rigging including stays fore and aft and shrouds with ratlines. From the details inscribed there are no means upon which to identify the ship. It could well be a local ship that combined various shipbuilding traditions.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5882/SD04, 5269/SD05	T0059/F001		D0010/F001		
0541	M				It depicts a hull represented by either 3 or 4 lines. It also shows a form of rigging, with a central line possibly representing a mainmast, and stays.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5265/SD05, 5266/SD05	T0059/F001		D0010/F001		
0545	M				Part of a ship that has been abruptly cut off in the middle by a stone, possibly inserted at a later date in repair. It depicts the hull, possibly castles, with rigging including stays and shrouds with ratlines, and at least one mast.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	North side of the compound column	5311/SD05	T0062/F010		D0013/F001		
0546	M				A detailed graffito of a possible three-masted ship depicted with furled sails. It depicts castles, and a complex form of rigging, with the hull contained by a series of lines.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5921/SD04, 5934/SD04	T0063/F001		D0010/F001		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0547	M				This example shows the majority of a ship graffito that appears to have been abruptly cut off at the right-hand side by a the insertion of a stone, possibly in repair. Details include a hull represented by parallel lines, possible castles, rigging with a mainmast, stays and a yard.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	6033/SD04, 6073/SD04	T0064/F010		D0008/F001		
0564	M				Part of the graffito of a ship that appears to have been cut off slightly abruptly on the left-hand side at the corner of the hexagonal piers. It depicts a central mast represented by a single line, fore-and-aft stays and possible castles. It measures around 12cm wide and 17cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5898/SD04	T0078/F010		D0008/F001		
0549	M				Graffito of a small crudely executed ship with a hull depicted by three or four parallel lines. It appears to represent a possible form of rigging which could be shrouds with ratlines.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0109/SD04	T0066/F001		D0013/F001		
0552	M				A detailed graffito of a ship depicted with a complex form of rigging. The hull is contained by a series of parallel lines. The rigging is depicted with a possible two masts, stays and shrouds. It measures around 14.5cm wide and 10.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5423/SD05, 5431, SD05	T0067/F010		D0013/F001		
0553	M				A small rather crudely executed boat or hull of a ship depicted by three parallel lines. The form of the hull is reminiscent of a banana shape, but not that of the hulk shipbuilding tradition. It measures around 9.5cm wide and 2.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0124/SD04	T0068/F010		D0012/F001		
0556	M				A minute single-masted square-rigged ship. It depicts a hull contained by around 5 parallel lines, with stays, shrouds and a possible yard. It measures 6.5cm wide and 7.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5298/SD05, 5310/SD05	T0071/F010				
0559	M				Graffito of a possible three-masted ship. The shape of the hull is contained by at least four parallel lines. It depicts a form of rigging with a central mast, stays for and aft and shrouds with ratlines on the aft side (right-hand side). It measures around 18cm wide from bow to stern and 13cm high from the bottom of the hull to the top of the central mast.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5179/SD05	T0074/F010		D0013/F001		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0566	M				A graffito of a rather low-lying ship. It depicts the hull by a series of parallel lines, with a stern-mounted castle. It is a single-masted vessel with stays. It measures 12cm wide and 13cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5950/SD04, 5963/SD04	T0079/F010				
0567	M				A depiction of a relatively low-lying ship, with high raised bow and stern sections. It depicts a form of rigging including central mast, yards and stays. It measures about 17cm wide and 13.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Nave pier		T0080/F010				
0568	M				A depiction of a what appears to be a low-lying vessel comprising of only three parallel lines. It represents a more complex form of rigging and may depict a sail. The rigging consists of a central mast, stays and shrouds on the aft section. It measures 15cm wide and 14cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East end	6147/SD04, 6151/SD04	T0081/F010				
0569	M				It depicts a rather crudely executed ship graffito with few features. Those present include a hull form consisting of between seven and eight horizontal lines. It depicts a rather simplistic form of rigging with no central mast, but possible stays. It measures 16.5cm wide and 15.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	4865/SD05	T0082/F010				
0570	M				Depiction of a low-lying vessel, with a hull contained by possibly four parallel lines. It depicts a rather simplistic form of rigging with a central mast and stays. It measures 11.5cm wide and 12cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	6014/SD04, 6020/SD04	T0083/F010				
0571	M				A detailed depiction of a ship with a large full sail. It also features high bow and stern castles, possibly with gunports. It measures around 19cm wide and 21.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5223/SD05	T0084/F001				
0694	M				A lightly-incised ship graffito that depicts a hull and a possible form of rigging, the distinctive features of which are difficult to discern with any certainty. It may represent a central mast by a single line and possibly stays fore-and-aft.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Nave pier	5815/SD04			D0009/F001		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0572	M				A rather crudely executed ship that consists of a hull, contained by two parallel lines. It features possible stays fore-and-aft, but there seems to be no identifiable central mast. It could well be associated with a shield that is located directly on top of the mainmast. The shield appears to be divided into four sections, three of which have been filled in by a series of horizontal parallel lines, while the other quadrant contains a minute but unidentifiable motif. It is possibly associated with two flowers or four leaf cloves at either side of the shield. These details indicate that it may be associated with a particular individual or family. It measures around 16cm wide and from the bottom of the hull to the top of the shield it measures 25.5cm.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	0133/SD04	T0085/F010				
0573	M				Graffito of a ship that appears to have been abruptly cut off on the right-hand side. There is no central mast, but a possible crossing yard with stays fore-and-aft.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Nave pier		T0086/F001		D0011/F001		
0574	M				Graffito that depicts a ship with a hull and a form of rigging. The hull is contained by a series of parallel lines, with a line that represents a central mast running from the bottom of the hull to the top of the masthead with stays fore-and-aft, and possible shrouds. It measures around 17cm wide and 19.5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5234/SD05, 5236/SD05	T0087/F010				
0698	M				A lightly-incised small ship graffito. The hull form seems to be slightly curved, represented by a series of parallel lines. It may depict a form of rigging including a central mast, stays fore-and-aft, and shrouds with ratlines on the left-hand side. It is difficult to discern which side represent the bow or stern.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	4868/SD05					
0699	M				Graffito of a small ship that consists of a hull and a form of rigging. It appears to be a single-masted ship with a central line representing the mast and possible stays fore-and-aft.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	4863/SD05					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0705	M				A graffito of a boat with possible castles, but no rigging. The hull is contained by five parallel lines. There is no indication as to whether it intended to display some form of rigging. It has been neatly executed and lightly-incised.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Nave pier	5392/SD05		R0112/F010			
0577	M				Part of the hull of a large ship graffito, which has been cut off abruptly by a stone, possibly inserted in repair. There is no form of rigging, but seems to depict a high stern section of a hull. The hull form depicted measures around 36cm wide and 22cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Compound pier on the North side	0180/SD04	T0090/F001	R0110/F001			
0576	M		P		Depiction of a possible part of the hull and rigging of a ship that has been cut off abruptly. It may consist of a full sail and a single mast with a low-lying hull.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	6098/SD04, 6010/SD04	T0089/F010				
0693	M		P		Possibly part of the hull of a ship, depicted by a series of lightly-incised parallel lines. The hull has been cut off abruptly.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Nave pier	0147/SD04, 0150/SD04			D0009/F001		
0561	M		P		A possible lightly-incised ship graffito depicted with part of a hull and a simplistic form of rigging with a mainmast.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	0160/SD04	T0075/F010		D0013/F001		
0550	M		P		A possible ship, with its features difficult to discern, but the image may show a form of rigging.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0111/SD04, 0170/SD04	T0066/F001		D0013/F001		
0548	M		P		Possibly part of the hull of a ship represented by a series of parallel lines running from bow to stern. There does not, however, appear to be an identifiable form of rigging.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0088/SD04, 5383/SD05	T0065/F010		D0008/F001		
0543	M		P		A faintly-incised outline of the hull of a possible ship, which may or may not depict a form of rigging.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Nave pier	5421/SD05	T0060/F010				
0702	Sh	ShC		A complex compass-drawn design, consisting of interlinked circles.	A possible daisywheel consisting of three interlinked circles in a row, with a petalled flower in the centre.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5207/SD05					
0703	Sh	ShC		Graffito of four possibly compass-drawn concentric circles.	Four compass-drawn concentric circles.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	4845/SD05					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0704	Sh	ShC		Graffito of three compass-drawn circles.	Three circles compass-drawn concentric circles situated in close proximity to 0703.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	4846/SD05					
0557	Sh	ShC		Graffiti of three overlapping compass-drawn circles.	Three interlinking compass-drawn circles.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave		T0072/F010		D0013/F001		
0562	H			Graffito of a shield charged with a complex design.	The shield is charged with a Saltire cross that divides the field into four quadrants. In the supper quadrant there is a minute motif that may depict a circle, while there is a star in the lower quadrant consisting of three intersecting lines. It measures around 4cm wide and 5.2cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East end	5334/SD05, 5337/SD05	T0076/F010				
0563	H			Graffito of a possible pseudo-heraldic design.	A possible shield charged with a Saltire cross that could well be an ordinary. Due to its simplicity it is impossible to correlate it with any specific individual or family. Alternatively, it may well be a trial example, and intended to depict a similar version of 0562. It measures 3.2cm wide and 5cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	6112/SD04	T0077/F010		D0008/F001		
0544	H				A possible minute shield charged with various diagonal lines. It appears to be topped with a triangular shape, but its purpose is difficult to discern. It measures 2.5cm from the bottom to the top of the shield and 5cm from the bottom of the shield to the top of the triangle. The shield also measures around 2cm wide.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	6087/SD04	T0061/F010		D0010/F001		
0555	H			A graffito of a shield divided into three sections.	The field of the shield is divided into three with long vertical lines at the bottom and part of the top consisting of shorter vertical lines. A motif in the left corner is not visible. It measures 2.3cm high and 2cm wide.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	6046/SD04	T0070/F010				
0700	C	Cco	P	Graffito of a possible Consecration cross drawn.	A lightly-incised compass-drawn possible Consecration cross. It has a radius of 5cm and a diameter of 10cm.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5816/SD04	T0088/F010				
0578	C	Cco	P	Graffito of a small possible Consecration cross.	This cross has a radius of 4.5cm and a diameter of 9cm.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East end	5319/SD05					
0579	C	Cco	P	Graffito of a large possible Consecration cross.	This cross has a radius of 16.5 cm and a diameter of 33 cm.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East end	6172/SD04					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0575	MM			Graffito of a lightly-incised merchant's mark.	A merchant's mark that comprises a Latin cross with a streamer and a circle or heart shape at the bottom.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0237/SD04					
0558	MM			Graffito of a merchant's mark.	The features of this merchant's mark depicts a Latin cross stemming from a central vertical shaft from a base with an inverted V shape. It depicts a circle beneath the inverted V and a streamer protruding from the right-hand side of the central shaft. It measures around 8cm high.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0082/SD04	T0073/F010		D0011/F001		
0542	Mu				A stave of musical notation comprising four lines, with at least three square shaped notes. A ship graffito overlaps part of the right-hand side of the notation.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier in the west end on the north side of the nave	0095/SD04, 5255/SD05	T0059/F001		D0010/F001		
0697	Mu		P		A possible stave of musical notation comprising four lines, but with no notes.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0083/SD04					
0695	L		P	Graffiti of possible I and C letters depicted in a 'Lombardic' font.	This example depicts two letters in close proximity to each other, possibly I and C, but do not appear to form an identifiable word.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East end	0195/SD04, 5368/SD05			D0009/F001		
0696	L		P	Graffiti depicting letters in a 'Lombardic' font.	This example depicts either two L letters or an F together. It has been inscribed in close proximity to the two letters in 0695, suggesting that they may form part of the same scheme. Based on their close proximity and stylistic similarities this example and 0695 seem likely to have been inscribed by the same hand, but produce no identifiable word.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East end	0195/SD04, 5368/SD05			D0013/F001		
0551	I				A minute textual inscription possibly situated within the confines of the lines of a stave of musical notation. It is too small to identify any letters.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0110/SD04	T0066/F001				
0554	F				A rather small and crudely executed full-length figure. It measures around 5.8cm high. pn the few details inscribed there are no means upon which to distinguish gender, or its identity. It may depict a more generic figure of a person rather than drawn from life.	Medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5840/SD04, 5848/SD04	T0069/F010	R0111/F010	D0012/F001		

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0692	Misc				An unidentifiable triangular shape within which has some small intricate decoration. It is situated in close proximity to the rigging of a ship. It may well have had some of of heraldic significance. It measures 4cm high and 6.7cm wide from its widest point.	Possibly medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	0085/SD04	T0065/F010		D0009/F001		
1629	Misc				Possibly marks that could be some form of lettering depicted in a Lombardic font. They are overlapping the consecration cross (0700) located on a pier in the nave. Alternatively, they may well be simply tooling marks on the stone.	Possibly medieval	Late fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	5816/SD04	T0088/F010				
All Saints, Hessle														
ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0066	M			Graffito of a possible carrack type ship.	A depiction of a three-masted ship that is reminiscent of the carrack shipbuilding tradition. Its details are difficult to discern since it a six-petalled compass-drawn design is overlapping this graffito.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Above the door leading to the central tower	0772/SD03		R0022/F001			
0079	M			Graffito of a possible hulk type ship.	A graffito depicting a ship that is reminiscent of the hulk shipbuilding tradition.It measures around 13 cm high from the top of the mast from the bottom of the hull and 18 cm wide from bow to stern.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier in the nave			R0115/F007			
0729	M			Graffito of a possible hulk type ship.	The depiction of a small ship with a banana-like shaped hull. It measures around 10cm high from the top of the mast from the bottom of the hull and 10cm wide from bow to stern.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier in the nave			R0120/F007			
0724	M			Graffito of a possible carrack type ship.	A possible carrack ship with features including three masts, a yard, stays, shrouds with ratlines and at least one crow's nest. It is similar to the example 0086 and may be ascribed to the same hand. It measures around 16cm from the bottom of the hull to the top of the mast, and 19cm wide from bow to stern.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Low down on the pier near the West End on the right	0858/SD03, 0856/SD03		R0121/F007			
0086	M			Graffito of a possible carrack type ship.	The ships features include at least one crow's nest, rigging with shrouds, fore and aft stays. It may be ascribed to the same hand that made 0724.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Right side in the west end	0891/SD03, 0892/SD03					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0080	I				A textual inscription which appears to have been executed in a hand skilled in the art of writing. It is only lightly-incised and the letters are too small and faint to discern the word depicted.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	On the north side pier nearest the West End.	0878/SD03					
0725	I				A textual inscription that measures about 5cm wide. It is too lightly-incised to discern any letters.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	West end			R0124/F007			
0726	I				A small textual inscription that measures around 4.5cm wide, but the letters are difficult to discern. It shows a degree of stylistic similarity with 0727.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	West end			R0125/F007			
0727	I				A small textual comprising about 5 letters which measures around 2.8cm wide. It shows strong stylistic similarities with 0726.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	West end	0873/SD03		R0126/F007			
0728	I		P		A graffito of a possible textual inscription. If this is indeed a textual inscription it may depict the letters in a Lombardic font. It appears to depict a series of 'I' letters altogether in one word, rather than a word of different letters.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	West end			R0127/F007			
0070	Mu			Graffito of a five lined stave of musical notation.	A stave of musical notation that consists of at least five lines. Its notation system takes the form of various diamonds and squares, and may well depict a ligature. The lines have been well-executed which may suggest that they have been ruled and not inscribed by free-hand. It measures around 30cm wide and 8cm high.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	The south pier of the arcade closest to the West End	0792/SD03, 0923/SD03, 0924/SD03		R0119/F007			
0072	Mu		P	Graffito of a possible stave of musical notation with four staves but without notes.	This possible stave of musical notation does not depict any system of notation, but shows a series of straight lines that, similarly to 0070, may have been ruled rather than drawn by free-hand. It comprises at least four single lines.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	The south pier of the arcade closest to the West End	0810/SD03					
0063	Mu		P	Graffito of possibly an example of musical notation with four staves and dots as notes.	This possible stave of musical notation follows a system of lines and dots that appear to be arranged in a 'wave' on the lines. The position of the dots, specifically aligned with the lines suggest that there is some form of affinity between the two.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	In the southern pier of the arcade towards the West End	0766/SD03, 0944/SD03		R0114/F007			

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0065	Mu		P	Graffito of a possible stave of musical notation.	This possible stave of musical notation comprises four lines and 17 dots. Similarly to 0063, the dots seem to be associated with the lines. They are not arranged in the pattern of a 'wave' as in 0063, but their arrangement seems more irregular and improvised. It measures around 7cm wide and 4cm high.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	In the southern pier of the arcade towards the West End	0943/SD03		R0113/F007			
0064	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a six-petalled compass-drawn daisywheel.	The compass-drawn design has a diameter of 15cm and radius of 7.5cm, overlapping a ship graffito.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Above the door leading to the central tower which is over the top of a ship.	0772/SD03		R0016/F007			
0073	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a six-petalled daisywheel drawn with a compass.	The compass-drawn design has a diameter of 7cm and radius of 3.5cm and occurs in isolation.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	The south pier of the arcade closest to the West End	0813/SD03		R0117/F007			
0074	F			Graffito of a portrait of a male face.	The portrait of a male face depicts features including two eyes, eyebrows, a moustache and a mouth. At first glance it appeared to depict a series of randomly drawn lines, since it is rather crudely executed. It measures around 12.5cm high from the bottom of the mouth to the top of the head, and about 12cm wide from either side of the face.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Around the opposing side to which the door to the central tower is located	0822/SD03, 0823/SD03		R0122/F007			
0083	F		P	Graffito of a possible face.	This possible graffito of a face contains one misshapen eye. The head and mouth are also misshapen.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	North side pier nearest to the West End.	0880/SD03					
0081	MM			Graffito of a merchants mark.	The features of this merchant's mark includes a cross, a streamer, and a circle beneath the cross. It measures around 10cm high.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	North side pier nearest to the West End.	0875/SD03		R0123/F007			
0077	H			Graffito of a heraldic motif featuring a flower with three crosses above.	This graffito depicts a shield with a flower in the centre and three Greek crosses situated above. These details may suggest that it was intended to represent a specific individual or family. It measures around 12 cm high and 8cm wide.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	On the East side of the column on the south side of the nave nearest the West End	0853/SD03		R0118/F007			
0084	Misc				This graffito consists of a rectangle that resembles a flag or possibly a window, with a series of horizontal and diagonal lines running through the centre.	Possibly medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	North side pier nearest to the West End.	0887/SD03					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0078	Misc				This entry depicts a series of dots, almost in a straight line, but with no clear pattern. Unlike 0063 and 0065, it is not associated with any lines. It is also much longer, and seems to be more random than deliberate.	Possibly medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	South pier nearest the West End	0850/SD03					
0085	Misc				This example consists of two symbols depicting a 4, and 4 located at different parts of the shape. It is uncertain as to its meaning and purpose, appearing random.	Possibly medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	The north pier nearest the West End	0889/SD03					
0087	Misc			Graffito of a time-keeping device in order to show the different times of services for worshippers.	This graffito consists of a circle with Roman numerals along the inside. It may well depict some form of a time-keeping device for worshippers.	Possibly medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	On the south side of the West end.	0901/SD03, 0908/SD03		R0020/F001			
Saint Nicholas's, Hornsea														
ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0517	H	Hrst	P	Graffito of a ragged staff motif.	It measures about 12cm high and depicts two transverse beams at either side, pointing upwards. It is situated in close proximity to 0591.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Westernmost pier on the South side		T0095a/F010				
0591	H	Hrst	P	Graffito of a ragged staff motif.	It measures about 15.5cm high and depicts two transverse beams at either side, pointing upwards. It is situated in close proximity to 0517.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Westernmost pier on the South side		T0095b/F010				
0518	H	Hrst	P	Graffito of a ragged staff motif.	It measures about 21cm high. It may or may not be associated with a cross that appears slightly to the right of the vertical stem. It depicts three transverse beams at either side pointing upwards.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Westernmost pier on the South side	8759/SD05	T0096/F010				
0620	L			Graffito of the letter W, consisting of a double V.	This example is situated directly next to 0621, both of which have been executed in the same style and relatively similar sizes.	Medieval /early modern	Fourteenth-Nineteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	8710/SD05					
0621	L			Graffito of the letter W, consisting of a double V.	This example is situated directly next to 0620, both of which have been executed in the same style and relatively similar sizes.	Medieval /early modern	Fourteenth-Nineteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	8710/SD05					
0513	RS	RSm		Graffito of the ihc monogram.	The ascender bar of the letter h measures about 10.5cm. Above the monogram is another motif that may well depict a crown.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Westernmost pier on the South side		T0091/F010				

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0516	RS	RSa	P	Graffito of a possible angel.	The graffito depicts a person with wings in the form of circles drawn with a pair of compasses. It measures 18.5cm high from the bottom of the feet to the top of the head. The circles that may depict wings have a radius of 4cm. The face does not appear to be human, but depicts more of a 'beak-like' form that is reminiscent of more of a bird.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Easternmost pier on the South side	8702/SD05	T0094/F010				
0514	M				There appear to be two depictions of the hull of a ship, that appear to form one graffito. The line possibly representing the mast measures about 21.5cm. The hull of the bottom example measures 11.5cm wide, while that situated above measures 11cm wide.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	West end		T0092/F010				
0515	M			Graffito of a small lightly-incised ship.	It measures 11cm from the top of the masthead to the bottom of the hull of the ship. At the top of the masthead there may well be a crow's nest. There is also a form of rigging that may depict stays. There are too few features from which to discern what type of ship it may depict.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	West end	8782/SD05	T0093/F010				
0845	MM			Graffito of a merchant's mark.	It depicts a central vertical shaft with an inverted V base. It also depicts a streamer in the form of two tick shapes that protrude from the right-hand side of the central shaft.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	8718/SD05, 8720/SD05					
0991	MM			Graffito of a merchant's mark.	Two merchants' marks are situated directly above and beneath each other with 0845.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	8718/SD05, 8720/SD05					
0581	A		P	Graffito of a possible bird or dragon.	A possible bird, dragon or other animal depicted with wings. It measures 13.5cm high. Its features are too difficult to discern whether it intended to depict a bird or dragon.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	West arch on the north side.	8750/SD05	T0098/F010				
0582	F			Graffito of a profile of the face, possibly of a man.	A lightly-incised figure depicting the profile of what appears to be a male face. It is depicted facing toward the right.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	7078/SD03	T0097/F010				
0622	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a lightly-incised six-petalled daisywheel.	A compass-drawn design that depicts a six-petalled daisywheel.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	West end pier on the south side	7081/SD03					

Saint John of Beverley, Harpham														
ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0505	F			A graffito of a face depicted with a large intricately decorated hat.	A representation of a rather crudely-incised face which appears to resemble more of a caricature.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Left-hand wall on the entrance to the West end of the church	0234/SD05	T0049/F001	R0049/F001			
0625	F			Graffito of a crudely executed face.	A rather crudely executed, deeply-incised graffito of a face with two eyes, a mouth and a bald head.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Right side of the doors in the west end	0250/SD05					
0506	A			Graffito depicting two interlinked birds.	Two interlinked well-executed depictions of birds.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Right side of the doors in the west end	0222/SD05	T0050/F001	R0048/F001			
0511	A		P	Graffito of a possible fish.	Graffito of a lightly-incised possible fish next to a rather crude depiction of a small flower.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Left-hand wall on the entrance to the West end of the church	4792/SD02	T0049/F001				
0509	I			Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch.	A deeply-incised textual inscription consisting of two lines of words.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	West side of the chancel arch	4789/SD02		R0050/F001			
0510	I			Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch.	A lightly-incised textual inscription consisting of two lines of words.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	West side of the chancel arch	4787/SD02					
0623	RS	RSm		Graffito depicting the ihc monogram for the Holy Name of Jesus.	A lightly-incised and rather crudely executed ihc monogram for the Holy Name of Jesus, situated next to 0624.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Right side of the doors on entrance to the West end of the church	0248/SD05					
0624	RS	RSm		Graffito depicting the ihc monogram for the Holy Name of Jesus.	A lightly-incised and rather crudely executed ihc monogram for the Holy Name of Jesus, situated next to 0623.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Right side of the doors on entrance to the West end of the church	0248/SD05					
1207	Sh	Shs		Graffito of a deeply-incised star shape.	A deeply-incised star shape that may well be described as a pentagram because it comprises five points. It is located in close proximity, and nearly overlapping graffito 0505.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Next to the face wearing a hat before entering the west end near the tower	0234/SD05					
0508	M			Graffito of a possible hulk type ship.	A 'banana-like' shaped hull that is characteristic of the hulk shipbuilding tradition.	Medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Right side of the doors in the west end	0217/SD05, 0218/SD05	T0051/F001	R0052/F001			
0507	Misc			Graffito of an unidentified, small intricate design.	An unidentified graffito that takes the form of a triangular shape with a smaller triangle in its interior. Its interior is decorated with small intricate designs.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	Left-hand wall on the entrance to the West end of the church	0229/SD05	T0050/F001	R0051/F001			

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0512	Misc			Graffito of a possible crudely executed flower.	A hand drawn flower with uneven shaped petals drawn separately from the centre, in close proximity to a possible fish.	Possibly medieval	Fourteenth-Sixteenth century	East side of the west arch.	4791/SD02	T0049/F001				
Saint Mary's, Welwick														
ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0500	M			Graffito of a ship possibly of the hulk shipbuilding tradition.	A ship depicted with a sail, castles, a rudder and a 'banana-like' shaped hull, discussed in chapters three and five.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	4759/SD05	T0046/F001				
0501	RS	RSmt		A deeply-incised graffito of a mitred head with no facial features.	It includes some small details such as tresses of hair at either side of the face, but priority appears to have been given to the mitre rather than a face. It measures around 4.5cm high.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	4813/SD05	T0047/F001				
0503	H			Graffito of a shield.	On the right-hand side that are a three stars arranged in a diagonal line. The middle star is encompassed by two diagonal lines. The left-hand side is divided into two, with the bottom part depicting a fleur-de-lis, but the subject matter of the motif in the upper left-hand corner cannot be discerned. It measures around 9cm high.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave	4778/SD05	T0044/F001				
0626	I				A rather large textual inscription which is difficult to discern due to the eroding of the stone in the location in which it is situated.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	On the door jamb on the North West entrance	4751/SD05					
0502	Misc				An unidentifiable pattern that appears to depict a series of randomly inscribed lines.	Possibly medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave		T0048/F001				
0504	Misc				An unidentifiable pattern that appears to depict a purposeful motif. It could well be part of the rigging of a ship graffito, as this example represents diagonal lines meeting in a common centre.	Possibly medieval	Thirteenth-Sixteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	4784/SD05	T0045/F001				
All Saints, Goxhill (North Lincolnshire)														
ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0530	F			Graffito of a small portrait of a woman wearing some form of head-dress.	A rather small face depicted in profile wearing some from of head-dress.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5845/SD02, 5850/SD02		R0101/F001			

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0529	F			Graffito of a man in armour welding a sword.	A large lightly-incised detailed figure graffito depicting a knight in armour wielding a sword in his left-hand. The armour includes a helmet and a detailed depiction of a face. It is rather large, measuring around 33cm high. There seems to be an unidentifiable shape that cuts through the centre of the body, and holding an object in his right-hand. This graffito was briefly described by Pritchard in her <i>English medieval graffiti</i> , 122. She noted that it resembles depictions of knights found on brasses and effigies.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Westernmost pier on the south side of the nave.	5707/SD02, 5710/SD02	T0056/F001	R0098/F001			
0533	F			Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing some form of head-dress.	A rather small face depicted in profile wearing a head-dress, different from 0530. It is of high artistic quality that depicts intricate features such as eyes, a nose and a mouth.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5738/SD02, 5740/SD02		R0102/F001			
0534	F			Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing some form of head-dress.	This example is very similar to that in 0533 in terms of size and style. It measures around 9cm high.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5723/SD02, 5732/SD02	T0055/F001	R0103/F001			
0536	F			Graffito of a crudely drawn figure depicted riding a horse.	A rather well executed depiction of a horse, being ridden by a figure that may or may not be human. The figure is comparatively rather crudely executed.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5834/SD02, 5845/SD02		R0100/F001	D0010/F001		
0535	F			Graffiti depicting possibly both a man and a woman together.	These two examples are situated directly next to one another. It seems that one may depict a full length male figure and the other a female figure, but this is difficult to discern with any certainty as they are both comparatively rather crudely executed in comparison to the other figures recorded in this church.	Medieval	Thirteenth-Fifteenth century	Low down on the east side of chancel arch	5773/SD02, 5786/SD02		R0099/F001	D0010/F001		
0537	F			Graffito of a detailed depiction of full length lady.	Depiction of a full length lady in a dress and wearing a hood. It measures about 26cm high. The hood is reminiscent of those displayed on the portraits on 0533 and 0534.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the south side of the nave opposite the depiction of the man in armour	5719/SD02, 5733/SD02	T0055/F001	R0105/F001	D0010/F001		
0538	F			Graffito of a male face with a pronounced nose.	A possible rather crudely executed face. It is lightly-incised and depicts a long face with the faint outline of eyes and a long nose.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Nave pier	5854/SD02, 5860/SD02					

ID	Category	Sub-Category	Possible depiction	Caption	Description	Period	Specific	Architectural Location	jpg no./SD Card no.	Tracing no.	Rubbing no.	Drawing no.	Row no.	Stone no.
0605	F				A lightly-incised profile of the face of a woman wearing a head-dress. It resembles the face and style depicted in 0533 and 0534, and shows minute features such as eyes and a nose.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5895/SD02, 5898/SD02		R0104/F001	D0013/F001		
0606	F			Graffito of a lightly-incised outline of the profile of a face.	The outline of a lightly-incised profile of a face next to 0605. It shows no facial features, but depicts the outline of a head-dress, which may suggest that it was a trial version.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5887/SD02					
0607	F			Graffito of the profile of a female face wearing a head-dress.	A lightly-incised profile of a face wearing a head-dress that is reminiscent to 0533, 0534 and 0605. It depicts a female face with details including eyes, a mouth and nose.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5912/SD02			D0012/F001		
0608	F			Graffito of a lightly-incised hat.	A lightly-incised profile image of a hat similarly to that in 0534, 0605 and 0607. But it is difficult to discern whether there is a face depicted wearing the hat in profile.	Medieval	Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5921/SD02			D0013/F001		
0609	F		P	Graffito of a possible rather small, crudely executed outline of a face.	A lightly-incised graffito of a possible outline of a face crudely-incised beneath 0538. Although, any facial features are difficult to discern.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5869/SD02			D0008/F001		
0611	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a compass-drawn design comprising two interlinked circles.	A simplistic compass-drawn design that consists of two interlinked circles lightly-incised using a compass.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave			R0109/F001			
0532	Sh	ShC		Graffito of a compass-drawn daisywheel with various radiating circles.	This graffito consists of a complex compass-drawn design, which depicts possibly two examples of a daisywheel with further radiating circles, from the circumference of other circles.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Pier on the north side of the nave	5758/SD02		R0109/F001			
0531	M			Graffito of a ship.	It depicts the hull form by a series of horizontal lines, together with standing rigging.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Westernmost pier in the North arcade	5875/SD02	T0054/F001				
0610	C	Cco	P	Graffito of a possible compass-drawn Consecration cross.	This graffito depicts a compass-drawn cross, consisting of semi-circles contained within a whole circle.	Medieval	Fourteenth/Fifteenth century	Westernmost pier on the north side of the nave	5925/SD02					
0539	EM			An early modern graffito depicting the name 'George Roberts'.	A deeply-incised graffito depicting the name 'George Roberts', with possibly a further early modern inscription above.	Early modern	Sixteenth-Nineteenth century	West end	5683/SD02			D0010/F001		

Appendix 2

Bays on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster

This appendix provides larger images of the five bays on the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, with the numbered stone blocks that show evidence of graffiti. A smaller and condensed version was provided in chapter two of the thesis in the discussion about the recording methods used to document the graffiti. The smaller version in chapter two is useful for demonstrating the spatial distribution of the graffiti across the eastern reredos as a whole, however, its small size makes it difficult to specifically identify a graffito that readers of this thesis may wish to view when visiting this part of Beverley Minster. The larger images in this Appendix make it easier for readers to interact more effectively and locate a particular graffito. To locate a specific graffito, the number of the stone block on which it is situated can be found in either the database or mentioned in the thesis in chapters three through five. The images in this Appendix also supply a more detailed visual understanding of the appearance and context of each bay that comprises the eastern side of the reredos, and specifically where the graffiti occurs. There are five images in this Appendix, with the first three showing the numbered stone blocks on the three main middle bays, while the last two present the return bays.



Figure Appendix 2.1: The numbered stone blocks on the right-hand bay which show evidence of graffiti



Figure Appendix 2.2: The numbered stone blocks on the left-hand bay which show evidence of graffiti



Figure Appendix 2.3: The numbered stone blocks at either side of the Sir Michael Warton Tomb which show evidence of graffiti



Figure Appendix 2.4: The numbered stone blocks on the north return bay which show evidence of graffiti



Figure Appendix 2.5: The numbered stone blocks on the south return bay which show evidence of graffiti

Appendix 3

The parish churches within the Humber region

This Appendix provides information about the six parish churches from the Humber region, which have been investigated in the course of this research. The first table displays a list of churches which were surveyed initially for this research in the course of identifying potential sites for evidence of graffiti. It is important to note that in the case of Table Appendix 3.1 where no dot appears next to the name of the church then it did not contain any graffiti when it was surveyed. As mentioned in chapter two, other churches showed evidence of graffiti, but were omitted from the thesis because it was necessary to keep the database and the thesis to a manageable size. At these other sites where further examples of graffiti were found, it would have been too time-consuming to undertake a full-scale, quality, survey of the evidence. However, this is useful information for future researchers who may be conducting studies on the graffiti in church buildings within the Humber region because it will allow them to narrow their search for sites. Following on from this, the other tables provide general information about the six parish churches within the Humber region where graffiti has been discovered, identified and recorded for the purpose of this thesis. The tables include a brief description of their date, architectural features, restoration and a summary of the number of graffiti recorded at each site, in addition to a breakdown of the quantity for each category. It should be noted that the tables have been arranged in alphabetical order according to the place-name of the location of the church.

Table Appendix 3.1: List of churches visited

Church	Graffiti present ●
Saint Leonard's (Beeford)	
Saint Giles (Bielby)	
Bridlington Priory (Bridlington)	
St Martin's (Burton Agnes)	
St Mary's (Cottingham)	●
St Martin's (Hayton)	
Saint Augustine's (Hedon)	●
St Mary's (Huggate)	
Holy Trinity (Hull)	●
Lincoln Cathedral (Lincoln)	●
All Saints (Londesborough)	
Saint Margaret's (Millington)	
All Saints (Nafferton)	
Saint Patrick's (Patington)	
Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's (Pickering)	
All Saints (Rudston)	
Selby Abbey (Selby)	●
Saint Augustine's (Skirlaugh)	●

Table Appendix 3.2: General information about the six parish churches surveyed within the Humber region

Place	Dedication	Distance from Beverley (via road)	Date	Character of present topography	Source
Goxhill (North Lincolnshire)	All Saints	18 miles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thirteenth-century chancel. Fourteenth/fifteenth-century nave, aisles and tower. There is some re-used twelfth-century chevron masonry built into the upper walls of the east end of the nave. The north aisle has fourteenth-century pointed 3-light west window with reticulated tracery. There is a fifteenth-century moulded oak nave roof. There is a fifteenth-century south porch roof. 	Rural	N. Pevsner, & J. Harris, <i>The buildings of England: Lincolnshire</i> , 2 nd edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 312-313.
Harpham	Saint John of Beverley	18 miles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Twelfth-century nave with one small Norman window. Early fourteenth-century chancel. The church was remodelled in the late fourteenth century and the west tower and north chapel were added. 	Rural	N. Pevsner & D. Neave, <i>The buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding</i> , 2 nd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 449-51.
Hessle	All Saints	9 miles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Twelfth-century nave. Thirteenth century nave arcades, with narrow aisles added. The west bays in the north arcade are mid thirteenth-century, while the west bays on the south arcade are early-thirteenth century. Fifteenth-century tower and spire. Late thirteenth century chancel north chapel. Late fifteenth-century chancel south chapel. 	Urban-north of the Humber Estuary	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 467-8.
Hornsea	Saint Nicholas	13 miles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thirteenth-century nave and aisles and late thirteenth-century tower, which were altered and enlarged in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 	Coastal	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 477.
Paull	Originally dedicated to Saint Mary. From the fifteenth century it was also dedicated to Saint Andrew.	16 miles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-fourteenth to fifteenth-century. The church was built on this site soon after 1355 to replace a former church on the bank of the Humber. The church also has a mid fourteenth-century tower. 	Tidal estuary	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 645-6.
Welwick	Saint Mary	27 miles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late thirteenth-century tower arch, east section of the nave, and west section of the chancel which has one lancet. Fourteenth-century clerestory, arcades, aisles, chancel extension and door to porch. The east window is datable by a will of 1358. The church also contains various fourteenth-century monuments (see Table 3.2). Fifteenth-century rood screen and rebuilding of tower. 	Rural	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 743-4

Table Appendix 3.3: Information about the features and restoration campaigns of the six churches within the Humber region

Church	Description of church	Restoration work	Source
All Saints, Goxhill (North Lincolnshire)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four-bay nave with octagonal piers. Five-bay north and south aisles and a three-bay chancel. North and south transepts. Three-stage tower. There is some re-used twelfth-century chevron-moulded masonry at the east end of the nave. Located in the south porch is a mid- fifteenth century wall painting depicting the Crucifixion. Effigy of a knight dating to the late thirteenth-century. It is depicted with crossed legs, with surcoat and chain-mail. There are other monuments present which are datable to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Restoration work undertaken around 1857 involved re-flooring and removal of plaster. Further restoration work carried out in 1878-9 to the aisles, chancel and tower. 	N. Pevsner, & J. Harris, <i>The buildings of England: Lincolnshire</i> , 2 nd edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 312-313.
Saint John of Beverley (Harpham)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Three-bay nave with a two bay chancel, north chapel and three-stage west tower. Priest's door. East window of three-lights with ogee tracery. Nave has a west gallery, supported on four octagonal piers. In 1374, Joan Saint Quintin was licensed to crenellate the bell tower intended to build. Located between the chancel and north chapel is an alabaster tomb chest with incised figures. It commemorates William de Saint Quintin who died in 1349 and his wife. It contains shields and flanking a crucifix. It was probably constructed around 1400. There is also an effigy of a lady of around 1360-70 in the north chapel and another commemorating Thomas de Saint Quintin and his wife, which date to the fifteenth-century. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The chancel was rebuilt in 1827. Further restoration of the nave and tower was carried out in 1935. Most of the stained-glass in the windows date to the eighteenth century. 	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 449-450.
All Saints (Hessle)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Three-stage west tower (embraced by fifteenth-century westward extensions to nave aisles), spire, five-bay aisled nave with north and south porches and a two-bay chancel north and south chapels. Three west bays of the south arcade are early thirteenth-century, pointed arches with paired rolls and circular capitals and cylindrical piers. Three west bays of the north arcade are datable to the mid thirteenth-century with pointed arches on circular capitals and cylindrical piers. At the west end of the present nave between the inserted tower arch and arcade response, can be seen a small area of twelfth-century ashlar. It also has a nineteenth-century organ chamber. Nineteenth-century south porch in the Early English style. To the north wall of the north chancel chapel is a there is a small brass inscription to Ann, wife of Sir Henry Percy, 1511. Reset medieval fragments including the arms of the Constables of Flamborough, datable to the fifteenth-century in a window in a south chapel. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Substantial alterations were carried out in the nineteenth century. In 1841 the north side of the chancel was rebuilt, replacing the brick walling and heightening the arcade. A full restoration was undertaken in 1852-3, with the most significant changes taking place in 1868-71. The chancel and its side chapels were taken down and rebuilt further to the east, the nave was also lengthened by two bays to the east and aisles rebuilt expanding their original width. The area of the church was doubled. The chancel arch was raised in 1896. The porch is of the date 1874. The vestry at the west end was added in 1901-2. Most of the windows are datable to the nineteenth and twentieth-century. 	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 467-8.
Saint Nicholas's (Hornsea)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four-bay nave arcades with piers and with a south porch (formerly with a chapel). North and south sides of the nave arcades have pointed arches, with the north on high base and the south on similar, lower, bases. Four-bay chancel with north and south aisled chapels and eastern crypt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The church was restored in 1865-7 by Sir George Gilbert Scott. Further work was carried out in 1899-1907, which included the chancel screen (1901), new vestry (1902), and oak reredos (1904). Chancel roof is datable to c.1845. 	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 477-8.

Church	Description of church	Restoration work	Source
Saint Nicholas's (Hornsea) (continued)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a fragment of medieval glass in the north aisle east window, while the remaining windows were restored in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Crypt of unknown date, reached by a spiral stair from the north choir aisle, beneath the east window of the chancel. Early thirteenth-century octagonal font. In the east end of the north nave aisle there is a military effigy, depicted in secular clothing and dates to the thirteenth century. This is from the church of Saint Giles, Goxhill. In addition, in the south aisle of the chancel, there is a fifteenth-century alabaster tomb-chest, commemorating Anthony, Saint Quintin, rector of Hornsea who died in 1430. A late thirteenth century effigy depicting a knight and lady were brought from the church of Saint Helena and Saint Mary Magdalene, Nunkeeling, which is thought to commemorate a member of the Fauconbery family of Catfoss. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most of the windows are datable to the nineteenth and twentieth-century. 	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 477-8.
Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's (Paull)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four-bay aisled nave with octagonal piers and north and south doors, with slightly projecting transepts. The piers and arches bear traces of red paint, with traces of painted inscriptions, one dated to 1657. It also has a three bay chancel, with an adjoining vestry on the north side. There is a carved crowned angel holding a shield above a reset finial, which is possibly part of a fifteenth-century monument. The crossing piers have partly restored octagonal responds with plain moulded capitals and bases. It has partly restored segmental-headed two-light windows to the north and south. The church also possesses various seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century monuments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The church suffered fire damage in the siege of Hull in 1643. It was repaired in 1663 and 1699. Further restorations were carried out in 1877-9, including reseating and re-roofing and again in c.1890. 	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 645-6.
Saint Mary's (Welwick)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clerestory, four-bay aisled nave with octagonal piers with plain moulded capitals and bases. It has a south porch. A three-bay chancel and a two-stage west tower. There are traces of post-Reformation texts on the clerestory walls. Its windows are datable by a will of 1358. There is a tomb dating to c.1340-1350 built into the wall of the south aisle. The effigy depicts a priest in mass vestments on a bed. It is accompanied with features such as, possible daggers, angels, figures of female saints, shields bearing arms and symbols of the Passion. It may commemorate William de le Mare, Provost of Beverley 1338-60 or his brother, Thomas de la Mare, vicar of Welwick, 1356. It is attributed to the same workshop as the Percy tomb at Beverley Minster. The south aisle contains a late-thirteenth century floor slab with the name William engraved in lombardic letters. There is another floor-slab in the central nave aisle with a Latin inscription reading William and Margaret Sotteler 1498. The church also possesses a fifteenth-century octagonal font with a plain moulded bowl and base. Other brasses and monuments present are datable to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were restoration campaigns carried out in the early twentieth century and c.1980. The south porch was rebuilt in the eighteenth century. A stained-glass east window made in 1877. 	Pevsner & Neave, <i>Yorkshire</i> , 743-4.

Table Appendix 3.4: The types of graffiti and their architectural location recorded from each of the six churches within the Humber region

Church	Location of graffiti	Description of graffiti
All Saints, Goxhill (North Lincolnshire)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 examples are located on piers in the north and south sides of the nave • 1 example is located in the east end • 1 examples is located in the west end 	There are a total of 18 examples of graffiti. There are 13 figures, 2 shapes, 1 ship, 1 possible cross, 1 early modern graffito.
Saint John of Beverley (Harpham)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 examples are located on the east and west sides of the west arch. • 2 examples are located on the west side of the chancel arch. 	There are a total of 12 examples of graffiti. These include 2 religious symbols, 2 inscriptions, 2 figures, 2 animals, 2 miscellaneous graffiti, 1 shapes and 1 ship.
All Saints (Hessle)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18 examples are located in the West end • 4 examples are located above and around the door jamb • 2 examples are located on nave piers 	There are a total of 24 examples of graffiti. These include, 5 ships, 5 textual inscriptions, 4 musical notation, 4 miscellaneous, 2 shapes, 2 figures, 1 merchants' mark and 1 heraldic motif.
Saint Nicholas's (Hornsea)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 examples are located on piers in the north and south sides of the nave. • 2 examples are located in the west end. 	There are a total of 14 examples of graffiti. These include 3 heraldic devices, 2 letters, 2 religious symbols, 2 merchants' marks, 2 ships, 1 figures, 1 shapes and 1 animal.
Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's (Paull)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 46 examples are located on piers in the north and south sides of the nave. • 6 examples in the east end. 	There are a total of 52 examples of graffiti. These include 31 ships, 4 heraldic devices, 4 shapes, 3 crosses, 2 musical notation, 2 merchants' marks, 2 letters, 2 miscellaneous, 1 textual inscription and 1 figure.
Saint Mary's (Welwick)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 examples are located on piers in the north and south sides of the nave. • 1 example is located on a door jamb. 	There are a total of 6 examples of graffiti. These include 2 miscellaneous, 1 ship, 1 religious symbol, 1 heraldic device and 1 textual inscription.

Table Appendix 3.5: A breakdown of the quantity and percentage of each category of graffiti recorded in the parish churches within the Humber region

Category	Quantity	Percentage
Ships	41	32.5
Figures	19	15.0
Shapes	11	8.7
Textual inscriptions	9	7.1
Heraldry	9	7.1
Musical notation	6	4.7
Religious symbols	5	3.9
Merchants' marks	5	3.9
Crosses	4	3.1
Letters	4	3.1
Animals	3	2.3
Miscellaneous	9	7.1
Early modern graffiti	1	0.7
Total	126	

Appendix 4

The PAS data

The data collected for the following table was compiled from the Portable Antiquaries Scheme database, which was mentioned in the main body of the thesis in chapter two. This Appendix provides information about the material culture drawn upon in chapters three through five.

These objects were employed in this research for the purposes of identifying, dating and interpreting the graffiti by using them as sources of comparison. The objects used in this study are mainly dress accessories including pilgrim souvenirs, badges, pendants, finger rings and purse frames. Other items include coins, swords, daggers and spindle whorls, which are not as obviously associated with dress fittings, but have been used in the thesis for the purpose of drawing parallels with the graffiti. Each object used in this thesis is listed separately. The table includes the PAS number of the object recorded on the database. It provides information about each object including a brief description of its condition and physical appearance, a broad potential date and details about the geographical location in which it was found. The list of objects in the following table have been arranged by the object PAS numbers, firstly in alphabetical order, followed by numerical order. Further information about each item, including images, can be found by searching the object number on the PAS database, obtainable from <https://finds.org.uk/>.

Table Appendix 4.1: The PAS data

PAS number	Object type	Description	Date	Location
DENO-E67DD7	Finger ring	A medieval gold finger ring with four oval bezels engraved with images of saints equally spaced around the D-sectioned hoop. These comprise images of Saint Christopher, possibly Saint Catherine and two other female saints.	c.1400-1500	East Lindsey, Lincolnshire
DUR-B8BFF3	Spindle whorl	A medieval lead spindle whorl. Both sides of this object are decorated with star-type motifs. One side comprises nine radiating raised lines, while the other depicts triangles with the base arranged around the perforation, giving a star shape.	c.1400-1700	Pocklington, East Riding of Yorkshire
DUR-F52413	Ampulla	A medieval lead ampulla that is flask shaped with a handle on each side, one of which has been damaged. One side is decorated with the letter T inside a shield and a concentric circle, while the other is formed in the shape of a scallop shell.	c.1350-1530	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
DUR-7F2876	Finger ring	A silver-gilt finger ring with an oval bezel decorated with an engraved merchant's mark.	c.1500-1600	Ryedale, North Yorkshire
FAKL-9FE6BB	Spindle whorl	A medieval lead spindle whorl. One side is decorated with a five-pointed star formed by raised bars in an angle, while the other face bears what appear to be worn pellets which have been supplemented by angled lines.	c.1450-1550	Elloughton, East Riding of Yorkshire
GLO-EF23B6	Finger ring	A medieval silver-gilt iconographic finger ring with a three sided bezel that has crudely engraved images on each of the faces. The three panels in the bezel represent; in the centre, an image of the Trinity, with Christ suspended from a Y-shaped Cross; on the right, Saint John the Baptist; and on the left two female Saints, possibly the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. The three latter Saints frequently appear in Crucifixion scenes, which might account for their presence on the ring. The shoulders hoop also have three faces, each with an engraved flower running down its length.	c.1400-1500	Gloucestershire
IHS-C0F733	Seal matrix	A copper alloy circular seal matrix. It depicts the device of a shield divided by a cross-headed staff with three tails flying to the right. There is a cross above the shield and a Lombardic R situated at the base of the staff. The right-hand side is charged with a bend and, again, with a bend over all.	c.1400-1500	Market Weighton, East Riding of Yorkshire
IHS-015FD2	Seal matrix	A copper alloy oval-shaped seal matrix, decorated with an engraved image of Saint John in robes holding an Agnus Dei in his left-hand, accompanied by an inscription. The inscription reads: ECCE A_GNVVS D_EI, which translates as, 'Behold the Lamb of God'.	c.1300-1400	York, North Yorkshire
IHS-2FF8C3	Seal matrix	A copper alloy circular seal matrix decorated with an engraved image of an Agnus Dei. It depicts a lamb (with an uplifted right foreleg) facing to the right, looking back over its shoulder at the staff. The top of the staff extends into the lettering area. A triple-tailed banner flies from the staff on the left. It bears an inscription that reads: ECCE AGNVVS DEI, which translates as, 'Behold the Lamb of God'. The representation of Christ as a lamb was well-known across Europe in the medieval period. Its owner is likely to have been a cleric or priest due to the symbolism of the lamb and banner; the banner denoted the physical presence of the owner on the battlefield, and acted as a rallying-point for troops. By the analogy here, the banner denotes the presence of God in the church, and the cleric calls men to God.	c.1200-1400	North Yorkshire
LANCUM-0A0606	Purse frame	A fragment of a cast copper alloy purse bar, which is mostly complete, but missing a suspension loop and small section of one arm and the terminal of the other. Both sides of the bars are decorated, as is the central shield shaped lozenge. Much of the surfaces of the frame have been lost as a result of the weathering effect. The decoration takes the form of an inscription, which has been inlaid with niello. This is a silver compound, black in colour. The inscription on one side is spread over both arms of the bar reading as: [AVE MAR]IA GATIA PLE[NA]. The letters to the left of IA have been eroded, while there is a misspelling of GRATIA (GACIA), and not enough room for the word PLENA. On the opposite side of the purse bar, there is another part to the inscription that reads as: /P DOMINV/S/TE[CVM], with the S situated within a shield-shaped cartouche. The inscription is separated by the motif of a double V, which is also a symbol associated with the Virgin Mary, and is either linked to the name 'Maria', or the location of her shrine at Walsingham. The full inscription can be translated as: 'Hail Mary Full of Grace, the Lord is with Thee'.	c.1475-1550	Pocklington, East Riding of Yorkshire

PAS number	Object type	Description	Date	Location
LIN-B43895	Finger ring	A copper alloy seal finger ring with an octagon-shaped bezel. The bezel is decorated with an incised motif, relating to a merchant's seal mark. It shows a central vertical shaft, and a splayed terminal with a circle behind the splayed terminal.	c.1400-1600	East Lindsey, Lincolnshire
LIN-00BB62	Finger ring	A complete silver-gilt medieval iconographic finger ring. The bezel is rectangular-shaped, with angled corners and is engraved with a figure of Saint John the Evangelist who holds a chalice.	c.1400-1500	East Lindsey, Lincolnshire
LIN-8F8C76	Pendant	A lead or pewter circular-shaped religious pendant. One side depicts Christ standing under an arch with an angel at either side. The inscription reads ECCE AGNUS DEI ECCE - QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI, 'Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world'. The other side shows a short cross with an annulet in each terminal, containing the monogram IHS. There is a surrounding inscription which possibly reads as: MEMENTO ?MI ? BIENT IMMO.	c.1500-1700	East Lindsey, Lincolnshire
LON-9040C0	Pilgrim badge	An incomplete medieval lead alloy pilgrim badge that depicts Saint John of Beverley and Saint John of Bridlington at either side of the badge. They are depicted figuratively behind a scrolling banner held up by angels. The left-hand angel survives complete, but only the head and wings of the right have survived.	c.1404-1450	London
LVPL-306A66	Finger ring	A gold medieval iconographic finger ring. It has a rectangular-shaped bezel engraved with an image of Saint Christopher supporting the Christ Child on his shoulder. Saint Christopher carries a staff in his right hand and clutches his cloak around his body on his left. The shoulders of the ring are also engraved with small flowers.	c.1450-1550	Chester
LVPL-76EC91	Finger ring	A cast copper alloy finger ring, decorated with an engraved letter W. It could well be a signet ring, or worn in devotion to the Virgin Mary.	c.1400-1600	Selby, North Yorkshire
NARC-6981C5	Seal matrix	A copper alloy seal matrix. The central motif depicts a shield surmounted by a cross with a streamer. It is suggested on the PAS that this seal is religious in nature.	c.1300-1400	Daventry, Northamptonshire
NCL-FD6AD1	Pendant	A lead circular-shaped badge, with both sides decorated with religious scenes. One side depicts a sitting figure, which is most likely Mary, with an infant Jesus on her lap. The reverse depicts a crucifixion scene with Jesus on the cross and a soldier at either side piercing his chest with lances.	Medieval	Thwing, East Riding of Yorkshire
NCL-2E2A48	Finger ring	A silver finger ring with a circular-shaped bezel. It's size might indicate that it was intended to be worn by a man. The bezel is decorated with the letters + Ih/ES/VS.	c.1300-1500	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
NCL-5E5264	Finger ring	A gold finger ring with its band inscribed with: IN/DO/MI/NO/COM/[FIDO] alternating with punched bands between ridged borders. It translates as 'I trust in God'.	Medieval/ Post-Medieval	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
NCL-807A73	Finger ring	A gold finger ring consisting of ten joined plaques or beads, five circular and five rectangular. The rectangular beads are inscribed with black-letter script, with the letters L,C, N, R, Y(?). Their meaning and order is unclear. It could well be a variation of a decade ring, since it consists of ten beads.	c.1400-1600	East Yorkshire.
NLM-EA2BD4	Seal matrix	A cast copper alloy circular seal matrix. The device is decorated with an engraved Agnus Dei, accompanied by an inscription reading: ECCE AGNVS DEI, which translates as 'Behold the lamb of God'.	c.1300-1400	East Lindsey, Lincolnshire
NLM-66F7F3	Pilgrim badge	An oval lead alloy pilgrim badge, decorated with an image of the Virgin, Saint Elizabeth and the Angel Gabriel.	c.1450-1535	West Lindsey, Lincolnshire
NLM-688C74	Finger ring	A silver-gilt iconographic finger ring with a bezel of two panels. One of which is engraved with the figure of a kneeling angel and the other of standing figures, possibly representing the Annunciation. The hoop comprises a series of lozenge shapes.	c.1350-1500	Bonby, North Lincolnshire
NMS-BF29E7	Seal matrix	A circular copper alloy seal matrix decorated with an engraved image of an Agnus Dei, a lamb and flag.	Medieval	Scole, Norfolk
NMS-EDFA64	Finger ring	An incomplete silver finger ring inscribed with what appears to be the remains of the names of the three Magi: Jasper, Balthazar and Melchior.	c.1400-1500	Breckland, Norfolk
NMS-2D4373	Pilgrim badge	A medieval lead pilgrim badge cast in the form of the mitred head of Saint Thomas Becket, with part of the mitre missing.	c.1300-1500	Emneth, Norfolk

PAS number	Object type	Description	Date	Location
PAS-A33562	Finger ring	A gold finger ring inscribed with the names of the three Magi depicted as: YASPAR . MELCHIOR . BALTASAR.	c.1400-1500	Calderdale, Yorkshire
PAS-B1BD65	Pilgrim badge	A cast lead alloy pilgrim badge in the shape of a bust of Saint Thomas Becket, shown wearing a bishop's mitre and a vestment. The mitre has a band around the lower edge and up the centre, decorated with ring-and-dot motifs to indicate its jewels.	c.1300-1500	Canterbury, Kent
PUBLIC-2A8E62	Hooked Tag	A hooked tag consisting of a central circular plate decorated with the engraved letters IHS in Lombardic script, referring to the Holy Name of Jesus.	c.1500-1600	North Cave, East Riding of Yorkshire
SF-A044F4	Finger ring	An iconographic gold finger ring engraved with an image of what appears to be the Virgin Mary, or a different female saint, with the smaller figure representing the Angel Gabriel. Taken as a whole, the image may depict the Annunciation.	c.1400-1500	Forest Heath, Suffolk
SF-D375D5	Seal matrix	A copper alloy seal matrix, decorated with the engraved image of an Agnus Dei standing in profile.	c.1300-1425	Yaxley, Suffolk
SF-8CD0F4	Dagger	An incomplete iron dagger with a single-edged blade.	c.1200-1500	Beccles, Suffolk
SOMDOR-29F941	Pilgrim badge	A pilgrim badge that has been moulded to represent the bust of Saint Thomas Becket, including the head and shoulders. It depicts the archbishop wearing a mitre, which has a central vertical panel with raised dots.	c.1300-1500	Frampton, Dorset
SUSS-603855	Finger ring	A silver gilt iconographic finger ring which has a bezel divided into two sections, each engraved with an image of a saint. The saints depicted may well represent Saint John the Evangelist and either Mary Magdalene or Saint Barbara.	c.1400-1500	Ashford, Kent
SUSS-72D0D5	Finger ring	A silver gilt iconographic finger ring. The bezel is divided into two sections, one engraved with an image of Saint Catherine and the other of Saint Barbara.	c.1400-1600	Horsham, Sussex
SWYOR-B392B7	Strap fitting	A copper alloy strap fitting decorated with the engraved letters IHS in the centre and an omega above. The letters IHS are the sacred monogram of the Holy Name, referring to 'Jesus Hominum Salvator', meaning 'Jesus, Saviour of Mankind'.	c.1400-1600	Selby, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-CA6D31	Seal matrix	A copper alloy seal matrix engraved with a merchant's mark which features a shield, giving it a pseudo-heraldic appearance.	c.1300-1400	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-DD74E2	Sword	An iron cruciform sword with a disc-shaped pommel.	c.1300-1500	Ashford, Kent
SWYOR-DE0FF6	Mount	A copper alloy mount with a circular perforation, which is decorated with a six-petalled flower.	c.1200-1500	Market Weighton, East Riding of Yorkshire
SWYOR-D11D26	Coin	A silver penny issued in the reign of Henry VII, minted at Durham for Bishop John Sherwood. The coin has a hole punched through it, allowing it to be suspended, possibly around the neck.	c.1484-1494	Selby, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-D58AF4	Spindle whorl	A lead alloy spindle whorl, with one side decorated with a six-pointed star, formed from two interlocking triangles.	c.1200-1500	Selby, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-02CB7D	Finger ring	A copper alloy finger ring with a circular bezel, with a hoop formed of fifteen beads. The bezel is engraved with the letters IHS, the abbreviation for the Holy Name, referring to 'Jesus Hominum Salvator', meaning 'Jesus, Saviour of Mankind'.	c.1350-1550	Selby, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-4C7652	Seal matrix	A circular copper alloy seal matrix engraved with a merchant's mark, accompanied by an inscription around the edge. Its owner may well have been a cleric.	c.1200-1400	Howden, East Riding Yorkshire
SWYOR-5B2226	Finger ring	A copper alloy finger ring that could be used as a seal matrix. The design on the oval-shaped bezel depicts a letter V with a crown, and may well be a signet ring.	c.1400-1500	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-6C9E31	Mount	A copper alloy mount, decorated with the engraved letters IHS, the abbreviation for the Holy Name.	Late medieval	North Ferriby, North Yorkshire
SWYOR-806713	Mount	A copper alloy mount cast in the form of a female figure which may well be Saint Barbara. She is possibly holding a palm branch in her left hand, and an open book on her right. There is possibly a tower at the left-hand side.	c.1400-1500	North Cave, East Riding of Yorkshire

PAS number	Object type	Description	Date	Location
WAW-F7CA94	Seal matrix	A copper alloy circular seal matrix engraved with a merchant's mark. It depicts a central vertical shaft, with a shorter intersecting vertical bar, similarly to that of a Latin cross. In the centre of the bar, there are three chevrons, or streamers, protruding from one side.	c.1275-1400	Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire
WMID-C2E4D4	Button/ pilgrim badge	An incomplete copper alloy pilgrim badge or button badge that has been fashioned in an octagon shape. It has been engraved with an image of Saint Barbara. An inscription around the border reads as: SANCTA BARBARA. Saint Barbara is depicted holding a book of the Gospels in her right hand and a palm leaf in her left, symbolising her martyrdom, with a possible castle in the background.	c.1475-1525	Rugby, Warwickshire
WMID-2EFC07	Finger ring	A silver finger ring inscribed on its exterior with the names of the Three Magi + IASPAR MELCIOR BALTASAR. The other side reads as +IESVS. NAZARANVS REX IVDIO, meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews'. It may be significant that the Three Magi travelled to witness the birth of Christ.	c.1300-1400	Derbyshire
YORYM-AC2A61	Brooch	A complete cast copper alloy brooch decorated with an engraved inscription separated by floral designs. The inscription reads as: IhC NAXA REN REX, meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth'. It features a misspelling, NAXA for NAZA.	c.1400-1550	Harrogate, North Yorkshire
YORYM-BF1F58	Seal matrix	A complete copper alloy circular seal matrix. It is an anonymous personal seal device consisting of an inscription that reads as: +ECCE AGNVS DEI, meaning 'Behold the Lamb of God', accompanied by a robed figure, possibly holding an Agnus Dei.	c.1300-1400	Hessle, East Riding of Yorkshire
YORYM-B3CFC1	Finger ring	An incomplete copper alloy finger ring with a circular-shaped bezel. It has been decorated with an engraved capital letter T.	c.1400-1650	York, Yorkshire
YORYM-B6F7D0	Ampulla	A complete lead alloy ampulla decorated with a six-petalled flower on one side and a capital letter T on the other.	c.1250-1500	Scarborough, North Yorkshire
YORYM-DDF788	Seal matrix	A circular copper alloy seal matrix engraved with a possible depiction of a vessel of the hulk shipbuilding tradition, with a 'banana-like' shaped hull. Two lines run fore-and-aft from the masthead to the bow and stern of the vessel, which may depict a form of rigging.	c.1300-1400	Paull, East Riding of Yorkshire
YORYM-DF4281	Ampulla	A lead ampulla that depicts a six-petalled flower contained within a circle, accompanied by chevrons around the edge of the circular border.	c.1350-1530	Goole, East Riding of Yorkshire
YORYM-F882A3	Finger ring	A copper alloy finger ring, decorated with individual incised stars.	c.1400-1650	Wilberfoss, East Riding of Yorkshire
YORYM1080	Ampulla	A lead alloy ampulla discovered on cultivated land which contained a powdery substance when opened.	c.1200-1500	Doncaster, Yorkshire
YORYM-126278	Finger ring	A copper alloy finger ring with a circular-shaped bezel. It has been decorated with an engraved capital letter T. This object could have been used as a seal matrix, simultaneously as a form of signet ring.	c.1300-1500	Scarborough, North Yorkshire
YORYM-174B82	Finger ring	A copper alloy finger ring with a rectangular-shaped bezel. It has been decorated with an engraved letter W, which is surmounted by a stylised crown.	c.1450-1650	Ryedale, North Yorkshire
YORYM-33D0A3	Stylus/part of a brooch	An incomplete silver object that could well be either a stylus or a brooch. It is rectangular in plan with a triangular section resulting in a three-sided piece. Both ends are broken and worn, rendering much of the decoration incomplete. The widest side of the object bears a raised design consisting of a six-petalled flower, flanked by three beasts, with one located to the left of the flower and two to the right. One of the narrower sides has raised text reading as: ARENVS REX I which, when complete, may have read: IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM, meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews'.	c.1200-1400	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
YORYM-469553	Finger ring	A silver finger ring engraved with an inscription in Lombardic lettering reading as: + IESVS NA[ZARENUS], meaning 'Jesus of Nazareth'.	c.1200-1300	Ryedale, North Yorkshire
YORYM-53C757	Ampulla	A lead ampulla decorated with a possible ragged staff motif on one side. It features a central vertical shaft with a transverse beam protruding from each side, pointing upwards. It appears that it has been slightly crushed as it has a bent neck. Whether this damage was inflicted deliberately before it was deposited remains unclear.	Late medieval	Barmston, East Riding of Yorkshire

PAS number	Object type	Description	Date	Location
YORYM-6CE0B1	Pendant	A circular silver pendant engraved with the Ihc sacred monogram on one side. The reverse has been engraved with the Marian monogram in the form of a letter M. This object is currently located in the Yorkshire Museum.	c.1350-1500	Hambleton, North Yorkshire
YORYM-653EBF	Harness pendant	A circular copper alloy harness pendant engraved with a shield charged with a cross. The central motif is engraved with the inscription: AVE [MAR]IA GRACIA, which translates as, 'Hail Mary full of Grace'.	c.1200-1400	Langtoft, East Riding of Yorkshire
YORYM-7FF1D4	Dress fastener	A circular copper alloy dress fastener decorated with the IHS sacred monogram.	c.1500-1600	Brantingham, East Riding of Yorkshire
YORYM-763D18	Pendant	A cross engraved with an inscription reading: + IESVS NAZAREN, meaning ‘Jesus of Nazareth’.	c.1300-1400	Harrogate, North Yorkshire
YORYM-865F93	Ampulla	A lead ampulla with one side depicting a scallop-shell, and a crowned letter S on the reverse in the centre of a hatched background.	c.1350-1530	Harrogate, North Yorkshire

The graffiti catalogue

Explanation of content

This catalogue has been compiled from the photographs of the graffiti taken at the sites studied for this research. This illustrative catalogue forms another original contribution of this thesis to the study of medieval and early modern graffiti. This falls in line with the outputs of other projects such as Champion's Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey mentioned in chapters one through six, which provides online photographic evidence of its discoveries for wider use by the public and historical research. This illustrative catalogue supplies a visual understanding of the nature of the practice of inscribing graffiti in the medieval and early modern periods in Beverley Minster and the six parish churches within the Humber region. It demonstrates that the graffiti not only varies in terms of subject matter, but also size and manner of execution. It provides a form of visual evidence to support the descriptions and arguments advanced in chapters three through five. The catalogue is, therefore, a relevant component of this thesis, which future researchers could utilise for their own studies of graffiti as sources for comparison.

In the catalogue the caption beneath each image provides the database ID numbers for the graffiti depicted in the photograph, and further information can be accessed by finding this number in the database. This catalogue does not provide photographs of all 905 examples of graffiti listed in the database, but others can be made available on request. It nevertheless provides a cross section of the different types of the graffiti at each site. For certain images, it has been necessary to superimpose the outline. This has been used for photographs where the graffiti is too lightly-incised to be discerned. Therefore, in some cases, photographs are repeated with one showing an untouched image, and the other depicting the same graffiti with its outline superimposed. This is for viewers to understand how the graffiti appears before interpretation is added when manipulated with a superimposed outline. In other cases the same image is repeated with one showing the graffiti without being highlighted by a torch, and then the following image demonstrates how it appears with a torch cast over it.

The catalogue begins with photographs from the eastern side of the reredos, as the graffiti in this location is the focus of the study. It then features images of the graffiti located in the nave of Beverley Minster, which is followed by images from the parish churches in East Yorkshire and then North Lincolnshire. The images from the five parish churches within East Yorkshire have been arranged in the order of the quantity of graffiti recorded at each site, with Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's at Paull having the highest total of the parish churches surveyed. The order is as follows:

Locations in Beverley Minster

Eastern reredos.

Nave.

Parish churches in East Yorkshire

Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's, Paull.

All Saints, Hessle.

Saint Nicholas's, Hornsea.

Saint John of Beverley, Harpham.

Saint Mary's, Welwick.

Parish church in North Lincolnshire

All Saints, Goxhill.

The images of the individual categories of graffiti have been arranged in chronological order, beginning with the medieval types, followed by early modern examples, and finally, the miscellaneous types. The images are also arranged according to their subject type and frequency at each site. For the eastern side of the reredos in Beverley Minster, the order in which the images have been arranged corresponds to that discussed in chapter three.

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Eastern side of the reredos, Beverley Minster

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
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- Catalogue entry 70: Graffito of a full-length figure depicted in profile on S56
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- Catalogue entry 72: Graffito of a portrait showing an arm folded across on S38
- Catalogue entry 73: Graffito of a face depicted in profile, wearing a head-dress on S38
- Catalogue entry 74: Graffiti depicting two possible Agnus Dei motifs on S22
- Catalogue entry 74a: The superimposed outline of the graffiti of the two possible Agnus Dei motifs on S22
- Catalogue entry 75: Graffito of a possible horse beneath the hull of a ship on S38
- Catalogue entry 75a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the possible horse on S38
- Catalogue entry 76: Graffito of a merchant's mark depicted with a heraldic shield on S53

- Catalogue entry 77: Graffito of a merchant's mark on S45
- Catalogue entry 78: Graffito depicting the name 'John Shorts 1612' framed by an elaborate design on S21
- Catalogue entry 79: Graffito of the name 'Thomas Kirkman 1644' on S55
- Catalogue entry 80: Graffiti depicting the name 'Thomas : Kirkman 1644' and the initial 'ES' on S18
- Catalogue entry 81: Graffito of the name 'C Jordan 1667' on S15
- Catalogue entry 82: Graffito of a possible acorn on S56
- Catalogue entry 83: Graffito of a possible wagon wheel on S34
- Catalogue entry 84: Graffito of a box divided into smaller boxes on S22

Nave, Beverley Minster

- Catalogue entry 85: Graffito of a textual inscription reading 'maburn' on N8
- Catalogue entry 86: Graffito of a foreign textual inscription on N8
- Catalogue entry 87: Graffiti depicting various crosses of a similar style on N5
- Catalogue entry 88: Graffito of a cross on N6
- Catalogue entry 89: Graffito of a pseudo-heraldic device on N8
- Catalogue entry 90: Graffito of an interlaced design located in the west end near the door leading to the north-west tower
- Catalogue entry 91: Graffito of a ragged staff with crosses incised in the centre on S4
- Catalogue entry 92: Graffito of a stave of musical notation with a clef and four notes on N2
- Catalogue entry 93: The notes and clef on the stave of musical notation on N2
- Catalogue entry 94: Graffito of a four-lined stave of musical notation located in the bay between piers N2 and N3
- Catalogue entry 95: Graffito of a large figure on N2
- Catalogue entry 95a: The superimposed outline of the large figure graffito on N2
- Catalogue entry 96: Graffito of a profile of a face on N5
- Catalogue entry 97: Graffiti possibly depicting two interlinked alpha and omega symbols on N6
- Catalogue entry 98: Graffito of the name 'Francis' in abbreviated Latin spelt 'FRACIS' on N3
- Catalogue entry 99: Graffito of the name 'Robert Cvts 1622' on N9, possibly for 'Cutts'
- Catalogue entry 100: Graffito of the name 'Thomas Ashlet 1613' on S8

Saint Andrew's and Saint Mary's, Paull

- Catalogue entry 101: Graffito of a ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 101a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of a ship on a pier on the north side of the nave

- Catalogue entry 102: Graffito of a small ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 102a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the small ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 103: Graffito of a ship as it appears without using a light source located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 103a: Graffito of a ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave, with lighting equipment
- Catalogue entry 104: Graffito of a possible cog type ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 105: Graffito depicting the hull of a ship without rigging located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 106: Graffito of a merchant's mark located on a pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 107: Graffito of a small possible Consecration cross located on the south side of the chancel
- Catalogue entry 108: Graffiti depicting a series of concentric compass-drawn circles within circles located on a pier on the north side of the nave

All Saints, Hessle

- Catalogue entry 109: Graffito of a ship located on a pier close to the west end
- Catalogue entry 110: Graffito of a ship showing the detail of the shrouds, yards, crow's nest and planking, situated at a low height on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave
- Catalogue entry 111: Graffito of a ship showing the detail of its hull and rigging, above the door frame leading to the central power
- Catalogue entry 112: Graffito of a textual inscription located on a pier on the north side of the nave towards the west end
- Catalogue entry 113: Graffito of a stave of musical notation with diamonds and square shapes representing notes, situated above standing eye level near the doorway leading to the central tower
- Catalogue entry 114: Graffito possibly depicting a four-lined stave of musical notation consisting of lines and dots, situated at a low height facing east near the door jamb leading to the central tower
- Catalogue entry 115: Graffito possibly representing a stave of musical notation consisting of lines and dots, located in the west end near the door leading to the tower
- Catalogue entry 116: Graffito of a compass-drawn design of a six-petalled daisywheel, located

above the door frame leading to the central tower

Catalogue entry 117: Graffito of a compass-drawn design consisting of a six-petalled daisywheel, located in the west end near the doorway to the tower

Catalogue entry 118: A faintly-incised graffito of a face located in the west end near the doorway leading to the tower

Catalogue entry 118a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the face located in the west end near the doorway leading to the tower

Catalogue entry 119: Graffito of a merchant's mark on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 120: Graffito of a shield located on the westernmost pier near the doorway leading to the tower

Catalogue entry 121: Graffito of a time keeping device located in the west end

Saint Nicholas's, Hornsea

Catalogue entry 122: Graffito of a ragged staff located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 123: Graffito depicting a possible angel with compass-drawn circular wings, situated at a low height on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 124: Graffiti of two merchants' marks located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 125: Graffiti of two W letters consisting of a double V located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 126: Graffito of a compass-drawn design depicting a faintly-incised daisywheel, located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 127: Graffito of a face depicted in profile located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 128: Graffito of a possible bird located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Saint John of Beverley, Harpham

Catalogue entry 129: Graffiti of two sacred monograms located on the east side of the west arch

Catalogue entry 130: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch

Catalogue entry 131: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch

Catalogue entry 132: Graffito possibly depicting a hulk type ship located on the north side of the west tower arch facing towards the nave

Catalogue entry 133: Graffito of a portrait, possibly a caricature wearing an elaborately decorated hat located on the east side of the west arch

Catalogue entry 134: Graffiti depicting two birds located on the west arch of the tower

Saint Mary's, Welwick

Catalogue entry 135: Graffito of a mitred head located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 136: Graffito of a shield located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 137: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the door jamb on south-west entrance

Catalogue entry 138: Graffito of a possible hulk type ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

All Saints, Goxhill

Catalogue entry 139: Graffito of a face wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 140: Graffiti of two faces depicted wearing hats located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 141: Graffito of a face depicted wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 142: Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 143: Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 144: Graffito of a figure in armour wielding a sword located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 145: Graffito of a full-length figure located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 145a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the full-length figure on a pier on the south side of the nave

Catalogue entry 146: Graffiti of two figures situated at a low height on the east side of the chancel arch

Catalogue entry 147: Graffito depicting a horse being ridden by a figure located on the easternmost pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 148: Graffito of a faintly-incised ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 148a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the faintly-incised ship, located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 149: Graffito of a compass-drawn design located on a pier on the north side of

the nave

Catalogue entry 150: Graffito of a possible Consecration cross located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Catalogue entry 151: An early modern graffito depicting the name 'George Roberts' located in the west end

Eastern side of the reredos, Beverley Minster



Catalogue entry 1: Overview showing the density of the graffiti on S19

Database ID nos: 0159, 0160, 0377, 0380, 381, 0382, 0383, 0384, 0385,
0386, 0387, 0388



Catalogue entry 2: Overview showing the density of the graffiti on S50

Database ID nos: 0315, 0316, 0317, 0318, 0319, 0320, 0321, 0322, 0323,
0495, 0496, 0497



Catalogue entry 3: Graffito of a Latin textual inscription possibly reading 'hec', meaning 'this' on S46

Database ID no: 0287



Catalogue entry 4: Scratched out graffito of a textual inscription on S46

Database ID no: 0290



Catalogue entry 5: Graffito of a textual inscription on S46

Database ID no: 0289



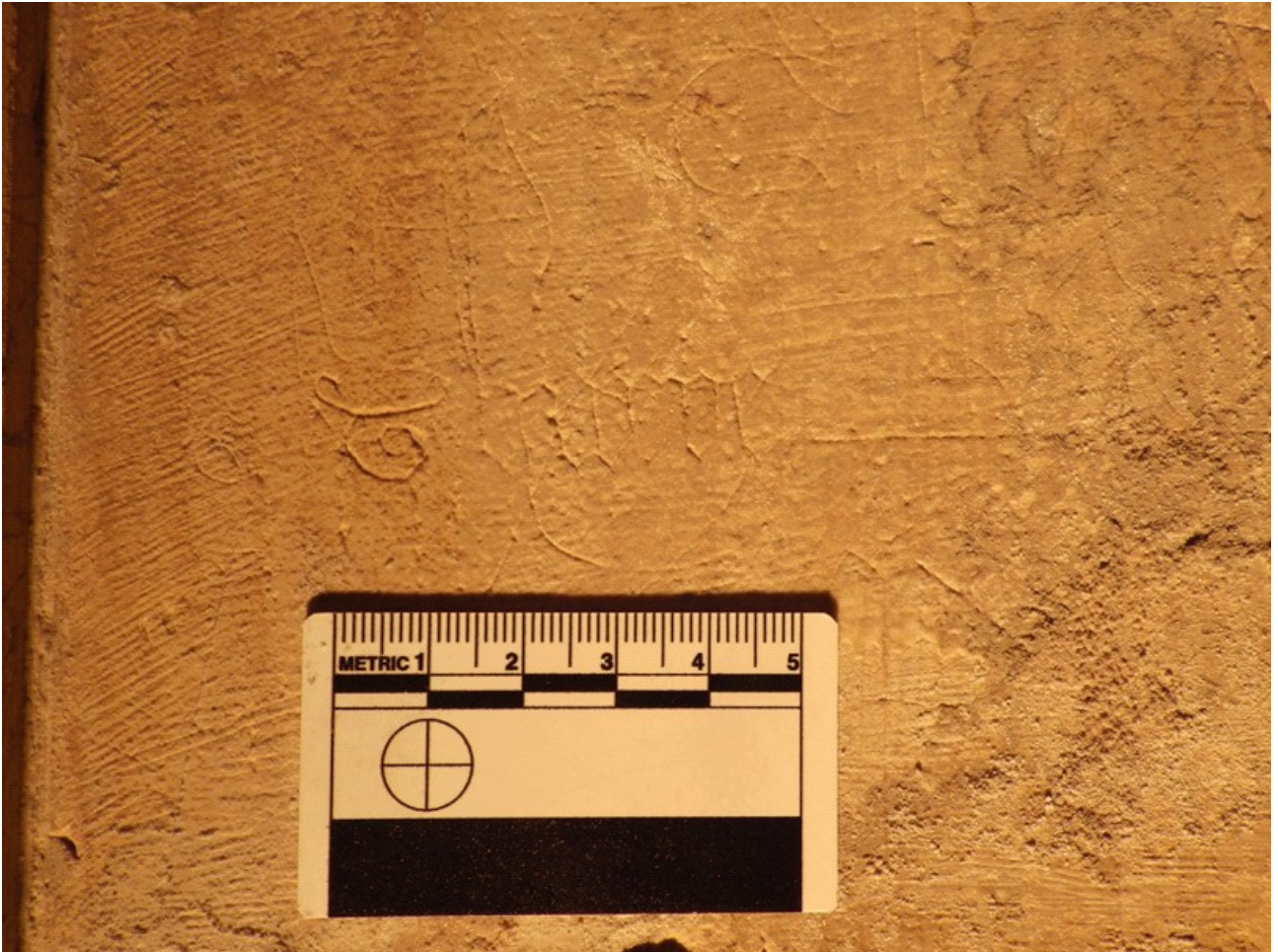
Catalogue entry 6: Graffito of a textual inscription framed by a box on S51

Database ID no: 0313



Catalogue entry 7: Graffito of a large textual inscription on S52

Database ID no: 0312



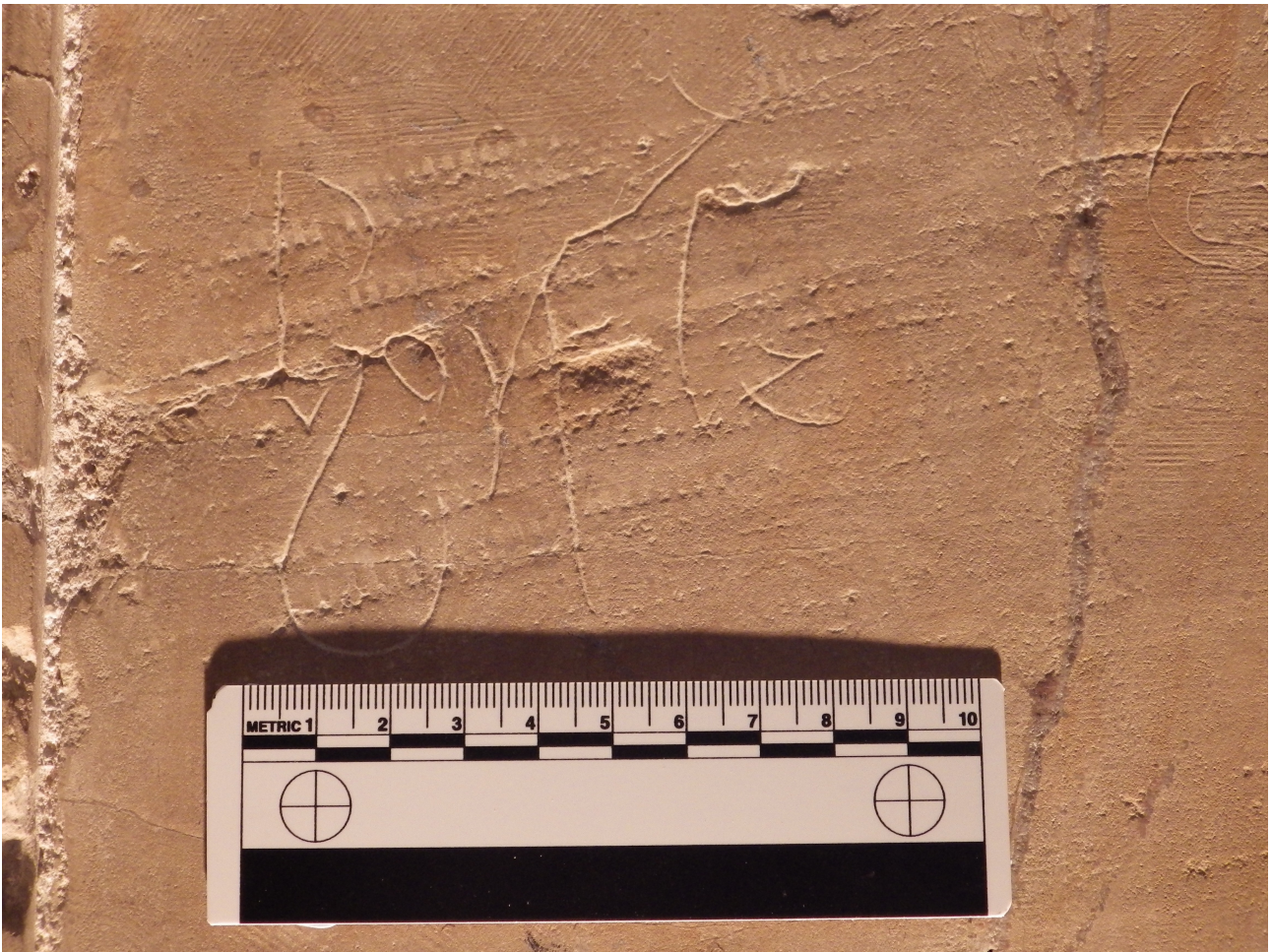
Catalogue entry 8: Graffito of a textual inscription, possibly depicting a forename on S11

Database ID no: 0182



Catalogue entry 9: Graffito of a textual inscription on the lines of a stave of musical notation on S15

Database ID no: 0405



Catalogue entry 10: Graffito of a textual inscription on S46

Database ID no: 0286



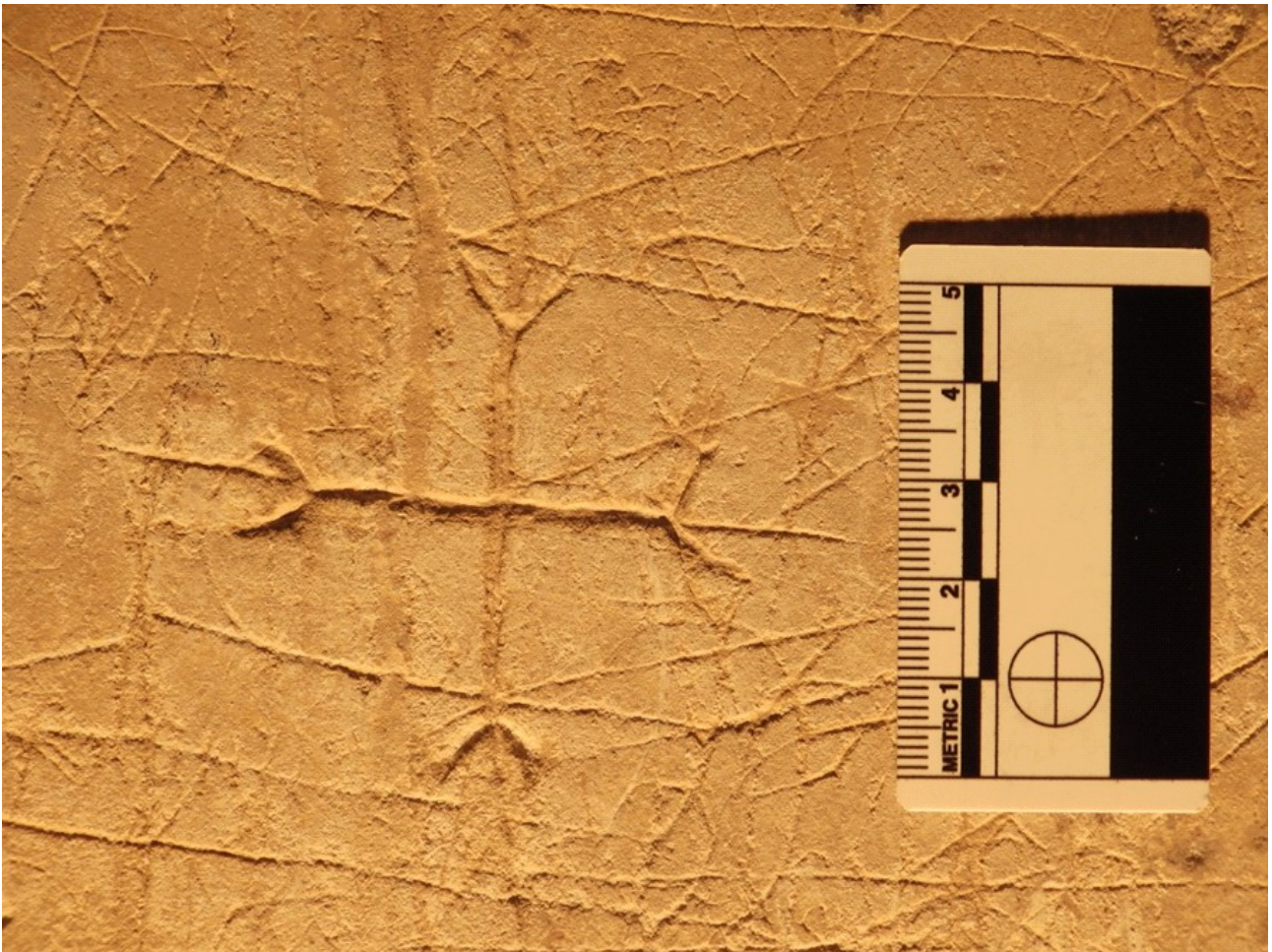
Catalogue entry 11: Graffito of a Latin cross on S56

Database ID no. 0335



Catalogue entry 12: Graffito of a Fourché cross on S44

Database ID no: 0300



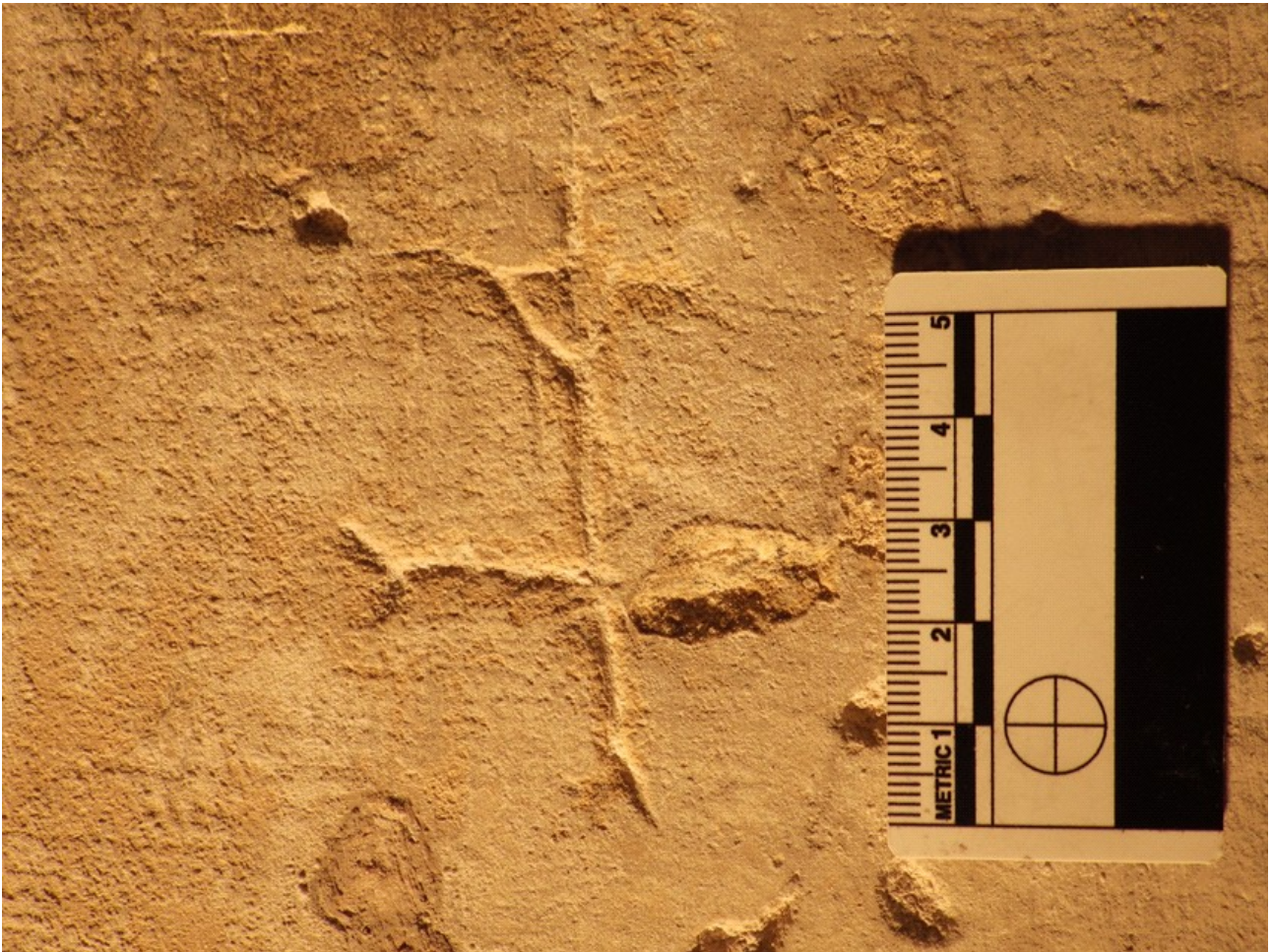
Catalogue entry 13: Graffito of a Fourché cross showing the tips of the arms divided into three on S38

Database ID no: 0271



Catalogue entry 14: Graffito of a Fourché cross distorted by the date 1667 on S15

Database ID no: 0173



Catalogue entry 15: Graffito of a Fourché cross with a long vertical stem located on S01

Database ID no: 0116



Catalogue entry 16: Graffito of a Cross pattée on S59

Database ID no: 0132



Catalogue entry 17: Graffito of a Cross pattée with a long vertical stem located on S31

Database ID no. 0220



Catalogue entry 18: Graffito of a Cross pattée on S56

Database ID no: 0129



Catalogue entry 19: Graffito of a Greek cross on S50

Database ID no: 0317



Catalogue entry 20: Graffiti depicting a Greek cross and part of a letter T on S34

Database ID no: 0242



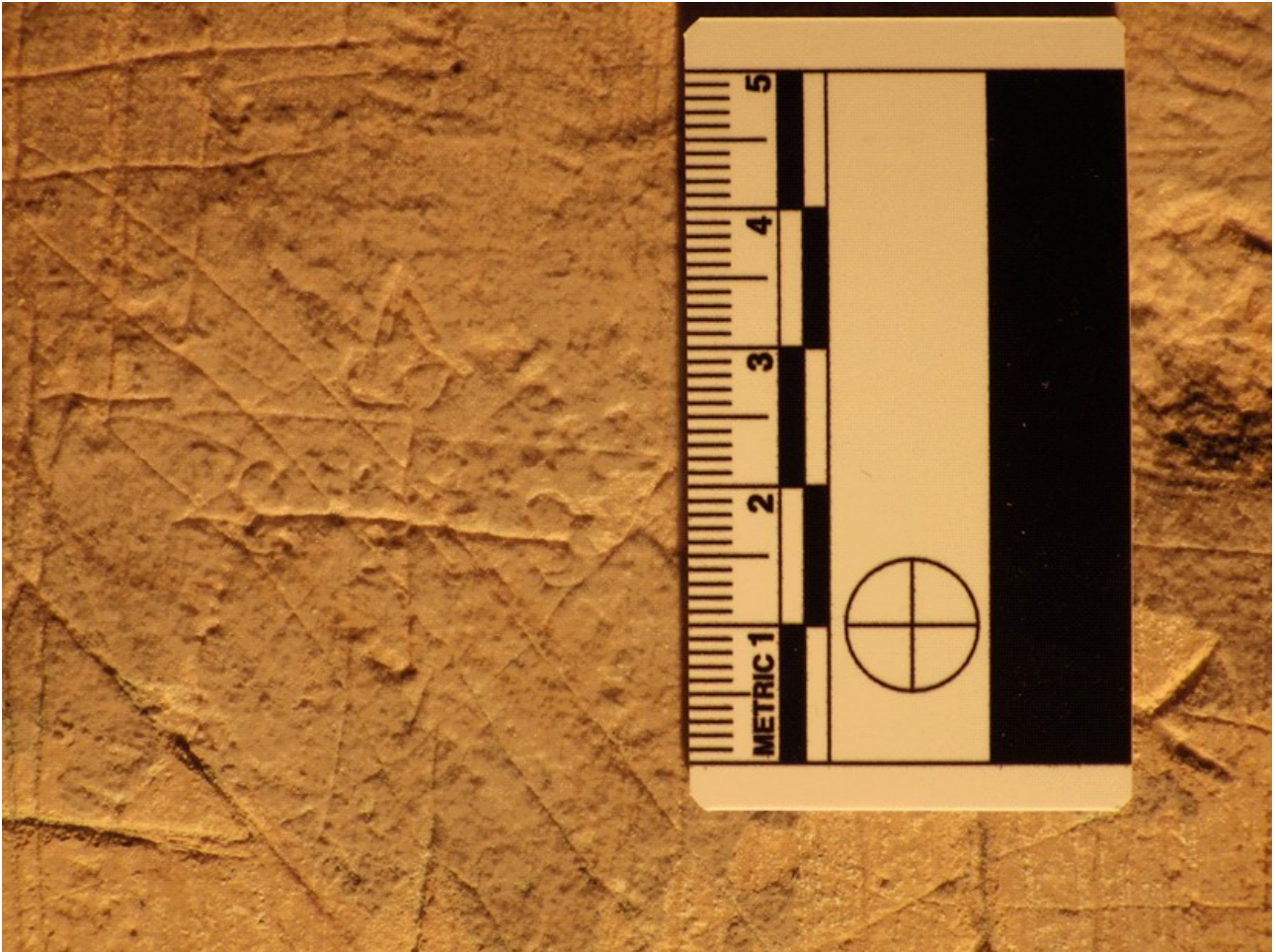
Catalogue entry 21: Graffiti depicting three similar crosses in the form of a series of dots on S34

Database ID nos: 0236, 0237, 0238



Catalogue entry 22: Graffito of an eight-pointed cross on S09

Database ID no: 0111



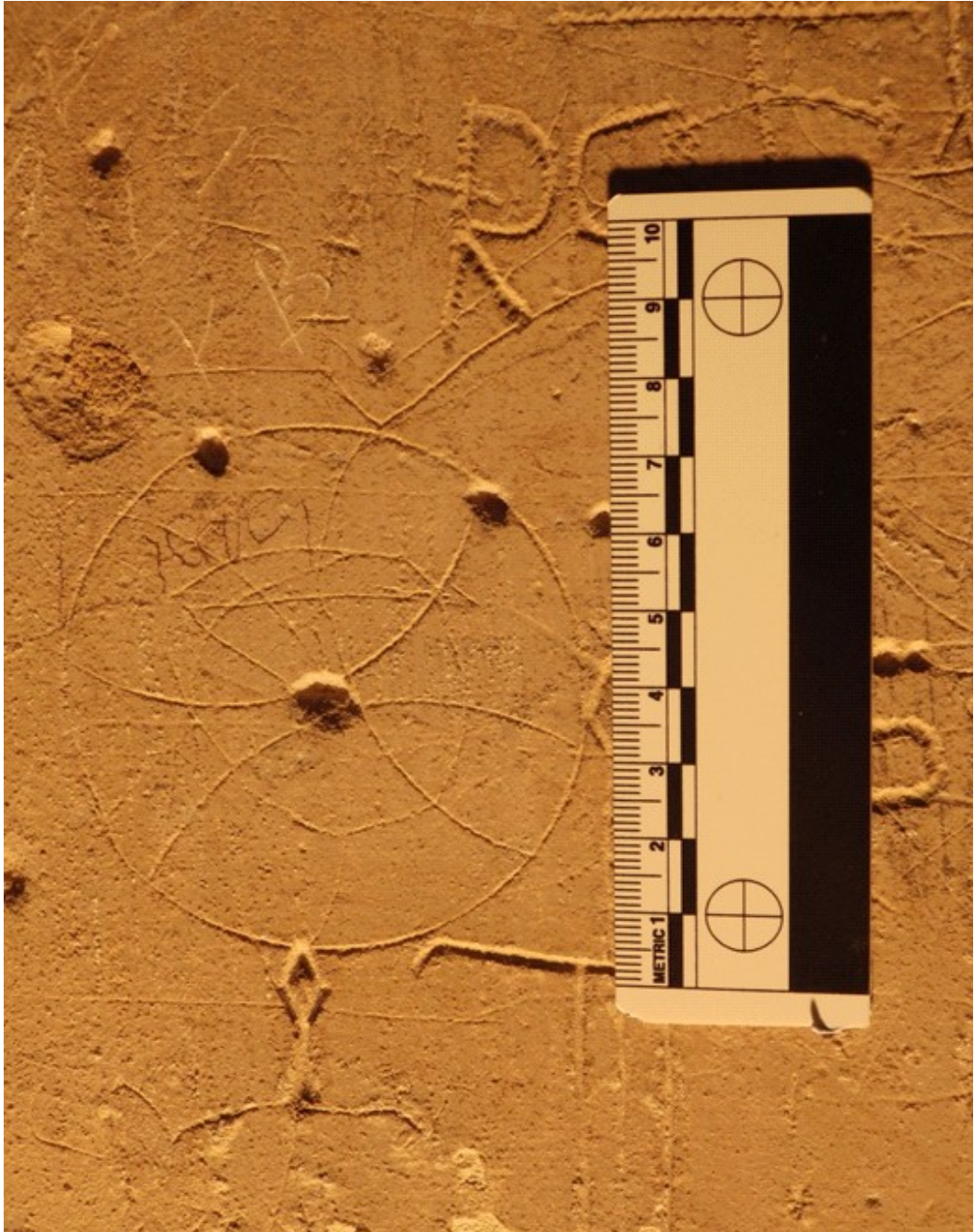
Catalogue entry 23: Graffito of a Cross fleury on S59

Database ID no: 0133



Catalogue entry 24: Graffito of a possible Saltire cross on S31

Database ID no: 0221



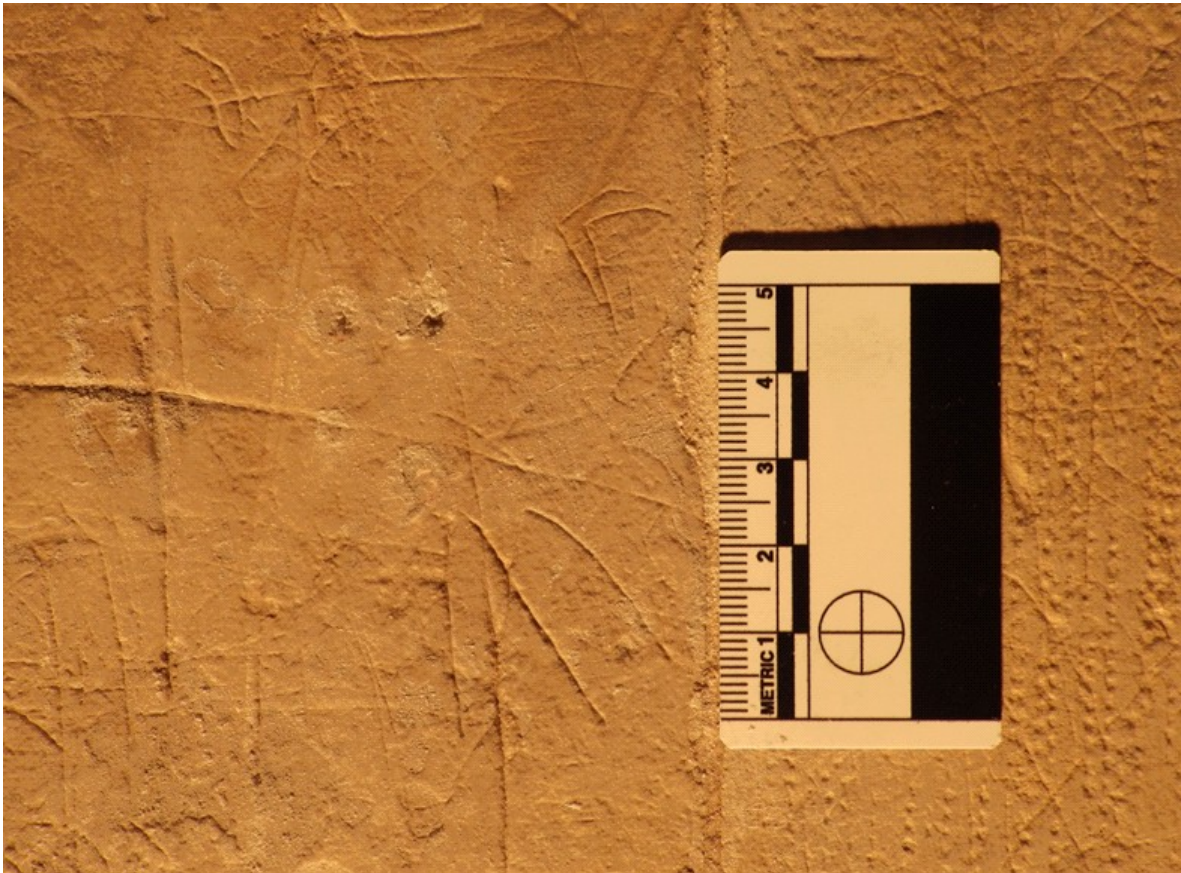
Catalogue entry 25: Graffito of a possible Consecration cross on S56

Database ID no: 0124



Catalogue entry 26: Graffiti depicting two M letters, overlapping a Fourché cross on S50

Database ID nos: 0139, 0320. (M letters)



Catalogue entry 27: Graffito of the letter M on S11

Database ID no: 0204



Catalogue entry 28: Graffito of the letter W on S21

Database ID no: 0135



Catalogue entry 29: Graffito of a letter T on S16

Database ID no: 0395



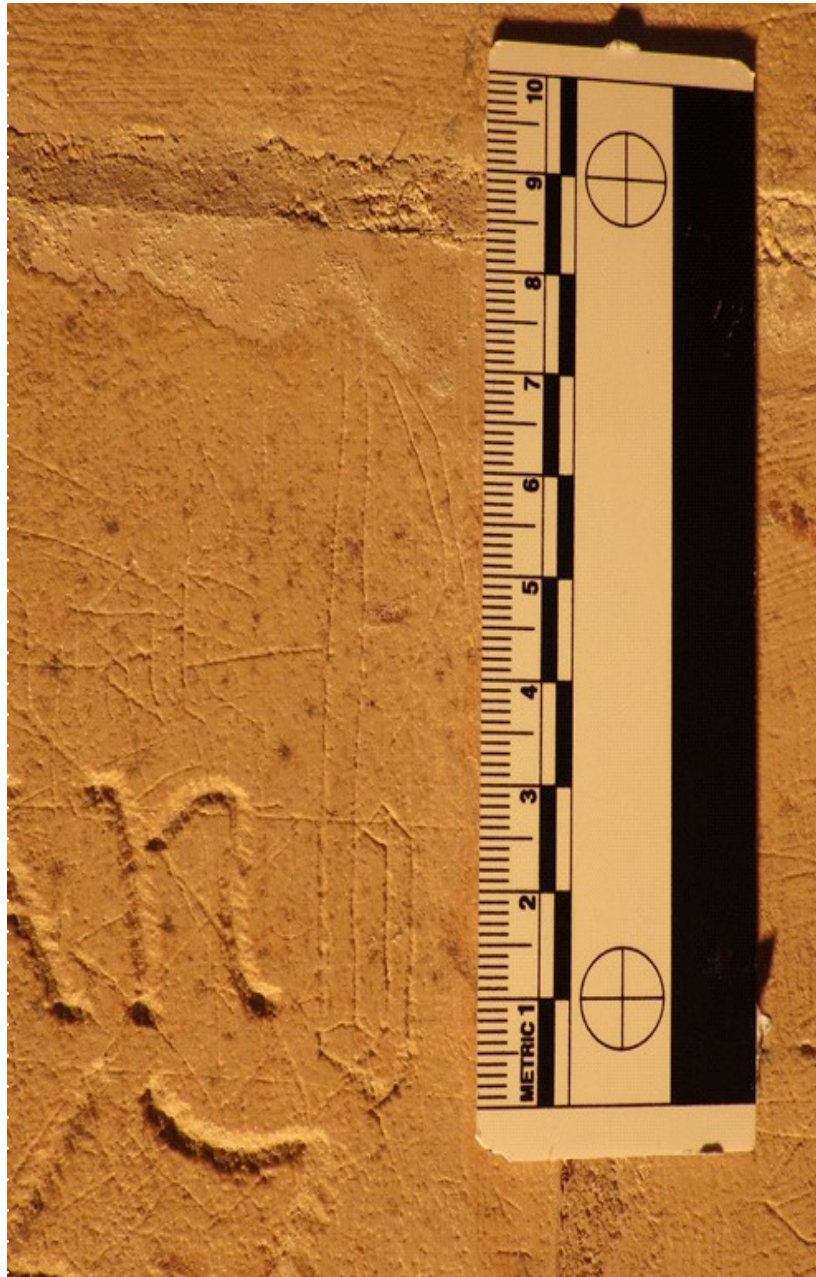
Catalogue entry 30: Graffito of a letter T on S60

Database ID no: 0130



Catalogue entry 31: Graffito of a letter S on S16

Database ID no: 0401



Catalogue entry 32: Graffito of a lower case letter b on S15

Database ID no: 0408



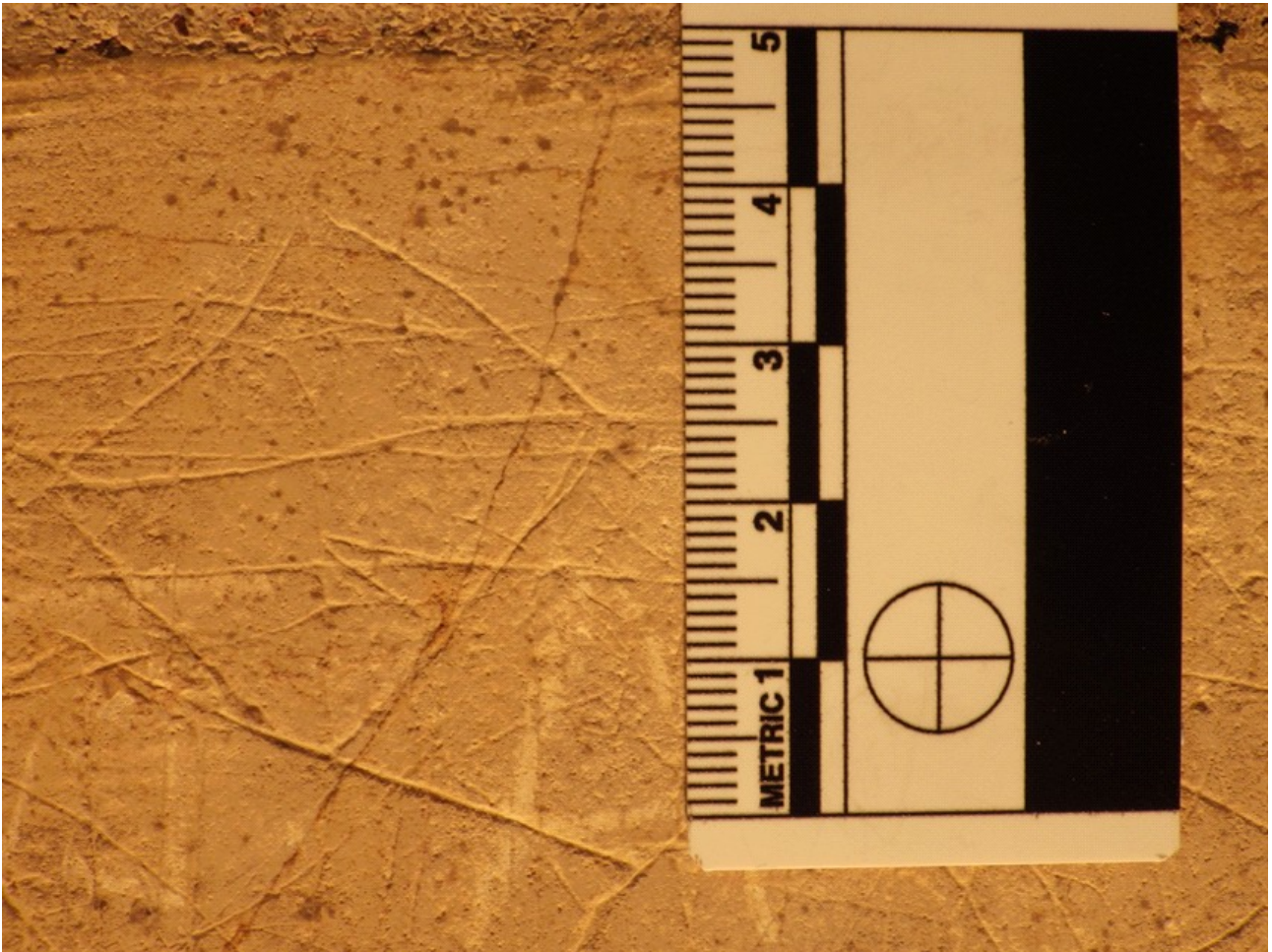
Catalogue entry 33: Graffito of a lower case letter h on S39

Database ID no: 0463



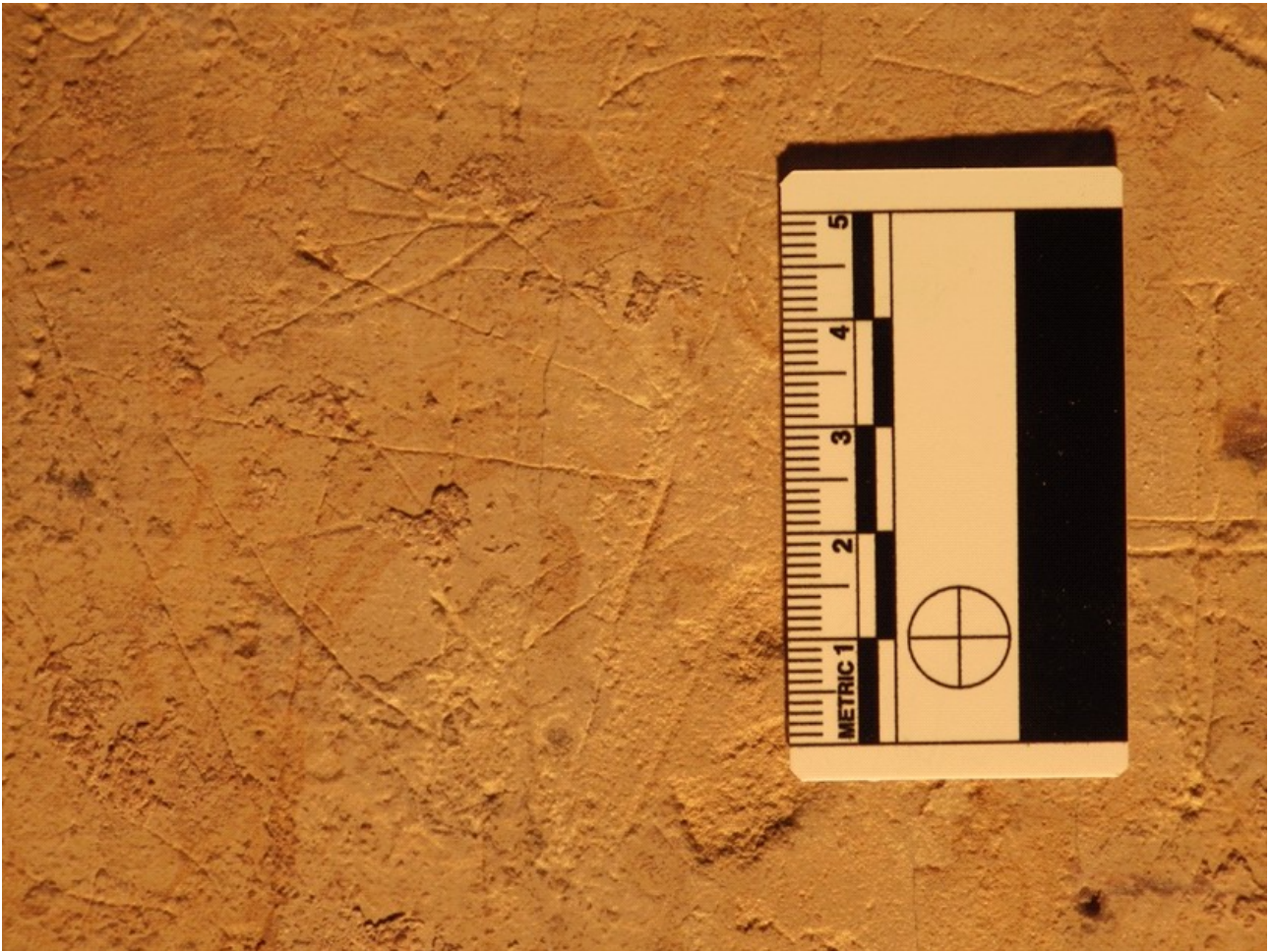
Catalogue entry 34: Graffito of a cross and lozenge on S56

Database ID no: 0341



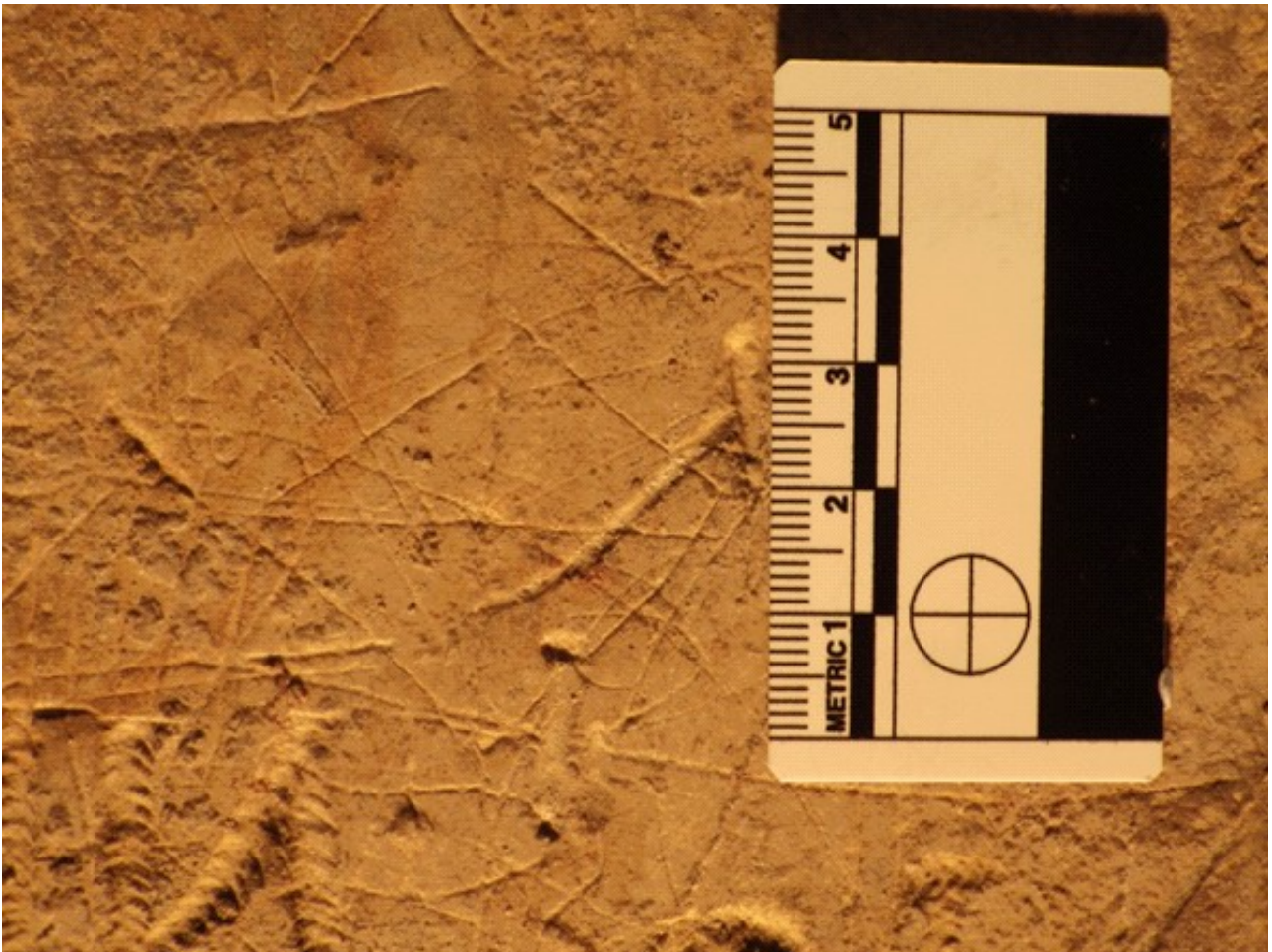
Catalogue entry 35: Graffito of a cross and lozenge on S18

Database ID no: 0389



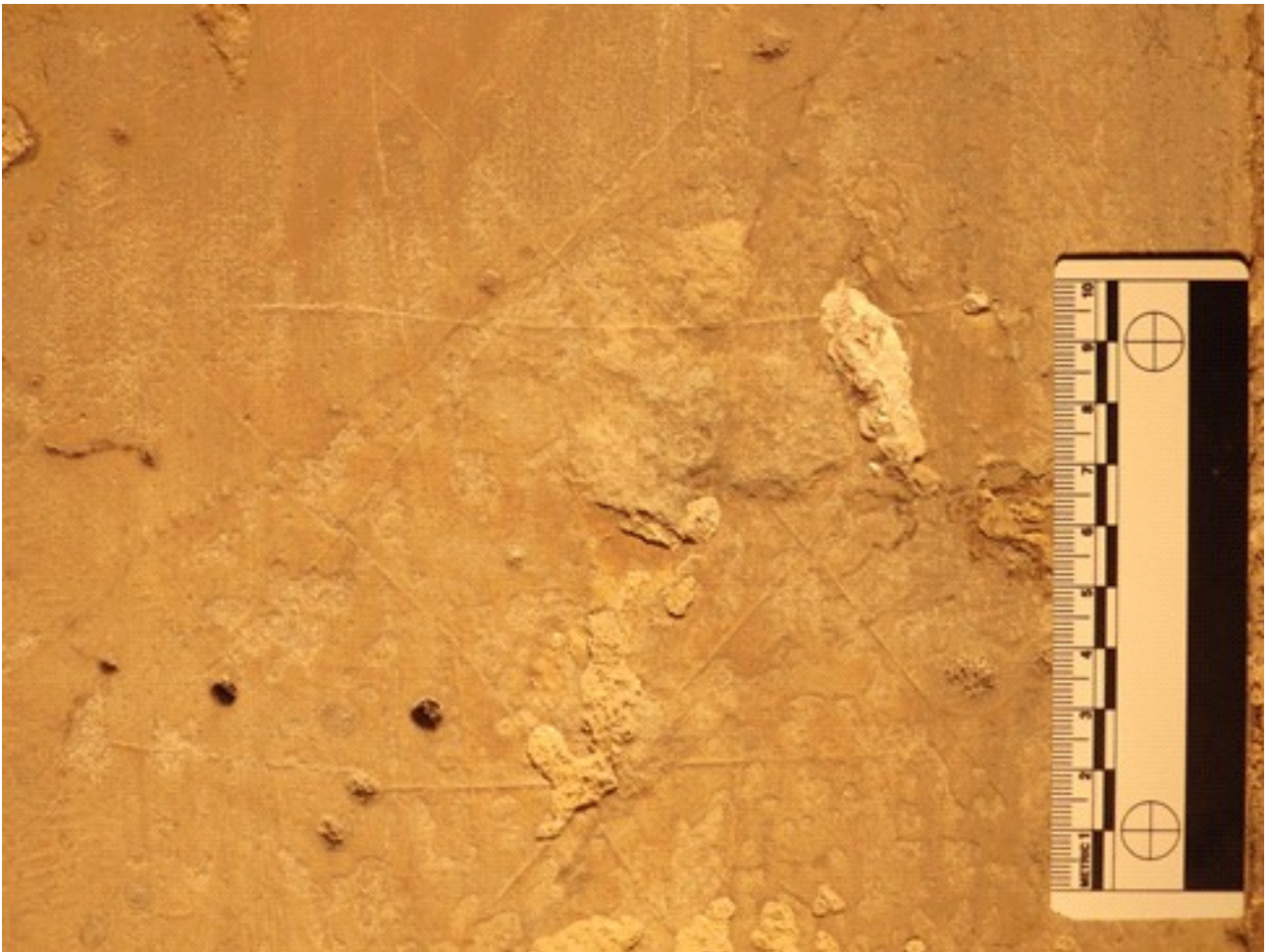
Catalogue entry 36: Graffito of a cross and lozenge on S50

Database ID no: 0321



Catalogue entry 37: Graffito of a cross and lozenge on S34

Database ID no: 0234



Catalogue entry 38: Graffito of a large star shape, consisting of various interlinking shapes on S07

Database ID no: 0118



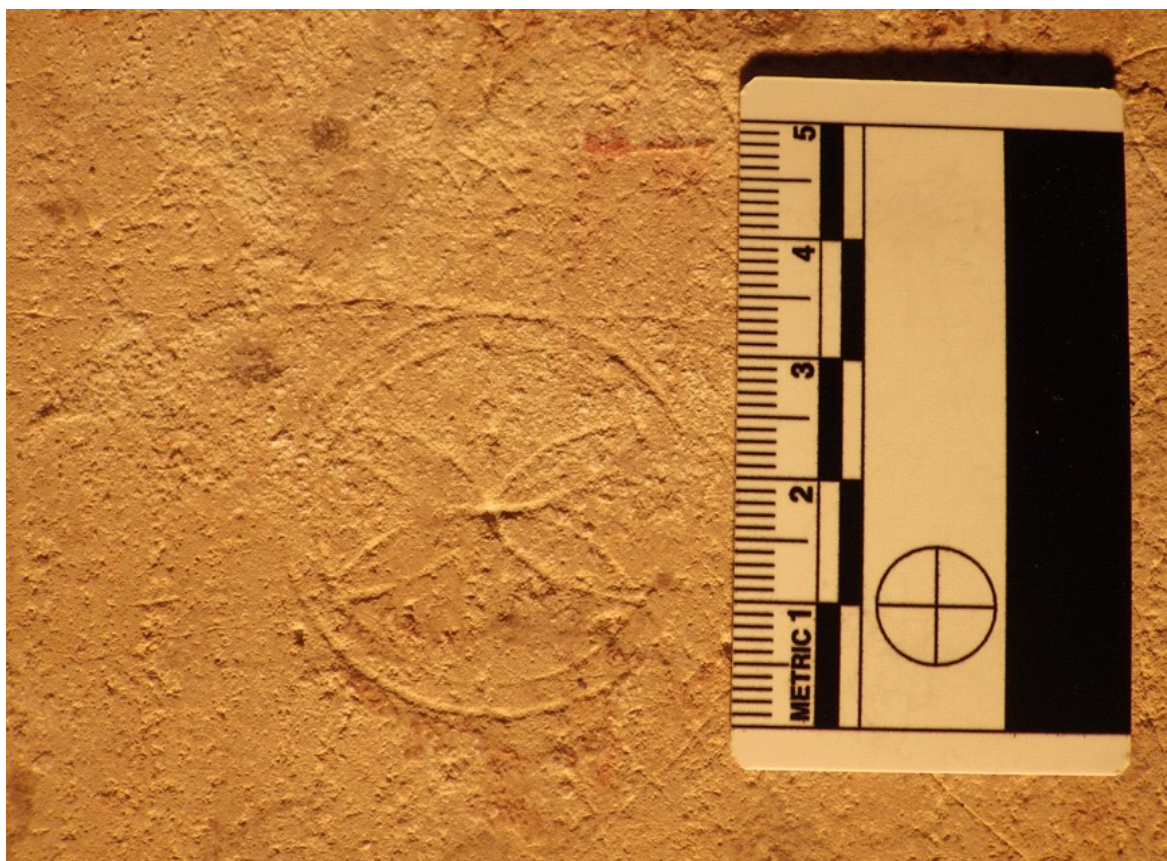
Catalogue entry 39: Graffito of a compass-drawn circle on S53

Database ID no: 0358



Catalogue entry 40: Graffito of a triquetra comprising three compass-drawn circles on S33

Database ID no: 0245



Catalogue entry 41: Graffito of a compass-drawn six-petalled daisywheel on S44

Database ID no: 0302



Catalogue entry 42: Graffiti depicting two large sacred monograms on S49

Database ID no: 0326, 0560



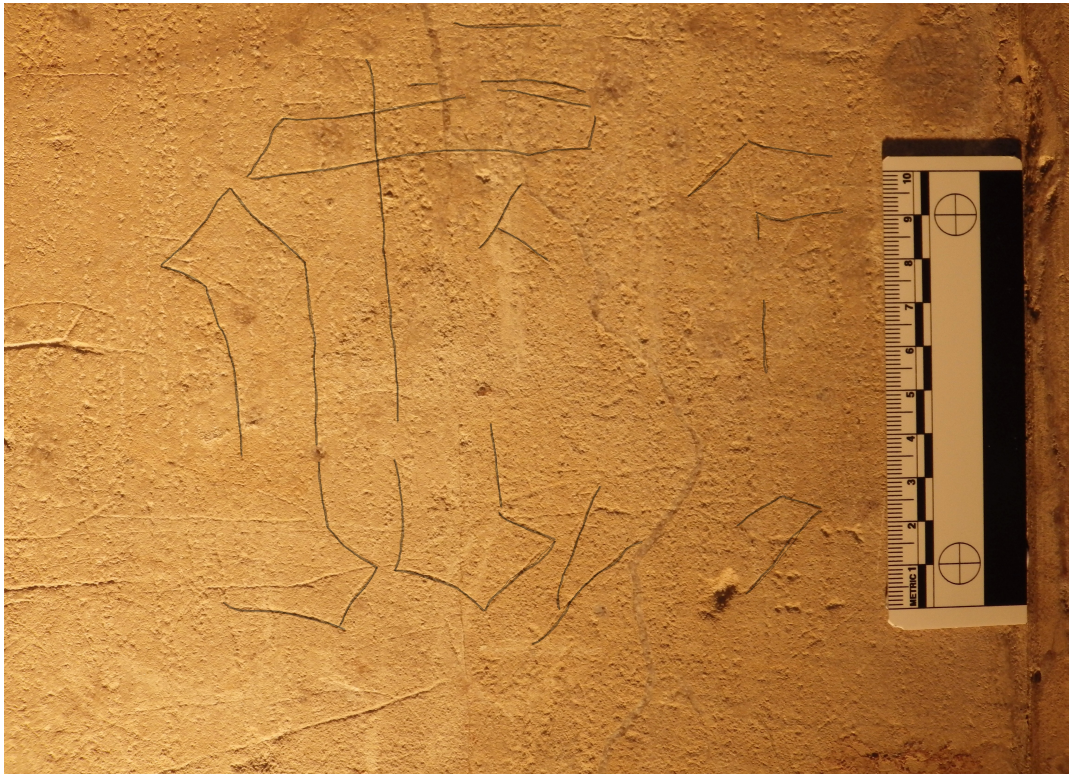
Catalogue entry 42a: The superimposed outline of the graffiti depicting two large sacred monograms on S49

Database ID nos: 0326, 0560



Catalogue entry 43: Graffito of a sacred monogram on S44

Database ID no: 0482



Catalogue entry 43a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the sacred monogram on S44

Database ID no: 0482



Catalogue entry 44: Graffito of a sacred monogram on S26

Database no: 0211



Catalogue entry 44a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the sacred monogram on S26

Database ID no: 0211



Catalogue entry 45: Graffito of a sacred monogram on S16

Database ID no: 0402



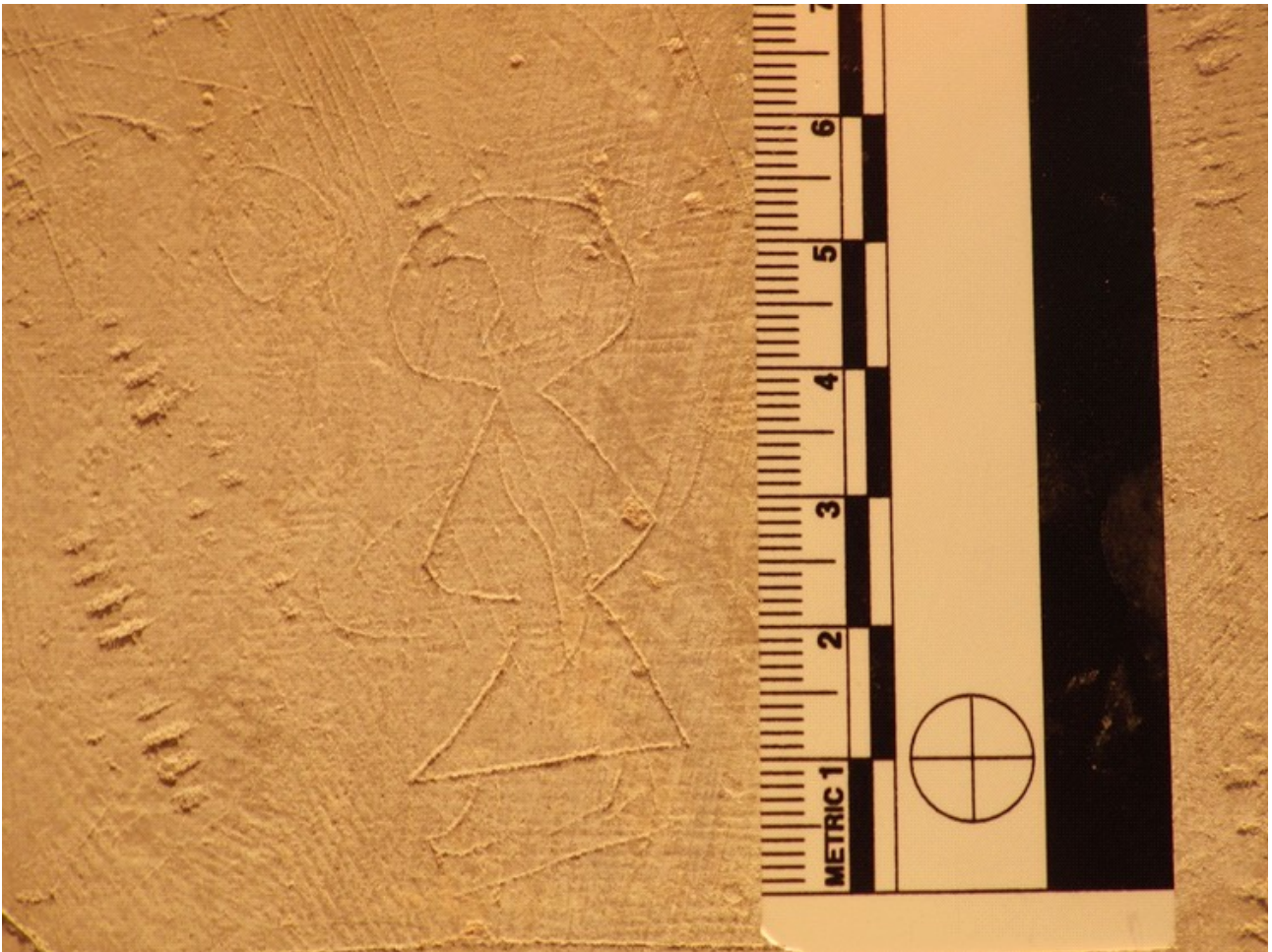
Catalogue entry 45a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the sacred monogram on S16

Database ID no: 0402



Catalogue entry 46: Graffito of a mitre on S45

Database ID no: 0295



Catalogue entry 47: Graffito of an angel on S02

Database ID no: 0109



Catalogue entry 48: Graffiti depicting two swords or daggers on S55 and S56

Database ID no: 0336, 0337



Catalogue entry 49: Graffito of a possible cog type ship on S59

Database ID no: 0131



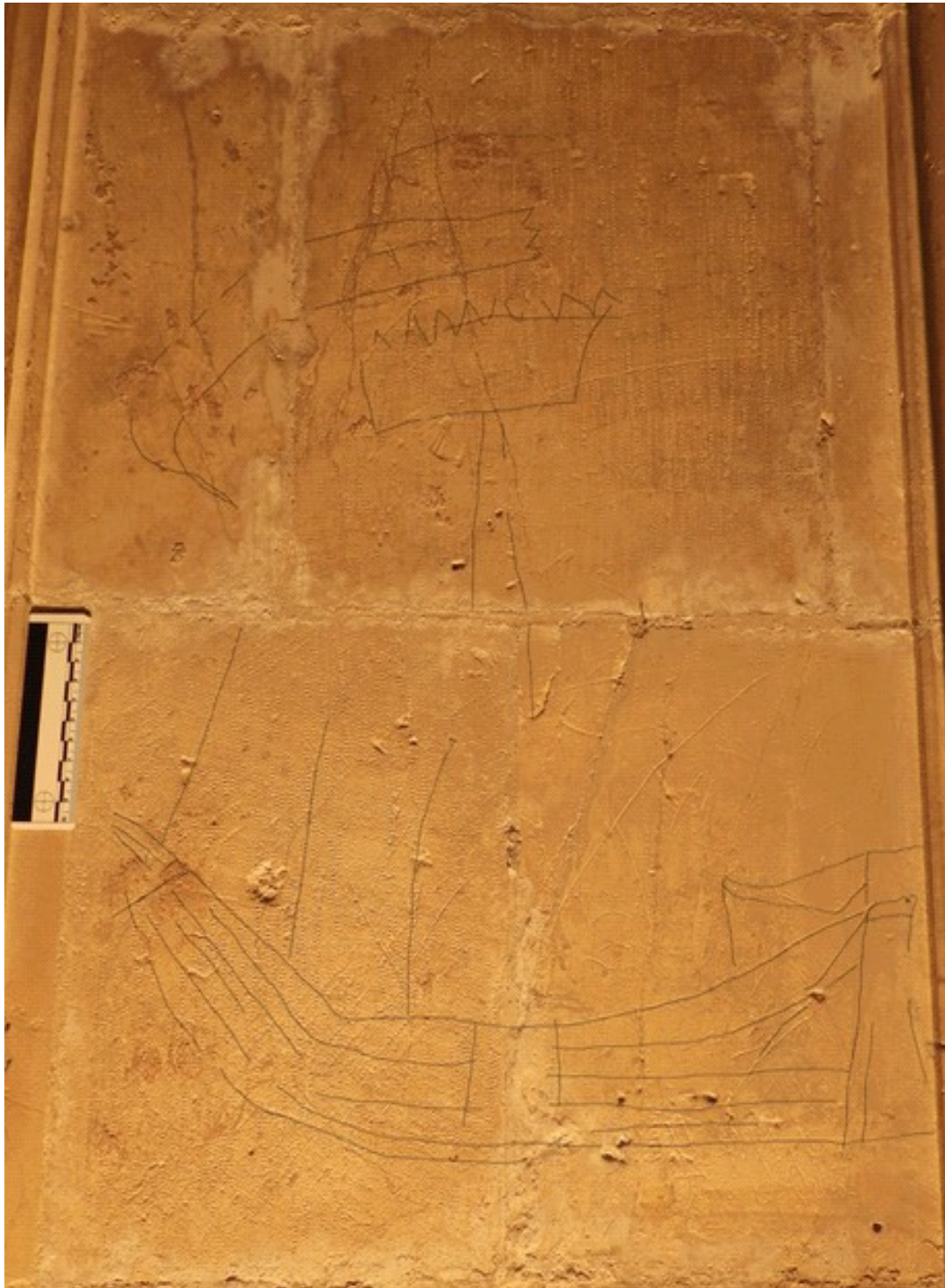
Catalogue entry 49a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the ship on S59

Database ID no: 0131



Catalogue entry 50: Graffito of a large possible cog type ship on S12 and S13

Database ID no: 0179



Catalogue entry 50a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the large possible cog type ship on S12 and S13

Database ID no: 0179



Catalogue entry 51: Graffito of a possible cog type ship on S14 and S15

Database ID no: 0176



Catalogue entry 52: Graffito of a possible cog type ship on S49

Database ID no: 0325



Catalogue entry 53: Overview of a large ship graffito on S38 and S39

Database ID no: 0265



Catalogue entry 53a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the large ship on S38 and S39

Database ID no: 0265



Catalogue 54: Graffito of a possible hulk ship on S18 to S19

Database ID no: 0161



Catalogue entry 54a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of a possible hulk vessel on S18 and S19

Database ID no: 0161



Catalogue entry 54b: The superimposed outline of two overlapping ship graffiti on S18 and S19

Database ID nos: 0161, 0162



Catalogue entry 55: Graffito depicting a possible barge on S17

Database ID no: 0168



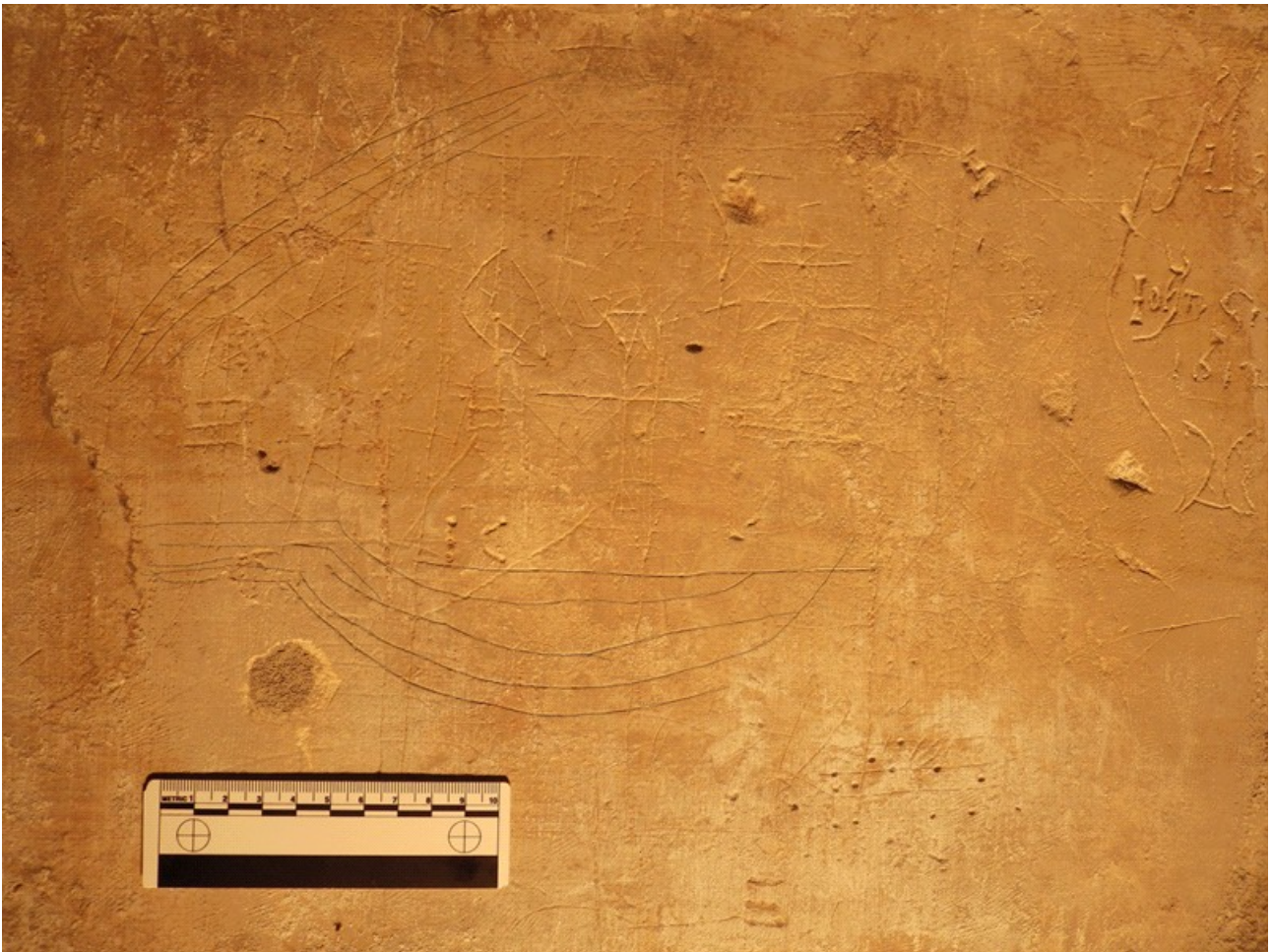
Catalogue entry 55a: The superimposed outline of the graffito depicting a possible barge on S17

Database ID no: 0168



Catalogue entry 56: Graffito of a ship with a crescent-shaped hull on S21

Database ID no: 0151



Catalogue entry 56a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the ship with a crescent-shaped hull on S21

Database ID no: 0151



Catalogue entry 57: Graffito of a stave of musical notation, comprising part of a polyphonic piece on S02

Database ID no: 0107



Catalogue entry 58: Graffito of a stave of musical notation, comprising part of a polyphonic piece on S57

Database ID no: 0342



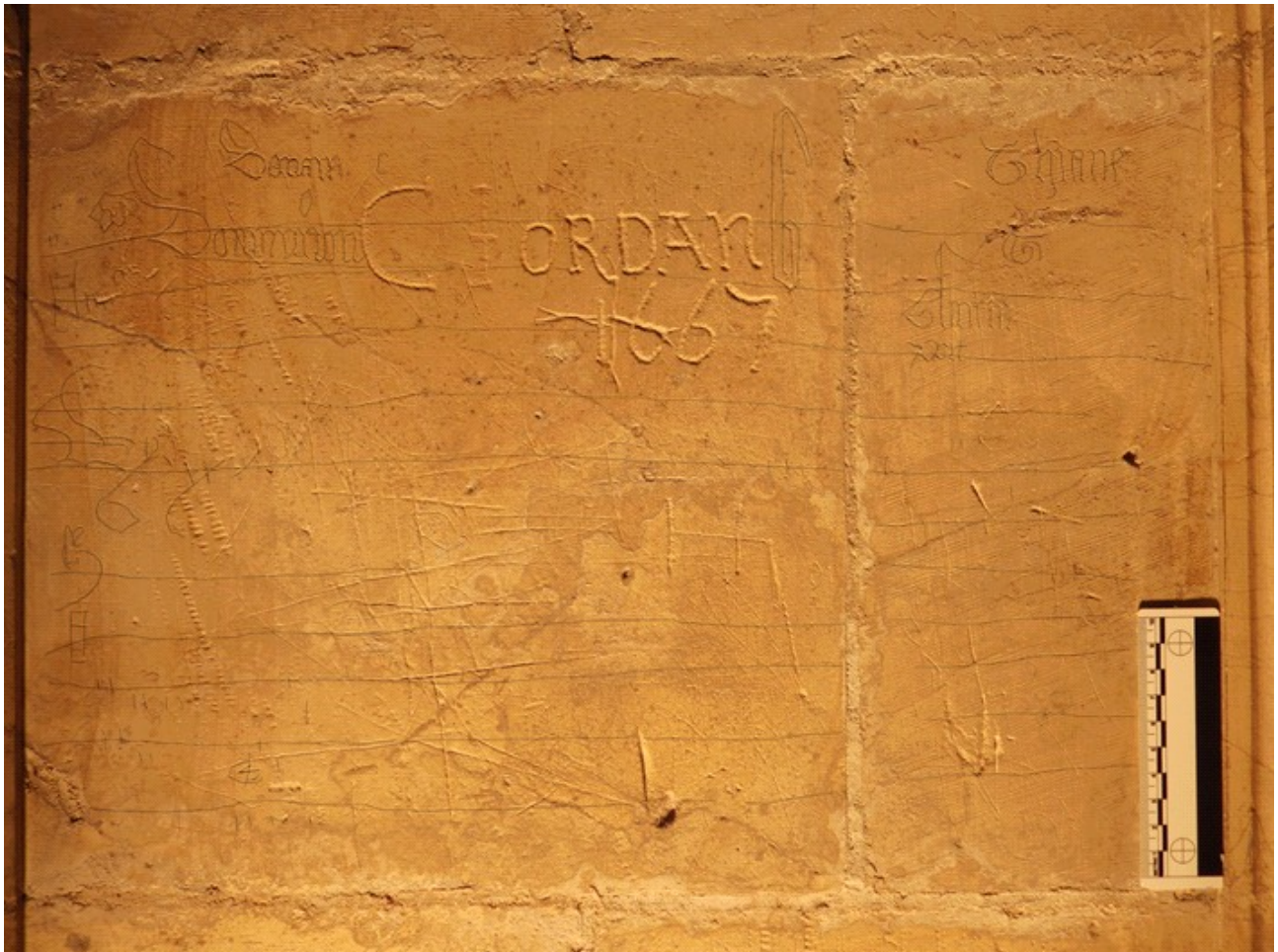
Catalogue entry 58a: The superimposed outline of the graffito depicting the stave of musical notation on S57

Database ID no: 0342



Catalogue entry 59: Overview of a graffito depicting a large stave of musical notation on S15

Database ID no: 0172



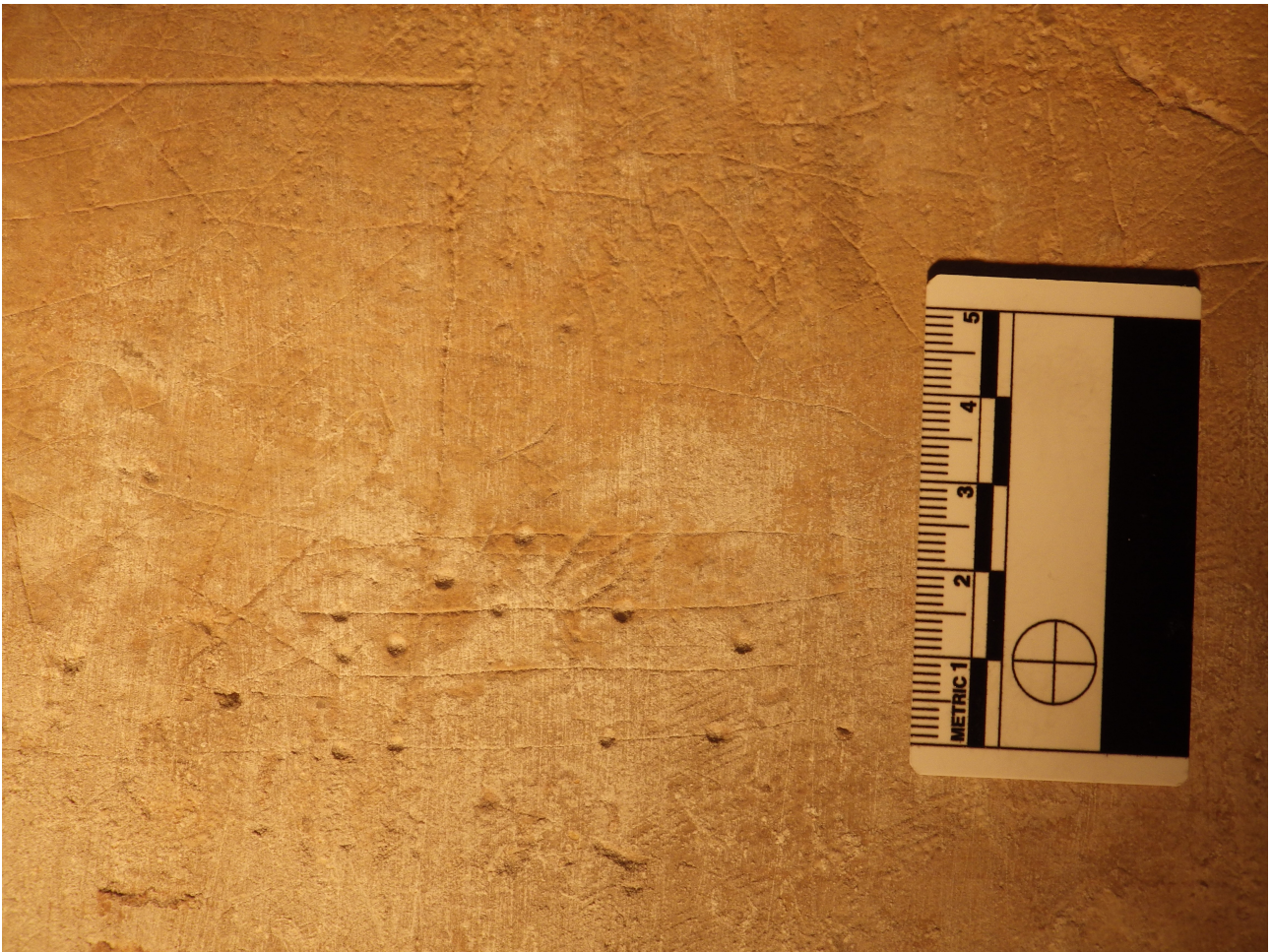
Catalogue entry 59a: The superimposed outline of the graffiti on S15 depicting musical notation, letters and textual inscriptions

Database ID no: 0172



Catalogue entry 60: Graffito possibly depicting a ligature above a stave of musical notation on S57

Database ID no: 0343



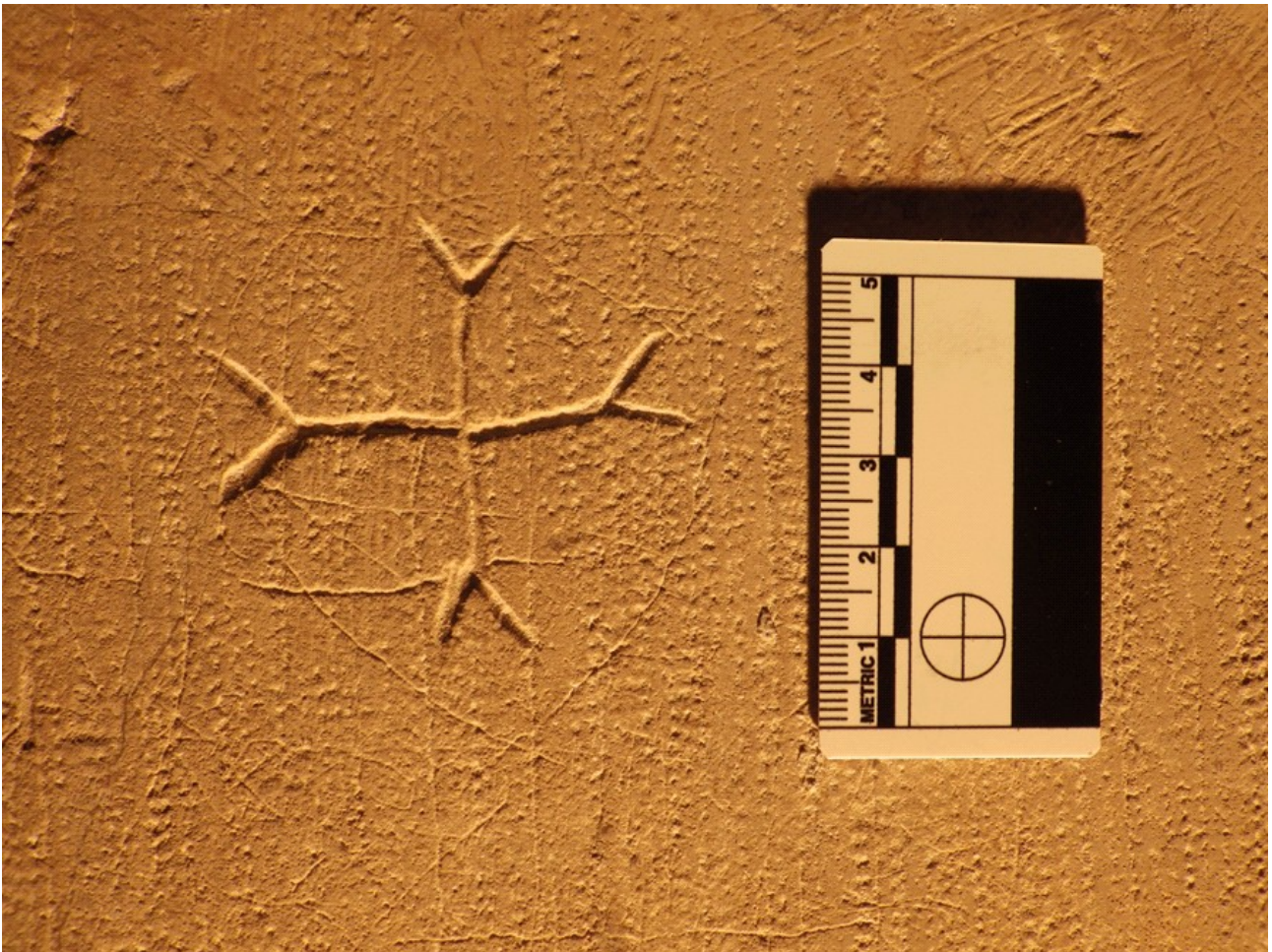
Catalogue entry 61: Graffito of a possible four-lined stave of musical notation on S21

Database ID no: 0152



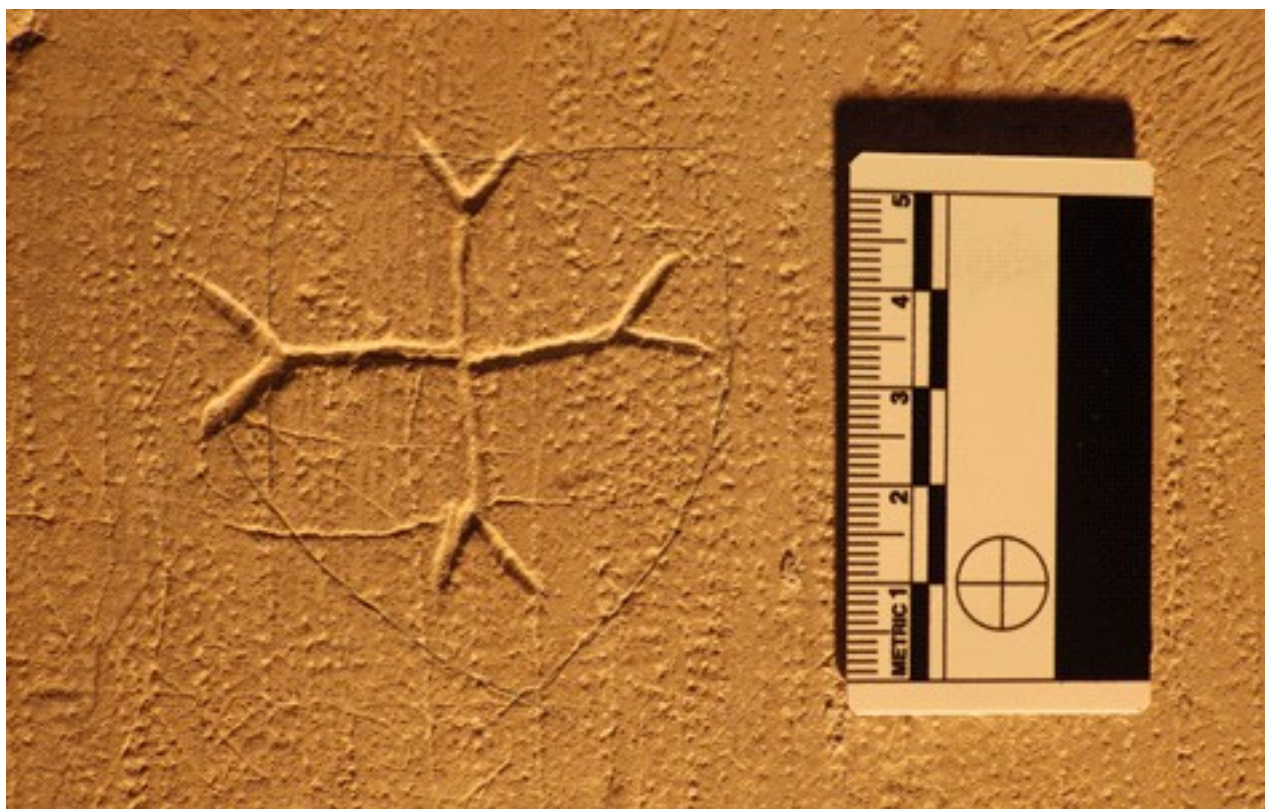
Catalogue entry 62: Graffito of an heraldic device depicting a Fourché cross on S34

Database ID no: 0235



Catalogue entry 63: Graffito of a Fourché cross framed by a faintly-incised shield on S26

Database ID no: 0215



Catalogue entry 63a: The superimposed outline of the faintly-incised shield encompassing a Fourché cross on S26

Database ID no: 0215



Catalogue entry 64: Graffito of a possible pseudo-heraldic shield on S19

Database ID no: 0158



Catalogue entry 64a: The superimposed outline of the possible pseudo-heraldic shield on S19

Database ID no: 0158



Catalogue entry 65: Graffito of a banner on S56

Database ID no: 0126



Catalogue entry 66: Graffito of a ragged staff possibly depicted upside-down on S12

Database ID no: 0180



Catalogue entry 67: Graffito of a ragged staff on S22

Database ID no: 0149



Catalogue entry 67a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the ragged staff on S22

Database ID no: 0149



Catalogue entry 68: Graffito of a figure depicted in an attitude of prayer on S43

Database ID no: 0307



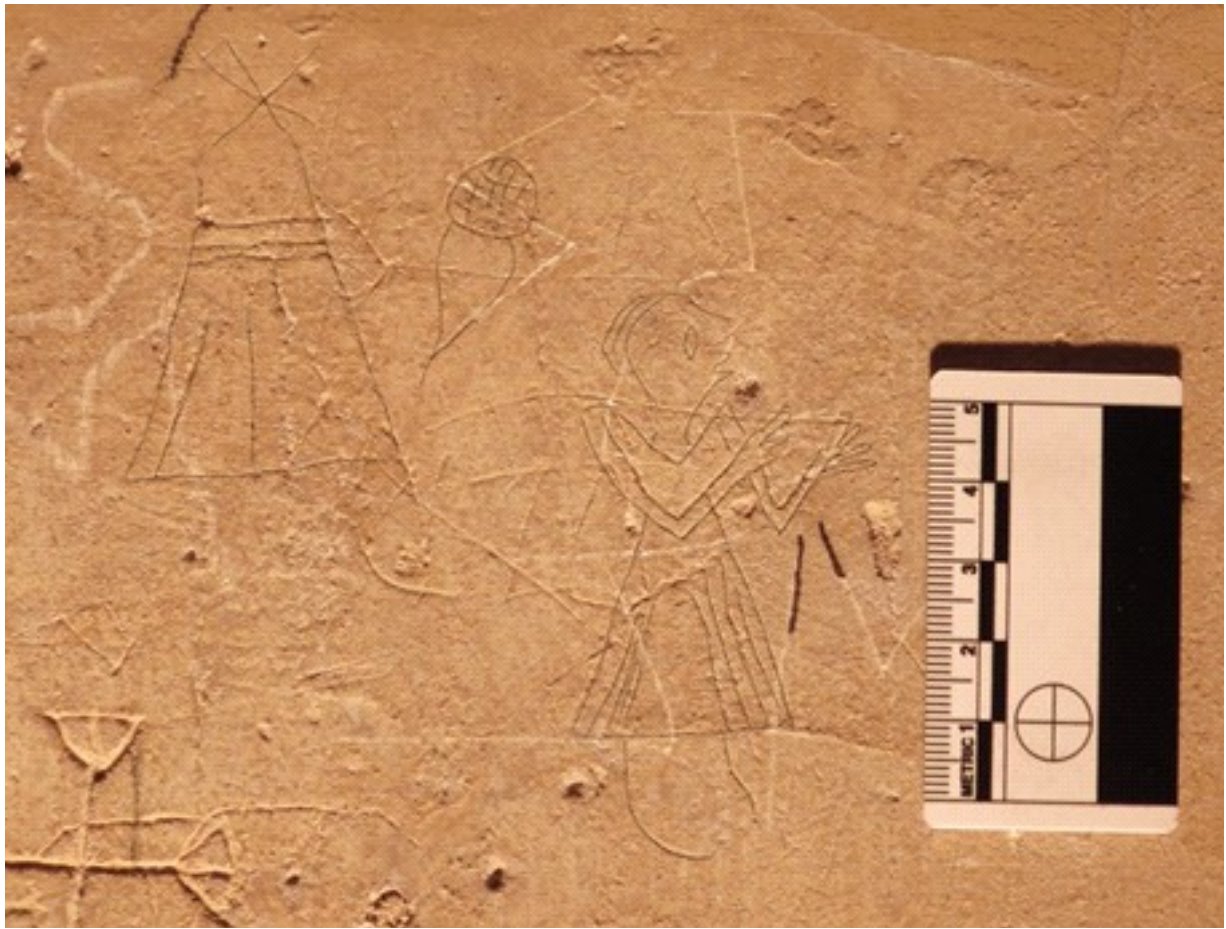
Catalogue entry 68a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of a figure depicted in an attitude of prayer on S43

Database ID no: 0307



Catalogue entry 69: Graffiti of two full-length figures on S56

Database ID nos: 0127, 0128



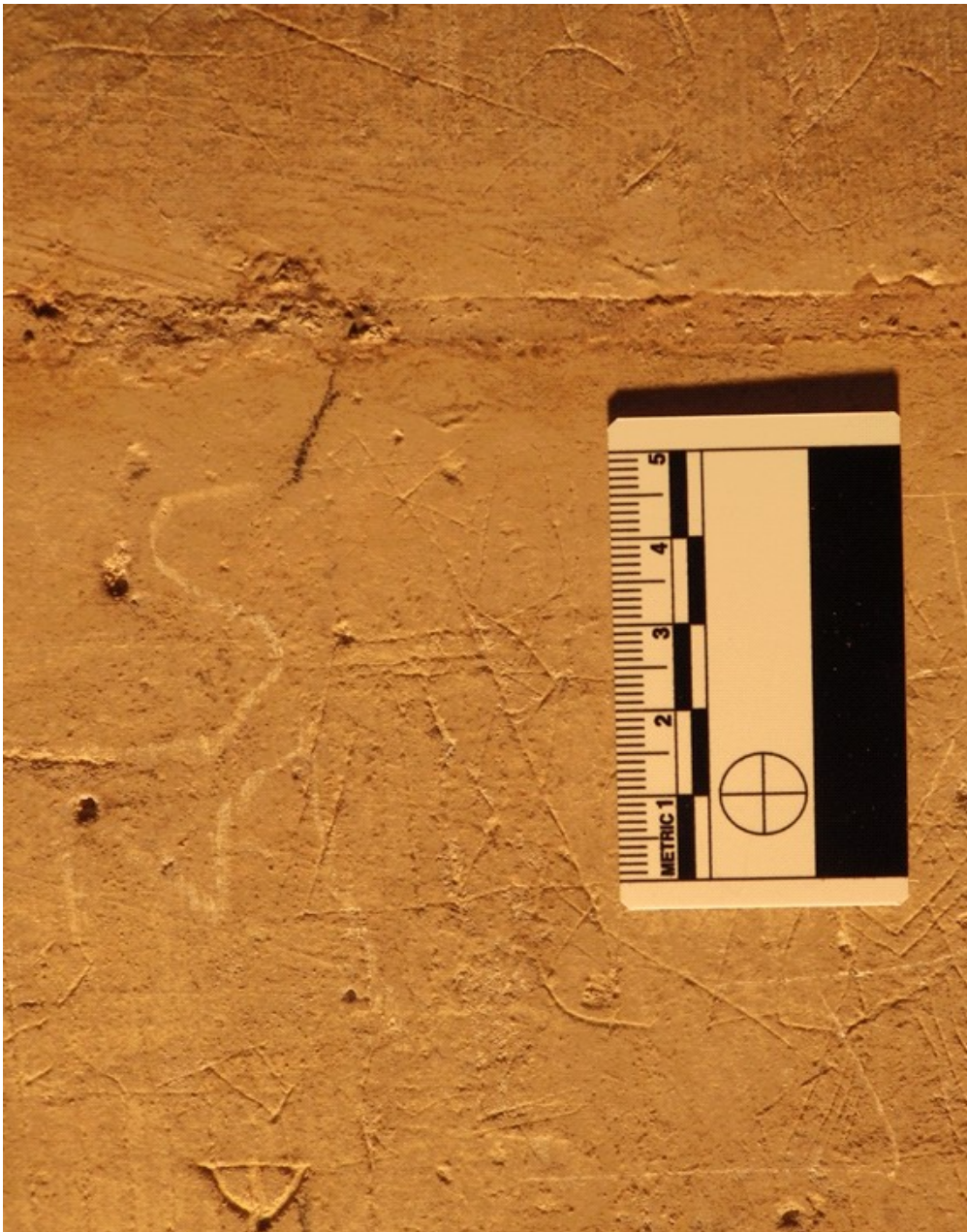
Catalogue entry 69a: The superimposed outline of the two full-length figures and a possible acorn on S56

Database ID nos: 0123, 0127, 0128



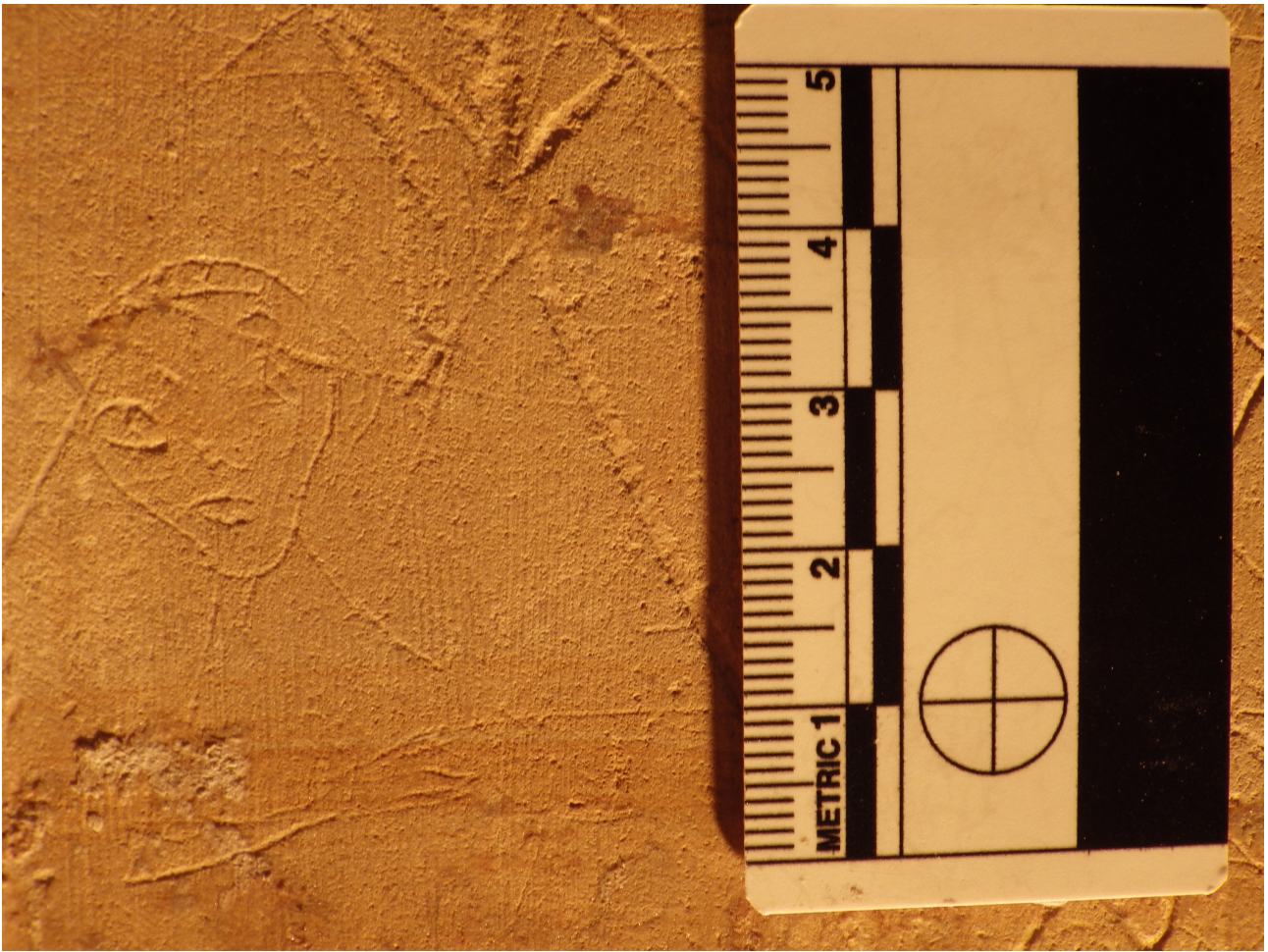
Catalogue entry 70: Graffito of a full-length figure depicted in profile on S56

Database ID no: 0127



Catalogue entry 71: Graffito of a figure missing a head on S56

Database ID no: 0128



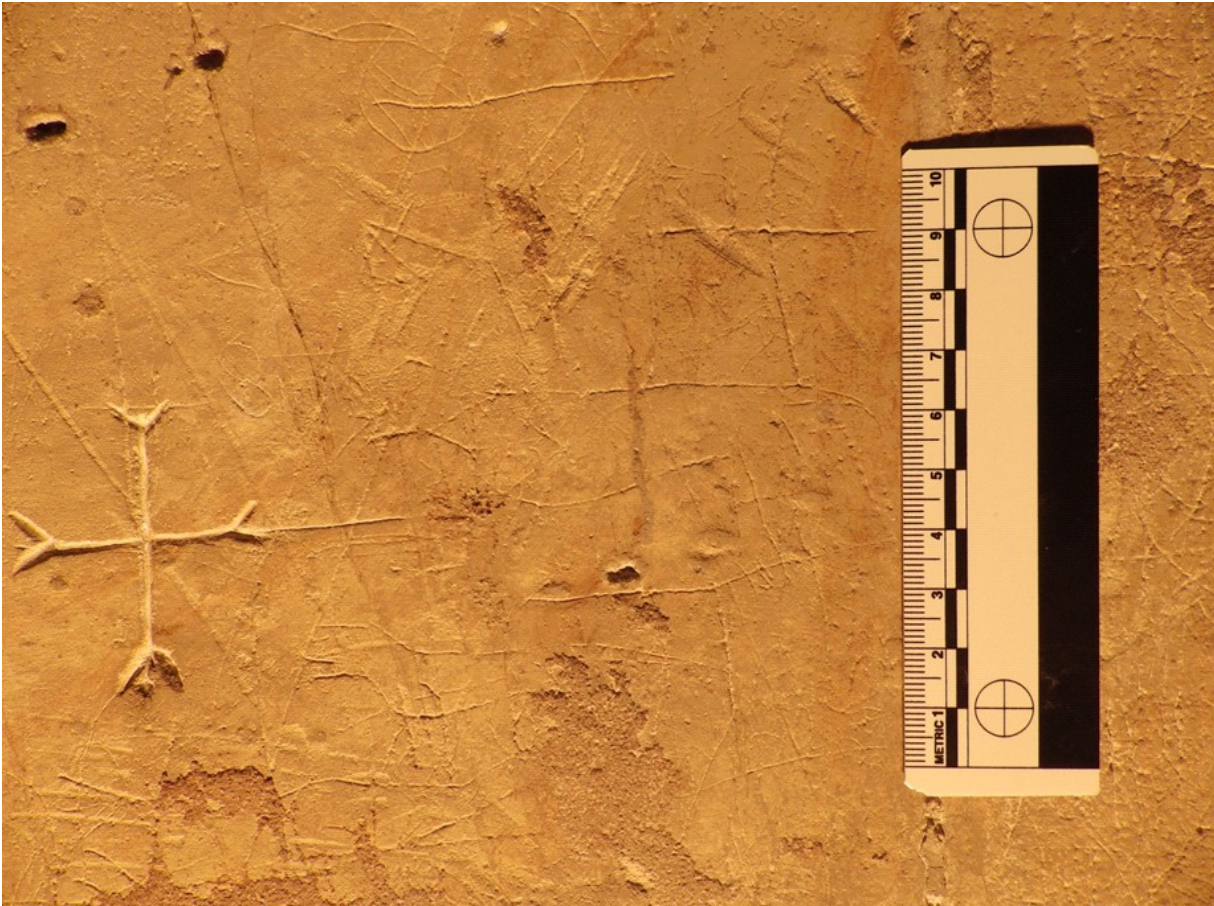
Catalogue entry 72: Graffito of a portrait showing an arm folded across on S38

Database ID no: 0268



Catalogue entry 73: Graffito of a face depicted in profile, wearing a head-dress on S38

Database ID no: 0269



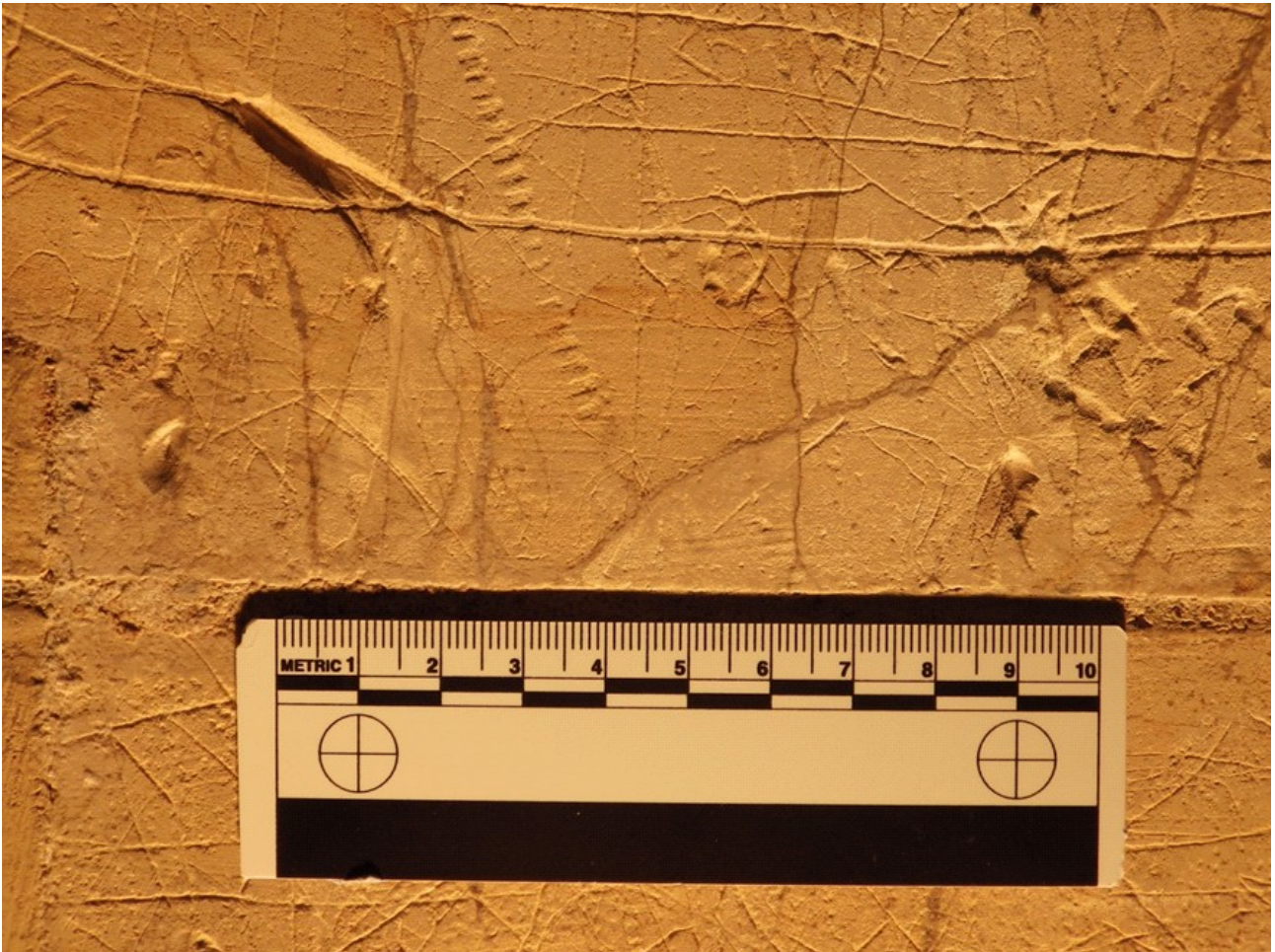
Catalogue entry 74: Graffiti depicting two possible Agnus Dei motifs on S22

Database ID nos: 0190, 0191



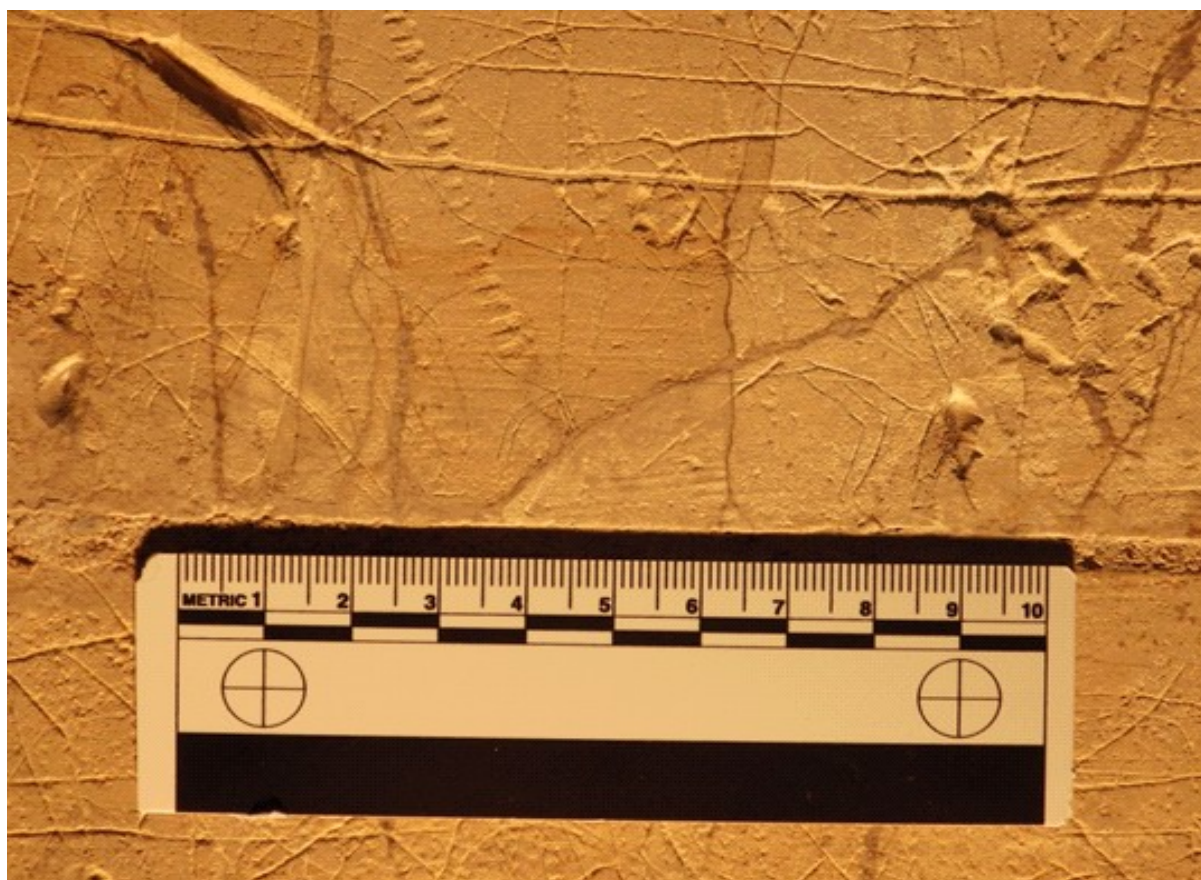
Catalogue entry 74a: The superimposed outline of the graffiti of the two possible Agnus Dei motifs on S22

Database ID nos: 0190, 0191



Catalogue entry 75: Graffito of a possible horse beneath the hull of a ship on S38

Database ID no: 0266



Catalogue entry 75a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the possible horse on S38

Database ID no: 0266



Catalogue entry 76: Graffito of a merchant's mark depicted with a heraldic shield on S53

Database ID no: 0134



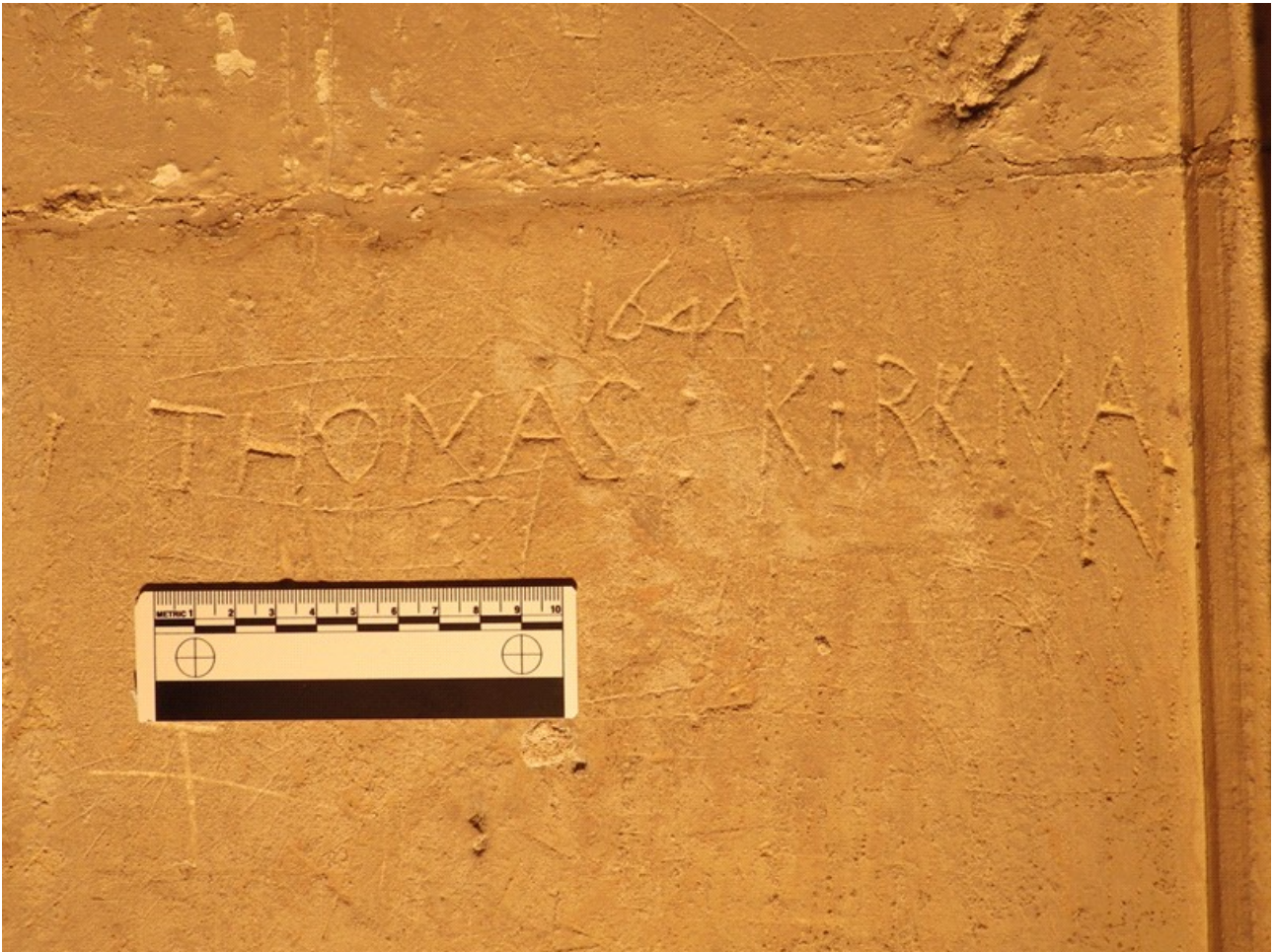
Catalogue entry 77: Graffito of a merchant's mark on S45

Database ID no: 0294



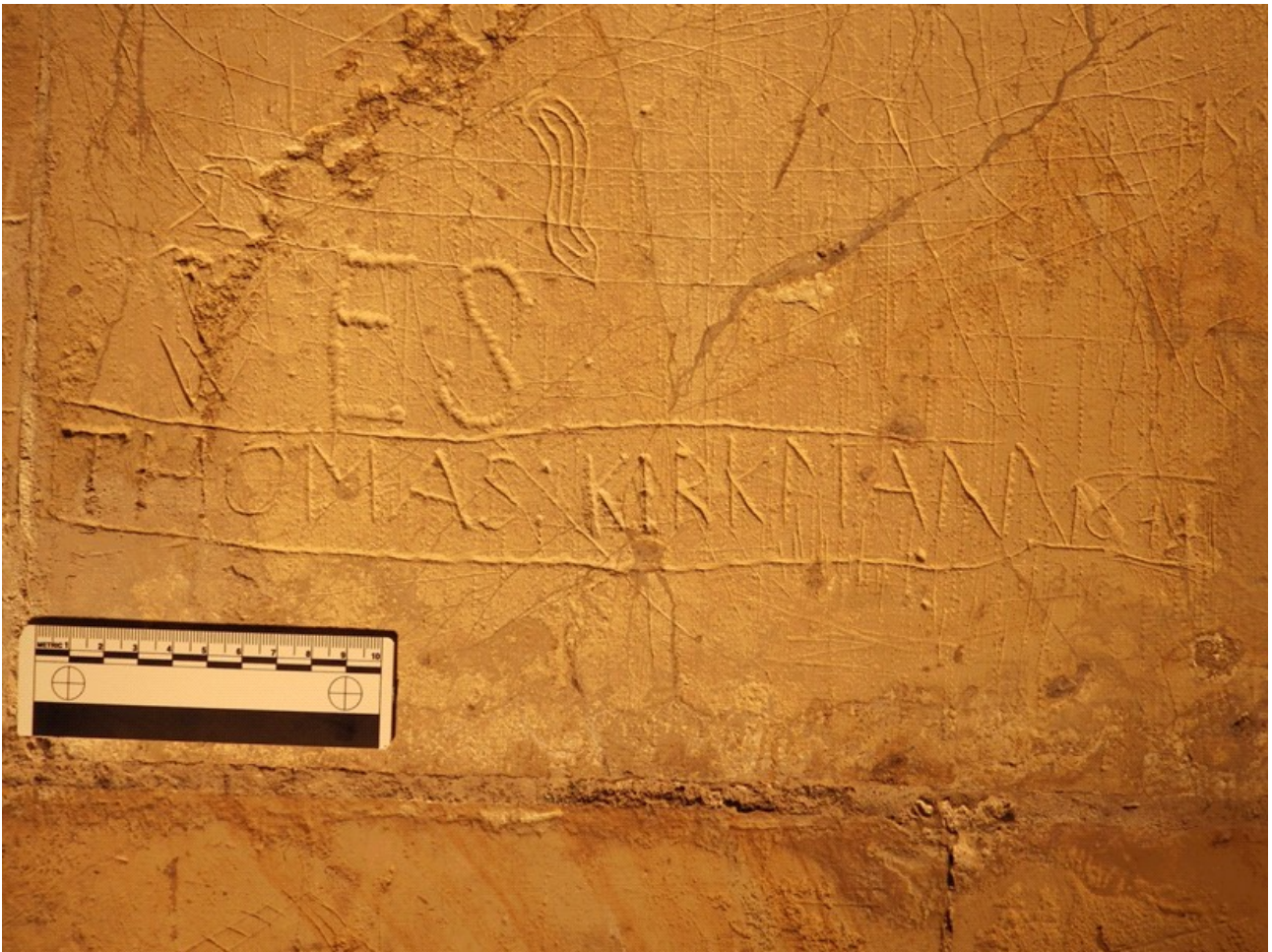
Catalogue entry 78: Graffito depicting the name 'John Shorts 1612' framed by an elaborate design on S21

Database ID no: 0150



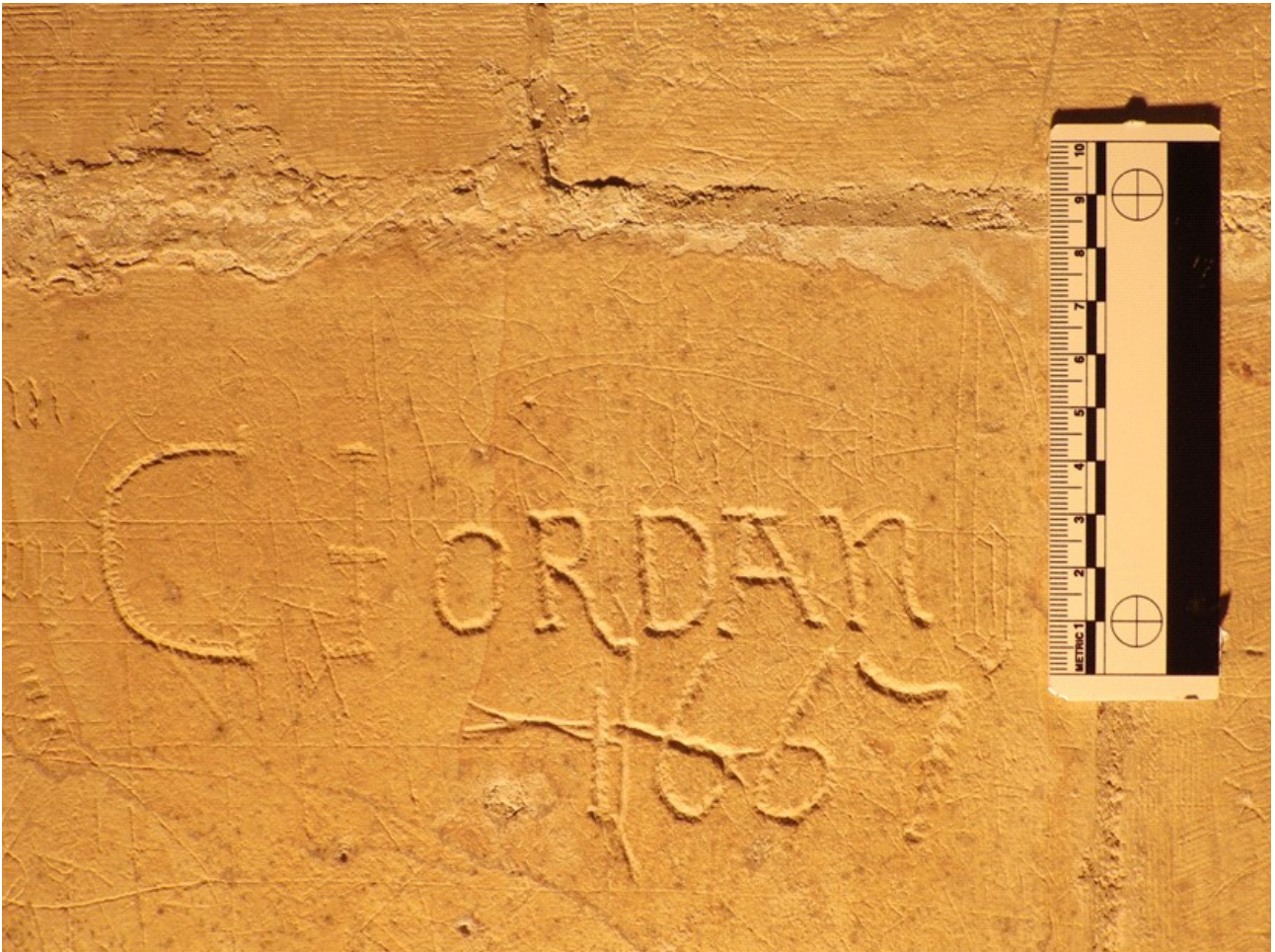
Catalogue entry 79: Graffito of the name 'Thomas Kirkman 1644' on S55

Database ID no: 0136



Catalogue entry 80: Graffiti depicting the name 'Thomas : Kirkman 1644' and the initial 'ES' on S18

Database ID no: 0164



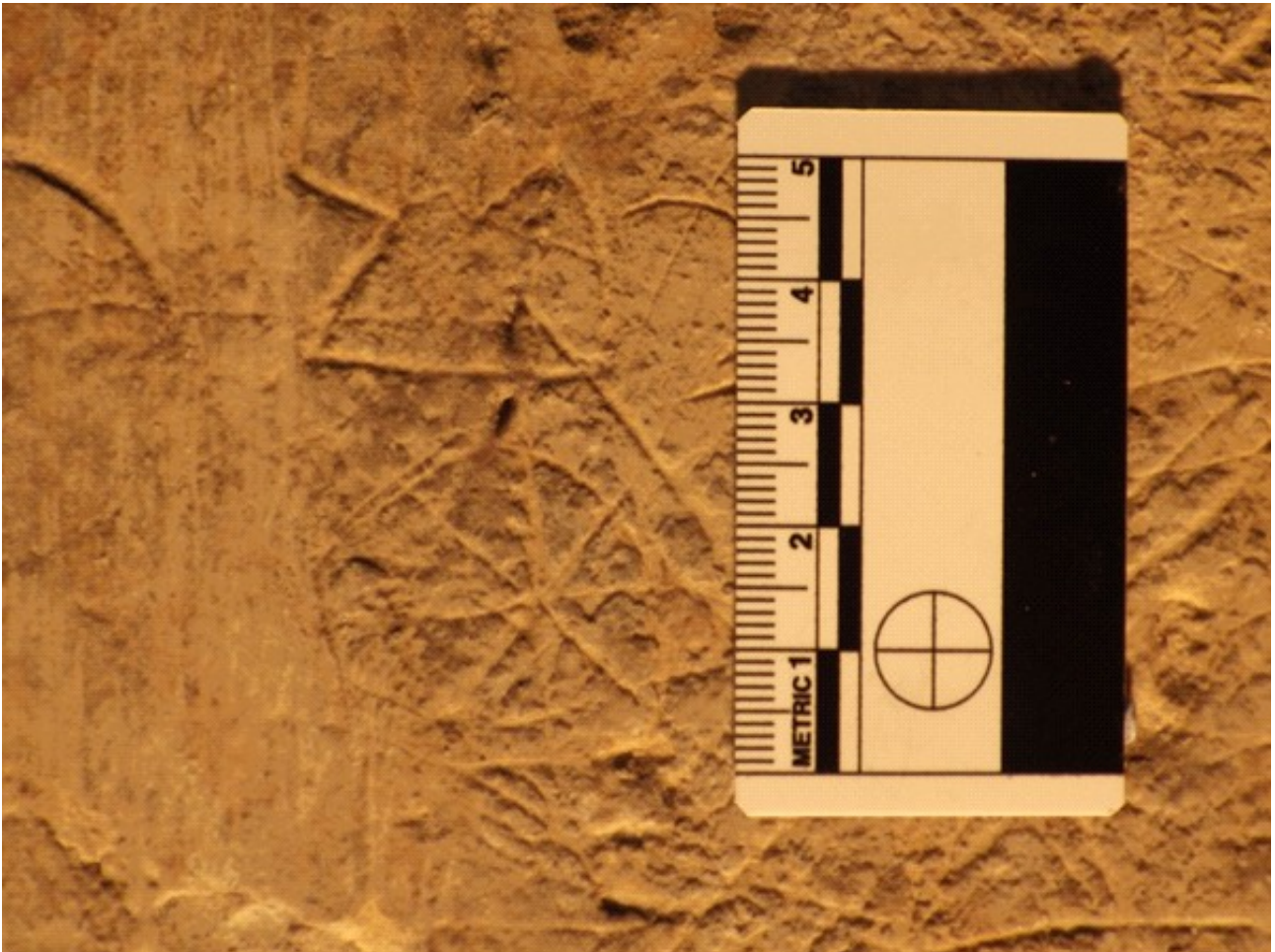
Catalogue entry 81: Graffito of the name 'C Jordan 1667' on S15

Database ID no: 0171



Catalogue entry 82: Graffito of a possible acorn on S56

Database ID no: 0123



Catalogue entry 83: Graffito of a possible wagon wheel on S34

Database ID no: 0233



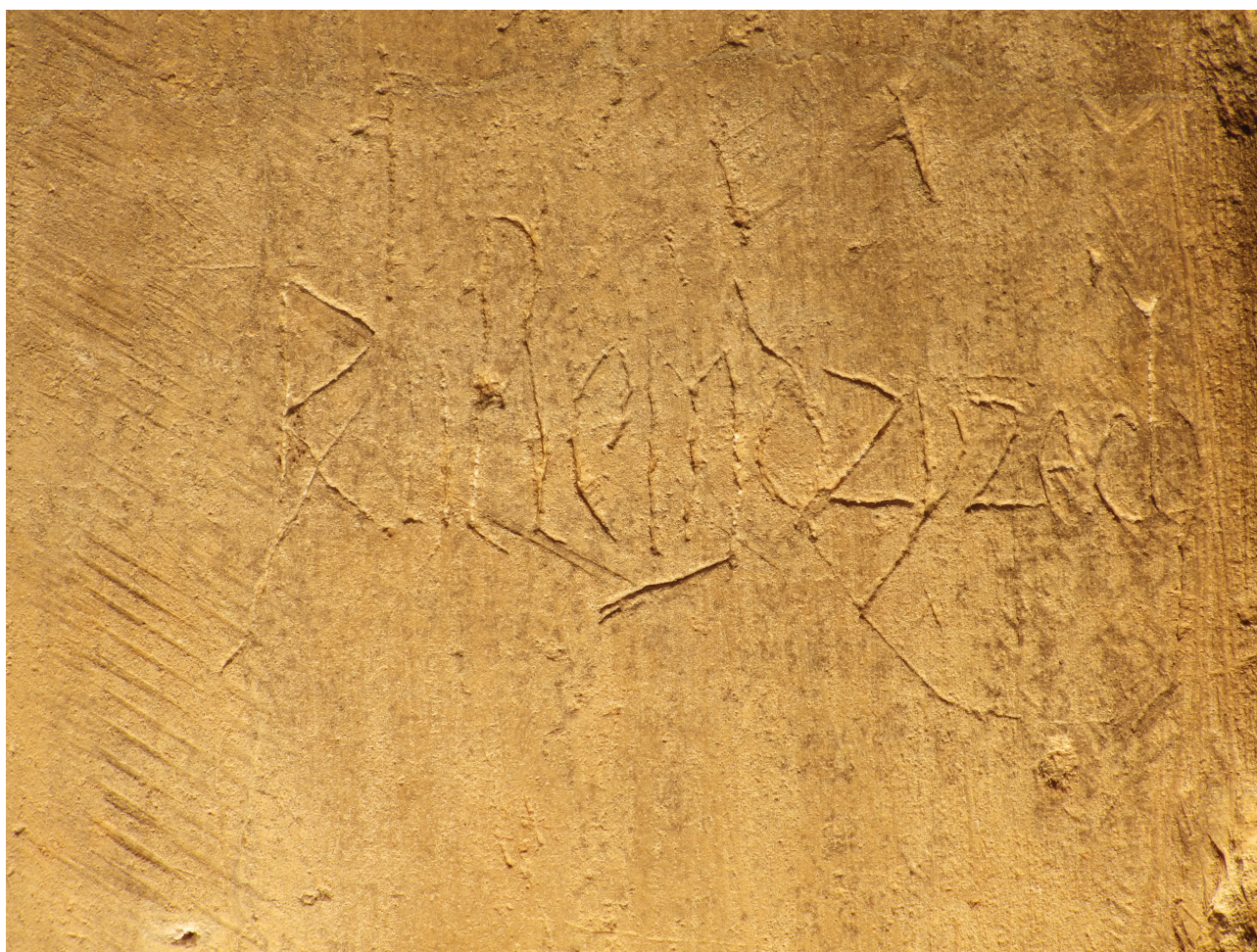
Catalogue entry 84: Graffito of a box divided into smaller boxes on S22

Database ID no: 0117



Catalogue entry 85: Graffito of a textual inscription reading 'maburn' on N8

Database ID no: 0475



Catalogue entry 86: Graffito of a foreign textual inscription on N8

Database ID no: 0339



Catalogue entry 87: Graffiti depicting various crosses of a similar style on N5

Database ID no: 0296, 0297, 0298, 0299



Catalogue entry 88: Graffito of a cross on N6

Database ID no: 0483



Catalogue entry 89: Graffito of a pseudo-heraldic device on N8

Database ID no: 0477



Catalogue entry 90: Graffito of an interlaced design located in the west end near the door leading to the north-west tower

Database ID no: 0496



Catalogue 91: Graffito of a ragged staff with crosses incised in the centre on S4

Database ID no: 0288



Catalogue entry 92: Graffito of a stave of musical notation with a clef and four notes on N2

Database ID no: 0295



Catalogue entry 93: The notes and clef on the stave of musical notation on N2

Database ID no: 0295



Catalogue entry 94: Graffito of a four-lined stave of musical notation located in the bay between piers N2 and N3

Database ID no: 0286



Catalogue entry 95: Graffito of a large figure on N2

Database ID no: 0480



Catalogue entry 95a: The superimposed outline of the large figure graffito on N2

Database ID no: 0480



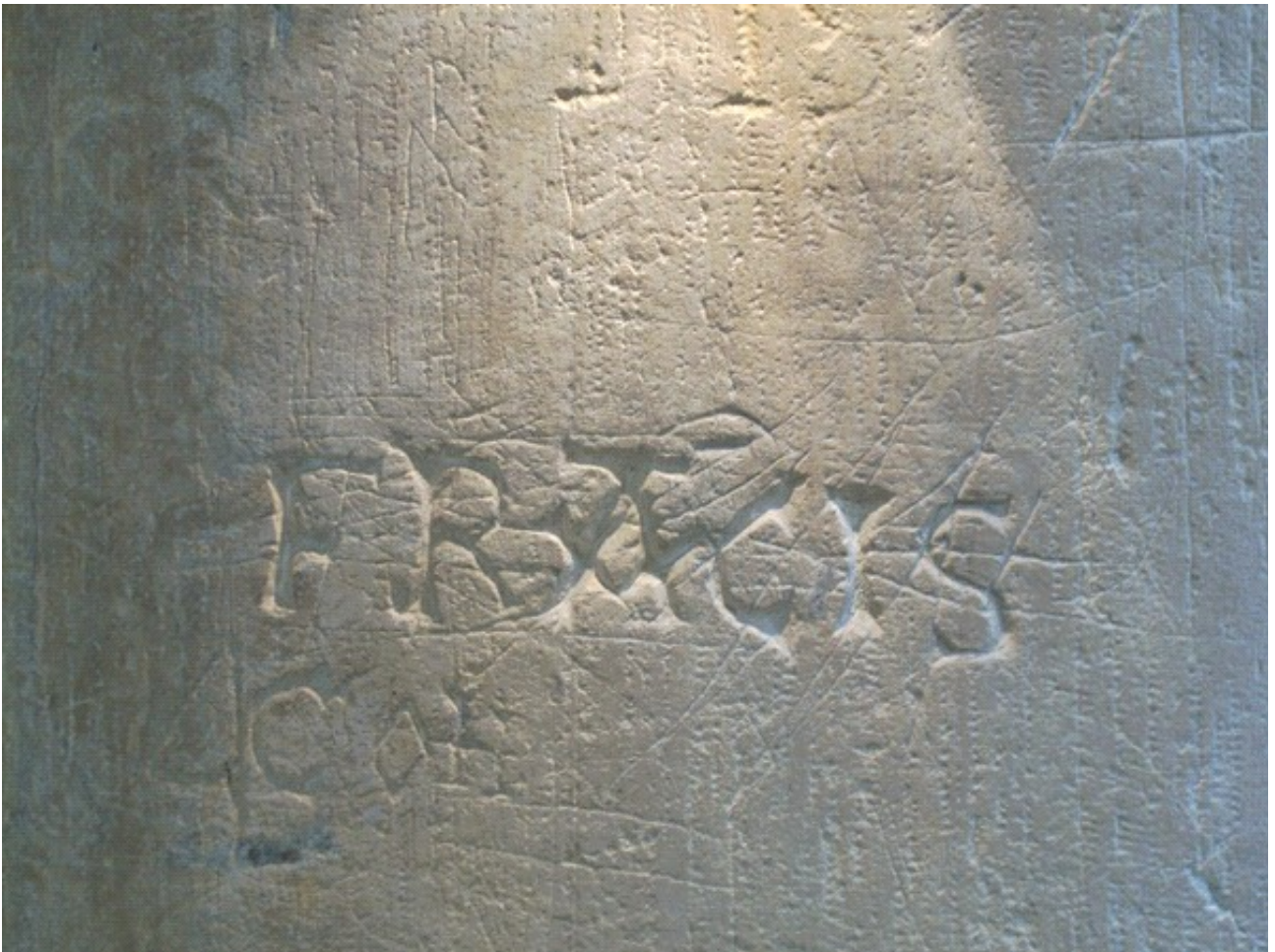
Catalogue entry 96: Graffito of a profile of a face on N5

Database ID no: 0281



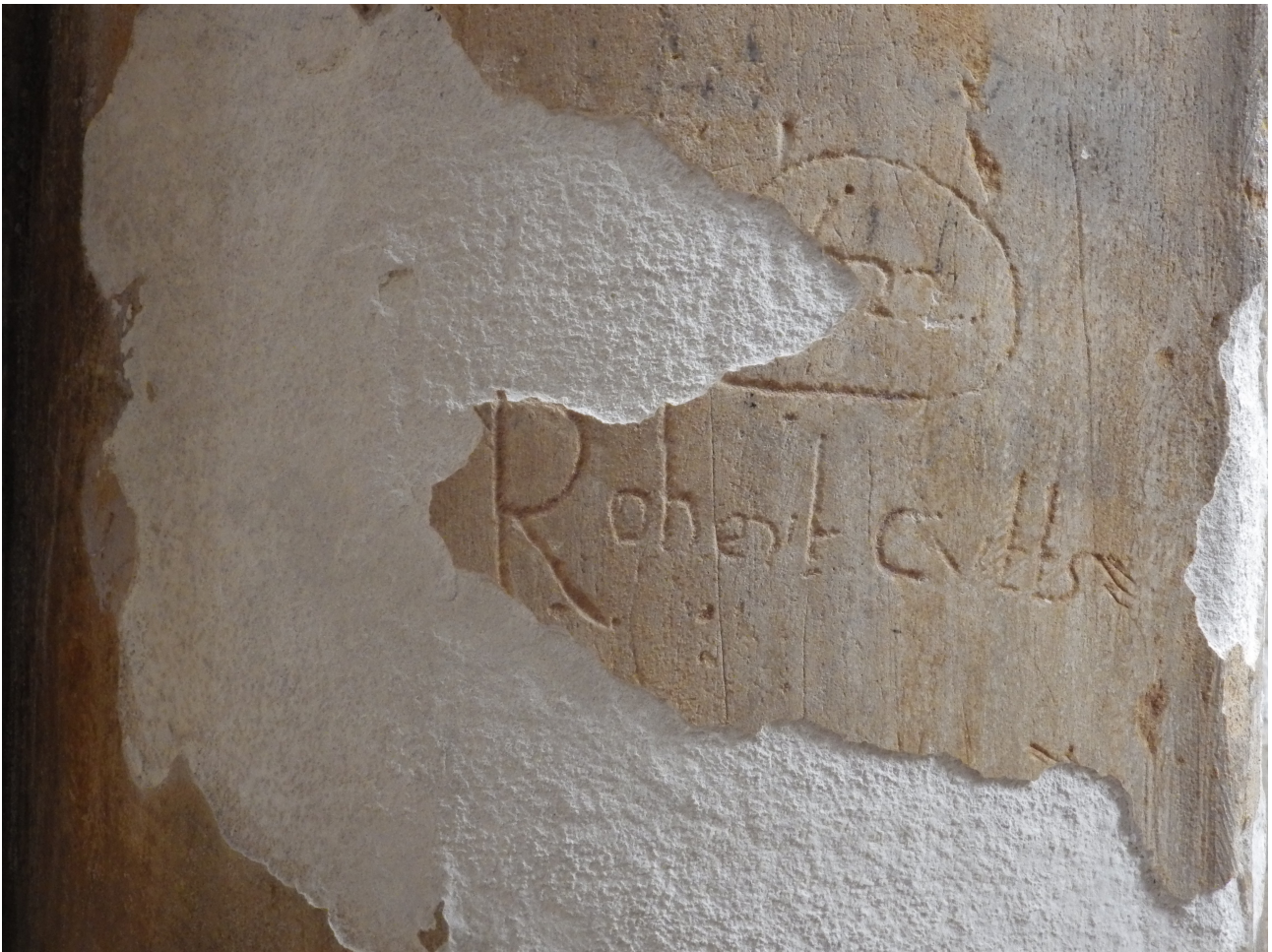
Catalogue entry 97: Graffiti possibly depicting two interlinked alpha and omega symbols on N6

Database ID no: 0482, 0301



Catalogue entry 98: Graffito of the name 'Francis' in abbreviated Latin spelt 'FRACIS' on N3

Database ID no: 0130



Catalogue entry 99: Graffito of the name 'Robert Cvts 1622' on N9, possibly for 'Cutts'

Database ID no: 0663



Catalogue entry 100: Graffito of the name 'Thomas Ashlet 1613' on S8

Database ID no: 1117



Catalogue entry 101: Graffito of a ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0559



Catalogue entry 101a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of a ship on a pier
on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0559



Catalogue entry 102: Graffito of a small ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0556



Catalogue entry 102a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the small ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0556



Catalogue entry 103: Graffito of a ship as it appears without using a light source located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0540



Catalogue entry 103a: Graffito of a ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave,
with lighting equipment

Database ID no: 0540



Catalogue entry 104: Graffito of a possible cog type ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0570



Catalogue entry 105: Graffito depicting the hull of a ship without rigging located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0705



Catalogue entry 106: Graffito of a merchant's mark located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0558



Catalogue entry 107: Graffito of a small possible Consecration cross located on the south side of the chancel

Database ID no: 0578



Catalogue entry 108: Graffiti depicting a series of concentric compass-drawn circles within circles located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID nos: 0703, 0704



Catalogue entry 109: Graffito of a ship located on a pier close to the west end

Database ID no: 0724



Catalogue entry 110: Graffito of a ship showing the detail of the shrouds, yards, crow's nest and planking, situated at a low height on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0086



Catalogue entry 111: Graffito of a ship showing the detail of its hull and rigging, above the door frame leading to the central power

Database ID no: 0066



Catalogue entry 112: Graffito of a textual inscription located on a pier on the north side of the nave towards the west end

Database ID no: 0727



Catalogue entry 113: Graffito of a stave of musical notation with diamonds and square shapes representing notes, situated above standing eye level near the doorway leading to the central tower

Database ID no: 0070



Catalogue entry 114: Graffito possibly depicting a four-lined stave of musical notation consisting of lines and dots, situated at a low height facing east near the door jamb leading to the central tower

Database ID no: 0065



Catalogue entry 115: Graffito possibly representing a stave of musical notation consisting of lines and dots, located in the west end near the door leading to the tower

Database ID no: 0063



Catalogue entry 116: Graffito of a compass-drawn design of a six-petalled daisywheel, located above the door frame leading to the central tower

Database ID no: 0064



Catalogue entry 117: Graffito of a compass-drawn design consisting of a six-petalled daisywheel, located in the west end near the doorway to the tower

Database ID no: 0073



Catalogue entry 118: A faintly-incised graffito of a face located in the west end near the doorway leading to the tower

Database ID no: 0074



Catalogue entry 118a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the face located in the west end near the doorway leading to the tower

Database ID no: 0074



Catalogue entry 119: Graffito of a merchant's mark on the westernmost pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0081



Catalogue entry 120: Graffito of a shield located on the westernmost pier near the doorway
leading to the tower

Database ID no: 0077



Catalogue entry 121: Graffito of a time keeping device located in the west end

Database ID no: 0087

Saint Nicholas's, Hornsea



Catalogue entry 122: Graffito of a ragged staff located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0518



Catalogue entry 123: Graffito depicting a possible angel with compass-drawn circular wings, situated at a low height on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0516



Catalogue entry 124: Graffiti of two merchants' marks located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0991, 0845



Catalogue entry 125: Graffiti of two W letters consisting of a double V located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID nos: 0620, 0621



Catalogue entry 126: Graffito of a compass-drawn design depicting a faintly-incised daisywheel, located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0622



Catalogue entry 127: Graffito of a face depicted in profile located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0582



Catalogue entry 128: Graffito of a possible bird located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

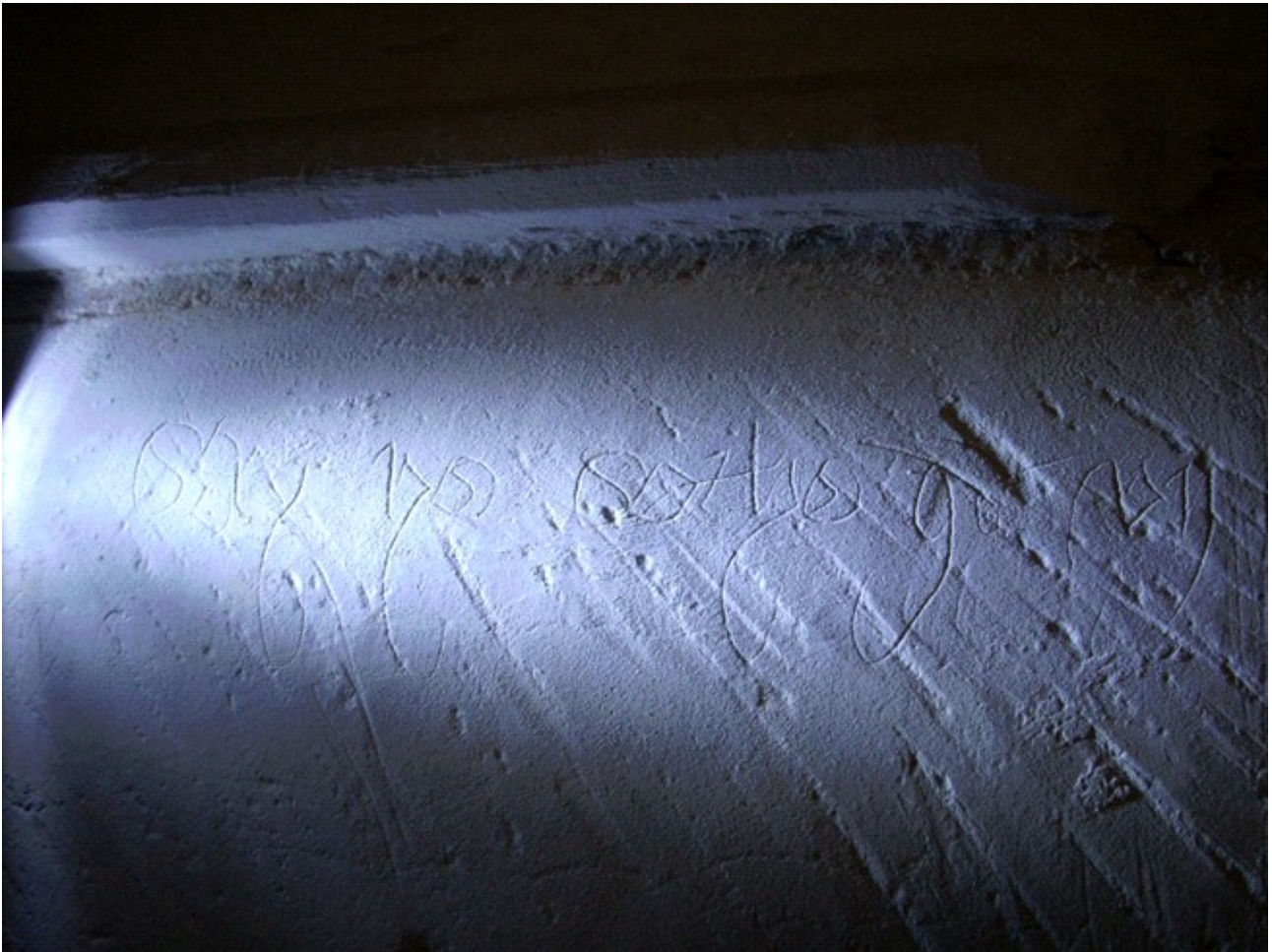
Database ID no: 0581

Saint John of Beverley, Harpham



Catalogue entry 129: Graffiti of two sacred monograms located on the east side of the west arch

Database ID no: 0623, 0624



Catalogue entry 130: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch

Database ID no: 0510



Catalogue entry 131: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the west side of the chancel arch

Database ID no: 0509



Catalogue entry 132: Graffito possibly depicting a hulk type ship located on the north side of the west tower arch facing towards the nave

Database ID no: 0508



Catalogue entry 133: Graffito of a portrait, possibly a caricature wearing an elaborately decorated hat located on the east side of the west arch

Database ID nos: 0505, 1207



Catalogue entry 134: Graffiti depicting two birds located on the west arch of the tower

Database ID no: 0506



Catalogue entry 135: Graffito of a mitred head located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0501



Catalogue entry 136: Graffito of a shield located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0503



Catalogue entry 137: Graffito of a textual inscription located on the door jamb on south-west entrance

Database ID no: 0626



Catalogue entry 138: Graffito of a possible hulk type ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0500

All Saints, Goxhill



Catalogue entry 139: Graffito of a face wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0607



Catalogue entry 140: Graffiti of two faces depicted wearing hats located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0605, 0606



Catalogue entry 141: Graffito of a face depicted wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0530



Catalogue entry 142: Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0533



Catalogue entry 143: Graffito of a portrait of a woman wearing a hat located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0534



Catalogue entry 144: Graffito of a figure in armour wielding a sword located on the westernmost pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0529



Catalogue entry 145: Graffito of a full-length figure located on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0537



Catalogue entry 145a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the full-length figure on a pier on the south side of the nave

Database ID no: 0537



Catalogue entry 146: Graffiti of two figures situated at a low height on the east side of the chancel arch

Database ID no: 0535



Catalogue entry 147: Graffito depicting a horse being ridden by a figure located on the easternmost pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0536



Catalogue entry 148: Graffito of a faintly-incised ship located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0531



Catalogue entry 148a: The superimposed outline of the graffito of the faintly-incised ship, located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0531



Catalogue entry 149: Graffito of a compass-drawn design located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0532



Catalogue entry 150: Graffito of a possible Consecration cross located on a pier on the north side of the nave

Database ID no: 0610



Catalogue entry 151: An early modern graffito depicting the name 'George Roberts' located in the west end

Database ID no: 0539