

Ripon Minster in its Social Context, *c.* 1350–1530

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## Abstract

Ripon Minster has usually been discussed in the context of England's cathedrals and monastic churches. Its status as parish church has been overlooked. This thesis examines its role as parish church and its place in the society of its parish. An interdisciplinary approach is employed to analyse both the building and the institution. The following subjects are addressed: the exercise of power and authority by the minster clergy, the social significance of the use of space in the minster, the renovation of the church building after 1450, the minster as an employer of building craftsmen, and the minster as landlord.

The Chapter of canons wielded significant power over the parish with its authority coming from St Wilfrid. The institutional aspect of the minster set it apart from most contemporary parish churches and had an effect on how parishioners could use and alter the building, and also had a significant impact on liturgy and commemoration. Nevertheless, lay foundation of guilds within the minster and widespread support for the building campaigns after 1450 demonstrate devotion to the minster as parish church. By analysing the use of the building, the disruptive effects of the tower repair and nave renovation campaigns are demonstrated. While the primary focus is on the building and its use, the minster cannot be understood in its social context without examining it in the wider parish. Analysis of the chapels and charitable institutions of the parish shows that the minster became increasingly important as parish church around 1400. The Fabric's employment practices and urban estate management are also significant in that they show how the minster's needs fuelled the building industry and shaped the urban landscape in a time when the Fabric was forced to respond to the social changes caused by the Black Death.

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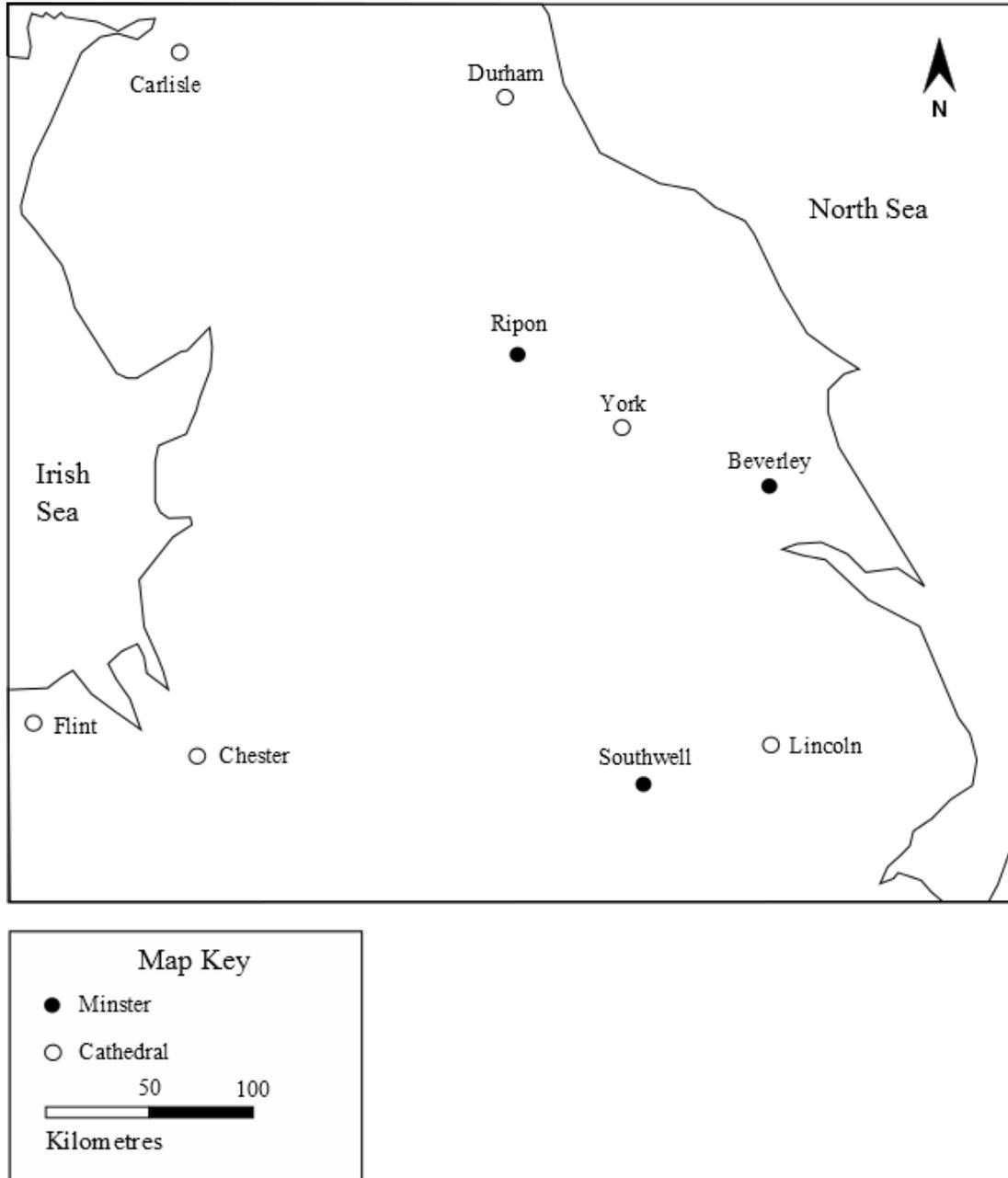
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## Introduction

On the high ground above the confluence of the River Skell and the River Ure stands a church that, even three hundred years after the removal of its spires, is visible from a fair distance — from as far as the deserted medieval village of Aismunderby a mile to the south and perhaps, when the trees are bare in the winter, even as far as Markenfield another mile beyond. Since 1836 Ripon Minster has been a cathedral. The cruciform building, with its western bell towers and apsidal Chapter House, seems to have been made for a bishop's throne. It is often discussed alongside York Minster and Cistercian monastic churches in Yorkshire. Yet as well as being a collegiate community in the later Middle Ages, it was also a parish church. Its status as parish church has received little attention and thus its role in the society of late medieval Ripon has not been fully appreciated and its many other peculiarities have not been fully considered. It was an archdeaconry unto itself, exempt from the authority of the Archdeacon of Richmond, and its canons governed a legal franchise within which even the Archbishop of York and the Crown could not interfere. It was a church without churchwardens; in their place, clerical Fabric wardens looked to the maintenance of the building, a corporation of vicars performed obits, and the Chapter of canons was patron of most of its chantries. It had a choir and high altar where the clergy performed the high mass but from which the laity were excluded; for the people of its enormous parish it had not one but six parochial altars. It even had the relics of an Anglo-Saxon saint to whom many of the parish knights owed feudal service as tenants. This thesis analyses Ripon Minster's status as parish church and examines its various relationships with parishioners to situate it in its social context. The thesis investigates relationships between parishioners and the institutional minster, the importance of the minster building for constructing local society, and the significance of the minster's building needs, which made it an employer of building craftsmen and landlord of properties whose rents helped fund such works. Despite its many peculiarities, the minster was parish church both in law and in the affections of its parishioners who founded chantries and obits there, who established guilds within the walls of the church, and who funded repairs and renovations of those walls that took generations to complete.

Figure 0.1: Ripon and Northern England



This map shows Ripon's location in the north of England as well as its proximity to its sister minster's of Beverley and Southwell and the cathedrals of the region. Note how far away Southwell is from Ripon, Beverley, and York.

### 0.1: *Historiography*

This section reviews the historiography of Ripon from the earliest antiquarian studies to the most recent work on the minster and town. The review traces how changing approaches to the study of history, architectural history, and archaeology have produced different types of research on Ripon. From this review it is clear that the minster's role as late medieval parish church has not been fully appreciated. This is not to say that its status as parish church has not been acknowledged, but rather that the wider social significance of its status has not been analysed. The implications of repair and renovation for the minster's parishioners have also not

been examined. Not only did the building define an architectural space central to the society of the parish, the repair and renovation of the building also involved providing employment for some parishioners and renting properties to others. The review begins with the antiquarians to demonstrate their lasting influence on the study of Ripon. It then proceeds to the general histories of town and minster before examining more specialized studies of the town's development and the minster building, demonstrating that in every type of study the minster's social role as parish church has been overlooked.

The antiquarian roots of the study of Ripon begin with John Leland, though he reports information that would have been common knowledge regarding the construction of the new nave, the sale of the Ladykirk to Abbot Huby of Fountains, and the economic status of the town at the time of his visit, around 1538.<sup>1</sup> He also mentioned Ripon's hospitals, chapels, and the living quarters of the vicars.<sup>2</sup> In the eighteenth century, Thomas Gent produced a work on the town and minster.<sup>3</sup> Some of Gent's assertions are patently inaccurate from the perspective of the modern scholar, but this has not prevented them from circulating in modified forms. For example, he wrote that as a result of damage by Scottish raiders in the early fourteenth century, the minster had to be 'rebuilt almost from its very Foundations'.<sup>4</sup> The tendency for later historians to repeat earlier accounts and to interpret the evidence available to them in accordance with their assumptions rather than to question these assumptions on the basis of the evidence has been demonstrated in the case of the Scottish raids and their alleged impact on the building.<sup>5</sup> William Farrer's account of Ripon's history is similar to Gent's in listing key dates of destruction and rebuilding of minster and town.<sup>6</sup>

The antiquarian tradition of emphasizing episodes of destruction culminated in a brief and somewhat sensational history of the minster published by William Danks in 1899.<sup>7</sup> It is impossible to state his thesis any more succinctly than he himself has done toward the beginning of his work. 'Destroyed', he writes, 'and almost obliterated by violence and time and change, not once but repeatedly, Ripon Cathedral still remains a monument of human achievement and aspiration'.<sup>8</sup> In this light it should come as no surprise that Danks not only repeats but embroiders accounts of destruction by Eadred (950) and the Scots (1318–1322).<sup>9</sup> Likewise, he

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<sup>1</sup> *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London: George Bell, 1907–1910), 1 (1907), 82.

<sup>2</sup> *The Itinerary of John Leland*, 1, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon* (York: Printing Office, 1733).

<sup>4</sup> Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon*, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> See Stephen Werronen, 'Ripon and the Scottish Raids, 1318–1322', *Northern History*, 49 (2012), 174–84.

<sup>6</sup> William Farrer, *The History of Ripon, Comprehending a Civil and Ecclesiastical Account of that Borough* (Ripon: William Farrer, 1801).

<sup>7</sup> William Danks, *Ripon Cathedral* (London: Isbister, 1899).

<sup>8</sup> Danks, *Ripon Cathedral*, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Danks, *Ripon Cathedral*, pp. 18–19.

argues for a hermit's cell in one of the east end buttresses, claims the battlements on the transepts were functional, and suggests an unknown battle as the explanation for the bones in the crypt beneath the Chapter House.<sup>10</sup> The works of authors such as Gent, Farrer, and Danks present Ripon's medieval history as a series of violent incidents separated by unremarkable spans of time. The interpretation of the human remains formerly in the Chapter House crypt as soldiers killed in battle rather than as the disarticulated bones of parishioners deposited in a charnel crypt when new graves were dug in the minster's churchyard epitomises their approach to Ripon's history.

Much of the minster's historiography has been generated through the enthusiasm of local researchers. This is certainly true of John Richard Walbran (1817–1869), who wrote and periodically revised his guidebook about Ripon and its environs.<sup>11</sup> These revisions show that Walbran's intellectual curiosity endured for the duration of his life and that he was concerned with leaving as accurate a record as possible for anyone interested in the history of Ripon. His approach was scholarly and his guide book includes citations of other works, particularly articles in archaeological journals. George Parker's book is another example of local scholarship.<sup>12</sup> The inclusion of measurements and detailed descriptions lends Parker's work an air of scientific authority, yet he repeats Danks's statements about the hermit, the Scottish raiders, and the battle that filled the crypt with bones. He does not cite Danks at any point, giving the impression that by 1900 all these may have been accepted as historical facts. Lucius Smith published a much more voluminous work not long after.<sup>13</sup> Smith must also have used the primary sources extensively, if not always critically, while at the same time including traditional elements of the minster's history — such as the hermit cell in the buttress — which are not substantiated by any documents. A recent successor to Smith's *The Story of Ripon Minster* is the co-authored *Ripon Cathedral: Its History and Architecture*. It is largely a summary of the earlier secondary works discussed above and suffers from their habit of relying on local tradition and an uncritical use of primary sources.<sup>14</sup> There is an evident debt to the work of Lucius Smith though his successors seem to have been less comfortable with the primary sources, arguing, for example, that the central tower collapsed as the result of an earthquake, even though the indulgences all name weather as the culprit.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Danks, *Ripon Cathedral*, pp. 16–18, 62.

<sup>11</sup> John Richard Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey, Harrogate, Bolton Priory, and Several Places of Interest in their Vicinity* (Ripon: A. Johnson, 1875).

<sup>12</sup> George Parker, *Ripon Cathedral Church of S. Peter & Wilfrid: A Concise Popular History and Description* (Ripon: George Parker, [n.d.]).

<sup>13</sup> Lucius Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1914).

<sup>14</sup> Bill Forster, Bill Robson, and Jennifer Deadman, *Ripon Cathedral: Its History and Architecture* (York: William Sessions, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Forster, Robson, and Deadman, *Ripon Cathedral*, p. 89. No source is cited claiming that an earthquake was responsible for the tower collapse and though many references are made to the new findings being made by Stuart Harrison and Paul Barker at that time, when they published their findings in 1999 they

Studies of Ripon began to diversify after Walbran. Studies of the town and minster together continued to be produced, but they took into account the findings of Walbran and his contemporary, George Gilbert Scott, as well as the printed editions of historical documents edited for the Surtees Society by J. T. Fowler between 1882 and 1908.<sup>16</sup> Fowler's primary contribution to the study of medieval Ripon was the four volumes known as the *Memorials of Ripon*, which he edited for the Surtees Society at the end of the nineteenth century. He also wrote an article dealing mainly with the institutional history of the minster.<sup>17</sup> At around the same time A. Hamilton Thompson wrote an entry for the *Victoria County History* dealing with the institutional history of the minster.<sup>18</sup> A more recent study of the institutional minster is Ian Stuart Sharp's 2009 unpublished doctoral thesis entitled 'The Minster Churches of Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell 1066–c. 1300'.<sup>19</sup> These institutional studies give attention to the number of vicars, the types of officeholders, and the dates of chantry foundations, but there is little about the role of the institution in local society or the implications such a developed body of clergy had for the functioning of Ripon as a parish church.

Tom Gowland produced a number of articles on the history of Ripon. Two of these were published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* in 1943, including an edition of a seventeenth-century guild book and a description of the minster and its precincts.<sup>20</sup> The latter article was based on the notes of a local man, John Tuting (1785–1865).<sup>21</sup> An earlier article by Gowland describes the medieval manors and legal franchises of the town and surrounding area; it also includes detailed information about the local medieval families.<sup>22</sup> A number of later studies have also addressed the town as a subject of study separate from the minster. The town's development between 700 and 1350 has been the subject of various historical and archaeological investigations into how the seventh-century monastery of St Wilfrid developed into a medieval market town in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The agency of the

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explained the tower collapse as the result of a design flaw, not an earthquake. See Stuart Harrison and Paul Barker, 'Ripon Minster: An Archaeological Analysis and Reconstruction of the Twelfth-Century Church', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 52 (1999), 49–78 (pp. 60–64).

<sup>16</sup> *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, ed. by J. T. Fowler, 4 vols (Durham: Surtees Society, 1882–1908). Scott wrote an article on the history of the building and made an effort to reconstruct the twelfth-century nave following his work on the building. See George Gilbert Scott, 'Ripon Minster', *Archaeological Journal*, 31 (1874), 309–18.

<sup>17</sup> J. T. Fowler, 'The Church in Ripon', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 22 (1913), 1–15.

<sup>18</sup> A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Collegiate Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid, Ripon', in *The Victoria History of the County of York*, ed. by William Page, 3 vols (London: Constable, 1907–1913), III (1913), 367–72.

<sup>19</sup> Ian Stuart Sharp, 'The Minster Churches of Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell 1066–c. 1300' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Tom S. Gowland, 'A Ripon Guild Book', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 35 (1943), 68–78; Tom S. Gowland, 'Ripon Minster and its Precincts', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 35 (1943), 270–87.

<sup>21</sup> Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Ripon Cathedral MS 58.

<sup>22</sup> Tom S. Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 32 (1936), 43–85.

Archbishop of York in the town's development has been cited as an important factor. William McKay identified a period of significant growth in the town under Archbishop Thurstan, who obtained an annual fair from Henry I; this fair and the weekly Thursday market were confirmed by King Stephen.<sup>23</sup> McKay, citing fee farm payments by the burgesses at the end of the twelfth century, has argued that the town of Ripon was at that time actually more developed than Beverley, another minster town, and hence probably established earlier as a borough.<sup>24</sup> Glanville R. J. Jones has also demonstrated how the town developed under the Archbishops of York, and identified broad differences between the occupants of different parts of the town. For Jones, the southeast of the town — namely the minster with its churchyard, the Archbishop's palace, and the street of Annsgate — was the ecclesiastical part of the town, while the rest was largely secular.<sup>25</sup> Jones examined the development of the town in documents relating to landholding, beginning with the original *c.* 700 donation of thirty hides to St Wilfrid, and concluded that the separation of the town into ecclesiastical and secular areas 'stemmed from the dual organization of the ancient Ripon estate, a dichotomy already evident *c.* 1020 and probably much earlier'.<sup>26</sup>

Recent archaeological studies of the town and Wilfridian monastery have been undertaken by R. A. Hall and Mark Whyman. Their findings push back the date of Ripon's development as an archiepiscopal market town. Whyman's analysis of excavations in Low St Agnesgate (1974) and the Deanery Garden (1977–1978) revealed a contraction of the earlier ecclesiastical precinct around the year 1200.<sup>27</sup> Whyman and Hall also co-authored an article about settlement in Ripon between the seventh and eleventh centuries. In it, they discussed the pattern of burials in Ripon, analysing the findings of the 1955 Ladykirk excavation and the discovery of burials dated to between the seventh and tenth centuries on Ailcy Hill, to the southeast of the minster.<sup>28</sup> The archaeological work of Hall and Whyman focuses on the same period of development as the earlier documentary histories of Ripon's development from monastic site to town.

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<sup>23</sup> William McKay, 'The Development of Medieval Ripon', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1982), 73–80 (p. 73). McKay compared Thurstan's role to that of magnates who developed market towns on their estates in the twelfth century. His role was not to establish the town's first market, but rather to expand it. Although it is not mentioned in Domesday, Ripon probably had a marketing function before the end of the eleventh century. See Glanville R. J. Jones, 'The Ripon Estate: Landscape into Townscape', *Northern History*, 37 (2000), 13–30 (p. 25).

<sup>24</sup> McKay, 'The Development of Medieval Ripon', p. 75.

<sup>25</sup> Jones, 'The Ripon Estate', p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Jones, 'The Ripon Estate', pp. 15 and 30.

<sup>27</sup> Mark Whyman, 'Excavations in Deanery Garden and Low St Agnesgate, Ripon, North Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 69 (1997), 119–63.

<sup>28</sup> R. A. Hall and Mark Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, from the 7th to 11th Centuries A.D.', *Medieval Archaeology*, 40 (1996), 62–150. John Blair has argued that the alignment of the Wilfridian crypt with Ailcy Hill and the continued use of the hill for Christian burials shows that Wilfrid Christianized a non-Christian site. See John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 186–87.

Cecil Hallett's Ripon volume of the Bell's Cathedral Series is the most fully developed architectural history of the minster from the early twentieth century.<sup>29</sup> His familiarity with the documents relating to the minster's history is apparent from his treatment of the tower collapse and he acknowledged his debt to Scott, Walbran, and the Surtees Society editions of the *Memorials of Ripon* in the preface to his book.<sup>30</sup> Hallett offers information about the minster's chantries, and the hospitals, almshouse, and Ladykirk of Ripon also fall within the scope of Hallett's work. Overall, his work is concise but substantial and has gone a long way in advancing the study of the minster not only as a single entity but within the broader religious landscape of the town.

More recent studies of the minster building have centred on the construction of the new building at the end of the twelfth century. In his essay, M. F. Hearn sets out to argue that '[t]welfth-century Ripon Minster was one of the earliest Gothic structures in England and was probably the first fully Gothic building in the North'.<sup>31</sup> Hearn's study differs from those of most of his predecessors in that he provides an architectural rather than historical context for the minster, placing it in a timeline with the Cistercian abbeys of northern England. His argument depends not only on a reconstructed chronology of the building works at Buildwas, Kirkstall, Roche, Byland, and Furness, but also on his own reconstruction of the original nave based on surviving twelfth-century masonry. Another part of his argument revolves around the primacy of Archbishop Roger in determining the design of the minster. Hearn believed that outdated features were used at Ripon in order to emphasize links to York and that the whole project was meant to enshrine the relics of St Wilfrid, who was symbolic of York's struggles with Canterbury.<sup>32</sup> These constraints were imposed on a French master mason who was thus prevented from accomplishing what otherwise 'would have been the most advanced structure of 1175'.<sup>33</sup>

Stuart Harrison and Paul Barker have produced the most recent architectural study of the minster and offer an alternative to Hearn's reconstruction of the twelfth-century nave as well as a new argument about the central tower and its collapse in 1450.<sup>34</sup> They disagreed with Hearn on a number of points, including archaeological interpretations of twelfth-century architecture in the choir and the inclusion of the western towers in the original design.<sup>35</sup> The latter point is highly significant, in that their argument that the central tower was originally taller and used for

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<sup>29</sup> Cecil Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon: A Short History of the Church and a Description of its Fabric* (London: George Bell, 1901).

<sup>30</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. v.

<sup>31</sup> M. F. Hearn, *Ripon Minster: The Beginning of the Gothic Style in Northern England* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983), p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Hearn, *Ripon Minster*, pp. 84–95.

<sup>33</sup> Hearn, *Ripon Minster*, p. 121.

<sup>34</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', 49–78.

<sup>35</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', pp. 52 and 67. Hearn argues the western towers were part of the original design, see Hearn, *Ripon Minster*, p. 48.

bell-ringing is part of their evidence that the western towers were a later addition to the design of the building, conceived of only after it was apparent that the central tower was structurally unsound.<sup>36</sup> They have offered the best explanation for the tower collapse thus far, namely that its weight caused it to settle unevenly, and that one of the four crossing piers sank at a faster rate than the others, causing a portion of the tower to break off.<sup>37</sup>

There is a common theme in the architectural studies of Ripon Minster, namely that it was a great church on par with the cathedrals and monasteries built around 1200 and should be discussed together with them. This idea was expressed in John Bilson's article on the early Cistercian churches of England, which he concluded by arguing for the influence of these churches on Archbishop Roger Pont l'Evêque's churches at York and Ripon. In Bilson's opinion, 'the surviving parts of his [Pont l'Evêque's] work at Ripon have much in common with the severe beauty of Cistercian Roche'.<sup>38</sup> Ripon's appearance in synthetic studies of English Gothic architecture can be explained in the same way. Francis Bond, like Bilson, mentioned Ripon together with the Cistercian churches of Yorkshire.<sup>39</sup> Christopher Wilson and Peter Draper, in their monographs on Gothic architecture, highlighted the same Cistercian and French influences noted by Hearn.<sup>40</sup> The point here is not to criticize the abiding interest of the architectural historians in the minster as a great church (to use Wilson's term) but rather to note that their findings raise an important question that is taken up as the subject of this thesis — namely, how did a building of such size and high status function as a parish church?

This review of scholarship has demonstrated a number of gaps. The accounts of the antiquarians are perhaps the most comprehensive in subject and in chronology, but they are often inaccurate in their interpretations and lack the benefit of later developments in architectural history and archaeology. The few later studies to discuss the minster building, its institutions, and the town together pay little attention to the minster as parish church. Specialized studies of the institutional minster, the town, and the minster building generally have a narrower chronological focus, in most cases the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While they provide numerous insights into the development of the town, the organization of the Chapter of canons, and the construction of the minster in the twelfth century, questions about how this affected the minster's role as a parish church in later centuries remain unanswered. Some have addressed the later history of the building, most notably Hallett and Harrison and

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<sup>36</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 63.

<sup>37</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 64.

<sup>38</sup> John Bilson, 'The Architecture of the Cistercians with Special Reference to Some of their Earlier Churches in England', *Archaeological Journal*, 66 (1909), 185–280 (p. 279).

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, his discussion of the rectangular ambulatory in Francis Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England: An Analysis of the Origin and Development of English Architecture from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: Batsford, 1905), pp. 171–75.

<sup>40</sup> Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130–1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), pp. 74–75; Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 3 and 9.

Barker, but their focus is on chronology and style rather than on function. Thus while they date the new work of 1450 to 1530 and explain the tower collapse, they do not consider the consequences of these events on the use of the building nor examine the impulse behind the funding of these projects. Moreover, past studies of the minster have used the Fabric Rolls primarily to date the building, not as a source through which to explore the social significance of the minster as an employer and landlord. This thesis offers answers to these questions by considering the relationships between parishioners and the institutional minster; the importance of spaces within the building for worship, commemoration, and social interaction; the attitudes toward the minster as parish church expressed through endowment and renovation; and the importance of the minster as employer and landlord.

## 0.2: *Methodology*

Michel de Certeau wrote that one aim of the historian is to ‘render thinkable the documents which the historian inventories. It yields to the necessity of working out models which allow series of documents to be composed and understood: economic models, cultural models, and the like’.<sup>41</sup> The aims of this thesis are similar, but the approach is interdisciplinary and the building is used as a source alongside the written records. This effort to construct the society that produced the minster building, the Fabric Rolls, and the Chapter Acts requires a methodology that can link the study of these sources. A key component of this methodology is the approach to space which is now increasingly employed by medieval archaeologists in the study of church buildings in contrast to earlier studies that were more formal or descriptive. In summarizing the earlier work on medieval cathedrals, Roberta Gilchrist has written that ‘Art historical studies of cathedrals have given priority to the evaluation of aesthetic innovation in medieval architecture, while traditional archaeological studies have been descriptive of surviving fabric with little concern for cultural context’.<sup>42</sup> Though not a cathedral, in the Middle Ages Ripon has been deemed sufficiently large and influential to be studied alongside them and the great monastic churches, and it has been treated in the fashion described by Gilchrist.

The study of space has been informed largely by the work of Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu. Lefebvre demonstrated the relationship between actions, the spaces in which they occurred, and what this implied for future use of the space, writing that ‘Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and

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<sup>41</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 35. This is one of two approaches identified by de Certeau. The other, he argued, is an effort to revive the past, and the two exist in tension with one another so that ‘founded on the rupture between a past that is its object, and a present that is the place of its practice, history endlessly finds the present in its object and the past in its practice’, de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, pp. 35–36.

<sup>42</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 10.

prohibiting yet others'.<sup>43</sup> His theory opens up a new dimension to the study of Ripon as a parish church because it allows for analysis of the building as the site of social interaction. Lefebvre's argument that 'In reality, social space "incorporates" social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and die, who suffer and who act' can also be widely applied to the minster and the people who used it.<sup>44</sup> The incorporation of social actions could take the form of collective knowledge about which actions were permitted in a given space and which were not. Some of this knowledge has undoubtedly been lost over time, and that which remains is found in writings such as the Fabric Rolls, Chapter Acts, Archbishop's registers, and wills. The experience of space was not an experience of pure thought, of course, but also involved the body.<sup>45</sup> The medieval minster would have had sights, smells, and sounds different from those today. Lit candles, incense, grave monuments, the effect of light produced by the stained glass, the wall paintings, and images of saints with their ex-vota are now all gone. An individual can still experience the spaces of the minster by entering them, but only partially.

Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* is also important for this study. He defined it as 'principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them'.<sup>46</sup> Bourdieu also stated that the *habitus* was both historical and a generator of history.<sup>47</sup> A shared *habitus* is a feature of a social class but naturally the *habitus* of different classes may have elements in common with one another so that Christianity, as Keith Lilley has claimed, was the *habitus* of medieval Europe.<sup>48</sup> In short, the *habitus* is a common frame of reference that makes the actions of an individual intelligible to the group and the key component in how individuals interpret and organize space. Another aspect of Bourdieu's *habitus* is that it produces a strategy of moves without a strategic intention.<sup>49</sup> Bourdieu and Lefebvre were in agreement about the embodiment of institutions and society through the spatial dispositions of people — a subject which is explored in detail in this thesis.<sup>50</sup>

Some of Lefebvre's ideas about space in the Middle Ages have been rejected by those who nevertheless apply his theories to the study of medieval subjects. Lefebvre, himself a Marxist, argued that the towns of twelfth-century Europe created new, commercial spaces that

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<sup>43</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 73.

<sup>44</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 162.

<sup>46</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), p. 53.

<sup>47</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 54.

<sup>48</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 59; Keith Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 14.

<sup>49</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 62. Bourdieu was concerned to make clear that the *habitus* was not an objective system of rules because he was attempting to bridge the gap between objectivism and subjectivism. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 25.

<sup>50</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 58; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 129.

served and reflected the interests of the burgesses.<sup>51</sup> Prior to this development there was only absolute space, the domain of the Church. Subsequent authors including Megan Cassidy-Welch and Sheila Sweetinburgh have rejected the dialectic established by Lefebvre between urban and Christian space.<sup>52</sup> The evidence from Ripon, a town with few merchants, privileges, or civic institutions, also calls for a more nuanced distinction between the absolute space that was the domain of the Church and the urban space created by burgesses. Sweetinburgh's findings for the Cinque Ports, where parish churches were used for civic elections and processions temporarily transformed commercial into sacred spaces, provide an interesting parallel for Ripon. By contrast, Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* was very much influenced by his familiarity with the Middle Ages, and he first published an outline of his theory in the afterword of his French translation of Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*.<sup>53</sup>

The recent studies most relevant to this thesis are those that have developed methodologies for the study of medieval society using archaeological evidence from parish churches. They include C. Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief* and Mark Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory'. In *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, Graves examined parish churches in Norfolk and Devon, arguing that while the Church, as represented by the cathedrals of Norwich and Exeter, may have desired to impose a single liturgical practice on the diocese, the different material conditions of the parish churches demonstrate that this was not possible, and that other actors — especially lay patrons — could affect this discourse of power relations in those buildings. She has advocated the study of the archaeological remains of buildings because of the insights they offer into the religious practices of the past, and has criticized others, namely Duffy, for privileging textual evidence and imposing assumptions about universal liturgical practices on individual parish churches.<sup>54</sup> The body and its involvement in services, especially the visibility of the priest and sight lines between altars, are an important part of her approach.<sup>55</sup> Her emphasis on the importance of material culture in the study of medieval religious practice influenced Douglas's doctoral thesis on the links between parish church architecture and collective memory.

While Graves examined the parish church as a setting for the liturgy as a means of reproducing the hierarchical power structure of the Church and considered the role of local elites in this process, Douglas was primarily concerned with these local elites and how their

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<sup>51</sup> Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p. 256.

<sup>52</sup> Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), p. 3; Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'Mayor-making and Other Ceremonies: Shared Uses of Sacred Spaces among the Cinque Ports', in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. by Paul Trio and Marjan de Smet, *Medievalia Lovaniensia*, 38 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 165–87 (pp. 168–70).

<sup>53</sup> Bruce Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 94–113.

<sup>54</sup> C. Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief: An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon* (Oxford: British Archaeological Report, 2000), pp. 1 and 7–8.

<sup>55</sup> Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, p. 15.

patronage of buildings could reproduce their standing in society. He viewed the parish church as a metaphor for collective memory, arguing that ‘The elite, by manipulating the collective memory of the wider community through their association with the parish church, were able to reaffirm their authority by making the acceptance of it part of everyday experience’.<sup>56</sup> This was accomplished, in many ways, through the display of heraldry in public and ritually important parts of the building, such as the porch and font, and through burial in a building. It was all the more important for the elites to represent their authority because the social effects of the plague after 1348 undermined their coercive powers.<sup>57</sup> Douglas’s intention was to articulate a theory regarding the connections between architecture and memory which could be applied to all periods of human history, but he formulated it in the context of the English medieval parish church using specific case studies from Yorkshire. His theory can be tested using the evidence from Ripon Minster and his case studies are apt for comparison. Likewise, Graves argued that her approach to Norfolk and Devon could be applied elsewhere in medieval England. Ripon Minster, as a large collegiate parish church governed by a Chapter of canons, provides a unique case to set against their findings and raises interesting questions about the reproduction of Church hierarchy through authoritative liturgy and the shaping of collective memory through architecture.

Douglas relied on general evidence for the societal impact of the plague, but the documentary sources for the minster’s history also demonstrate the effects of the Black Death in Ripon. The extant Fabric Rolls from 1354 to 1425 provide detailed information about wages and urban estate management, showing high wages for building craftsmen and favourable conditions for tenants. This evidence corresponds to the arguments that decline in population caused by the endemic plague in the second half of the fourteenth century and later allowed many of the plague’s survivors to become wealthier and more mobile than their predecessors.<sup>58</sup> This thesis does not attempt to compare the conditions in Ripon before the plague with those after, but instead begins with the second half of the fourteenth century. The survival rate of written sources was an important factor in determining the chronological focus of the thesis.

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<sup>56</sup> Mark Douglas, ‘The Archaeology of Memory: An Investigation into the Links between Collective Memory and the Architecture of the Parish Church in Late Medieval Yorkshire’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2003), p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> Douglas, ‘The Archaeology of Memory’, pp. 29 and 32.

<sup>58</sup> The social and economic impact of the plague has been explored in numerous studies. See A. R. Bridbury, ‘The Black Death’, *Economic History Review*, 26 (1973), 577–92; A. R. Bridbury, *Economic Growth, England in the Later Middle Ages* (Brighton: Harvester, 1975); John Hatcher, *Plague, Population, and the English Economy, 1348–1530* (London: Macmillan, 1977); P. J. P. Goldberg, ‘Mortality and Economic Change in the Diocese of York, 1390–1514’, *Northern History*, 24 (1988), 38–55; Jim Bolton, ‘“The World Upside Down”, Plague as an Agent of Economic and Social Change’, in *The Black Death in England*, ed. by Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp. 17–78; Christopher Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); Gregory Clark, ‘The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population, and Economic Growth, England 1209–1869’, *Economic History Review*, 60 (2007), 97–135; Robert Braid, ‘Behavioural Economics, the Black Death and the Labour Market’, in *Living with the Black Death*, ed. by Lars Bisgaard and Leif Søndergaard (Odense: University of Southern Denmark, 2009), pp. 135–59.

The first extant Fabric Roll is from 1354, and other textual sources, such as wills and Chapter Acts, are also more numerous after 1350. The end date of 1530 was chosen because the renovation of the nave and choir was complete by this date. Rather than choose as significant national event like the Dissolution as the end point of the study, it seemed preferable to leave that period of upheaval entirely untouched and instead choose an end date that is germane to Ripon.

### 0.3: *Textual Sources*

A number of textual sources are important for this study. First and foremost are the Fabric Rolls. These were the annual accounts of the minster's clerical Fabric wardens, whose responsibilities would have belonged to lay churchwardens in most parish churches. The Fabric Rolls survive in far greater number than any of the other minster accounts, but there are a few extant Chamberlain's and Treasurer's rolls which reveal many of the other expenses required to operate the minster. The minster's Chamberlain and Treasurer were also involved in the building industry and ownership of property, but on a smaller scale than the Fabric. All of these accounts are atypical of parish churches, most of which would simply have had churchwarden's accounts. Another important source for the minster in the fifteenth century is the Chapter Acts book. Its records of court cases shows how the Chapter court protected the Chapter's interests on behalf of St Wilfrid and also contains important information about interactions between townspeople and clergy. Wills, inventories, and chantry foundation documents also provide crucial information about the minster as parish church and its relationships with parishioners.

#### 0.3.1: Fabric Rolls

The Fabric Rolls of Ripon Minster are a key source for illuminating the relationship between the minster and the town. One of the most obvious uses of the Fabric Rolls is to find information about the building and repair work of the minster. The earlier Fabric Rolls include the names of the craftsmen employed by the Fabric. Thus it is possible to examine the make-up of the minster's workforce and follow the careers of some of its chief carpenters, masons, plumbers, and glaziers. The editor omitted information from some accounts when he deemed it sufficiently similar to the content of an earlier roll. In these cases it has been necessary to examine the manuscripts to verify their content.<sup>59</sup>

As with all sources, the Fabric Rolls have their difficulties, one of which is their rate of survival. From the twenty-five surviving Fabric Rolls, three series can be discerned in which there are at least five entries, none of which is separated from the next by more than five years. These allow a composite picture to be built up from year to year for the three periods and are

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<sup>59</sup> University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 77. The Fabric Rolls were edited by J. T. Fowler for publication in *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, ed. by J. T. Fowler, 4 vols (Durham: Surtees Society, 1882–1908), III.

thus much more useful than scattered, isolated entries. They also allow for some study of the employment of craftsmen. The first surviving entry in the Fabric Rolls dates to 1354, but a coherent series does not begin until 1391. There are five surviving entries from 1391 to 1399; likewise there are five dating from 1416 to 1425 and six from 1520 to 1531. Most of the evidence discussed in Chapter 8 comes from the 1390s series. In Chapter 9 an effort is made to trace properties from 1354 down to the Reformation, but the greatest evidence for how the Fabric wardens maintained their urban estate again comes from the 1390s.

The order of the rolls' content is generally the same throughout. Income is enumerated before expenses, with the remaining arrears from the previous account and then totals from rents and farms, gifts, gifts in trunks, the sale of tithes, and bequests, followed by a sum of all income. The sequence of these entries sometimes changes, but all sources of income are always recorded in one section with a sum total before the itemization of expenses in a second section. The second section lists reductions in rent, payments of resolved rents, and then building and repair expenses.<sup>60</sup> Both major sections were subject to the addition of certain types of entries, such as the farming of indulgences in the former and the inclusion of additional expenses or debts in the latter. More specific observations are as follows: the entries from the 1390s are generally similar to the few surviving earlier rolls but with the addition of entries for the burning iron of St Wilfrid and the farm of indulgences. There is no income in any of the three categories, but the inclusion of the two new ones indicates that there had been at some point prior to 1391. The form remains the same through 1400 except for slight shifts in the order of income categories. Following 1400 there were some shifts in the order of entries. The sale of grain tithes now followed the income from rents, thus accounting for all income from properties in two consecutive entries. Diverse gifts and gifts contained in the trunks were also consecutive entries, followed by bequests, the iron of St Wilfrid, and lastly the farming of indulgences. In 1416 diverse gifts, now called principal gifts, had moved to become the first entry after arrears so that gifts in trunks now followed tithes. There is no mention of the farm of indulgences at all until 1419 after which it occasionally shifts position, and principal gifts continue to change place. In 1424 a distinction is made between reduction of rent and reduction of the farm of a property, and afterward income from rents and farms are also separated. Further developments and more specific itemization are found in the 1453 accounts. Some of these changes must represent steps toward the greater organization required by the ever-increasing holdings of the Fabric while others probably have more to do with the preference of the clerks or accountants.

The 1453–1455 and 1453–1457 rolls are unique among the Fabric Rolls as they show the response to the sudden collapse of the central tower around 1450. Thereafter, when the rolls

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<sup>60</sup> Resolved rents are best described as those 'which arose out of the past tenurial history of the properties such as rent charges and pensions to former owners as well as legal costs associated with the conveyancing', Margaret Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and its Overlords 1250–1540* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 109.

resume, they contain brief lists of payments and repairs with very little detail. There are only sporadic survivals up to 1520, and then a more continuous run from that year until 1531. The 1503–1504 account bears many similarities to the accounts from fifty years earlier, but there are a number of differences worth noting as they generally hold true for all the sixteenth-century Fabric Rolls. New properties are found and income is itemized in greater detail in the sixteenth-century rolls and this section now greatly exceeds the expense section in length. Expenses are limited to resolved rents, costs of new work, costs of repairs, and annual fees and payments. Most sixteenth-century rolls are, like the 1453–1457 roll, single pieces of parchment with writing on only one side. Earlier rolls are mostly made of multiple parchments stitched together with writing that spills over onto the back. More ornate headings appear on sixteenth-century rolls, some of which have illustrated letters. This change in appearance suggests the rolls became an increasingly formal final record of information originally written in other working accounts. The rolls themselves refer to these other accounts. For example, the 1503 account gives some overall totals of expenditure on the nave renovation but states that ‘in the paper account [...] all the things and stocks of this kind and also the names of the workers and labourers with the sums paid to them for this purpose are singularly and particularly noted and declared’.<sup>61</sup> The difference between the earlier and later rolls is clearly demonstrated in Figures 0.2 and 0.3. The extensive building campaigns of 1450–1530 probably necessitated the keeping of separate, more detailed accounts.

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<sup>61</sup> ‘in quaterno [...] omnes hujusmodi res et stuffuræ necnon nomina operariorum et laboriorum cum summis eisdem hujusmodi causa solutis singillatim et particulariter annotantur et declarantur’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 171.

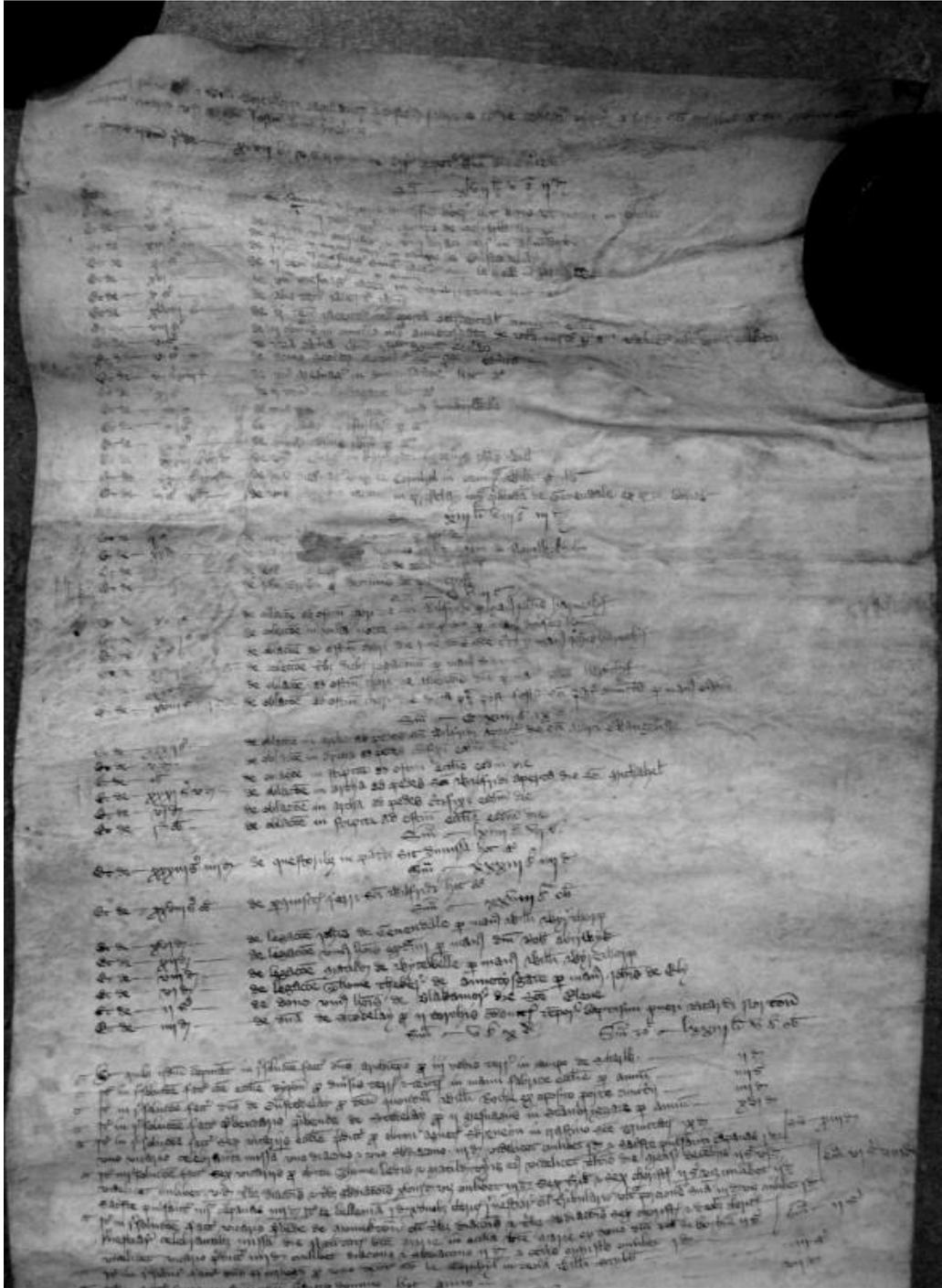


Figure 0.2: 1424 Fabric Roll (University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 77/12). This photograph shows the opening portion of the roll including all of the income entries and the first portion of the expenses for 1424 to 1425. This roll is typical of all extant rolls from 1354 to 1425. After this date the next surviving rolls are from the 1450s. The pre-1450 rolls contain a greater degree of detail than the later rolls because the practice of keeping separate paper account books had not yet begun. After it did, the rolls no longer recorded the names of the craftsmen employed but only the sums spent on masons, carpenters, etc.

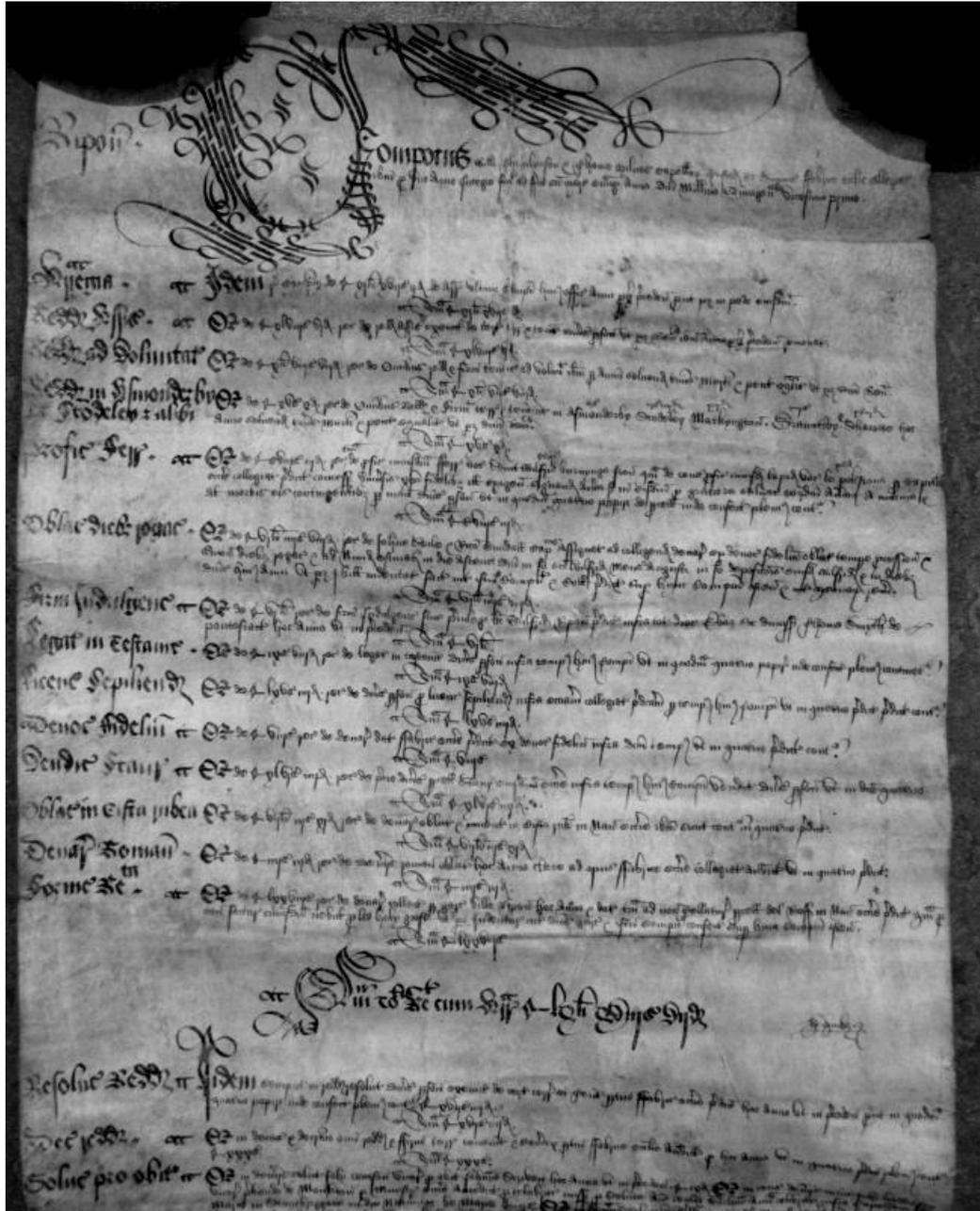


Figure 0.3: 1520 Fabric Roll (University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 77/19). This roll is a good example of the post-1450 type. It contains much less detailed information than the rolls of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries but the presentation is far more elaborate. Note the pen flourishes decorating the ‘C’ of the word ‘compotus’ and the elaborate headings and compare these with the more basic presentation of information in the 1424 roll (Figure 0.2). The post-1450 rolls contain less detail about building work (even though this was the time during which the largest building projects were undertaken) because this detail was kept separately in paper account books. The tower repairs and nave renovation would have required much greater organization than the routine maintenance recorded in pre-1450 rolls and necessitated the use of additional account books.

### 0.3.2: Accounts of the Chamberlain and Treasurer

The surviving Chamberlain's and Treasurer's accounts have been published together with the Fabric Rolls in *Memorials of Ripon*, III (1888). Unlike the Fabric Rolls, they have both survived in such limited numbers that examination of their form could not reveal evidence of change over time. Both offices were frequently held by chantry priests, especially after 1400 when there were increasingly more chantry priests and better records regarding them. Technically the prebendary of Monkton was treasurer but he need not have actually been resident and his responsibilities seem to have generally fallen to the sub-treasurer.<sup>62</sup>

The Chamberlain's accounts provide a wide range of information, which can further enrich an understanding of the medieval minster and strengthen tentative conclusions based upon other evidence. One of the most obvious contributions made by the Chamberlain's accounts to an understanding of the minster as an institution is that they show just how many collections of different types were taken at different places in the minster and in its enormous parish. The significant feast days in the minster's annual cycle are highlighted by the days on which these donations occurred. The names of important altars and sites of veneration also appear in these records, including some not mentioned elsewhere, such as the altar of St William. In addition to altars and feast days, fraternities dedicated to various saints are mentioned in the Chamberlain's accounts. Along with the saints, altars, and feast days, the Chamberlain's accounts bring liturgical practice in the minster into relief. Largely concerned with the payment of the many types of ministers serving the minster, the accounts can be very specific in describing the reasons for payments. Thus they record the construction of a wax star for Christmas, the number of altars used to administer communion on Easter, plays performed on certain key feasts, and the wages of the man carrying the dragon at Rogationtide. This type of information is invaluable because without an understanding of liturgical practice it would be even more difficult to understand the use of space in the minster or the need to make changes and additions to the building.

While they are very limited in number, Treasurer's rolls still offer many insights into the religious life of the minster and its parishioners. Expenditure figures for communion wafers and wine give some indication of the scale of worship conducted there, and the origins of these items show the connections between Ripon and its mother church of York. In 1401–1402 the minster spent 44s 10d on the purchase and transport of 13,000 communion wafers from York, in addition to wine purchased locally.<sup>63</sup> This figure is for the annual expense of the minster excluding Holy Week, which accounts for another £1 5s 5d.<sup>64</sup> The 13,000 communion wafers purchased for the use of the minster gives some idea of the number of divine services performed

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<sup>62</sup> The prebendary of Monkton was fulfilling these duties in the early fourteenth century when he was assigned greater income by Archbishop Melton. See *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, ed. by J. T. Fowler, 4 vols (Durham: Surtees Society, 1882–1908), II, 110.

<sup>63</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 208.

<sup>64</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 208.

there on a regular basis, especially as there seems to have been great enough demand for communion wafers that an additional one thousand were bought and subsequently all used the following year.<sup>65</sup> Payments for wax and other resources also shed light on the nature of religious practices at Ripon, and records of the compensation of clerks performing various functions in the minster reveal the sacred aspects of what would otherwise appear ordinary chores.

### 0.3.3: The Chapter Acts

The Ripon Chapter Acts were published by the Surtees Society in 1875, separate from the four volumes of the *Memorials of Ripon*.<sup>66</sup> They cover the period of 1452–1506, which was an interesting period in the minster's history. These are the years between the tower collapse and the start of construction of the new nave. The capitular material held in the Dean and Chapter archive did not originally form a single volume but was bound together later.<sup>67</sup> Included within the manuscript is a portion of an obit roll or cartulary compiled by the corporation of vicars c. 1459. This portion of the manuscript is parchment, while the Chapter Acts were written on paper. The obit roll was published separately in the first volume of the *Memorials of Ripon*.<sup>68</sup> This partial roll is very significant because it was not produced by the Chapter but by the vicars and is the only surviving record of their corporate activities following their legal incorporation in 1415. A second manuscript (University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 39) also exists which contains a portion of a cartulary and material from other Chapter Acts books. This manuscript was held by the Ingilby family during the nineteenth century and eventually published as *Memorials of Ripon*, IV.

The principal value of the Chapter Acts is what they reveal about the functioning of the Chapter Court. This court was the means by which the Chapter exercised their spiritual authority over the town and parish of Ripon. It could and did call in parishioners who neglected their spiritual obligations and, if the defendants admitted the charges or were found guilty by the court, it enjoined the appropriate penance. This penance was often public, both to serve as a warning to the rest of the parish and to reincorporate penitents into the community following the completion of their penance. In some instances, crimes were considered to be offences against the Chapter's patron, St Wilfrid. In these cases the offenders were termed violators of St Wilfrid's liberty, which was the Chapter's legal franchise in Ripon. Those who violated the liberty had to make amends to Wilfrid, so their penances included making offerings of wax at the image of the saint in the nave of Ripon minster.

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<sup>65</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 213.

<sup>66</sup> *Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, AD 1452 to AD 1506*, ed. by J. T. Fowler (Durham: Surtees Society, 1875)

<sup>67</sup> University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 40.

<sup>68</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 130–51. The section in the manuscript is University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 40, fols 103a–103j.

Wills, many of which can be found in the Chapter Acts, are a very important source for this study because of what they reveal about more ephemeral endowments as well as attitudes towards the minster and other churches and institutions.<sup>69</sup> Many temporary chantries would be unknown without the wills that provided for their endowment. Bequests to Ripon's hospitals and guilds show attachment to these institutions. Other bequests show a broader range of spiritual interests such as the mendicant orders in York and Richmond and various other religious houses in Yorkshire and further afield. Notably missing from the majority of Ripon wills is any attachment to Fountains Abbey, the closest major religious house to Ripon.

#### 0.4: *The Building: Restorations and Excavations*

One of the first major changes to the building was the removal of the central tower spire in 1660 and the western tower spires four years later.<sup>70</sup> The work undertaken by Edward Blore c. 1829 is summarized by Walbran, who wrote that Blore replaced the nave ceiling and roof and repaired the nave clerestory windows.<sup>71</sup> George Gilbert Scott (1811–1878) was hired to perform restoration work on the building in the 1860s. His was the most extensive restorative campaign and addressed some serious structural problems. Iron ties were used to bind together the decaying fabric of all three towers and the foundations of the western two towers had to be deepened.<sup>72</sup> He also replaced ceilings in the choir and transept arms, removed the post-medieval galleries in the choir, installed stone vaults in the nave aisles, and took the mullions out of the lancet windows of the west front.<sup>73</sup> The central tower and Chapter House were further restored in a £100,000 campaign between 1958 and 1968, overseen primarily by Sir Albert Richardson (1880–1964). The tracery of the tower windows was renewed, the dividing wall of the Chapter House was removed, the Chapter House buttresses were reinforced, and a concrete foundation was installed beneath the Chapter House crypt.<sup>74</sup>

Scott was the first to observe that the building was composed of two different types of stone and remark on the significance of this fact. He wrote that the repairs at the end of the thirteenth century were the first to use magnesian limestone, while the work of an earlier date was executed in sandstone.<sup>75</sup> Hallett also observed the distinction, writing that there were two types of sandstone employed before 1300, one of which may have come from Brimham Rocks

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<sup>69</sup> In addition to the wills published in the *Acts of Chapter* a number of relevant edited wills can be found in *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. by James Raine 6 vols (Durham: Surtees Society, 1836–1902).

<sup>70</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, pp. 45–46.

<sup>71</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 46. There are two itemized lists of Blore's repairs and their projected costs. See Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archive of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 92.4.

<sup>72</sup> George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (London: Sampson, 1878), p. 341.

<sup>73</sup> Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, pp. 339–42.

<sup>74</sup> Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archive of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 108.3.

<sup>75</sup> Scott, 'Ripon Minster', p. 315.

and the other from Hackfall.<sup>76</sup> He named Quarry Moor as the source of the magnesian limestone.<sup>77</sup> The limestone thus serves as a rough guide to which work is later than 1300, but sections of the building have been rebuilt using sandstone blocks from earlier phases of construction. This was confirmed during preservation work on the east end of the building in 1999, when it was observed that the sandstone blocks used c. 1290 were from different quarries and had different tool marks.<sup>78</sup> Sandstone has also been recycled in the clerestory level of the choir and in the nave aisles, but the post-1290 carved features of these parts of the building were executed in magnesian limestone.

Excavations in the minster and churchyard have been few in number, and largely focused on the Wilfridian crypt. The crypt was studied when work was undertaken there in 1974 and again in 1989.<sup>79</sup> These investigations yielded information regarding the original layout of the crypt and the probable re-use of Roman stone from nearby Aldborough and Well in its construction.<sup>80</sup> Watching briefs of work undertaken in Minster Road, to the north of the church, during the 1990s and 2000s contain evidence of high status burials near the entrance to the north transept arm.<sup>81</sup>

#### 0.5: *Outline of the Thesis*

The thesis begins by focusing on the institutional minster with chapters about the canons, vicars, and chantry priests. For the Chapter of canons, St Wilfrid was essential as a patron and source of authority (for instance in their conflict with the Archbishop and Sheriff of York in 1228) and in the influence they held over their liberty and the parish. With the support of their patron saint, the Chapter regulated the spiritual behaviour of their parishioners through its court. They also controlled access to space in the minster, permitting limited lay attendance of services in the choir and intramural burial, both of which were marks of status for parishioners who could obtain them. The vicars were instituted around the year 1300 to take over the cure of souls that was formerly the responsibility of the canons. They had a sense of their own high social

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<sup>76</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 40.

<sup>77</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 40.

<sup>78</sup> *Southeast Corner of Choir, Ripon Cathedral, North Yorkshire: A Report on Building Recording*, York Archaeological Trust 1999 Field Reports, 92 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1999), p. 4.

<sup>79</sup> See R. A. Hall, 'Rescue Excavations in the Crypt of Ripon Cathedral', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 49 (1977), 59–63; R. A. Hall, 'Observations in Ripon Cathedral Crypt 1989', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 65 (1993), 39–53.

<sup>80</sup> Hall, 'Observations in Ripon Cathedral Crypt', pp. 50–51.

<sup>81</sup> Bryan Antoni and David Briklow, *Minster Road, Ripon, North Yorkshire: Report on an Archaeological Watching Brief*, York Archaeological Trust 1999 Field Reports, 19 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1999); Bryan Antoni and David Brinklow, *Street Lighting Scheme, Minster Road, Ripon, North Yorkshire: Report on an Archaeological Watching Brief*, York Archaeological Trust 1999 Field Report, 20 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1999); Neil Macnab, Russell Marwood, and David Brinklow, *Minster Road, Ripon: Report on an Archaeological Watching Brief*, York Archaeological Trust 2002 Field Report, 38 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2002).

standing that was expressed through their lifestyles and accommodation. In the fifteenth century they were incorporated, authorized to use a common seal and elect a proctor, and permitted to amortize property. They subsequently built up an urban estate of properties and rents donated to them to support annual obit services, which were administered by churchwardens at most English parish churches. Unlike the vicars, the minster's chantry priests were never incorporated. The number of chantries increased in the early fifteenth century and the chantry chaplains were an important part of the institutional minster, often holding offices such as Chamberlain, Treasurer, and Fabric warden.

Use of space in the minster is considered in the third chapter, especially in connection with the foundation of chantries. The parochial associations of the altars made them particularly valuable as sites of chantry foundation and burial because they permitted local lords to represent their lordship over their particular prebends.<sup>82</sup> The building was equipped with numerous altars and naturally lent itself to the foundation of chantries. In some cases this led to the transformation of areas into family chapels equipped not only with commemorative services but also burials. Chantry founders benefitted from the large number of parishioners who used the building and who could potentially participate in their chantry masses or say prayers on their behalf. In contests over space, it was the Chapter who were able to make the final decision and they appear to have favoured the gentry and their fellow canons over the vicars, who also sought lasting commemoration through burial by their altars. In addition to chantries founded by families and canons, there were also guild chantries founded by various groups. All known guilds were religious fraternities and had no particular professional criteria for admission. The most powerful of the minster-based guilds was that of Holy Cross, which replaced the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints as Ripon's elite guild sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century.

In Chapter 4 the findings of Chapter 3 are placed in context by examining the intercessory potential and other functions of Ripon's chapels and hospitals. While Ripon was the only parish church, the nearby Ladykirk was used by the members of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints as a quasi-parish church and guildhall. This quasi-parish was not open to all, but only to the members of the elite guild. This guild flourished in the late fourteenth century only to be superseded by the guild of Holy Cross in the following century. The shift in power from a guild outside the minster to one based within, combined with the greater number of guilds located in the minster, shows that the minster was an increasingly important site of socialization and regarded by many as their parish church. New chapels were not permitted to encroach on the minster's parochial rights, and while many were created, they are generally obscure. Many dependent chapels probably had their own patronal images and annual feasts and

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<sup>82</sup> The parish was divided according to its six prebends, each of which formed a sub-parish with its own parochial altar. The term 'parish' is used in this thesis to refer to the entire parish of Ripon and the term 'prebend' is used to refer to one of its subdivisions. This reflects the usage terms in the documents.

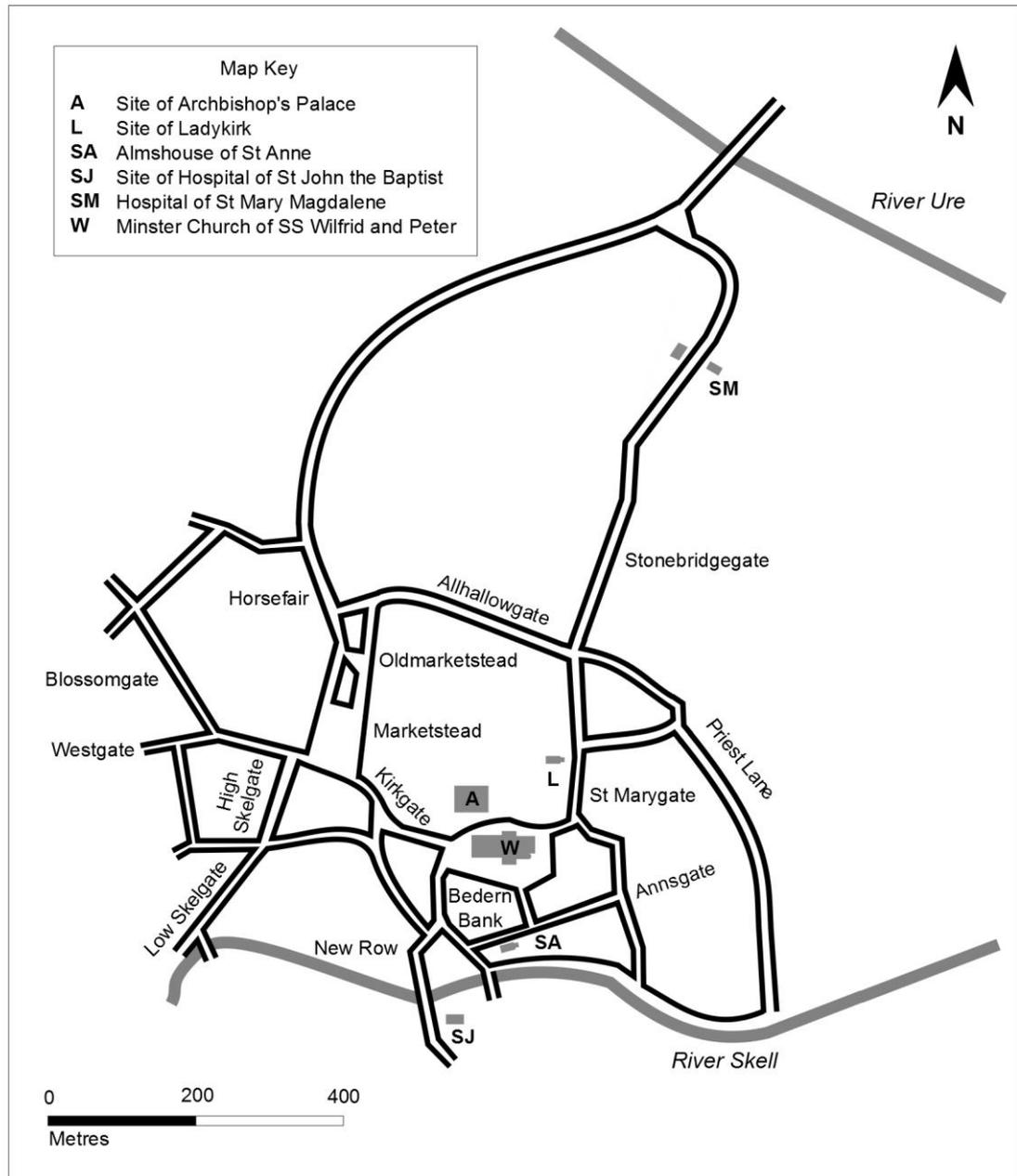
formed the centres of communities much like guilds. The hospitals and almshouse were primarily concerned with the care of the disadvantaged including lepers, the elderly, and poor students. The hospital of St Mary Magdalene began as a leper hospital but developed over time into a chantry college. Its transformation over time can best be analysed by considering the hospital as an intercessory rather than a medical institution from the start. By 1500 St Mary Magdalene also housed a number of poor people like its counterpart, the almshouse of St Anne. The development of the hospital of St John the Baptist was somewhat different. It was originally intended to accommodate pilgrims, but by the fourteenth century it had become a school. The Ladykirk and the hospital of St Mary Magdalene encroached most upon the minster as parish church, but despite their advantages, the minster was always more public and less exclusive, which had spiritual and secular advantages. Moreover, the minster was increasingly valued as parish church by its parishioners who founded guilds and who poured donations into the building campaigns of 1450 to 1530.

Chapters 5 and 6 serve as a transition between the earlier chapters, which are mainly concerned with the clergy and the minster as a social space, and later chapters which concentrate more on its economic role. The subjects of these chapters are the building campaigns of the later Middle Ages — the repair of the central tower following its 1450 collapse and the renovation of the nave and choir in the early sixteenth century. The tower collapse damaged the eastern and southern arms of the building, curtailing services at three or more altars including the high altar and forcing some services to move to the Ladykirk, disrupting the activities of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints. Repairs were begun swiftly and the minster was soon operational again, though related renovations continued until the nave was rebuilt at the start of the sixteenth century. The nave campaign was begun around 1503 and completed in the 1520s. The project was directed by the Chapter and paid for largely out of the wealth of the canons and the local gentry as well as general donations. The renovation of the nave modernized the minster and elevated the status of those connected to it.

Having discussed the minster as a social space, the final two chapters consider the social aspects of its building requirements. Chapter 7 focuses on the minster's role in the local building industry by examining how the Fabric wardens hired building workers and purchased materials. They frequently paid their craftsmen over the statutory rates in order to guarantee they could be secured when necessary. Certain types of craftsmen were also attracted by offering them annual retainers and constructing workshops for them. Unskilled labourers did not benefit as much from the wardens' employment strategy because they were not paid over the statutory limits. In Chapter 8 the Fabric's urban estate is examined to determine how the Fabric invested in it and what impact this had on people in the town. The main objective of the Fabric wardens was to keep properties occupied by tenants, and they were willing to reduce rents, permit subletting, and invest heavily in modernizing properties to keep them filled. Thus the Fabric's approach benefitted its tenants, who were not expected to maintain their own properties

and who could even profit by subletting. The findings of the last two chapters pertain primarily to the 1390s and the early 1400s because there are a large number of surviving Fabric Rolls from this period. They demonstrate that the social impact of the Black Death was felt in Ripon just as elsewhere in England. These changes in society together form the wider social context into which to place the observations of the local social context of the minster as parish church.

Figure 1.1: Map of Medieval Ripon, 1350–1530



This schematic map shows all the town's medieval streets as well as its churches and chapels and the Archbishop's palace. The Ladykirk, hospital of St John the Baptist, and palace are no longer standing and the almshouse of St Anne is now a ruin. The vicars' first Bedern would have been in the street labelled Bedern Bank while the New Bedern was somewhere between the Archbishop's palace and St Marygate. The map was drawn from the 1:20,000 scale Ordnance Survey Map (c. 1850), with additions based on maps by Thomas Gent, T. S. Gowland, William McKay, Glanville R. J. Jones, Richard Hall and Mark Whyman, and Phillip Dixon.

## Chapter 1: The Chapter of Canons

The Ripon canons were conscious of the role of St Wilfrid in founding the monastery from which their secular collegiate church developed, and they emphasized their connection to Wilfrid as saintly patron and source of their authority. The early history of the monastery was recorded by Wilfrid's biographer, Stephanus. Stephanus recorded that Ahlfrith, sub-king of Deira, granted Wilfrid the monastery at Ripon with thirty hides of land *c.* 661, whereupon he was appointed abbot.<sup>1</sup> There was an earlier monastic community at Ripon that Wilfrid displaced.<sup>2</sup> The site of the monastery was at the meeting point of two rivers, the Ure and the Skell. To the west, the site was enclosed by a series of hills that have since been levelled.<sup>3</sup> Bede wrote that Wilfrid's monastery was 'in loco qui dicitur Inhrypum' and Stephanus called it 'Inhrypis'.<sup>4</sup> These names referred to the *Hyrpe*, a group of Anglian people, who lived in the area between the Ure and the Nidd and who also gave their name to Ripley.<sup>5</sup> Wilfrid's turbulent career ended with his death at Oundle in 709, following which he was buried in his minster church at Ripon.<sup>6</sup>

Stephanus wrote that Wilfrid's cult grew up immediately after his death and burial in 709.<sup>7</sup> Wilfrid's relics apparently remained in Ripon until the minster was burned by King Eadred *c.* 950, after which Wilfrid's relics were translated to Canterbury by Archbishop Odo.<sup>8</sup> In the twelfth century Eadmer of Canterbury wrote a new life of St Wilfrid to promote his cult at Canterbury.<sup>9</sup> Canterbury's claims notwithstanding, there is good evidence that the Archbishops of York were not only attempting but even succeeding in claiming Wilfrid's relics were still in Ripon. The first such claim was made by Archbishop Oswald, who allegedly

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<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 16–17.

<sup>2</sup> *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 296–99 and 520–21.

<sup>3</sup> Hall and Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon', p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. 298; *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. by Colgrave, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. by A. H. Smith, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961–63), VIII (1963), 38.

<sup>6</sup> [Stephanus; Bede] For a summary of Wilfrid's earthly career, see John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 95–99.

<sup>7</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 21; *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 140–49; *Vita Sancti Wilfridi Auctore Edmero: The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Edmer*, ed. and trans. by Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), pp. 142–43.

<sup>8</sup> See *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 37; *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, pp. 142–47; Gervase described the location of Wilfrid's body in Lanfranc's church at Canterbury. He said it was behind the altar to the left of the chapel of Holy Trinity. *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 73, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1879–1890), I (1879), 16; See also 'Vita Sancti Wilfridi auctore Frīdegoda', in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 71, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1879–1894), I (1879), 106.

<sup>9</sup> For more on Eadmer's life of St Wilfrid and that written by William of Malmesbury, see Paul Hayward, 'St Wilfrid of Ripon and the Northern Church in Anglo-Norman Historiography', *Northern History*, 49 (2012), 11–35.

reburied Wilfrid's relics in 971. This translation was commemorated by subsequent Archbishops to reinforce the claim that the relics remained in Ripon. In 1108, King Henry I granted Archbishop Thomas II (1109–1114) a four-day fair at the feast of St Wilfrid's translation.<sup>10</sup> By aligning the fair with this feast, Archbishop Thomas emphasized the translation of St Wilfrid and celebrated the retention of Wilfrid's relics in Ripon. While there is no mention of Wilfrid's relics at that date, there is slightly later. John of Hexham wrote that in 1143, 'Alan the count of Richmond was at Ripon, breaking into the church armed, with armed men, he irreverently dishonoured William the archbishop by the body of St Wilfrid'.<sup>11</sup> This account confirms that in 1143 the minster had a shrine believed to contain Wilfrid's remains. Toward the end of the twelfth century, Archbishop Roger Pont l'Evêque (1154–1181) may have supported the cult of St Wilfrid as a symbol of the archiepiscopacy of York in its struggle against Canterbury and may also have intended Wilfrid's cult to rival the pilgrimage cult of St Thomas Beckett.<sup>12</sup> By this time the canons of Ripon were a secular college but the date at which they became such is not known.<sup>13</sup>

In 1224 Wilfrid's relics were translated again and Archbishop Grey offered thirty days of indulgence to those who came to visit the saint.<sup>14</sup> This indulgence was meant to energise Wilfrid's cult as well as to certify that the relics at Ripon were genuinely his. At this time the head and body of St Wilfrid were separated from one another. 'The body was whole, with no major or minor bone or article — as we believe for certain — missing,' the Archbishop declared, continuing, 'But we took the head of this saint away to be preserved apart and placed honourably, in order both that the faith of the faithful may be strengthened and their devotion advanced by sight of it'.<sup>15</sup> The claim relied solely on the strength of Grey's own authority, and ignored Canterbury's counter claims which were made as late as 1174.<sup>16</sup> The 1224 translation has been used to date the end of construction of the new building. It may or may not be appropriate to do so, but the translation probably represents the moment when at least the east end of the minster was operational because the introduction of relics was one of the stages of

<sup>10</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 94.

<sup>11</sup> 'Alanus etiam comes de Richemunt apud Ripon, armatus cum armatis irrumpens in ecclesiam, Willelmum archiepiscopum secus corpus beati Wilfridi irreverenter dehonestavit', *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 48.

<sup>12</sup> See Hearn, *Ripon Minster*, pp. 93–94.

<sup>13</sup> Domesday mentions the liberty of St Wilfrid in which the canons of the minster had fourteen bovates. *Domesday Book*, ed. by John Morris, 38 vols (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975–1992), xxx: *Yorkshire*, ed. by Margaret L. Faull and Marie Stinson (1986), 303d. Walbran and Gowland both argued that the prebends existed by the time of Domesday, see Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 36; and Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> *The Registers, or Rolls, of Walter Grey, Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. by James Raine (Durham: Surtees Society, 1872), pp. 148–49. It is interesting to note that Gray offered less than the forty days allowed to bishops following the Lateran council of 1215. This was common in England before 1400. See R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> 'corpus ipsum totum, nullo majore vel minore osse vel articulo, ut pro certo credamus, deficiente. Caput autem ipsius Sancti duximus exterius servandum et honorifice collocandum, ut ex ejus visione et fides fidelium roboretur et devotio augeatur', *Registers of Archbishop Grey*, p. 149.

<sup>16</sup> *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. by Stubbs, I, 16.

consecrating a building and helped to make it a sacred space.<sup>17</sup> Archbishop Grey's claims and indulgence thus solidly linked the saint with the new building just four years before the Chapter aligned themselves with Wilfrid in their conflict with Grey and the sheriff of York.

By the thirteenth century the land within the sacred ban of the Wilfridian monastery had already been divided between the Archbishop and Chapter.<sup>18</sup> The Chapter's liberty was a separate exemption formed from what had once been this single, larger liberty. The 1228 court case was precipitated by the Archbishop and sheriff of York invading the liberty claimed by the Chapter, infringing its rights, and allegedly causing it losses of £1000.<sup>19</sup> This was not the first invasion of the Chapter's liberty. An earlier invasion by the sheriff of York, in 1106, had been repelled by the Chapter with archiepiscopal support.<sup>20</sup> The rights claimed by the canons in 1228 had been confirmed by Pope Innocent III twelve years earlier.<sup>21</sup> There was an economic component to the Chapter's claims in 1228, which may have been intended to keep their privileges current.<sup>22</sup> The dispute required Crown resolution and was heard in the Ripon Chapter House by four royal justices: William de Stuteville, Richard de Percy, Roger de Thurkylby, and Robert de Lexington.<sup>23</sup> The sheriff of York, Phillip de Ascelles, appeared personally along with the Archbishop's bailiff, William de Wychombe, to argue their case against the Chapter, which was represented by Geoffrey de Larder.<sup>24</sup> De Larder supported his claims concerning the Chapter's rights by producing charters from King Æthelstan and King Stephen, by means of which he sought to counter the claims that the Chapter had no separate jurisdiction within the town.<sup>25</sup> De Larder also appealed to St Wilfrid as the source of the Chapter's authority. The Chapter's liberty included the streets of Stonebridgeway, Allhalowgate, Priest Lane, Annsgate, most of Westgate and Blossomgate, and half of Skellgate.<sup>26</sup> The royal justiciars summoned twenty-four jurors who found in favour of the Chapter, upholding their rights and awarding them £10 in damages.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> The figure of £1000 is that alleged by the Chapter, but the amount actually awarded them was much lower — a mere £10. *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 54 and 63.

<sup>20</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 50.

<sup>21</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> Lambert, 'Spiritual Protection and Secular Power', p. 139.

<sup>23</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 51.

<sup>24</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 51.

<sup>25</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 54–56; See also Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 46; the Chapter commemorated the patronage of King Æthelstan as late as 1401, when they agreed in a general convocation 'that each month, one day, when it should be performed conveniently, solemn exequies should be performed in the choir for the souls of King Æthelstan and other kings, and pontiffs, and canons, and benefactors of our church' ('quod quolibet mense vno die, quo comodius fieri poterit, fiant solempnes exequie in choro pro animabus Athelstani Regis et aliorum Regum et pontificum ac canonicorum et benefactorum ecclesie nostre'). See *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 144.

<sup>26</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 60.

<sup>27</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 63. For more detail on this case and its economic as well as political importance for the Chapter, see Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', pp. 43–85; and T. B. Lambert, 'Spiritual Protection and Secular Power: The Evolution of Sanctuary and Legal Privileges in Ripon and

Local devotion to the saint is better documented following 1228, in collections of donations ‘for the augmentation of the wax light of the tomb [of St Wilfrid], which Master Geoffrey de Larder, canon of the same church, made provision to be founded’.<sup>28</sup> On 19 June 1230, Archbishop Grey confirmed a grant of wax and a toft of land to support a lamp at Wilfrid’s tomb.<sup>29</sup> The endowment for this light was assembled largely through purchases made by de Larder. Most of these are listed in a grant dating to 10 February 1233.<sup>30</sup> The 1233 grant may have been the final collection of rents and properties, some of which were those confirmed by the Archbishop of York three years earlier.<sup>31</sup> Little else is known about this fund in the thirteenth century other than that a number of properties were leased for 5s annually in 1285 to Patrick de Braferton.<sup>32</sup> De Larder’s endowment of the light at the tomb of the saint in the 1230s must have been intended to commemorate the Chapter’s success in their case against the Archbishop and to honour and promote their patron saint. The confirmation of these grants shows the Archbishop had accepted the Chapter’s success and had no interest in deterring the cult of St Wilfrid from developing even if its success increased the Chapter’s prestige. Moreover, the Archbishop still had a fair linked to one of the saint’s feasts. In the 1228 dispute the Chapter claimed their own fair corresponding to St Wilfrid’s feast in October.<sup>33</sup> Having won their case in 1228, the Chapter could use both fairs to promote Wilfrid and reinforce their own authority regardless of who benefitted financially.

### 1.1: *Wilfrid as Patron of the Parish of Ripon*

Following their success in 1228, the status of St Wilfrid reinforced the Chapter’s own standing and authority and augmented their revenue. The annual fairs corresponding to Wilfrid’s feast days, the gifts of pious pilgrims, and the sale of privileges such as the use of St Wilfrid’s burning iron and pox stone all generated income for the Chapter and Fabric of the minster.<sup>34</sup> The celebrations of Wilfrid’s feasts were not merely fitting occasions for marketing goods; they also enabled the Chapter to educate their parishioners about Ripon’s patron saint. The Ripon Psalter preserves the liturgy used to commemorate Wilfrid on his three feast days. The passage in Grey’s indulgence concerning the authenticity and integrity of Wilfrid’s body is repeated almost word for word in the second lesson of the matins service for the feast of St Wilfrid’s

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Beverley, 900–1300’, in *Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages*, ed. by T. B. Lambert and David Rollason (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), pp. 121–40.

<sup>28</sup> ‘ad augmentum luminis cerei tumbe quod Magr. Galf. de Lard’ eiusdem eccl. canonicus inueniend. prouidit’, *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 56.

<sup>29</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 54–55.

<sup>31</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 2. This confirmation also contains annual contributions of 5 lb and 3 lb of wax respectively by John and William, sons of Hugh de Winkeslay.

<sup>32</sup> He was also connected to the hospital of St Mary Magdalene. *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 57–58.

<sup>33</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 53.

<sup>34</sup> For more on the Fabric’s income, see Chapter 8.

translation.<sup>35</sup> Proclaiming this information annually at the celebration of the feast of St Wilfrid's translation was a means by which the Chapter reinforced claims that his body was indeed in Ripon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In another reading from the Ripon Psalter, the Chapter declared that God would punish those who violated St Wilfrid's liberty.<sup>36</sup> Although Wilfrid's shrine did not survive the Reformation, some details are known about it. Sixteenth-century evidence shows that there was an image made of gold.<sup>37</sup> The presence of this magnificent shrine and the prestige of Wilfrid's cult raised the status of Ripon Minster and made it all the more appealing as a final resting place or site of chantry foundation. Few of medieval England's parish churches possessed relics of a saint of Wilfrid's standing.

Wilfrid's relics left the minster once a year to travel around the borders of the parish on a three-day Rogation procession. The progress of his procession and its major participants are described in a document from 1481.<sup>38</sup> This event was the most important annual ceremony affirming the identity of the parish and its subjection to the authority of the Chapter. One of the most interesting elements of the procession was the involvement of some of the local gentry families that were bound by a feudal service to bear the relics of St Wilfrid, either personally or by proxy, in exchange for properties they held of the Chapter in the liberty of St Wilfrid. This form of landholding was known as Marmion tenure, in reference to Lord Marmion who owed this service in 1228.<sup>39</sup> Tenants of this type had to submit themselves formally to the Chapter, Wilfrid's earthly representatives. Marmion tenure was still a term in use over two hundred years later when Marmion tenants were recorded in the Chapter Acts pledging their faith in exchange for their holdings. The pledge of faith made to the Chapter by Marmion tenants and the tenants' involvement in Rogation processions reinforced the power of the Chapter and upheld the status of all involved while clearly articulating the hierarchical structure of their relationships. Fowler, the editor of the Chapter Acts, argued that carrying Wilfrid's relics was a privilege for Marmion tenants.<sup>40</sup> The obligation to bear the relics made the Marmion tenants integral participants in the procession but also placed them beneath the Chapter, to whom they had to pledge their faith in exchange for their properties. The status of the knights and squires who were Wilfrid's tenants was represented by the nature of their involvement in the procession, but only ephemerally. They could and did more durably represent their social standing through the display of heraldry

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<sup>35</sup> *The Offices of St Wilfred according to the Use of the Church of Ripon: A Psalter Belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Ripon Cathedral*, ed. and trans. by John Whitham (Ripon: William Harrison, 1893), p. 11. The issuance of this indulgence has been used, in connection with architectural evidence, to assign a date to the completion of the phase of building at the minster that had begun in the late twelfth century. See Hearn, *Ripon Minster*, p. 76.

<sup>36</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 28; *Offices of St Wilfred*, p. 28.

<sup>37</sup> An entry in the Fabric Roll of 1541–1542 itemizes 23s 4d 'pro auro fracto circa caput Sancti Wilfridi vendito in grosso', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 193. This gold may have formed a halo for the saint. The shrine is described in a fifteenth-century psalter as 'feretro auro et argento', *Offices of St Wilfred*, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 337–48.

<sup>39</sup> Other Marmion tenants in 1228 included the lord of Aldfield, Simon Ward, Roger de Nunwick, and the master of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene. See Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 48.

<sup>40</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 244n.

in the minster.<sup>41</sup> Marmion tenants whose pledges of faith were recorded in the Chapter Acts between 1466 and 1490 include some of the most prominent local families. Most notable among them were the Pigots (Clotherholme), Wards (Givendale), Malories (Studley), Markenfields (Markenfield), and Kendales (Markington).<sup>42</sup> The pledges of faith were made before the resident canons in the Chapter House, often within days of the procession. Due to the timing of many of these pledges, it seems that they were part of an extended ceremonial event that also included the Rogation procession.

The entire procession can be viewed as a metaphor for local society organized around St Wilfrid and his representatives on earth, the Chapter.<sup>43</sup> There was an emphasis on clerical and yeoman participants in the procession, and a remarkable absence of importance ascribed to guilds or religious fraternities. The latter may have had a role in the procession, but it was not emphasised in the 1481 account. The involvement of the clergy reveals the inclusion of chantry priests from dependent chapels as well as some of the minster clergy. The minster canons comprised the minority of the clerics involved, which was dominated instead by chaplains of dependant chapels and chantries, including those of Pateley Bridge and the Ladykirk, and also ‘twelve ministers of the choir of the collegiate church in Ripon clothed in choral habit, and bearing around the sacred relics with them’.<sup>44</sup> This means that a body of parochial clergy was integral to the procession, and thus by the involvement of these priests as well as the wide-ranging route of the procession, the entire parish — not just the urban parish — of Ripon was brought together. (Figure 1.2) The participation of yeomen and husbandmen is significant because it too shows that the procession was meant to bring together important laypeople of the whole parish rather than simply the leading burgesses of Ripon. Most of the minster’s main officials appear to have been involved in the procession, including the Chamberlain, the Chapter’s bailiff, and Christopher Kendale, who was subtreasurer and commissioner of the Chapter.<sup>45</sup> The Kendales of Markington were well-represented, with John Kendale — a Marmion tenant — also participating in the procession.<sup>46</sup>

The record of the 1481 perambulation reveals the rough extent of the Chapter’s authority and of the parish of the minster. The landmarks used in the document include towns and villages as well as roads, bridges, rivers, streams, ditches, walls, hedges, fallen trees, and

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 64 and 80–81; Chapter 5, p. 132; and Chapter 6, pp. 138–39 and 149–50.

<sup>42</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 244–48.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams has discussed processions in these terms in reference to the processions of Coventry which were structured by guilds. Ripon was probably not large enough to support the same number of craft guilds as Coventry. See Charles Phythian-Adams, ‘Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450–1550’, in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History*, ed. by Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 238–64; See also Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*, 2nd edn (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 136–38.

<sup>44</sup> ‘duodecim ministros chori ecclesie collegiate Ripon. habitu choral indutos, et sacras reliquias secum circumferentes’, *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 338–39.

<sup>45</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 338.

<sup>46</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 337. Evidence that the Kendales were Marmion tenants can be found in Robert Kendale’s pledge of faith in 1490. See *Acts of Chapter*, p. 248.

large stones. Reliance on features that have changed over the last four hundred years, especially hedges and trees, makes it very difficult for the exact route to be plotted today. Some identifiable streams have been plotted on the map, but the points which represent them may not be the exact locations at which they were crossed by the procession. These points include 2) Holbeck, 7) Fellbeck, 9) Dobergill Head, and 10) Skell Gill. Many of the villages mentioned in the perambulation were not visited directly, but appear in connection with their surrounding fields through which the procession passed. For example, one passage describes the party ‘going across the said water of the Ure up to the Reed Bank in the pasture of North Stainley between the liberties of Ripon on the one hand and the lordship of the liberty of St Cuthbert of Durham and the lordship of Allerton on the other’.<sup>47</sup> In short, the points on the map should not be connected together to form an exact path, but if they are followed clockwise from one to twenty, they give an impression of the manner in which the procession advanced.

An entry in the 1396 Fabric Roll shows that the procession was performed in three days, but the 1481 perambulation gives no indication of where it stopped overnight. The roll records payment to Thomas Turret ‘for making wooden stakes for the tent of St Wilfrid for fixing it in the fields during the three days of Rogation’.<sup>48</sup> The tent was probably used to house the relics of St Wilfrid when the procession halted either for the night or perhaps during the day as well. It seems likely that the procession would stop near towns and villages to allow the inhabitants to come out and visit the saint’s relics. This was a means of fundraising for the Fabric and, more importantly, it was how the Chapter laid claim to the parish and spread the fame of their patron saint. The popular appeal of the procession is attested by its successful use for fundraising after the collapse of the central tower of the minster in 1450. The special Fabric account for the tower’s repair mentions £1 13s 9d gathered ‘in the tent at diverse times on Rogation days’.<sup>49</sup> Those parishioners not involved in the procession clearly took advantage of the opportunity to visit the saint.

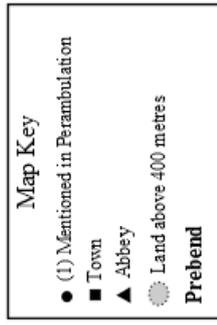
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<sup>47</sup> ‘ex transverso prædictæ aquæ de Yoore usque le Reed Banck in pasture de North Stainley inter libertates de Ripon ex una parte et dominium libertatis Sancti Cuthberti Dunelm. et de dominio de Alverton ex altera parte’, *Acts of Chapter*, p. 344.

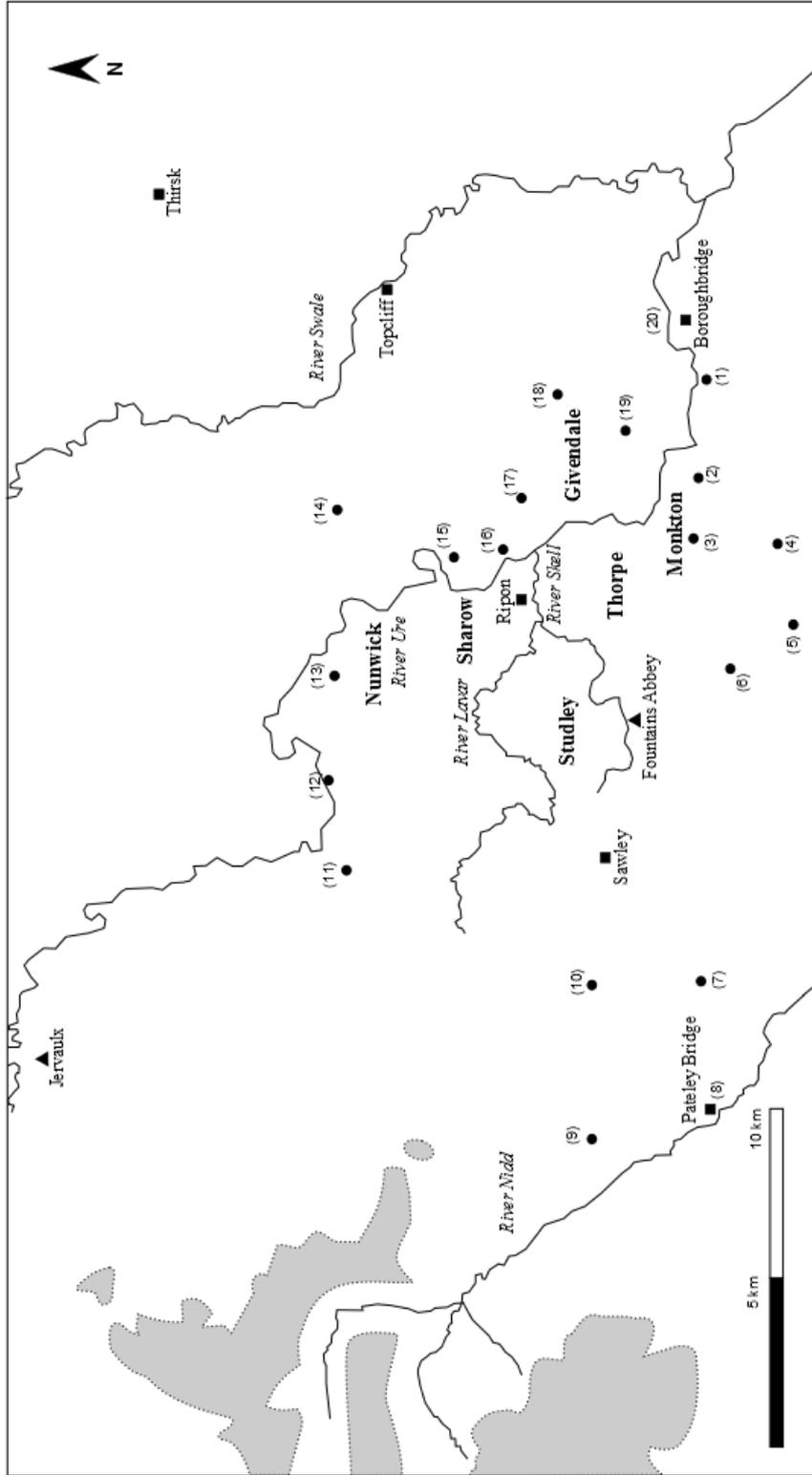
<sup>48</sup> ‘Thomæ Turret fac. stakes ligneos pro le tent Sancti Wilfridi pro eadem figenda in campis per jii dies Rogacionum’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 120.

<sup>49</sup> ‘in tentorio per diversos vices in diebus Rogacionum’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 163.

Figure 1.2: The Parish of Ripon in the 1481 Perambulation

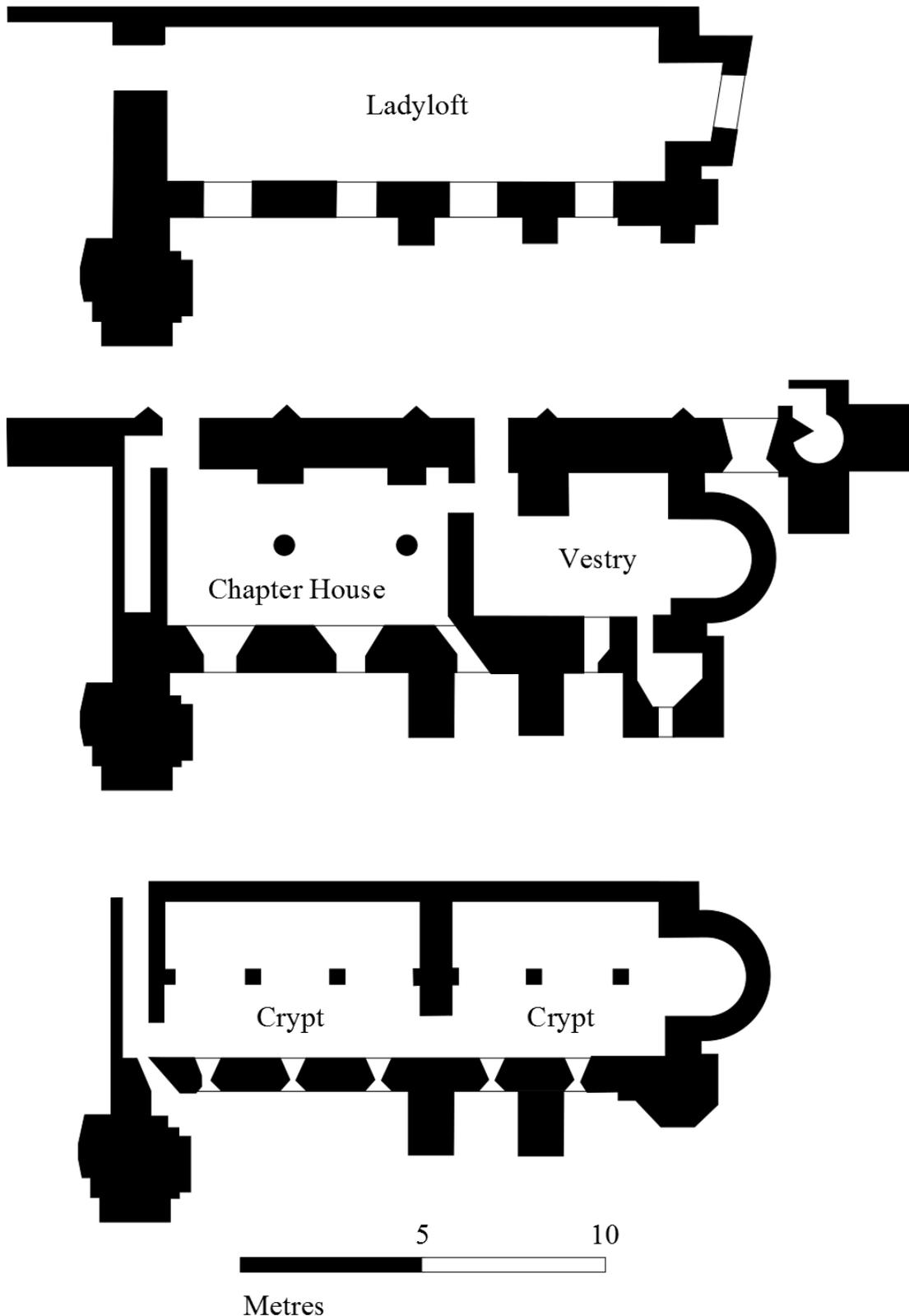


This map shows the route taken by the Rogation procession in 1481 (see *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 337-48.) The route shows key points at the boundary of the parish and gives a sense of its extent. The Rogation procession was an important feature of the promotion of the cult of St Wilfrid and was one of the highlights of the liturgical year.



- |                   |                   |                   |                    |                        |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1) Rawcliffe      | 5) Stainley       | 9) Dobergill Head | 13) North Stainley | 17) Copt Hewick        |
| 2) Holbeck        | 6) Markington     | 10) Skell Gill    | 14) Melmerby       | 18) Marton-on-the-Moor |
| 3) Bishop Monkton | 7) Fellbeck       | 11) Growelthorpe  | 15) Hutton Conyers | 19) Skelton            |
| 4) Burton Leonard | 8) Pateley Bridge | 12) Mickley       | 16) Sharow         | 20) Boroughbridge      |

Figure 1.3: The Chapter House



This figure shows the various levels of the Chapter House from highest to lowest. The Chapter meetings were held in the room labelled 'Chapter House'. The Ladyloft chapel housed a chantry dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The crypt was used as a charnel house. (Drawn after Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 71 and Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 147.)

### 1.2: *The Chapter House and the Chapter Court*

Ripon's seven canons were all prebendaries, each one holding a prebendal estate from which he derived his income, but no canon had any authority separate from the Chapter.<sup>50</sup> The Chapter had independent control over their liberty of Ripon, which was exempt from royal and archiepiscopal authority. In addition, the entirety of the parish, which encompassed both the Chapter's liberty of St Wilfrid and the Archbishop's manor as well as a wide area beyond them, was a peculiar, and outside the spiritual authority of the Archdeacon of Richmond. Within this peculiar the Chapter exercised the authority of an archdeacon.<sup>51</sup> Ordinarily archdeaconries organized numerous parishes under one authority so Ripon's status as essentially its own archdeaconry was a feature atypical of parish churches. Thus the Chapter had two concentric spheres of influence in which it had varying degrees of power. The liberty in town had economic privileges which were preserved in 1228, but the Chapter's spiritual administration of the parish could also yield income in the form of court fees and penalties. Only around thirty years' worth of Chapter Acts have survived, so it is not possible to analyse the income of the court quantitatively. Instead, the Chapter Acts are used in this study to examine how the Chapter exercised its authority through its court. St Wilfrid provided the authority for this court, and in turn the court explicitly defended his liberty and interests on earth.

The Chapter House was a physical manifestation of the Chapter's authority as well as its meeting place, and thus this structure is the natural starting point for a discussion of the court's activities. It is an apsidal building located adjacent to the south choir aisle and the east wall of the south transept. The history of the Chapter House has been much debated by many of the minster's historians. The main point of contention has been whether or not its crypt was part of a Norman church. The preservation of Wilfrid's crypt under the central crossing of the minster lends plausibility to the argument that the Chapter House crypt was also part of an earlier structure, but such arguments must be abandoned on the basis of archaeological evidence. Harrison and Barker have argued that the visibility of the wall plinth of the south choir aisle and its buttress in the crypt demonstrate that they were built before it was planned.<sup>52</sup> The crypt has two rooms divided by a masonry wall. The ribs of its vaults were added to its original groin vaults at a later date.<sup>53</sup> Until 1865, there was a large quantity of bones in the crypt, and colourful stories circulated about them.<sup>54</sup> Some historians have even erroneously asserted that the bones were the product of an unidentified battle.<sup>55</sup> Rather, the crypt was a charnel house that held disarticulated bones dug up from the churchyard, which would have seen a high

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<sup>50</sup> Thompson, 'The Collegiate Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid', pp. 368–69.

<sup>51</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 51.

<sup>52</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 70; Scott and others had argued the Chapter House was the remnant of an earlier (pre-c. 1180) building. Scott, 'Ripon Minster', p. 310.

<sup>53</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 70.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*, p. 267.

<sup>55</sup> Danks, *Ripon Cathedral*, p. 62; Parker, *Ripon Cathedral Church*, p. 127. Walbran provides an engraving of this crypt from the nineteenth century, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 74.

volume of burials over the years. While not the only burial ground in its large parish, the minster churchyard probably received far more burials than the Ladykirk and the hospital of St Mary Magdalene combined.<sup>56</sup> Ripon's sister minster, Beverley, also had a charnel house with a chapel above it; from some time in the 1320s this was the parochial chapel of St Martin.<sup>57</sup> Use of the crypt as charnel house would have given it an apocalyptic resonance. Gilchrist has noted the power of associations with judgment and the apocalypse at the Chapter House of Norwich Cathedral.<sup>58</sup> These associations must have been strengthened at the Ripon Chapter House by the presence of the bones of the dead waiting beneath the floor until the resurrection and the Last Judgment — an especially poignant reminder to all clergy and parishioners summoned to the Chapter Court. This reminder of the Last Judgment served as a deterrent to those who might consider perjuring themselves by denying charges against them, and similarly to prevent perjury by witnesses.<sup>59</sup> The Chapter's authority was probably also reinforced by the fact that they had won their case against the Archbishop and sheriff of York in the Chapter House. The space of the Chapter House would have been linked with the memory of this event; however, if the victory was commemorated there by some physical object or symbol, it has since been lost.

The Chapter House was modified after its construction began. The two buttresses on the south wall appear to have been added after the construction of the plinth but before the level of the string course, which runs around the buttresses as well. The decision to add buttresses must have been made in order to reinforce the second level of the Chapter House when it was under construction, as well as to support the stone vault of the crypt. The Chapter House level originally had plain groin vaults, but ribbed vaults were added later, either in the twelfth or early thirteenth century.<sup>60</sup> The addition of the Ladyloft level in the fourteenth century necessitated further buttressing at the southeast corner of the structure.<sup>61</sup> The Chapter House level of the structure was formerly divided into two rooms, the Chapter House proper to the west and the apsidal vestry to the east. It is not known when the dividing wall was inserted, but it was removed during the renovations of 1958 to 1968.<sup>62</sup> Hallett described it in his 1901 monograph on the minster, writing that 'the dividing wall, which with its bench-table is of limestone, was erected in the Decorated or in the Perpendicular period'.<sup>63</sup> He declined to give a definite date to the insertion of the wall, but its construction in limestone suggests it was built after c. 1290, the

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<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 95–102 and 108–10.

<sup>57</sup> Rosemary Horrox, 'The Late Medieval Minster', in *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Beverley: Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), pp. 37–49 (p. 43).

<sup>58</sup> Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, p. 87.

<sup>59</sup> Burial of deceased Cistercian abbots beneath the floors of their Chapter Houses reinforced the authority of their living successors in a similar way. See Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p. 113. The abbots' counterparts in Ripon were the resident canons who headed the Chapter Court.

<sup>60</sup> The vaults follow the arrangement of bays in the choir aisle because they are supported on the choir aisle buttresses. Thus they do not match the bays below them in the crypt. Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', pp. 70–72.

<sup>61</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, pp. 54–55.

<sup>62</sup> Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 108.3.

<sup>63</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 121.

first datable instance of the use of white limestone at the minster.<sup>64</sup> The wall may have been inserted as part of the campaign to build the Ladyloft above the Chapter House, in which case it was probably added in the late 1320s. The south and north walls of the Chapter House are lined by two tiers of sandstone benches, probably of an early date.<sup>65</sup> This room almost certainly was, as Hallett argued, the Chapter House in which the royal inquest was held in 1228.<sup>66</sup> After the insertion of the wall, its bench was probably where the resident canons sat as judges.

By examining the visitation reports of the Archbishops of York, it is possible to expand on the archaeological assessments of the Chapter House to examine its role in disciplining the minster clergy. The Chapter House was a highly restricted space in which documents and cash were probably stored. At the southeast corner of the structure was a garderobe that was part of the original design.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps it was intended for use by a night watchman who would stay in the Chapter House to protect it. In 1534 the archbishop's deputy discovered that Christopher Dragley, canon and treasurer of the minster, was preventing the other ministers from entering the Chapter House. He evidently had in his possession the only key to the Chapter House door. The Archbishop responded by ordering Dragley to open the Chapter House at the appropriate times, but not to create more keys.<sup>68</sup> The Chapter House must have been considered too sensitive a space to risk the creation of additional keys that would have allowed access to a greater number of individuals.

The visitation report supplies important insights into the role of the Chapter House in the institutional life of the minster. By keeping the Chapter House shut, Dragley prevented a number of important activities from taking place. One was the correction of minor offences by the ministers, which was to take place weekly on Friday or Saturday.<sup>69</sup> In this way, the Ripon Chapter House served a similar function to those of abbeys, but with the residentiary canons rather than an abbot regulating the behaviour of the minster's clerical staff. In addition, Dragley's closure of it was preventing the singing of the *Preciosa* and the saying of prayers from taking place at prime each day, and also stopping the canons and other ministers from having access to the statutes and customs of the minster which he was violating.<sup>70</sup> Daily services in the Chapter House would have been a form of liturgy even more exclusive than the services in the choir, which could be attended by some laypeople. The Archbishop's was to order the production of a copy of the statutes that could be fixed somewhere that all concerned would have access to it.<sup>71</sup> After a visitation in 1439, Archbishop Kemp (1426–1452) ordered that the statutes be read out 'fully and distinctly once each month at least in your Chapter after the

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<sup>64</sup> Scott, 'Ripon Minster', p. 315.

<sup>65</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, pp. 121 and 127.

<sup>66</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 127. In 1228 it was not yet divided into two rooms.

<sup>67</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', pp. 70–71.

<sup>68</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 169.

<sup>69</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 167–68.

<sup>70</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 171–72.

<sup>71</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 172.

reading of the *martilogium*'.<sup>72</sup> According to Cassidy-Welch, the reading of the necrology and *regula* were important parts of producing the community of a Cistercian house.<sup>73</sup> Thus it appears that similar means were used to regulate a slightly different type of community at Ripon. Unlike Cistercian houses, the Chapter Court regulated a wider lay community, and the exercise of this authority must have given all members of Ripon's clerical community a sense of identity apart from lay parishioners. The Chapter Court proceedings involving clerics and the court's jurisdiction over laypeople are discussed in greater detail below.

The Chapter House was essential not only to the Chapter's regulation of the minster clergy but also to the exercise of its legal jurisdiction over its liberty and its spiritual jurisdiction over the whole parish. There were other courts in Ripon, namely the sheriff's tourn, the archbishop's court military, the court leet, and the borough court, but the Chapter Court is the best documented.<sup>74</sup> It was the ecclesiastical court for the parish of Ripon which, 'being a Peculiar, was exempt from the authority of the Archdeacon of Richmond [...] the Chapter exercised the spiritual jurisdiction of an Archdeacon's Court'.<sup>75</sup> The Chapter Court was not the chief court in Ripon, but it still had significant influence.<sup>76</sup> Its responsibilities included 'testamentary and matrimonial causes, defamation, immorality and neglect of religious duties'.<sup>77</sup> The Chapter Acts Book gives a good indication of the types of cases pursued by people in the Chapter Court as well as the way in which the Chapter regulated behaviour in the parish between 1450 and 1500, roughly the period between the tower collapse and the start of the nave renovation campaign. As was common practice in ecclesiastical courts of the time, cases had two types of origination.<sup>78</sup> Some were brought at the instance of an individual. These show how people used the court to pursue their own interests. Debt cases were the type most commonly initiated at the instance of an individual plaintiff. The second class of case, those brought by office, was not initiated by an interested party but by the Chapter itself. These cases dealt with poor spiritual observance and threats to the social order. Although the Chapter brought the charges, misconduct would have been reported to them by parishioners.<sup>79</sup> In contrast to the

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<sup>72</sup> 'Hæc nostra, ymo verius præfati reverendisimi patris statue salubria, correccionnes, et injuncta, plene et distincte singulis mensibus semel ad nimis in capitulo vestro post lectum martilogium', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 151.

<sup>73</sup> Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p. 113.

<sup>74</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', pp. 77–78.

<sup>75</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 51.

<sup>76</sup> Simon Walker has written that although 'the volume of business in the church courts never rivaled that in the king's, the nature of suits they entertained gave them a particular potency as enforcers of contemporary social order'. Simon Walker, 'Order and Law', in *A Social History of England 1200–1500*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 91–112 (p. 96). Evidence of this activity for the Ripon Chapter Court forms an integral part of the following discussion.

<sup>77</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 51.

<sup>78</sup> See Walker, 'Order and Law', p. 96; R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 163.

<sup>79</sup> Miri Rubin wrote that 'efforts to instil religious conformity involved community participation. Religious error among priests or neighbours was to be reported to Church officials by parishioners'. Miri

cases at instance, cases of this sort show how the Chapter regulated behaviour on its own initiative. In addition to court proceedings, citations issued by the Chapter against clerics are also recorded in the Chapter Acts Book, and these show how the Chapter regulated minster clergy, including vicars and chantry priests.

It has already been established that St Wilfrid was essential to the Chapter's authority, and his image in the nave was instrumental to the Chapter's efforts to protect their liberty. The image features in a pair of related entries in the Chapter Acts which show how the Chapter Court used penance and the threat of excommunication to preserve the integrity of their patron saint's liberty. On 12 September 1453, Matilda Coke appealed to the Chapter Court on behalf of her husband, Thomas, who had been assaulted within the liberty of St Wilfrid, in a meadow that lay between the towns of Ripon and Bishopton.<sup>80</sup> Coke's assailants, John Poode of York and John Writhson, were threatened with excommunication and appeared after some delay.<sup>81</sup> Submitting to the judgment of the Chapter, the two were assigned penance, which was to lead the procession in the minster for six Sundays, carrying their offending weapons in one hand and a pound of burning wax in the other; at the end of this term they were to leave the wax as an offering 'at the image of St Wilfrid in the nave of the church' and their arms at the high altar.<sup>82</sup> The public nature of their penance must have been intended to reconcile them with the whole community and the deposition of their arms at the high altar indicated submission to the Chapter's authority. The wax donated to the saint symbolised the penitent's renewed devotion to the patron of the minster. Overall the penance assigned was intended, like penances elsewhere, to generate remorse.<sup>83</sup>

Some members of the community were not satisfied with the Chapter's resolution of the Thomas Coke case. An entry for 8 October 1453 describes how the two penitents were attacked in Crossgate by three men with staffs, and how the penitents 'daily suffer their threats, that if they should be caught, they should not evade death'.<sup>84</sup> Presumably these penitents were in Crossgate, also called Kirkgate, because they were approaching the west door in preparation to do penance in a procession. Their three assailants were a butcher named Milo Pikke, Henry Brancke, and a man identified only as 'Lowe, the servant of T. Coke'.<sup>85</sup> The assailants, associates of Thomas Coke, preferred violent revenge to the penance assigned by the Chapter. For its part, the Chapter could no more tolerate these threats and acts of violence than it could those committed against Thomas Coke in the first place. Facing excommunication, Pikke, Lowe, and Brancke dutifully appeared in court and submitted to the judgment of the Chapter.

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Rubin, 'Identities', in *A Social History of England, 1200–1500*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 383–412 (p. 409).

<sup>80</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 10.

<sup>81</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 10–11. Threat of excommunication was commonly used as a means of compelling attendance in an ecclesiastical court. See Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 179.

<sup>82</sup> 'ymagini Sancti Wilfridi in navi ecclesie', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 178.

<sup>84</sup> 'cotidie minas suas paciuntur, quod si manucapi queant mortem non evadent', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 11.

<sup>85</sup> 'Lowe serviente T. Coke', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 11.

They received the same penance as Poode and Writhson plus two additional Sundays, one at the head of the procession at Beverley and another at York.<sup>86</sup> It is unclear what the intended significance of this additional punishment was. It was obviously more difficult to attend processions at other churches, and this also exposed the penitents to public shame beyond their own community. Perhaps it was even a form of penitential pilgrimage.<sup>87</sup>

The language of the preceding entries shows how these two cases were viewed as affronts to Wilfrid himself. Poode and Writhson are described in the first entry as *libertatis Sancti Wilfridi usurpatores*.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, their three assailants are called *Sancti Wilfridi æmulatores*.<sup>89</sup> By defining the defendants respectively as usurpers and rivals of St Wilfrid, the Chapter showed that it was acting on behalf of their patron and defending his liberty. These two cases illustrate the process by which the Chapter regulated behaviour in Ripon. The canons considered violent crimes within Wilfrid's liberty offences against the saint and they punished them by assigning public penance to perpetrators. Fear of spiritual jeopardy may have been some motivation for people to submit to the Chapter's authority, but there may also have been practical reasons. To use Pikke as an example, exclusion from the spiritual community of the parish might have resulted in ostracization and adverse effects on his business. Townspeople might have been more inclined to buy meat from butchers who were not out of favour with Wilfrid and the Chapter. An excommunicate butcher would certainly have lost the custom of Ripon's clergy, who were undoubtedly important purchasers of meat.

The exact path taken by processions in Ripon Minster is unknown, but it is possible to suggest its route and thereby demonstrate its significance as a form of penance.<sup>90</sup> Processions probably began at the west door, which was rich in associations with authority due to its use by the Archbishop of York for publicly shaming defrocked priests.<sup>91</sup> The font was probably also located at the west end of the building. The west entrance of the building thus represented entrance into the Church as the community of the faithful as well as the building of the minster. Penitents would be reminded of their original entry into the Church as they were in the process of being re-incorporated into it following their transgressions. The parishioners in the nave probably would have had to make way for the procession, which could head straight through to enter the crossing through the rood screen, and then continue to the choir through the pulpitum. Passage through the nave was essential because it enabled the parishioners to see offenders. There is further evidence for this basic route. The requirement that offerings be left by the image of St Wilfrid in the nave required the procession to pass by it, though its exact location in

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<sup>86</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 12.

<sup>87</sup> See Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2000), p. xv.

<sup>88</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 12.

<sup>90</sup> Lucius Smith offered the most detailed description of the Sunday processions, based on the assumption that the York manual was also used in Ripon. See Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*, pp. 79–81.

<sup>91</sup> Hallett, *Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 22. There was a clerical prison located in Ripon, though it is not known precisely where it was.

the nave is unknown. The requirement to make an offering at the high altar demonstrates that lay offenders were also permitted access to the choir to complete their penance.

It is important to note that the image of St Wilfrid in the nave was entirely separate and distinct from the saint's shrine and relics in the ambulatory behind the high altar. In general, patronal images were 'firmly embedded in the communal social fabric of the parish'.<sup>92</sup> The patronal images of most parish churches were also the means by which parishioners could appeal for supernatural assistance.<sup>93</sup> What set Ripon apart was that the parish church also housed the patron saint's shrine. Though Wilfrid was their patron saint, for practical purposes and even for the maintenance of discipline by the Chapter, the image of Wilfrid in the nave represented the saint. By keeping the saint's shrine and relics separate from the daily concerns of Ripon's parishioners, the Chapter preserved the special status of the shrine and also maintained their control over the saint. The Chapter's relationship with the saint was always closer than that between Wilfrid and the parishioners, and this in turn reinforced the Chapter's authority.

The Chapter Acts Book of Ripon contains many records of debt cases, which was a common type of case heard in ecclesiastical courts because an unpaid debt constituted a breach of faith.<sup>94</sup> The disorder of the entries in the book recommends against attempts to use its debt records to create an overall index of economic conditions in Ripon between 1450 and 1500, although it is possible that the very small sums contested in the early 1450s indicate that it was a period of economic hardship.<sup>95</sup> Between 1454 and 1457 some of the contested sums ranged as low as 6d or even 3d. The case of Thomas Horne vs James Newton is fairly typical of this period. Horne took Newton to court for breach of faith over a sum of 4d. Newton denied it, and during the space of time in which he was to find support for his denial, Newton and Horne reached an agreement out of court.<sup>96</sup> This case illustrates a common strategy of creditors who sought to recover small sums. They brought charges to demonstrate their intention to recover the money they were owed, after which debtors often chose to resolve the matter before a formal decision by the court. If the case went to trial, then the defendant risked having to pay court fees as well as the debt.

Laypeople were not the only ones who used the court to recover debts. Members of the minster clergy also took debtors to court to recover their money. This is interesting for two

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<sup>92</sup> Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), p. 82.

<sup>93</sup> Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, p. 82.

<sup>94</sup> Swanson wrote that '*Fidei laesio* cases were probably the bread-and-butter at the spiritual courts for much of the later middle ages.' Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 168.

<sup>95</sup> It has been observed by Christine Newman that debt cases in Northallerton increased during a time of financial crisis, and that creditors went to court even to secure small debts at this time. Christine M. Newman, *Late Medieval Northallerton: A Small Market Town and its Hinterland c.1470–1540* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1999), p. 38. Alternatively, this may reflect the nature of the court. Small debts were often pursued under the charge 'breach of faith' in church courts. See Walker, 'Order and Law', p. 96. Both explanations are equally plausible, but in either case the use of the court by creditors implied their acceptance of its authority and also reinforced it.

<sup>96</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 63.

reasons. First, priests did not feel discouraged from lending to laypeople in Ripon. The majority of identifiable clerical creditors were chantry priests, including John Birtby (St Andrew), John Arncliffe (Ladykirk), John Grange (St Mary), and Roger Warren (Plumpton Holy Trinity).<sup>97</sup> If these priests had been vicars responsible for the spiritual wellbeing of those to whom they lent money then there might have been a conflict of interest, but as cantarists they apparently did not have this problem. Furthermore, the cantarists of Ripon must have had good incomes judging by the sums they lent. Recorded sums ranged from 7s to 17s. The vicars earned an annual salary of £6 and the chantry priests probably made a similar amount. On the whole the Church held significant amounts of cash and its involvement with credit was one of its most important economic roles; like the clerics at Ripon, those of York and Exeter were also very involved in moneylending.<sup>98</sup>

Of all the charges brought at the instance of the Chapter, fornication was one of the most common. It could be classed more specifically as adultery or clerical incontinence as well. Charges of fornication were frequently denied and resolved by means of canonical purgation. The penalty for those who confessed their guilt was usually public, as in the case of Agnes Legg of Annesgate. After she admitted to fornication with Robert Cutler, the court determined that ‘she should head the procession in the church of Ripon for three Sundays, with bare feet and lower legs, wearing a veil on her head, with one burning candle in her hand worth 1d, which she should offer at the high altar’.<sup>99</sup> Those who did not appear in court were subject to excommunication. It was also possible to purchase a dispensation from penance if convicted. Charges of prostitution were much less common than fornication, the best example of the former being that of Johanna Claton in 1466. She was unable to purge herself but also refused to accept penance.<sup>100</sup> Her mother was convicted at the same time of keeping a disorderly house and of being aware of one of Johanna’s nocturnal visitors.<sup>101</sup> Prostitution may actually have been more common than it appears at first glance, with the choice of terminology used by the court rather than an absence of prostitution in medieval Ripon accounting for its scarcity in the records. Cases of prostitution may have been recorded as fornication or adultery instead.

The Chapter was also concerned with enforcing proper religious observance among its parishioners. In 1453, Nicholas Sponer was cited for making nets on feast days and Emota Plane, more seriously, because ‘she does not lead a Catholic life [...] she did not confess or receive the Eucharist in the feast of Easter last elapsed’.<sup>102</sup> Plane was later flogged for her

<sup>97</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 13, 26, 34, and 130. It is not clear from any records if John Grange was cantarist in the Ladyloft or of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

<sup>98</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 234.

<sup>99</sup> ‘præcedat processionem in ecclesia Ripon. iij diebus dominicis, nudis pedibus et tibiis, capite flammeolo cooperto, cum j cereo ardente precii jd in manu sua, quem offerre debet summo altari’, *Acts of Chapter*, p. 91.

<sup>100</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 122.

<sup>101</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 122.

<sup>102</sup> ‘non ducit vitam catholicam [...] non confitebatur nec eucharistiam recipiebat in festo Paschæ ultimo elapso’, *Acts of Chapter*, p. 21.

negligence.<sup>103</sup> Flogging was a common punishment for breaking the Sabbath.<sup>104</sup> Johanna Farand was flogged in 1468 for spinning and carding during the feast of St Matthew, and the weaver William Laton received the same punishment for making textiles during the feast of St Mark in 1471.<sup>105</sup> None of these entries state where the floggings took place, but a series in 1454 indicates that they were conducted in the market place.<sup>106</sup> Most of the entries simply state that floggings took place *ante crucem*, but one contains the phrase *ante crucem in Ripon*, which Fowler, the editor of the Surtees Society edition of the Chapter Acts, took to mean the market cross.<sup>107</sup> Fowler may very well have been correct in his interpretation. By saying ‘in Ripon’, the scribe was probably indicating the town as separate from the minster and its close. The market may always have been the location of floggings; alternatively, it may be that punishments had to take place in the market while repairs were underway at the minster following the 1450 tower collapse. In either case, the punishment was public, but more than that, the Chapter Court could pass sentences on all its parishioners and could have the sentences carried out in the market place, which was not part of the liberty of St Wilfrid but was within the parish. These and similar cases demonstrate that the Chapter, despite the size of the parish, was aware of the religious habits of its parishioners and was concerned with maintaining certain standards. The enforcement of standards of behaviour and religious observances was probably easier within the town of Ripon where observation of misconduct was more likely. The Chapter undoubtedly also relied on surveillance of parishioners by their fellows who would then report them.<sup>108</sup>

The behaviour of the minster clergy was also regulated by the Chapter. Evidence can be found in the form of citations, such as those issued regarding the sacrist, Robert Marshal in 1453.<sup>109</sup> Marshal was cited for neglecting to ring the bells, fill the piscinae with water, or maintain the clock.<sup>110</sup> This was a grave oversight as it was by these means that time was regulated in Ripon. Jacques le Goff has discussed bells in terms of their regulation of time and representation of power.<sup>111</sup> Ripon offers no comparison to le Goff’s examples of town bells that represented the independence of communes on the continent. This is hardly surprising given the relative freedom of continental towns when compared with those of England. Furthermore, the minster appropriated the new and more refined technology for keeping time, having a clock on one of its towers by *c.* 1379.<sup>112</sup> Alone, these facts are hardly conclusive, but combined with other evidence for the slow emergence of secular authority in Ripon they reinforce the dominant

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<sup>103</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 26.

<sup>104</sup> It was especially widespread in England around 1350. See Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 178.

<sup>105</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 134 and 149.

<sup>106</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>107</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>108</sup> Rubin, ‘Identities’, p. 409; Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 77.

<sup>109</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>110</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 21.

<sup>111</sup> Jacques le Goff, ‘La Ville Médiévale et le Temps’, in *Villes, bonnes villes, cités et capitales: Études d’histoire urbaine (XII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) offertes à Bernard Chevalier* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), pp. 325–32.

<sup>112</sup> Sheeran, *Medieval Yorkshire Towns*, p. 119.

role the minster played in the town. Moreover, the minster, by means of its bells and later its clock, would have regulated the working days of all the people of Ripon, not just those of its employees.

A number of the minster clergy were charged with offences of a sexual nature, including incontinence, fornication, and adultery. One of the more interesting cases of this sort is that of Henry Grene, chaplain of the chantry of St John the Evangelist. He was charged with fornicating with Johanna Newton in 1463 and 1464.<sup>113</sup> In 1469, the record states that ‘he is said to have fornicated with Johanna, the wife of John Williamson, and by her begot two offspring born in adultery’.<sup>114</sup> The verdicts of many cases are unclear from surviving records, and it should also be noted that clerics, like laypeople facing the same allegations, were often able to purge themselves canonically after being charged with incontinence. Sequestration was a common means of punishing non-compliance by canons and vicars, and the Chapter had a bailiff to execute these orders. John Perceval, for example, was commanded by the resident canon William Scrope to sequester the goods of the prebendary of Monkton in 1452.<sup>115</sup>

The records of the Chapter Court show that the Chapter was a powerful influence in the parish. Although many canons were never resident, those who did reside exercised their spiritual authority in the Chapter Court. They ultimately derived this authority from God, but through the mediation of St Wilfrid, their local patron and the original founder of the religious community from which the Chapter had developed. Ripon was not unique in having a religious institution that had a close association with a patron saint. A parallel relationship between saint and religious institution can be found in Durham, where R. B. Dobson has shown that the monks of Durham Cathedral priory were motivated by their close identification with St Cuthbert.<sup>116</sup> Venerated by clergy and laypeople alike, Wilfrid remained a real and important presence in the town. The Chapter maintained his feasts and attended his interests on earth. The preservation of his liberty was essential for the Chapter, and those who infringed it were forced to make amends to the saint himself. Other spiritual offences were also punished publicly to restore the community of the Ripon faithful. Widespread acceptance of the authority exercised by the Chapter is evident in compliance with its sentences and in the use of the court by creditors seeking to recover debts. Debt cases, classified as a breach of faith, are common in the surviving Chapter Acts. Ripon was not unique in this respect and ecclesiastical courts across England were increasingly responsible for these cases in the fifteenth century.<sup>117</sup>

### 1.3: *Conclusions*

The Chapter was the leading spiritual authority in medieval Ripon. While many canons were

<sup>113</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 113 and 117–18.

<sup>114</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 138.

<sup>115</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 15.

<sup>116</sup> R. B. Dobson, *Durham Cathedral Priory 1400–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 11. See also Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 36.

<sup>117</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, pp. 176–78.

non-resident, those who did reside in Ripon headed the Chapter Court. In this capacity they regulated religious observance and enforced standards of behaviour in the town. They did so on behalf of and with the implicit sanction of their patron, St Wilfrid. They often handed down penances that required offenders to lead the weekly procession in the minster. This high degree of publicity permitted the Chapter to simultaneously punish and reincorporate penitents into the community. The Chapter Court regularly heard cases of debt, some of which involved chantry priests as plaintiffs and creditors. It was essential for the Chapter to promote Wilfrid's cult in order to reinforce his and their own authority. They did so by arranging for annual fairs that corresponded to his feasts and instituting various forms of commemoration for him. The Chapter's success in promoting Wilfrid's cult enhanced the standing of Ripon Minster and made it an appealing location for burial. The Chapter preserved Wilfrid as their source of authority by making a clear distinction between the saint's relics and his patronal image in the nave. Wilfrid remained closer to the Chapter than to the minster's parishioners. This chapter has provided an overview of the canons and their role in the parish. The following chapters build on this discussion of the Chapter of canons to explore the role of the vicars in the spiritual life of the parish and their collective identity (Chapter 2) and examine the use of the minster for burial and commemoration (Chapter 3).

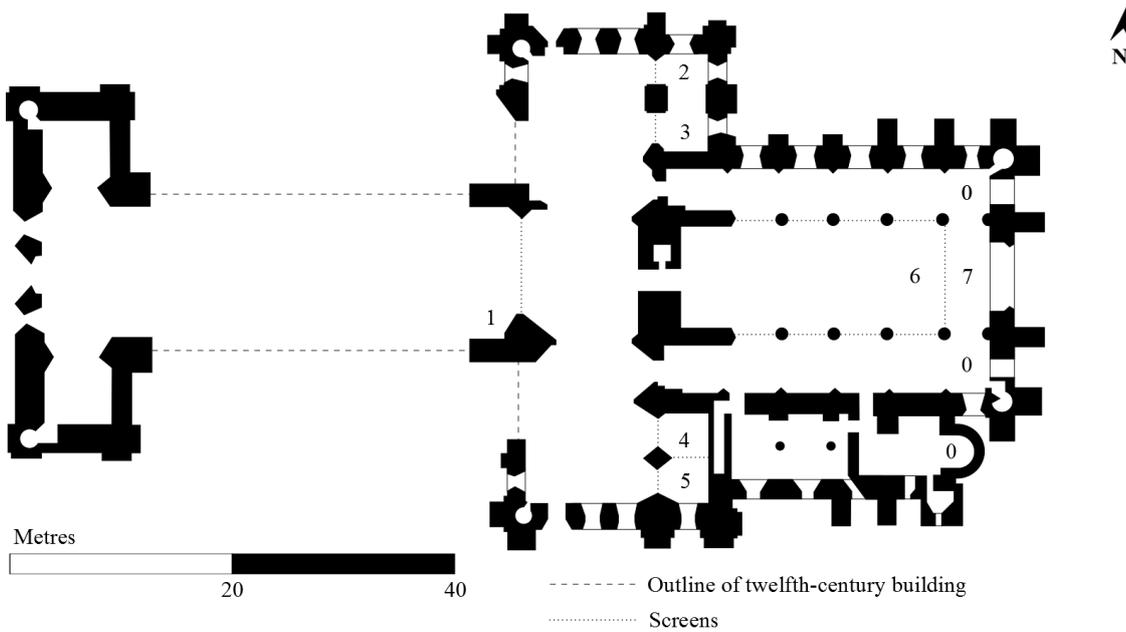


Figure 2.1: Plan of the minster with altars, c. 1470 (drawn after Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 147). The plan is numbered to show the locations of known altars. Some locations are known to have had altars due to archaeological features (aumbries, piscinae), but the dedications of the altars are not known so they have been given the number 0. The others are described here in this form: saint's dedication; prebend if applicable; chantry if applicable. (1) altar of St James/Holy Trinity/Holy Cross; chantry of St James and Sendale Holy Trinity chantry (2) altar of St Andrew; prebendal altar of Monkton; chantry of St Andrew (3) altar of St John the Baptist; prebendal altar of Thorpe; chantry of SS John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (4) altar of St William; prebendal altar of Givendale; chantry of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (5) altar of St Thomas the Martyr; prebendal altar of Studley (6) high altar dedicated to SS Peter and Wilfrid (7) Plumpton Holy Trinity chantry.

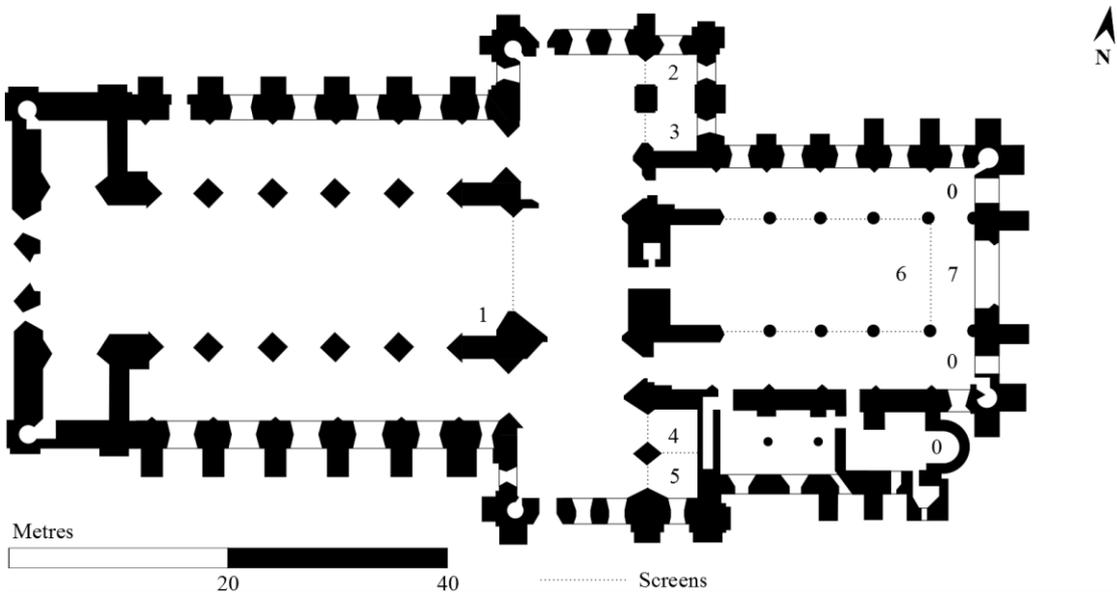


Figure 2.2: Plan of the minster with altars, c. 1530 (drawn after Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 147). This figure illustrates the locations of altars with the renovated nave. The alteration of the nave did not ultimately affect the positions of prebendal altars or the altars used for chantries (though it may have temporarily displaced the services at altar 1). The information of numbered altars is the same in this figure as in Figure 2.1.

## Chapter 2: Vicars and Chantry Chaplains

The canons were the wealthiest and most powerful of medieval Ripon's clergy, but much of the institutional administration and the cure of souls fell to others. The vicars were established to take over the latter burden — they were not mere vicars choral. They served their parishioners from altars in the minster, one for each of the six subdivisions of the parish. The divisions of the parish appear to have been co-extensive with the prebends. They were plotted onto the minster by the assignment of a particular altar for each one, meaning that, although there were no other parish churches, there were still six distinct parochial spaces within the parish church. The vicars were also expected to visit sick and dying parishioners, and this involved extensive travelling. Chantries appear to have provided far less burdensome and more profitable benefices for Ripon's clergy, and there were a number of vicars who later became chantry chaplains. Chantry priests had sufficient time available to them to seek other forms of employment, especially as minster officers such as chamberlain, treasurer, and Fabric warden. While they did not rank as highly as canons, the vicars and chantry priests still appear to have considered themselves to be of high social standing. They expressed their social status through their choice of living quarters, their possessions, and their commemorative arrangements.

2.1: *The Vicars*

During the final two decades of the thirteenth century, the Archbishops of York made efforts to force the canons of the minster to reside in Ripon. The stated reason for this policy was that the spiritual care of the parish was being neglected and that the canons were not earning their stipends.<sup>1</sup> Non-residence also must have lent itself to another abuse, namely the farming of prebends to unsuitable individuals, of which Archbishop Corbridge (1300–1304) made an issue in the early fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The deterioration of prebendal estates was an even greater threat than non-residence because the erosion of the minster's endowments jeopardized its long-term ability to perform a parochial function. Corbridge made some progress towards achieving his goals in his dealings with the Chapter by imposing standardised names on all of the prebends.<sup>3</sup> Vicars were already being employed by the canons as early as 1286, but Corbridge made them mandatory and established standards of pay for them in 1303.<sup>4</sup> Before this date they were hired by individual prebendaries as they saw fit.<sup>5</sup> It is also possible that before their regulation by Corbridge the vicars were members of their prebendaries' households, as was

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<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 32 and 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 14 and 44–46. They were to receive six marks every year, paid to them in four installments. Their rate of pay was later increased to £6 annually. See *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 15.

<sup>5</sup> R. Gilyard-Beer, 'Bedern Bank and the Bedern Ripon', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 58 (1986), 141–45 (p. 141).

common before vicars were organized into colleges.<sup>6</sup> From the early fourteenth century there were six vicars permanently resident in Ripon and a seventh based at Stanwick.<sup>7</sup> Around this time the vicars were provided with a common residence that they later abandoned, receiving a new common residence and legal recognition as a corporation in 1415. Ripon's vicars were organized into a college later than those of some English cathedrals including York, Lincoln, and St Paul's in London.<sup>8</sup> They were also officially incorporated at a later date than those of Exeter, Hereford, Salisbury, and Wells.<sup>9</sup> The abandonment of their first common residence, which probably had a dormitory like a monastery, was an expression of the vicars' sense of social standing and is discussed in greater detail below.

The vicars, even when they were institutionalized and incorporated, were always appointed by the canon whose cure of souls they served. Their duties were, as the 1546 Chantry Certificate records,

dalye service in the Quyere of the saide Collegiate Church and also to have Cure of Sowle and mynstracon of Sacrements at vj severall Alters to all the parochians of the said prebendarie<sup>3</sup><sup>10</sup>

One of their better documented duties was administering the sacrament to their parishioners at Easter. At this time the altars were staffed by 'a deacon serving the wine, two acolytes holding the houselling cloth, and two porters for keeping the door'.<sup>11</sup> Annual reception of the Eucharist at the parochial altar linked parishioners to that altar and guaranteed they would see the heraldry and funerary monuments located by it. There is no doubt they would have understood that altar to be their own, distinct from the altars of the other five prebends. They would have understood the representations of power expressed by heraldic display and burial, and the monuments of laypeople and deceased vicars would have solicited the prayers of the parishioners on these occasions. The importance of Holy Week is demonstrated by the expense of preparations, which in 1401 included, among other things, payments for forty-six gallons of beer and a number of spices for use in spicing the beer for the celebration of the Lord's Supper leading up to Easter.<sup>12</sup> Presumably the beer was purchased for a celebration that included much of the community of Ripon, though the exact scale of the event can only be guessed at based upon the figures

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<sup>6</sup> This was common before vicars were organized into colleges. See Nicholas Orme, 'The Medieval Clergy of Exeter Cathedral: 1. The Vicars and Annuellars', *The Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 113 (1981), 79–102 (pp. 80–81); and David Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door: Housing the Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals', *Vernacular Architecture*, 36 (2005), 15–31 (p. 15).

<sup>7</sup> Stanwick was added to the six Conquest-era prebends and was not contiguous with them. It was not visited by the annual Rogation processions and its parish church and parishioners are not the subject of this study, though its canons are.

<sup>8</sup> Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door', p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door', p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 14.

<sup>11</sup> 'uni diacono ministranti vinum, duobus tentoribus tuallia, duobus portariis pro ostio custodiendo', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 234. The altars were probably enclosed by screens.

<sup>12</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 208.

recorded in the account. The Easter candle was so large that it required a number of clerks, paid in drink, to take it down.<sup>13</sup>

The dedications of the six parochial altars are known from sixteenth-century surveys and wills, but past researchers have been more concerned with questions about the Holy Trinity chantries than with the dedications and locations of the parochial altars.<sup>14</sup> The locations of the parochial altars given here are the result of original research. The dedications of the parochial altars were Monkton (St Andrew), Thorpe (St John), Givendale (St William/St Mary), Studley (St Thomas the Martyr/St Wilfrid), Nunwick (St Lawrence), and Sharow (St Stephen). The most likely arrangement of the six parochial altars was two each in the north and south transepts, and two adjacent to the rood screen under the western arch of the crossing.<sup>15</sup> (Figure 2.1) Adjacent to the choir screen would have been a logical location for two parochial altars as they would then have been in line with the other four, but there is no evidence that altars were located against this screen. Moreover, a piscina survives in the wall just west of the southwest crossing pier to lend weight to the argument that the other two altars were west of the crossing.<sup>16</sup> The other possibility is that there were four transeptal altars and two in the east end of the choir. The stone bench running along the east wall of the choir had at least three piscinae in it, so there would have been an altar in the easternmost bays of both choir aisles and another behind the high altar. This arrangement is the least plausible because there would have been no parochial altars in the nave and two in the ambulatory. One of the three altars in the ambulatory was dedicated to St Mary, but it was not the parochial altar of Givendale.<sup>17</sup>

At least two altar dedications appear to have changed over time. The Studley altar of St Wilfrid in the south transept arm was originally dedicated to St Thomas the Martyr. There was a close link between the guild of St Wilfrid and the altar of St Thomas after the foundation of a chantry there in 1419.<sup>18</sup> The adjacent altar was probably dedicated to St William and later associated with St Mary due to the influence of a guild centred on the altar. The altar of St William is frequently mentioned in connection with feasts of St Mary in the Chamberlain's Rolls. Furthermore, the surviving wall paintings in the chapel show that this altar was linked to

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<sup>13</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 209.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> John Blair argued that the minster church of the twelfth century often had a plan like that of Ripon, writing that 'the essential features are an aisleless nave, a crossing tower, a rectangular square-ended chancel, and transepts with single or double square-ended eastern chapels'. John Blair, 'Clerical Communities and Parochial Space: The Planning of Urban Mother Churches in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. by T. R. Slater and Gervase Rosser (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 272–94 (p. 279).

<sup>16</sup> At the very least there was one altar there. This altar was used by the guild of Holy Cross and the chantries of St James and Holy Trinity (Sendale). See Chapter 3, pp. 71 and 85–86.

<sup>17</sup> In 1470 William Turret bequeathed 2d 'altari Beatæ Mariæ Virginis post summum altare ecclesiæ prædictæ'. *Acts of Chapter*, p. 143.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 71 and 89–90.

St Mary.<sup>19</sup> The altar was most likely the site of the guild and chantry of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This means that both altars in the south transept were affected by the foundation of chantries in the minster in the fifteenth century. References to the altars of St Andrew and St John together in the Fabric Rolls strongly suggest that they were located adjacent to one another in the north transept arm.

Taken altogether, the evidence shows that there were three pairs of parochial altars, one pair in each transept arm and one in the nave abutting the rood screen on the western side of the crossing. Each pair shared a piscina located to the south of the southernmost altar. The north transept arm altars were thus St Andrew (Monkton) and St John (Thorpe); those of the south transept arm were (at least originally) St William (Givendale) and St Thomas the Martyr (Studley); and those of the nave were St Lawrence (Nunwick) and St Stephen (Sharow). It is important to establish the dedications of the altars as well as their locations in the minster for a number of reasons. The saint to whom an altar was dedicated was a potential patron for the parishioners who used the altar and communal identities could coalesce around joint veneration of that saint. The shift in some altar dedications shows the importance of guilds and their chantries. The locations of altars in relation to one another and in relation to the high altar are also significant. Graves and Roffey have demonstrated the significance of sight lines in linking altars together and enabling chantry priests to coordinate with the priest at the high altar.<sup>20</sup> The sight lines of Ripon's six parochial altars demonstrate they were not meant to coordinate with the high altar. Priests at altars in the nave may have been able to view one or more of the priests in the transept arms but none could see the celebrant in the choir, and in any case chantry priests were expected to be in the choir during the high mass. The locations of the parochial altars were also important for understanding intramural burial.<sup>21</sup>

Beverley, in many ways a close parallel to Ripon, never associated its prebendal altars so explicitly with the prebends themselves. By contrast, the prebends were named according to the dedications of their altars. This opposite arrangement may have been due to the existence of a chapel in Beverley which acted in most respects as a parish church. While at Beverley the minster was projected onto the parish, at Ripon the parish was mapped onto the minster. The express desire of some vicars to be buried at their parochial altars demonstrated the durability and recognisability of these spaces and also reinforced it. These altars were sites of collective memory for the individual sub-parishes just as altogether they and the rest of the minster stood for the collective memory of the whole parish. Significantly, there was much more space to the minster than that which surrounded these altars, and the spaces of greatest power and authority,

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<sup>19</sup> Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), p. 303.

<sup>20</sup> Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, pp. 77 and 81; Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 39–40.

<sup>21</sup> See Chapter 3.

especially the choir and Chapter House, were generally inaccessible to the majority of the parish and under the direct control of the Chapter.

The vicars were also expected to travel in pursuance of their duties. They had a difficult task caring for their large territories and they were not particularly well-paid. They appealed to the archbishop of York in 1338, claiming that their stipends of 6 marks (£4) were insufficient to pay for the horses and servants they needed to minister to their scattered parishioners.<sup>22</sup> They argued that they deserved greater pay because they often had to travel as far as nine miles in order to visit the sick and perform other tasks related to their cure of souls.<sup>23</sup> A sense of the size of the parish is conveyed by the 1481 perambulation record, plotted in Figure 1.2. From Ripon to the perambulation's starting point at Rawcliffe was about five kilometres, and other locations were even further away. Pateley Bridge was almost fifteen kilometres away from Ripon. Jones estimated that the parish was at least eighty-six square miles in extent. It is unclear what type of liturgical services the vicars may have performed at outlying chapels during the week, but as they needed to be in attendance at the minster on Sundays, it is clear that they did not perform any services at such chapels then. Their petition was successful and their salaries were raised to £6 annually.<sup>24</sup>

There is good reason to believe that the vicars were responsible for preaching and hearing confessions. The 1520 Fabric Roll mentions sermons in connection with fundraising during Rogation.<sup>25</sup> In 1321, Archbishop Melton wrote to the Chapter on behalf of a preaching friar named Robert de Ripon. Melton had given the friar licence 'to preach the word of God and hear the confessions of the faithful'.<sup>26</sup> However, Robert de Ripon had been prevented from doing so by the vicar Andrew de Kirkby; in response, the Archbishop ordered the Chapter to investigate de Kirkby's actions and settle the matter.<sup>27</sup> The vicars would have had little reason to interfere with the ministry of the friars unless their own ministry and income was threatened. It is therefore likely that the vicars derived additional income from hearing confessions, preaching, or both.<sup>28</sup> Robert de Ripon appears to have been the only friar to attempt to preach in Ripon and none of the mendicant orders ever established a base there. Some laypeople in the parish clearly valued the mendicants, bequeathing them money in their wills. Alice Kendale's bequest of 5s to

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<sup>22</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 11.

<sup>23</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 15.

<sup>25</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 180.

<sup>26</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 89; and *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York 1317–1340*, ed. by T. C. B. Timmons and others, 6 vols (Woodbridge: Canterbury and York Society, 1971–2011), v (2002), 40.

<sup>27</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 89; *Register of William Melton*, v, 40.

<sup>28</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 17. According to Hallett, 'The office of *penitentiarius*, or rural dean was often held by one of them [the vicars]'. Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 24. Ralph Hanna argues that this arrangement was a response to the issue with Robert de Ripon. See Ralph Hanna, 'Some Yorkshire Scribes and their Context', in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. by Denis Renevey and Graham D. Caie (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 167–91 (p. 171).

be divided between the four mendicant orders in York is just one example. The York friars were to celebrate a trental for her soul in exchange for the money.<sup>29</sup>

Hearing confession was not the only personal spiritual service provided by the Ripon vicars. Wills provide ample evidence that they could also serve as spiritual advisors. They often appear as witnesses, beneficiaries, and executors, all of which reveals close personal links between them and their parishioners. John Malour's 1462 will provides a good example. Malour's wife was executrix of his will, but to make the best arrangements possible for his soul she relied on the help of their vicar, John Brompton.<sup>30</sup> This reliance, which can be found in a number of other wills, shows that parishioners could develop close relationships with their vicars and look to them for spiritual guidance. Relationships of this nature were unlikely to grow up between parishioners and canons, and testamentary instructions of this kind indicate the commitment of some vicars to their parishioners.

The vicars also commemorated Ripon's dead, primarily through obits or anniversary services. In this respect the vicars occupied the role usually held by churchwardens in a parish church.<sup>31</sup> They began performing obits in the early fourteenth century and by the time they were incorporated in 1415 they were responsible for most of Ripon's obits save those performed by guild chaplains. After their incorporation the vicars were able to hold all the obit endowments jointly under their common mortmain licence and share out the burden of performing the services among themselves. Before their incorporation they handled obits in a similar but less formal way. The obit or anniversary was a type of service which is usually poorly documented, but Ripon is fortunate to have a fragmentary document from c. 1459 which details the yearly cycle of obits.<sup>32</sup> The partial roll is now bound together with material produced by the Chapter to form MS Dep 1980/1 40 in the Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon held in the Special Collections of the University of Leeds Brotherton Library.<sup>33</sup> This fragment shows that the vicars were largely in control of maintaining the observation of obits. In cases where a property was held by another of the minster's wardens or officers, such as the Fabric, the necessary sum for the obit was paid annually to the vicars from the other fund. Obits of this sort were probably founded before the incorporation of the vicars in 1415. The obit roll was a careful record, listing grants that proved entitlement to properties and rents as well as detailed provisions for many obits.

The surviving section of the obit roll reveals the beneficiaries, conditions, and dates of annual obits at Ripon Minster. Of thirteen extant entries (Frankysh and de Clynt are listed on

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<sup>29</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 208.

<sup>30</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 105.

<sup>31</sup> Clive Burgess, "A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motivation in Late Medieval England', in *Parish Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350–1750* (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 56–84 (pp. 77–78).

<sup>32</sup> Clive Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *The English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), 837–58 (p. 840).

<sup>33</sup> The obit roll is fols 103a–103j. It was published in *Memorials of Ripon*, 1, 130–50.

separate lines in Table 2.1 but were co-founders of the obit), only one obit was endowed with any rent or property outside of Ripon. The majority were founded with annual rents from messuages, tenements, or gardens in or very near to the town itself (with the additional exception of Archbishop Bowet's obit which was to be observed in return for his grant of property for the construction of the New Bedern).<sup>34</sup> The founders must have been among the more affluent citizens of the town as they had rents and properties available to support their foundations. At the same time they were not as wealthy as the gentry or canons who founded chantries.<sup>35</sup> Most obit foundations were made for either one individual or a man and wife.

The ringing of bells was an important part of many obit endowments. Bells connected the memorial service inside the church with the rest of the town, attracting participants whose prayers and involvement in the service benefitted the deceased; in exchange, they may have received distributions of food and drink.<sup>36</sup> Some obits itemized the payments to be made, showing that the sacristan was paid for ringing the bells of the minster, and the town's bellman was paid to announce obits as well. The bells of the minster had the widest range and could alert potential participants to the anniversary service or at least solicit prayers. Judging from the rhyme 'Ora mente pia, pro nobis Virgo Maria' inscribed upon one of them, it seems likely the ringing of the bell itself was a form of intercessory prayer.<sup>37</sup> The bellman was the town crier who could announce more details about the obit than the minster bells alone could. Publicity of obits was clearly important, and the minster had a monopoly on bells that could provide it. Even those buried at the Ladykirk made payments for the bells to be rung for them.<sup>38</sup>

Like obit founders, vicars also desired to be commemorated after death and they employed their own strategies to this effect. The desire of some vicars for burial at their parochial altars shows that commemoration was meant to be undertaken by their successors, who would remember them when they used the same altars. These burial requests also show that the post of vicar in the minster was often the final stage of a clerical career, not a stepping stone to higher offices. The commemorative strategy of burial by altars makes it easier to identify the altars assigned to the different vicars. The altar of St Andrew, parochial altar of Monkton, can be identified by a burial request.

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<sup>34</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 149.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 65–84.

<sup>36</sup> 'By the technology of bells, the sacred and the personal could penetrate both public and private space, irrespective of where or even whether, a person chose to worship within the city'. Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, p. 72.

<sup>37</sup> Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon*, p. 120.

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 100.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Obit Date</b>	<b>Year of Foundation</b>
William	Wallthewe		1437
Thomas	Pakhardy		1386
William	Vawsour	13 July	
Alan	Balyeman	22 June	
Hugh	de Roderham	27 June	
Agnes	Skrevyne	9 July	
Margaret	de Mylne	13 July	
Henry	Plumpton	2 August	1369
John	Frankysh	4 August	
John	de Clynte	4 August	
Pauline	Warde	7 August	1349
Walter	Sutor	23 August	
Archbishop	Bowet	20 October	
Nicholas	Dall	27 October	

This table shows the obits listed in the partial obit roll produced by the vicars *c.* 1459. (See Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 40 fols 103a–103j and the printed edition in *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 130–50.) The table reproduces the order of the entries in the manuscript to show that the roll was organized chronologically. All foundation dates given in the roll are recorded here, demonstrating that some obits, like that of Pauline Warde, were kept for a considerable length of time. The oldest obits were founded well before the incorporation of the vicars in 1415.

Robert Brompton, vicar of Monkton from sometime in the 1450s until his death in 1471, desired ‘to be buried in the churchyard of St Wilfrid of Ripon, by the wall of the church, at the bounds of the altar of St Andrew’, which he further described as ‘my altar of St Andrew the Apostle’.<sup>39</sup> This altar was almost certainly located in the northernmost of the two chapels in the north transept. The Chapter House abuts the south transept along most of the length of its east wall, so the likelihood that he could have been buried by that transept is far less than that he was buried by the north transept. Walbran also identified the north transept as the site of the altar of St Andrew.<sup>40</sup> The chapels of the north transept (now only one chapel, as the division between them has been removed) have been known for some time as the Markenfield Chapel.<sup>41</sup> While not the original founders of the chantry, the Markenfields assumed its patronage at some point around 1369, when Archbishop Thoresby approved the new ordination of this chantry as drawn up by David de Wollore.<sup>42</sup> The document states that Sir Thomas Markenfield was ‘true

<sup>39</sup> ‘ad sepeliendum in cimiterio Beati Wilfridi Ripon’, juxta murum ecclesiae, ad finem altaris Sancti Andreae’, ‘altari meae Sancti Andreae Apostoli’, *Acts of Chapter*, p. 153.

<sup>40</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 41.

<sup>41</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 147; Hanna, ‘Some Yorkshire Scribes and their Context’, p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 74–76.

patron of the same' and that his heirs would succeed him in presenting 'a suitable chaplain for the said chantry' when necessary.<sup>43</sup>

Robert Brompton's burial outside the minster shows that the vicars lacked the influence of the gentry. The wish of the vicars to be buried at their altars probably shows a combination of commitment to their ministry, desire for commemoration, and a sense of high social standing. If the parochial altars were fit places for burial for the gentry, then they must also have had the potential to demonstrate the status of vicars buried near them. The vicars could probably not have afforded other forms of posthumous display at the altars, such as fine tombs and stained glass, but it is clear that they did have a sense of high social standing that developed from their institution in the early fourteenth century through their incorporation in the fifteenth. Their burial outside rather than inside shows that the vicars ranked below the gentry in the politics of space.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the personal monument for Ely and Brompton set them apart from those unable to afford a monument. Their graves may have been in a prominent location near the north door, where high status burials were uncovered during a watching brief in 1999.<sup>45</sup> Some of the graves appeared to have formerly had covers that were meant to be seen above ground.<sup>46</sup> The area near the south transept door was also a place of high status burial.<sup>47</sup>

In lieu of burial by their altars, some vicars bequeathed particular items to them to maintain a link even after death. Richard de Wakefield's bequest of a broadcloth to the altar of St John the Baptist, for example, firmly identifies it as such and associated him with the altar even after his death.<sup>48</sup> Many of his other bequests are to other clerics, and he concluded by leaving the residue of his possessions to chaplains John Ely and Richard Schedwell, 'whom [...] I make and ordain my executors in order that they may dispose for my soul just as it should seem best to them to do'.<sup>49</sup> De Wakefield's reliance on his fellow clergy suggests that they felt a sense of solidarity.

The Ripon vicars had a more developed communal identity than any other group of clergy in the parish. Their development as a community was a process which culminated with their incorporation and the construction of a new common residence for them in 1415, but had begun with their institutionalisation in the early fourteenth century. Shortly thereafter, in 1304, a

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<sup>43</sup> 'verus eiusdem patronus', 'Capellanum ydoneum ad dictam Cantariam', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 134.

<sup>44</sup> According to Paul Binski, 'the location of the dead either inside or outside [the church] mapped the order of the social elite as, in effect, a supernatural elite'. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 56.

<sup>45</sup> *Minster Road, Ripon, North Yorkshire: Report on an Archaeological Watching Brief*, York Archaeological Trust, 1999 Field Reports, 19 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1999), p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> *Minster Road, Ripon, North Yorkshire: Report on an Archaeological Watching Brief*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 80–82.

<sup>48</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 167; Eamon Duffy, 'The End of it All: The Material Culture of the English Parish and the 1552 Inventories of Goods', in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Clive Burgess (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), pp. 381–89 (pp. 381–82).

<sup>49</sup> 'quos [...] facio et ordino executores meos vt disponent pro anima mea prout eis melius viderint expedire', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 167. John Ely ended his career as vicar of Monkton, but Richard Shedwell's position is unknown.

chaplain called Nicholas de Bondgate gave them a common residence in a street called Walkmiln Bank. The presence of their dwelling there transformed the name of the street to Bedernbank sometime in the mid fourteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Bondgate was appointed master of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene in 1306 and was referred to as deacon of Ripon the following year.<sup>51</sup> His bequest of two messuages, one for the common residence and another to support its construction, was made in exchange for regular commemoration. He wanted daily chantry masses to be celebrated for him at the altar of St John in the minster, plus two annual obits in the choir.<sup>52</sup> The creation of a common residence for the Ripon vicars fits with the contemporary trend throughout England.<sup>53</sup>

No documented reason can be found for the abandonment of the original Bedern, but a plausible explanation may be found in the relationship between the vicars' housing and their social standing. David Stocker has shown that architectural changes in living quarters reflected the changing social position of vicars in medieval England.<sup>54</sup> It is entirely possible that the Ripon vicars abandoned a dwelling with dormitory-style accommodation in favour of renting individual rooms. Something of the vicars' self-perception is revealed by their 1338 petition to the Archbishop of York for increased wages so that they might afford horses and servants.<sup>55</sup> They claimed these would help them better serve their cure of souls, but increased wages, horses, and servants would also have improved their social status and it is hardly a stretch to imagine that the same vicars who desired their own servants would have preferred to establish their own households in separate dwellings rather than sharing a common house.

It is not known when the vicars began residing separately, but the Chapter ordered them to resume living in a common residence in 1408.<sup>56</sup> The vicars complied, receiving a new location for their common dwelling from King Henry V and Archbishop Bowet (1407–1423). The King issued a charter for the vicars on 12 July 1414, which enabled them to have a site for a new common dwelling, to elect a proctor, to use a common seal, and to hold property to a value of £5 annually in mortmain.<sup>57</sup> The Archbishop confirmed this grant the following year.<sup>58</sup> In exchange for his 1414 land grant to build the New Bedern, Archbishop Bowet wanted regular prayers from the vicars, and the New Bedern's chapel of St Nicholas may have been built in part

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<sup>50</sup> Gilyard-Bear, 'Bedern Bank and the Bedern Ripon', p. 141.

<sup>51</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 51 and 56.

<sup>52</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 120.

<sup>53</sup> Barrie Dobson, 'The English Vicars Choral: An Introduction', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino, History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. by Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005), pp. 1–10 (p. 6).

<sup>54</sup> Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door', pp. 15–31.

<sup>55</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 11.

<sup>56</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 149–51.

<sup>57</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 123–25. For more on the vicars' urban estate, see Chapter 8, pp. 192–93.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 125–28. This was a relatively late date for incorporation. By contrast, the Wells vicars were incorporated in 1348. See Robert G. Hill, 'The Somerset Estates of the Vicars Choral of Wells', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 142 (1999), 287–309 (p. 288).

for this purpose.<sup>59</sup> The close link between vicars and Archbishop was expressed by their common seal. The seal depicts two figures in the centre, one of them an Archbishop. These figures are flanked by two keys; both the figure of the Archbishop and keys were obvious references to York. Whenever the vicars used their common seal, its iconography symbolically acknowledged that they derived their authority from the Archbishop. The New Bedern was also closely linked to the Archbishop. Bowet had not only given the vicars the land to build it, he had even located it near his palace within his manor of Ripon. The original Bedern was probably in Bedernbank, in the Chapter's liberty.<sup>60</sup> The Archbishop had thus increased his influence over the vicars by placing them within his lordship as well as by incorporating them.

The New Bedern evidently provided the separate quarters the vicars felt were appropriate to men of their standing. The structure no longer exists and Leland offers the best description of it, having seen it on his visit to Ripon. He wrote that 'the vicars houses be by it [the Archbishop's palace] in a fair quadrant of square stone buildid by Henry Bouet Archebissshop of York'.<sup>61</sup> The arrangement at Ripon probably corresponded to Stocker's final phase of development for vicars' accommodation at English secular cathedrals. In this phase, the vicars at last attained a close formed of individual houses.<sup>62</sup> The Ripon evidence permits no more than speculation, but it seems likely that the abandonment of the first Bedern in favour of private accommodation took the place of the intermediate phase that Stocker identified, in which the vicars of many secular cathedrals lived together but had separate *cubiculi* or private rooms within their common dwelling.<sup>63</sup>

Wills of Ripon vicars provide more information regarding the New Bedern and its chapel of St Nicholas. In disposing of his possessions in 1471, the vicar John Exilby wrote

I leave my breviary to remain forever in the chapel of St Nicholas in the New Bedern of the said collegiate church, under this condition: that my brothers of the said Bedern should pay or cause to be paid six marks to a certain suitable chaplain to celebrate for my soul immediately after my death, and if they should not desire to do so, the breviary should be sold and disposed of by my executors.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 127. Clay found evidence for what she believed was another Ripon hospital, that of St Nicholas in Bondgate. See Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London: Methuen, 1909), p. 334. An entry in the patent rolls, dated 12 June 1350, refers to 'William Germeyn, warden, and the brethren, of the hospital of St Nicholas, Bondgateende by Rypoun', who were gathering alms at this date. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward III*, 16 vols (London: HMSO, 1891–1916), VIII (1905), 537.

<sup>60</sup> Gilyard-Beer, 'Bedern Bank and the Bedern Ripon', p. 141.

<sup>61</sup> *The Itinerary of John Leland*, I, 81.

<sup>62</sup> Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door', p. 29.

<sup>63</sup> Stocker, 'The Quest for One's Own Front Door', p. 29. The disposition of the Ripon close was generally less formal than at the English cathedrals. Rather than an inner court with the churchyard and an outer court with essential workshops and living quarters, Ripon had only an inner court with the churchyard and some workshops. There was no outer court with a boundary wall, though many canons' and chaplains' residences were located in surrounding streets, especially Annsgate. This arrangement probably made clerical behaviour more difficult to control and there are a number of recorded incidents of clerical incontinence committed with women resident in Annsgate.

<sup>64</sup> 'lego portiferium meum ad remanendum in perpetuum in capella Sancti Nicholai, infra Novam Bedernam ecclesie collegiate predictae, sub hac condicione, quot fratres mei dictae Bedernae reddant vel

He also bequeathed them his mazer, which was gilded and bound with silver.<sup>65</sup> The bequest of the mazer would have kept him in the memory of his fellow vicars, who would have seen and used it, but more significantly Exilby's will shows that vicars could endow chantries in their chapel rather than rely on the use of an altar in the minster.<sup>66</sup> The chapel would have been another mark of the vicars' greater status after their incorporation. In the 1340s the York vicars constructed their own chapel, which was too small to be used by more than a few of them at a time, but it was placed in a prominent location to demonstrate to passers-by that they had a thriving community.<sup>67</sup> The size and visibility of the Ripon vicars' chapel is unknown. There is no evidence that any vicars were ever buried by this altar or on the grounds of the New Bedern, which probably did not have burial rights.<sup>68</sup>

As a corporation with its own seal and proctor, as well as a common residence, the vicars were an important sub-group of minster clergy. By contrast, there were probably never enough canons resident for them to develop a communal identity separate from the rest of the minster clergy, and the chantry chaplains were never incorporated. Above and beyond the parochial duties which the vicars were originally intended to fulfil, they also became important agents of intercession and commemoration. While wealthier people could afford to endow chantries, those with fewer resources arranged for anniversaries to be performed. The duty of performing these services often fell to the vicars. As a result, especially after their incorporation, the vicars accumulated rents and properties from anniversary endowments. Keeping records of their properties could only have strengthened their sense of corporate identity.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the vicars' proctor was no mere figurehead but was actively involved in pursuing their interests. In 1454 he and the Fabric warden called John Tuppe before the Chapter Court over a testamentary sum of 16s.<sup>70</sup>

Further evidence of the vicars' perceived status can be found in wills and capitular citations for misconduct. The vicar Robert Brompton's will includes a bequest of his silver spoons.<sup>71</sup> The vicar John Exilby possessed a gold ring that would have been a conspicuous sign

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solvi faciant cuidam capellano idoneo ad celebrandum pro anima mea immediate post decessum meum, sex marcas, et si noluerint, vendatur, et disponatur per executores meos', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 169.

<sup>65</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 169.

<sup>66</sup> As will be seen in the following chapter, the altars of the minster were becoming increasingly burdened by the chantry foundations of the clergy, gentry, and guilds.

<sup>67</sup> Stocker, 'The Quest for One's own Front Door', p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> The Ladykirk and hospital of St Mary Magdalene had chapels with burial rights; the former because of its origins as a chapel in the Wilfridian monastery, the latter by virtue of being a leper hospital. See Chapter 4, pp. 95–102. The New Bedern could not make these claims and, due to its late foundation, is unlikely to have acquired such rights from the minster. Moreover, there are no recorded requests by vicars for burial at this location.

<sup>69</sup> David Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. 135.

<sup>70</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 43.

<sup>71</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 154.

of his wealth when he wore it.<sup>72</sup> The records also show that many vicars aimed to increase their income and raise their social standing still further by resigning in favour of being appointed as a chantry priest. Cantarists had no parochial responsibilities and had enough free time to make additional income by working in the minster's administration, teaching, or playing music.<sup>73</sup> Income could be augmented still further by attendance at funerals and obits. When discussing this subject in her monograph on British medieval chantries, Kathleen Wood-Legh singled Ripon out as one example of a church with a large enough number of regular obits and funerals to make attending these services profitable.<sup>74</sup> Vicars could make money this way also, but they were more likely to have other obligations due to their parochial responsibilities. The wills of some chantry priests show that they also emulated people of high standing in secular society. Their attitudes are most clearly evident in their possession of weapons.<sup>75</sup> William Forster bequeathed his sword and bow to his servant, and Thomas Hawk left a battle-axe and sword to a member of the Markenfield family.<sup>76</sup> There is no doubt that the vicars and other priests in Ripon must have been a valuable source of income for the victuallers and craftsmen of Ripon who catered to their needs, though unfortunately there are no records of the household expenses of any of Ripon's clergy to confirm this.<sup>77</sup>

## 2.2: *The Chantry Chaplains*

The foundation of chantries by guilds, gentry families, and clerics is discussed in detail in the following chapter. Here the focus is on the chantry priests and their responsibilities and contributions to the administration of the minster. The overlap of responsibilities and the desirability of chaplaincies over a cure of souls is also examined. There are many documentary sources that provide information on the chantry priests and their careers, including wills, Dissolution-era surveys, Fabric Rolls and other accounts, and the Chapter Acts. Taken altogether, these sources for medieval Ripon provide a wide range of information about the minster's cantarists. In the course of this research a database was created with entries for each record of a chaplain, the generic title often used to describe a chantry priest or vicar. From this database a list of all known vicars and chantry chaplains was created. This list gives a much clearer picture of the careers of these men than was previously available as only the canons' careers have previously been researched.<sup>78</sup> The list has been appended to this thesis.

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<sup>72</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 170.

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>74</sup> Kathleen Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 203.

<sup>75</sup> Rubin, 'Identities', p. 398.

<sup>76</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 86 and 137.

<sup>77</sup> Small households could spend half of their income on food in a year. See Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 55. Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community*, p. 150.

<sup>78</sup> See *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 184–258.

Chantry priests were integral to the administration of the minster, often serving as Fabric wardens, chamberlains, and sub-treasurers. They were never incorporated like the vicars and generally lived dispersed throughout the town. Some, like the cantarist of St Andrew, were provided with a residence by their patrons. Their basic annual salaries (around £4) were often less than those of the vicars (£6 from the mid fourteenth century) but their service as administrators augmented their income. The vicars' cure of souls prevented them from saying regular chantry masses or from acting as officers of the minster, and the absenteeism of prebendaries meant that they were not occupying the majority of these offices either. Some chantry chaplains became wealthy from their work as demonstrated by their wills, and their separate residences were probably as socially significant for them as for the vicars.

There were nine chantries in the minster in 1536 and eight in 1546. Those named in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* were the chantries of the Assumption, two Holy Trinity chantries, St Thomas, St Andrew, St Wilfrid, SS John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, St James, and St Mary in the Ladyloft.<sup>79</sup> The Ladyloft chantry is not mentioned in the 1546 chantry certificate.<sup>80</sup> The names of a total of fifty-six chantry priests are known for the minster's eight chantries.<sup>81</sup> The earliest information about them comes from the late fourteenth century, but most evidence is from the following century. Five of the fifty-six have been positively identified as having been vicars before becoming chantry priests, and three of these five became chantry chaplains of the guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. About a third (nineteen) of the chantry priests definitely died while in office, compared with six who either resigned or were removed from their posts. The evidence shows that the majority of chantry chaplains serving the chantries of the Assumption and Holy Trinity (Plumpton) — five out of ten for the former and seven out of ten for the latter — died in that office. The impression is that for the chaplains of the guild of the Assumption the post was the last in their careers. Most of them appear to have served as guild chaplains for ten years or less. Two of them — John Tone and Henry Ward — had previously spent over a decade each as vicars at Ripon (Nunwick and Sharow respectively).

Surviving evidence also indicates that many chantry priests served in the administration of the minster as Fabric wardens, chamberlains, and subtreasurers; Christopher Kendale (c. 1488) served as all three. Service in the administration of the minster increased the income of chantry chaplains. Fabric wardens earned 20s annually; the subtreasurer, 40s; and the chamberlain, 66s 8d. Even the warden of St Wilfrid's head, who could be a chantry chaplain, earned 20s a year for assuming this responsibility. The salaries of the cantarists, when augmented by additional responsibilities, were probably similar to the £6 salaries of the vicars.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 5–8.

<sup>80</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 15–22.

<sup>81</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>82</sup> Kreider wrote that the late-medieval chantry priest required an annual income of £8, but Edwards observed that in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* chantry chaplain salaries were mostly £4–£6. Wood-Legh gave £4–£5 as the average annual income after 1350. See Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to*

As there were only seven canons in total, and generally only two of them were resident at a time, the institutional operations of the minster depended heavily upon the services of the chantry chaplains. Many administrative functions performed by chantry chaplains would have been the province of churchwardens at most parish churches, including maintenance of chantry property and of the church building.

The Archbishop's chantry chaplain, like those based in the minster, may have served as part of the institutional administration. John Frankish, who was the minster's subtreasurer from the 1450s to the 1470s is also recorded as 'the chaplain of the chantry of St John the Evangelist within the manor of the lord of Ripon'.<sup>83</sup> This description seems to refer to the archbishop in his role as lord of Ripon, which would make Frankish the archbishop's chantry chaplain, although not all of the details add up. The dedication of the chantry as recorded elsewhere is St Mary, and there is no explanation for why it was listed as St John in these accounts.<sup>84</sup> Frankish seems to have been a popular enough surname in Ripon, so there is also the possibility that there were two men with the same name at this date. It seems more likely, however, that there was only one John Frankish serving as a chaplain at this time. Involvement in the minster's regular business would have made the Archbishop's chaplain even more like the other chantry chaplains of the minster.

Chantry priests performed many of the administrative duties that were undertaken by churchwardens at most medieval English parish churches. Churchwardens would ordinarily have been responsible for maintaining the fabric of the nave of the parish church, but because Ripon Minster was a collegiate church since before the Conquest, the entire building was maintained by its Chapter of canons. There were two clerical Fabric wardens each year who collected the Fabric's income and then spent it as necessary to repair the minster. These same wardens may have been responsible for the maintenance of estates owned by their chantries as well. Other responsibilities, such as the maintenance of obits, were undertaken by the vicars at Ripon.

### 2.3: Conclusions

The vicars are as essential as the canons to any discussion of the minster's clergy. They were originally instituted to attend to the parochial cure of souls that might otherwise have been neglected due to absenteeism among the canons. They were initially housed in a dormitory-style

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*Dissolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 21–23; Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), p. 301; Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, p. 203. The Valor Ecclesiasticus survey for the Ripon chantries shows that most were valued at around £4, but all assets may not have been disclosed, and the chantries may have decayed somewhat in worth from their original value, so it is difficult to say what they were worth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

<sup>83</sup> 'capellano cantariæ Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ infra manerium dni. Ripon', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 216.

<sup>84</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 16–17.

residence which they later abandoned in favour of separate houses more suited to their rising social status. Evidence of this status can be found in wills of vicars and in their attempts to increase their salaries so that they could afford servants and horses. When they were incorporated in the fifteenth century, the vicars were given a new residence with separate dwellings in which they were willing to reside, and they were also given the right to elect a procurator, use a common seal, and hold property in mortmain. The mortmain licence enabled the vicars to accumulate an urban estate in exchange for the annual obits they performed and their incorporation accelerated the vicars' development of a collective identity. The vicars' New Bedern and new privileges came from the Archbishop, not the Chapter, and required their recognition of the Archbishop as patron by praying for his wellbeing.

The vicars' involvement with obits gave them an important role in the commemoration of the dead. For their own commemoration, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century vicars could use their private chapel in the New Bedern. Some of them also chose to be buried by their parochial altars in the minster. In doing so they hoped to be remembered by their successors and parishioners, but this could bring them into conflict with chantry founders, guilds, and gentry families, all of whom had various designs on these same spaces. Their attitudes towards types of residence and burial demonstrate the vicars had a sense of elevated social standing. The chaplains of the chantries may have been no different as the wills of both groups show that they were often wealthy. Because they were never incorporated, the chantry chaplains lacked the collective power of the vicars. As individuals, though, the chantry chaplains could often wield significant influence by holding important administrative posts at the minster. These posts also augmented their basic salaries which were otherwise lower than those of the vicars. The cure of souls appears to have been burdensome to many vicars who moved to fill chantry chaplaincies when they became available.

Chantries and obits were founded throughout the parish churches of medieval England just as they were at Ripon. They were good works undertaken to reduce the time spent in purgatory by their founders. Ordinarily both types of foundation would have been administered by the lay churchwardens of the parish church.<sup>85</sup> Ripon had no lay churchwardens and the responsibility for maintaining obits and chantries was in the hands of various clerics. Obits were under the control of the vicars by the fifteenth century. Before that date obits were often paid for by rents charged to properties in the hands of the Fabric wardens. Chantries and their properties were generally under the control of the Chapter and the chantry priests. The Chapter was made patron of many of the minster chantries and the cantarists were responsible for maintaining properties attached to their chantries.

Many subjects introduced in this chapter are significant in the following chapter as well. An attempt has been made to identify the locations and dedications of the parochial altars, and

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<sup>85</sup> Burgess, "A Fond Thing Vainly Invented", pp. 77–78; Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400–1560*, p. 23.

the desire of vicars to be buried by their parochial altars has been examined. Parochial altars are also significant in the following chapter where burial by these altars is one of the key subjects. The chantries are also examined in greater detail to see when they were founded, who founded them, and who benefited from their existence. The discussion of chantries builds on the discussion of obits in this chapter. Up to this point the clergy have been the focus but that focus now shifts largely to lay patrons, especially the wealthy burgesses and gentry.

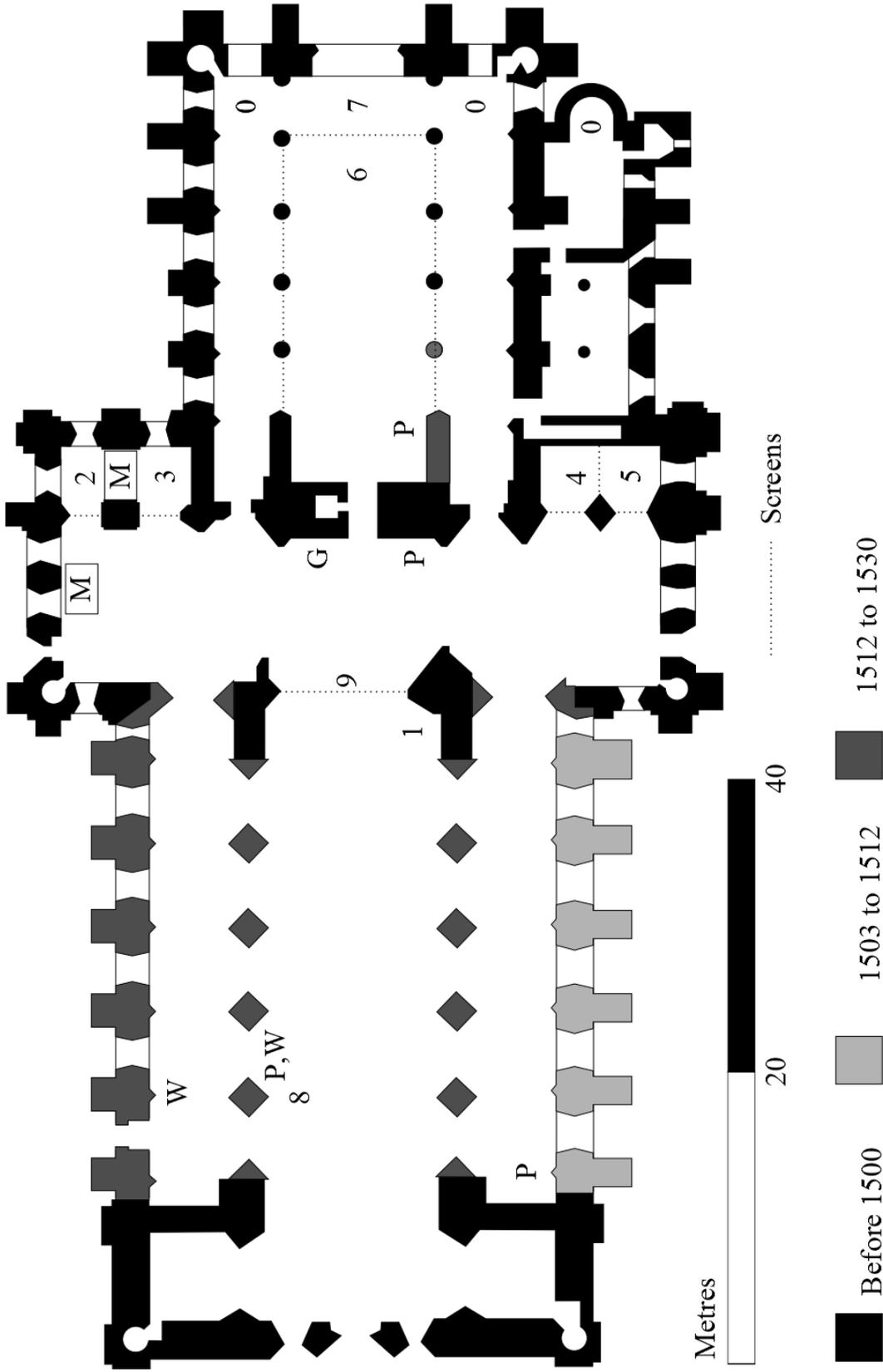


Figure 3.1: Plan of the Minster with Altars, Saints, Heraldry, and Tombs

This plan shows the minster in its final form with renovated nave, completed c. 1530. (Plan drawn after Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 147.) It thus highlights the presence of Pigot heraldry on renovations completed at different stages (see Chapters 5 and 6). All known altars are labelled as in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. These labels are reproduced here with foundation dates for chantries. It also shows the known locations of saints' images. Information regarding altars and saints images has been reconstructed from documentary sources but some images cannot be located precisely enough to label on the plan. Accounts show that there were images of St Eligius, St Wilfrid, and St Zita in the 'body of the church', which at Ripon may mean the nave, the transept arms, or the crossing. The plan only shows the locations where select heraldry and surviving tombs may still be found today because it is not practical to present the locations of all heraldry and likely tomb locations. Antiquarian accounts indicate that there were Malory tombs in the south transept arm and that its ceiling formerly bore the heraldry of the Malories, Nortons, and Pigots.

0	Site of an altar, dedication and function unknown
1	altar of St James/Holy Trinity/Holy Cross; chantry of St James (1407) and Sendale Holy Trinity chantry (1467)
2	altar of St Andrew; prebendal altar of Monkton; chantry of St Andrew (c. 1233, re-founded 1370)
3	altar of St John the Baptist; prebendal altar of Thorpe; chantry of SS John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (1364)
4	altar of St William; prebendal altar of Givendale; chantry of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (1416)
5	altar of St Thomas the Martyr; prebendal altar of Studley; chantry of St Wilfrid (1419)
6	High Altar
7	Shrine of St Wilfrid; Plumpton Holy Trinity chantry; images of St Roche and St Mary
8	image of St Mary (pietà)
9	Rood
P	Heraldry of the Pigot family
G	Ward of Givendale (also appears on both Markenfield tombs)
M	Markenfield tomb
W	Heraldry of the Wakeman

### Chapter 3: Space and Commemoration in the Minster: Chantries, Burials, and Guilds

The previous two chapters introduced the minster clergy who formed the institutional minster. This chapter examines the use of space in the minster, posing and answering questions about relationships between laypeople and clergy and about the role of space in the minster in structuring and representing society.

The spaces of the minster could both define and be defined by its clergy and lay parishioners, living and dead. The gentry and religious fraternities made spatial claims which were mediated by the Chapter. The Chapter's ability to regulate the use of space in the minster had important spiritual and social consequences for its parishioners. The Chapter determined who could have access to what parts of the building at what times. Access to the liturgical choir was restricted, but the Chapter could open it to certain individuals during services. The restriction of attendance of the high mass to the social elites of the parish must be considered when interpreting chantry endowments and masses because the inaccessibility of the high mass meant that chantry masses were the primary available option for most parishioners to attend in person. Regulation of space extended also to the dead, not all of whom were permitted burial within the building. The restriction of intramural burial made it another, more permanent mark of individual — and by extension familial — status. Some families were buried in clusters around altars where chantry masses were said for their members.

The minster-based guilds had needs and interests that differed from those of the gentry families. One or more of the minster's guilds were probably based in the south transept, and another was centred on an altar in the nave. Guild members do not appear to have requested burial near the altars of their guilds, and many — especially the less wealthy — were presumably buried in the minster churchyard rather than within the building. They were more interested in having a space for services and possibly also a space for socializing and holding other guild ceremonies than in creating collections of tombs. The graves of guild members were not present in the spaces of the minster where they were commemorated, yet the presence of the guilds at certain altars was strong enough that they were known in the sixteenth century by the patron saint of the guild rather than by the saint to which they were originally dedicated. All chantries established in the minster increased the number of masses being celebrated there, meaning that there were more masses for the minster's parishioners to attend. In this sense, chantry foundations had spiritual benefits for all parishioners. As a result, although most parishioners could not attend the high mass in the choir, they could regularly participate in any number of chantry masses, to the spiritual benefit of all concerned.

#### 3.1: *Liturgy and Burial*

The right to attend the high mass in the choir and the right to be buried within the minster were two important privileges which the Chapter of canons controlled. The few laypeople who were

permitted to attend the high mass were afforded a very desirable privilege denied to most. The high mass at Ripon was performed on a much grander scale than in most parish churches and was more akin to that of a small cathedral or religious house. Chantry masses were much more accessible, and provided the only opportunities for most of Ripon's parishioners to participate in the liturgy.<sup>1</sup> Attendance of the high mass was also a mark of social standing because it was restricted to men of importance, and women were excluded entirely. The privilege of burial within the minster was open to more people but was still exclusive and expensive enough to be a mark of status. Both men and women of the gentry and others with sufficient means were allowed to be buried in the building. The extent of intramural burials is unknown beyond those recorded in wills because the floor has been repaved and few medieval monuments have survived. The canons and also the gentry sought burial near the altars where their chantry masses were performed, thus redefining chapels and altars into sites of family or individual commemoration.

The best evidence regarding the presence of laypeople in the choir during services comes from the archiepiscopal registers. Archbishop Greenfield (1304–1315) attempted to influence the Chapter by ordering it to limit intramural burial and to restrict access to the choir during services.<sup>2</sup> An archiepiscopal letter dated October 1312 indicates that the Chapter was admitting laypeople to the choir during services. Greenfield considered these people a distraction and commanded that 'no women, religious or secular, nor laypeople except for great and noble persons' be present there during mass.<sup>3</sup> Greenfield offered no more specific information as to which men were great and noble but it seems most likely that he intended the local knights to be allowed access. These men would have been the heads of local families, including the Ingilbies, Kendales, Pigots, Malories, Markenfields, Nortons, Plumptions, Tempests, and Wards. Some of these families were within the parish while others were not, but together these were, at various times, the local families of knights around Ripon. The best information regarding the history of these families can be found in Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon'.<sup>4</sup> The wealthy male burgesses of Ripon were the most influential group to be excluded from the high mass, but they eventually channelled their religious devotion into the various guilds founded in Ripon.

Laypeople had two probable motivations for wanting to be present for services in the choir. The first was spiritual. They desired direct involvement in services and the opportunity to

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<sup>1</sup> Duffy has noted that the weekday low masses at chantry altars were more accessible to the laity than the Sunday high mass. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 112. The situation at Ripon was more extreme than most parish churches because the choir screen prevented the laity from even viewing the ritual.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 60 and 71–72.

<sup>3</sup> 'nullas [...] mulieres, religiosas vel sæculares, nec laicos nisi magnas et nobiles personas', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', pp. 43–85. See also Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*; and Wilcock, 'Local Disorder in the Honour of Knaresborough', pp. 39–80.

witness the miracle of transubstantiation.<sup>5</sup> The second motivation was secular. Permission to attend services in the choir bestowed upon people who were granted this privilege the distinction of being among the great and noble. The Chapter's ability to offer these privileges to laypeople was a source of influence with parishioners that Archbishop Greenfield was eager to curb. He could find theological grounds to interfere, because it was generally thought that the choir of a church was meant for use only by the celibate, not those who used their bodies sexually.<sup>6</sup> His motivation was probably not entirely theological as he had no qualms about permitting married men to attend the high mass, provided they were of sufficiently high social standing. Greenfield's citation regarding laypeople in the choir helped to create and maintain a spatial privilege which was a mark of the male gentry, while all women, regardless of social status, were denied the same privilege. The exclusivity of the choir was probably maintained more or less as Greenfield ordered because it was not mentioned in later archiepiscopal visitations. Other archbishops were no more lenient than Greenfield and noted many other abuses and poor practices.

One of the key recent debates about space in late medieval English churches centres on the question of whether or not the gentry were privatizing space. Duffy is firmly opposed to the idea that they were. He has argued against the views of Graves and Colin Richmond that they were, contending instead that the aim of the gentry was to dominate rather than withdraw from the liturgy.<sup>7</sup> Roffey has sided with Duffy, arguing that the goal of medieval English chantry founders was generally 'a "personalization" and not a privatisation of church space'.<sup>8</sup> At Ripon the actions of the gentry can best be interpreted as personalization. It was demonstrated in Chapter 2 that there were no clear sight lines from the parochial altars to the high altar.<sup>9</sup> This emphasized the distinction between the liturgical space of the minster clergy and that of the minster's parishioners. Most chantries were established at the parochial altars and thus could not develop into private pews from which the gentry could observe the high mass and no new chantry chapels could be constructed for this purpose. The privilege that most closely equates to the creation of a privatized space at Ripon was permission to attend the high mass in the choir, but it is better to view this as a form of hospitality extended by the Chapter to their most

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<sup>5</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 95–102.

<sup>6</sup> Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe*, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 122. See Colin F. Richmond, 'Religion and the Fifteenth-century English Gentleman', in *The Church, Politics, and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by R. B. Dobson (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), pp. 193–208; Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>8</sup> Roffey, *Medieval Chantry Chapel*, p. 41. See also John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth Century Almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 8; With regard to the potential educational duties of cantarists, G. M. Draper writes that 'medieval commemoration should be seen as deeply rooted in the lives and social aspirations of individuals, but expressed corporately and extending beyond personal and family benefit', G. M. Draper, "'There Hath not bene any gramar scole kepte, preacher mayntened, or pore people releved other than ... by the same chauntreye": Educational Provision of Piety in Kent, c. 1400–1640', in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400–1640*, ed. by Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 75–91 (p. 90).

<sup>9</sup> Chapter 2, p. 48.

important lay benefactors. The choir remained the space of the minster clergy and those admitted to the services there were essentially guests. Moreover, at Ripon the privilege was gendered. Whole gentry families with private side aisles could enjoy the mass together, but at Ripon only men could attend the high mass in the choir. The chantries founded by the gentry at altars in the minster could serve many purposes but the privatization of space was not one of them. The efforts of some gentry families to personalize the space of parochial altars and chapels was very intense in some cases and is discussed in later sections of this chapter.

Individuals, families, and guilds could also be symbolically present in the choir. Heraldry, carved or painted on the fabric of the building or set in stained glass, represented some of the local gentry families. Carved in stone above the south choir stalls, a shield bearing the arms of the Pigot family can still be seen today. It would have been a visible reminder to the clergy of the Pigots' benefactions even when no member of the family attended services. There are two other shields, formerly painted but now blank, and another carved shield with unidentified heraldry in the same location.<sup>10</sup> (Figure 6.8) These four shields mark renovations performed sometime after the 1450 tower collapse, probably in the 1520s.<sup>11</sup> Chantry priests could also be placed among the celebrants of the high mass, thus allowing guilds, most of whose members would have been barred from the high mass, to contribute to its liturgical elaboration. Even Archbishop Greenfield, whose chantry was established at his palace in Ripon, ordered his chantry priest to take part in services and processions at the minster.<sup>12</sup> Chantry masses, regardless of their founders' status in society, would have been a much more accessible form of liturgy for all Ripon's parishioners and they were presumably very attractive to the pious who were eager to attend mass as regularly as possible. The local gentry may have attended these masses too, but most — including the Markenfields, Pigots, Kendales, and Wards — could hear mass at private chantry chapels on their estates.

The Chapter also had the ability to permit or deny requests for burial within the minster. The dead buried within the church could be closer to images of the saints. Proximity to saints' images and relics was a form of appeal to the saints for intercession and could help the souls of the dead traverse purgatory more swiftly. Many wills contain bequests for burial near saints' images.<sup>13</sup> Burial inside the church exposed the tombs and memorial slabs of the dead to greater publicity and hence could attract the intercession of the living in the form of prayers as well as celebrate the status of the individual and the family to which they belonged. Ripon Minster's

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<sup>10</sup> The second carved shield may refer to the wife of the Pigot benefactor who was commemorated by the heraldry in the nave. This argument was made by James Raine, who described the second arms as *ermine, a fess*. See *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 157n. The arms are sometimes erroneously identified as those of the Markenfields. Two nineteenth century illustrations in the Dean and Chapter archive have the arms alternately as *vair, a fess* and *vair, three saltires or on a fess gules* for Marmion. See Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 101.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 6, 148–50.

<sup>12</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 159.

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 145–48.

status as an important pilgrimage destination and large parish church guaranteed a high level of traffic which equated to a greater volume of intercession for the dead. Tombs or other monuments were also statements of wealth and power. For those buried inside the minster, their tombs could be combined with an altar and chantry foundation to refashion space so that chapels became associated with the memory of the dead and with that of their families in a process which has been explored by Graves, Roffey, and Douglas.<sup>14</sup> Intramural burial could also benefit living family members because the presence of their dead ancestors' tombs could condition the living to accept the superior hierarchical position of the family in society, as argued by Douglas.<sup>15</sup> Anniversary services and chantry masses held in these chapels could accomplish the same while also enhancing the liturgy of the minster.<sup>16</sup> Burial in the minster was popular as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Archbishop Greenfield decreed 'that none should be buried in the church of Ripon except great and honest persons and those who should have well merited it with regard to the said church'.<sup>17</sup> Burial in the church, like lay participation in high mass in the choir, conferred elevated status upon those permitted it, and also upon their families; moreover, intramural burial was open to women, who were categorically excluded from services in the choir, so entire gentry families could be and most likely were buried together.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, burgesses could be buried in the minster, though they were excluded from the choir. Greenfield's concern to limit the Chapter's ability to extend this privilege reflects the same anxieties as his efforts to prevent lay access to the choir. Of the local gentry families, only the Malories, Markenfields, and Pigots developed family burial traditions in the minster; the other families were buried elsewhere for various reasons. The minster was an equally appropriate place of burial for its clergy and some minster canons also chose to be buried or at least endow chantries in the minster, and these foundations form the subject of the following section.

### 3.2: *Chantries Founded by Canons*

The minster's canons founded its earliest chantries, often to the benefit of themselves, noble families, and other ecclesiastics. The majority of the eight perpetual chantries recorded in 1546 were originally founded by minster canons. In *c.* 1233 Geoffrey de Larder endowed a chantry at the altar of St Andrew in the north transept. This chantry was re-endowed in 1370 by Canon David de Wollore. The close association between the chantry and the Markenfield family, which began with its re-foundation, is discussed below. Two chantries founded by canons were

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<sup>14</sup> Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, pp. 14–15; Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel*, pp. 81–126; Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', pp. 68–74.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', p. 70.

<sup>16</sup> Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', p. 70.

<sup>17</sup> 'quod nulli sepeliantur in ecclesia Ripon' nisi magnæ et honestæ personæ et quæ bene meritæ fuerint erga ecclesiam memoratam', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 60.

<sup>18</sup> The Markenfields and Malories are two examples of families buried together while the Pigots may have been spread more widely within the minster.

dedicated to Holy Trinity. One was founded by William Plumpton in 1345, and the other was founded by John Sendale in 1467. The Chapter also appears to have founded the chantry known as the Ladyloft, probably *c.* 1290–1320 but definitely before 1369.

The chantry of St Mary in the Ladyloft was the only chantry for which a new chapel was constructed. All other chantries fit Roffey's definition of an adaptive chantry, meaning that they made use of existing architectural space.<sup>19</sup> Existing associations, such as with a parish, were advantageous to most chantry founders but not a concern for the Chapter. It intended to keep the chapel exclusive by constructing it above the Chapter House. There is some uncertainty as to the date of construction of the Ladyloft. Walbran argued that it was built in the fifteenth century, around the year 1482.<sup>20</sup> Scott rebutted Walbran's claim on architectural grounds, arguing for a fourteenth-century date instead.<sup>21</sup> Subsequent scholars such as Parker and Smith have accepted Scott's argument.<sup>22</sup> Hallett wrote that 'its architecture, which is Decorated rather than Perpendicular, would be in favour of ascribing it to the middle of the previous [fourteenth] century, were it not for a certain coarseness of execution which makes a suspension of judgment advisable'.<sup>23</sup> The date of its construction is significant because it indicates a need for more clergy and more space in the early fourteenth century. These were the Chapter's needs, not those of the other chantry founders, who were quite satisfied founding their chantries at existing altars or at least within the existing structure.

The Ladyloft must postdate the *c.* 1290 work because its construction blocks the passage through the flying buttress pinnacles above the south choir aisle. This passage corresponds to a roofline and gutter which were the mirror image of those on the north side of the choir. The roofline of both choir aisles was probably lowered when the Ladyloft was constructed. The construction of the Ladyloft would have blocked the light from the twelfth-century roundheaded windows of the south choir aisle. Lowering the pitch of the roof so that the triforium could be glazed would have let more light into the choir, which would have compensated for the loss of light caused by the construction of the Ladyloft.<sup>24</sup> The roof of the north choir aisle was probably also lowered to improve lighting and for symmetry. The same white magnesian limestone was used to raise the existing Chapter House buttresses and to construct an embattled parapet. The parapet indicates a construction date of the fourteenth century or later, but it closely resembles the transept parapets and could have been added with them in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

The internal features of the Ladyloft suggest a construction date of sometime in the early fourteenth century. The piscina and aumbry are paired together in the south wall of the

<sup>19</sup> Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel*, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> Walbran *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> Scott, 'Ripon Minster', p. 315.

<sup>22</sup> Parker, *Ripon Cathedral Church*, p. 128; Smith, *Story of Ripon Minster*, p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> Hallett, *Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 538 and 540–41.

<sup>25</sup> Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 398.

chapel. The opening for the piscina is a trefoil arch with a roll moulding. The piscina and aumbry both have straight gable canopies without crockets though they do have floriated pinnacles. These features date them to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. If they were of later date, the piscina and aumbry would have ogee rather than straight canopies. The chapel's relation to the c. 1290 flying buttresses gives a *terminus post quem* for its construction; the depredations of Scottish raiders between 1318 and 1322 offer a possible *terminus ante quem*. While the level of destruction wrought upon the town and minster by the raiders has often been exaggerated, there is little doubt that their visitation of the town and its surroundings in 1318 drained the financial resources of the Chapter and the area around Ripon.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the work was undertaken afterwards, in the late 1320s. In July 1328, Archbishop Melton authorised John de Fitlyng, chaplain, and John de Lumby, clerk, to collect alms for the fabric of the minster and to issue indulgences of forty days to donors.<sup>27</sup> The work to be performed with the funds is not specified but may have been the Ladyloft and its architectural features support such a date.<sup>28</sup>

It was common for Lady chapels to be built as extensions of the eastern arms of churches in medieval England. Positioning chapels at the extreme end of buildings lent them a greater symbolic weight, but at Ripon the slope of the ground to the east of the Minster would have made construction there difficult. Two factors lent the chapel additional gravity to compensate for what was lost by not siting it east of the high altar. The first is that it was probably as far east as the high altar, which would have been in the second to last rather than the final bay of the choir. The second is that the chapel was located above the Chapter House and, perhaps more significantly, above the crypt which served as charnel house for the minster. In this respect the Ladyloft was analogous to the carny chapel at Norwich Cathedral, whose iconography Gilchrist has argued was meant to resemble a reliquary.<sup>29</sup>

The construction of the Ladyloft increased the liturgical function of the Chapter House and expanded the clerical staff of the minster by the addition of a chantry priest. This priest could and often did perform other important functions at the minster.<sup>30</sup> In particular, playing the organ seems to have been associated with the chantry priest of the Ladyloft. This connection probably explains some curious features in the south transept and south choir aisle. In the northern wall of the south transept arcade, adjacent to the door of the Ladyloft is a small door which now leads nowhere. Corresponding to this door in the westernmost bay of the south choir aisle there are corbels which once supported a platform. Formerly the door would have opened onto this platform and thereby given direct access from the Ladyloft to the organ that once sat

<sup>26</sup> Werronen, 'Ripon and the Scottish Raids, 1318–1322', 174–84.

<sup>27</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 98. Melton did not describe the work that was underway.

<sup>28</sup> The earliest definite record of a priest serving in the chantry of the Ladyloft is from 1369. *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 170.

<sup>29</sup> Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 101–02.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 34–35.

upon the pulpitum.<sup>31</sup> Until 1913 there was a platform here that connected the two.<sup>32</sup> The 1399–1400 Fabric Roll records repairs to the organ bellows, and the 1453–1455 Fabric Roll similarly records a payment of 20s to William Organmaker ‘for repairing the organ with the bellows of the same’.<sup>33</sup> The connecting door and passage may have been added as part of the renovations after the 1450 tower collapse.

Unlike the Ladyloft, the two Holy Trinity chantries were established within the existing fabric of the minster, but there has been some debate in the past over their locations. Confusion has resulted from the use of terms like *supra summum altare* to describe the location of the earlier of the two, which was founded by William Plumpton, a canon of the minster from a local gentry family. A reference to the chantry in the Chamberlain’s Roll of 1503 settles the matter with the use of *retro* instead of *supra* to describe the location of this chantry. While *supra* could be read as beyond or above, *retro* is less ambiguous and demonstrates the altar used by the chantry was in the ambulatory behind the high altar.<sup>34</sup> According to its 1546 Chantry Certificate, the chantry was founded in 1345.<sup>35</sup> The patent rolls show the foundation occurred in two parts. The initial foundation and endowment required a mortmain licence costing 12 marks (£8) which was purchased in 1345.<sup>36</sup> A small additional endowment was made in 1362, its licence costing only £2.<sup>37</sup> Surviving records show the Plumptons appointed new cantarists as necessary throughout the fifteenth century, and at its dissolution the Plumpton Holy Trinity chantry had goods valued at 3s 8d and plate worth £1 4s.<sup>38</sup> It received annual rents from properties in and around Ripon, including gardens and three cottages in Annsgate and Bondgate, totalling in all £4 8s 4d.<sup>39</sup> It is interesting to note that the chantry’s Ripon rents were from small properties such as gardens and cottages rather than tenements or messuages, though it did hold a tenement at Newby and some agricultural lands outside of Ripon.<sup>40</sup>

By locating their chantry in the choir, the Plumpton family made themselves a permanent presence in the holiest part of the minster. They stamped their identity on the space, although due to its location their chantry could never be a private chapel for use during services. It is not possible to comment further on the arrangement of this chantry because no physical

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<sup>31</sup> Harrison and Barker note that the corbel brackets in the south choir aisle bay adjacent to the south transept arm were added to support vault ribs and were added to reinforce the tower not long after its initial construction. They do not explain the purpose of the door. See Harrison and Barker, ‘Ripon Cathedral’, p. 63.

<sup>32</sup> Gowland, ‘Ripon Minster and its Precincts’, p. 274.

<sup>33</sup> ‘pro emendacione de organicis cum les belousse earundem’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 132 and 161–62.

<sup>34</sup> The passage describes a donation at the image of St Roche, reading, ‘coram ymagine Sci. Rochi iuxta Scæ. Trinitatis retro summum altare’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 263.

<sup>35</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward III*, VI, 455.

<sup>37</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward III*, XII, 181.

<sup>38</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 22.

<sup>40</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 22. Similar endowments seem to have predominated in late-medieval York; see R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London: Hambledon, 1996), p. 259.

evidence remains, except to add that it used one of the three piscinae in the stone bench against the east end of the building. The chantry did not obstruct this space or disrupt its use. Offerings at images in the ambulatory recorded in the Chamberlain's Rolls demonstrate that pious visitors were passing freely through the ambulatory down to the sixteenth century. The chantry was probably situated to benefit from pilgrim traffic rather than obstruct it. It is also interesting to note that the Plumpton chantry had a familial character to it, in contrast to those founded by other canons.

While the Plumpton Holy Trinity chantry was one of the earliest founded in the minster, the absence of the Plumpton arms (*azure, five fusils in a fess or, each charged with an escallop gules*) from late medieval work in the choir, crossing, and nave aisles indicates that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the continuing appointment of chantry chaplains was the extent of Plumpton interest in the minster. Their focus had shifted to Knaresborough by the mid fifteenth century, when Sir William Plumpton was steward of the town and led its tenants against the Ripon tenants of Archbishop Kemp. Plumpton was allied with the Percy family, unlike the Archbishop and one of the minster's most important patron families, the Markenfields, who favoured the Nevilles instead.<sup>41</sup> The Plumptons began to lose influence in Ripon during the reign of Henry IV (1399–1413). In 1405, John de Norton was made warrener of Ripon after his service to the king's brother, the Earl of Westmoreland; he replaced Hugh Kendale of Markington, who had been supported by John Scrope and William Plumpton.<sup>42</sup> Later that same year, William Gascoigne and Richard Norton were commissioned to look into the claim of Alice Plumpton that, her husband having died, she should be given back the lands around Ripon seized from the family on account of William Plumpton's opposition to Henry IV.<sup>43</sup> It is noteworthy that Plumpton had backed Hugh Kendale as warrener of Ripon and that Kendale was removed from that office and replaced by one of the Nortons. After this period, the Plumpton base shifted to Knaresborough.<sup>44</sup> At the same time the families of Norton, together with the Malories, rose to prominence as lords of Studley Royal and benefactors of the minster, especially the south transept arm whose repair they helped fund between 1450 and 1480.<sup>45</sup> The Plumptons maintained their relationship with the Percy earls of Northumberland throughout the fifteenth century. In the 1450s Sir William Plumpton was a retainer of the earl and also had a

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<sup>41</sup> Ruth Wilcock, 'Local Disorder in the Honour of Knaresborough, c. 1438–1461 and the National Context', *Northern History*, 41 (2004), 39–80 (pp. 43, 55, and 65); Pauline Sheppard Routh and Richard Knowles, 'The Markenfield Collar', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1990), 133–40 (p. 139); Much earlier the Markenfields had been Percy allies. See Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry IV*, II, 19.

<sup>43</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry IV*, II, 63.

<sup>44</sup> It is also interesting to note that the Kendales were buried in the Ladykirk, not in the minster. See Chapter 4, pp. 95–102.

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 5, pp 131–32. The Nortons also had holdings in Nunwick. See Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 65n.

relationship with Fountains Abbey, a religious house favoured by the Percies but very rarely mentioned in the Ripon wills of this period.<sup>46</sup>

None of the Plumptons are known to have been buried near their chantry in the ambulatory behind the high altar. Indeed, burial in the choir appears to have been rare, showing that the holiest part of the building was a restricted space that excluded many of the dead. John de Dene, prebendary of Stanwick, is the only individual known to have requested burial there. In his 1433 will he wrote ‘my miserable body is to be buried in the choir of the collegiate church of St Peter, Ripon, without any kind of secular pomp’.<sup>47</sup> The exact location he desired — within the liturgical choir or the ambulatory — is unknown and no trace of his monument now remains. Dene probably chose to have his grave in the choir for a number of reasons. As canon of Stanwick, he was resident in the minster throughout his career there. Moreover, the minster had no parochial altar for Stanwick and burial under the Chapter House floor was not possible because of the crypt.<sup>48</sup> Thus the choir was a natural resting place for Canon Dene. His memorial was probably a stone grave slab or brass over which pilgrims and others could walk.<sup>49</sup>

The nave, with its population of saints and the high traffic of parishioners, must have seemed attractive to John Sendale, canon of Thorpe, who founded a chantry dedicated to the Holy Trinity there in 1467, preferring that altar to the parochial altar of Thorpe in the north transept arm.<sup>50</sup> Sendale endowed his chantry not with local properties like most other Ripon chantries, but with an annual stipend from the Cluniac house at Pontefract.<sup>51</sup> To distinguish it from the Plumpton Holy Trinity chantry in the choir, Sendale’s chantry was often described in the records as being below or beneath the choir. It was not located underground, however, but in the nave, most likely by the junction of the rood screen and the southwest pier of the central crossing. Evidence for this location comes from a piscina in the wall, which indicates that there

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<sup>46</sup> Shirley Payne, *Fountains Abbey in the Mid-fifteenth Century*, Teesside Paper in North Eastern History, 4 (Cleveland: University of Teesside, 1993), p. 16.

<sup>47</sup> ‘corpus meum miserum ad sepeliendum in choro ecclesie Collegiate Beati Petri Ripon. sine pompa aliqua seculari’, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, II, 43. The minster was variously referred to as the church of St Wilfrid, the church of St Peter, and the church of both Peter and Wilfrid. The intended significance of the patron saint or saints named is generally unclear but reference to St Peter alone by the Archbishops of York may have been intended to stress connections to York Minster which was also dedicated to Peter. The Ripon Minster canons may sometimes have referred to their church as Wilfrid’s alone to signal separation from York.

<sup>48</sup> This location was commonly chosen by abbots of Cistercian houses who were analogous to Ripon’s resident canons in that they enforced discipline on their clergy in the Chapter House. The burial of abbots in their chapter houses reinforced the authority of their successors. Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, pp. 115–16.

<sup>49</sup> Flat brasses became common in England after the thirteenth century and they were more humble than tombs, making them an ‘irreproachable solution to the politics of space and display which had arisen with mass burial in church’, Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 91–92. See also Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel*, p. 60.

<sup>50</sup> For a summary of Sendale’s career, see *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 217. His will can be found in Leeds University Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 40, fols 95–96, and printed in *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 229–36.

<sup>51</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 172; *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 263–66. This was intended to guarantee income and avoid the decay in value liable to affect rents.

was an altar nearby. The altar was probably enclosed by some type of structure. This is indicated by the roof scar in the western face of the southwest crossing pier. The scar cuts into the remnant of the c. 1175 pier and portion added after 1450. The altar may have been enclosed at the time of the chantry's foundation in 1467 or when the nave was rebuilt in the sixteenth century. His will demonstrates how his place of burial was related to this altar. He wished to be buried 'on the north side of the same [altar]', which fits with the location of the altar by the southwest crossing pier.<sup>52</sup> His foundation of a chantry in a high traffic area is only one example of the mindset of a man who requested, among other things, 'one thousand masses, to be performed as quickly as possible, in the manner of the trental of St Gregory, and to end within a month from the day of my death'.<sup>53</sup> Sendale's chantry foundation and burial at Ripon were probably connected with his service as one of the minster's resident canons before he moved to York Minster.<sup>54</sup> He no doubt benefited from the other activity at this altar. The chantry of St James had been established there in 1407 and the guild of Holy Cross also used this altar from c. 1400.

There was already a chantry at Sendale's parochial altar of Thorpe, in the north transept arm, when he founded his Holy Trinity chantry in the nave. Very little is known about this chantry. Its 1546 chantry certificate notes that it was founded in 1364 by John Sherwood to pray for his soul and to 'manteyne ye Divine service in the Quere'.<sup>55</sup> The 1379 Fabric Roll records a payment to the plumber Richard Bettys 'working upon the church above the altar of St John'.<sup>56</sup> On this and two other occasions the altar of St John is mentioned in close connection to the altar of St Michael and they must have been located near one another.<sup>57</sup> Even earlier in the fourteenth century, Nicholas de Bondgate had requested daily chantry masses be performed on his behalf at the altar of St John in exchange for his donation of a common residence to the vicars.<sup>58</sup> By 1467 the north transept arm and its two parochial altars were dominated by the Markenfield family.

### 3.3: *The Chantries and Burials of Gentry Families*

The large parish of Ripon was divided into six prebends, each with its own vicar and corresponding altar in the minster. This plotting of parochial geography onto the minster was manipulated by some of the local gentry families — the Markenfields and Malories in particular

<sup>52</sup> 'ex parte boreali ejusdem', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 230.

<sup>53</sup> 'mille missis, quam cito fieri poterit, et ad ultimum infra mensem a die obitus mea, celebrandis more trentalis Sancti Gregorii', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 230.

<sup>54</sup> His choice of Ripon as the site of his chantry may have been influenced by the saturation of York Minster with similar foundations. For more on York Minster's abundance of chantries in the later Middle Ages, see Eric Gee, 'Topography of Altars, Chantries and Shrines in York Minster', *Antiquaries Journal*, 64 (1984), 337–50.

<sup>55</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 20.

<sup>56</sup> 'operant. super ecclesiam supra altare Sancti Johannis', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 102.

<sup>57</sup> See *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 102, 133, and 146.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 120.

— who established chantries and family burial traditions at these altars. Burial within the building was a sign of status and burial at parochial altars was a message directed more specifically at the other parishioners who used those altars, and who were their neighbours. The Pigots, another powerful local family, also established a family mausoleum in the minster, though it is difficult to be certain whether this was by their parochial altar. Burial in the minster set the Markenfields, Malories, and Pigots apart from other families such as the Plumptions, who had a chantry in the minster but were not buried there; the Nortons, who were buried at the parish church of Wath; the Kendales and Ingilbies, who were buried in the Ladykirk; and the Wards, who may have been buried at the Cistercian nunnery of Esholt.<sup>59</sup> It is clear from the foregoing list of places where the local gentry were buried that burial in the minster was a deliberate decision and that the choice to be buried there or elsewhere had some symbolic or sentimental significance. Even the families that were buried in the minster in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may not have been buried there earlier, and the switch from one location to another was also significant.<sup>60</sup> This was the case with the Markenfield family, who were buried in the churchyard of Fountains Abbey until sometime in the fourteenth century when they began to be buried in the minster instead.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.3.1: North Transept Arm — The Markenfields

The north transept can be entered through a door at its north end. The eastern aisle of the transept is defined by an arcade of two bays, and each bay housed a chapel. A masonry wall originally divided this aisle into two chapels.<sup>62</sup> A wooden screen formerly defined the west side of the Markenfield chapel, and evidence of the screen's existence can be seen where it would have joined the base of the arcade pier to the south and respond to the north. It is likely that the chapels of the eastern aisle were raised above the height of the floor level of the rest of the transept arm.<sup>63</sup> Like screens, this would have set the altars apart from the rest of the transept. There is an aumbry in the north wall of the chapel and a piscina in the south wall of the neighbouring chapel. The north transept arm was the site of two parochial chapels, each with an altar. The northernmost was the altar of St Andrew (Monkton) and the other was that of St John the Baptists (Thorpe). These two prebends were located adjacent to one another to the south of Ripon, that of Thorpe being the nearer and larger of the two. Aismunderby, Bondgate,

<sup>59</sup> T. M. Fallow, 'Esholt Priory', in *The Victoria History of the County of York*, ed. by William Page, 3 vols (London: Constable, 1907–1913), III, 162.

<sup>60</sup> Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300–1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 115–16.

<sup>61</sup> Roger de Markenfield granted a half acre of land to Fountains Abbey so that he could be buried there. The corresponding quitclaim is dated 1271. See *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents in the Chartulary of Fountains Abbey in the West Riding of the County of York*, ed. by William T. Lancaster, 2 vols (Leeds: Whitehead, 1915), II, 520.

<sup>62</sup> Hall, 'Rescue Excavations in the Crypt of Ripon Cathedral', Appendix I: L. A. S. Butler, 'Observations Made in the North Transept during Building Work in September 1974', p. 62.

<sup>63</sup> Hallett observed the height difference in 1901, meaning that it is not the product of the construction of a vault under the north transept arm in 1972. See Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 88.

Markenfield, Monkton, and Thorpe were probably all located within this prebend. The Markenfield family were also patrons of the chantry at the altar of St Andrew and were buried in the north transept arm.<sup>64</sup>

The Markenfields were one of the medieval gentry families around Ripon and were probably in Markenfield from the late eleventh century, but they only began burying their dead in Ripon Minster in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>65</sup> The first member of the family to rise to national prominence was John Markenfield, a canon of Ripon and York, whose ecclesiastical career led to royal service as Chancellor of the Exchequer.<sup>66</sup> Edward II granted him the right to crenellate his residence at Markenfield in 1310.<sup>67</sup> The crenellation of Markenfield Hall made it a suitable residence for a family of good social standing, but John's commemorative decisions were more about his individual preferences than the enhancement of his family's status in Ripon. Together with William de Hamilton, a fellow canon of York Minster, John endowed a chantry in Brayton for their mutual spiritual benefit.<sup>68</sup> He was buried in York Minster, near de Hamilton, but his monument there has not survived. His nephew, Sir Thomas I (d. 1398), may have begun the family's tradition of burial in Ripon Minster. His stone tomb is one of two which are extant in the minster, located between the chapel of St Andrew, where there was also a chantry of which the Markenfields were made patrons in 1370, and the adjacent chapel of St John. Because the Markenfields were not responsible for the foundation of the chantry, nor were they named as beneficiaries, the decision to make the family rather than the Chapter patrons of the chantry probably recognized a strong link between the Markenfields and the north transept arm. A nascent tradition of family burial, though unverifiable, is a very real possibility that would explain the family's designation as chantry patrons.

The chantry of St Andrew was founded first around 1230 by Geoffrey de Larder. He was responsible for the accumulation of properties and rents that funded the chantry in the mid thirteenth century. This process of accumulation can be traced through a series of charters from c. 1233–c. 1242.<sup>69</sup> The mechanism used to administer the chantry was enfeoffment to a family member named alternately William de Larder, William son of Christine de Ripon, or William Gaugy. In the first of the three charters, Geoffrey only arranged for an obit. Having enfeoffed six properties to his cousin, Geoffrey expected that 2s would be paid annually to the Chapter for the celebration of his annual obit.<sup>70</sup> This charter was approved by the Archbishop of York on 24

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<sup>64</sup> There do not appear to have been any gentry families based in Thorpe who might have wished to be buried near their parochial altar, but it is worth noting that Nicholas de Bondgate, whose surname suggests he was from the suburb of Ripon by the same name, had the vicars perform chantry masses for him at the altar of St John, which was most likely his parochial altar. His place of burial is unknown. See *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 120.

<sup>65</sup> Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 18.

<sup>67</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward II*, I, 212.

<sup>68</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward I*, IV, 23.

<sup>69</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 58–74.

<sup>70</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 59. At this date the canons were still responsible for obits.

February 1234.<sup>71</sup> Sometime after this date Geoffrey was permitted to dispose of lands acquired in Winkeslay. The Chapter seems to have granted him this privilege in exchange for an annual rent of 2s from this land.<sup>72</sup> The income from this property gave de Larder the means to have his deacon, Hugh de Makisey, ordained a priest and made chantry chaplain at the altar of St Andrew, receiving 3 marks (£2) annually from William de Larder, to whom the property was enfeoffed.<sup>73</sup> The beneficiaries of his chantry included members of the Mowbray family and Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet.<sup>74</sup> The final charter, dated Christmas Day 1242 and endorsed by the Chapter, contains similar information and names Geoffrey de Larder among the beneficiaries of the chantry.<sup>75</sup> The similarities between the two later charters suggest that the Winkeslay lands were obtained sometime in the early 1240s, after which de Larder granted them to his cousin and then obtained the Chapter's approval for his chantry. The chantry looks to have been the product of a decade of hard work by Canon Geoffrey. The charters testify to his persistence in accumulating an endowment, buying properties and quit claims and perhaps even negotiating the forfeiture of rents. He may have chosen the altar of St Andrew for his chantry because of the saint's status as one of Wilfrid's favourites.<sup>76</sup>

The chantry was re-founded in 1370 by David de Wollore, another canon of the minster. In a letter confirming de Wollore's endowment, Archbishop Thoresby referred to de Larder's original foundation, stating 'that the said chantry, on account of known poverty and insufficient property of the same, stood for no little time almost vacant and desolate, and thoroughly destitute with respect to divine offices'.<sup>77</sup> Its income need not have decayed very much to make it unsuitable to support a chantry by 1370; at that date chaplains generally expected more than £2 annually for their efforts.<sup>78</sup> De Wollore granted the necessary properties, including eight messuages, two gardens, eight and one half acres of land, one acre of meadow, and £1 15s 8d worth of rents to John Clynt, who was to be the chaplain of the re-founded chantry of St Andrew.<sup>79</sup> Thomas I Markenfield (d. 1398), knight, was named as 'true patron of the same' chantry but was not included among the beneficiaries of the chaplain's prayers.<sup>80</sup> Most of the

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<sup>71</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 59–60.

<sup>72</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 66.

<sup>73</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 64.

<sup>74</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 64. The relationship between de Larder and the Mowbrays is unknown, but they were keen to generate as many prayers as possible, especially through widespread monastic benefaction. See Janet Burton, *The Monastic Orders in Yorkshire, 1069–1215*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 206.

<sup>75</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 72.

<sup>76</sup> Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 146–47. Canon Geoffrey also endowed a fund to maintain lights at Wilfrid's tomb and the St Andrew chantry may have been another component of his campaign to venerate Wilfrid. See Chapter 1, p. 28.

<sup>77</sup> 'quodque dicta Cantaria propter notoriam inopiam ac insufficienciam proventuum eiusdem stetit per non modica tempora quasi vacua et desolata, ac officijs divinis penitus destituta', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 131.

<sup>78</sup> Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, p. 203.

<sup>79</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 132.

<sup>80</sup> 'verus eiusdem patronus', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 134.

beneficiaries were canons still living at the time, such as Henry de Ingelby and William de Dalton who were at York, and Thomas Newby at Lincoln.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps even more surprisingly, the witness list of the ordination does not include any member of the Markenfield family though it does list three other local knights: Roger de Hewyk, Simon Ward, and Christopher Malory.<sup>82</sup> The 1370 ordination gives no indication that the Markenfield family were instrumental in its endowment and the charters of the chantry's properties strengthen this negative impression. The Markenfields seem to have consolidated their control over the chantry around 1410, when they also laid claim to the space around the two altars by dismantling the masonry division between the chapels and replacing it with the tomb of Sir Thomas I. His son Thomas II was probably the driving force behind these developments, which augmented an existing tradition of family burial in the north transept arm.

There are two partial enrolments of charters for the chantry of St Andrew's endowment, both of which show donations to John Clynt, Sr, and other chaplains. One of the enrolments dates to c. 1370 and includes the grant John Clynt made to David de Wollore shortly before the latter re-founded the chantry of St Andrew. The other enrolment dates to 1410 when Sir Thomas II had it verified by the Chapter of Ripon Minster, but it mainly contains charters of the mid-fourteenth century. Many of the properties in de Wollore's 1370 endowment were granted to him by John Clynt in 1367.<sup>83</sup> The properties had previously been granted to Clynt and other chaplains over the course of nearly twenty years and information regarding them can be found in both enrolments, neither of which is complete. The grants contain no information about the expectations of grantors, nor is there any mention of the properties having been purchased by Clynt. The most likely explanation for these grants is that Clynt and the other chaplains, who may have been vicars, were expected to pray or perhaps perform obits for the donors. Later these properties were rolled into the endowment of the St Andrew chantry, for which de Wollore obtained a mortmain licence.<sup>84</sup> John Clynt benefited from this arrangement by being made chaplain of the chantry and by being given a residence in Annsgate near the churchyard.<sup>85</sup> The most important aspect of the foregoing discussion of charters is that there is no evidence the Markenfields were directly involved with the chantry before becoming its patrons in 1370. Because the family was not mentioned as beneficiaries it seems unlikely that they orchestrated the foundation of the chantry relying on de Wollore's royal connections to ensure its success, which would otherwise be a plausible explanation for its foundation.

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<sup>81</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 133.

<sup>82</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 133. Thomas I may have been in France at the time where he stated he had seen Henry Scrope bearing the arms *azure a bend or*. See *De controversia inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor, milites, in curia militari*, ed. by Nicholas Harris Nicolas (London: Bentley, 1832), p. 121.

<sup>83</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 194–95.

<sup>84</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 161.

<sup>85</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 134.

The Markenfields also had a chapel at their manor, but it is not clear how this chapel was staffed. Donations collected from it by the minster's Chamberlain in 1410 demonstrate that it existed and was actively in use at that time.<sup>86</sup> In any case the chapel at Markenfield Hall would have permitted private devotion but would not have offered the same opportunities for public display and commemoration as the minster. Other families also had private chantry chapels on their estates. The Pigots had a perpetual chantry at Clotherholme, and although they buried and invested heavily in display of heraldry at Ripon Minster, there is no evidence that they established anything other than short-term chantries there.

By burying their dead near the altars of St Andrew and St John in Ripon Minster, the Markenfields converted their patronage of the St Andrew chantry to a source of spiritual and social benefit to themselves. The wider symbolic claim of their tombs was over the lordship of the whole area in the south of the parish, including their own prebend of Thorpe and also that of Monkton. The location of the tombs was significant. Leland mentioned 'Two tombes withe Ymagis of the *Markenfelds* and theyr Wyves' in the north part of the transept.<sup>87</sup> Richard Gough recorded the same tombs in the eighteenth century, noting their locations, the heraldic arms displayed on them, and the damaged inscription on the tomb of Sir Thomas III. One he described as 'In the North transept of *Ripon* minster, near the North door' and incorrectly noted the inscription on this tomb as 'Orate pro anima — filii — elenor uxor' with a date of 1380.<sup>88</sup> Walbran read the inscription as 'HIC IACENT TOMAS M'KNEFELD MILES ET ELENOR UXOR (EJUS ILLE OBIIT PRIMO MENC' MAIJ ANNO D[']NI MCC]CC<sup>o</sup>LXXXXVII Q<sup>l</sup> FUIT SENESCHALLVS ISTI' VILLE ET KURKBI MALLZEDE ET ELENOR [OBIIT] V<sup>o</sup> DIE MENC' MAIJ AO D'NI MCCCC<sup>o</sup>LXXXX<sup>III</sup>'.<sup>89</sup> The other tomb was located within the chapel, and Gough claimed that local tradition assigned it to the Burtons of Ingerthorp and the other tomb to the Markenfields.<sup>90</sup> Walbran, like Leland, identified the other tomb as belonging to the Markenfields and dated it to the late 1490s.<sup>91</sup>

Tombs like those of the Markenfields were a clear signal of the family's social status and a reminder of their spiritual needs which can be interpreted and placed in the context of the family's history. The older of the two belongs to Thomas I (d. 1398) and his wife, Dionisia (née Miniot). Dionisia was heiress to the estate of Carlton Miniot near Thirsk, which later passed into the hands of the Markenfields.<sup>92</sup> The arms of Miniot appear on this tomb, impaled by the arms of Markenfield as a symbol of the marriage. Thomas I is represented wearing his armour with the family coat of arms (*argent, on a bend sable, three bezants*) appearing on his jupon and the

<sup>86</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 225.

<sup>87</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, v, 142.

<sup>88</sup> Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols (London: Nichols, 1786–1796), I (1786), 142.

<sup>89</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 61.

<sup>90</sup> Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, I, 143.

<sup>91</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 61.

<sup>92</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 60; Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 25.

scabbard of his sword. The tomb with its carved effigy was a striking and ostentatious display of Thomas's military accomplishments and the family's wealth. Thomas I had served in France with the Scropes and later testified on their behalf in the Scrope vs Grosvenor case.<sup>93</sup> This close link with the Scropes of Bolton explains the presence of their coat of arms on the side of the tomb. Other family connections are also displayed on the sides of the Thomas I tomb. For example, the arms of the Soothill family (*eagle displayed impaling five fessils in fess*) show the marriage link between Thomas I's son, Thomas II, and Beatrice Soothill.<sup>94</sup> It is highly probable that Thomas II was responsible for commissioning the tomb after his father's death. The memorials of the medieval English gentry commonly honoured the family as much as the individual and in this case the tomb represented two generations of Markenfields.<sup>95</sup> Most of the rest of the arms displayed on the Thomas I tomb also appear on the tomb of his great-great-grandson, Thomas III, including those of Ward of Givendale (*azure, a cross fleury or*), Roos (*azure, three water bougets or*), a saltire, and a chevron.

The saltire represents the Neville family (*gules, a saltire argent*), whom the Markenfields supported in the fifteenth century. This link must have been highly important as the shield that represents it appears at the heads of both tombs.<sup>96</sup> Thomas II fought for the Nevilles against Henry Hotspur Percy's rebellion in 1403 and was rewarded for his service.<sup>97</sup> A further key association between the Nevilles and the Markenfields is the service of Thomas II on an expedition to France in 1417. He appears in the muster roll as a man-at-arms captained by Sir John Neville.<sup>98</sup> The placement of a symbol of the Neville family at the head of Thomas I's tomb therefore probably served to highlight Thomas II's continuation of the family tradition of military service. It also promoted a connection with the Neville family, which probably began sometime earlier. Ripon Minster appears to have been largely pro-Neville in the fifteenth century. Some families known to have supported the Percies, such as the Plumpton and possibly the Kendales, were marginalized and buried their dead at locations outside the minster, such as the Ladykirk.<sup>99</sup>

Thomas II most likely had this tomb made for his father around 1410. Before his death in 1398, Thomas I had appointed John de Fulforth as chaplain of the St Andrew chantry to replace the late John Clynt, and his wife Dionisia had afterward approved this appointment.<sup>100</sup> In 1410 John de Fulforth resigned the position to become vicar of Alveley and Thomas II

<sup>93</sup> *De controversia inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor*, p. 121.

<sup>94</sup> Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 29.

<sup>95</sup> Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, p. 233.

<sup>96</sup> Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, p. 154.

<sup>97</sup> Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 27. For a summary of the rebellion, see A. J. Pollard, *Late Medieval England 1399–1509* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), pp. 39–41.

<sup>98</sup> Kew, The National Archives, Exchequer 101/51/2, membrane 22.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 95–102.

<sup>100</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 177–78.

replaced him with Robert Lystster, alias de Aismunderby.<sup>101</sup> The new chantry priest was probably someone Thomas II knew personally as Aismunderby was a village not far from Markenfield.<sup>102</sup> In the same year Thomas II had the Chapter of the minster certify an enrolment of charters relating to the chantry in his patronage.<sup>103</sup> At this date he was entirely in control of the chantry, and it seems it would have been the ideal moment to cement his patronage still further by placing his father's tomb between the two chapels. The tomb proclaims his family's martial accomplishments and reminds the chantry chaplains — and the vicars of Monkton and Thorpe — to pray for the family's spiritual wellbeing. Its position is highly significant. By dismantling the division between the Monkton and Thorpe parochial altars, Thomas II linked the two and made his father's tomb visible to the vicars and chantry priests who used the altars. In addition, the parishioners of both of the southern prebends of the parish of Ripon would have seen this tomb. Its position between the altars symbolically asserted Markenfield control of the entire southern area of the parish and marginalized all other gentry families in and around that area, namely the Kendales, Plumpton, and Ingilbies. The Kendales were also parishioners of the prebend of Thorpe.<sup>104</sup> All these families buried their members elsewhere. The symbolic marginalization of the Plumpton and Kendales reflects the political developments of the early fifteenth century and the Neville-Percy rivalry.

The second tomb, that of Thomas III (d. 1497) and his wife Eleanor (née Conyers) (d. 1493) used heraldic imagery as well as its inscription and sheer size to make its statement. Eleanor's family is represented by the maunch which was their symbol.<sup>105</sup> The inscription proclaims Thomas III's power by declaring 'he was seneschal of this town',<sup>106</sup> probably meaning that he was steward of the Archbishop of York's manorial court in Ripon. In a sense the tomb was a symbol of his survival, despite being twice attainted, through the instability of his day.<sup>107</sup> This tomb also displays the Neville arms at the head, showing that the allegiance to the Neville family had endured the Wars of the Roses. The tomb of Sir Thomas III was too large to fit within the transeptal chapels and must always have stood somewhere in the north transept arm. It was probably not originally placed against the north wall, but was instead free-standing where it could dominate the space of the transept through its sheer size. A later head of the family, Sir Ninian Markenfield, was also to be buried in the minster as per instructions in his will, although if the instructions were followed, his monument has subsequently been lost.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 159–60.

<sup>102</sup> For more on the Aismunderby chapel, see Chapter 4, p. 105.

<sup>103</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 184–89.

<sup>104</sup> Alice Kendale's 1451 will names John Exilby as her vicar. He is known from other sources to have been the vicar of Thorpe. *Acts of Chapter*, p. 209.

<sup>105</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 61.

<sup>106</sup> 'Q<sup>1</sup> FUIT SENESCHALLVS ISTI' VILLE', Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 61.

<sup>107</sup> Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall*, p. 34.

<sup>108</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, v, 232.

Both Markenfield tombs celebrated the accomplishments of male family members. The Thomas I tomb has no inscription, but in its heraldic associations it celebrated Thomas I's military career without adding much about Dionisia. Similarly, the tomb of Thomas III celebrates his accomplishments but not those of his wife, whom it only names. Among the lost funerary monuments of Ripon there may have been others which expressed women's own views of themselves and their spirituality, but although burial inside the minster was extended to men and women, the Markenfield tombs indicate that in practice this privilege was used to make statements about families as defined by men.<sup>109</sup>

The Wards, another Percy ally, seem to have kept closer ties to the minster than the Plumpton. Their arms appear on both Markenfield tombs and the choir screen, and they were involved with the fraternity of St Wilfrid which was combined with a chantry at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr in 1419.<sup>110</sup> The arms of the Wards of Givendale are also present on the late fifteenth-century stone screen in Ripon Minster. Their arms are on the north half of the screen, linking them with the north transept arm in the same way that the Pigot arms on the south side of the same screen tie them to the south transept arm where their heraldry formerly appeared on the ceiling as well. Their connection to the north transept arm must have owed more to their links with the Markenfields than to their attachment to the parish of Givendale, whose altar was in the south transept arm. At the end of the fourteenth century the Wards were keen to emphasize links between themselves and the most powerful families in the region. Testifying on behalf of Richard Scrope in his case against Robert Grosvenor, John Ward 'said that in a chamber at a manor that men call Givendale' the arms of the Scropes were depicted along with those of Percy, Neville, and Clifford.<sup>111</sup> Presumably the chamber was the chapel of St Thomas at the Wards' own manor of Givendale. The Henry Ward who served as vicar of Sharrow (c. 1474–1483) and cantarist of the guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1483–1485) may have belonged to this family. If so, then there was a very strong link between the Wards and the minster down to the end of the fifteenth century despite the fact that they were not buried there. One member of the family is known to have been buried at Esholt, a Cistercian

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<sup>109</sup> Women's identities could be expressed in a variety of ways. Shears and keys as secondary symbols on cross slab monuments are two examples. See Aleksandra McClain, 'Medieval Cross Slabs in the North Riding of Yorkshire: Chronology, Distribution, and Social Implications', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 79 (2007), 155–93. Effigial monuments provided wider scope for women to represent themselves, either as widows or married women. Saul argues that the greatest independence in self-representation was afforded to widows and heiresses but that 'Even on those [monuments] where the woman is shown alone, however, she is depicted as the bearer of a patrilineal discourse; she is invested with, and communicates, male values.' See Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, pp. 290–95.

<sup>110</sup> For more on the ties between the Wards, the Percies, and Fountains Abbey, see Payne, *Fountains Abbey in the Mid-fifteenth Century*, pp. 17 and 31

<sup>111</sup> 'Et dit auxi quil ad une chambre en un manoir q̄ hōme appelle Gyndale', *De controversia inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor*, p. 118.

nunnery of which the Wards had been patrons since around 1184.<sup>112</sup> An enduring connection with their own nunnery explains the limited interest of the Wards in Ripon and the lack of family burials in the minster. With little apparent interest from the Wards of Givendale, the south transept arm became a space devoted in large part to the commemoration of the lords of Studley, in particular the Malories and Nortons, who were heirs to the Tempests in the first half of the fifteenth century. They were also involved with the minster's guild of St Wilfrid.

### 3.3.2: South Transept Arm — The Lords of Studley

The south transept arm was largely the mirror image of the north transept arm but with some key differences: the Chapter House was adjacent to it and it had to be renovated after the tower collapse in the fifteenth century. Its eastern aisle contained two chapels like that of the north transept; if there was a division, it was probably a wooden screen rather than a masonry wall.<sup>113</sup> The aisle may initially have been left open so that it could be used as a temporary entrance to the choir and Chapter House while construction was underway at the end of the twelfth century. Most of the prebendal residences were in Annsgate, to the south of the minster, so this would have been the natural entrance for the canons to use. There is evidence that a series of temporary entrances were used while Wells Cathedral was under construction at the end of the thirteenth century, and Warwick Rodwell has argued that this was also the case at Oxford and Salisbury cathedrals.<sup>114</sup> In the northernmost of the two chapels one can still see painted scenes that have been identified as episodes 'from the apocryphal Miracles of the Virgin, The Legend of Theophilus; The Virgin with Lilies'.<sup>115</sup> These images may indicate that the chapel was used by the guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The eastern arcade of the south transept was thoroughly renovated after the fall of the central tower in 1450 and the roof and ceiling of the transept would also have been replaced at this time.<sup>116</sup> The c. 1450 ceiling of the transept was replaced in the nineteenth century but Walbran recorded the heraldry of its benefactors before it was removed.

The heraldry of the south transept arm ceiling gives important evidence about the families and institutions associated with this part of the building. Walbran wrote that the 'arms of the See of York, Fountains Abbey, the families of Pigot of Clotherholme, and Norton of Norton that adorned the late wooden ceiling of the south transept, showed who were the chief

<sup>112</sup> Esholt was definitely a separate religious house by 1184, having earlier been granted by the Wards to Sinningthwaite Priory. See Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 131–32; Fallow, 'Esholt Priory', pp. 161–62.

<sup>113</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 60.

<sup>114</sup> Warwick Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral: Excavations and Structural Studies 1978–93*, 2 vols (London: English Heritage, 2001), I, 138.

<sup>115</sup> Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches*, p. 303. Rosewell does not give a date for the paintings.

<sup>116</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', pp. 59–60. See also Chapter 5, pp. 124–25.

contributors to this work'.<sup>117</sup> This is an invaluable record of family connections that would otherwise be lost as most other evidence of this type unfortunately now is. The Pigot arms (*sable, three mill picks argent, two and one*) appear in many other parts of the building, but the Norton arms (*azure, a maunche ermine, debruised by a bendlet gules*) can no longer be found anywhere. The Norton connection is strong evidence that the chantry of St Wilfrid and the altar of St Thomas the Martyr were located in the south transept. In the ordination of this chantry there are several references to the Nortons. Richard Norton is credited with a role in the successful foundation of the chantry, and among its beneficiaries are 'the souls of Catherine, once wife of the said Richard Norton, and of his sons and parents'.<sup>118</sup> The chantry ordination dates to about a year before Sir Richard Norton's death. His son, also Sir Richard, was married to the heir of Sir John Tempest (d. 1444), and his grandson John (d. 1489) was married to Jane Pigot, daughter of Ralph Pigot.<sup>119</sup> The marriage link between Sir John and Jane (née Pigot) probably explains the latter's arms on the old ceiling of the south transept, which would have been replaced during the lifetime of this couple, c. 1460.

The south transept arm, unlike the northern one, contains no surviving medieval tombs in it; however, written records show that the Malory family adapted it as a symbol of their lordship over Studley. Leland is the only source for the Malory burials in and around the south transept arm. He wrote that there was 'a Tumbe of one of the Malories in the Southe Parte of the Crosse in a Chapell: and without, as I herd, lyethe dyvers of them under flat stones'.<sup>120</sup> If Leland was correct in identifying the graves outside of the south transept door as belonging to the Malory family, then the reason for this placement of burials was probably that there was too little burial space within the south transept to contain all of them. Leland was clear about there being a Malory tomb within the chapel, and it would have left little space for other burials, even cross slabs or flat brasses. There is no archaeological evidence for the presence of high status burials at the south transept door like there is for the north,<sup>121</sup> but Leland's record of Malory burials in this area indicates that it too was a desirable burial site. Graves in this location would have been visible — and identifiable from the grave covers referred to by Leland — to the canons and other clerics who lived in Anns gate and who would have approached the minster from the south and entered via the south transept door when coming from their residences. Perhaps the burials of the vicars of Studley, who most likely would have used the altar of St Thomas the Martyr, which was associated with the chantry of St Wilfrid and the Norton family,

<sup>117</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 39.

<sup>118</sup> 'animabus Caterine quondam vxoris dicti Ric'i Norton et filiorum ac parentum suorum', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 195.

<sup>119</sup> Robert Glover, *The Visitation of Yorkshire Made in the Years 1584/5*, ed. by Joseph Foster (London: Joseph Foster, 1875), p. 244; Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 66n. The Tempest arms (*azure, a fess between three lions rampant argent*) do not appear anywhere in the minster.

<sup>120</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, v, 142–43.

<sup>121</sup> Walbran mentioned a coffin lid in the north transept in the nineteenth century. See Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 61.

would have been situated nearby just as the Monkton vicars were buried by the door of the north transept. Because of the lack of interest of the Wards of Givendale in their own parochial altar and the active interest of the Malories in theirs, the south transept arm became a monument to the lords of Studley and their allies. Thus the arms of Malory, Norton, and Fountains Abbey all appeared on the ceiling, together with those of the Pigots, who were linked to the Nortons by marriage. The Nortons were not buried there but preferred to be buried instead at the parish church of Wath.

### 3.3.3: The Pigots of Clotherholme

The arms of the Pigots can be found in many parts of the building and they had a long tradition of being buried at the minster, though the exact locations of their graves are difficult to determine. A handful are mentioned in extant wills and Leland recorded another. The first Pigot known to have been buried at Ripon was Sir Ralph, whose 1404 will expressed his desire ‘to be buried in the church of St Peter the Apostle in Ripon’.<sup>122</sup> The squire John Pigot’s 1428 will shows a similar desire to be buried in his parish church.<sup>123</sup> Another Ralph Pigot, this one a squire and the grandson of Sir Ralph, died in 1466 and left a will which is more specific regarding the family burial place than earlier Pigot wills. He wanted to be buried ‘in the place where [his] ancestors were previously buried from habit and custom’, and endowed a temporary chantry ‘at the auter owre the nedill of Seynt Wilfride in the body of the college kirk of Saynt Petyr in Rypon’.<sup>124</sup> St Wilfrid’s needle was located in the Anglo-Saxon crypt, so this altar may have been either in the crossing or at one of the crypt’s entrances. His instructions were for the temporary chantry to be based at this altar for four years, and at the Pigot chapel of Clotherholme for an additional twenty years.<sup>125</sup> It seems that Ralph Pigot was not interested in being commemorated permanently in the minster, but only within the first four years of his death. Perhaps his motivation was similar to testators who arranged for trentals, namely to generate a high volume of prayers and masses immediately after death.

John Pigot (d. 1488) specified burial near the pietà image in the nave. There is reason to believe this was on the north side of the nave where the arms of the Pigots can be found today, paired with the arms of the Ripon Wakeman on one of the arcade piers built c. 1520. Randal Pigot served as Wakeman during his career, so this pair of symbols may refer to him. He died decades before the aisles were added, meaning that when the north aisle was constructed, a conscious effort was made to commemorate him by carving his family’s arms into the westernmost pier of the new arcade. His descendants were undoubtedly responsible for this

<sup>122</sup> ‘sepeliendum in ecclesiâ B. Petri Apostoli Ripon’, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, 331.

<sup>123</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, 416. John Pigot was Sir Ralph’s son.

<sup>124</sup> ‘in loco ubi antecessores mei antea ex more et consuetudine sepulti fuerunt’, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 157–58. His will was written partially in Latin, partially in English.

<sup>125</sup> The priest was to receive £4 annually from properties enfeoffed to Richard and John Pigot and Sir John Norton. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 158.

memorial, and the Pigots also contributed to the south nave aisle where their arms can also be found.<sup>126</sup> (Figure 6.9) Richard Pigot, esquire and sergeant-at-law, named Clerkenwell as his preferred place of burial when he drew up his will in 1483.<sup>127</sup> If he happened to die in the north of England, then St Mary's Abbey, York was his choice.<sup>128</sup> Pigots from the main branch of the family based at Clotherholme continued to be buried in the minster into the sixteenth century. Leland recorded another Ralph Pigot (d. 1503) who was buried 'On the northe syde of the Quiere'.<sup>129</sup>

Randal's choice to be buried by the pietà image in the nave may have been a departure from the family's traditional site of burial. However, because neither the total number of Pigot burials nor how they might have filled up the earlier burial place is known, it is impossible to say whether this shift was due to preference or necessity. Although a change of burial church was uncommon and significant, a shift of location within the same building need not have been.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, the Pigots appear to have felt comfortable burying throughout the minster, in contrast with the other families that focused strictly on burying by parochial altars. Some of the Pigots may have been buried near their parochial altar, but it is not clear which prebend contained Clotherholme.<sup>131</sup> Spreading their burials throughout the building may have given the impression that the Pigots had greater power and influence than these other families, mirroring the wide distribution of their heraldry in the minster. They became members of Ripon's religious fraternities, including the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints and the guild of Holy Cross, and they were also willing to serve as the town's Wakeman.

The fifteenth-century wills of five members of the Pigot family reveal that while they had different particular priorities, they were willing to spend money on commemoration and display. The three later wills in particular — those of Ralph Pigot (1466), Richard Pigot (1483), and Margaret Pigot (1485) — involved large sums distributed widely. Of the five Pigots who left surviving wills, only Richard Pigot, whose legal career took him to London, did not intend to be buried in the minster. Richard bequeathed sums to no fewer than seven mendicant houses in London, York, and Richmond, as well as £40 to be divided between an unspecified number of almshouses.<sup>132</sup> Similarly, Margaret Pigot made donations to the four mendicant houses of York in return for trentals and also left money to the bedehouse at the hospital of St Mary Magdalene and the almshouse in Ripon, plus 20s to repair the town's North Bridge.<sup>133</sup> Margaret's local charitable bequests would have had their commemorative value and would also

<sup>126</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 139–40.

<sup>127</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 285.

<sup>128</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 285.

<sup>129</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, v, 143.

<sup>130</sup> Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, pp. 115–16.

<sup>131</sup> It was either in Sharow or Nunwick, both of which had their parochial altars in the nave.

<sup>132</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, 285.

<sup>133</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 277.

have demonstrated the wealth and power of her family.<sup>134</sup> Having exhausted the subject of gentry endowments and burials in the minster, it is now time to turn to the parish guilds.

### 3.4: *Guilds*

While some of the minster's chantries were founded by canons or gentry families, others were endowed by religious fraternities.<sup>135</sup> Chief among these were the guilds of St Wilfrid, Holy Cross, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The second and third of these guilds were established in the early fifteenth century around the same time as a number of other chantries, while the guild of St Wilfrid had earlier origins but was developed at this time by connecting it to the chantry of St Thomas the Martyr. These three guilds are known primarily through their foundation documents and bequests in wills. The guilds of St Wilfrid, Holy Cross, and the Assumption were not the only guilds in medieval Ripon, but they are the best documented. Among the other guilds was a 'certain fraternity of Corpus Christi', which is mentioned in the Chamberlain's Roll of 1439 when the Chamberlain received no income from the mass at the time of the feast of the same.<sup>136</sup> The record states that mass was celebrated for this guild so it must have existed then, but it is not clear why no donations were collected on this occasion. During the same year the mass at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross generated 5s 2d in gifts from the guild of Holy Cross but the mass at the feast of the Assumption, like the mass for the Corpus Christi guild, generated no gifts.<sup>137</sup> Of all these guilds, Holy Cross probably wielded the greatest influence and supplanted the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints (which was distinct from the guild of St Wilfrid) in this role.<sup>138</sup>

The guild of Holy Cross is the best documented of Ripon's guilds in the fifteenth century. Bequests to the guild suggest that it was Ripon's leading religious guild in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>139</sup> Members practised a number of trades: a smith, a butcher, and a potter all made bequests to Holy Cross, and in general these bequests were for around 12d. Holy Cross probably had many more members than wills alone reveal, as only the wealthier members were likely to make wills.<sup>140</sup> John Pigot's membership in this guild confirms its importance, as

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<sup>134</sup> John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth Century Almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 32.

<sup>135</sup> The terms 'guild' and 'fraternity' were used interchangeably in medieval Yorkshire, and are used in the same way here. See David Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Guilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547* (York: York University Press, 2000), p. 38.

<sup>136</sup> 'cujusdam fraternitatis Corporis Christi', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 228.

<sup>137</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 228.

<sup>138</sup> The guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints was located in the nearby chapel known as the Ladykirk. It is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, pp. 95–102.

<sup>139</sup> Norman Tanner, in his study of Norwich, and David Crouch, in his study of Yorkshire guilds, both argue that bequests to guilds can be interpreted as evidence of membership. Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370–1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1984), p. 75; Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, p. 9.

<sup>140</sup> Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, p. 48; see also Virginia R. Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire, c. 1350–1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell,

the gentry tended to be patrons only of the more powerful guilds.<sup>141</sup> Pigot certainly did not depend on the guild for commemoration, having endowed a two-year chantry for himself with £9 6s 9d.<sup>142</sup> His donation of four tenements to the guild represents a strong commitment, however, as property was a guild's key to consistent income and power.<sup>143</sup>

The guild was based at an altar by the rood screen which once separated the nave from the crossing. (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) Evidence for the rood loft exists in the form of a column which now serves as a pedestal for a statue of King James I and the stairs still visible in the wall passage of the original nave would have once given access to the rood loft. The rebates of the rood beam are also still visible on the west side of the northwest crossing pier. Further evidence for the location of the Holy Cross guild relates to altars. One of the Holy Trinity chantries was located at an altar here, probably abutting the screen. The piscina in the easternmost bay of the nave may have served this altar, and Canon Sendale's request to be buried 'on the north side of the same' following his foundation of a chantry at this altar indicates that this was its exact location.<sup>144</sup> The final clue comes from a conflation of the altar of Holy Trinity and the Holy Cross guild that occurs in the will of John Rotherham in 1453. Rotherham's will reads, 'I bequeath 2s to the guild of Holy Cross (in testament) to the fraternity of Holy Trinity in the church of Ripon'.<sup>145</sup> The guild of Holy Cross and the fraternity of Holy Trinity may both have originated as organisations devoted to the maintenance of lights in this part of the minster.<sup>146</sup> There is no clear evidence that the Holy Cross guild had its own chantry priest, but perhaps its needs were met by one of the chaplains of the chantries based in the nave, either that of St James (1407) or Holy Trinity (1467).<sup>147</sup> Located at the east end of the nave, this screen must have been a natural focus for the devoted parishioners of the minster and its care and decoration may have been a responsibility of this guild. The existence of the guild can be verified as early as 1407, when an inquisition *ad quod damnum* was made.<sup>148</sup> There may also be a connection between the guild and one of Ripon's annual fairs, as Archbishop Romanus claimed a fair at the

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1996), p. 38; Ken Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c. 1470–1550* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), p. 154.

<sup>141</sup> Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, p. 93.

<sup>142</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 264–65.

<sup>143</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 266; Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, p. 112; Gary David Shaw, *The Creation of a Community: The City of Wells in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 125.

<sup>144</sup> 'ex parte boreali ejusdem', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 230. He could not have been buried to the south of the altar as that would have been outside the nave in 1467. Similarly, if the altar had been on the north side of the nave, burial to the north of it would also have been outside the building.

<sup>145</sup> 'lego gildie Sancte Crucis (in testamento) fraternitati Sancte Trinitatis Ecclesie Ripon, ijs.', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 30. There are no other references to the fraternity of Holy Trinity. It is worth noting that the dedication of the altar was already Holy Trinity fourteen years before Sendale founded his chantry there.

<sup>146</sup> Barbara Hanawalt has argued that the maintenance of lights was one of the most important duties of a medieval guild. Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Keepers of the Lights: Late Medieval English Parish Gilds', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 14 (1984), 21–37.

<sup>147</sup> The Holy Cross altar is mentioned in the mortmain licence of the St James chantry as the altar where the chantry masses were to be performed. See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of King Henry IV*, II, 365.

<sup>148</sup> Presumably this was before the issuance of a mortmain licence, but the mortmain licence has not survived. The inquisition *ad quod damnum* record can be found in the Chancery rolls. See Kew, *The National Archives*, C 143/438/7.

feast of the Invention of Holy Cross along with the fair at the feast of St Wilfrid's translation in 1292.<sup>149</sup> The fair demonstrates that the feast of the Invention of Holy Cross (3 May) was already popular in Ripon before the end of the thirteenth century.

The guild of Holy Cross ultimately benefited from the collapse of the central tower. The relocation of services to the Ladykirk would have disrupted the activities of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints, as discussed in detail in Chapter 5. It is obvious that the collapse also affected the guild of Holy Cross, which was based at an altar by one of the unaffected crossing piers. The disruptions were of different natures, however. Members of Holy Cross could combine commitment to their guild and their parish church, while members of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints had originally chosen the Ladykirk so that they would have a separate space, and this separate space had been effectively compromised by the movement of services in 1450. Widespread commitment to the minster as parish church is evident after the tower collapse. Examples of such devotion are found in the wills of the members of the guild of Holy Cross, who made bequests to the tower's repair. The augmentation of the guild of St Wilfrid by combination with the chantry of St Thomas in 1419 and the foundation of the guild of the Assumption in 1416 demonstrate that guilds were thriving in the minster even before 1450, so the fall of the tower only promoted an existing tendency.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Amount</b>
John	Rotherham		1453/4	N/A
Robert	Percival	smith (Sharrow)	1454	N/A *
William	Forster	chaplain	1459	22s*
Thomas	Hardwick	butcher	1459	12d
John	Monkton		1460	12d
William	Todd	potter	1461	2s
William	Mylns		1470	12d
Robert	Middleton		1473	12d
John	Pigot	squire (Ripon)	1488	4 tenements
Isabella	Gye		1494	1 tenement

There are ten testators who made bequests to the guild of Holy Cross. The information given here can be found in the *Acts of Chapter* volume.<sup>150</sup> They are presented here from earliest to latest. Professional information has been included when known in order to give a sense of the guild's inclusivity. An asterisk (\*) denotes that the will also contained a bequest to the work of the central tower, showing that this was a concern to some guild members in the 1450s. This is hardly surprising given that the state of the tower impacted directly on the area around the guild's central focus, the rood.

The chantry of St James, founded in 1407, used the same altar as the Sendale Holy Trinity chantry and the guild of Holy Cross. The mortmain licence in the patent rolls states that the chaplain was to celebrate masses 'at the altar lately erected in honour of the Exaltation of the

<sup>149</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 68. The other two fairs marked two feasts of St Wilfrid, namely 24 April and 12 October.

<sup>150</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 29 (Percival), p. 30 (Rotherham), p. 86 (Forster), p. 87 (Hardwick), p. 95 (Monkton), p. 101 (Todd), p. 148 (Mylns), p. 174 (Middleton), p. 261 (Gye), p. 264 (Pigot).

Cross in the collegiate church of Ripon'.<sup>151</sup> Its founders were William Clynt, a cleric, and William de Ledes.<sup>152</sup> The chief beneficiaries named in the ordination are a mixed group of laypeople and clergy, among them William Cawood, canon of Ripon; Robert and Johanna Halomshire; John and Eleanor de Grene and their son Robert; and Eleanor de Grene's sister, Alice Warner.<sup>153</sup> Most of these individuals can be tentatively identified in the 1379 poll tax returns, but the information thus gained is of limited value due to the lapse of time between the tax return and the chantry's foundation and the uncertainty of the individuals' ages in 1379.<sup>154</sup> Cawood was later co-founder of the chantry of St Thomas, which probably demonstrates how influential the canons could be in successfully founding chantries more than his desire to establish multiple chantries for himself. Patronage of the chantry was given to the Chapter.<sup>155</sup> In its provision for daily masses with a weekly requiem and participation in other services and processions in the minster, the ordination of this chantry closely resembles that of the chantry of the Assumption, founded about a decade later.<sup>156</sup> However, it lacks the latter's provision for visitation of the sick by the chaplain. Also, while the chantry of St James appears to be the product of a collective effort, it is not certain that the chantry had a guild associated with it, nor is it entirely clear how it was related to the guild of Holy Cross and the Sendale Holy Trinity chantry, both of which were based at the same altar as the chantry of St James.

The chantry and guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose chaplain had a number of responsibilities, was founded in 1416 and probably based at an altar in the south transept. The chaplain was to sing mass on a daily basis for the benefit of all the guild's members, living and dead.<sup>157</sup> He was also obliged to visit members of the guild 'if they should fall into adverse health'.<sup>158</sup> This requirement was peculiar to the chantry and guild of the Assumption. It reveals that members of the guild were not content to rely on their vicars visiting them when they were sick, and makes it clear that guild and chantry founders could fill gaps they perceived in the cure of souls in their parish.<sup>159</sup> Like other chantries, the founders of the chantry of the Assumption desired their chaplain to be present in the choir of the minster for the daily canonical hours and all processions.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>151</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry IV*, II, 365. Editors' translation.

<sup>152</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 162.

<sup>153</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 162.

<sup>154</sup> See *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, ed. by Carolyn C. Fenwick, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2005), III (2005), 432–33 and 437.

<sup>155</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 163–64.

<sup>156</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 163–64. The ordination of the chantry of St James also stipulates that the chaplain be present in the choir for all canonical hours during Lent.

<sup>157</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 244–45.

<sup>158</sup> 'si in aduersum valitudinem inciderint', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 45.

<sup>159</sup> Despite the size of the minster and its clergy, it was still the case that, as Burgess has written, 'By exploiting opportunities made available and satisfying demands imposed by the Church, men and women decisively — and in no sense unintentionally — enhanced the quality of parish services and liturgy', Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead'", p. 838; See also Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), p. 46.

<sup>160</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 245.

The ordination also stipulates the presence of the chaplain at a joint obit for William de Lynton, John de Lynton and his wife Agnes, and John de Feriby and his wife Margaret.<sup>161</sup> The obit was to be held annually on 18 November, and various sums were offered to the different grades of minster clergy to secure their attendance.<sup>162</sup> The ringing of the minster bells and the proclamations of the bellman drew attention to the obit.<sup>163</sup> The additional obit of John Fulthorp is listed as an annual expense of 5s in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.<sup>164</sup> The expenses of the obit were to be covered by four properties formerly owned by John and William de Lynton, namely a messuage in Westgate, a messuage in Allhallowgate, and two messuages in Skelgate.<sup>165</sup> These obits show the guild of the Assumption's members also preferred not to rely on the vicars for maintaining their obits. The guild of St Wilfrid had similar provisions for its members' obits.<sup>166</sup>

Unfortunately, little is known about membership in the guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Wills give some indication of propertied members but may misrepresent the scale of guild membership because members with less wealth might not have made wills.<sup>167</sup> One donor who left a will is John Herryson, who was a fuller resident in the Horsefair. He must have had some wealth as he disposed of four cottages in his final testament, two of which he left to the chantry of the Assumption.<sup>168</sup> Interestingly, he specified that they were

for the souls of John Malory, knight, and Elizabeth his wife, William Malory, knight, and Johanna his wife, and the souls of their heirs, and also Richard Ratclyff and Agnes his wife, and Richard Hamerton, knight, and Elizabeth his wife, and John Hoton, chaplain.<sup>169</sup>

Presumably Herryson had some close connection with the Malory family, but the will offers no further details. This association is another clue to the location of the altar used by the guild of the Assumption. The surviving wall paintings depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary suggest that the south transept arm was the location of the altar. The Malories buried at the adjacent chapel in the south transept of the minster in order to associate themselves with the previous lords of Studley.<sup>170</sup> The Sir John and Sir William Malory mentioned in the Herryson

<sup>161</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 245–46.

<sup>162</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 245.

<sup>163</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 246.

<sup>164</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 5.

<sup>165</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 246. The accumulation of this much property demonstrates that the de Lyntons were wealthy individuals. The John de Lynton mentioned in the 1379 poll tax may or may not be the same John de Lynton for whom the obit was held, but his career as a merchant would have given him the means to accumulate property. Alternatively, he may very well have been the father of the de Lyntons mentioned in the chantry ordination. See *Poll Taxes*, III, 432.

<sup>166</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 201.

<sup>167</sup> Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community*, p. 28.

<sup>168</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 320–21.

<sup>169</sup> 'pro animabus Johannis Malory, militis, et Elizabethæ consortis suæ, Willelmi Malori, militis, et Johannæ consortis suæ, et animabus heredum suorum, ac eciam Ricardi Ratclyff, et Agnetis consortis suæ, Ricardi Hamerton, militis, et Elizabethæ consortis suæ, et Johannis Hoton, capellani', *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 320–21.

<sup>170</sup> Continuity was very important for new gentry families. When Richard de Richmond founded a new dynasty at Catterick, his son took the de Burgh name of his mother, eschewing the de Richmond name in

bequest were father and son; Sir John's aunt Isabel was married to Sir Richard Norton.<sup>171</sup> The altar used by the guild was originally dedicated to St William (Givendale) but later became known as the altar of St Mary.<sup>172</sup> The shift in how the altar was known from the original dedication of St William to St Mary, patron of the guild of the Assumption, shows how great an influence the guild had on the collective memory of the parish. As with the altar of Holy Cross in the nave, which would originally have been the parochial altar of Nunwick (St Lawrence) or Sharow (St Stephen), the original dedication was obscured by later commemorative foundations. The same also took place at the south transept arm's other parochial altar, that of St Thomas the Martyr (Studley), where the chantry of St Thomas was established for the mutual benefit of its founders and the members of the guild of St Wilfrid.

The guild of St Wilfrid in the minster was combined with the new chantry of St Thomas the Martyr, founded at an altar of the same dedication, in 1419. The chantry was founded by two canons, William Cawood and John de Dene, and six other named individuals, probably laypeople, about whom nothing else is known. These other individuals may have been members of the fraternity of St Wilfrid, who were to be spiritual beneficiaries of the chantry.<sup>173</sup> The chantry ordination also named Richard Norton and his wife Catherine as spiritual beneficiaries.<sup>174</sup> The endowment was to pay for daily services at the altar of St Thomas Martyr and required a mortmain licence of 20 marks.<sup>175</sup> Patronage of the chantry belonged to the Chapter, which is hardly surprising considering it was founded by canons who do not seem to have been attached to any of the local gentry families.<sup>176</sup> The other obvious choice of patron would have been the Norton family, but their commemoration was largely undertaken at their family mausoleum in the parish church of St Mary, Wath, and at their manorial chantry chapel of St Cuthbert founded by Sir Richard Norton (d. 1420).<sup>177</sup>

The founders were very specific about the liturgical activities of the chaplain. He was to celebrate a requiem mass on the first day of each week and *placebo* and *dirige* on the second, fourth, and sixth days.<sup>178</sup> He was also expected to participate in the high mass each Sunday and feast day and to purchase candles for the processions at the feast of the Ascension, Corpus Christi, and St Wilfrid's deposition in October.<sup>179</sup> The feast of the Ascension was an important

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favour of association with the long history of the de Burghs in the area. See Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', p. 153.

<sup>171</sup> Glover, *The Visitation of Yorkshire*, p. 156.

<sup>172</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 47–48.

<sup>173</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 195.

<sup>174</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 195.

<sup>175</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 195–96.

<sup>176</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 198.

<sup>177</sup> The memorial brasses of Sir Richard Norton and Sir John Norton (d. 1498) can be found in the south transept of this church, although this may not be the original location of the monuments. Sir Richard's illegitimate son John served as a canon of Ripon and rector of Wath. See H. B. McCall, *Richmondshire Churches* (London: Stock, 1910), pp. 147 and 150.

<sup>178</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 199.

<sup>179</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 199 and 201.

annual feast at Ripon. The Chamberlain's Roll of 1410 records £11 worth of donations at the head and shrine of St Wilfrid during this feast, indicating that large numbers of people came to the minster at that time.<sup>180</sup> The feast of Corpus Christi was also important enough to have its own guild in the middle of the fifteenth century. The stipulation that the chaplain buy candles for the procession at the feast of St Wilfrid's deposition demonstrates the close connection between the chantry and the guild of St Wilfrid.

It was expected that the guild would remain active. Its members were to have one part of a tripartite inventory of the chantry's goods and plate.<sup>181</sup> An annual obit was to be held on 23 July for all deceased guild members, and the chantry ordination made provision to pay the six vicars and six deacons to attend and for the sacrist and bellman to proclaim the obit.<sup>182</sup> Guild members also expected the chaplain to purchase lights for their funerals.<sup>183</sup> It is probable that this was the same St Wilfrid guild that had a wide membership in the thirteenth century.<sup>184</sup> The importance of candles may be connected to the guild's origins as the lights of St Wilfrid which Geoffrey de Larder established at the tomb of the saint c. 1233.<sup>185</sup> The close link between the Ward family, the lights, and the chantry provides further evidence that the guild of St Wilfrid developed from the lights of St Wilfrid. The thirteenth-century endowment mentions a rent to be provided in perpetuity by Adam Ward and his heirs or assigns, and the fifteenth-century chantry ordination was witnessed by Roger Ward and mentions income from lands formerly held by Richard Ward.<sup>186</sup> This connection is significant because it shows that the Wards remained attached to the minster in the early fifteenth century even though they were also patrons of the nunnery at Esholt and buried there rather than in Ripon.<sup>187</sup>

It is difficult to compare this guild with the better documented fraternities of Holy Cross or SS Wilfrid, Mary, and All Saints. The chantry ordination does not name its members and there are few wills that refer to the guild. It probably lacked the influence of the guild of Holy Cross, but it may have had its own gentry members such as the Nortons or Wards. The ordination shows that the guild was concerned to commemorate its members adequately and, more significantly, that the guild could cooperate with the Chapter to improve and maintain its spiritual services.

The guilds of Holy Cross, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and St Wilfrid demonstrate that guilds were being actively founded and developed in the parish church of Ripon even before the tower collapse in 1450. The flourishing of guilds in the minster around

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<sup>180</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 225.

<sup>181</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 200.

<sup>182</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 201. For more on obits, see Chapter 2, pp. 50–52.

<sup>183</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 201.

<sup>184</sup> Sharp, 'The Minster Churches of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell', p. 204.

<sup>185</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 53.

<sup>186</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 53 and 201–03.

<sup>187</sup> Some women from the family served as prioresses of Esholt and at least one other was buried there in the late fifteenth century. See Fallow, 'Esholt Priory', pp. 161–62.

1400 must owe something to the social change brought about by the Black Death. The fraternity of St Wilfrid had developed from the lights of St Wilfrid endowed by Geoffrey de Larder c. 1233 into a guild and was combined with the chantry of St Thomas in 1419. The guild of the Assumption was a new foundation of about the same date, and the guild of Holy Cross was founded around 1400 and grew in influence through the middle of the century, eventually superseding the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints as Ripon's most influential guild. All of the minster guilds were aided by good relationships with the Chapter and the local gentry. The Pigots, Malories, and Nortons were all either members of one or more of Ripon's guilds or beneficiaries of their chantries. The minster guilds offered special spiritual services for their members, such as chaplains who would visit sick members and annual obits. The influence of the guilds is demonstrated by references to parochial altars that name the patron saints of the guilds whose chantries were located there rather than the saints to whom the altars were originally dedicated.

### 3.5: *Conclusions*

The minster's earliest chantries were founded by canons, often for the benefit of themselves, their families, or their clerical colleagues. Of the chantries founded in the minster by canons, only John Sendale's is known to have had a funerary monument associated with it. Graves were much more commonly associated with the chantries of gentry families. These chantries and their associated mausolea began to appear around 1400. The Markenfields, Pigots, and Malories were three of the most prominent families to bury in the minster. The Markenfields and Malories chose the altars associated with their part of the parish for their monuments. In this way they could represent their wealth and status to their neighbours who used these altars and also make statements about their lordship. A number of guilds were based at the altars of the minster. Guild members were not buried by their altars, but they did contribute to the liturgy of the minster by establishing chantries to support their chaplains. Guild and gentry founders all specified that their chaplains were to participate in the high masses in the choir, and their chaplains performed regular services at their altars which all of Ripon's parishioners could attend. The strong associations between guild patron saints and the altars used by the guilds show that guilds also shaped space in the minster, even obscuring original altar dedications.

Just as not all spaces in the minster were equally accessible, they did not all have the same symbolic power. Individuals, families, and guilds each took different interests in the different spaces of the minster and thereby continued to shape them. The four transeptal chapels were foci for burials of the local gentry because the close associations of these altars with the geographical subdivisions of the parish made them ideal sites for the family mausolea of local lords. Ripon's gentry could not monopolize the spaces of entire parish churches like the

Yorkshire lords in Douglas's case studies,<sup>188</sup> but they approached the parochial altars of the minster in a similar way. The result was a politics of space within the building that reflected the politics outside it, with the absence of some families being as significant as the presence of others. None of the more powerful northern magnates were ever buried at Ripon. By contrast, the Percy earls of Northumberland chose Beverley Minster as their burial place at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>189</sup>

In many ways Ripon resembled other parish churches and gave expression to devotional trends common throughout England. Its guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and its pietà image demonstrate devotion to St Mary while its guilds of Corpus Christi and Holy Cross show devotion to Christ. In these respects it fit the widespread pattern of Marian and Christ-centred devotion in late medieval England.<sup>190</sup> The foundation of these guilds in the minster shows that the minster's parishioners had sufficient wealth to create guilds and also that they considered the minster to be their parish church and the centre of their spiritual and social lives. The greater wealth of some of Ripon's parishioners was related to the Black Death and its social impact. This subject is explored in greater detail in Chapters 7 and 8. The devotion to the minster as parish church that is demonstrated by the foundation of these guilds helped to fuel eight decades of large-scale building campaigns following the fall of the central tower in 1450 as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Before turning to these subjects, it is important to put the findings of this chapter in context by discussing the rest of the guilds, chantries, and chapels of the parish.

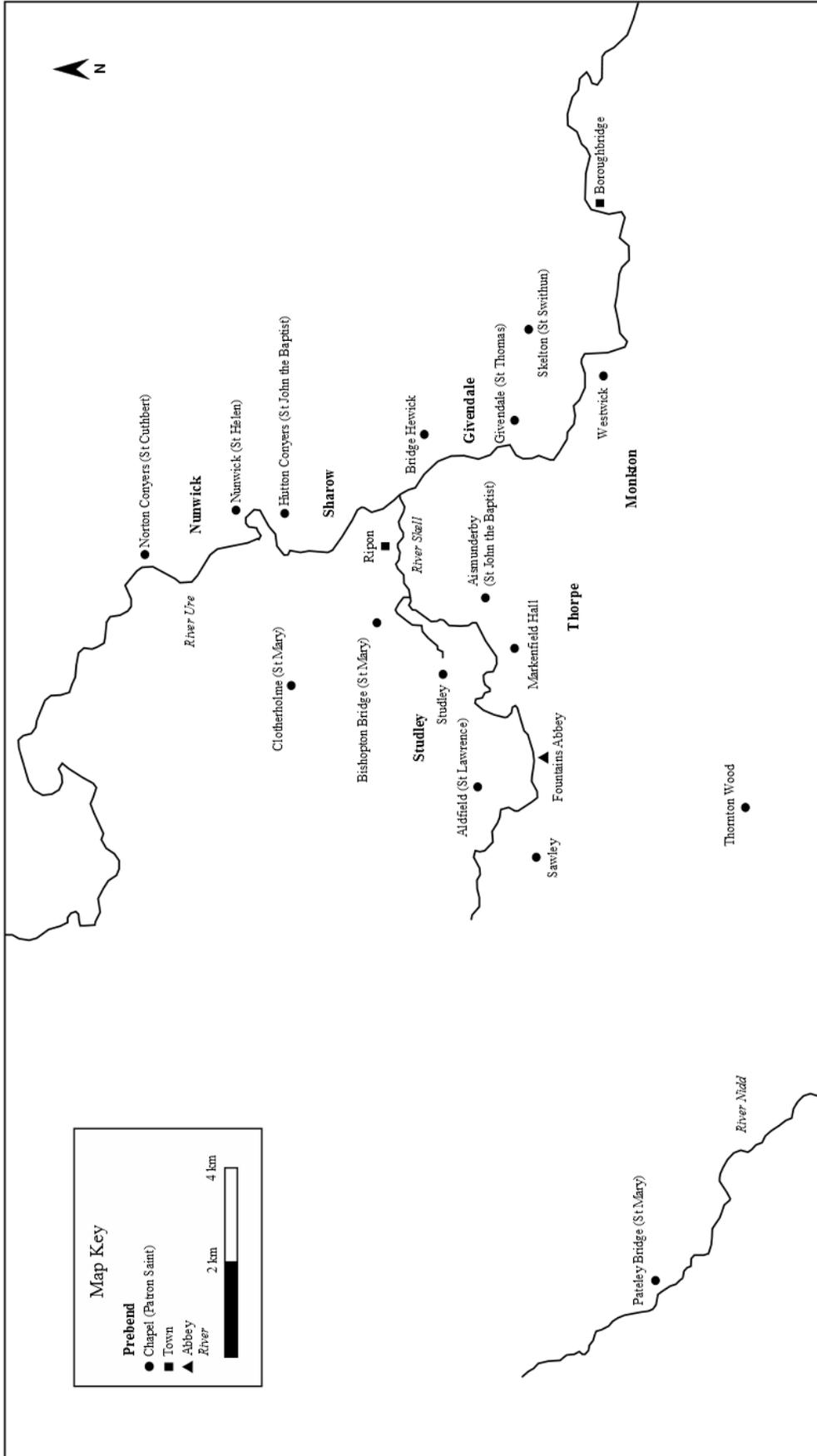
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<sup>188</sup> Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', pp. 137–39. In smaller churches there would likely have been only one or two major families and far fewer altars with the result that burials could colonize the chancel like the Cobhams of Cobham in Kent. See Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, pp. 76 and 80.

<sup>189</sup> See Nicholas Dawton, 'The Medieval Monuments', in *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Beverley: Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), pp. 131–55.

<sup>190</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 289.

Figure 4.1: Dependent and Chantry Chapels of Ripon



The map shows the locations of all known dependent and chantry chapels of the parish of Ripon. (Those within the town itself have been excluded here but can be found, along with the hospitals, in Figure 1.1.) When possible the name of the patron saint of the chapel has been given. Labels indicate the rough locations of all six prebends but their exact boundaries are not known.

## Chapter 4: Chapels, Hospitals, and Almshouses

Ripon Minster was not the only church in the parish, which contained as many as perhaps two dozen other chapels of various types. Many of these were the chantry chapels of the local gentry or dependent chapels that offered little more than a place to pray and an annual mass on the patronal feast. In the town of Ripon itself there were also a number of chapels, most of them attached to hospitals or almshouses. All of these chapels are the subject of this chapter, which assesses their intercessory value to patrons and their role in the parish.<sup>1</sup> The findings of this chapter are necessary for a full understanding of those in Chapter 3. Having established what groups and individuals used the minster as a place of burial and commemoration it is important to see what other options they had close at hand. The minster did not have a monopoly on burial rights, it was not the only suitable place in the parish to found a chantry, and not all of the Ripon parish guilds were based there.

Other sites of burial and commemoration were alternative spaces in which communal identities could be formed and it is important to consider to what extent the parishioners of the villages considered the minster to be the centre of their spiritual lives and communities. Only one chapel in Ripon — the Ladykirk — operated like a parish church. Pateley Bridge, at the western edge of the parish, also possessed significant parochial rights by the end of the fifteenth century. The chantry chapels of gentry families were not permitted to infringe on the parochial rights of the minster but could give their patrons regular access to masses, but there were many additional dependent chapels which did not have chantries but at least offered services to mark the feasts of their patron saints. These dependent chapels were the type most likely to serve as alternative centres in the spiritual lives of parishioners living in the villages and countryside of the parish. The chapels of the hospitals (founded by the Archbishop of York) and almshouse (foundation unknown) mainly provided spiritual care to their inmates. Their foundation and maintenance were good works and had an intercessory value like chantries even though chantries were not founded in all of them.

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<sup>1</sup> Fountains Abbey has been excluded from this discussion for a variety of reasons. Fountains was a Cistercian abbey, not a parish church, nor did it have any parochial function. It did interact with Ripon Minster on an institutional level but its involvement with Ripon's parishioners is fairly obscure. Almost none of the extant wills from Ripon include any bequests to the abbey and none of the local gentry families appear to have buried there in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries though some were at an earlier date. The most notable bequest was that of John Mallour of Westgate who left the abbey £1 so that twelve or more of the monks would attend his funeral mass in the minster. He also made a bequest to the work of the central tower, and gave 1s 8d to the vicar of Monkton to pray for his soul. These two bequests are exceptional in that they demonstrate an attachment to Ripon as well as Fountains. See *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 104–05. At an early date Fountains accepted numerous lay burials — over ninety between 1135 and 1300 — but this aspect of its history has not been extensively researched after 1300. See Joan Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors, 1132–1300*, Cistercian Studies, 91 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), pp. 260–76.

#### 4.1: *The Ladykirk*

It is appropriate to begin the chapter by discussing the Ladykirk, a chapel formerly located near the minster and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Of all the Ripon chapels the Ladykirk was the nearest to being a second parish church. It was significant as the site of an influential fourteenth-century guild and as the burial place of some local gentry families who were not buried in the minster. The Ladykirk and its associated guildhall are no longer standing but the chapel was described by John Leland in the sixteenth century and was excavated in the twentieth.

Leland mentioned the church, also known as St Mary, Stonebridgeway, in his itinerary, giving his opinion that it was the site of the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Ripon.<sup>2</sup> This view has remained popular, being recapitulated, for example, by Fowler in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Support for the antiquity of the site comes from archaeological excavations of the twentieth century. In an article from 1995, Hall argued in favour of Leland based on the results of recent excavations.<sup>4</sup> The Ladykirk need not have been the main monastic church of St Wilfrid's foundation, but could instead have been a chapel within a larger monastic complex as alleged by McKay, who supported his claim by citing a parallel arrangement at Hexham.<sup>5</sup> Archaeological excavation suggests that the chapel was built before the eleventh century, possibly as early as the eighth.<sup>6</sup> In addition, excavation has demonstrated that the building was a two-celled structure, the east cell of which cut into burials that were probably contemporary with the west cell.<sup>7</sup> The addition of a new cell to an originally one-celled structure confirms the chapel was in active use by people with the means and desire to enlarge it. It is not clear how the building was used between its construction and the second half of the fourteenth century, but its later function as the chapel of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints looks to have been the product of local initiative, independent of the Chapter of canons. The origins of the guild are also obscure. Its chantry in the Ladykirk was founded *c.* 1380.<sup>8</sup> There is little evidence regarding the membership of this guild, but its most basic functions were the maintenance of a chaplain, the upkeep of its chapel, and the discipline of its members.<sup>9</sup> The chapel had a patronal

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<sup>2</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, I, 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 183n.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Hall, 'Antiquaries and Archaeology in and around Ripon Minster', in *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture from the 7th to 16th Centuries*, ed. by Lawrence R. Hoey (Leeds: Maney, 1995), pp. 12–30.

<sup>5</sup> McKay, 'The Development of Medieval Ripon', p. 77. McKay's argument was subsequently accepted by Glanville R. J. Jones. Glanville and Hall adjusted his view in a later article co-authored with Mark Whyman. See Jones 'The Ripon Estate', p. 20; and Hall and Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon', pp. 142–43.

<sup>6</sup> Hall and Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon', p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> Hall and Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon', p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> See *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 137–41.

<sup>9</sup> This is known from the guild's 1389 return which was a summary statement, not a transcription of the guild's charter. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, p. 31; Kew, The National Archives, Chancery 47/46/452.

image of St Mary, and it also had its own chaplain, so it did not rely on the minster to provide one for its services.<sup>10</sup> With its own churchyard, chaplain, and patronal image, the chapel was probably almost indistinguishable from a parish church. Most sacraments other than baptism seem to have been performed there.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to the minster, where the high mass was inaccessible to most parishioners, the guild members could participate in the liturgy more directly. This greater involvement in liturgy may even have been a reason for joining the guild.

In addition to religious services, members could socialize regularly in their guildhall at the Ladykirk. Evidence for the guildhall comes from the will of one of its chaplains, John Arncliff. At his death in 1478, his will stated that ‘all utensils not bequeathed above, pertaining to the hall, the cellar, and kitchen within the house of the said chapel, should be used in the same place in perpetuity’.<sup>12</sup> By this date the guildhall had become the residence of the chantry chaplain of the Ladykirk due to the decline of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints, but at an earlier date it must have served the guild well for meetings and convivial gatherings, which could have taken place on numerous occasions throughout the year if the guild celebrated all the feast days of St Mary and St Wilfrid.<sup>13</sup> Because it had its own kitchen, it was even possible for guild members to eat together on a regular, weekly basis.<sup>14</sup>

The ordination of the Ladykirk chantry furnishes a good deal of information about guild members *c.* 1380. The ordination, dated to the 1370s or 1380s, includes a list of income from rents and properties and itemises the donors of this income. The majority of its founders — twelve out of twenty-one — can be found in the 1379 poll tax return. All those for whom poll tax information is available were assessed at higher than the base rate of 4d, and most at more than 12d. The highest rate was 13s 4d each for Walter de Ledes, merchant, living in Skelgate and John de Hawkeswyk, merchant, living in the Marketstead.<sup>15</sup> The ordination of this chantry shows that it was a joint venture entered into by some of the wealthiest people in the town of Ripon, as illustrated in Table 4.1, and it is possible that these individuals were among the town’s leaders.<sup>16</sup> Gentry members

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<sup>10</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 257.

<sup>11</sup> The right to baptize remained exclusively the privilege of the minster.

<sup>12</sup> ‘omnia utensilia superius non legata, aulæ, cellario, et coquinæ infra mansionem capellæ prædictæ pertinentia, ibidem in perpetuum deservitura’, *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 183–84.

<sup>13</sup> Its feasts, like those of craft guilds, ‘facilitated the negotiation of social and political relationships by creating a *locale* in which there was considerable potential for social encounters between members’. Katherine Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York c. 1350–1630* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2000), p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside*, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 432–33.

<sup>16</sup> R. H. Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 18; Dyer writes ‘In smaller towns the fraternity became the primary collective body, which in fact if not in name governed the town’, Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850–1520* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 317; See also Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), p.

included Sir Ralph Pigot and the chantry's patrons, the Ingilby family. It is not stated why the Ingilbies, who lived beyond the boundaries of the parish at Ripley, were made patrons of the chantry; however, by assigning the patronage to them rather than the Chapter, the guild could maintain a greater degree of independence from the minster.<sup>17</sup> The Ingilbies benefited by being able to appoint the chantry priest and must also have sought the close business and political links the guild could offer them in the large market town nearest to their manor.

The chantry of the Ladykirk, like all chantries, required properties and rents for its support. Annual income from rents alone was £2 10s, and the value of properties donated outright was not stated, so the true value of its estate was probably much higher. The Chantry Certificate of 1546 for the Ladykirk chantry values its annual rental income at £4 14s 10d.<sup>18</sup> Its urban properties and rents were mostly located in Allhallowgate, the Marketstead, and Stonebridgegate, so these can be identified as places where the founders of the chantry held property. Their ability to donate property or rents underscores their wealth; only one of them seems to have used his personal residence for the foundation.<sup>19</sup> Though influential at the end of the fourteenth century, the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints seems to have diminished in power in the fifteenth century and it was not mentioned in any wills after 1450, whereas its counterpart, the guild of Holy Cross, received numerous bequests in this period. The latter guild may already have existed at the time of the 1389 guild survey but if it did, it was not considered highly significant at that time. The guild return lists only two guilds in Ripon and only names SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints — the second guild was merely called 'another fraternity'.<sup>20</sup>

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73; Ben R. McRee, 'Religious Gilds and Civic Order: The Case of Norwich in the Late Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 69–97 (p. 69).

<sup>17</sup> The advowson was only to revert to the Chapter if the family line of the Ingilbies was extinguished. *Acts of Chapter*, p. 140.

<sup>18</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 27. Most of the properties listed in this survey can be linked to those of the late fourteenth century, and the six rents of 6s 8d were still being paid as per the ordination. The chantry evidently endured even without its guild.

<sup>19</sup> The ordination states that the cook William de Thornton granted 'a certain annual rent of 6s 8d deriving from his own tenement in Westgate where the said William lives'; 'quemdam annualem redditum sex solidorum et octo denariorum exeunt. de ten. suo in Westgate in quo predictus Will's inhabitat', *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 139.

<sup>20</sup> 'une autre fratñite', Kew, The National Archives, C 47/46/452.

Name	Surname	Property/Income	Location	Value	Profession	Residence	1379 Rate
John	Clifford						
Johanna	de Burton						
John	de Cabergh	messuage, 2 bovates	Sharow		chaplain		
John	de Carleton	messuage	Allhallowgate				
Nicholas	de Dall	cottage	street of St Mary			Stonebridgetgate	12d*
Nicholas	de Dall	annual rent (lands)	Stonebridgetgate -Allhallowgate	6s 8d		Stonebridgetgate	12d*
John	de Hawkeswyk	annual rent (tenements)	Marketstead	6s 8d	merchant	Marketstead	13s 4d*
John	de Hawkeswyk	annual rent (messuage)	Blossomgate	6s 8d	merchant	Marketstead	13s 4d*
John	de Ingilby						
Thomas	de Ledes	3 acres of land	Ripon, Thorpe		brewster	Marketstead	2s
Walter	de Ledes	annual rent (tenement)	Marketstead	6s 8d	merchant	Skelgate	13s 4d*
John	de Lynton				merchant	Westgate	12d*
John	de Morpath	annual rent (grange)		6s 8d	franklin	Aismunderby-Bondgate	3s 8d*
William	de Scotton					Marketstead	2s
Richard	de Snawdon						
William	de Thornton	annual rent (own tenement)	Westgate	6s 8d	cook	Westgate	12d*
John	de Topelyff	messuage	Stonebridgetgate		spicer	Stonebridgetgate	2s*
John	del Grene	messuage	Cornhill		wright	Skelgate	12d*
William	del Water						
John	Frankysch	half cottage (with R. de Wytton)	Westgate				
Ralph	Pigot	annual rent (lands, tenements)	Bokesby Pykall	10s	knight		
Margaret	Scotton Woman				brewster	Marketstead	12d*
Richard	Sunnynng	messuage	Allhallowgate			Marketstead	3s 4d

This table lists all donors named in the ordination of the Ladykirk chantry together with their donations (see *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 137–41). In cases where the same individual donated properties in different locations (de Dall and de Hawkeswyk) then a separate entry has been made for each. The information in the ‘Profession’, ‘Residence’, and ‘1379 Rate’ columns is drawn from the 1379 poll tax returns (*Poll Taxes*, III, 432–37). An asterisk (\*) in the ‘1379 Rate’ column indicates that the individual also employed one or more servants. The poll tax information gives a clearer picture of the range of professions, wealth, and places of residences of the guild members named in the ordination. This synthesis of evidence shows that many of the town’s wealthiest people endowed the chantry together with some of the local gentry, namely the Ingilbies and Pigots.

It could be argued that the survival rate of documents is responsible for giving an inaccurate picture of the chapel of St Mary in Stonebridgetgate during the later fifteenth century, but there is good reason to believe that guild activities were disrupted by the collapse of the central tower of the minster in 1450. An indulgence issued by Archbishop Booth reveals that services had to be moved temporarily to a nearby chapel,<sup>21</sup> and the closest was presumably the Ladykirk in Stonebridgetgate. The relocation of services to what must certainly have been a far smaller chapel sounds like a hasty solution. It is likely that this arrangement could only have been maintained for a short time, and there is no further mention of divine services being held outside the minster after 1451. In any case,

<sup>21</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 152. Similarly, services at Beverley Minster were moved to the nearby chapel of St Martin during a period of rebuilding. See *Beverley: An Archaeological and Architectural Study*, Keith Miller et al. (London: HMSO, 1982), p. 11. The chapel at Beverley was somewhat closer to it than the Ladykirk was to Ripon Minster. Until its destruction during the reign of Edward VI, the chapel was located against the southwest corner of Beverley Minster. It became a parochial chapel during the building campaign and continued to serve that purpose until the Reformation. Horrox, ‘The Later Medieval Minster’, p. 43.

even a year's relocation of services to the Ladykirk would have disrupted the activities of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints.<sup>22</sup>

The collapse of the tower probably also served to energise the devotion to the minster as parish church which had clearly been developing since the beginning of the fifteenth century. Examples of such devotion are found in the wills of the members of the guild of Holy Cross who made bequests to the repair of the central tower after 1450.<sup>23</sup> The guild of Holy Cross was not new in 1450, and taken together with the foundations of chantries and guilds in the minster in the first half of the fifteenth century, it appears that there was already growing commitment to the parish church.<sup>24</sup> The tower collapse was probably merely a catalyst to this process, swinging the balance once and for all against SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints. The membership of John Pigot in the guild of Holy Cross is representative of this shift because his grandfather Sir Ralph had been a member of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints. While it was no longer a guild centre, the Ladykirk still existed as a separate entity within the parish and still possessed a degree of independence due to its burial rights. The combination of burial rights and chantry meant the Ladykirk continued to be a site of commemoration.

Even though the guild lost influence, the Ladykirk chapel remained important to certain families, including the Ingilbies, who were the patrons of its chantry, and the Kendales of Markington, another family based to the south of Ripon. The Ingilby family were patrons of the Ladykirk's chantry from the late fourteenth century and also used the Ladykirk as a place of burial. Leland reported that two Ingilby family members were buried there, one in the east end of the church and the other in the chapel garth.<sup>25</sup> He gave no dates for the burials nor did he give any further identifying information for these individuals. He did write, however, that the east end of the chapel had recently been rebuilt by Marmaduke Bradley, Abbot of Fountains and canon of the minster, after he purchased it, meaning that at least one of the Ingilby burials was rather late.<sup>26</sup> The Ingilby family's involvement with the chantry can be traced to its ordination in the late fourteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Under the terms of the ordination, they were to hold the advowson; they had no right to alienate it and it would permanently enter the hands of the Chapter if the family line was extinguished.<sup>28</sup>

Most of the evidence regarding the guild and chapel during this period comes from wills. They contain important information about connections between the Kendales and the Ladykirk. The

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<sup>22</sup> The impact of the tower collapse is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere this same evidence is used to explain the rise of the guild of Holy Cross. See Chapter 3, p. 86.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 84–91.

<sup>25</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, I, 81.

<sup>26</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, I, 80.

<sup>27</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>28</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 140.

will of Alice Kendale shows the chapel as part of her overall commemorative strategy, which included the ringing of the church bells, announcement of her obit by the bellman, a distribution of bread and ale costing £1 6s 8d, the burning of 12d worth of wax at her burial, a mass in the minster, and exequies in Markington as well as trentals performed by each of the four mendicant orders in York.<sup>29</sup> Alice's donation of 8d to the fabric of the Ladykirk follows directly after a slightly larger bequest of 12d to Ripon Minster, showing her devotion to both.<sup>30</sup> Her son's will further demonstrates both the family's standing and its attachment to the Ladykirk, specifying that he was to be buried 'in the chapel of St Mary, Ripon, next to the graves of my parents'.<sup>31</sup> The origin of this connection between the Kendales and the chapel is unclear from existing sources, but they had obviously chosen the chapel as their family mausoleum. The decision set them apart from the Markenfields, Malories, and Pigots who were buried in the minster.<sup>32</sup> The Ingilbies, like the Kendales, centred their commemoration on the Ladykirk and not the minster. The Kendale arms (*gules, an orle argent debruised by a bend ermine*) may appear in one location in the minster, but those of the Ingilbies (*sable, and estoile argent*) do not appear anywhere.<sup>33</sup>

It may be worth noting that the locations of the Ingilby and also the Kendale estates were at the margins of the parish of Ripon, farther south even than Markenfield. This marginalization appears to be represented by their focus on a chapel outside the minster. Markenfield efforts to represent their lordship over the whole southern portion of the parish of Ripon in the early fifteenth century were successful. By dominating the space of the north transept they forced the Kendales and Ingilbies to create an alternative space for their own burial and commemoration. For the Ingilbies at least, the connection to the Ladykirk was part of an effort to forge links in town. Their patronage of the Ladykirk chantry demonstrates membership in and influence over the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints. They probably used this to form important business and political ties in Ripon, much like the Pigots did with both the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints and the guild of Holy Cross in the minster. The Ingilbies seem to have been less involved with Ripon than the Pigots, and they are not known to have been connected with the minster or its guilds in the fifteenth century.

The Kendales evidently had another private chapel, so their main interest in the Ladykirk must have been as a place of burial. It is unlikely that they would have been permitted to bury their dead family members at their private chapel, but they were able to exploit the Ladykirk's burial rights to create a family burial space outside of the minster. In connection with the findings

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<sup>29</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 208.

<sup>30</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 208.

<sup>31</sup> 'in capella Beatæ Mariæ, Ripon', *juxta sepulcra parentum meorum*, *Acts of Chapter*, p. 227.

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 71–84.

<sup>33</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 63; Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 64n.

regarding competition for burial space in the minster, it seems likely that the Ladykirk offered a suitable alternative for gentry families like the Kendales and Ingilbies. Had they taken the approach of the Markenfields and Malories, the Kendales would have created a family mausoleum at the altar of St John the Baptist, which was the parochial altar for Thorpe.<sup>34</sup> There was a chantry at the altar of St John the Baptist from 1364, but the Kendales are not known to have had any connection with the chantry.<sup>35</sup>

Despite its semi-independence as a guild chapel and its role as burial place for two local families, the Ladykirk was ultimately under the Chapter's control and could be disposed of as the canons saw fit. In the sixteenth century Archbishop Savage (1501–1507) decided to buy the chapel. He wrote a letter demonstrating his interest in taking control of the Ladykirk and its garden. This letter reveals contemporary ideas about the chapel's history. In it, Savage described 'an olde Church in Stammersgate wiche of Auncient tyme was an hous of Religion'.<sup>36</sup> The Archbishop wrote of the Ladykirk that there is 'noo maner livelood to hit belongynge wherby divine seruice shuldbe susteyned and maynteyned to Godes pleasur'.<sup>37</sup> The inability of the chapel to offer a living may relate to a decline in its income — £4 14s in 1546 — though arguably this amount should still have been adequate.<sup>38</sup> Savage's letter confirms that the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints was no longer based at this location, if indeed it existed any longer as a religious fraternity. Leland noted that Marmaduke Bradley held the chapel for a time, during which he constructed a wall around it and intended to make it a cell of Cistercian monks within the town of Ripon.<sup>39</sup> This was after the Chapter had resolved to sell the chapel to Archbishop Savage. As conditions of the sale, the Chapter was to retain the right of advowson and continue to collect the offerings left before the image of St Mary.<sup>40</sup> It is unclear how or when the right of advowson had transferred to the Chapter, or why the Ingilbies had relinquished it but continued to bury at the chapel. Although the ordination of the guild forbade them to sell the advowson of the chantry, perhaps they were able to sell it to the Chapter because its patronage would revert to the Chapter anyway in the event that the Ingilbies were no more.

The Ladykirk, both with and without its guild, was a chapel in which the mass could be experienced more directly than in the minster. Its founders were responsible for providing the most complete alternative parish church in medieval Ripon. Even without its guild, the chantry continued to function and its masses may have been attended by the pious just as they attended chantry masses

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<sup>34</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 209.

<sup>35</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 20.

<sup>36</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 272.

<sup>37</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 272.

<sup>38</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, I, 81.

<sup>40</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 257.

in the minster. The fifteenth-century burials of the Kendales and Alice Kendale's donation to the chapel fabric suggest the chapel was still attended by some. The chapel's importance in forming a separate community outside the minster was probably greater than that of any of the dependent chapels of the parish but their roles should not be entirely discounted.

#### 4.2: *Dependent and Chantry Chapels*

Almost none of the dozens of chantry and dependent chapels that once populated the Ripon parish have survived.<sup>41</sup> For this reason they must be studied primarily from textual sources. The Treasurer's Rolls and the Chamberlain's Accounts from the minster and the ordinations of chantry chapels provide evidence for how these chapels functioned, who paid for them, and how they were related to the minster. A few of them were also described, though not in great detail, in depositions made in the Scrope vs Grosvenor case. Some were chantry chapels located on the estates of Ripon's gentry families. The desire to attend regular masses was probably one of the major reasons that the local gentry founded these chapels.<sup>42</sup> Local families would have had to travel at least a mile or two to attend masses at the minster. The Markenfields, Malories, Nortons, Wards, Pigots, and Kendales all had private chantry chapels at their manors. Other chapels, located in the surrounding villages, probably offered little more than a place to pray and an annual mass in honour of their patron saint.<sup>43</sup> They may have had their own priests at times if those attending the chapel could afford to hire one. This type of arrangement was often unstable and would come to an end when the money ran out.<sup>44</sup> These village chapels are still significant because the annual celebration of the patronal saints' feasts at these chapels indicates that the villages had their own identities centred on saints who were not those of their parochial altars.

The Treasurer's Rolls and Chamberlain's accounts are some of the most informative textual sources regarding the chapels of the parish but their rate of survival is very poor. Of the two, the Chamberlain's accounts are more informative than those of the Treasurer. The Treasurer's Rolls contain little more than the locations of the chapels, listing eight of them, including the two hospitals and the Ladykirk in Stonebridgeway.<sup>45</sup> The other five chapels are Givendale (St Thomas), Aldfield (St Lawrence), Clotherholme (St Mary), Patleybridge (St Mary), and Bishoptonbridge. These eight chapels were all expected to pay 1d to the treasurer of the minster on the feast day of

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<sup>41</sup> There is still a chapel at Markenfield Hall.

<sup>42</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 99.

<sup>43</sup> Nicholas Orme, 'The Other Parish Churches: Chapels in Late Medieval England', in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), pp. 78–94 (p. 89).

<sup>44</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 49.

<sup>45</sup> These are discussed in greater detail below.

their patron saint, ‘according to the ordination annotated in the Book of St Wilfrid’.<sup>46</sup> The payment of 1d on these occasions must have symbolized the dependent status of the chapels. In Ripon, all the patron saints of altars and chapels ranked below Wilfrid in the parochial saintly hierarchy, as demonstrated by the ordinations recorded in the Book of St Wilfrid and by the ceremonies and processions at Rogation. A greater number of chapels are recorded in the Chamberlain’s accounts than in the Treasurer’s Rolls, and there are also more surviving Chamberlain’s accounts. In addition to those chapels listed in the Treasurer’s Rolls, the Chamberlain’s accounts also named chapels at Markenfield, Studley, Hewyk, Hutton, Thornton Wood, Nunwick (St Helen), Monkton, Westwick, Studley Roger, Studley Barlet, Sawley, Skelton (St Swithun), one on Northbridge (St Swithun), and a chapel of St Michael the Archangel.

Licences and land grants are informative and have survived for some chapels. All licences issued by the Chapter included clauses that protected its rights. One common condition was an annual fee of 2s for a chantry chapel. The Chapter’s approval was required before the admission of a chaplain. Nevertheless separate saints allowed the chapels to have separate identities, and a chapel’s patron would have been an important figure in the spiritual lives of the faithful who used his or her chapel. The celebration of this saint’s day would have been an essential part of the proper veneration of this patron. It is difficult to determine how these chapels were staffed.<sup>47</sup> Some of them had chaplains, and others may have simply been places to pray.<sup>48</sup> The strict conditions imposed by the Chapter on new foundations demonstrate that chapels would not be permitted to become alternative parish churches. Separate chapels with separate saints venerated in this manner should be viewed as part of a process by which the parish of Ripon was sub-divided not so much by their establishment as viable alternatives to worship in the minster as much as by their function as centres around which local communal identities could coalesce.

The case of Ashburton in Devon illustrates how different communities could have separate religious foci for their group identities even within the same parish. The tanners of Ashburton lived beyond the authority of the town and its courts, so while they may have attended the parish church on Sundays and feast days, it was also possible for them to attend the chapel at Widecombe-in-the-Moor in the neighbouring parish.<sup>49</sup> What Graves has demonstrated for the tanners and townspeople of Ashburton may also apply at Ripon, namely that groups whose interests and identities lay outside the town created their own religious foci outside the parish church.<sup>50</sup> Of the dependent chapels whose dedications are known, the majority do not correspond to the dedications of the parochial

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<sup>46</sup> ‘juxta ordinacionem in libro Sancti Wilfridi annotatam’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 214. The Book of St Wilfrid has regrettably not survived.

<sup>47</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> Orme, ‘The Other Parish Churches’, p. 89.

<sup>49</sup> Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, p. 129.

<sup>50</sup> Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, pp. 122–32.

altars for their own sub-parishes. The chapel of Aldfield, for example, was in the parish of Studley, which had an altar dedicated to St Thomas the Martyr, but the Aldfield chapel was dedicated to St Lawrence. The villagers of Aldfield thus had three obvious patron saints with whom they might identify. The first was Wilfrid, patron of the whole parish; the second was St Thomas, patron of the parish of Studley; the third was St Lawrence, patron of their village chapel. If the villagers of Aldfield conceived of themselves as a community, then it must have been with Lawrence as their patron, and the celebration of his feast day in their chapel would have been an occasion to celebrate their separate community. Their position within the lands of Fountains Abbey further removed the villagers of Aldfield from Ripon.<sup>51</sup>

The most developed dependent chapel in the parish was Pateley Bridge, more than sixteen kilometres to the southwest of Ripon. This reflected its rapid development as a market town in the early fourteenth century. It was established as a market town by Archbishop Melton in 1319.<sup>52</sup> In the late fifteenth century the chapel had its own chaplain, appointed by the Chapter. Robert Marton was admitted as chaplain in 1467 after producing letters attesting to his credentials and provided that he would not violate the ‘liberties, privileges, and customs of the mother church’.<sup>53</sup> The 1470 Treasurer’s Roll shows that the chapel had a large number of rights. People were married there, children could be baptized, and women could be purified after giving birth.<sup>54</sup> The extent of its rights probably had much to do with its distance from the minster. The chapel of Pateley Bridge was in the prebend of Studley. Further to the west were the villages of Dacre and Bewerley, assigned to the prebendary of Studley as his parishioners in 1361.<sup>55</sup> The involvement of the chaplain of Pateley Bridge in the 1481 Rogation procession shows that the town was still considered to be very much a part of the parish of Ripon.<sup>56</sup> Closer to Ripon, the chapel at Aismunderby (St John the Baptist) seems to have been fairly developed and to have had its own chaplain at times. The chapel was excavated in the 1960s. It was discovered on a mound known as ‘Chapel Garth’. The structure was 37 feet long and 15 feet wide with evidence of an altar at the east end and pottery fragments indicating it was used during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>57</sup>

Gentry families established chantry chapels to commemorate their family members, but pious commemoration was not their only motivation. By establishing chantry chapels on their

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<sup>51</sup> Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archive of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 365 fols 27–28.

<sup>52</sup> Gowland, ‘The Manors and Liberties of Ripon’, p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> ‘libertatibus, privilegiis, et consuetudinibus ecclesiæ matricis’, *Acts of Chapter*, p. 192.

<sup>54</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 215.

<sup>55</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 204.

<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 30.

<sup>57</sup> David M. Wilson and D. Gillian Hurst, ‘Medieval Britain in 1964’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1965), 170–220 (p. 188). For an undated grant to support a priest and clerk at this chapel, see *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 206. Geoffrey de Larder witnessed the confirmation of this grant so it must date to the first half of the thirteenth century. *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 207.

estates, these families gained access to regular masses without needing to travel to the minster. These chapels and their chaplains were kept separate from the minster. Their chaplains, unlike those of chantries founded within the minster, were not expected to attend services in the minster choir or participate in processions. Gentry chapels could pass to different families over time. Roger and Walter de Nunwick made grants of land to the chapel of St Helen, Nunwick for the support of a chaplain and a clerk. The grant states that the land was given ‘for the health of my soul and that of my ancestors and parents and friends’.<sup>58</sup> The Nunwicks (*sable, an eagle displayed or*) were a gentry family based to the north of Ripon until the death of Sir Thomas Nunwick, after which their manor was divided in two parts: Norton Conyers, held by the Nortons, and Hutton, held by the Malories. The Malories had their own chapel at Hutton Conyers. William Malory, in his deposition on behalf of Richard Scrope, stated that the Scrope arms (*azure, a bend or*) were depicted there along with those of Robert Conyers and Simon Ward.<sup>59</sup> By mentioning additional family connections, William revealed that his chantry chapel, like the south transept of the minster, was a space in which such connections were manifested physically in the display of heraldry. William Malory’s chantry chapel at Hutton was probably typical of manorial chapels in the parish of Ripon. The Ward chapel at Givendale was described very similarly in another deposition from the same case. John Ward claimed his chapel displayed the arms of Scrope, Percy, Neville, and Clifford.<sup>60</sup> These two examples give a good indication of how the manorial chapels of the Ripon gentry commemorated not just the family itself in liturgy but also recorded its affinity in stone and glass.

A few wills demonstrate the attachment that Ripon’s parishioners could have to their dependent chapels. The chapel of St Swithun at Skelton features in a number of late fifteenth-century wills. In 1470 William Turret donated 6d to the chapel and another 6d to its chaplain, John Kendale.<sup>61</sup> Nicholas Anderson made identical gifts to the chapel and chaplain of Skelton during the same year.<sup>62</sup> The following year Joanna Hewyk bequeathed 2s to the chapel for a torch, presumably to light an image of St Swithun there.<sup>63</sup> Their bequests show they identified closely with their village chapel, but not to the exclusion of their parish church. All three were to be buried in the churchyard of the minster. Moreover, Turret made bequests to the tomb of St Wilfrid and the altar of St Mary behind the high altar in the minster and William Sawley, his vicar, was one of the witnesses to his will.<sup>64</sup> These wills show that affection for a dependent chapel did not preclude

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<sup>58</sup> ‘pro salute animæ meæ et antecessorum et parentum et amicorum meorum’, *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 200.

<sup>59</sup> *De controversia inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor*, ed. by Nicolas, p. 124.

<sup>60</sup> *De controversia inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor*, ed. by Nicolas, p. 118.

<sup>61</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 143.

<sup>62</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 144.

<sup>63</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 168.

<sup>64</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 143.

devotion to the minster as parish church. The smaller parish communities of villagers with their dependent chapels may have been more similar to guilds within the parish than to separate parishes.

#### 4.3: *The Hospital of St John the Baptist*

The hospital of St John the Baptist was located on the south side of the River Skell. (Figure 1.1) In no way does it appear to have acted like a parish church; rather, it was a charitable institution under the patronage of the Archbishop of York. None of the hospital's buildings have survived, but there is a good indication of its facilities from surviving inventories. These documents also give insight into the hospital's agricultural holdings and its stock of books. Jury testimony from the fourteenth century, though potentially inaccurate, is the best source for the hospital's early history, and it gives a picture of the hospital's development over time from refuge for travellers and pilgrims to a school for poor children.

Royal commissioners were dispatched in 1341 to resolve the question of whether Robert de Otley or David de Wollore should be warden of the hospital. The conflict hinged around the king's right to appoint a master for the hospital during periods of time in which the see of York was vacant. Robert de Otley, while claiming appointment by the late Archbishop Melton, lost his case to David de Wollore because he was not a cleric and thus not fit to receive the tithes which the jurors determined the hospital was due.<sup>65</sup> De Wollore, Edward III's candidate, was a cleric and so was fit to take office as master. The inquisition produced jury testimony that reveals how the hospital was viewed in the fourteenth century and what its origins were believed to be at that time. The commissioners discovered that the hospital had been founded to give hospitality to pilgrims 'when the lands around Ripon were forest', and that when the area had become more developed, the hospital's new purpose was to support poor scholars, provide them with beds, and feed them.<sup>66</sup> The master was also expected to give alms to the poor, in the form of flour or loaves, on the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June).<sup>67</sup> The jurors noted that these alms were being distributed properly in 1341.<sup>68</sup>

A grant made in 1301 by William de Somerset, the outgoing master of the hospital, reveals something of the character of the hospital's holdings. His donations were entirely of an agricultural nature, including a number of cattle and a pair of horses as well as a wagon, cart, and plough.<sup>69</sup> An

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<sup>65</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 221.

<sup>66</sup> 'quando patriæ propinquæ juxta Ripon' fuerant forestæ', *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 218.

<sup>67</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 218.

<sup>68</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 218.

<sup>69</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 29. Agricultural endowments were fairly common for hospitals, according to Orme and Webster, who noted that St John the Baptist in Ripon also had income from tithes. Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital 1070–1570* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 92–93.

indenture made between David de Wollore and his successor, John de Brygg' is also revealing.<sup>70</sup> In addition to donations of livestock ranging from sheep to horses and oxen, it also specified the intended rooms for other gifts such as pots and altar cloths, showing that the hospital included a chapel, a kitchen, a bakery with an oven, and a room of unspecified purpose in which were to be placed 'two chests with memorials'.<sup>71</sup> The kitchen and bakery show that food was prepared at the hospital and thus permanent residents could be accommodated and fed on site. These facilities would have fed corrodians dwelling there and could also have fed students housed at the hospital full time.<sup>72</sup>

The Archbishop added a clause to de Somerset's grant that guaranteed the support of two inmates at the hospital: the priest William de Paunton and a man called John le Pourman de Wytton, which shows that St John the Baptist could be used to provide a living for retired priests.<sup>73</sup> The hospital of St Mary Magdalene also provided a living for priests but on a larger scale with a separate dwelling for them being constructed around 1290.<sup>74</sup> There is no evidence of individuals paying to reside in the hospital of St John the Baptist. The Archbishop of York was the hospital's sole patron, appointing its clerical master when necessary. If the hospital's agricultural income was sufficient then it would not have relied on donations, though it may have received them anyway. The royal interest in the hospital and surveys of its estates suggest it was self-sufficient or even wealthy.

The hospital's collection of books is equally revealing of its character. An inventory made by the Chapter in 1277 reveals that the hospital had a missal, a gradual, a psalter, and an antiphonal 'with the service of half a year in the summer'.<sup>75</sup> The books that the hospital possessed determined what kind of services it could hold in its chapel; the missal would have provided the liturgy of the mass, and the gradual would have provided the plainchant for passages of scripture.<sup>76</sup> It is also worth considering what books the hospital did not have. The antiphonal would have been useful for only a portion of the year, and there was no breviary or lectionary, meaning no provision for daily offices or for daily readings.<sup>77</sup> The hospital possessed enough books to carry out masses, but with respect to daily offices it offered no alternative to the minster. Rather, the hospital's role as a school may explain its collection of books. The psalter would have been a useful tool for educating

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<sup>70</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 128–29.

<sup>71</sup> 'ij cistas cum monumentis', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 130.

<sup>72</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 218.

<sup>73</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 30. The same was true of St Mary Magdalene.

<sup>74</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 19.

<sup>75</sup> 'cum servicio dimidii anni in tempore æstivali', *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 206.

<sup>76</sup> P. S. Barnwell, Allan B. Barton, and Ann Rycraft, 'An Introduction to the Requiem Mass in the Use of York', in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*, ed. by P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft (Reading: Spire, 2005), pp. 127–40 (p. 138).

<sup>77</sup> Barnwell, Barton, and Rycraft, 'An Introduction to the Requiem Mass', p. 138.

students, and many hospitals owned large collections of books which, as Carole Rawcliffe has argued, served both liturgical and educational purposes.<sup>78</sup> If this was the case, then the hospital could already have been acting as a school in 1277.<sup>79</sup> The innocence of the young students and their education both enhanced their effectiveness as pious intercessors.<sup>80</sup>

The hospital of St John the Baptist does not appear to have attracted many commemorative bequests and it evidently did not need the income they would have provided. There were also no chantry foundations at St John the Baptist. The only commemorative element of de Wollore's endowment, for example, was the chests with memorials. The masses performed in its chapel may have been attended by travellers or people living nearby, but the proximity of the hospital to the minster means it would not have acted as a chapel of ease. In its care for corrodians and the poor, the hospital of St John the Baptist was akin to Ripon's other hospital, that of St Mary Magdalene, but the latter was also the site of a number of chantry foundations.

#### 4.4: *The Hospital of St Mary Magdalene*

The hospital of St Mary Magdalene was situated along the road leading north out of town, not far from the bridge over the River Ure. Its history stretches back into the twelfth century like Ripon's other hospital, St John the Baptist. St Mary Magdalene's prominent but marginal location and its dedication are both highly indicative of its original function as a leper hospital.<sup>81</sup> In order to meet the spiritual needs of its inmates, the hospital was equipped with a chapel that still exists today. It would be a mistake to view the hospital's function too narrowly as has been done in the past. St Mary Magdalene, like the majority of leper hospitals, would have had a wide remit to care for the poor.<sup>82</sup> By considering its spiritual value to patrons and benefactors it is possible to understand its transformation from leper hospital to chantry college and to assess its appeal against that of the minster and the other religious institutions of the parish.

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<sup>78</sup> Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Eighth Comfortable Work: Education and the Medieval English Hospital', in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 11 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), pp. 371–98 (p. 389).

<sup>79</sup> Hanna believed the poor students of the hospital were educated at the minster grammar school, but the library of the hospital indicates he was incorrect. See Hanna, 'Some Yorkshire Scribes and their Context', p. 172.

<sup>80</sup> Rawcliffe, 'The Eighth Comfortable Work', pp. 380 and 392.

<sup>81</sup> Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England*, p. 252; Roberta Gilchrist, 'Christian Bodies and Souls: The Archaeology of Life and Death in Later Medieval Hospitals', in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. by Steven Bassett (London: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 101–18 (pp. 113 and 115).

<sup>82</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), p. 9.

Though founded as a leper hospital in the twelfth century, by the 1290s the hospital was serving a community of elderly priests.<sup>83</sup> These priests had their own separate dwelling, and within forty years it seems that this was the only dwelling for inmates of the hospital, with the leper house having been taken down before 1341.<sup>84</sup> By this time a large endowment had been given to the hospital to expand it into a chantry college staffed by three additional priests. This transformation could be viewed as a reaction to the hospital's decline, but it is more useful to examine how the hospital continued to be a focus of pious bequests and to dispense charity to the poor rather than to be too concerned about the categories of inmate it cared for. It is the hospital's role as chantry college and almshouse in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries that is of greatest interest here.

The most important benefactor of the hospital at this time was John le Waryner, a wealthy local man who founded a collegiate chantry in the hospital in 1335. His chantry foundation is worth analysing because he chose as its site the hospital rather than the minster. The mortmain licence for this chantry shows that there were to be three chaplains, two based permanently at the hospital and a third who would perform the mass four days a week at le Waryner's private chapel of St Leonard.<sup>85</sup> Its suitability as the site of a collegiate chantry may have been due to factors including its public location, its annual distributions to the poor, its earlier chantry foundations, its community of priests, and its possession of some relics of St Mary Magdalene. The hospital master was expected to distribute a loaf and some fish sauce to every poor person who came to the chapel at the feast of St Mary Magdalene (22 July).<sup>86</sup> This distribution would have attracted people to the hospital in a fashion similar to distributions of food at obits, which were intended to increase attendance at anniversary services. More valuable still was the hospital's community of inmates. These included retired priests, the deserving poor, and possibly also lepers. Priests had been retiring to the hospital since the end of the thirteenth century at least, when Archbishop Romanus spent £40 on constructing a separate residence for them.<sup>87</sup> These priests were probably no longer fit to perform the duties of their profession, and if they were not entitled to a pension from their former benefice, they would have been entirely dependent on the support provided by the hospital.<sup>88</sup> The hospital had also been receiving corrodians since the middle of the thirteenth century and had accepted Agnes de Walton as corrodian by order of Edward II as late as 1320.<sup>89</sup> The masses performed at the hospital by John le Waryner's chantry priests would have been attended by these hospital inmates, and their participation would undoubtedly have involved prayers for his soul. Le Waryner probably also had

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<sup>83</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 19.

<sup>84</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 225.

<sup>85</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward III*, II, 546–47.

<sup>86</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 229.

<sup>87</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 19.

<sup>88</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>89</sup> See Kew, The National Archives, Special Collections 8/152/7560.

greater control over his foundation at the hospital than he would have had if he had established it in the minster instead. He had previously served as the Archbishop's bailiff of Ripon and this connection may have influenced his decision as well.<sup>90</sup>

By the fifteenth century the hospital was regarded as a chantry college and also as a type of almshouse. In her 1485 will, Margaret Pigot left 'to the bedehouse beside the Mawdelayns, 3s 4d'.<sup>91</sup> The hospital's chantry certificate reveals that it was meant to have 'ij priestes and v poore people to pray For all Christien sowleꝛ ather priest havynge for his stipend iiij li. and every of the poore people vj s. viij d.', as well as two chantry priests supported by le Waryner's endowment.<sup>92</sup> The poor people may have been carefully selected and would have served as intercessors in the same way that lepers had earlier in the hospital's history.<sup>93</sup> The hospital of St Mary Magdalene was unique in Ripon. There were no other collegiate chantries established anywhere in the parish, nor were there any perpetual chantries attached to Ripon's other hospital or its almshouse.

#### 4.5: *The Almshouse of St Anne*

The almshouse, now in ruins, was located to the south of the minster in Annsgate. This street was also the site of a number of the canons' houses and at least one which belonged to a chantry chaplain. There is very little written evidence about this almshouse, most of it dating to the fifteenth century, and the survival of written sources may distort the picture of its history by giving the impression it was purpose-built in the fifteenth century rather than converted from an earlier function. Neither the Chapter nor the Archbishop was patron of the almshouse of St Anne; its patron was probably one of the local gentry families, though it is not clear which one. The almshouse fulfilled a clear social purpose by caring for poor and elderly people.

The Archbishops' registers have little to say about the almshouse, which was also called the *Masyndew*. It was evidently founded and constructed sometime before April 1479 when Archbishop Booth issued an indulgence on its behalf.<sup>94</sup> It is mentioned in another indulgence the following year. This second indulgence reveals that it was meant to support eight poor people.<sup>95</sup> The date of foundation has traditionally been given as *c.* 1438, but Hallett asserted that the east window 'and the piers and capitals of the western arch, give the impression that the chapel is of a date earlier than that usually assigned for the foundation of the hospital'.<sup>96</sup> Hallett was undoubtedly correct to claim that the almshouse was of a date earlier than the 1430s. Architectural features indicate that the

<sup>90</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward II*, v, 229.

<sup>91</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 277.

<sup>92</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 29–30.

<sup>93</sup> Sheila Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), p. 26.

<sup>94</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 157–58.

<sup>95</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 162.

<sup>96</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, pp. 133 and 135–36.

building was constructed in two parts, both prior to the fifteenth century. There are straight joints at the meeting of nave and chancel, but the alignment of the chancel is skewed in relation to the nave. The nave portion was constructed first, with the piers of the chancel arch constructed in masonry courses and bonded on the north side. On the south side, the wall of the chancel misses the pier altogether resulting in the projection of an additional corner of masonry into the chancel. The chancel probably replaced an earlier chancel that had either become damaged or was deemed no longer sufficient for the chapel. Its most datable feature is the tracery of the window at its east end. (Figure 4.2) The window is divided into a pair of lights with trifoliated heads with a quatrefoil centerpiece. The window tracery is of the geometric type, and the moulded cusps indicate a date of c. 1300.<sup>97</sup> The presence of an aumbry, a piscina, a pair of brackets for saints' images flanking the altar, and squints (for lighting the altar) in the east ends of both the north and south walls all show that the chancel was intended for the celebration of the liturgy.



Figure 4.2: East window of the almshouse of St Anne. The altar would have stood beneath this window, flanked on either side by saints' images mounted on the brackets seen here. The piscina is visible in the south wall.

The site probably had a chapel on it by the beginning of the thirteenth century. As early as the 1228 dispute between the Chapter and the Archbishop of York, the street was referred to as

<sup>97</sup> Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 510.

‘Annsgate’.<sup>98</sup> The street, like Allhallowgate, most likely took its name from an existing chapel rather than the other way around. The chapel that once existed on Allhallows Hill is now almost entirely a mystery, appearing in no documents of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. It may have functioned, together with the Ladykirk and the chapel of St Anne, in some parochial role before the construction of the twelfth-century minster. After it was rebuilt the minster housed all six parochial altars and served the town as sole parish church but the earlier structure may have had fewer altars.<sup>99</sup> The dedication to St Anne suggests a date of construction in the twelfth century. She became a popular patron saint during this century, after the Crusaders discovered a church dedicated to her near Jerusalem in 1099.<sup>100</sup> Richard Morris has noted associations between chapels dedicated to St Anne and wells.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps the chapel was originally constructed and dedicated with water in mind — if it had no parochial function, it may originally have been connected with the medieval bridge whose stone footings are still visible in the River Skell near the chapel. It is unclear why the Ladykirk chapel and the chapel of St Anne survived while the chapel of Allhallowgate did not.

Textual sources reveal little regarding the history and development of St Anne’s. It appears that, by virtue of being an almshouse, it avoided dissolution during the Reformation. This means that there are no records of its income, which was probably very limited and composed mainly of rents.<sup>102</sup> Leland described it as ‘the foundation of a gentilman of the cuntery thereby, whos landes be now dispartelid by heires general to divers men’.<sup>103</sup> One wonders if he or his heirs were among the benefactors of the minster’s nave aisles, but unfortunately Leland did not record any names. There is no way to verify Leland’s claim or to determine whether the founder he referred to was the original founder or later re-founder but the weight of evidence for a chapel on the site at an early date suggests he was a re-founder. While it is therefore clear that the almshouse appealed to gentry benefactors, it cannot be determined whether they were families with close links to the minster or not. Some families, such as the Malories, Markenfields, and Pigots were prominent in the minster while others, such as Ingilby and Kendale appear to have been marginal, with their patronage and benefaction directed toward the Ladykirk rather than the minster, so it is unfortunate that it cannot

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<sup>98</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, 1, 60.

<sup>99</sup> In this case it might be reasonable to expect the new altars in the minster to have the same dedications as the chapels which they replaced but none of the six parochial altars were dedicated to St Anne, St Mary, or All Saints.

<sup>100</sup> Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, pp. 89–90.

<sup>101</sup> Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, p. 89.

<sup>102</sup> A limited endowment was typical of the maison Dieu as opposed to the bedehouse. See Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England*, pp. 26 and 32.

<sup>103</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, 1, 82.

be known where the almshouse of St Anne fit into this network.<sup>104</sup> The chapel housed no chantries or guilds and in no way operated as a parish church.

It must be noted that the almshouse was not under the control of the civic authorities. Gowland writes, ‘Until the end of the sixteenth century, the borough corporation consisted of a Wakeman (or Mayor) and an indefinite number of Aldermen, and its business was confined to keeping order in the borough, apparently in co-operation with the Archbishop’s officers’.<sup>105</sup> Their lack of corporate influence is underscored by the fact that they controlled no charitable institutions. As individuals, rather than officeholders, the Wakemen and aldermen may very well have made distributions to the poor, supported the almshouse of St Anne, and helped repair the town’s bridges. The dispersal of St Anne’s endowment shows that it, as most almshouses of the *maison dieu* type, was not a powerful institution.<sup>106</sup>

The almshouse of St Anne was similar to the Ladykirk in that its benefactors were the local gentry; however, the evidence of gentry involvement with the almshouse does not reveal which families were its benefactors and they may or may not have been members of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints at the Ladykirk. Another similarity is that both the Ladykirk and St Anne were existing structures adapted for new purposes — the former being made into a guild chapel and hall and the latter into an almshouse. Perhaps even more significant is the fact that the almshouse was a charitable institution not under the patronage of the Archbishops of York. By the fifteenth century if not sooner, the almshouse represented the affluence of local elites just as did their family mausolea and heraldic displays in the minster.

#### 4.6: *Conclusions*

There were many chapels of various types within the parish of Ripon Minster, but the majority of them had few of the qualities of a formally recognized parish church. Many are known only from ordination documents relating to the chantries that the Chapter permitted local lords to establish at their manors. These documents show that the Chapter was powerful and careful enough to restrict the uses of these chapels so that they would bear no threat to the minster’s parochial rights. The exceptions were the Ladykirk in Stonebridgegate and the chapel of Pateley Bridge. The Ladykirk was a feature in the earlier monastic landscape of Ripon, and it retained its burial rights into the later Middle Ages, which set it apart from the other chantry chapels within the parish. When a guild with a chantry was established there, it became a quasi-parish church. The Ladykirk’s guild later

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<sup>104</sup> The best evidence of this sort is the bequest of Margaret Pigot (d. 1485) of 3s 4d to the almshouse. It is one among many bequests, including the same sum to the ‘bedehouse beside the Mawdelayns’, or hospital of St Mary Magdalene, so it indicates a widely charitable attitude rather than a proprietary interest in the almshouse of St Anne. *Acts of Chapter*, p. 277.

<sup>105</sup> Gowland, ‘The Manors and Liberties of Ripon’, pp. 82–83.

<sup>106</sup> Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England*, pp. 26 and 32.

lost its influence, and other guilds were established in the minster and flourished there in the fifteenth century. The chapel at Pateley Bridge was staffed with its own chaplain by the end of the fifteenth century. The town there only developed in the fourteenth century and its extreme distance from the minster explains why so many rights were delegated to it by the Chapter. Some families remained attached to the Ladykirk and continued to bury in it during the fifteenth century. The other dependent chapels of the parish, though to a lesser degree than the Ladykirk and Pateley Bridge, also permitted the development or maintenance of separate communal identities within the parish. Even those that had no more than a patronal image and annual feast were still distinct from the broader parish and even their sub-parishes by having patron saints other than Wilfrid or the saint to whom their parochial altar in the minster was dedicated. The communities that formed in the villages may still have viewed themselves as part of the parish much like guilds with separate altars in the church.

The chapels close to the town were mostly connected to different types of religious institutions. The hospitals of St John the Baptist and St Mary Magdalene both had chapels, but only the latter attracted chantry endowments. The almshouse of St Anne also had no chantry endowments, but it did receive financial support from local gentry families. Obits could include distributions of food to the poor but the regular care of the sick and elderly of Ripon was undertaken by its hospitals and almshouse, which were not subject to the Chapter or the civic authorities. It was the Archbishop of York and the local elites who provided this care, not the parish as such. The majority of chantry chapels founded by the gentry were endowed during the thirteenth or fourteenth century; likewise, John le Waryner created his chantry college at the hospital of St Mary Magdalene in the first half of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century there were more chantry foundations by laypeople within the minster and the majority of the town's religious fraternities were based there. The increasing number of chantry foundations and the success of guilds in the minster suggest that during the fifteenth century it was becoming an increasingly important centre of religious devotion. The central tower collapse in 1450 was significant in strengthening devotion to the parish church, and this event is examined in detail in the following chapter.

## Chapter 5: The Tower Collapse and Repairs, 1450–1480

The primary purpose of this chapter is to examine the social consequences of the central tower collapse, not to explain why the tower fell. The tower collapse affected how the building could be used and its repair was the start of a series of renovations to the building. The repairs themselves and renovations would have affected the building as much as the tower collapse. The choir with the high altar and both of the altars of the south transept arm were affected. The high mass and parochial functions of two altars (Studley and Givendale), not to mention the commemorative services in that part of the building (the guild of St Wilfrid and the guild of the Assumption, both with their chantries) would have had to move temporarily. These issues have never previously been addressed in detail, as they will be here. Documentary sources, including archiepiscopal registers and Fabric Rolls, are examined to determine what they reveal about the date and extent of the collapse as well as the speed of repairs. The standing fabric of the building is also assessed to determine the extent of damage and likely timeframe for repairs. Past scholarship has only ever covered when and why the tower fell with the occasional mention of services being moved temporarily.

There has been some disagreement about the date of the tower collapse and its cause. Danks described it as a collapse mainly on the southeast side, determining that the fifteenth-century work in the choir is evidence of where damage occurred, but incorrectly dating the fall to 1459.<sup>1</sup> He also wrote that the repair work was not swiftly completed due to lack of funds.<sup>2</sup> Hallett drew similar conclusions, but more accurately dated the tower collapse to around 1450, when it was first mentioned in Archbishop Kemp's indulgence.<sup>3</sup> The conclusion of his archaeological assessment was that repairs had to be done on the south and east sides of the tower, the east side of the south transept, and a portion of the south end of the choir.<sup>4</sup> Smith gave the date of the tower collapse as *c.* 1450 and the affected portions as those on the southeast.<sup>5</sup> Forster, Robson, and Deadman also gave 1450 as the year of the collapse, but intriguingly they argued for a combination of poor workmanship and an earthquake as causes for the collapse.<sup>6</sup> The archbishops only cited poor workmanship and weather, so the evidence for an earthquake must come from somewhere other than the registers.

Although written evidence for the tower collapse is the chief source discussed in the minster's historiography, archaeological evidence is also highly illuminating. Harrison and Barker

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<sup>1</sup> Danks, *Ripon Cathedral*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>2</sup> Danks, *Ripon Cathedral*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Forster, Robson, and Deadman, *Ripon Cathedral*, p. 89.

have recently examined archaeological evidence for the collapse, arguing that the tower was originally taller than it is today, but that the excessive weight bore down too heavily on its eastern supports so that the upper storey had to be removed shortly after it was completed.<sup>7</sup> Despite attempts to reinforce it, ‘the south and east sides of the tower fell outwards from the south-east corner, crushing the masonry of the adjoining arcades’.<sup>8</sup> Their findings agree in general with what has been written about the tower collapse, especially with the rudimentary analysis of physical evidence found in the works of earlier authors such as Parker, Danks, and Hallett, but run contrary to the earlier explanation that the collapse resulted from the total failure of the southeast pier. Their argument regarding the use of the central tower is also meant to rebut claims made by Hearn that the west front was part of the original (c. 1175) design of the minster.<sup>9</sup>

Many authors have reported the relocation of services to a nearby chapel as described in Kemp’s indulgence and have attempted to identify which chapel was used, though none commented on when services were likely to have returned to the minster. Fowler argued that services were probably moved to ‘the ancient chapel of our Lady, mentioned by Leland’.<sup>10</sup> Smith and Hallett both agreed with Fowler that it was the Lady Chapel in Stonebridgeway, now destroyed.<sup>11</sup> No reason has been given for why this particular chapel would have been the most likely alternative site for divine worship, but distance probably rules out the chapel of St Mary Magdalene. Size and function likewise preclude the almshouse of St Anne, which was divided internally to provide accommodation for its inmates.<sup>12</sup> The Ladykirk seems most plausible because it was close, though presumably too small to act as a long-term substitute.

In this chapter, the extent of the tower collapse is discussed first, beginning with an examination of the fabric of the building in order to establish the extent of damage and which altars and chapels were likely to have been affected. After the examination of the minster fabric, the textual sources are reviewed to see what they reveal about the collapse and repairs. The Archbishops’ registers, with their indulgences for building repairs are important sources that have been utilized by past researchers. In addition, local wills, Fabric Rolls, and the minster’s Chapter Acts contain other datable evidence which has often been overlooked. These sources give a good indication of what parts of the building were in use at what dates, and are also helpful in determining the social impact of the tower collapse and repairs.

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<sup>7</sup> Harrison and Baker, ‘Ripon Minster’, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Harrison and Baker, ‘Ripon Minster’, p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Harrison and Baker, ‘Ripon Minster’, pp. 63 and 66–67.

<sup>10</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 152.

<sup>11</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 27; Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*, p. 114.

<sup>12</sup> The divisions of the almshouse interior were deduced from the positions of fireplaces discovered when it was demolished in 1869. See Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 79.

### 5.1: *The Extent of the Tower Collapse*

Architectural details and the type of stone employed provide useful indicators of the extent and type of repairs. The white magnesian limestone, which was first used on the *c.* 1290 pinnacles and flying buttresses of the choir, appears in all subsequent work including the Ladyloft of the Chapter House, the south transept arm, the central tower, and the aisled nave. In some instances, such as the Ladyloft, central tower, and the embattled parapets of the choir, transepts, and nave, the white stone was employed both for carved work and in ashlar blocks. These blocks tend to be much more oblong than the yellow sandstone blocks used for earlier work. Elsewhere white limestone was used mainly for carving and earlier yellow sandstone masonry blocks seem to have been recycled.<sup>13</sup> Thus the extent of repairs after the tower collapse may have been greater than what is indicated by the white stone, but nevertheless it provides a useful starting point. The main areas affected were the central crossing, south side of the choir, and the south transept, but renovations may have taken place on the north transept arm also. The damage to the tower, choir, and south transept arm was more extensive than the repairs described in the 1453–1457 special Fabric Roll, the only Fabric account to record the project, so repairs were probably resumed sometimes in the 1460s.

#### 5.1.1: Tower

Differences between the new and old work of the central tower are readily apparent. From the outside it is clear that the entire faces of both the south and east sides have been replaced. The new faces of the tower extend around the southwest and northeast corners of the tower to rest on the plinths upon which angle shafts formerly stood. A string course tops the new faces of the tower, surmounted by an embattled parapet of white stone that extends around the north and west sides of the tower to rest on the original corbel table. Much of the fifteenth-century stonework of the tower, including the window tracery, has subsequently been replaced. From the evidence of the external renovation of the tower, the damage it suffered in the collapse was limited to the south and east sides.

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 138–39.

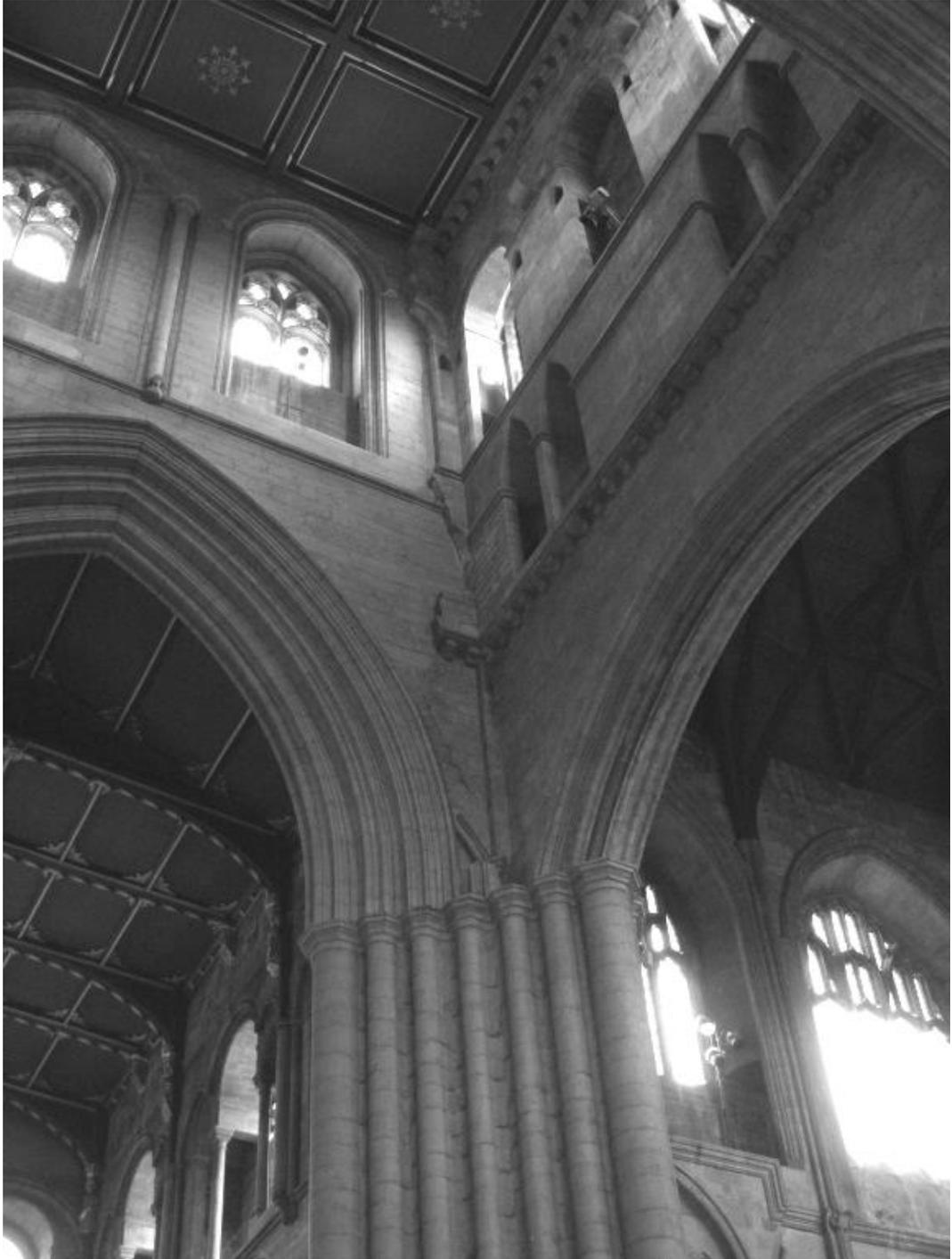


Figure 5.1: Southwest corner of the crossing. This photograph shows the juncture of the new and old work of the central tower. The southwest crossing pier was completely renovated but the western arch (to the right) was never rebuilt like the southern one (to the left). The intended design is clear from the fully renovated southeast crossing pier (see Figure 5.2).

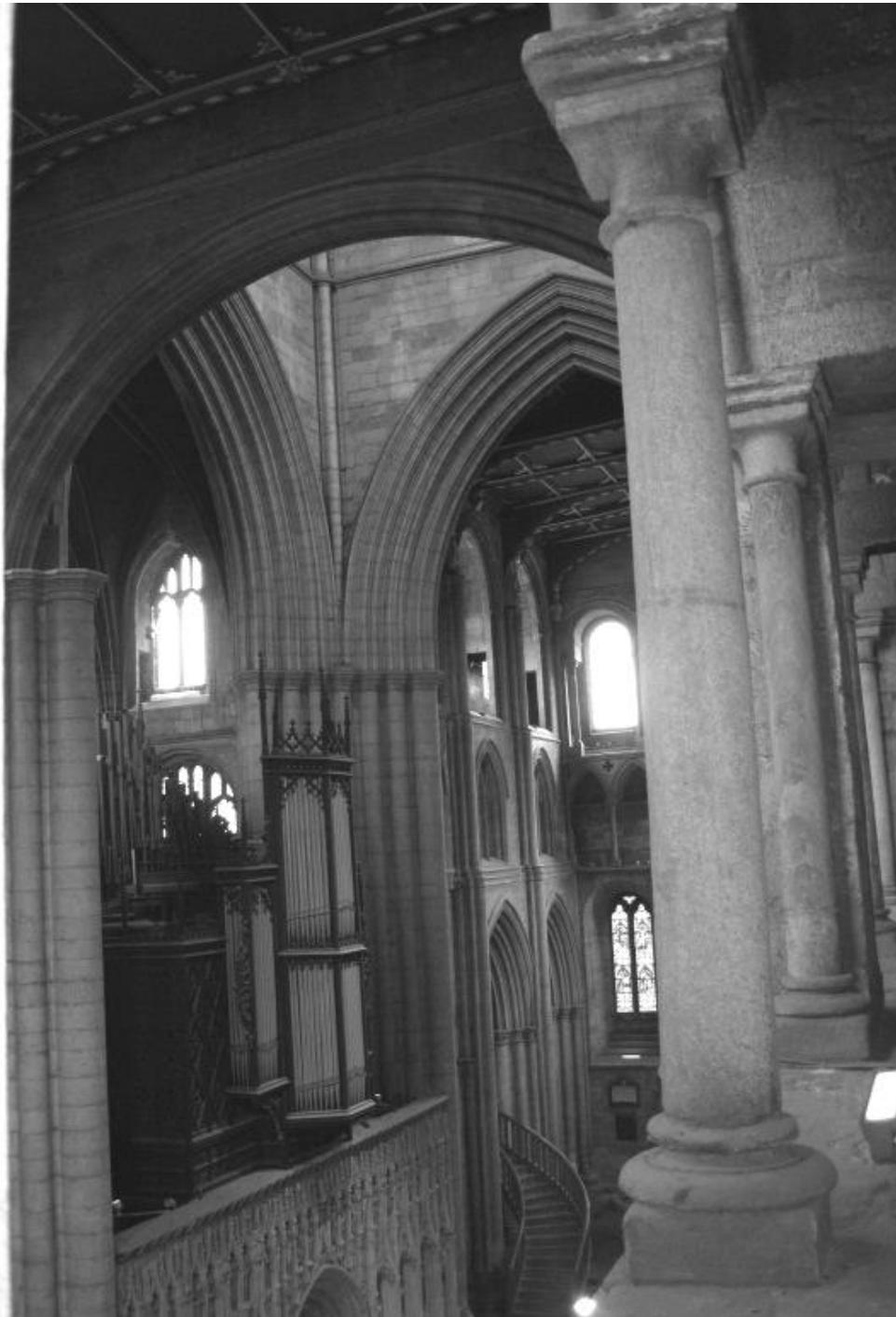


Figure 5.2: Crossing and south transept. This photograph shows the completely renovated southeast crossing pier just behind the organ. The same design was intended for the southwest pier but was never completed (see Figure 5.1). The renovated eastern arcade of the south transept arm is also visible with the curving (modern) staircase leading through it into the library (formerly the Ladyloft) above the Chapter House. The tower repairs and south transept renovations are of the same design and were executed as part of a single operation sometime between 1465 and 1480.



Figure 5.3: Eastern exterior of the south transept. This photograph shows the features altered or added as part of the *c.* 1465–1480 renovations. These include the window tracery, buttresses, and parapet. See Figure 5.4 for the *c.* 1175 clerestory windows, buttresses, and cornice. Note also that masonry that forms the juncture of the east wall of the transept and south wall of the choir is a damaged portion of the original *c.* 1175 building. The south wall of the choir clerestory was thinned well before the tower collapse, probably *c.* 1290.



Figure 5.4: Eastern exterior of the north transept. The parapet was added after the 1450 tower collapse. Compare with Figure 5.3 to see the changes made to the east side of the south transept after 1450.



Figure 5.5: View of the tower from the northwest. This view shows the unaffected corner of the central tower. The lighter colour of the parapets of both the tower and the north transept arm indicate that they were constructed using magnesian limestone. The parapets on the eastern and western sides of the north transept were both raised as part of the c. 1465–1480 renovations (see Figure 5.4).

Internal evidence shows the original western and northern crossing arches survive, as do the internal faces of the walls above them, and the original northwest crossing pier. The collapse evidently affected mainly the south and east sides of the tower. Harrison and Barker have demonstrated that the southeast corner broke away from the north window of the east side and the west window of the south.<sup>14</sup> They have claimed that this collapse resulted from the southeast pier settling at a different rate than the other three, whereas previous authors had ascribed the fall of the tower to a total failure of this pier.<sup>15</sup> The collapse necessitated repairs to the tower including the replacement of the south and east sides as well as the strengthening of the crossing piers and replacement of the south and east crossing arches. Three of the four crossing piers have been encased in much more massive piers that are characteristic of the Perpendicular style which was then in vogue in England. The new piers are composed of bundles of columns separated by shallow casements so that the whole face is one undulating surface. Each of the columns has a separate capital and, on the south and east sides

<sup>14</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', pp. 63–64. The Archbishop of York blamed the collapse on poor workmanship and bad weather.

<sup>15</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 60.

of the crossing, they support new, pointed arches of three orders. Harvey described the architect responsible as a genius who innovatively repaired the tower during a period of general architectural conservatism during the reign of Edward IV.<sup>16</sup> The architectural detail of the central crossing repairs indicates a fifteenth century date and the features of the central crossing piers and arches match those of the renovated south transept arcade, suggesting that the work was all of the same design.

### 5.1.2: Choir

The choir was perhaps the most crucial area of the minster to be affected by the tower collapse. Presumably the Perpendicular panelling of the two westernmost bays on the south side of the choir indicates areas that were damaged, though the nature of the damage is uncertain. It is probable that the effects of the collapse were limited and that repairs may have been more cosmetic than structural. Most of the minster's historians seem to have accepted the choir renovations as part of the repairs after the tower collapse, but Hallett argued they were of a later date even than the nave aisles.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the responds of the renovated south bays of the choir resemble those of the central vessel of the renovated nave. (Figure 6.4, 6.6, and 6.8) The chronology of nave renovation is fairly well established and it supports Hallett, indicating that the choir renovation was latest, perhaps sometime in the mid-1520s.

The exterior of the choir provides ample evidence of repairs to its south side. Surviving twelfth-century work can be discerned where the south transept and south choir aisle meet. Part of a blocked round-headed arch and the lancet it was originally paired with are visible at the intersection of the south choir aisle and south transept and are identifiable as such by comparison with the corresponding part of the building on the north side. (Figures 5.3 and 5.4) It is apparent from the retention of the original junction of choir aisle and transept that this intersection neither fell nor was destroyed by the tower collapse.<sup>18</sup> This junction also reveals that the wall thickness of the western bays of the south wall of the choir has been reduced since c. 1175. At first it may appear that the south choir clerestory wall was rebuilt as a result of the tower collapse. This interpretation poses a problem, namely that such repairs would have prevented the choir from being roofed until they were completed and the internal architectural features appear to date from the 1520s, meaning that the choir would have been unusable for around seventy years. Upon careful examination it becomes apparent that the south choir clerestory wall was not thinned after 1450 but during the c. 1290

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<sup>16</sup> John Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style 1330–1485* (London: Batsford, 1978), p. 207.

<sup>17</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 101. He wrote that where this part of the choir 'meets the tower there seems to be a "straight joint"', which indicates that these bays are at any rate later than the tower piers'. Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 101.

<sup>18</sup> Harrison and Barker, 'Ripon Minster', p. 60.

building campaign.<sup>19</sup> The exterior wall face of the south choir clerestory is composed primarily of courses of sandstone blocks. The sandstone blocks were recycled from the earlier wall as has been noted regarding other *c.* 1290 work at the east end of the building.<sup>20</sup> Some limestone has been used, mainly in new features such as the flying buttresses and a stringcourse that runs beneath the windows for the length of the wall from the juncture of choir and south transept to buttress. The fourth and fifth windows have been heavily renewed as has the underside of the west flying buttress arch. This renewal suggests that the magnesian limestone of this part of the building has worn significantly since *c.* 1290, much more so than the stone of the same type in post-1450 work in the same area.

The three westernmost windows in the clerestory of the south choir wall have mouldings of fifteenth-century type. They are identifiable as such by the wide, shallow hollow in the moulding which resembles that of the east clerestory windows of the south transept. The window of the westernmost bay is smaller due to the retention of a section of twelfth-century wall of greater thickness. Unlike the fifteenth-century windows of the south transept, however, those of the south choir aisle do not rise above the level of the twelfth-century corbel table. The moulding of the windows is carved from white limestone, as is the string course and parapet above them. The tracery of these windows has been restored, but if the restorations are faithful copies of the originals, then they were probably inserted at the time the internal wall face of the south choir aisle was renovated. The four large windows of the south choir clerestory are all the same size and their arches are pointed to the same degree.<sup>21</sup> The Perpendicular tracery in the three westernmost windows of this elevation was probably added either to replaced damaged tracery in *c.* 1450 or *c.* 1520 when the internal renovations were completed.

### 5.1.3: Transept Arms

The south transept arm was also affected by the tower collapse. Limestone was used for its embattled parapet, the string course below the parapet, and the courses of masonry directly below the string course. The tracery of its clerestory windows has been replaced, but their mouldings are original and have a wide, shallow hollow indicative of later gothic mouldings. The triforium windows are all blocked now, but they seem to have had pointed arches inserted in them. The arch inserted in the bay adjoining the choir is of two orders for added strength.

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<sup>19</sup> This period of the building's history is generally overlooked and obscure. It deserves more attention than it has received, and more than it can be given here. Scott reported that John Richard Walbran 'informed me that he had discovered that the east end of the choir gave way about 1280, and was rebuilt between that date and 1297', though how Walbran knew the date is not stated. Scott, 'Ripon Minster', p. 315. See also Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> *Southeast Corner of Choir, Ripon Minster*, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, pp. 58–60.

A comparison of the eastern exteriors of the south and north transept arms is very revealing. The fifteenth-century windows of the south transept are much wider and taller than their counterparts in the north transept. They extend well above the level of their original corbel table which is now entirely gone save for a small portion that survives at the juncture between transept and choir.<sup>22</sup> To correspond to the greater size of these windows, the buttresses that flank them have been raised and given pinnacles. The corresponding buttresses of the north transept were not raised or given pinnacles because the windows were not changed (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). The comparison between south and north transept arms reveals that renovations were undertaken on both. While retaining its original corbel table, the north transept parapet appears to have been raised at the same date as renovations were underway at the south transept arm. This is evident from the use of white limestone and makes the heights of the two transepts the same. (Figures 5.4 and 5.5) Symmetry of transept arms appears to have been important because the height and pitch of the south transept roof was recreated identically to match its predecessor and that of the north transept. Gowland noted that the pitch of the transept roofs was lowered *c.* 1450 and remained that way until the Scott restoration of the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The alteration of the roof pitch was connected to the raising of parapets of white limestone after the tower collapse.

Inside the south transept, fifteenth-century renovations appear extensive but incomplete. While there is the possibility that exterior work made use of recycled building materials, internally only the white magnesian limestone was used.<sup>24</sup> The entire east wall of the transept has been refaced and the arcade rebuilt with richly moulded arches. The bases and capitals of the new piers resemble those of the central crossing, though on a reduced scale. The arch leading into the south choir aisle is blocked with work of similar date, and the moulding of its doorway arch is of Perpendicular type. Above it are three niches with crocketed ogee canopies. No sign of the original arch is visible on the western face of this wall. Stubs of masonry from which mullions of internal tracery were intended to rise can be seen at that elevation on the east side of the transept. These were not structurally essential and could have been executed following the completion of the walls and covering of the transept with a roof, so they were probably abandoned due to cost.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the tower collapse necessitated repairs to the tower, south transept, and south and central vessels of the choir, but renovations may have extended to the north transept arm as well. The work of the crossing and south transept arm is similar in style, showing that it was part of one design. The incompleteness of the south transept arm renovations and tower suggest that funds eventually ran out or were diverted to some other project. The repairs to the central vessel of the choir differ in style from those of the tower and south transept arm and

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<sup>22</sup> The corbels appear to be of two different types.

<sup>23</sup> Gowland, 'Ripon Minster and its Precincts', p. 273.

<sup>24</sup> This was also the case with the sixteenth-century interior of the nave.

were probably executed in the sixteenth century around the time of the central vessel of the nave. Documentary sources provide rough dates for some of the work but it is clear from the extent of the repairs that most of them are not documented in surviving financial accounts.

#### 5.1.4: Textual Sources for the Tower Collapse

There are two main types of textual source regarding the tower collapse and repairs. The first is the 1453–1457 special Fabric Roll — the account of a separate fund established to deal with the repairs. It shows that the most urgent work was completed by 1457 when the special account was closed and its remaining funds returned to the regular Fabric fund. The second type is the archiepiscopal indulgence. These must be read critically but are valuable in that they show when renovations were underway as their purpose was to raise money for that work.

A comparison between the 1453–1457 expenses and those of the nave renovation show that the tower repairs could not have been completed by 1457 but must have continued until at least the reign of Archbishop Neville (1465–1476). The known expenses of the nave aisles are far greater than those recorded for the tower repairs of 1453–1457. The nave aisles were under construction for around twenty years, for which there are eight surviving Fabric Rolls. The costs of the new work listed in these accounts ranged from over £120 down to £3 for a year. In total, known expenses for the project exceeded £350. It is impossible to know what sums were spent during the missing years, but the overall cost of the aisles would have been much higher. In contrast, the recorded sum for the central tower repairs between 1453 and 1457 was only around £30.<sup>25</sup> This amount seems too small to have paid for the entirety of repairs to the tower, choir, and transept arms, meaning that they were probably completed at a later date. The damaged roofs and ceilings were probably repaired by 1457 so that the building was weatherproof and services could return to the choir from the Ladykirk, if indeed they had not already done so.

In 1460, Archbishop Booth (1452–1464) wrote that the crossing tower of Ripon Minster had been greatly damaged ‘because of thunder and the assailing breath of weather, and the whirlwinds of storms traversing continually in past times, and other fortuitous causes for which it could not be provided’.<sup>26</sup> He believed that the remnant of the tower would soon collapse as well. As dire as the situation sounds in Booth’s indulgence, the remains of the tower had already lingered for at least a decade since its initial collapse, which was first mentioned in an indulgence issued by Archbishop Kemp (1425–1452) in 1450. The exaggerated language of the indulgences was designed to generate maximum income rather than accurately reflect the status of the building. For this reason the indulgences must be read critically, but they do give a good indication of the period

<sup>25</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 163.

<sup>26</sup> ‘propter tonitrua ac aeris flatus impetuosos, urgenciumque procellarum turbines retroactis temporibus frequencius accidencium, et alios casus fortuitos quibus provideri non potuit’, *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 155.

during which renovations were undertaken. Kemp described the remains of the tower as giving ‘the exceedingly awful suspicion of imminent and approaching collapse to all those inevitably looking at it’.<sup>27</sup> His statement that the minster had been abandoned for a time in favour of a nearby chapel underscores the severity of the situation.<sup>28</sup> Kemp was moved to offer an indulgence of one hundred days to anyone who would contribute to the relief of the church.<sup>29</sup> Judging from the date of this indulgence, it is probably safe to conclude that the collapse of the tower occurred sometime in 1450. The Archbishop, even though he appears to have been in London, would certainly have heard and responded fairly quickly to a misfortune of this scale at a church of such great importance in his diocese.

Archbishop Kemp’s concern was evident once again in January 1451 when he followed up his initial indulgence with an inquiry whose commissioners he empowered to use the threat of excommunication and the means of sequestration to compel those responsible for the repair of the minster to uphold their duties.<sup>30</sup> It appears at first that the Archbishop was more concerned with the state of the minster than were its Chapter or parishioners, but they were closer at hand and perhaps they had less reason to be concerned. Not only was the aforementioned indulgence issued at Westminster, but so too was the order for the inquiry. Moreover, Kemp’s description of the state of the minster in at this time was virtually identical to that in the indulgence of 1450.<sup>31</sup> The next mention of the state of Ripon’s central tower, found in an indulgence in the registers of Archbishop Booth, suggests improved conditions. The situation could not have been urgent if Booth waited until 1460 to issue his indulgence, eight years after he had been translated to York. Services had almost certainly moved back into the minster well before this date.

The special Fabric Roll of 1453–1457 is the only Fabric Roll to record work at this time. It was called the account ‘of the receivers and supervisors of the fabric of the great bell tower of the collegiate church’ to distinguish it from the regular Fabric accounts.<sup>32</sup> The accountants named in the 1453–1457 roll are not the same as those in the 1453–1455 Fabric Roll. One of them, Christopher Kendale, was also a canon. William Forster, his associate, may have been chaplain of the guild of Holy Cross. In any case, he favoured the guild in his 1459 will by leaving them money for candles

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<sup>27</sup> ‘imminentis et instantis ruinae horribilem nimis suspicionem omnibus ipsum intuentibus infallibiliter’, *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 153.

<sup>28</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 152. For another example of services relocated to a chapel, see *Beverley: An Archaeological and Architectural Study*, ed. by Miller, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 153. The length of days offered in the indulgence was due to Kemp’s standing as cardinal rather than to the urgency of need for the funds. See Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England*, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 154.

<sup>31</sup> They were so similar in language that Fowler, to save space, omitted the overlapping sections in the published edition he produced for the Surtees Society. *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 153.

<sup>32</sup> ‘receptorum et supervisorum fabricæ magni campanilis ecclesiæ collegiatæ’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 162.

and vestments; he also left 10s ‘to the fabric of the great bell tower’.<sup>33</sup> Testamentary bequests earmarked for the bell tower ranging from 4d to 40s can be found as late as 1466. Bequests, at least between 1453 and 1457, made up a small portion of the sum raised for the tower repair — only £4 2s 8d of a total £33 13s 5d, about a third of what was raised from the white chest ‘in the body of the church’.<sup>34</sup> It was only after the emergency repairs were completed that many of the bequests were made, probably in response to the later indulgences of Booth (1460) and Neville (1465). Around 40s was generated through the sale of scrap from the damaged tower.<sup>35</sup> The roll includes an entry for a ‘white chest’ set up in the church, presumably the nave, in which money was collected for the emergency repair fund.<sup>36</sup> The amount of traffic in the church at that time may be judged to have been fairly substantial as the chest gathered, in four years, a total of £12 2s 8d.<sup>37</sup> The assault cases discussed in Chapter 1 also indicate that the building was in use within a few years of the tower collapse. The penitents were made to head weekly processions in the minster, and the high altar and image of St Wilfrid in the nave were both mentioned in these 1453 entries in the Chapter Acts.<sup>38</sup> This evidence indicates that a portion — perhaps the majority — of the church was in operation within about three years from the initial collapse of the tower.

The disparity in size between the minster and the chapel, most likely the Ladykirk, that temporarily housed its services, not to mention the numerous chantry and obit foundations in the minster, would have necessitated rapid repair to the most essential parts of the minster. Archbishop Booth’s indulgence supports this interpretation of events, as it was specifically for the central tower and not generally for the damage from the tower collapse as Kemp’s indulgence had been.<sup>39</sup> As Booth made no mention of services being held outside of the minster, it may be assumed that the temporary arrangement had been concluded and the essential repairs had been made to the minster sometime after Booth succeeded Kemp in 1452. Certainly some of the services had returned to the minster by 1453, and the special fund’s discontinuance in 1457 indicates that major repairs were completed by that date. When William Forster and Christopher Kendale, the fund’s wardens, returned the remaining 14s 8d to the Chapter in 1457, it may be safely assumed that the building was weatherproof and the tower was unlikely to collapse any further.<sup>40</sup> Thus when Booth wrote of the tower, ‘that from human judgment the rest of the said bell tower from day to day is about to

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<sup>33</sup> ‘fabricæ magnæ campanilis’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 86.

<sup>34</sup> ‘in corpus ecclesiæ’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 162–63.

<sup>35</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 163.

<sup>36</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 163.

<sup>37</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 163.

<sup>38</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>39</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 154–55.

<sup>40</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 163–64.

topple completely to ground and earth, unless a remedy is swiftly applied in the matter',<sup>41</sup> it can be concluded that the language he used was deliberately exaggerated. This was probably also the case in Kemp's indulgence. The use of similar language is seen finally in the 1465 indulgence of Archbishop Neville (1465–1476) in which, fifteen years after Kemp first predicted the imminent collapse of its remains, he too described the central tower as on the verge of imminent collapse.<sup>42</sup> Neville's was the last indulgence specifically for the central tower, though his successor, Archbishop Rotherham (1480–1500) granted an indulgence in 1482. Rotherham's indulgence states that funds were necessary because the minster 'threatens to go to ruin in its many different parts'.<sup>43</sup> Rotherham may have meant tower, but because he did not say so explicitly, it seems possible that the plans to renovate it further had been abandoned by 1482. It is also possible that Rotherham's indulgence anticipated the nave renovation that began twenty years later.<sup>44</sup>

Taken together, the archaeological and documentary evidence shows that the tower fell sometime in the year 1450. Although the Archbishops of York emphasised the damage to the tower, damage to the choir — especially the roof and ceiling — was probably the more problematic result of the collapse and was rapidly repaired. This was the purpose of the special Fabric fund of 1453 to 1457. By the time of its closure in 1457 the rubble had been cleared from the building, the roof of the choir had been repaired, and the relocated services had returned to the minster. The goal of subsequent indulgences was to complete the renovation of the tower and their claims about its precarious state were probably exaggerated. Stylistic evidence shows that the crossing and south transept arm renovations were of a single design. Harvey assigned a date of 1465–1480 to the repairs of the crossing and central tower, evidently on the basis of stylistic evidence and also the dates of Archiepiscopal indulgences.<sup>45</sup> He was probably correct, and Richard Bramhow's 1459 bequest of 6s 8d 'to the fabric of the great tower of St Wilfrid of Ripon when it should be under construction' thus anticipated the work on the crossing and south transept.<sup>46</sup> The differences between this work and that of the central vessel of the choir indicate that the latter were completed later, after the nave renovation campaign. The incomplete renovation of the central tower may indicate that funds ran out, and the nave renovations took preference over its completion. (Figure 5.4) The renovations of the nave and choir are the subjects of Chapter 6.

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<sup>41</sup> 'quod residuum dicti campanilis de die in diem ad solum et terram ex humano iudicio funditus est casura, nisi remedium in ea parte celerius apponatur', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 155.

<sup>42</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 155.

<sup>43</sup> 'in diversis sui partibus magnam minatur ruinam', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 162.

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>45</sup> He followed the lead of the archbishops by stating that the tower 'had been in a dangerous state from 1450 to 1465', these being the dates of the earliest and latest indulgences to make claims about the state of the tower. As Harvey himself notes, datable stylistic comparisons for designs of this period are limited and often fragmentary. See Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style*, p. 204.

<sup>46</sup> 'lego fabricæ magni campanilis Sancti Wilfridi Ripon' cum fuerit in operando', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 84.

### 5.2: *The Repairs in their Social Context*

Disruption to the use of the building probably began on the day that the tower fell and lasted until its south and east sides were replaced and the choir and south transept roofs could be repaired. The areas of the building that would have been most affected by the collapse were the crossing, the choir, and the south transept. After the rubble was cleared from these areas, they would have remained open to the elements until their roofs could be replaced, and they may also have been filled with scaffolding for a time. The liturgical choir and two altars — those of the two chapels of the south transept — would have been unfit for use, meaning the high mass in the choir, two parochial altars, and one or two chantries at least would have been disrupted. The services performed in these places would have had to be relocated for a time — the high mass to another chapel and the chantries most likely to other altars in the minster. Archbishop Kemp's indulgence states as much, adding that services moved outside the building to a nearby chapel.<sup>47</sup> Other areas of the church may have been affected either immediately or subsequently. The Ladyloft and Chapter House may have been damaged by the fall of the tower but there is no clear evidence one way or the other. The north transept arm was presumably subject to disruption when the parapet was raised as this would have involved removing its roof. This work must have been some of the last of the renovations executed before *c.* 1480 and probably only took place after the choir and south transept had been made fit for use once more. The renovation of the central vessel of the choir corresponds to the rebuilding of the high altar around 1523, after the renovation of the nave.<sup>48</sup>

The repairs were funded by various means that offered differing levels of public recognition for benefactors, who could make anonymous donations of small value in the white chest in the minster or at the Rogation tent, or somewhat less anonymous bequests in wills, or sponsor large portions of work that would then bear the arms of their family. Public recognition must have been a motive for some donors. Another motive was the spiritual reward offered by indulgences. The willingness of parishioners of all levels of society to donate to the repair fund also expresses their devotion to the minster as their parish church. The same sentiment is evident in the large number of new chantries and guilds established there in the first half of the fifteenth century and in the building campaigns that took place after the tower repairs. The 1453–1457 Fabric Roll shows how the necessary funds were raised at the initiative of the Chapter. A sum total of £26 2s 8d was collected through subsidies or donations solicited in the minster, town, and countryside. This sum

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<sup>47</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, p. 152. In Beverley, while the minster was being rebuilt, the nearby chapel of St Martin temporarily served as a parish church. The move was permanent, and the chapel remained a parochial chapel until the Reformation when it was dismantled. See *Beverley*, ed. by Miller, p. 11; and Horrox, 'The Late Medieval Minster', p. 43.

<sup>48</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 148–50.

was given to the accountants of the special repair fund by the sub-treasurer of the minster, John Frankish. It is thus evident that the Chapter was adaptable enough to shift funds to deal with emergencies.

A tower collapse in Norfolk serves as a useful comparison. The parish church of Swaffham was damaged by structural failure around the same time that the Ripon tower fell. The response to this disaster was similar in many ways to that in Ripon. Funds for the project were drawn from the same types of sources, and money was also shifted from other accounts when necessary.<sup>49</sup> One major difference is that the Swaffham repairs were managed by lay churchwardens rather than clerical wardens. Churchwardens would ordinarily have managed the building works of a parish church, and the scale of works undertaken by the Fabric was no greater than that of some projects managed by churchwardens at other churches. For example, the Swaffham churchwardens dealt with sums as high as £170 in the course of rebuilding their church in the early sixteenth century.<sup>50</sup> The expense of the Swaffham tower, which cost more than five times the sum recorded in the 1453–1457 Ripon Fabric Roll, is further evidence that much of the renovation at Ripon occurred after 1457.

Coats of arms give a good indication of the major benefactors of repairs in Ripon. Those carved on the choir screen reveal recognized important benefactors and link it to the south transept arm. The screen fits between the renovated east crossing piers, so it must date to after 1450, but probably not as late as 1500 when the Fabric's resources were directed toward the construction of the nave aisles. Hallett has suggested that the screen may be the same one mentioned in 1408, but this seems unlikely due to the widening of the piers that flank it.<sup>51</sup> The arms that decorate this screen therefore represent the leading patrons of the minster in the second half of the fifteenth century. Walbran identified some of them, including Ward of Givendale (*azure, a cross fleury or*), Pigot (*sable, three mill picks argent*), and Pudsey (*vert, a chevron between three mullets pierced or*).<sup>52</sup> The Pigots are represented elsewhere, with their arms carved on the east wall of the choir, in the nave, and in the south nave aisle.

Coats of arms on the ceiling of the south transept arm indicate its benefactors. As discussed in Chapter 3, the evidence indicates that the south transept was closely linked to the families and institutions that held lordships or were based in Studley in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Nortons and Malories were linked to each other and to Studley by marriages to the daughters of Sir William Tempest (d. 1444), the last Tempest lord in Studley. There had been conflict between

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<sup>49</sup> Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community*, pp. 109–10.

<sup>50</sup> Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community*, p. 109.

<sup>51</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 94.

<sup>52</sup> Walbran, *Guide to Ripon*, p. 63.

Fountains Abbey and Nicholas Tempest in the 1410s and 1420s,<sup>53</sup> so the accession of the Nortons and Malories to the Tempest estates may have marked the start of a more harmonious relationship between the abbey and the local lords, perhaps represented by the appearance of the abbey's arms (*azure, three horseshoes or*) on the south transept ceiling along with those of Malory and Norton. The Nortons were also linked to the Pigots by marriage. Sir John Norton, who was the son of Sir Richard Norton and Isabel Tempest, was married to Jane Pigot (d. 1488), daughter of Sir Ralph Pigot.<sup>54</sup> The collapse of the tower in 1450 necessitated the replacement of the ceiling of the south transept arm and thus attracted the benefaction of the new lords of Studley, who commemorated their family connections and alliances in the heraldry of the new ceiling. Had the tower fallen twenty years earlier the Tempest arms (*azure, a fess between three lions rampant argent*) might have appeared on the ceiling instead.

It is also possible that the arms of Fountains Abbey once appeared on the choir screen. There are three shields to the south of the central door of the screen. Only the heraldry of the first can still be identified (it belongs to the Pigots). The middle shield has three rectangular indentations in which symbols were formerly set, just as the mullets of the Pudsey arms were carved separately and then inserted into the shield. The missing symbols of this second shield may have been the three horseshoes of Fountains. It is conceivable that they were removed during or after the Reformation. The third shield is blank, and was never carved in relief.<sup>55</sup> The Kendale arms can be identified on the cornice of the choir screen. The twenty-four shields of the cornice may formerly have been painted with many other heraldic symbols.<sup>56</sup> The smallness of their arms relative to the six large shields of the lower part of the screen made them less prominent benefactors.

In addition to the arms of gentry families, the choir screen also bears a merchant's mark. The presence of this symbol on the choir screen shows that the burgesses of Ripon were among its important patrons in the late fifteenth century. There are no other examples of symbols like the merchant's mark on the choir screen, but it shows that wealthy merchants engaged with fabric of the building and the collective memory of the parish in the same way as the local gentry.<sup>57</sup> The merchant represented by the mark was probably William Wrampayn. The symbol consists in part of what appears to be two interlinked Ws. Wrampayn was among the witnesses who were in the Chapter House when the remnant of the special fabric fund was returned to the Chapter.<sup>58</sup> Roger

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<sup>53</sup> Payne, *Fountains Abbey in the Mid-fifteenth Century*, p. 26.

<sup>54</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 66n; Glover, *The Visitation of Yorkshire*, p. 244.

<sup>55</sup> Alternatively, an anonymous drawing in the Dean and Chapter archive identifies this shield as it now appears as the arms of Tunstal of Wycliffe. See Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 101.

<sup>56</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 63.

<sup>57</sup> See Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', p. 37.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 164.

Ward and William Malory were also present at this time.<sup>59</sup> Wrampayn's wealth is also demonstrated by the fact that he had servants. One of these, Robert Couper, received a royal pardon from Henry VI.<sup>60</sup>

### 5.3: *Conclusions*

There is an abundance of archaeological and textual evidence for the collapse of Ripon Minster's central tower in 1450. Past research has focused on the date and reasons for the collapse, but here this evidence is used to discuss its impact on religious and social activity in the minster. The fall of the tower damaged the south wall of the choir and the south transept. These areas as well as the tower needed to be repaired, and the funding of these repairs probably generated a widespread response and also offered opportunities for conspicuous donations by the local gentry and wealthy merchants whose symbols can be seen carved into the stonework or which were once painted on the wooden ceilings. The collapse of the tower also affected local devotion to the minster as parish church. From the early fifteenth century there was a tendency to found chantries and establish guilds in the minster, but it appears to be only after the tower collapse that the guild of Holy Cross replaced the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints as Ripon's leading guild. The latter guild's activities were probably disrupted by the temporary movement of services from the minster to the Ladykirk in 1450.

The foundation of numerous guilds and chantries in the minster demonstrates that parishioners increasingly viewed it as the centre of their spiritual lives. Surviving evidence is insufficient to properly investigate the issue, but it seems highly likely that the sentiment was particularly strong among the Ripon burgesses and local gentry families. Residents of more distant villages may have viewed their dependent chapels as the centres of their own spiritual lives and communities.<sup>61</sup> The devotion of the townspeople of Ripon is perhaps best expressed by the Wrampayn merchant's mark on the choir screen, the only symbol of its kind among the many armorial bearings of Ripon's gentry. The numerous but smaller and less public contributions of Ripon's parishioners were collected in trunks such as the white chest. Its importance as a source of funds is demonstrated by the 1453–1457 special Fabric Roll.

Although the minster was rising in the esteem of its parishioners well before 1450, it was not until the tower collapse that this fondness found expression in large-scale building operations. The last major building campaign had been the great east window *c.* 1290, meaning that for around 150 years, with the exception of the Ladyloft *c.* 1330, there was no new work or renovation at Ripon. The fall of the tower sparked eighty years of renovation culminating with the nave and high

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<sup>59</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 164.

<sup>60</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry VI*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1901–1910), IV (1908), 73.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 102–06.

altar between 1500 and 1525. The urge to modernize the minster, evident in the half-completed renovation of the central tower, was also partially responsible for the construction of a new nave in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Indeed, many of the themes of this chapter — such as the support of devout parishioners and social elites — will be taken up again in the following chapter in the examination of the construction, funding, and social significance of the new nave.

## Chapter 6: The Aisled Nave and Choir Renovations, c. 1503–1530

The tower collapse initiated roughly eighty years' worth of new building campaigns. The tower renovations were left incomplete in order to renovate the nave starting in 1503. The nave campaign raises a number of important questions which must be answered if it is to be properly understood. First, if nave aisles were not necessary previously, why were they constructed at all? The date of nave renovation was late relative to York, where aisles were added to the nave 1291–1360.<sup>1</sup> Closely related to this question is the matter of who paid for them. One possible reason for the addition of the nave aisles is that more space was needed to accommodate a growing congregation. This is unlikely given what is known about the population of England, which had fallen since the mid-fourteenth century and was only beginning to return to its pre-plague size.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively, the aisles may have been added for use by guilds.<sup>3</sup> Guild requirements are a reasonable but only partial explanation; guilds alone would have been unable to raise the necessary funds for construction and they are not prominent in the documents regarding fundraising. Moreover, those explanations would be more appropriate if the campaign merely involved adding aisles rather than renovating the entire nave, or if the parishioners were responsible for maintaining the nave as in an ordinary parish church, neither of which was the case at Ripon.

The laity must have supported the campaign, but the Chapter and Fabric organized it, raised the funds, and hired the craftsmen and labourers as well as the master craftsmen who directed their work. The entire nave save the west front was dismantled and the building campaign was thus more disruptive than the tower repairs. The Chapter and Fabric relied on the support of their parishioners to complete the project. The wealthiest were especially important and their contributions are commemorated by heraldry. Widespread support was harnessed through the Fabric's traditional method of gathering donations in chests and also through masses dedicating the foundations of the new nave aisles. After the nave was finished there were further renovations in the choir and the high altar was rebuilt.

### 6.1: *Renovation of the Nave*

This section begins with an architectural description of the two aisles and the central vessel of the nave. Stylistic differences are noted and explained by both a protracted building campaign and a need to limit costs. Indulgences and Fabric Rolls are then examined for the evidence they can provide. These textual sources agree with the impression given by architectural evidence

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed analysis of this campaign, see Sarah Brown, *'Our Magnificent Fabrick': York Minster, an Architectural History, c. 1220–1500* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), pp. 86–136.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, 'The Long March of History', p. 124. John Hatcher believed that the population of England only began to recover from its plague-induced decline at the end of the fifteenth century. See Hatcher, *Plague, Population, and the English Economy*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> David M. Palliser, 'The English Parish in Perspective', in *Towns and Local Communities in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1–24 (p. 8).

and offer rough dates for the programme, namely *c.* 1503–*c.* 1511 for the south aisle and 1511–*c.* 1530 for the north.

The ground courses of the south nave aisle consist of three set-offs, each separated from the next by a single course of masonry. The uppermost is the most ornate. It consists of a roll, a chamfer with an ogee profile, and a final vertical face divided by a quirk. The course is undercut so that it projects beyond the course of masonry below it. The second ground course is similarly undercut but is less detailed, being merely a slightly concave chamfer. The final course is a straight chamfer. These courses and all other carved features of the south and north nave aisles, including window moulds, string courses, and buttress canopies, are carved from white magnesian limestone. The ground courses continue around the buttresses rather than stopping where they adjoin them. This indicates a later medieval date of construction which the form of the buttresses confirms.<sup>4</sup> Five of the six south nave aisle buttresses are identical. They consist of three set-offs, each capped by a straight gable canopy with crockets and a floriated finial. They were intended to terminate in pinnacles above the parapet level, but these pinnacles were either never constructed or have not survived. The buttresses are thin and project somewhat from the wall as was common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> (Figure 6.1) The final buttress, that closest to the intersection between nave aisle and south transept, resembles the others in all respects except that its lowest level is much wider and is capped with an ogee canopy. Its greater size may relate to the changing elevation of the ground, which slopes away to the east. The twelfth-century south transept arm buttresses are also more massive than their north transept arm counterparts. Much of the space between buttresses is filled by the windows, which begin a little below the level of the first stage of the buttresses and terminate just below their third stages. The window mouldings include shallow casements indicative of a later medieval date and the tracery is of the Perpendicular type. The last bay is far narrower than the others and its window is correspondingly both shorter and narrower than all other windows of the south nave aisle.

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<sup>4</sup> Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 358–60.

<sup>5</sup> Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 361.



Figure 6.1: South nave aisle exterior

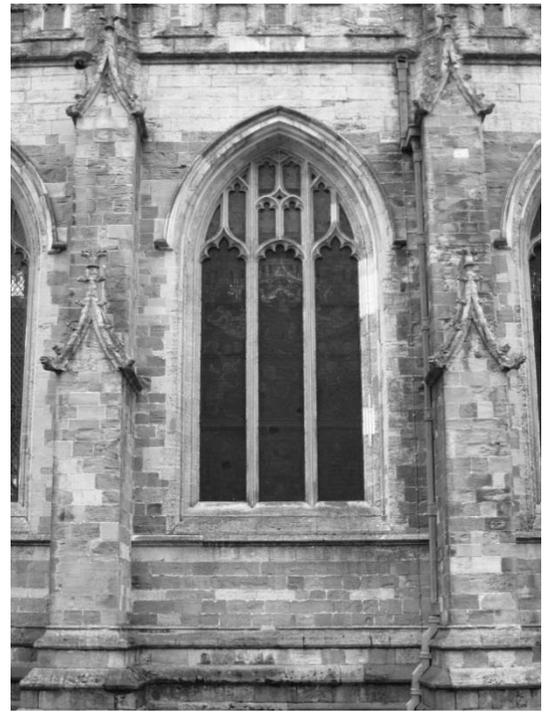


Figure 6.2: North nave aisle exterior

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 together demonstrate that the two nave aisles differ in many details, including the width, stages, and canopies of the buttresses, the shape of the window arches, and the window tracery. There were also internal design differences as indicated by Figures 6.3 and 6.4.

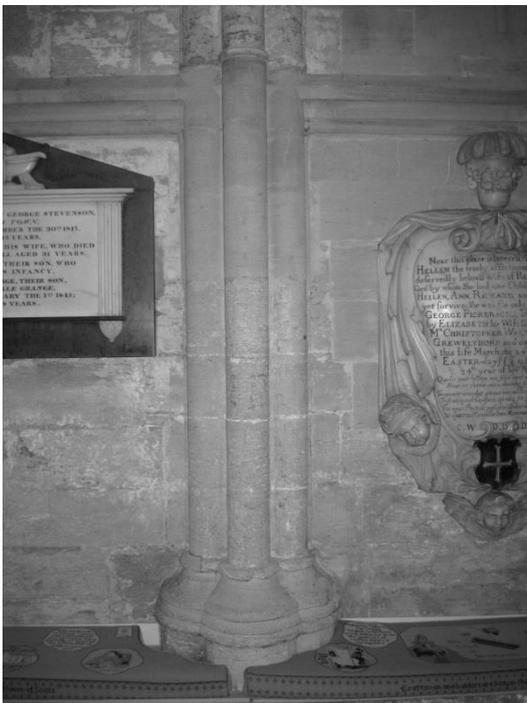


Figure 6.3: South nave aisle respond



Figure 6.4: North nave aisle respond

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 provide a comparison of the responds of the two nave aisles, which were clearly of different designs. Documents confirm that the differences in design evident here and in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 were the result of the two aisles being constructed at different times. The foundations of the south nave aisle were dedicated in 1503 while those of the north nave aisle were dedicated in 1512.

Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show that the nave arcades and clerestory elevations of both the south and north sides of the choir are virtually identical, demonstrating they were constructed at the same time.

Construction began around 1512 when the north nave aisle was also begun. This was the second phase of the campaign. The south wall of the south nave aisle was built between 1503 and 1512. (For the chronology of construction see Figure 6.7.)



Figure 6.6: North nave aisle interior



Figure 6.5: South nave aisle interior

There are also internal architectural details to consider. A low stone bench runs along the wall for the entire length of the aisle. The responds of the vault rise from this bench. They are formed from three shafts bundled together. (Figure 6.3) The capitals of these responds are decorated by angels holding carved stone shields which identify the patrons of the work. (Figure 6.9) This manner of identifying patrons was symbolic. Angels formed part of the hierarchy of heaven, and their use in displaying the heraldry of the minster's benefactors reinforced the hierarchical positions of these individuals and families on earth.<sup>6</sup> The north nave aisle is configured similarly with a stone bench, but the responds are single, angular shafts and the shields held by the angels are merely painted with the symbols of patrons, not carved like those of the south transept. These two internal differences probably required less stone as well as less time and expense to produce, meaning that time and expense were considerations when work on the north aisle was underway. (Figures 6.3 and 6.4)

In general, the north nave aisle has many features in common with the south nave aisle, but there are other important differences besides the responds and angel capitals. The basement courses of the north aisle exterior are the same as those of the south aisle. Likewise, they continue around the buttresses. (Figure 6.2) While the buttresses are as narrow as their counterparts, they have only two offsets and do not project out as far from the building. The canopies of these offsets are formed of two curves like the top part of an ogee arch and they each have four rather than three crockets and floriated finials. The north aisle buttresses, like those of the south aisle, lack their pinnacles. The windows of this aisle fill most of the space between buttresses, and the window mouldings of the north aisle are different from those of the south; in particular, the casements are broader than those of the south aisle window mouldings. The points of the window arches are also sharper than those of the south aisle and the tracery differs slightly from that of the south aisle. (Figures 6.1 and 6.2)

All new carved features of the north aisle exterior, like those of the south aisle, were carved from white limestone. Nevertheless, the majority of the exterior faces of both nave aisle walls are composed of blocks of masonry of another colour and type. The sandstone blocks that make up the majority of the exterior walls were probably recycled from the walls of the original nave.<sup>7</sup> Recycling of stone in this fashion demonstrates planning on the part of the builders, who carefully removed the old walls in such a way that much of the masonry could be reused. It is also a testament to the organisation and foresight of the Fabric and Chapter. If part of the motivation for adding nave aisles was that the original nave walls had become worn, there was still much material that could be recycled.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, pp. 79–80.

<sup>7</sup> Recycled stone was also used during the c. 1290 renovations of the east end of the building. See Scott, 'Ripon Minster', p. 315; Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 40; and *The South East Corner of Ripon Cathedral*, p. 4. Stone from the Norman building was recycled when Wells Cathedral was rebuilt. See Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral*, I, 140.

<sup>8</sup> This issue is discussed in greater detail below.

The recycling of stone from the twelfth-century nave indicates that the entire nave was taken down in the course of construction.<sup>9</sup> Internally, the differences between old and new work are clear. There are straight joints where the new central vessel of the nave adjoins the remaining old work projecting from the west front and the central crossing. The surviving twelfth-century bays were probably retained to buttress the western and crossing towers while work was underway. Stylistic evidence shows that the central vessel was constructed all at once rather than modified one side at a time. The windows of the north and south clerestory match one another, as do the arcades save for a slight difference between the bases of the arcade piers. The new arcades and the internal face of the clerestory are made of limestone rather than the sandstone used during the twelfth-century building campaign and there is no evidence of remaining twelfth-century work above the arcade. The renovation of the nave was therefore massively disruptive as it entailed the dismantling of such a large portion of the building. This radical programme of renovation may confirm the claims of the Archbishops regarding the deteriorating condition of the building, as the Chapter elected to remove the nave and recycle its stone rather than simply add on the new aisles.

The evidence shows that the aisles were built separately followed by the central vessel. They were not built simultaneously as there would not be stylistic differences between them in that case. Such stylistic differences as have been observed indicate a change of master mason or a change of plan on the part of the patrons and challenge Harvey's argument that Christopher Scune was the master mason for both aisles.<sup>10</sup> They demonstrate that the campaign to build the aisles took sufficient time for such a change to occur. The stylistic differences between the two aisles may also represent efforts to reduce costs. The thinner responds and un-carved shields of the north aisle and central vessel would have required less stone and less effort to carve than their counterparts in the south aisle. It is also possible to infer on this basis that the south aisle was constructed first, when funds were more plentiful. Expense was a consideration throughout the project, hence the recycling of sandstone and the employment of newly quarried white limestone only for carved work, the inner wall faces, battlements, and the upper courses of masonry on the exteriors of either aisle.<sup>11</sup>

The heraldry of the shields borne by angels also helps establish roughly the dates of construction. Not all of the heraldry can be identified, but that which can be is as follows: Archbishop Savage (*a pall impaling a pale fusily*) and Pigot (*sable, three mill picks argent*) in the south aisle, and Fountains (*azure, three horseshoes or*) and Cardinal Bainbridge (*quarterly one and four, two battleaxes in pale, in chief two mullets; two and three, a squirrel sejant*

<sup>9</sup> It was definitely taken down by 1512 when Archbishop Bainbridge's indulgence describes it as such. *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 166.

<sup>10</sup> John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550*, 2nd edn (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), p. 270. See also *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 181.

<sup>11</sup> The limestone may also have been easier to carve than sandstone. See Alec Clifton-Taylor and A. S. Ireson, *English Stone Building* (London: Gollancz, 1983), p. 30.

*cracking a nut*) in the north aisle.<sup>12</sup> The arms of the two Archbishops of York give an indication of the dates of construction, with the south aisle presumably being begun during the reign of Savage (1501–1507) and the north sometime after Bainbridge was elevated to cardinal (1511).<sup>13</sup>

Documentary evidence gives a fairly reliable date of 1503 for the start of construction. A general convocation of the Chapter refers to the planned work in 1502, and the 1503 Fabric Roll indicates that work was taking place at that time. A total of £122 8s 1d was spent that year on craftsmen and supplies. This money was used

for acquisition of stone from the Ripon quarry, carriage of the same, timber with carriage of the same, lime, soil, sand, and other different things and stock purchased and set in order for the new work of the said collegiate church, together with the wages of the masons, carpenters, and labourers working and labouring on the same work within the time of this account, just as above in the paper account in which all of those things and stock and also the names of the workers and labourers with the sums paid to the same because of the same work are separately and particularly annotated and declared.<sup>14</sup>

This passage from the Fabric Rolls gives a sense of the large scale of the work taking place at that time. It is unfortunate that the paper account referred to in the Fabric Roll has been lost as the number of workers, the nature of their employment, and their names were all noted in it.

The 1509 account is the next to have survived and shows that work was going on then as well, costing £81 2s 3d and an additional £1 18s 8d for lead roofing, which may or may not have been related to new construction.<sup>15</sup> In 1511 construction costs were £92 12d.<sup>16</sup> There was also new work in the choir in the 1520s, some of which was recorded in a surviving paper record and will be discussed below. Expenses in 1520 on new work were only £16 15s, and then £29 3s 1d and £26 1s 8d in 1522 and 1525, respectively.<sup>17</sup> New work may have concluded sometime around 1527 when the Fabric paid only £2 17s to carpenters compared with £10 two years earlier, but payments were still being made for the removal of bones and it is uncertain what was being excavated at a time when construction was apparently drawing to a close.<sup>18</sup> Possible explanations include the excavation of burials within the church during the rebuilding of the high altar, or of those outside the church in the course of digging saw pits.

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<sup>12</sup> Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>13</sup> Bainbridge's arms are surmounted by a cardinal's hat. Walbran, *A Guide to Ripon*, p. 57.

<sup>14</sup> 'pro acquisitione petrarum in querrur' Ripon, cariagio earundem, meremio cum cariagio ejusdem, calce, umo, sabulo, ac aliis diversis rebus et stuffura emptis et ordinatis pro novo opere ecclesie collegiate supradictae, una cum vadimoniis caementariorum, carpentiorum, et laborariorum operancium et laborancium in eodem opere infra tempus hujus compoti, prout in quaterno superius allegato in quo omnes hujusmodi res et stuffuræ necnon nomina operariorum et laborariorum cum summis eisdem hujusmodi causa solutis singillatim et particulariter annotantur et declarantur', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 170–71.

<sup>15</sup> It may have been used for roofing the south nave aisle as it was nearing completion at this date.

<sup>16</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 175 and 178.

<sup>17</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 184 and 187.

<sup>18</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 186–87. All bones excavated in the course of the works would have been deposited in the charnel house, which was the crypt beneath the Chapter House. See Chapter 1, pp. 33–35.

Archiepiscopal indulgences are a revealing source for the progress of this building campaign, provided that they are placed into the proper context and read with a critical eye. In the previous chapter it was established that the renovations related to the fall of the tower were probably completed by the time that Rotherham (1480–1500) took charge of the see of York because he was the first Archbishop since 1450 to issue an indulgence for Ripon without mentioning the central tower.<sup>19</sup> In 1482 the wardens of Ripon's Fabric received a letter authorising them to collect money for the minster. The need for funds in that year was not explicitly stated, only that the building 'threatens to go to great ruin in its many different parts'.<sup>20</sup> Archbishop Rotherham had issued a similar letter to the treasurer of the Fabric of Beverley Minster a year earlier, and it may be that both letters were the result of a general restoration campaign initiated by the Archbishop at the start of his archiepiscopacy in 1480.<sup>21</sup> Rotherham was a noteworthy patron of religious buildings, even bequeathing a large sum for the foundation of a new chantry college to stand on the site of the house where he was born.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the October letter anticipated the indulgence he issued in November. The timing of the letter and indulgence may also be explained in part by the fact that the letter was issued by William Poteman, one of Rotherham's suffragans, before the Archbishop was prepared to issue his own letters.<sup>23</sup>

Rotherham's indulgence, dated 18 November 1482, gives a more detailed report on the minster's status. After a lengthy preamble alluding to the construction and maintenance of the Temple in Jerusalem, Rotherham stated that the minster had suffered 'because of insensitivity, carelessness, and neglect of the craftsmen building it from the start', and that because of 'the assault of winds, and the violent gusts of storms advancing forcefully, in its stones and beams it seems ruined, weakened, harassed, and broken'.<sup>24</sup> The language is very similar to that of Archbishop Booth's 1460 indulgence pertaining to the tower collapse. Booth not only described the effects of weather on the central tower, but even placed some of the blame on the original builders.<sup>25</sup> What sets Rotherham's indulgence apart from Booth's is that, like the letter issued shortly before it, it does not state any specific reasons why donations were needed. No incidents of destruction are mentioned and the wording of the indulgence seems to be a means of describing general wear and tear on a building.

Cardinal Bainbridge's indulgence of 1512 once more used the same language — almost word for word — to describe the effects of weather on the building, though why he felt the need

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<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 5, p. 129.

<sup>20</sup> 'in diversis sui partibus magnam minatur ruinam', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 162.

<sup>21</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 162.

<sup>22</sup> Sheeran, *Medieval Yorkshire Towns: People, Buildings, and Spaces*, p. 38.

<sup>23</sup> For more information on Poteman and his career, see Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, pp. 233–34.

<sup>24</sup> 'tum propter insenciam, incuriam, et necligenciam artificum eam inicio fabricancium, ac ventorum impetus, inguenciumque procellarum turbines violentas, in lapidibus et lignis suis adeo corrupta, quassata, lacerata, et fracta cernitur', *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 164.

<sup>25</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 155.

to include such descriptions is unclear as with the building campaign well underway there were more pressing reasons for an indulgence by that year.<sup>26</sup> Salzman was struck by these similarities in wording, and wrote that ‘It [the tower] was in exactly the same condition 22 years later [i.e. 1482], but in 1512 the whole nave had been blown down’.<sup>27</sup> He was preceded in this view by Parker, who gathered from Bainbridge’s indulgence that ‘the whole of the nave walls had been blown down’.<sup>28</sup> Something had definitely happened in the interval, but what Bainbridge actually wrote was that ‘because of fear of its ruin and collapse the whole nave of the church was taken down to the earth by craftsmen’.<sup>29</sup> Salzman and Parker were incorrect in their interpretations, for even if the indulgence’s description is taken at face value, what it describes was a planned operation and not a sudden event. Weather damage and general wear over three hundred years may have influenced the Chapter’s decision to renovate the entire nave, but the nave had not suddenly fallen down in a storm. The alternative explanation is that the nave was considered out of fashion. It would also have been fairly dark due to its small windows. The new nave was much lighter and more modern by comparison.<sup>30</sup> The insertion of tracery in the lancet windows of the west front in order to give them a more contemporary appearance is clear evidence that modernizing the building was a concern.<sup>31</sup> In any case, the Chapter Acts and Fabric Rolls prove there was planning for the construction of the new aisles. The capitular convocation of 1502 is the best evidence, as it shows the canons setting aside portions of their income to pay for the project.<sup>32</sup> There was also organised fundraising such as the masses held to dedicate the foundations of the south aisle in 1503 and the north aisle on 2 September 1512.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Compare ‘tum propter insenciam, incuriam, et necligenciam artificum eam inicio fabricancium, ac ventorum impetus, inguenciumque procellarum turbines violentas, in lapidibus et lignis suis adeo corrupta, quassata, lacerata, et fracta cernitur’ with ‘tum propter ventorum impetus, inguenciumque procellarum turbines violentes adeo currupta, dilacerate, et quassata extitit’, *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 164 and 166. This indulgence was for the north aisle. Bainbridge’s arms appear there, perhaps in recognition of his support.

<sup>27</sup> L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> Parker, *Ripon Cathedral Church*, p. 36.

<sup>29</sup> ‘quod propter timorem ruinae et collapsus ejus tota navis ipsius ecclesiae per artifices ad terram est redacta’, *Memorials of Ripon*, II, 166.

<sup>30</sup> There have been a number of different attempts to reconstruct the twelfth-century nave. See Scott, ‘Ripon Minster’; Hearn, *Ripon Minster*; and Harrison and Barker, ‘Ripon Minster’.

<sup>31</sup> The west front has two tiers of five lancets each. Before they were restored by Scott, each was divided in two by a mullion and had a quatrefoil at the head. These modifications have make the lancets appear more like the lights of a Perpendicular window. Hallett argued that these modifications were made in 1379. See Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 44. Scott claimed to have removed them because the stone was of inferior quality and had decayed beyond repair. Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, p. 342.

<sup>32</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 254–56; Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*, p. 123.

<sup>33</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 169 and 177.

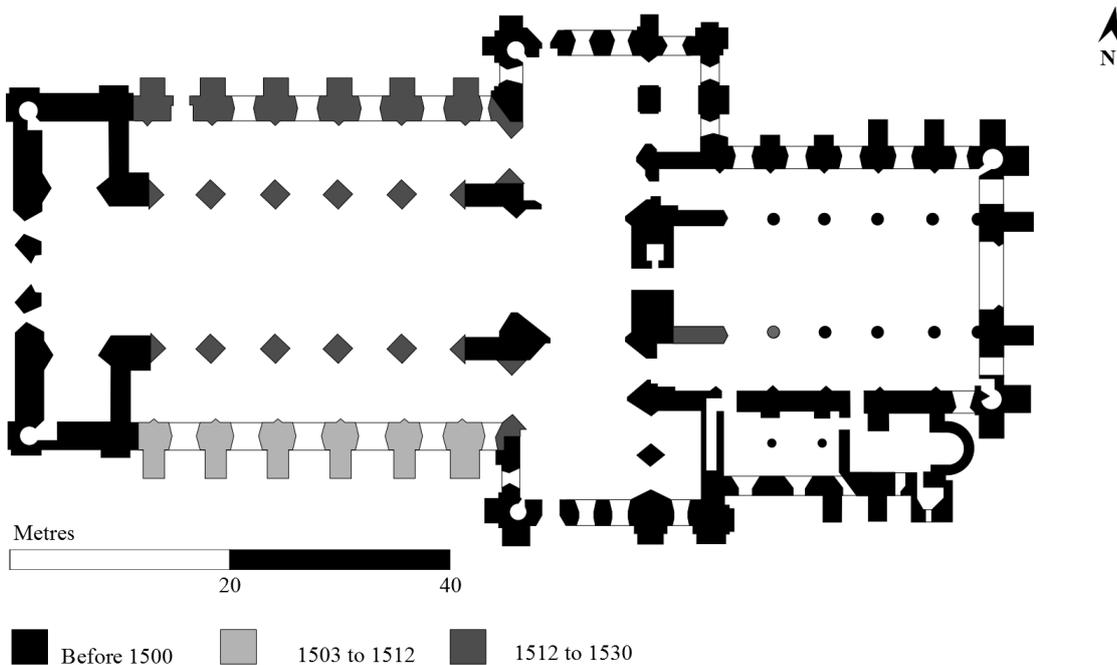


Figure 6.7: Chronology of the nave renovation. This illustration shows the chronology of nave renovation based upon analysis of the building fabric and the documentary sources. The south wall of the nave was built between 1503 and 1512, after which the original nave was dismantled so that the north nave aisle and new central vessel could be constructed. (For illustrations of the different stylistic features of the nave see Figures 6.1–6.6.) Alterations to the choir occurred after the nave work was completed, probably in the late 1520s. (See Figures 6.8 and 6.9.) The plan is drawn after Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 147.

## 6.2: Funding the Nave Renovation

The rebuilding of the entirety of the nave was a massive project which required large sums of money to undertake. Without sufficient funds work would progress more slowly and the disruption of the use of the building would continue. Writing within a few decades of the project, Leland claimed that the widening of the church had been paid for with the church's own treasure and the assistance of country gentlemen.<sup>34</sup> The Chapter and Fabric were primarily responsible for the construction of the new nave but they would have relied on the generosity of their parishioners — especially the wealthiest — to finance it. The support of parishioners during the tower repairs has already been noted in the previous chapter. There was probably a gap of about twenty years between the end of the tower renovations and the beginning of the nave campaign. The same spirit of commitment to the minster as parish church is evident in the early stages of the nave renovation, though the campaign proved to be at least as long, and probably even more expensive than the tower repair.

In 1502, a general convocation of the Chapter was held and various arrangements were made to increase the Fabric's share of the Chapter's income. The canons were all to pay £4 annually for a period of five years.<sup>35</sup> The resident canons also agreed to give the Fabric half the

<sup>34</sup> Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, 1, 82.

<sup>35</sup> Except for the prebendary of Stanwick, who was to pay 4 marks at the same terms. *Acts of Chapter*, pp. 254–55.

income from their residency for five years.<sup>36</sup> These resolutions demonstrate the Chapter's determination to fund construction and show that the Chapter was the leading force in planning and undertaking the campaign. Once the decision was taken, the Fabric wardens were charged with overseeing the project. Their involvement is documented in the extant Fabric Rolls. Design decisions and the technical aspects of the project would have been the responsibility of the master mason and, if he was not permanently on site, his deputy.

The donations of the canons accounted for only a fraction of the income the Fabric raised at the start of construction on the south nave aisle. In 1503, funds were collected in a variety of ways, mainly inside the minster church. Money was collected in a red chest in the nave (£8 7s 4d), at the feet of St Wilfrid (£4 11s 8d), through the farm of indulgences (£5 3s 4d), in bequests (£8 3s 10d), and 'from the devotion of the faithful each Sunday this year' (£1 6s).<sup>37</sup> Gifts during Rogation totalled only 4s by comparison.<sup>38</sup> The Chapter held dedication masses over the foundations of the south nave aisle in 1503. The 1503 Fabric Roll mentions three masses in total with notable donations from Abbot Huby of Fountains (£3 3s 4d) and John Malory (12d).<sup>39</sup> The value of Malory's gift was low but it is significant that his name was recorded while the majority of donors were not named at all. Donations from the rest of the parishioners attending the three masses added up to £5 9s 9d.<sup>40</sup> These masses were opportunities for all Ripon's parishioners to perform a good work by donating to the renovation of their church, just as they apparently did through Sunday donations and gifts left in chests in the minster.

As with the south aisle, the Fabric also raised funds for the north aisle through a mass dedicating its foundation, on 2 September 1512. This mass resulted in donations of £1 18s 6d with a further 8s 4d left 'on a certain stone placed and situated in the same foundation on the same day'.<sup>41</sup> The dedicatory mass was an opportunity for the majority of Ripon's parishioners to participate in the project and must also have been intended to generate enthusiasm from those most affected by construction. In 1512 the nave had already been a building site for around eight years. There is no way to judge the attendance of the dedication mass because the donations were simply recorded as totals and give no indication if they were the sum of many small gifts or a few large ones. In addition to the gifts of the clergy, those of the parishioners in general, and those left upon the foundation stone, the masons also donated £1 2s 8d to the

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<sup>36</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 256. Their income would have been augmented by payments from the common fund.

<sup>37</sup> 'ex devocione fidelium singulis diebus dominicis hujus anni', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 168–69. The red chest's location may have been in a surviving portion of the nave or in the transept of the church as the latter appears also to have belonged to the spatial concept of the nave at this time.

<sup>38</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 168.

<sup>39</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 169.

<sup>40</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 169.

<sup>41</sup> 'super certum lapidem positum et cituatum in eodem fundamento eodem die', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 177.

work.<sup>42</sup> They had made a donation of similar size in 1509, and their donations demonstrate that building craftsmen, like other parishioners, felt moved to donate to the work of the minster even if they were effectively handing over part of their wages only to receive them back again as work proceeded.<sup>43</sup> A sum of 11s 4d was collected from ‘diverse persons elected to the office of Wakeman’.<sup>44</sup> The donations may have been from different men who held the office in different years, or may refer to the fact that two men were Wakeman in 1511. One of them was the carpenter William Brownfleet who was employed twelve years later on the new high altar.<sup>45</sup> The Wakeman’s horn, which was the symbol of the office, appears in the north nave aisle and also on one of the piers of the north nave arcade. In the latter location it commemorates the career of Ralph Pigot, while in the former location it commemorates the donation recorded in the Fabric Roll. The 2 September mass probably marked the greatest general outpouring of support for the north nave aisle and the Fabric’s annual gift income fell as work advanced.

Surviving accounts offer somewhat better information about the progress of the nave renovation than for the tower repairs. During the period of construction a fluctuation in the Fabric’s finances can be observed, probably explained by ongoing building operations throughout the 1520s. Expenses and total income remained roughly parallel to one another, especially after 1523 when renovations may have been nearing completion. Expenditure in excess of all new income for a year was possible and resulted in the reduction of accumulated arrears.<sup>46</sup> This is the best explanation for the figures from this series of Fabric Rolls. Falling income after 1522 led to a diminishing reserve of arrears until they were totally exhausted in 1524, meaning that all available resources were used in 1523. This occurred because expenses rose slightly between 1523 and 1524 while total income fell continuously after 1522. The end result was that after 1524 expenses were forced to parallel income and the reserve of arrears rose slightly. Moreover, the abbreviated Fabric Rolls continue to show building-related expenses, such as payments for carpenters and masons. A comparison between the Fabric’s income without arrears and its expenses shows that they were actually quite close together. This means that the initial fundraising, while enough to start the project off, could not carry it through to completion. Fabric income was essential over the long term, and even still the project strained the resources of minster and its parishioners, hence the contributions of the Chamberlain from the income of his office. Similar measures had to be taken when the south nave aisle was under construction. As work progressed, the Chamberlain frequently subsidized building operations by transferring cash from the income of his office. The surviving recorded

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<sup>42</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 177.

<sup>43</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 174.

<sup>44</sup> ‘de diversis personis electis in officium lez Wakeman’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 177.

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 7, pp. 160–61.

<sup>46</sup> For the importance of these accumulated arrears and the Fabric’s income in general, see Chapter 8, pp. 174–75.

sums are £20 in 1522, 1523, 1524, and 1525.<sup>47</sup> Donations from other minster clergy were also collected, including £2 10s in 1511.<sup>48</sup> Other sources of income included the farming of indulgences, probably for £6 annually, as was the case in 1511.<sup>49</sup> Continuing expense helps to explain stylistic differences between the north and south aisles, especially those changes which involved less stone and less elaborate carving, such as the responds and the angel capitals. The stone vaults of the aisles were only added in the nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

### 6.3: *Impact on the Use of the Nave*

The total dismantling of the nave to construct the aisles must have had a great impact on the activities that could take place there. The guild of Holy Cross and the chantries of St James and Holy Trinity (Sendale) were based in the nave near the rood screen. There were also saints' images and burials in the nave. The saints' images could be moved but the funerary monuments would have required protection while the nave was down. There is evidence of activities in the nave at this time, but they may have occurred in the remaining portions at the west front or adjacent to the crossing or possibly in the transept arms and crossing which very well may have been considered part of the nave. The surviving twelfth-century portion of the building by the crossing must have been enclosed temporarily to protect the Holy Trinity altar and the rood screen. The parochial altars in the transept arms would not have been directly affected by the renovation of the nave.

There were a number of saints' images in the nave. The minster's parishioners would have come to these saints, their patrons, for aid in this life and the next.<sup>51</sup> It is clear from figures in the fifteenth-century Fabric Rolls that many donations were collected in this part of the church, thus indicating that it continued to experience high traffic. The image of St Wilfrid in the nave had a chest at its feet for donations and money was collected from this image throughout the campaign, suggesting that the image remained accessible to parishioners at this time.<sup>52</sup> His value as the main patron of the parish church is obvious, but Wilfrid was not the only saint who had an image in the nave. Other saints represented there included St Zita and St Mary, but donations left at these images were collected by the Chamberlain. Because there are no surviving Chamberlain's Rolls from 1503 to 1530, it is not known whether or not donations were made at these images at that time.

St Zita's presence in the nave merits some consideration, especially in light of the fact that she also had an image on one of Ripon's bridges. Zita's cult originated in Lucca but was

<sup>47</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 184–86.

<sup>48</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 173.

<sup>49</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 176. The indulgence was farmed by John Watson and Thomas Smyth of Pontefract and Richard Chapman of Ripon in 1509. See *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 173.

<sup>50</sup> Before Scott inserted stone vaults, the nave aisles vaults were wooden. Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 79.

<sup>51</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 161–62.

<sup>52</sup> The social significance of St Wilfrid's image in the nave has been discussed in Chapter 4.

transmitted to England — the only other part of Europe where it flourished — by the late fourteenth century.<sup>53</sup> The success of her chapel in Eagle, Lincolnshire, in attracting pilgrims in the late fifteenth century shows her popular appeal.<sup>54</sup> A number of her attributes made her attractive to Ripon's parishioners. A servant during her lifetime, Zita was a patron saint of servants and held a special appeal for women.<sup>55</sup> She would have attracted the devotions of the many female servants working in Ripon, who are evident in great numbers in the 1379 poll tax. Another of Zita's powers, which was to find missing items, would have had universal appeal.<sup>56</sup> She was also believed to protect individuals from drowning, but this notion was the result of her conflation with another saint. It was actually St Osyth who had the power to protect people from drowning, but the two were often combined into one in England in the later fifteenth century.<sup>57</sup> For this reason there was an image of St Zita on one of Ripon's bridges where her protection against drowning could potentially be valuable.

St Mary's image in the nave was a *pietà*, identified as such in the 1439 Chamberlain's Roll.<sup>58</sup> This image of the Virgin attracted the attention and devotion of the Pigot family. In 1488, John Pigot wrote in his will that he desired 'to be buried in the said church of Ripon, before the blessed Mary of pity'.<sup>59</sup> The presence of the devotional image would have increased the sanctity of Pigot's burial site.<sup>60</sup> This final resting place had the added benefit of associating Pigot with the saint and allowing him to solicit prayers from the faithful who came to the image. It would also have been a very public burial place as those other parishioners approaching the image would be confronted by John Pigot's monument. It is not known what type of monument Pigot had, but a tablet inlaid with brass would have sufficed for the purpose.

The area around St Wilfrid's image in the nave is also known to have been a desirable final resting place. In his 1488 will John Gregson requested burial 'in the nave of the church before the image of St Wilfrid'.<sup>61</sup> Burial in the minster continued while the nave aisles were under construction. The Fabric Rolls record payments made for the privilege but do not specify where in the building individuals were buried so that, although it is likely that burial in the nave

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<sup>53</sup> Sebastian Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha in England: An Introduction', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), 83–89 (p. 89).

<sup>54</sup> Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha in England', p. 84.

<sup>55</sup> Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha in England', p. 88.

<sup>56</sup> Thorlac Turville-Petre, 'A Middle English Life of St Zita', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35 (1991), 102–05 (p. 105).

<sup>57</sup> Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha in England', pp. 83–84; Turville-Petre, 'Middle English Life of St Sitha', p. 149.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorials of Ripon* III, 229. The entry records a gift of 7s 2 ½d 'in trunccis [...] Sanctæ Mariæ pietatis'.

<sup>59</sup> 'ad sepeliendum in ecclesia collegiate Ripon' prædicta, ante Beatam Mariam pietatis', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 264.

<sup>60</sup> Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, p. 24.

<sup>61</sup> 'in navi ecclesiæ coram ymagine Sancti Wilfridi', *Acts of Chapter*, p. 285. His devotion to St Wilfrid is manifest in additional bequests to the saint's shrine and chantry. See *Acts of Chapter*, p. 286.

continued, it is not possible to be certain. In 1508, the chaplain John Preston even asked ‘to be buried within the newwarke of the college church of Ripon’.<sup>62</sup>

There are good indications that although the use of the nave was disrupted by construction, it was not entirely curtailed. Donations at the image of St Wilfrid and in the red chest demonstrate that people were entering the nave and interacting with the images of the saints in a fashion similar to periods before the renovation campaign began. Temporary enclosure of part of the nave may explain how this was possible. The altar by the crossing and the rood loft were probably protected by some form of temporary enclosure which would also have been necessary to secure access to the building. There is also a very good chance that the space that was conceived of as the nave by Ripon’s medieval clergy and parishioners included the transept. The transept arms are never referred to as such in the Fabric Rolls. The terms ‘nave’ and ‘choir’ are both used, and it may be that these were the main distinctions made by the minster clergy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this case the transept arms and crossing were considered to be part of the nave in the sense that they were not part of the choir but were used by the parishioners instead. This is very likely to have been the case as the transeptal chapels housed four of the minster’s parochial altars.<sup>63</sup> The fact that the parishioners were not responsible for the upkeep of the nave as they would have been at most parish churches makes this explanation all the more plausible.<sup>64</sup> In consequence, it is very difficult to determine where many of the saints’ images in the ‘nave’ or ‘the body of the church’ were actually located, and the chests for donations may have been in the transept arms or crossing all along. At the same time, the degree to which the nave as a parochial space was disrupted by the dismantling of the architectural nave was somewhat more limited than it might first appear. Processions through the nave may have been curtailed but chantry and guild services could have continued with only limited adjustments, especially if the parochial altars were in the transept arms or enclosed in the remaining portion of the twelfth-century nave just west of the crossing.

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<sup>62</sup> *Acts of Chapter*, p. 330.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 46–48.

<sup>64</sup> Parishioners of most churches had become responsible for the upkeep of the nave in the thirteenth century. Burgess, “‘A Fond Thing Vainly Invented’”, p. 76.



Figure 6.8: Renovated bay, south wall of the choir. Compare these responds with those of the central vessel (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). The stylistic similarities between these features indicated that the alterations to the choir were the last renovations undertaken before the Reformation.

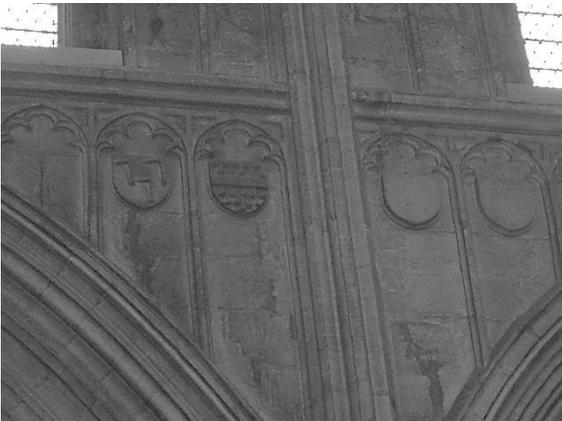


Figure 6.9: Arms of the Pigots, choir



Figure 6.10: Arms of the Pigots, nave

The arms of the Pigot family appear in more locations than those of any other gentry family. Their arms in the choir (Figure 6.9) would originally have been painted like those in the south nave aisle (Figure 6.10). The heraldry of the Pigots also appears on the choir screen and the north nave arcade and formerly appeared on the south transept arm ceiling, meaning that the family was involved in every phase of every building campaign from 1450 to 1530.

#### 6.4: *The High Altar and Choir*

The last new work in the minster before the Reformation was probably the renovation of the high altar and choir between *c.* 1523 and *c.* 1530. The renovated portion of the choir remains but the altar is no longer extant and can only be known from building accounts and later descriptions. The new work in the choir renovated the last remaining portions of the building

still disfigured from the tower collapse of 1450 and was the final project in the series of campaigns to renovate and modernize the building which began with the central tower repairs.

This space was under the strict control of the clergy but the appearance of heraldry on the sixteenth century work demonstrates the eagerness of the gentry to be remembered as benefactors of the church. Many historians of the minster have assigned this work to the period when the south transept and central tower were repaired. Hallett argued that the Perpendicular work in the choir 'is of a very late character, and justifies the belief that it was the last important alteration in the fabric before the dissolution'.<sup>65</sup> He also noted that there is a straight joint at the junction of the new work in the choir and the renovated southeast pier.<sup>66</sup> Some stylistic details of the renovated choir bays also closely resemble those of the central vessel of the nave, in particular the responds which differ from those of the two nave aisles. (Figures 6.3 and 6.4) A firm chronology for the nave campaign has already been established. Because the new work in the choir most closely resembles the central vessel of the nave, which was the last element completed, it seems most likely that the choir was undertaken at the same or a later date than the central vessel of the nave. The date for the new work of the choir is not recorded, but it was probably in the 1520s.

The reconstruction of the high altar took place at about the same time. This work is recorded in the Fabric's only surviving paper account book. Harvey argued that, assuming that Saturday was the regular pay day for the Fabric's building craftsmen, the account book was for the year 1523.<sup>67</sup> A £9 contract mentioned in both the 1522 Fabric Roll and the 1523 paper account book all but confirms the date. One third of the money owed to a certain John Hustewyk (called Hustwayth in the paper book) was paid to him in 1522.<sup>68</sup> Hustwayth, a painter, was paid the other £6 on 7 June 1523.<sup>69</sup>

The account deals mainly with the acquisition of wooden materials and the employment of carpenters. At the end of July a number of payments were made for the purchase of wainscot, clapboards, and timber from various locations in the county and the transportation of these materials from their places of purchase to Ripon.<sup>70</sup> The carpenters had already been at work on the high altar since May and were erecting scaffolding and carving ceiling panels for the high altar at the beginning of July.<sup>71</sup> The new work must have included some kind of enclosure with a ceiling and apparently also a loft. A lock and key for the door of the new loft were purchased for 2s.<sup>72</sup> The account comes to an end in September, at which time the carpenters were still at

<sup>65</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 101.

<sup>66</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 101.

<sup>67</sup> Assuming that Saturday was the payday of the Fabric's craftsmen, Harvey argued that the account runs from 28 April 1522 to 25 April 1523. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 37.

<sup>68</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 184.

<sup>69</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 198.

<sup>70</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 200.

<sup>71</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 202.

<sup>72</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 206.

work but had been joined by painters, perhaps indicating that work was reaching its conclusion.<sup>73</sup> It may have been intended that the work would be complete by Wilfrid's feast in October. A fair was held at this feast and the surviving accounts show that pilgrim traffic and donations tended to increase then, so it would have been best to have the new high altar completed and the scaffolding that surrounded it removed so that it would not obstruct the ambulatory and limit access to Wilfrid's shrine, which was behind the high altar.

The new work in the choir, both the stonework and the high altar, were probably funded by the same type of donations that had paid for the earlier building campaigns. The paper book records the testamentary bequests of John Bek (2s) and Alice West (6s 8d) to the high altar in 1523.<sup>74</sup> Many other donations to this project by parishioners were probably made but are now unknown due to the loss of records. The benefaction of the local gentry is expressed in the stone shields in the spandrels of the arches of the renovated bays of the choir. There are four shields in total, two that are carved and two that were probably once painted with heraldic devices. Of the two carved shields, the heraldry of only one of them is identifiable; it bears the arms of the Pigots, the family whose symbol appears more than any other in the minster. (Figures 6.9 and 6.10)

### 6.5: *Conclusions*

In this chapter, archaeological and textual sources have both been used to examine the aisled nave campaign, with a greater emphasis on funding and the social significance of the project than there has been in the past. The new nave took a number of years to build as shown by stylistic changes made between the construction of the south aisle and that of the north aisle and central vessel. Some features of the north aisle and central vessel, such as the angels and the responds, approximate those of its counterpart but would have required less time and expense to produce. Money was also saved by recycling stone from the dismantled walls of the original nave; however, even the economizing of the Fabric was not enough to enable a swift building campaign. As regular annual income fell, the progress of the campaign may have become more reliant on the donations of the wealthy, including the canons and the local gentry. Costs had to be kept down in order to complete the nave and then renovate some of the choir bays and the high altar.

There were some similarities between the repair of the central tower and the renovation of the nave. Both campaigns required large amounts of money which was provided by the regular income of the Fabric as well as by soliciting small donations from the majority of parishioners and larger donations from the wealthy few. The donations of the latter were recognized in the display of their heraldry on new work such as the choir, choir screen, south transept ceiling, and throughout the nave. The nave renovation campaign was evidently more

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<sup>73</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 206.

<sup>74</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 199.

time-consuming than the repair of the tower, and despite the best efforts of the Fabric, enthusiasm waned and income fell during the 1520s. The Chapter began to subsidize the new work at this stage and perhaps until its completion *c.* 1523. Evidence for the funding of the new work in the choir indicates that it was paid for by a similar combination of donations from parishioners and Fabric income. The minster had always been larger than most parish churches, but with the completion of the new nave it was even grander and more modern than it had been. It was a church of high status that its gentry benefactors would be pleased with. The rest of its parishioners could also be proud of the renovated building, especially if their own donations had helped to fund the work.

So far the Fabric Rolls have been used to examine large-scale building campaigns. The intention has been to highlight the social implications of these campaigns. The involvement of the clergy and gentry has been discussed in detail but there is another aspect that has so far been overlooked. The building craftsmen and labourers responsible for the work have scarcely been mentioned. Their anonymity so far is due in part to the nature of the accounts for the rebuilding of the tower and nave, but earlier accounts are more revealing. The following chapter focuses on these accounts to examine the relationships between the Fabric and its employees.

## Chapter 7: The Fabric Wardens and the Building Industry

Up to this point the clergy and the gentry have been at the centre of the discussion and other parishioners have been discussed in relation to them as plaintiffs or defendants in the Chapter Court, as the intended audience of splendid tombs, as potential intercessors for the great and good, or as those denied the privilege of attending high mass in the choir. Some burgesses have been discussed as members of guilds or obit founders but even these individuals were wealthier than the majority of Ripon's parishioners, who would not have been able to afford either type of commemoration. The focus now shifts away from the clergy and gentry and onto the building craftsmen and labourers employed by the minster. By examining their relationships with the minster a more well-rounded impression of the minster's role can be gained.

Unlike most parish churches, whose nave fabrics were the responsibility of lay churchwardens, Ripon Minster was maintained by clerical wardens. They employed a small number of craftsmen each year, but other individuals, such as unskilled labourers and the suppliers of building materials, also had dealings with the Fabric wardens. The subject of this chapter is rarely if ever considered alongside studies of how buildings were used, but understanding how the minster attracted and paid its craftsmen opens up another aspect of the minster's role in society. This chapter assesses the profitability of employment by the Fabric and the sale of raw materials to it. The evidence from the Fabric Rolls shows that for skilled craftsmen at the end of the fourteenth century, the building needs of the minster could offer a pathway to greater wealth, both through regular employment and the more lucrative trade in building materials. The chronological focus of the chapter is dictated to a large extent by the survival of the Fabric Rolls, which are also the most important source for the next chapter.

Ripon Minster's Fabric Rolls are under-explored. Past researchers have used them primarily to compile a building history for the minster.<sup>1</sup> Salzman is the exception, but the Ripon Fabric Rolls are one among many sources in his wide-ranging study of the building trade in medieval England, and he was necessarily selective.<sup>2</sup> The rolls have their limitations, the foremost being rate of survival. There are not more than thirty of them for a period of around 170 years. Consequently, a quantitative analysis of their contents is impossible. Even so, the Fabric Rolls are an abundant source of information about the builders who built and repaired the minster, its workshops, and its urban properties and those who supplied the building materials for them. Some craftsmen even did

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<sup>1</sup> In particular, see Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*; Parker, *Ripon Cathedral Church*; Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*; Forster, Robson, and Deadman, *Ripon Cathedral*.

<sup>2</sup> In his preface to the book, Salzman writes, 'I have examined some fifteen hundred manuscripts, all more or less concerned with the same subject, though naturally of very varying importance', *Building in England down to 1540*, p. v.

both; William and Richard Bettys, for example, were plumbers who also supplied the Fabric with lead. In-depth analysis of these rolls leads to a new appreciation of the minster's role in the building industry of the town, undoubtedly an important aspect of its effect on the town's economy. The best information about the building industry comes from the late fourteenth century — especially the 1390s — when the names of craftsmen and suppliers were recorded on the parchment rolls rather than in separate paper account books as they were later in the sixteenth century. As a result, the findings of this chapter apply primarily to the period of *c.* 1350 to 1450 — the time between the advent of the plague and the fall of the central tower of the minster. In contrast to the period of 1450 to *c.* 1530, there was little building activity at this time. Thus the findings of this chapter relate to the maintenance of the minster and its properties; the building industry of Ripon must have been much greater in the later period.

This chapter and the following one also highlight the societal impact of the Black Death in Ripon. Douglas argued in his study of parish churches that the societal impact of the Plague made it all the more important for lords to represent their power because it had become more difficult to enforce it.<sup>3</sup> He made his argument based on the general impact of the Plague, but for Ripon it is possible to demonstrate some of the effects of the plague through analysis of craftsmen's wages in this chapter and the Fabric's approach to renting properties in the following chapter.

### *7.1: Building Needs and Wages*

Between 1350 and 1450 the majority of the works undertaken by the Fabric were routine maintenance of the minster and of the properties held by the Fabric wardens as part of their estate. Common tasks included repairing the churchyard wall, thatching the roofs of rental properties, and replacing wind-damaged glass in the minster. At cathedrals like York and Durham, where large projects were more or less constant during the Middle Ages, large numbers of craftsmen could be employed on a permanent basis. This was not the case at Ripon between *c.* 1300 and 1450 as no major campaigns were undertaken during this period. At the end of the fourteenth century the Fabric consistently paid its craftsmen wages in excess of those established in parliamentary statutes even for its more mundane building needs. These high wages and other enticements must have been necessary to attract the essential craftsmen as and when they were needed. Seasonality and the type of work undertaken also affected wage rates, but it is more significant that even though they fluctuated, the wages that the Fabric paid to craftsmen were usually in excess of the statutory rates. The same was not true for unskilled labourers who were paid in accordance with the statutes, indicating that they were not as highly valued or difficult to find as were the skilled craftsmen,

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<sup>3</sup> Douglas, 'The Archaeology of Memory', pp. 29–31.

though the new statutory rate for labourers was still an improvement over conditions before the plague.<sup>4</sup>

Understanding wage rates and fluctuations would be a formidable challenge even with the best of accounts; for Ripon, it is impossible to discuss the subject comprehensively or quantitatively because the records are so fragmentary. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the principal factors that affected wages and assess their significance based on available evidence. The most obvious of these is seasonal variation, but it alone cannot explain all wage differences. Other key factors included the skill of the craftsman, the difficulty of the work, the provision of food and drink, and the payment of an annual retainer. This multiplicity of factors and the possibility that they might have jointly impacted on wages in any number of combinations make it difficult to arrive at any satisfactory explanation for wage fluctuations as they appear in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century rolls.

Building wages have been the subject of a number of studies, not just by those interested in the building industry, but also by those wishing to extrapolate findings based on building wages to less well-documented groups of medieval wage-earners.<sup>5</sup> Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones have described wages as an issue ‘of considerable complexity’, and they are not alone in this opinion.<sup>6</sup> Their limited focus on masons was further restricted by their privileging of large operations, thereby filtering out the type of local variations that occurred in smaller projects.<sup>7</sup> They observed that there were differences based on season, a factor described in some detail by Salzman as well.<sup>8</sup> E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins contributed to the debate with an argument, based on figures compiled by Thorold Rogers and others in the south of England, that the skill of the workers, payment in kind, and a lower winter rate could all be factors responsible for wage fluctuations.<sup>9</sup> It seems that as early as the reign of Henry III, building wages in England were subject to fluctuation by season.<sup>10</sup> Donald Woodward noted that summer-winter rates were inconsistently applied and elaborated on some of the difficulties in judging winter rate records, namely adjustments for the harshness of conditions, fewer records of this type, and the fragmentation of these records.<sup>11</sup> These

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<sup>4</sup> Richard Britnell, ‘Town Life’, in *A Social History of England 1200–1500*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 134–78 (p. 160).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the difficulties in making such an extrapolation, see Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 220–22.

<sup>6</sup> Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason: An Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 98–100.

<sup>8</sup> Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 104–06; Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, pp. 58–59 and 68.

<sup>9</sup> E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, ‘Seven Centuries of Building Wages’, *Economica*, 22 (1955), 195–206 (pp. 195 and 200).

<sup>10</sup> *Building Accounts of Henry III*, ed. by H. M. Colvin (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 139.

are the general arguments regarding building wages in medieval England. There are also some observations specific to Ripon.

In his historical study of Ripon Minster, Smith argued that the nature of the work — namely whether it was repair or new work — was the main factor in determining wages during the fifteenth century; however, the argument that ‘workmen were paid 1*d.* a day more when engaged in new work than when repairing old’ can be disproven.<sup>12</sup> Rolls from the fourteenth and even fifteenth centuries undermine his assertion, but it is possible to argue instead that wages might have differed because of varying degrees of skill required for different projects. Some types of repair required less skill than did other kinds of work, and would thus produce a record corresponding with Smith’s observation. The work of the mason Richard Mytton Sr in 1419 offers support for this alternative explanation of wages. Mytton made 6*d* per day working at various tenements in what appears to have been the winter months, and the same rate later for working on windows in the choir — presumably to repair tracery — and doing other projects around the minster.<sup>13</sup> But he made a lower rate when engaged on the task of pointing crannies, for which he took 4*d* per day.<sup>14</sup> The pay rates for Mytton’s various projects in 1419 demonstrate clearly that the Fabric did sometimes pay craftsmen according to the nature of the work they performed, but they conflict with Smith’s assertion because the work on window tracery, while a type of repair, must have required more skill and therefore entitled Mytton to 6*d* per day.

Support for a hypothesis that overall skill could have an impact on wages in the sixteenth century derives from the *c.* 1520 paper account. The pay rates of Ralph Carver and Robert Dowyff increased from 4*d* daily in the week of 14 March to 5*d* daily in the following week and all subsequent entries.<sup>15</sup> Growing skill, in connection with apprentices, is a factor Salzman noted could affect wages.<sup>16</sup> It is a better explanation than seasonal differences for why the wages of these two carpenters increased at that time, because the wages of the others remained static. Christopher Dyer has observed the influence of skill on wages, remarking that while variations can be found for different skill levels, these tended to diminish by the fifteenth century, so that wage rates for building craftsmen were less distinct in that period than they had been in earlier centuries.<sup>17</sup> It is hard to comment on his assertion with regard to Ripon in the fifteenth century, but the sixteenth-century account book does not seem to bear out his argument entirely.

A broader sample of Ripon wages might have yielded better explanations for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rather than dwell on the misfortune of limited records, it seems more

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<sup>12</sup> Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster*, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 146–47.

<sup>14</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 147.

<sup>15</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 204–05.

<sup>16</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 227.

constructive to offer what conclusions can be made. In fact, though wages fluctuated quite frequently, their range of fluctuation was limited. Thus some general observations are possible, mainly with regard to a relative hierarchy of trades based upon the range of wage rates craftsmen received and the frequency with which they were employed. During the late fourteenth century, carpentry was one of the leading trades, and the majority of building employment in medieval towns was repair work undertaken by carpenters.<sup>18</sup> Another leading trade was plumbing, which was essential for the upkeep of the minster's lead roofs and windows.<sup>19</sup>

The Ripon Fabric wardens favoured carpenters and plumbers with frequent employment and wages that tended never to be lower than 5d per day and could range as high as 8d per day. They also retained some of them on an annual basis.<sup>20</sup> The value of the retainer was often 6s 8d, the amount paid to Richard Bettys in 1391 and again in 1392.<sup>21</sup> The use of retainers was not confined to Ripon; for example, they were also used by Durham Priory.<sup>22</sup> A retainer fee can sometimes have had a misleading effect on the records of an artisan's wages. In 1379, Lawrence Carpenter appears to have made less for the same work during the same periods of time than other workmen engaged on the same project. This is especially evident in the week of Michaelmas. While another workman, Thomas Milner, received a daily rate of 6d, Carpenter made only 5d per day.<sup>23</sup> It is unclear from the records whether or not the retainer may also have implied greater responsibility such as oversight of the works for the year. If it did, the salary for such responsibility was significantly lower than the 20s annually paid to each of the Fabric wardens. The large-scale building campaigns of 1450 to c. 1530 involved greater numbers of craftsmen and required considerable technical oversight. Only the 1520 Fabric Roll provides clear evidence for the employment of supervisors. Three men are named in supervisory roles in this account: Robert Squyer, William Corner, and Christopher Scoign. Squyer, a mason, was paid 6s 8d for 'his good diligence concerning the works of the said church', and thus appears to have been the head of the entire project, perhaps the deputy to the consulting master, Christopher Scune (or Scoign).<sup>24</sup> Corner is almost certainly a misreading of Carver, the alias of William Brownfleet, and he was paid the same rate for 'supervision of the other

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<sup>18</sup> Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 82–83.

<sup>19</sup> It is their assertion that plumbers and carpenters fared best out of the building trades after 1348. Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', p. 200.

<sup>20</sup> Masons were only retained when large-scale work, such as the renovation of the nave, was underway.

<sup>21</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 110 and 117. Woodward wrote that 'key workmen were given contracts, usually for a year, and were paid a small salary as a retainer which obliged them to work whenever required, usually for the going rate'. Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> C. M. Newman, 'Employment on the Estates of the Priory of Durham, 1494–1519: The Priory as an Employer', *Northern History*, 36 (2000), 43–58 (p. 51).

<sup>23</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 101.

<sup>24</sup> 'pro sua bona diligencia circa opera eccl. præd.', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 181.

carpenters'.<sup>25</sup> Scune was paid 10s 'for his good diligence in supervising the masons working on the fabric'.<sup>26</sup>

More significant than fluctuations of craftsmen's wages was their relationship to rates established by law.<sup>27</sup> The rate for carpenters set in 1351 was only 3d per day; this was raised to 4d per day in 1361, and 4d per day was also the rate for master carpenters from 1351.<sup>28</sup> These rates can be put into perspective as follows: 3d per day was sufficient to feed a labourer's family while 6d per day could enable a craftsman to earn £6 a year — the annual salary of Ripon's vicars.<sup>29</sup> Even Ripon's masons, who were generally its lowest paid craftsmen, were consistently paid above their statutory rate. In paying higher wages, the Fabric exposed itself to prosecution and fines of double or triple the illegal wages.<sup>30</sup> Its persistence in offering these wages requires explanation. Recent scholarship on the labour statutes has concluded that local interest and widespread agreement to uphold them was crucial to their enforcement.<sup>31</sup> These may have been lacking in Ripon. The minster had significant local influence and could afford to ignore the statutes and pay the fines if necessary while serving its own interests. During the period from 1350 to 1450, when no major building campaigns were underway, there were no teams of craftsmen permanently employed by the Fabric so the wardens took whatever measures were necessary to secure skilled craftsmen as and when they were needed. As demonstrated in Table 7.1, these craftsmen were drawn from the surrounding villages as well as from Ripon. The same approach to hiring was used elsewhere in medieval England. Stratford-upon-Avon is one example. The names of the craftsmen in the records of Stratford's Holy Cross guild show that they too were drawn from the area around the town.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> 'pro supervisione aliorum carpentariorum', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 181.

<sup>26</sup> 'pro sua bona diligencia supervidend. lathamos operantes circa fabricam', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 181.

<sup>27</sup> *The Statutes of the Realm* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1810–1828), I (1810), 312 and 366–67.

<sup>28</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 312 and 366–67.

<sup>29</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, pp. 132 and 236. Some of Ripon's craftsmen may have earned £6 in a year but this was contingent on finding sufficient employment whereas the salaries of the vicars were guaranteed unless they were removed from office.

<sup>30</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 57.

<sup>31</sup> L. R. Poos, 'The Social Context of Statute of Labourers Enforcement', *Law and History Review*, 1 (1983), 27–52 (p. 52); Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Problem of Labour in the Context of English Government, c. 1350–1450', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by James Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 85–100 (p. 98); Sarah Rees Jones has argued that regardless of legislation, 'the regulation of labour was essentially a private matter for employers'. Sarah Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. by James Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 133–53 (p. 153). Bridbury has argued that statutes were only enforced when prices dropped. Bridbury, 'The Black Death', p. 585.

<sup>32</sup> Terrence Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, 14 (1961), 1–25 (p. 11).

**Table 7.1: Craftsmen and Suppliers from the 1379 Fabric Roll and Poll Tax**

Name	Surname	Profession	Residence	Assessment
Richard	de Bettys	plumber	Sawley	6d
Lawrence	Carpenter (Wright)	carpenter	Skelton	6d
William	Fallan	N/A	Marketstead	6d
John	Goldsmith	smith	Westgate	6d
Robert	Hunesthorpman	N/A	N/A	N/A
William	de Ketelsmore	carpenter	N/A	N/A
Richard	de Ledes	N/A	N/A	N/A
John	de Marton	N/A	N/A	N/A
John	Mazon	mason	Skelgate	6d
Thomas	Mazon	N/A	N/A	N/A
Thomas	Milner	carpenter	N/A	N/A
John	Qwherensyde	smith	Stonebridgegate	6d
Robert	Spra	N/A	N/A	N/A
Richard	Wright	carpenter	Thornton	4d

This table presents information drawn from the 1379 Fabric Roll (*Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96–103) and the poll tax returns for the same year (*Poll Taxes*, III, 432–37). All craftsmen and suppliers from the Fabric Roll are listed here together with the profession, place of residence, and rate of assessment for those who could also be identified in the poll tax. The majority were assessed at 6d, a common rate for craftsmen. Perhaps more interesting is the finding that many of the skilled craftsmen were based in the villages around Ripon rather than in the town itself.

In Ripon, workers whose services were required less frequently, such as thatchers and labourers, were paid in accordance with the statutes.<sup>33</sup> Unskilled labourers in particular were probably readily available. Payment of illegal wages demonstrates that there were other employers with which the minster needed to compete for the services of some craftsmen. The discrepancy in wages paid to different building workers reflects the needs of the Fabric at that time. Terrence Lloyd made similar observations regarding the hiring practices of Stratford's Holy Cross guild in the second half of the fourteenth century, arguing that they demonstrate a labour shortage at that time.<sup>34</sup> While certain skilled craftsmen could benefit from the demands of the Fabric others could not. After 1450, when building campaigns were common for seventy years or more, the situation undoubtedly changed. Masons would have been much more essential and the scale and longevity of the tower repairs (c. 1450–1480) and nave renovation (c. 1503–1530) would have supported more craftsmen on a permanent basis.

The foregoing discussion of wages reveals that the minster was an integral part of the local building industry and, by extension, the local economy. Wages in excess of the legal maximums were offered in order to guarantee the minster would have workers when it needed them. The Fabric wardens paid these wages either with the assumption of immunity from prosecution or with a

<sup>33</sup> See *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 107–08; *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 312.

<sup>34</sup> Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon', p. 12.

willingness to face fines.<sup>35</sup> Most of the fluctuations discussed here also exceeded the legal amounts, showing that in Ripon the availability of labour was indeed a greater concern than the law when it came to determining wages. This will be all the more apparent as different trades are discussed below, and the social significance of these wages will also be considered in relation to the different types of craftsmen and suppliers.

### *7.2: Labourers and Craftsmen*

Unskilled labourers, unlike skilled craftsmen, did not receive illegally high wages from the Fabric. Their names are not even recorded in the fourteenth-century Fabric Rolls, suggesting that labourers did not tend to work for the minster on a regular basis and had no long-standing relationships with the Fabric wardens. Skilled craftsmen, by contrast, were known to the Fabric wardens from one year to the next and were probably much more limited in number.<sup>36</sup> While the Fabric valued them more highly than labourers, not all skilled craftsmen were equal. There were differences between individuals as well as trades. Wages were not equal for all types of building craftsmen, and neither was demand. Carpenters and plumbers were in greatest demand, which through sheer volume of employment translated into greater income, and could give them the necessary capital to trade in materials and execute contracts. Capital was the most significant difference between the wealthier master craftsmen and the rest of the skilled craftsmen because it permitted involvement in trade and thereby the potential to make more money than by wage labour alone.<sup>37</sup> Slaters, though less common in the rolls, also sold slate and worked on contract, which indicates they were among the wealthier trades.<sup>38</sup> While important to the upkeep of the minster, glaziers and masons found far less day-to-day employment there before 1450 and masons in particular earned lower wages than other types of artisan. The craftsmen employed by the Fabric, with few or no exceptions, would have worked on other projects in and around Ripon. Different building trades are considered here to assess them for their potential profitability.

Quite a few carpenters were employed by the minster over the centuries. In addition to being one of the most important trades, the widest range of pay rates for a single year is found among the carpenters. Certainly not all carpenters were of the same skill level, so it is to be

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<sup>35</sup> The wealth of the Fabric and minster as a whole would have allowed the wardens to pay fines and their willingness to flout the statutes parallels their approach to renting properties. Fabric properties were let at reduced rates, repaired at the Fabric's expense, and sometimes rebuilt at considerable cost. The Fabric wardens could afford to do this because they were carrying a substantial cash reserve at this time. See Chapter 8, pp. 173–76.

<sup>36</sup> The same groups of craftsmen were employed from one year to the next at Durham also. See Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community*, p. 91.

<sup>37</sup> Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 127.

<sup>38</sup> The slate stones in question were not slate in the modern geological sense of the term but rather in the medieval sense of thin stones, perhaps local limestone, used for covering buildings. The term is used in the latter sense throughout the thesis.

expected that their pay rates would differ. In combination with seasonal rates and possibly also rates that depended on whether the work was new or repair, skill offers the best explanation for the changing rates of pay. Wages probably stabilised sometime in the fifteenth century, and carpenters in the sixteenth century were paid consistently throughout the year though still at different rates from one another depending on skill.<sup>39</sup>

William and Thomas Wright were two of the wealthiest carpenters named in the Fabric Rolls. Their wealth is demonstrated by their ability to undertake contracts for large projects. In 1399 William was contracted to construct a new rood loft, which was probably built in connection with the founding the Holy Cross guild in Ripon.<sup>40</sup> Wright was paid £3 8s 6d for completing the project.<sup>41</sup> This may be the same William Wright who lived in a house in Stonebridgegate in 1379. His relation to the Thomas Wright who was contracted to build the Annsgate house in 1392 is unclear. Both men appear in the accounts for 1396.<sup>42</sup> Further evidence of William Wright's wealth takes the form of a sale of timber he made to the Fabric in 1391.<sup>43</sup> John Harvey identified William Wright as a craftsman and timber merchant, describing him also as 'one of an important group of Ripon carpenters and carvers who played a great part in the development of northern English woodwork'.<sup>44</sup> Harvey also argued that William was employed at Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire in 1391 and 1392, where he was recorded in the accounts as William of Ripon.<sup>45</sup> This is a rare scrap of evidence for the employment of a Ripon craftsman at another location. William's engagement on business at Thornton Abbey in 1392 may explain why Thomas Wright was contracted to build the Annsgate house that year. Either of the two would have been capable of undertaking the project.

At a later date William Brownfleet (alias Carver) was an important Ripon carpenter whose reputation and work stretched well beyond Ripon. He was the leading master of the Ripon school of carvers in the late fifteenth century and Harvey credits him with a variety of projects, including the Ripon choir stalls (c. 1489) as well as carved work at Manchester, Easby, Bridlington, and Beverley.<sup>46</sup> Like William Wright's employment at Thornton Abbey, Brownfleet's career shows that although some craftsmen had to be drawn from the surrounding area, Ripon was also capable of supporting a small number of skilled carpenters whose expertise was desired regionally. He was

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<sup>39</sup> The stabilisation of wages was a general trend noted by Dyer, who cited the long-term impact of the Black Death as a reason for the abandonment of seasonally differentiated wages. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, p. 279.

<sup>40</sup> William Clynt and William de Ledes sought permission to alienate lands to the guild in 1406. Kew, The National Archives, C 143/438/7.

<sup>41</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 133.

<sup>42</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 123–26.

<sup>43</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 106.

<sup>44</sup> Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 350.

<sup>45</sup> Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 350.

<sup>46</sup> Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 37.

also engaged in the project to rebuild the high altar in the 1520s.<sup>47</sup> Harvey contended that Brownfleet was Wakeman of Ripon in 1511.<sup>48</sup> Brownfleet would probably have been busy with the new work of the nave at that time but perhaps that is why he shared the responsibility with another man. The Ripon school of carvers included those men named in the paper account of about 1523.<sup>49</sup> John Brownfleet, who may have been William's son, served as the chaplain of the St Thomas chantry c. 1535–1546. William's wealth and influence no doubt aided John in his ecclesiastical career.<sup>50</sup> The chantry was in the patronage of the Malory family and John's appointment strongly suggests that the Brownfleets had some connection with that family. The surname of Thomas Plumber (vicar of Thorpe, c. 1471–1477) suggests that he too was from a family of skilled craftsmen, and it seems fitting that the only two known minster clergy from craftsmen families represented Ripon's leading building trades.

The completeness of the c. 1520 account allows some unique observations about the annual wages of carpenters in the early sixteenth century. Precise observations may be made regarding the length of the season, the working week, and fluctuations in rates of pay in the 1520s. Woodward noted the uncertainty of the number of days worked as the chief obstacle in understanding the profitability of building trades.<sup>51</sup> Sixteenth-century Ripon, then, offers a limited but important contribution to understanding the medieval building industry, through the c. 1520 paper account book which records the number of days worked by all of its carpenters throughout the year. Work on the high altar began in May and ran continually until the first week of October. The longest working week was evidently five and a half days. There are some weeks in which no craftsman worked more than a few days. The nature of the projects may not have provided continuous employment, though another factor may have been important feasts. Two weeks in which little work was done correspond with the feast days of Ripon's most important patron, St Wilfrid. In the last week of July, no craftsman worked more than three days and in the first week of October the working week was even shorter — only one day.<sup>52</sup> The first may be related to the feast of St Wilfrid's nativity, celebrated the first Sunday after 1 August, and the second seems more certainly to have corresponded to the feast commemorating St Wilfrid's death. In the week of 27 September two sawyers, John Henryson and John Hogsson, were paid for dismantling the scaffold, meaning that the project had been completed. The new altar was obviously meant to be finished for the patron saint's feast. Rates of pay rarely fluctuate at all in this account and each payment was very

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<sup>47</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 198–206.

<sup>48</sup> Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 37.

<sup>49</sup> Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, p. 37. See Chapter 6, pp. 148–50.

<sup>50</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, pp. 38–39. Clerical careers were also sought by the artisan families of York for their sons. See Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 168.

<sup>51</sup> Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 203–04.

precisely calculated according to the exact length of time worked in a day. Craftsmen were paid not only in full and half days as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but even in portions as small as quarter days. This was most likely the result of developing more precise accounting practices and more accurate measures of time.<sup>53</sup>

Of the nine carpenters named in the account, it is clear from the infrequency of their employment that William Hode, William Hudson, John Hogsson, and John Henryson supported themselves with other income. William Carver (alias Brownfleet) has also been excluded because he was occasionally paid in conjunction with an assistant, leaving Randolph Turret with 104.25 days worked for a total income of £2 12s 5d, Ralph Carver with 109 and £1 18s 3 ½ d, Robert Dowyff with 111.75 and £1 17s 9d, and Christopher Carver with 72.5 and £1 13s 5d. What do these figures reveal about the profitability of employment in minster construction projects? It is difficult to say for certain whether or not these carpenters would have depended on other employment to survive, but considering that they were employed by the minster for less than one third of the year, and that the working year for a craftsman could include close to 260 days maximum, they would have had ample time to seek other employment.<sup>54</sup> Their annual income from the Fabric was comparable to that of the craftsmen employed by Durham Priory at the same time.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, they made far less than the Fabric wardens who employed them. The wardens would have made around £4 annually from their chantries and another £1 for service to the Fabric. The account book shows that while Ripon's carpenters may have been able to earn as much as £6 a year, they did not earn this whole sum from the Fabric. The Wrights and William Brownfleet were atypical in their affluence and status. Most of Ripon's carpenters, like those of Stratford-upon-Avon, would have been journeymen rather than small masters.<sup>56</sup>

Plumbers were just as important to the Fabric as carpenters and appear in many of the surviving Fabric Rolls. They were necessary primarily for repairs to the minster itself, rather than its properties. The minster's lead roof required regular maintenance and plumbers were also employed to repair windows. The work of lead casting was done in a separate structure outside the minster. It was a pursuit which had to take place indoors and was often a fire hazard when the church itself rather than a separate structure was used for casting.<sup>57</sup> The plumber's workshop is mentioned in the 1354 Fabric Roll and must have been there from an even earlier date.<sup>58</sup> The potential for enrichment in this trade was increased by involvement in trading lead, which the

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<sup>53</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, pp. 61–62; Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, p. 279.

<sup>54</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 222.

<sup>55</sup> Newman, 'Employment on the Estates of the Priory of Durham', p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry of Stratford-upon-Avon', p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Warwick Rodwell, *The Archaeology of the English Church: The Study of Historic Churches and Churchyards* (London: Batsford, 1981), p. 116.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 91.

Bettys family did around 1400. Various members of this family were the Fabric's plumbers and lead suppliers c. 1379–1408. The same Richard Bettys who was employed at different times in 1379 working on the roof above the altars of St John and St Michael can also be found in the poll tax from the same year.<sup>59</sup> (Table 7.1) It lists him as resident in the village of Sawley, around five miles to the southwest of Ripon. In 1391 a plumber named Richard Bettys, very likely the same man named in the documents twelve years earlier, was paid an annual retainer by the Fabric wardens who also purchased twenty stone of lead from William Bettys.<sup>60</sup> William and John Bettys, who were probably brothers, worked on the spire of the central tower in 1396.<sup>61</sup> In 1399 William Bettys was retained by the Fabric, employed by it as a plumber, and sold it the lead he worked with.<sup>62</sup> When William died in 1408 he bequeathed 12d to the Fabric in his will.<sup>63</sup> Sometime after this the family lost its hold on the industry. In 1424 the plumbers were John Lynton and his son.<sup>64</sup> Ripon was probably crucial to the fortunes of the Bettys family as its market no doubt enabled them to sell lead to other customers and also because of the purchases made by the minster Fabric.

While the minster was roofed in lead, many of its properties were covered in slate. The Fabric employed slaters to roof its properties and workshops and also purchased slate from them. In this respect the slaters were like Ripon's plumbers who both worked with lead and supplied it to the Fabric. In 1399 William Sclater sold 1000 slate stones for repairing the roof of a Fabric tenement. The sale amounted to 10s while the workmen who performed the repairs earned only 5d a day.<sup>65</sup> This example should also stand as a warning against judging the profitability of a trade based strictly on the wages paid to its practitioners, as the relatively low daily rate of 5d needs to be counterbalanced against whatever income the slaters made acting as wholesalers. The Fabric hired them primarily to hang slate on the roofs of its urban properties. Slate roofs were more expensive to put up than thatched ones but they were more durable and fireproof, and thus the properties with slate roofs were more appealing to potential tenants.<sup>66</sup> The Fabric wardens' efforts to improve properties by replacing thatched roofs with slate provided employment for slaters and a buyer for their slate stones.

Glaziers were so important to the Fabric that although annual demand for their services was limited, they were still equipped with their own workshop in the churchyard. While early records

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<sup>59</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 102; and *Poll Taxes*, III, 434.

<sup>60</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 110.

<sup>61</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 124. They had also worked on the spire in 1393. The last name of the two is damaged but, they are referred to as 'William [...] and John his brother, plumbers, working on the great tower for twelve days'; 'Will. [...] et Johannis fratris sui plumbar. operancium super magnum clocher per xij dies', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 119.

<sup>62</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 129–33.

<sup>63</sup> The will is lost but the bequest is recorded in the 1408 Fabric Roll. See *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 135.

<sup>64</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 152.

<sup>65</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 130.

<sup>66</sup> See Chapter 8.

show them working for wages, at later dates they fulfilled contracts. The earliest recorded glazier's wages, those of William Vitriarius, appear to have depended on the season, being 3s for a full week of six days in the summer months, and 2s 6d for the same length of time in the winter. Vitriarius was the only glazier in the fourteenth century to be paid entirely in day rates. Already by 1391, the year in which the glazing workshop was built, Vitriarius's successor, John Glasier, was usually paid by contract, and this became the rule thereafter. The shift from day rates to contracts may reflect the rising wealth or status of the glaziers. The workshop with a slate roof was also constructed for him by Thomas Carpenter during the same year.<sup>67</sup> The following year Richard Bettys was paid for 'making gutters with spouts for three days on a certain new room next to the Chapter House [...] working with lead from the store of the church'.<sup>68</sup>

The construction of the glazier's workshop and the frequent records of payment testify to the desirability of having a glazier at hand, but could the minster supply enough work to be the sole employer of a glazier? It seems highly unlikely based on the evidence. In 1354, when many windows were 'broken by great winds', William Vitriarius made a total of £1 14s 6d.<sup>69</sup> If his assistant was his son, perhaps even the John Glasier mentioned in the 1390s rolls, then their combined income would have been £2 11s 6d. John Glasier's income for 1391, however, totalled no more than 4s 6d. Subsequently he earned even less per year, never more than 2s 6d and usually less. There was extensive glazing over the course of nearly two months in 1408, providing employment for a glazier and his assistant. John Glasier, who had formerly worked by agreement, now received 3s per week, and his assistant received 2s 6d.<sup>70</sup> This was not the wage of an unskilled assistant, but probably that of a journeyman. As in the fourteenth-century accounts, glazing appears to have been a feast or famine occupation, but when the minster provided work the glaziers were paid well. The years 1354 and 1408 were exceptional, and it seems unlikely that Ripon Minster provided glaziers with so much income that they did not need either a second profession or other clients. They could have fulfilled contracts further afield by producing glass in Ripon and then transporting it to the buyer.<sup>71</sup> The minster never permanently employed more than one glazier, probably due to the fact that small-scale glazing did not require more than one man and his assistant or even one man by himself.<sup>72</sup> The provision of the glazier with a workshop fits with all other evidence regarding the Fabric's strategy of attracting essential building craftsmen, including the payment of wages in accordance with the labour market and not the statutes, and retainers for important craftsmen. The

<sup>67</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 106–07.

<sup>68</sup> 'facientis guturas cum spowtis super quamdam novam cameram juxta domum capitularem per iij dies [...] ond. cum plumbo de stauro ecclesie', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 113.

<sup>69</sup> 'fractas per grossos ventos', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 92.

<sup>70</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 138.

<sup>71</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, p. 181.

<sup>72</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, p. 181. More glaziers may have been necessary on occasion, such as when the new nave was constructed.

minster's need for a glazier, who was provided with a workshop and no doubt with free time to fill other contracts, almost certainly made Ripon a centre of stained glass production. If more stained glass had survived in the churches of Yorkshire there can be little doubt that a Ripon school of glazing would be identifiable just as one has been identified for carving.

It is clear from the Fabric Rolls that masons were not the most essential employees of the Fabric at the end of the fourteenth century. Their wages were consistently low, and while they did not fluctuate in the fourteenth century, this is because even in the summer months the masons made only 5d per day. Their wages were slightly better in the early fifteenth century. The majority of their work was minor repairs to the churchyard wall or pointing crannies. Nevertheless, there was enough work to keep a local family at least partially employed. The masons Richard and Henry Mitton trained their sons in their trade, and by 1424 they must have been fully qualified masons in their own right, as all four received the same daily wage of 6d.<sup>73</sup> Ripon Minster, perhaps in conjunction with the town and its surroundings, must have provided work enough for masons or else the Mittons would not have been able to carry on their trade as an extended family. Additional work was probably available in town since by this date many houses would have been partly built in stone, as indeed the new Annsgate house was.<sup>74</sup> Not all of their repair or construction projects would have been recorded in the Fabric Rolls as the Fabric held only a fraction of Ripon's properties.<sup>75</sup> The masons' generally lower wages may reflect the less-skilled nature of much of their work, such as in 1408 when the team of Richard Mitton senior and Richard Mitton junior was engaged in repairing the wall of the churchyard.<sup>76</sup> There were probably periods of greater profit for the masons but detailed records have not survived to demonstrate it. The repair of the central tower and the construction of the aisled nave were projects of such a scale that additional masons must have been brought in for the duration.<sup>77</sup>

The unskilled labourers periodically recruited by the Fabric were below the masons and all other skilled craftsmen in the hierarchy of Fabric employees. Daubing, drawing straw for thatchers, repairing walls, and carting materials were among the tasks carried out by labourers. It is difficult to identify them in the records because they are never named. Their anonymity probably misrepresents the importance of the minster Fabric as an employer of labourers in Ripon but it does demonstrate

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<sup>73</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 153.

<sup>74</sup> Sheeran, *Medieval Yorkshire Towns*, p. 14; Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 135; *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 116.

<sup>75</sup> Repair expenses can be found in the Chamberlain's Rolls. See *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 260. For more on property ownership in Ripon, see Chapter 8, pp. 190–95.

<sup>76</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 136–37.

<sup>77</sup> The surviving sixteenth-century accounts do not give the number of masons employed on the nave renovation and the more detailed accounts that contained this information have been lost.

the Fabric wardens' attitude towards them.<sup>78</sup> Thatchers and daubers appear, unsurprisingly, to have worked only in summer and to have received a low daily rate, only 4d in 1396; the female assistant who drew the thatch received even less, only 3d daily.<sup>79</sup> However, this anonymous woman did make the same rate as male assistants, a point noted by Salzman years ago in his monumental study of medieval building practices.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, the 1399 account features an unusually high rate of pay for women. Two female workers were paid a daily rate of 4d each for their labour at one of the Fabric's properties.<sup>81</sup> Compare this with three, presumably male, assistants who were involved in roof repairs later in the year who only received 3d per day.<sup>82</sup> The wages of the women may be explained by high mortality due to endemic plague, which arguably created increased work opportunities for women.<sup>83</sup>

The wages of unskilled labourers in the second half of the fourteenth century were no doubt an improvement over the ones they would have received before the plague. The wages of unskilled labourers rose even higher at Stratford (4d per day) than they did at Ripon (3d per day) during the late fourteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Even the Ripon rate of 3d daily was sufficient to support a labourer and his or her family.<sup>85</sup> The employment of unskilled labour meant that the minster could be economically important even for its poorer parishioners. That said, the improved wages of the unskilled labourers seem unlikely to have enabled them to advance very far in society. Even the rates of pay for skilled craftsmen enriched only the minority of Ripon's carpenters and plumbers and perhaps none of its other building craftsmen between 1350 and 1450.

### 7.3: *Materials and Suppliers*

Materials were as essential as builders, and there was far more money to be made selling them than working as a building craftsman. Some items, such as hemp, needed to be purchased elsewhere, but the majority, such as nails, thackboards, lime, and so forth were purchased at Ripon's market.<sup>86</sup> Thousands of nails and pegs needed to be manufactured regularly for the minster's use, and in some years dozens of quarts of lime and scores of stones of lead were purchased as well. Regular repairs often required quantities of timber and stone, and renovations and more extensive repairs would

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<sup>78</sup> Dyer has written that 'For every skilled building craftsman there were two labourers, digging foundations, hauling stone and timber, and mixing and applying daub to wattle walls'. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, p. 201.

<sup>79</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 108–09.

<sup>80</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>81</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 131.

<sup>82</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 132.

<sup>83</sup> Goldberg, 'Mortality and Economic Change in the Diocese of York', pp. 51–52. See also Bolton, "'The World Upside Down'", pp. 37–38. Bolton argues that the change was conditional, not structural. Bolton, "'The World Upside Down'", p. 75.

<sup>84</sup> Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon', p. 15.

<sup>85</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, p. 132.

<sup>86</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 90–91.

have needed far more. The Fabric provided business opportunities for local merchants — sometimes even members of the minster clergy — who traded essential building materials, especially lead, timber, and stone. The discussion here focuses on how the minster acquired its materials and who benefited. In some cases individual suppliers and the volumes they traded are known.

In the later fourteenth century, stone seems to have come from a single supplier. William de Kirkby, presumably a quarry owner, supplied the minster with stone from c. 1391 until at least 1400. Purchases of stone were recorded in the Fabric Rolls by number of carts, and an additional payment was usually made for carriage. Extant records show that during the 1390s de Kirkby provided the minster with at least 116 carts of stone totalling in cost, without carriage, over £1 15s. Carting, it must be noted, was another occupation that must have been supported by the minster's building projects, and it could constitute a considerable expense during any medieval building project.<sup>87</sup> Entries for carriage payments are all but anonymous, so it is impossible to determine how many individuals were employed in this line of work. There were no other suppliers of building stone for the period, so de Kirkby must have monopolised the stone market for the minster if not also the town of Ripon. It is apparent from the transactions with de Kirkby that although religious houses often owned their own quarries, Ripon did not.<sup>88</sup>

The demand for lead was probably even greater than that for stone. The Fabric wardens made regular, large purchases of lead to meet its maintenance requirements. This need was usually met in advance by single purchases of large quantities of lead for the store. Large amounts of lead were needed mainly for roof and window repairs and making gutters. The Fabric did not purchase lead every year, but the constant need for it is evident from the incredibly high quantity of 120 stone purchased in 1393 after none had been purchased the preceding year.<sup>89</sup> The Fabric generally purchased between twenty and forty stone of lead annually during the 1390s, and the cost per stone of lead was consistently 6d.<sup>90</sup> The Bettys family supplied the Fabric's lead in the 1390s but the suppliers at other times are not known. Lead was readily available, and there is evidence that at the beginning of the fourteenth century Ripon's market was a source of lead for construction projects as far away as Knaresborough and York.<sup>91</sup> The minster's demands for lead meant there was always a local market for it as well as steady employment for plumbers on site. It is clear from this evidence

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<sup>87</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, p. 349.

<sup>88</sup> Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 41–42. Quarries were valuable commodities in the later Middle Ages, even becoming 'assets that were worth buying and selling, or even donating to good causes', David Parsons, 'Stone', in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. by John Blair and Nigel Ramsey (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 1–27 (p. 25). The same quarries appear to have been used by the minster and the hospital of St Mary Magdalene.

<sup>89</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 120.

<sup>90</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 110, 120, 125, and 133.

<sup>91</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, p. 263; Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 95.

that trading lead and plumbing could both be profitable. The plumbers Richard and William Bettys must have been more affluent than most of their fellow building craftsmen because they not only worked with lead but were also its suppliers in the 1390s. They were sufficiently important to the Fabric's operations to receive annual retainers.

The re-construction of the Annsgate house in 1392 required many building materials but what it highlights in particular is how timber was purchased. It was bought in great amounts from a handful of different individuals, including Robert Marschal, John de Lynom, John Hyliard, William de Swale, and William Mayllour.<sup>92</sup> Robert Marschal is also recorded as having sold a quantity of iron to the minster. The 1393 roll shows he was a smith, receiving 13s 4d for binding the great bell with bands made of his own iron.<sup>93</sup> All the men named in these sales were men of wealth, with trade in raw materials being one of the chief ways of making a profit in medieval towns.<sup>94</sup> At a later date, it would hardly be surprising if the merchant William Wrampayn, whose mark appears on the choir screen, not only paid for repairs after the fall of the central tower but also profited from the work by selling the building materials. The presence of his merchant's mark on the stone choir screen shows that like the local gentry, merchants could afford to display their status in society by having their symbols carved in stone. Ripon's building craftsmen were well below this level of society.

Other individuals who supplied lumber for the Annsgate house included John de Walkyngham, who was one of the two Fabric accountants for the year. John de Dene, Fabric warden in 1396, sold materials for repairs to the central tower during that year. He received 6s 8d for a tree that was made into a spar.<sup>95</sup> Likewise, in 1424 William Wyrethorp sold sixteen quarts of lime at 20d per quart.<sup>96</sup> Wyrethorp's sale of lime shows, like the sales of timber by other chaplains and canons, that he knew how to make his post more lucrative. The wills of John de Walkyngham and John de Dene show that both men had considerable means. De Walkyngham, in his will of 1399, provided for the purchase of six pounds of wax for candles at his funeral, left 13s 4d for the sick of Ripon, gave each of the six vicars 12d, each of the deacons and subdeacons 6d, and each of the thuriblers 2d.<sup>97</sup> More spectacularly, John de Dene left 26s 8d to the friars minor in York, 40s to the Fabric of Ripon Minster, and established a four-year chantry with a sum of £4 13s 4d.<sup>98</sup> It was probably the wealth conferred upon these and other clerics by their offices that enabled them to make the profitable investments that many craftsmen could not. The combination of income from

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<sup>92</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 115–16.

<sup>93</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 120. The 1379 Poll Tax identifies John Marschal, smith, living in Stonebridgetgate. *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>94</sup> Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 127.

<sup>95</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 124. It is not clear how or if these repairs were connected to the structural problems that led to the fall of the central tower just over fifty years later.

<sup>96</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 153.

<sup>97</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 168.

<sup>98</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, II, 43–44.

their prebends and possession of raw materials on their prebendal property must have equipped the canons in particular quite well to profit from the building industry. Clerical suppliers may have had an advantage in their dealings with the Fabric wardens because the wardens were also clerics.

A variety of individuals profited from the sale of building materials. Some were probably merchants, while others were already employed by the minster in one capacity or another. The wealthier craftsmen, such as William Wright and William and Richard Bettys, had sufficient capital to invest in trading materials. Their greater wealth set them apart from other practitioners of the same trades who only earned wages from the Fabric. There is no clear indication that involvement in Ripon's building industry could generate large sums of money for its labourers, but the Fabric did employ skilled and unskilled workers alike, meaning that many people may have found employment from the Fabric. The more successful craftsmen may have earned sufficient income from their trade to become small masters and invest in trading building materials, but alternatively they may have begun with more capital than their peers. The minster's building needs probably offered the opportunity for only a small number to become wealthy and none seem to have acquired wealth on the same level as the chaplains who served as Fabric wardens. Canons and chaplains, including those actively serving as Fabric wardens, also supplied building materials. This must have been considered an acceptable practice as they were never prevented from doing so. The local gentry do not seem to have been involved in supplying raw materials to the Fabric.

#### *7.4: Conclusions*

The chief concern of the Fabric wardens was to attract the building craftsmen they required for the maintenance of the minster as well as the properties in the Fabric's estate. The minster was larger than most parish churches and its building requirements would have been proportionally greater, though not as great as the northern cathedrals of York and Durham. Larger scale works were underway more regularly at these cathedrals than at Ripon Minster. The Fabric wardens' engagement with the building industry before 1450 was probably more similar to that of the Holy Cross guild of Stratford-upon-Avon; both had to attract craftsmen from the surrounding area because they could not support large numbers on a long-term basis. Lloyd observed that only large towns could have supplied enough permanent work to enable the establishment of building craft guilds, arguing that Stratford was not only too small a town for such guilds but also that the bishop would have been likely to oppose the foundation of any craft guilds because they would have competed with the town's religious guilds.<sup>99</sup> The building needs of Stratford were insufficient to offer the sort of constant employment that could be found in a cathedral city, and the town was less a major centre of the industry and more a link in a larger network that was served predominantly by

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<sup>99</sup> Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon', pp. 9–11.

journeymen.<sup>100</sup> Lloyd observed that the only apparent master craftsmen — those who were in a position to provide labour and even materials for projects — were carpenters, the largest category of building craftsman in Stratford.<sup>101</sup> The same importance seems to have attached to Ripon's carpenters, who, as discussed above, were an essential and sometimes independent category of craftsman. The evidence from Stratford and Ripon thus rebuts the sharp distinction made by Woodward between the class of craftsmen and that of labourers, whom he identified respectively as small entrepreneurs and mere wage-earners.<sup>102</sup> The itinerant journeymen found in Stratford and probably many of the trades in Ripon, especially the masons, resembled labourers in many ways.<sup>103</sup> If Woodward's argument is more applicable to the early modern centuries upon which he focuses, then it may very well be that from the ranks of those building craftsmen with the greatest volume of work emerged increasingly more small masters. The evidence from Ripon and Stratford supports such an argument in regard to carpenters. If the definition of small master can be expanded to include supply of materials, Ripon could clearly support more of them than Stratford, and was supporting small masters of a greater variety of trades such as plumbers and slaters.

The minster's building needs made it a centre of artistic production. Ripon was probably a greater centre of artistic production than Stratford, especially in woodcarving and glazing. It provided work for skilled carpenters, such as William Wright at the end of the fourteenth century and the Brownfleets in the sixteenth.<sup>104</sup> The construction of a glazier's workshop made Ripon a centre of stained glass production. It seems likely that other artists, such as goldsmiths for example, were based in Ripon due to the regular business that the minster and its clergy would have provided. There is a parallel to Ripon's role as a centre of artistic production. As Ralph Hanna has demonstrated, the concentration of clergy at the minster made it a centre of literary production as well.<sup>105</sup> The building campaigns of 1450–1530 further concentrated building craftsmen in Ripon so that it resembled cathedral cities like York and Durham though on a smaller scale because the town was smaller and had fewer building demands.

The Fabric wardens' approach to hiring is significant in that it favoured skilled craftsmen much more than unskilled labourers. Especially at the end of the fourteenth century, the skilled craftsmen were in a position to benefit from the changes in society caused by the Black Death, and the 1390s Fabric Rolls suggest that some of them may have, with legislation to regulate wages

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<sup>100</sup> Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon', pp. 8–11. Ripon's attractive power can be verified by the identification of its 1379 building craftsmen in the poll tax return of the same year. See Table 7.1.

<sup>101</sup> Lloyd, 'Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon', pp. 7–8.

<sup>102</sup> Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>103</sup> Knoop and Jones described medieval stonemasons as akin to wage-earners and even Woodward agrees on this point. See Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason*, p. 85; Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>104</sup> Harvey, *Mediaeval English Architects*, p. 37.

<sup>105</sup> Hanna, 'Some Yorkshire Scribes and their Context', pp. 167–91.

notwithstanding. The Ripon evidence supports Dyer's argument that 'What appears to have been an age of regulation was really one of growing opportunity and freedom for workers'.<sup>106</sup> Labourers were not paid in excess of the new labour statutes and thus remained less socially mobile though in a better position than they had been previously. The greater wealth of the skilled craftsmen was not sufficient to endow chantries and the majority were probably still buried in the churchyard rather than inside the building. There is no evidence of building craftsmen founding obits and only one is known to have written a will, and William Brownfleet is unique as the only known building craftsman to have become Ripon's Wakeman. Almost nothing is known of Ripon's medieval craft guilds. The first record of craft guilds dates to the seventeenth century and cannot be linked to the town's medieval guilds.<sup>107</sup> Lloyd's observations regarding the inability of the building trades of Stratford to organize craft guilds apply to Ripon. The discussion of building trades in this chapter has revealed that building craftsmen were limited in number. It is highly doubtful that even plumbers or carpenters organized craft guilds and there is no evidence for a guild of all building trades together. Craftsmen who could afford to join guilds must have therefore become members of Ripon's religious fraternities. Those of more distant villages may have thought of the village as their community, and it has been demonstrated in Chapter 4 that in practice that would have amounted to something very much like membership in a guild.

The wealth of some craftsmen families permitted them to find clerical careers for their sons. Heather Swanson has argued that the artisans of York, including building craftsmen, sought greater advancement in society by finding clerical careers for their sons.<sup>108</sup> There are parallels in medieval Ripon, namely Thomas Plumber and John Brownfleet. The same new social conditions, created by the plague, that benefitted the skilled craftsmen living in and around Ripon during at least the second half of the fourteenth century also benefitted the Fabric's tenants, as discussed in the following chapter.

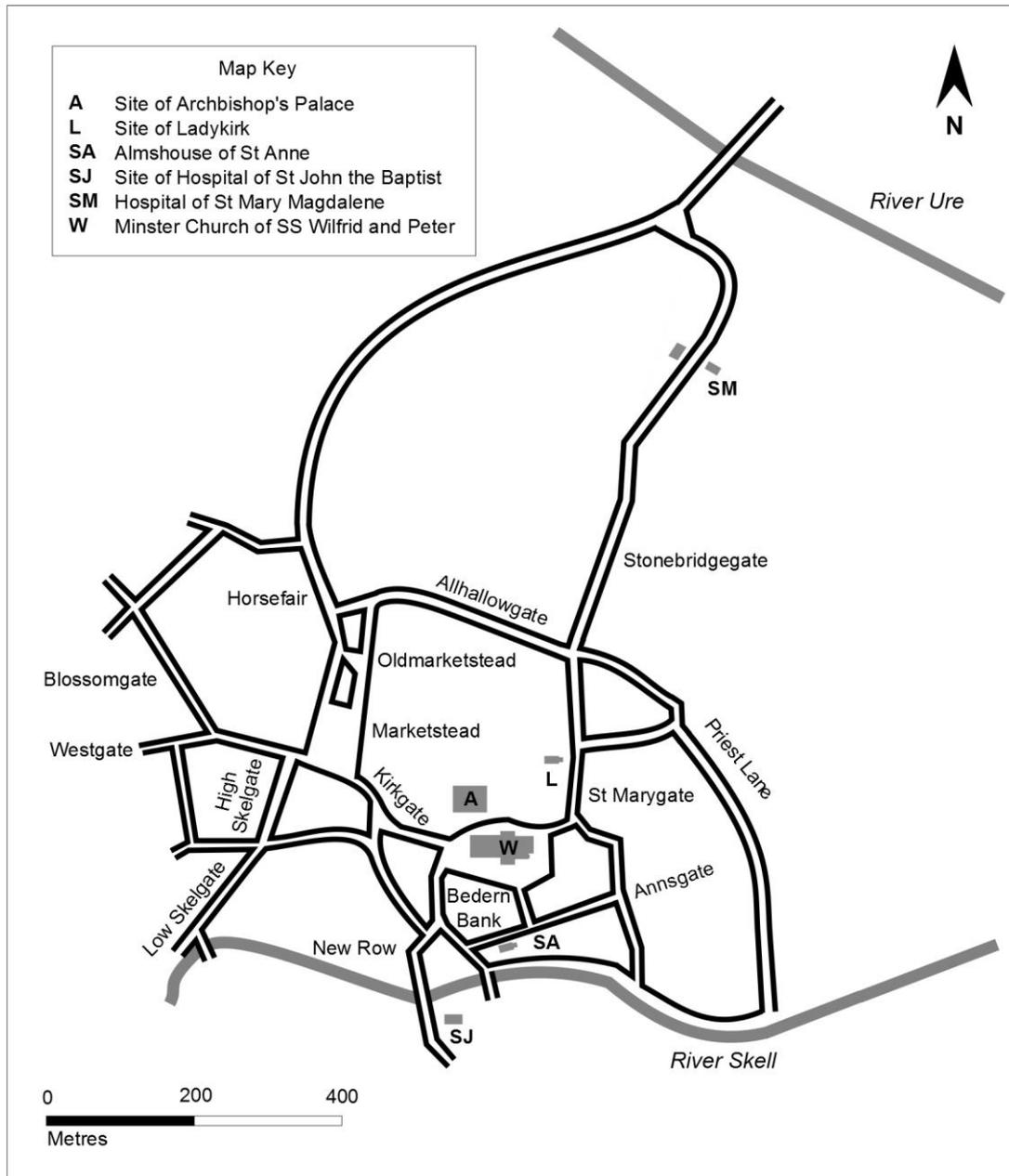
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<sup>106</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, p. 228.

<sup>107</sup> Gowland, 'A Ripon Guild Book', p. 68.

<sup>108</sup> Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 168.

Figure 8.1: Map of Medieval Ripon, 1350–1530



This schematic map shows all the town's medieval streets as well as its churches and chapels and the Archbishop's palace. The map was drawn from the 1:20,000 scale Ordnance Survey Map (c. 1850), with additions based on maps by Thomas Gent, T. S. Gowland, William McKay, Glanville R. J. Jones, Richard Hall and Mark Whyman, and Phillip Dixon.

## Chapter 8: The Fabric as Landlord in Late Medieval Ripon, c. 1350–1546

The Black Death had just as much influence on the Fabric wardens' urban estate management as it did on their hiring practices. The majority of their properties were messuages or tenements and could be an important source of income, but only if they were occupied. The Fabric went to great lengths to ensure that these properties had tenants, just as they took measures to secure the services of the necessary craftsmen. The tenants who held these properties benefited from reduced rents and regular maintenance of their properties by the Fabric. The Fabric was not Ripon's only ecclesiastical landlord but adequate sources have not survived to discuss the development and management of estates held by the Chamberlain, Treasurer, or the minster chantries. An overall picture of ecclesiastical urban estates can be gained from the 1546 chantry survey, but only the Fabric's estate can be investigated as it developed over time. The fragmentation of the rolls means that the study undertaken here cannot claim to be quantitative. Nevertheless, the rolls give a clear indication of the estate's development and the wardens' investment in it. Chantry survey records allow for comparisons between the Fabric's estate and others at the Reformation.

The urban estates of ecclesiastical landlords have been investigated in a variety of ways in many parts of England, notably Durham, York, Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury, Westminster, and Coventry.<sup>1</sup> These studies reveal much concerning the nature of urban landholding and its impact on both landlord and tenant. Because of its relatively small size, comparisons between Ripon and other English towns can be difficult to make. This is especially true of comparisons with cathedral cities such as Canterbury, Durham, and York, where there were multiple ecclesiastical landlords and where — unlike Ripon — lordship could be extended through the purchase of properties.<sup>2</sup> Ripon also lacked a developed civic government that could be threatened by expanding ecclesiastical estates, in contrast to York and Coventry.<sup>3</sup> Medieval Ripon more closely resembled towns with a single major monastic landholder and where civic authority was not firmly established.<sup>4</sup> Even the accumulation of properties by guilds, in

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<sup>1</sup> Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community*; Sarah Ruth Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents: Some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of Medieval York' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1987); Robert S. Gottfried, *Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis: 1290–1539* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); William Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London: Athlone, 1967); Mavis E. Mate, 'Property Investment by Canterbury Cathedral Priory 1250–1400', *Journal of British Studies*, 23 (1984), 1–21; Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200–1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Richard Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanization: Coventry, 1043–1355* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004). For a general overview of the topic, see Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages*, Chapter 6.

<sup>2</sup> Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, pp. 65–70; Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> See Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', p. 127; Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanization*, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Westminster, which lacked even a borough charter, offers a close parallel to Ripon in this respect. See Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200–1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 226 and 233.

particular the guild of Holy Cross during the later fifteenth century, was no real threat to the lordship of either the Archbishop or the Chapter.<sup>5</sup>

The urban estate of the Ripon Minster Fabric wardens provides important insights into the minster's role in society, despite the limited survival of the Fabric Rolls. It is not clear how the Fabric originally acquired its properties and rents or, for that matter, when it began to operate as an account managed by two wardens, but it must have been sometime before 1354. At the end of the earliest surviving roll is a note recording payment 'for the clerk writing the same rolls of account from the time of the pestilence up to [...] the time of this account, because the said clerk has received nothing since the said time'.<sup>6</sup> Vacant properties in the 1354 roll suggest the deaths of former tenants. The state of the rental before 1348 is unknown but after that date the rolls show that the rental income was only a fraction of the overall annual income and was generally much lower than gift income or the cash reserves held over from the previous year.<sup>7</sup> The former values of properties were dutifully recorded throughout the late fourteenth century in the hope of one day being able to charge them again. In the meantime, the Fabric wardens took various measures to ensure that properties were occupied by repairing them at their own cost and frequently reducing rents.

This chapter deals with many aspects of the institutional minster and local society which have already been introduced. The Fabric wardens were clerics, often chantry chaplains whose primary employment performing masses for the dead left them free to earn additional income as minster officeholders. Their role in maintaining and renovating the building as well as hiring craftsmen has already been discussed, so at this point it remains only to examine how the wardens engaged with local society as landlords. The chapter begins with a general examination of the sources of income for the Fabric to provide a context for a more detailed discussion of rental properties. The chapter concludes by looking at the Dissolution-era surveys to compare the Fabric's estate with those of other ecclesiastical landlords in Ripon during the sixteenth century.

### 8.1: *Sources of Income for the Fabric*

The rental was not the only source of income. Other sources included bequests, gifts in trunks located in the minster, gifts collected actively in and around Ripon, and tithes. Bequests were perhaps the least reliable of the Fabric's inconsistent sources of funds. (Table 8.1) Income was highest during years when there was a single generous benefactor or a large number of more modest ones. Recorded bequests range as high as £2 3s 4d, as in 1418, but there were also years

<sup>5</sup> Guild properties are not recorded in the 1546 survey, but wills reveal only a handful of tenements bequeathed to the Holy Cross guild.

<sup>6</sup> 'pro clerico scribenti istos rotulos compoti a tempore pestilenciæ usque [...] tempus istius compoti, quia dictus clericus nil percepit tempore prænotato', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 95.

<sup>7</sup> In the 1390s the arrears in the accounts were a cash reserve held over from previous years but by the sixteenth century they were most likely payments still owed to the Fabric.

in which there were no bequests at all.<sup>8</sup> It was not possible to predict the income in bequests in advance and they were often small. An annual sum of more than 20s in bequests was significant. Gifts and even tithes were often a far greater proportion of overall income. Like bequests, tithes were subject to fluctuation, but they only ever comprised a small fraction of annual income. They differed from bequests in that there was always some income from tithes. The factors that affected tithes were also different than those that affected bequests. Poor harvests caused tithes to fall and market prices determined the cash value of the grain tithes when they were sold. In 1396 bequests were particularly high and tithes were also fairly good. Even still, gifts and the rental accounted for far more than both. The 1396 rental income combined with the arrears from the year before amounted to almost sixty percent of the Fabric's income that year. (Table 8.2)

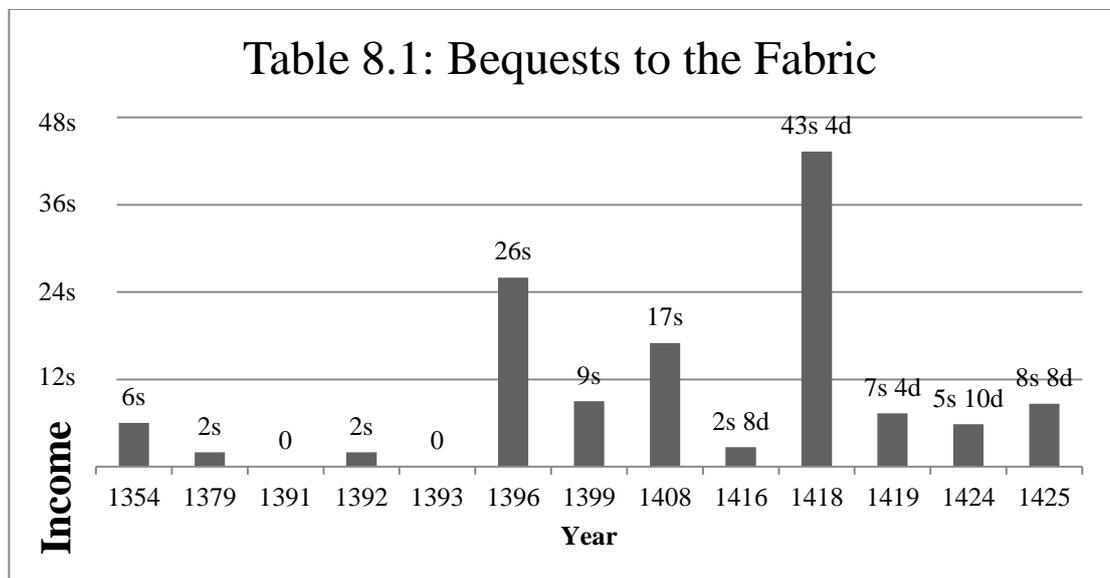


Table 8.1 shows the bequests to the Fabric in every extant Fabric Roll from 1354 to 1425 in order to illustrate the widely variable nature of this source of income. (See *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 89, 97, 104, 112, 117, 122, 127, 135, 141, 142, 144, 150, and 154)

<sup>8</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 142.

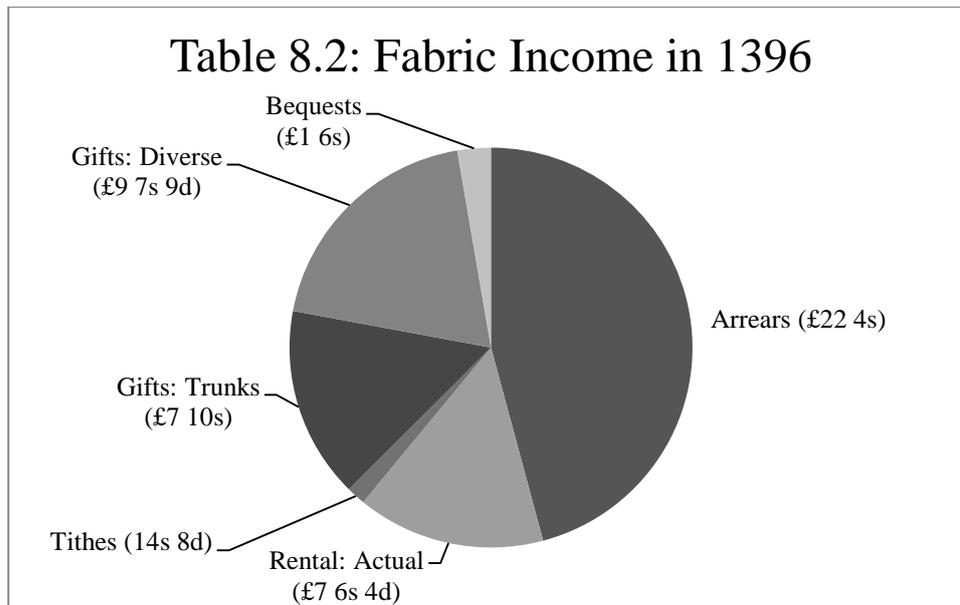
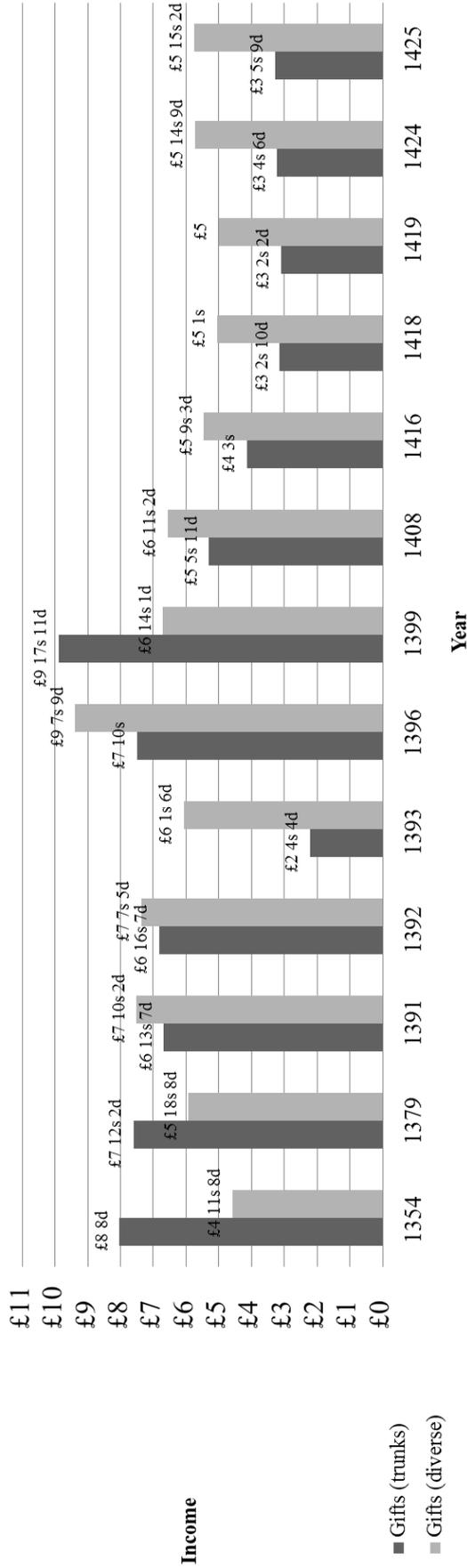


Table 8.2 shows all Fabric income for the year 1396 (*Memorials of Ripon*, III, 121–26) in the form of a pie chart to demonstrate the importance of different sources of income. The arrears (cash reserve) stand out as the largest section. The rental income represented here has been adjusted to reflect actual income from rental properties. (The ideal value of each property is listed in the income section of the roll while reduced rents are recorded in the expenses section. The reductions have been subtracted from the ideal values to give the total here.) The year 1396 was chosen because despite the fact that bequests were relatively high that year (see Table 8.1) they, like tithes, still made up only a small fraction of overall income. Tithes were of course a significant source of income for the Chapter but few of these were assigned to the Fabric wardens.

The Fabric accountants divided gifts into two types: donations left in trunks in the minster and gifts collected at feast days of guilds, in the town of Ripon at Christmas, and in the wider parish during Rogation. The gifts in trunks and those at Rogation were closely related to the popularity of St Wilfrid whose shrine drew pilgrims, especially at the annual fairs corresponding to his feasts.<sup>9</sup> Both types of gift were important sources of income for the Fabric. They accounted for far more income than bequests and tithes and were far more consistent. The Fabric could count on this source of income but they did not rely upon it entirely. Gift income could be affected by pestilence, crop failure, or any other factor that limited the means available to potential donors. Gift income's annual variability is demonstrated by Table 8.3. The figures recorded as gifts in the rolls must be the actual sums received in cash, which is important when assessing whether the arrears in the 1390s rolls were sums still owed to the Fabric or a cash reserve.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 28–31.

Table 8.3: Income from Gifts



This table demonstrates the wide variability of income from gifts. The data presented in the table is taken from all extant rolls from 1354 to 1425 (see *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 88–89, 97, 104, 112, 117–18, 122, 127–28, 135, 140–41, 142, 143–44, 149, and 154). A bar graph was chosen to present this data because it can show the fluctuations of the two types from year to year as well as the relationship between the two types within any given year. The series of 1391, 1392, and 1393 shows that income could change dramatically from one year to the next.

Evidence from the 1390s Fabric Rolls strongly indicates that the arrears were a cash reserve held over from one account to the next. The best evidence comes from the 1391 and 1392 rolls. The sum remaining at the end of 1391 once the expenses have been subtracted from the income is £27 9s 4d. This figure is given as the arrears at the start of the 1392 account. It can safely be assumed that all the income recorded as gifts in chests or from the sale of grain tithes was received in cash. In 1391 this amounted to £14 15s 9d, not nearly enough to have covered all the year's expenses (not including resolved rents and reduced rents), which were £19 2s 4d. These expenses were presumably paid in cash. If it can be assumed that the rental minus rent reductions was also received in cash, then there was sufficient money to pay all expenses with a remnant of £2 3s 4d — the sum by which the arrears increased from 1391 to 1392.<sup>10</sup> Greater security could be gained by holding over a cash reserve from one year to the next, thus stretching resources from good years to cover bad ones.<sup>11</sup>

### 8.2: *The Fabric's Management of its Urban Estate*

The manner in which the Fabric managed its properties can be examined best on a street-by-street basis. Informed by the 1379 poll tax returns and the Chapter Acts, this approach gives a good sense of the types of properties held by the Fabric and how they were developed over time. The Fabric held properties in many parts of the town and thus collected rents from a variety of different tenants. This approach also helps to clarify how many Fabric properties were located in any given street and whether or not the properties are the same from one account to the next. The limited survival of the Fabric Rolls sometimes makes it difficult to determine whether the properties mentioned in one roll are the same as those mentioned in another, but overall it seems that the Fabric acquired very few properties over the years and that it rarely sold the messuages it held. Gardens and cottages may have been sold more frequently. For convenience, the properties which can be consistently identified have been named after the tenants most often associated with them. This reflects the practice of the Fabric wardens who referred to properties by former tenants' names.

It was not uncommon for properties to be charged with a variety of different rents to different institutions at this date and the Fabric's properties were no exception. There were two main types of rents: a small fixed charge which acknowledged lordship (ground rent) and those

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<sup>10</sup> This figure also takes into account a few additional rent reductions noted at the very end of the 1391 roll. Considering that there are two sections recording rent reductions, it seems very unlikely that there were any reductions or unpaid rents not noted in the roll.

<sup>11</sup> Derek Keene, 'Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England', in *Power, Profit and Urban Land: Landownership in Medieval and Early Modern Northern European Towns*, ed. by Finn-Einar Eliassen and Geir Atle Ersland (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), pp. 93–119 (p. 100). Kümin also noted that the term 'arrears' could mean as surplus. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community*, p. 89.

that depended on the property market (economic rents).<sup>12</sup> The Fabric wardens had no lordship of their own and were due only the latter type. Fabric properties within the Chapter's liberty sometimes owed a ground rent to one of the canons (though they tend to disappear after 1400) while those in the Archbishop's liberty owed a ground rent to him. Some minster properties owed an additional rent charge to the vicars for an obit. A few of the rents owed to the Fabric were probably rent charges attached to properties not owned by the Fabric. The Fabric wardens also held different types of properties. The most valuable were messuages or tenements, both terms being used interchangeably by the wardens for the same properties. By the sixteenth century the Fabric's holdings had expanded to include cottages, gardens, barns, and dovecotes. Cottages were of lower value than messuages. The wardens held very few of them and do not appear to have invested much in their maintenance.

### 8.2.1: Annsgate and the Churchyard

Some of the best documented examples of the Fabric's estate management can be found in Annsgate and the churchyard. These include a house that was rebuilt in 1392 and the *astelaria*, a workshop converted into a boarding house. Properties in Annsgate were often described using phrases such as *juxta cimiterium*, and because Annsgate directly bordered the churchyard, it seems appropriate to discuss the two together.<sup>13</sup> The property that was reconstructed in 1392 can be traced from the earliest surviving Fabric Roll through its reconstruction. This is made possible by a resolved rent of 6d owed to the prebendary of Nunwick, which indicates the property was originally part of his prebend.<sup>14</sup> There is only one resolved rent owed to this prebendary in any given account. Tracing the property's history is complicated by the fact that the resolved rents are listed under a separate heading from the rental income section. It has been assumed that the property in question was always valued at 10s until the account of 1399 when, following its reconstruction, it increased in value to 13s 4d. The resolved rent to the prebendary of Nunwick ceased between 1400 and 1408. The Fabric must have bought out the resolved rent for a lump sum, as with the property in Stonebridgeway discussed below. This action indicates that a higher annual return was worth more to the Fabric than whatever sum they paid to eliminate the resolved rent. The reconstruction of the property reflects the same priorities.

Although other properties were rebuilt by the Fabric, for example two messuages in Bondgate *c.* 1379, the Annsgate house is the only property whose reconstruction is documented. It was the most significant of the Fabric's projects for 1392, taking from March until at least

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<sup>12</sup> Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 208. The terms 'ground rent' and 'economic rent' are those used by Swanson.

<sup>13</sup> The minster had no outer court and in some ways the street of Annsgate was its outer court, with many of the prebendal houses and the houses of other chaplains located there. It was not restricted to the clergy and it is not surprising that as a result many of the cases of clerical incontinence addressed by the Chapter court involved laypeople resident in Annsgate.

<sup>14</sup> While the Ripon canons had no authority separate from the Chapter, they did hold separate prebends. See Thompson, 'The Collegiate Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid', pp. 368–69.

July. The house had a stone foundation, a wooden frame, and a slate roof. William de Kirkby supplied building stone and slate stone was purchased from Simon Sklater, who subsequently took a contract to roof the new house for the sum of 14s 4d.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Wright was contracted to build the house for £4 3s 4d, £3 10s of which he received at that time in partial payment of the sum.<sup>16</sup> He was probably responsible for arranging labour, and he must have ranked fairly highly among those in the building trade during his day.<sup>17</sup> The completion of the Annsgate house was marked by the plastering of its walls in 1393. This work required eighteen carts of plaster costing 1s per cart, and two plasterers were hired to do the work.<sup>18</sup>

Total expenditure on the house exceeded £20, meaning that it would have taken over forty years for annual rent payments from the property to pay off the expense of its reconstruction. The increase of its rent to 13s 4d would have reduced this period by one third, but only assuming that the rent was paid in full every year and that the house was never vacant. In short, the reconstruction of this house was a substantial investment, and explaining it is crucial to any analysis of the Fabric's urban estate management. This level of investment was a radical step suggesting that the property had fallen into extreme disrepair or that it seemed likely to do so shortly.<sup>19</sup> The Ripon Fabric wardens were not alone in resorting to such drastic measures in order to keep properties occupied after the plague.<sup>20</sup> The large quantity of cash reserves held by the wardens (£27 9s 4d going into 1392) permitted them to undertake such projects but it was a delicate balancing act.

There was a second property in Annsgate about which somewhat less is known. It first appears c. 1379. The Fabric Roll for that year records a rent of 6s from 'one message in Annsgate in tenure of Thomas Skulemayster'.<sup>21</sup> Its value fluctuated somewhat in the 1390s, rising first to 6s 8d and then 10s, but by 1396 it had fallen back to 6s 8d where it remained in the 1450s. Despite the changing rent, the property can be identified by repeated mentions of a later tenant, William de Dewsbury. This property may be the same one held by Elizabeth Roclyff in the first decade of the sixteenth century, but the only obvious connection between them is the annual rent of 6s 8d.

### 8.2.2: The *Astelaria*

The Fabric also let properties within the churchyard. These took the form of rooms in a structure called the *astelaria*. Fowler identified this structure as a carpenter's shop.<sup>22</sup> It may just as easily

<sup>15</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 116.

<sup>16</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 116.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 7, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 120.

<sup>19</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> See Shaw, *The Creation of a Community*, pp. 52–53; Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rent', p. 263; Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community*, p. 142.

<sup>21</sup> 'j mes. in Annisgate in tenura magistri Thomæ Skulemayster', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96–97.

<sup>22</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 88.

have been a masons' lodge that was later converted to lodgings, something known to have occurred elsewhere in fourteenth-century England.<sup>23</sup> As discussed previously, evidence from the Fabric Rolls indicates that large-scale stonework would have required the Fabric to bring in masons from beyond the town and surrounding villages. The *astelaria* must have housed them, perhaps around 1290 when the new east window was constructed.

The *astelaria* has not survived to the present day, and little is known about its physical layout or exact location in the churchyard. It appears to have had five rooms, renting for between 18d and 4s. In total, the five rooms together were worth around 10s. The rent for these rooms was frequently reduced, though not always as a result of inability to fill them. Rather, in the 1390s they were let at discount rates to the sacrist and a man called John le Grithpreste. The former received a favourable rate 'by guarantee of the canons for his school'.<sup>24</sup> The latter held his room at a discount 'by guarantee of the canons on account of the love of God'.<sup>25</sup> Fowler believed that John le Grithpreste ministered to the *grithmen* who sought sanctuary in Ripon.<sup>26</sup> Not surprisingly, a number of tenants of the *astelaria* were priests.

This brief discussion of the *astelaria* draws attention once more to the churchyard and adds a little to its known uses. It was not merely the site of burial for the majority of Ripon's parishioners, it also contained workshops and residences. Most priests lived beyond the churchyard, in Annsgate or one of their common residences, but some clearly also lived within the churchyard in the *astelaria*. Unfortunately, the extent of the medieval churchyard is not known.<sup>27</sup> However large it was, it was surrounded by a stone wall which the Fabric Rolls show was occasionally repaired by masons.<sup>28</sup> It is also unclear if there was any internal division between workshops and burial space. Documentary evidence suggests there was not. While the locations of the plumber's workshop and the *astelaria* are not known, the Fabric Rolls clearly state that the glazier's workshop was built 'next to the Chapter House'.<sup>29</sup> Thus there was probably not a two-court arrangement at Ripon because one would expect workshops to be located further away from the building in an outer court if there was one, with the area closest to the building forming a holier, inner court.

### 8.2.3: Kirkgate

This street, which adjoins the market, contained some of the Fabric's most valuable properties.

<sup>23</sup> Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> 'ex præstacione canonicorum pro scolis suis', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 105. This second school in Ripon probably served different students than the school in the hospital of St John the Baptist. See Chapter 4, pp. 106–08.

<sup>25</sup> 'ex præstacione per canonicos propter amorem Dei', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 113.

<sup>26</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 105n. Very little is known about Ripon's *grithmen* and they rarely appear in the records. For more on Ripon's sanctuary privileges, see Lambert, 'Spiritual Protection and Secular Power', pp. 121–40.

<sup>27</sup> Hallett, *The Cathedral Church of Ripon*, p. 35. The precinct contracted in size sometime at the end of the twelfth century. See Whyman, 'Excavations in Deanery Garden and Low St Agnesgate', p. 160.

<sup>28</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 136–37.

<sup>29</sup> 'juxta domum capitularem', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 113.

It was close to the market and properties here seem to have had commercial value. Information for the social and professional composition of Kirkgate derives from the Chapter Acts Book, where the street is alternately referred to as Kirkgate and Crossgate. The reason for the former appellation is clear, Kirkgate being the road that leads to the west front of the minster. The former name may be a reference to a market cross at the street's other end, where today an obelisk stands. Between 1453 and 1471 there are twenty five entries for nineteen different individuals. Among them were two barbers, two tailors, a cobbler, a weaver, a dyer, and some servants. The tailors and cobbler in particular may have had properties suited to the production and marketing of their goods, and the street was probably an extension of the market.

One of four properties in the street was a messuage that was occupied by Margaret de Scotton from at least 1379 to 1400. This property had a rent of £1 6s 8d annually and a tenant who seems to have paid it faithfully and in full over a period of two decades. The slate roof of the Scotton property, repaired in 1392, must have contributed to its value.<sup>30</sup> Margaret de Scotton is also one of the best-documented women of medieval Ripon. She and her servant were recorded in the 1379 poll tax, which identified her as an unmarried brewster.<sup>31</sup> She was one of three brewsters listed in the poll tax for Ripon, all of whom appear under the Marketstead heading and all of whom were assessed at 12d or more.<sup>32</sup> De Scotton's high rate of assessment provides evidence for her high level of income, as does her employment of a servant. Kirkgate apparently provided a suitable site for the production and marketing of ale, and de Scotton's name also appears in connection with a shop 'in the same place which is allocated to the same Margaret by the canons of the Chapter'.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the roll does not explain why the Chapter allocated it to her. Renting the shop may indicate expansion on the part of de Scotton in 1399; it appears in earlier accounts either with a different tenant or no tenant at all. The de Scotton property remained valuable and may have been occupied by John Well in the early fifteenth century, when its rent had increased to £1 3s 4d.<sup>34</sup> Another Kirkgate property with a long history in the rolls is the Roche property, which first appears in 1379, described as being 'at the west gate of the churchyard'.<sup>35</sup> A resolved rent to the lord of Overstudley and the name of William Roche allow the property to be traced from 1379 to the 1420s. Little else is known regarding this property and no figures ever appear that give its rental value. Equally puzzling is

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<sup>30</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 108.

<sup>31</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 434. Victualling was an industry that offered women independence. See Charles Phythian-Adams, *The Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 88.

<sup>32</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433–34.

<sup>33</sup> 'ibidem quæ allocator eidem Marg. per canonicos capituli', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 128–29.

<sup>34</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 140.

<sup>35</sup> 'ad portam occidentalem cymiterii', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 98. At this date it is described as 'ex opposito camerarum [...] Willelmi Roche', but Roche seems later to have occupied the messuage as his name often appears in connection with it, and the resolved rent to the lord of Overstudley supports the identification.

the messuage or pair of messuages in Kirkgate rented for £2 8s during the first half of the fifteenth century.

Despite problems deciphering the history or number of Fabric properties in Kirkgate, some important observations can be made. The Scotton property, as one of the Fabric's most valuable urban rents, deserves further consideration. Its value seems to have stemmed in part from the quality of material from which the house was constructed. A slate roof was presumably more desirable than a thatched one. Moreover, the location of the property made it suitable for the marketing of ale, which Margaret de Scotton produced.<sup>36</sup> This feature is rare among Fabric properties, which were mainly well away from the market. The reason for this distribution of properties is that the Fabric's properties initially must have come from the Chapter, which did not hold property in the Marketstead, because the market had been developed by the Archbishops of York in their liberty. The Scotton property was close to or attached to the west gate of the minster churchyard, perhaps almost an extension of the churchyard into the street of Kirkgate.

#### 8.2.4: Allhallowgate

There is no indication of large-scale investment by the Fabric in Allhallowgate, but it regularly maintained its properties there. The earliest references to these properties describe them as 'on Allhallows hill', and the area is described alternately as Allhallows Hill and Allhallowgate even in later documents.<sup>37</sup> The former term relates to a church or chapel that once stood on the hill and may have been a relic of Ripon's monastic history.<sup>38</sup> Allhallows church does not appear to have survived into the thirteenth century.<sup>39</sup> The shift in terminology to Allhallowgate reflects a change in status for the area from part of the monastic landscape to a street in the developing town of Ripon. The hill's location within the Chapter's liberty is a further indication that it was once within the monastic enclosure.<sup>40</sup> The development of this street was almost certainly linked to the planning efforts of the Archbishops of York in the twelfth century.

The rental value of this street was £1 3s in 1546, these rents coming from three tenements and a dovecote.<sup>41</sup> The earliest roll (1354) lists two properties on the hill, both valued at 5s annually.<sup>42</sup> In the next surviving roll (1379) there appear to be two parcels of messuages at the same location, valued at 13s 4d and 10s. One parcel was leased to John Knyght and the

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<sup>36</sup> Keith Lilley has noted that 'the relative land (rental) value of a property unit depended not only on its dimensions but also on its location within the townscape, as well as its occupation and usage'. See Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 192.

<sup>37</sup> 'super montem Omnium Sanctorum', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 89. For similarities with the street of Annsgate, see Chapter 4, p. 112.

<sup>38</sup> See Hall and Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon', pp. 142–43.

<sup>39</sup> McKay, 'Development of Medieval Ripon', p. 76.

<sup>40</sup> Hall and Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon', p. 143.

<sup>41</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 24.

<sup>42</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 89.

other to John Thekster and William Bowar.<sup>43</sup> These parcels seem to have endured until sometime in the fifteenth century when there are few surviving Fabric Rolls. Linking entries to one another is complicated by the fluctuating number of messuages recorded for the parcels and the lack of other connections such as resolved rents and tenant names.

John Knyght leased one of the Allhallowgate parcels from 1379 until sometime in the 1390s. Records suggest that his parcel fluctuated in size without changing value. In 1379 it was listed as two messuages worth 13s 4d and in 1391 as three messuages worth the same sum.<sup>44</sup> The use of Knyght's name in both entries links them together, and his name never features in relation to the parcel valued at 10s. The order of entries for the two Allhallowgate parcels is consistent, further indicating that the Fabric held two separate parcels of messuages in Allhallowgate. The change in the number of messuages in Knyght's parcel may be a scribal error. It is not entirely clear what he did with the messuages he leased from the Fabric. The 1379 poll tax recorded John Knyght as a married weaver resident in Stonebridgegate.<sup>45</sup> The entry could refer to either Allhallowgate or Stonebridgegate, which were combined into one area by the poll tax. In total, it recorded sixty-eight people for the neighbourhood, six of whom, including Knyght, were weavers.<sup>46</sup> The surnames of those whose professions were not recorded, such as Walker and Lytster, suggest that they too may have been involved in textile production. The neighbourhood was also home to others involved in the production and marketing of clothing, including tailors and cobblers.<sup>47</sup>

Knyght's house had a roof thatched with straw and it was repaired in 1391, 1393, and 1396, showing that his house was regularly maintained by the Fabric.<sup>48</sup> The 1391 account of these expenses suggests that Knyght sublet some of his property to Richard de Studley.<sup>49</sup> Knyght's parcel can be traced in the records until 1425, following which there is a gap of three decades in the rolls. No tenants other than Knyght and de Stodelay are ever identified in connection with the parcel. It is probable that some of the Fabric's tenements in Allhallowgate were connected in some way to this parcel of messuages, but the exact nature of the connection is uncertain.

The second parcel of two messuages can similarly be followed through the rolls from 1379 to 1425, but tenants were only named in 1379. These tenants were John Thekster and William Bowar.<sup>50</sup> Thekster appears in the poll tax as a married man assessed at a rate of 4d.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96.

<sup>44</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96 and 104.

<sup>45</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>46</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>47</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>48</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 107–08, 119, and 125.

<sup>49</sup> The entry describes straw bought 'for covering a certain house in tenure of John Knyght and Richard de Stodelay' (pro coopertura cujusdam domus in tenure Joh. Knygth et Ricardi de Stodelay), *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 107.

<sup>50</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96.

<sup>51</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433. There is also a Richard Thekster, his son.

No profession is given for him, but his name may indicate he was involved with roofing in some way. In lieu of tenants' names or resolved rents, the assumption that these two messuages constituted a single parcel is based on the fact that the rolls consistently list them at a value of 10s following directly after the entry for the messuages worth 13s 4d. While recorded as a parcel, these two messuages seem usually to have been let to two tenants. This was the arrangement in 1379 when the tenants are named, and is indicated in later rolls by the reduction of rent to 5s when one of the messuages was unoccupied.<sup>52</sup> There are no repair expenses recorded for these properties. In 1419, however, slate stones were purchased for a property in Allhallowgate in tenure of Alice Baud.<sup>53</sup> While there is no way to determine which parcel this messuage belonged to, it could be argued that it was the second parcel, for which there is no evidence of regular repair to a straw thatched roof.

Allhallowgate does not appear to have been the site of any major investment by the Fabric. Records of repairs indicate that re-thatching roofs could be expensive at times, but there is no evidence for any full replacement of houses or new building. There is also no evidence of any effort by the Fabric to acquire new holdings in the area other than perhaps between 1354 and 1379, though it is unclear how it acquired any new messuages. No resolved rents exist to illuminate the tenorial histories of the properties. Without resolved rents, the only expenses were repairs.

#### 8.2.5: Stonebridgagate

In many ways Stonebridgagate resembled the adjoining street of Allhallowgate, especially in terms of the professions of its inhabitants. The street runs out of the town to the north where the stone bridge from which it takes its name crosses the river Ure. It is in this street, not far from the bridge, that the hospital of St Mary Magdalene was located. Some have argued that Allhallowgate and Stonebridgagate together formed the heart of settlement in Ripon before the planning efforts of the Archbishops of York created the Marketstead.<sup>54</sup> Regardless of whether or not this was the case, the Fabric's management of its estate in Stonebridgagate differs from that in Allhallowgate by being more dynamic, with properties apparently being both bought and sold.

Two separate tenements and a mill in Stonebridgagate can be identified from the earliest Fabric Rolls. The mill features in the rolls for a century, from 1354 to 1455. There is no indication of what type of mill it was, but it was probably located somewhere between the town and the hospital of St Mary Magdalene. Based on the evidence for textile production in the area, it may have been a fulling mill. The fourteenth-century rolls rarely record income from the mill,

<sup>52</sup> A typical entry for the second Allhallowgate parcel in the reduced rent section reads 'In dec. firm. j mes. jac. super Alhalowhowe hoc anno, 5s., quia stetit vac. et non potuit dimitti', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 105.

<sup>53</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 145.

<sup>54</sup> McKay, 'The Development of Ripon', p. 75.

which was almost always listed as totally failing to discharge its 3s. In the 1424 roll it yielded 1s with the prebendary of Sharow as its tenant.<sup>55</sup> The mill was probably within the prebend of Sharow, and the prebendary of Sharow appears to have remained its tenant throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. The fate of the mill after 1455 is unknown.

One messuage in Stonebridgegate can be traced through the rolls by a combination of its resolved rent and its tenant history. This messuage, hereafter the Hundgate property, was occupied by Robert de Hundgate in 1379 and owed a resolved rent of 8d to the prebendary of Studley.<sup>56</sup> Robert de Hundgate is one of two men with that surname recorded in the 1379 poll tax. Both Robert and John de Hundgate were identified as married weavers living in Stonebridgegate, and they were each assessed at 6d.<sup>57</sup> The rent of this property fluctuated over the years, being as low as 14s 4d and as high as 20s. The Fabric does not appear to have collected the full 20s very often, and often reduced the rent to 16s. The frequency at which the rent was reduced shows a willingness on the part of the Fabric to sacrifice a quarter of its possible income to keep the other three quarters. The rent was never permanently reduced, so it seems the Fabric had every intention of collecting its maximum value when possible. This applies more generally to the Fabric's urban estates. Moreover, the income sections of the rolls always list the full value of all properties so that the total income figures are always inaccurate. True rental incomes can only be discovered by subtracting reduced rents and other deductions from the expenditure section of the rolls. The Hundgate property probably remained in the hands of the Fabric into the sixteenth century but there is inadequate information to identify it from among the three Stonebridgegate messuages in the Fabric's estate at that date. The Hundgate property may have had a slate roof in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>58</sup>

The second Stonebridgegate messuage, the Wright property, can be distinguished in the records on the basis of tenant history and rent. It owed the same resolved rent to the prebendary of Studley, but its rental value was 10s in every roll from 1354 to 1455. The Fabric had difficulty in leasing the property for the entirety of this sum during the first half of the fifteenth century. It was held in 1379 by William Wright, possibly the same man who built the new rood loft in 1399.<sup>59</sup> Like the Hundgates, Wright was a married craftsman assessed at 6d.<sup>60</sup> His property had a straw roof which was repaired in 1379.<sup>61</sup> The Wright property, like the Hundgate property, remained in the hands of the Fabric down to the sixteenth century, but it is impossible to identify it from the evidence for that period as the resolved rents to the prebendary of Studley ceased after 1455. The Fabric probably bought out the rent for a lump sum in order to secure greater annual income from the property.

<sup>55</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 150.

<sup>56</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96 and 98.

<sup>57</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 161.

<sup>59</sup> See Chapter 7, p. 160.

<sup>60</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>61</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 102.

Other Stonebridgeway properties have a more obscure history. One house is mentioned in the 1393 roll only, and a garden appears in the early fifteenth century. The garden reflects the fact that Stonebridgeway was at the edge of the town. The sixteenth-century records also show that the Fabric had a third property in the area at that time. In terms of its inhabitants and their activities, Stonebridgeway was similar to Allhallowgate. Both streets were home to craftsmen such as carpenters and weavers who may have used their houses as workshops.

#### 8.2.6: Priest Lane

Insufficient evidence for any single property in Priest Lane has survived for any property histories to be reconstructed. This may be the product of more than mere accident. Priest Lane rents included gardens, granges, and closes, with tenements or messuages being very rare in the accounts. The Priest Lane properties indicate two things. The first is that the area, at the outskirts of Ripon, had an agricultural character, perhaps like the Horsefair and Bondgate. The second is that these granges and gardens may have changed hands frequently, much like cottages, due to their lower cost. Indeed, one of the closes held by the Fabric owed a quit rent to the chantry of St Wilfrid, which indicates that it was bequeathed to the Fabric by someone with enough money to invest in small properties.

#### 8.2.7: Westgate and Blossomgate

The Fabric invested little in Westgate or Blossomgate, holding only one property in each of these two streets. The Westgate property owed a rent of only 3d to the Fabric. This rent must have originated around 1393, though it was first recorded in an annex to the 1396 roll, which states that a sum of 9d for three years was collected from Richard Wrynnand.<sup>62</sup> The rent does not feature in more than a handful of accounts and no additional information about the property is known other than the name of a fifteenth-century tenant, John Brynand. Similarly, the only known rent from Blossomgate appears in the rent reduction section of the 1424 and 1425 rolls.

The Fabric's lack of involvement in Westgate and Blossomgate suggests that the area was a suburb that developed after the successful cultivation of the market by the Archbishop of York. Because the suburb of Westgate and Blossomgate was in the Archbishop's liberty, properties there could not be assigned by the Chapter to the Fabric. Further evidence of the suburb's character comes from the 1546 survey. Table 8.4 reveals that there were a large number of cottages in the area, perhaps inhabited by the poorer craftsmen, labourers, and servants of Ripon. The average value of the twelve cottages in the area in 1546 was 3s each, so the occasional rents of around 3d that appear in the Fabric rolls were probably rent charges attached to the properties. Westgate was listed in the 1379 poll tax as a district, probably including Blossomgate. Entries in the poll tax show an area of divided character. The highest

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<sup>62</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 126.

assessment in the neighbourhood was 2s for the hosteller John Taverner, one of a number of residents who had a servant.<sup>63</sup> There were also craftsmen and merchants living in the area, perhaps toward the Marketstead side of Westgate. However, the vast majority of the sixty-eight people listed for the district were assessed at the base rate of 4d.<sup>64</sup> Few professions are recorded, and they may have been labourers living in cottages. The presence of two husbandmen in the poll tax show how the area shaded into the countryside.<sup>65</sup> The Chapter Acts add to the picture of the suburb, identifying butchers, tanners, and swineherds living there in the 1450s.

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Property/Rent</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Tenant/Holder</b>	<b>Value</b>
Chantry of St James	3 cottages	Blossomgate		8s
Vicars	tenement	Blossomgate		6s
Hospital St Mary Magdalene	tenement	Westgate	John Johnson	6d
Clotherholme (chantry)	tenement	Westgate		10s
Ladykirk	cottage	Westgate		20d
Ladykirk	burgage	Westgate	James Keygyll	6s
Chantry of Our Lady	3 cottages	Westgate		10s 8d
Chantry of Our Lady	tenement	Westgate	Percival Richmond	5s
Chantry of Our Lady	cottage	Westgate	John Spicer	2s 8d
Chantry of Our Lady	cottage	Westgate	Christopher Warwyke	2s
Vicars	3 cottages	Westgate		11s
Vicars	tenement	Westgate		6s
Nunwick Prebend	house	Westgate	Thomas Markenfield	13d
Monkton Prebend	2 tenements	Westgate	Richard Goldewath; Richard Lanthorpe	20d

Table 8.4 lists all ecclesiastical landlords with holdings in Blossomgate and Westgate according to the 1546 survey (see *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 8–32). The information presented here is intended to show the suburban character of the two streets, namely the large number of cottages. The more substantial properties may have been sublet by their tenants. Thomas Markenfield, for example, resided at Markenfield Hall and is likely to have let his house in Westgate to subtenants.

The 1546 survey demonstrates that the prebendaries of Nunwick and Monkton had some interest in Westgate though it is unclear when they obtained their properties. The majority of rents were owed to chantries, guilds, and the vicars. The most probable explanation is that these rents, from cottages in particular, were bequeathed by owners who did not reside there, but lived in other parts of the town. Cottages, much like gardens, would have been less expensive than tenements or messuages and therefore more easily purchased as investments by the affluent burgesses of Ripon.<sup>66</sup> These bequests were meant to support obits and chantries, which were

<sup>63</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 433.

<sup>64</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 432–33.

<sup>65</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 432.

<sup>66</sup> There was a similar situation in York, where ‘By the time of the sixteenth-century surveys, most York city chantries were relatively poorly endowed, usually by means of messuages, tenements, cottages and shops, or fixed rents from properties within the city walls’. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*, p. 259.

evidently more popular applications of accumulated wealth than bequests to the Fabric. At the same time, the Fabric clearly made no effort to invest in properties in Westgate and Blossomgate, committing its revenues instead to improving its messuages. This investment strategy was designed to keep tenants in the more expensive properties while either relying on demand to keep cottages occupied and thereby supply the rent charges or accepting losses of small rents due to lack of tenants.<sup>67</sup> An acceptance of small losses is also evident with more valuable properties as discussed above.

#### 8.2.8: The Cornhill and the Horsefair

The street to the north of the Marketstead was known as the Cornhill before 1450 and the Horsefair from around 1500. The Fabric held at least two or three properties there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A firm connection between the two names is established by a resolved rent to Lord Fitzhugh. The rent to Lord Fitzhugh was attached to a property on the Cornhill that was purchased around 1400.<sup>68</sup> The 1503 roll itemises a resolved rent of 3s ‘coming from the tenement in the street called the Horsefair in tenure of Oliver Thomlynson, and paid to Lord Fitzhugh, this year’.<sup>69</sup> The two-year account for 1453–1455 records a payment of 6s (3s per year) to Lord Fitzhugh.<sup>70</sup>

The oldest extant Fabric Roll lists two properties on the Cornhill, each identified by former tenants. One had belonged to Hugh son of Iuonis and the other to Matilda de Cornhill. The first of these two was chronically short on rent. The same reduction of 7s appears in every one of the dozen surviving rolls from 1379 to 1425 and 14s for the two years of the 1435–1455 roll. The rent reduction entry for the property in 1391 is fairly typical. It reads ‘in reduction of the rent of one messuage lying upon the Cornhill, by the messuage of William Riche, in tenure of Nicholas Hulit, 7s, because it is waste’.<sup>71</sup> Hulit was one of a succession of tenants for this property. He was succeeded by his daughter, and then William Fountains from between 1400 to 1420. Despite the change in tenants, however, the reduction in rent was constant. It is possible that the property was worth more than 7s and that its wastage was not total. If this was the case, no evidence for the full value has survived. There are no records for the property’s maintenance, and it seems to have left the Fabric’s estate sometime after 1455.

The existence of these properties from outside the Chapter’s liberty at such an early date requires some explanation. The property owing a resolved rent to the Fitzhughs may have been

<sup>67</sup> The vicars of York Minster relied heavily on poor tenants to occupy their urban estate. See Rees Jones, ‘Property, Tenure and Rents’, p. 242.

<sup>68</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 128.

<sup>69</sup> ‘exuente de ten. in vico vocato Horsefayr in tenure Oliveri Thomlynson, et resolutio dno. Fitzhugh h. a. 3s’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 170. This was Henry, third Lord Fitzhugh. See Hanna, ‘Some Yorkshire Scribes and their Context’, pp. 176–77.

<sup>70</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 158.

<sup>71</sup> ‘in dec. redd. j mes. jac. super le Cornhyll, jac. juxta mes. Will. Riche, in tenuta Nich. Hulit, 7s, quia vastum’, *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 105.

purchased by the Fabric. The Fitzhughs held this property for their cousins, the Masham Scropes, who had been attainted for treason, and for this reason it seems entirely possible that a sale may have occurred.<sup>72</sup> The other property may have been bequeathed by Hugh son of Iuonis, which could explain why his name was associated with it for so long.

#### 8.2.9: Bondgate and Aismunderby

The history of the Fabric's property in the agricultural suburb of Bondgate just south of Ripon is one of the clearest in the rolls. Like other properties, the Fabric allowed their holdings here to be sublet and were also willing to forgo some of their income to ensure they had tenants. From 1379 until sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century there was a pair of what were sometimes described as messuages, sometimes as tenements, that were held by the Fabric and rented together for 11s or 12s annually. Tenants were rarely named, but it is worth noting that in the 1390s both properties had a single tenant, and they were treated as a pair until at least 1455. The roll from 1503–1504 reveals that by this date the Fabric had divided the property into three parts. There were now individual entries for two tenements and a pair of closes 'enclosed in the same place and pertaining to the said two tenements'.<sup>73</sup> Even when rented out as a pair, the properties probably had sub-letters who do not appear in the records. The division of the property in the sixteenth-century rolls may have been due to a dearth of tenants willing to rent the entire parcel. The division of the property into three parts does not seem to have been to the Fabric's advantage; each was let at 3s 4d and thus altogether the whole was only worth 10s annually, a loss of 1s to 2s compared with what the Bondgate property was worth a century earlier.

Repair expenditures give some indication of the property's physical arrangement. Construction of a fence on the property in 1391 cost 7s 3d.<sup>74</sup> The entry describes payment for 'a cart hired to carry wood and lumber for making fences at the house of John Carter in Bondgate'.<sup>75</sup> This may have been to fence in the close mentioned above. The rolls also show that the buildings in Bondgate were roofed in slate by the 1420s. The 1419 roll proves that it was a busy year for the slater John Garton, who, in addition to work in Allhallowgate and at the grammar school, was probably responsible for roof repairs undertaken on one of the Bondgate properties.<sup>76</sup>

In Bondgate, as elsewhere, the Fabric seems to have invested in maintenance and repair, but made no effort to enlarge its estate. The properties owed no resolved rents and there is little information regarding former tenants, so it is difficult to say how the Fabric acquired the two

<sup>72</sup> Hanna, 'Some Yorkshire Scribes and their Context', pp. 176–77.

<sup>73</sup> 'insimul inlausarum et pertinencium ij ten. prædictis', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 166.

<sup>74</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 110.

<sup>75</sup> 'carecta conducta ad car. ligni et subbosci pro sepibus inde faciendis ad domum Johannis Carter in Bondgat', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 109.

<sup>76</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 144–45.

messuages in Bondgate. It is, however, possible to narrow down when they acquired them. There was only one property in Bondgate in 1354, and it was worth only 5s as indicated by the reduced rent section of the roll, which lists the property as *vastum*.<sup>77</sup> This may be one of the two messuages listed in the 1379 parcel, meaning that the other was acquired in the intervening twenty-five years. The 1379 roll may offer an explanation for the increased value of the properties when it describes the two messuages in Bondgate as rebuilt.<sup>78</sup>

The history of the Fabric property at nearby Aismunderby, a deserted medieval village near Markenfield, can also be reconstructed. The 1354 Fabric Roll lists a tenement at Aismunderby worth 10s but reduced to 6s.<sup>79</sup> It seems highly probable that this is the same property subsequently described from 1379 to 1455 as a messuage and eight acres. The Aismunderby property was consistently valued at 10s, and almost as consistently had its rent reduced by anything between 1s and 3s 4d. The rent may have been formally reduced sometime in the late fifteenth century. If so, then the entry for a tenement held by Ninian Markenfield at Aismunderby in 1503 may be the same property, its value now 6s. An entry in the 1391 Fabric Roll records the purchase of straw for thatching the roof of the Aismunderby property, and this is the only information there is about the physical structure of the property.<sup>80</sup> In addition, while the tenant in 1379 was named as Thomas Chowne, he does not appear in the poll tax return for that year.<sup>81</sup> There is a Matilda Chowne — perhaps the widow of Thomas, if he died during the year — for whom the only additional information is that she was not married and was assessed at only 4d.<sup>82</sup>

The poll tax of 1379 lists seventy-five individuals in Aismunderby-Bondgate, so it is immediately clear that the Fabric served as landlord to a very small segment of the population in this area. Of the seventy-five individuals listed, thirty had their professions included. Thirteen of these were servants; the remaining seventeen included a number of building craftsmen, smiths, and weavers. The village of Aismunderby was under the lordship of the Archbishop of York.<sup>83</sup> It also had its own chapel of St John the Baptist, which in the early thirteenth century had been staffed by a priest and clerk.<sup>84</sup> Aismunderby-Bondgate's rural character is attested to by its wealthiest inhabitant, the franklin John de Morpath. The Chapter Acts Book evidence suggests that the character of the area was similar in the middle of the fifteenth century. Very few of those named in the court's records had their professions included, but among those who did were a tanner, a fuller, and a husbandman. The former two professions show that Aismunderby-

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<sup>77</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 90.

<sup>78</sup> 'de novo factorum', *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 97.

<sup>79</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 89.

<sup>80</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 108.

<sup>81</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 96.

<sup>82</sup> *Poll Taxes*, III, 437.

<sup>83</sup> Gowland, 'The Manors and Liberties of Ripon', p. 73.

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 105.

Bondgate was at the edge of the town where tanning in particular was likely to be practiced,<sup>85</sup> while the latter shows that the area was agricultural. The evidence for the Fabric's limited involvement at Bondgate and Aismunderby demonstrates that it had little interest in the agricultural suburbs to the south of the town. Property acquisition may have been passive and while management of the properties was active, involving modifications such as enclosing a close with a fence and replacing a thatch roof with one of slate, these do not seem to have been attempts to increase rental income so much as to keep properties occupied. The loss of income after re-division and the likelihood of subletting show the Fabric's priority was to receive a steady income with less direct involvement rather than to maximize profits.

Name	Surname	Profession	Assessment	Marital
William	Brame	barker/smith	12d	
John	de Hetton	barker	6d	
John	de Morpath	franklin	40d	ux
Elizabeth	de Snayth	weaver	12d	
John	de Whityngton	spicer	12d	
Robert	de Worsull	wright	6d	
Nicholas	Hamund	cobbler/mason	6d	
Henry	Haybergh	carpenter	6d	
William	Hegh	spicer	12d	ux
Thomas	Henrison	carpenter	6d	
John	Hors	weaver	6d	ux
Thomas	Pogg	slater	6d	ux
John	Smyth	smith	6d	
Roger	Swalowe	weaver	6d	ux
Adam	Tournour	cooper	6d	ux
John	Webster	weaver	6d	
Thomas	Wright	carpenter	12d	

Table 8.5 illustrates the nature of the Aismunderby-Bondgate suburb of Ripon by listing, in alphabetical order, all individuals whose profession (except servant) was recorded in the 1379 poll tax (*Poll Taxes*, III, 437). They number seventeen and are drawn from a total of seventy-five taxpayers, the rest of whom were either servants or had no recorded profession.

Fabric properties appear to have been acquired mainly through donations, and these donations diminished over time. In order to keep their properties within the Chapter's liberty occupied, Fabric wardens were willing to invest large sums of money to replace thatch roofs with slate and even to entirely rebuild houses at times. In addition, they covered the cost of repairs and permitted tenants to sublet their properties. Suburban houses and cottages were similarly received as donations, but the Fabric did not invest in them as much. In some cases the Fabric did not own these properties but only received a rent charge from them. With cottages in particular, they relied on demand to fill them, just as the vicars of York relied on poor tenants to

<sup>85</sup> In this way it was similar to Westgate and Blossomgate.

occupy their cottages.<sup>86</sup> The Fabric wardens accepted some losses to avoid the greater losses that would result from vacant properties and to prevent them from deteriorating due to vacancy. It is now time to place these findings in context.

### 8.3: *The Fabric's Estate in Context: Ripon, 1546/7*

Assessing the scale and management of all the urban estates held by hospitals, chantries, guilds, or dignitaries of the minster is a difficult task. Despite its limitations, the best source available for making comparisons is the 1546 Chantry Survey. For this reason it will be used as a jumping off point for the discussion of urban estates and to provide context for a more nuanced understanding of the Fabric's estate. Unfortunately, the Chantry Survey lacks information about guilds. Only the guild of the Assumption is included in the survey, because it was attached to a chantry of the same name in the minster. Monastic estates in Ripon, most notably that of Fountains Abbey, are also lacking, the monasteries having been dissolved prior to 1546, but the patent rolls show that Fountains had accumulated property in Ripon. In June 1393 permission was given to alienate seven messuages 'in full satisfaction of a licence granted to the said abbot and convent by Edward II to acquire lands and tenements to the yearly value of £20'.<sup>87</sup>

Few of the prebendaries of the minster were due rents from the town. Thorpe had none, and Monkton, Studley, and Sharow each collected rents of less than 10s. In contrast, Stanwick gathered quite a bit — £11 — from orchards and gardens in Ripon. Only the prebendary of Nunwick was due rents from a considerable number of different properties. These included nine in Skelgate, six in Annsgate, one in Westgate, and one in Crossgate (Kirkgate). The majority of these rents were around a shilling or less. They probably indicate rent charges owed to the prebendary of Nunwick after the sale of these properties, and thus may reflect a previous involvement with the street of Skelgate and also Annsgate. In any case, by 1546 the prebendary of Nunwick took only a small interest in these properties. The nature of Skelton's urban estate is unclear because the source of its rents is not given. With regard to prebendaries, none seem to have had a very active interest in urban properties in the sixteenth century. The only prebendary to have held any type of urban estate was the prebendary of Nunwick, but this estate may not have been accumulated intentionally and Nunwick was not deeply involved with the properties at the time of the chantry survey.

One reason that prebendal urban estates may not have been very intensively managed is absenteeism among the prebendaries. The shift from a common-fund system to a prebendal one, by assigning separate incomes to each canon, led communities of canons to gravitate away from common living.<sup>88</sup> The tendency not to reside in Ripon is perhaps most colourfully illustrated by

<sup>86</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', p. 242.

<sup>87</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Richard II*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1895–1909), v (1905), 283. Editor's translation.

<sup>88</sup> Paul Jeffrey, *The Collegiate Churches of England and Wales* (London: Hale, 2004), pp. 15–16.

the casting of bells in the hearth of the Thorpe prebendal hall in 1391.<sup>89</sup> It seems unlikely that the hall was being used by its prebendary at that time. Even officeholders such as the Treasurer could at times be non-resident.<sup>90</sup> The vicars, paid a fixed annual rate to undertake their canons' cure of souls, had no incentive to manage prebendal estates, especially once they were incorporated in the fifteenth century and licenced to acquire and manage their own estate. The canon's other sources of income were undoubtedly far greater. The prebendary of Stanwick was bound to be permanently resident so it is no coincidence that Stanwick had a well developed urban estate.

In 1546, the Fabric's urban estate was concentrated in the southern part of the town near the minster, with four tenements and a close in Annsgate, two tenements in Bondgate, and two tenements in Kirkgate. Its other concentrations were in Stonebridgegate and Allhallowgate, where it held a total of nine tenements. These were areas claimed by the Chapter in the dispute of 1228.<sup>91</sup> Aside from the prebendaries, the Fabric held the largest urban estate in the town. It was surveyed at £8 13s 4d; next in line were the vicars with a rental of £6 5s 6d. Chantries tended to have urban estates valued at around £2.<sup>92</sup> How the Fabric acquired its properties and managed its estate has largely been discussed already, but it is worth noting that there was sometimes a connection between donations of rents to the Fabric and commemoration. Bequests to the Fabric can often be found in wills, and the Chantry Certificate states that yearly obits cost the Fabric 9s.<sup>93</sup> Many of these obits were probably established in the fourteenth century before the vicars began directly receiving bequests of property to provide this service.<sup>94</sup>

The vicars had a sizeable urban estate in 1546. They drew rents from twelve tenements, ten cottages, and a shop in the Marketstead. These rents ranged from 5s to 10s per tenement. This estate was widely dispersed throughout the town, including rents from Allhallowgate, Stonebridgegate, the Marketstead, the Horsefair, Blossomgate, Westgate, Annsgate, and Bedernbank. The income from this rent should be kept in perspective, however. While their urban rents in Ripon amounted to £6 5s 6d, income from the common fund and prebendaries totalled £26.<sup>95</sup> The properties of the vicars were charged with various responsibilities. The Chantry Certificate states that 'the saide vicars be bounde to kepe xxv Obytes yerlie for the saide landes every Obyte to the yerlie Charge of v s. that is vj li. v s. and yerlie to y<sup>e</sup> segerstane

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<sup>89</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 109.

<sup>90</sup> For example, Arthur Cole, prebendary of Monkton, was Treasurer in 1546 but not resident in Ripon. *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 11.

<sup>91</sup> McKay, 'The Development of Medieval Ripon', p. 76; Jones, 'The Ripon Estate', p. 28; *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 60–61.

<sup>92</sup> This is well below the £8 minimum annual return for a chantry priest identified by Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp. 21–23; It is also below the £5 minimum given by Joel T. Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise: Gift-Giving and the Aristocracy 1307–1485* (London: Routledge, 1972), p. 42. This discrepancy may have been due to decaying rents or it may have been to conceal property in order to prevent its seizure.

<sup>93</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 25.

<sup>94</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 50–52.

<sup>95</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 14.

and Belman iiii s. vj d.’<sup>96</sup> The entirety of the vicars’ urban estate was thus related to intercession for the dead. This reflects the situation at York, where ‘communities which provided obits, chantries, and corrodies prospered the most’.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the vicars do not appear to have constructed this urban estate on their own, but acquired it passively as agents of intercession. The shift in bequests to the vicars may have come at the Fabric’s expense. Their ability to acquire land and act in this capacity was no doubt enhanced by their new privileges in the early fifteenth century.<sup>98</sup> Aside from the fragmentary obit roll, any records they may have kept regarding the accumulation and management of this estate are now lost.<sup>99</sup>

Many chantries had little or no interest in urban properties in Ripon. In 1546 the Plumpton Holy Trinity chantry in the choir drew rents totalling 17s from a few cottages and gardens in Ripon, while its counterpart in the nave received its entire income in the form of a royal annuity.<sup>100</sup> This would have been a more reliable source of income than properties because it was guaranteed without the need to find tenants. Reliance on this type of endowment shows there was instability in the property market of Ripon and supports the argument that the Fabric may have been forced to invest to keep properties occupied. The Fabric had the resources to do so whereas John Sendale, founder of the Holy Trinity chantry in the nave, viewed monastic stipends as a less complicated means of achieving the same end. The chantry of St Wilfrid also drew its entire rent in the form of an annuity from its patron, Sir William Malory.<sup>101</sup> The manner in which this chantry was funded underscores its close relationship with the Malory family. The chantry of SS John and John also seems to have had a limited urban estate, comprised of only two properties, and the chantry of St Thomas Martyr had equally little economic interest in Ripon. The urban estates of these chantries were probably limited to their initial endowments, though it is also possible that they once held more properties or rents which were exchanged or sold over time.

The chantry of St Andrew had a tidy little urban estate, with three rents from Annsgate, two from Stonebridgegate, and one each from Skelgate, Allhallowgate, and the Horsefair. The income from these rents totalled £2 8s 4d. The chantry of St James drew a total annual rent of £2 16s 8d from a combination of tenements and cottages in the Marketstead, Allhallowgate, Blossomgate, Skelgate, and Bondgate. Most of the chantry of the Assumption’s income was from urban rents in Ripon. These rents were drawn from tenements and cottages, four and eight

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<sup>96</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 15. The importance of the annunciation of obits through the ringing of bells has already been addressed. See Chapter 2, p. 51. A partial register of these obits compiled c. 1459 is preserved in Leeds University Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS 1980/1 40, fols 103a–103j. It is printed in *Memorials of Ripon*, I, 130–51.

<sup>97</sup> Rees Jones, ‘Property, Tenure and Rents’, p. 184.

<sup>98</sup> As part of their incorporation, they were authorised to acquire lands and rents with an annual value of 100s. See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry V*, 2 vols (London: HMSO, 1910–1911), I (1910), 267–68.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 50–52.

<sup>100</sup> A sum had formerly been paid by the monastery of Pontefract. *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 17–18. See Chapter 3, p. 70.

<sup>101</sup> *Memorials of Ripon*, III, 20.

respectively. The total annual income was £2 9s 9d. The large proportion of cottages in the chantry of the Assumption's urban estate is probably due to the fact that these properties were cheaper and more easily obtained than larger properties. All eight cottages were located in Westgate and Skelgate. The chantry of St Andrew and the chantry of the Assumption must have acquired their properties in different ways. The rents due to the chantry of St Andrew were most likely part of its re-endowment in 1369.<sup>102</sup> The rents of the chantry of the Assumption were probably the pious bequests of guild members.

The hospital of St John the Baptist had a relatively small urban estate in Ripon. Located exclusively in the rural suburb of Bondgate, the hospital was due rent from four cottages, a tenement, and a house with two closes. The total value of these rents in 1546 was £3 10s. The urban estate of the hospital of St Mary Magdalene was even smaller, comprised of only a few tenement rents in various locations. The hospital relied much more heavily on agricultural income and rents from outside of Ripon. It appears to have had a much larger estate in Ilton. Neither of Ripon's two hospitals was deeply involved in the town's property market, depending instead on agricultural endowments.<sup>103</sup>

The rents catalogued in the 1546 Chantry Certificates reveal heterogeneity in the dispositions of urban estates. Some streets may have been dominated by an institution or corporation, but it is difficult to argue that this was the result of a programme of property acquisition. Very little is known about the sale of property in Ripon, and surviving sources give the impression that property changed hands mainly through donation. The dispersal of urban estates throughout the town adds support to this hypothesis. So too does the apparent success of chantries with guilds in acquiring properties from the bequests of members, as opposed to chantries that had no associated guild and must have depended on their initial endowments or the patronage of the gentry families with which they had ties. In some cases large blocks of property appear together. These blocks were probably initial endowments from wealthy founders. The best example is the Archbishop's chantry in his manor, which held five tenements in Kirkgate.

The town of Ripon was divided into two manors, one for the Archbishop of York and one for the Chapter of the minster. Unlike the obedientiaries of Durham Cathedral, the dignitaries and prebendaries of Ripon could not extend their authority through the accumulation of new properties because they had no authority separate from the Chapter.<sup>104</sup> Capitular authority was exercised through the Chapter Court and also through regulation of the space within the minster rather than through the accumulation of property. The ownership of

<sup>102</sup> Many of these properties are in fact listed in this augmentation. *Memorials of Ripon*, IV, 132.

<sup>103</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 106–10.

<sup>104</sup> Thompson, 'The Collegiate Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid', pp. 368–69. The obedientiaries of Durham Cathedral Priory, namely the hostillar, bursar, and almoner each held one of the city's boroughs. Urban holdings in Coventry were managed in a similar fashion. See Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community*, p. 106; and Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanization*, p. 95.

properties by the Fabric entitled the wardens to have access to them and thus limited the privacy of the occupants, but there is no evidence that the wardens entered their messuages or cottages to distraint the property of tenants who did not pay the full sum of the rent.<sup>105</sup> The access the Fabric wardens were entitled to seems to have been mainly delegated to the craftsmen who repaired the properties, which was obviously to the benefit of the tenants. Tenants who sublet properties leased from the Fabric would have profited even more out of this arrangement as their only expense was the annual rent owed to the Fabric. Urban estates in Ripon were very limited, probably due to the small size of the town.<sup>106</sup> The most important factor for change and development in urban estates was donation. Because there was no advantage in terms of lordship for property acquisition, estates were merely a source of income. Those that expanded did so as the result of on-going donation. Thus guild chantries appear most dynamic because members continued to bequeath small properties, especially cottages in suburban areas, and chantries without guilds merely retained their initial endowments. The bequests of guild members show that the guilds were active throughout the fifteenth century.

#### 8.4: *Conclusions*

A careful examination of the Fabric Rolls reveals that the wardens may have bought and sold gardens and cottages but that they rarely sold their messuages. Instead, they regularly invested in improving the messuages in order to attract tenants. The Fabric wardens also paid for repairs to their messuages and reduced rents. Their intention was to keep their properties occupied and guarantee a steady source of income. The cottages did not receive the same type of investment. The Fabric wardens relied on constant migration of labourers from the countryside to keep their cottages occupied. This dual strategy parallels that employed by the same wardens in hiring building craftsmen and labourers discussed in Chapter 8. The craftsmen were paid illegally high wages while the labourers were not.

Not all landlords adopted the same approach to their properties. Some, such as mayor and commonality of York, lowered rents but passed the cost of repairs on to their tenants, and a similar strategy was adopted by landlords in Durham who reduced the rents of tenants so that the tenants could pay for repairs to their properties.<sup>107</sup> This approach was common throughout England at this time.<sup>108</sup> The guilds of Coventry, which grew powerful through the acquisition of

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<sup>105</sup> Vanessa Harding, 'Space, Property and Propriety in Urban England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 549–69 (p. 555). Harding has even argued that 'Interests in property were not so much forms of ownership as differing degrees of access to spatial privilege'. Harding, 'Space, Property and Propriety in Urban England', p. 569.

<sup>106</sup> R. B. Dobson places Ripon in the second tier of Yorkshire towns in the fourteenth century, alongside towns such as Pontefract, Doncaster, Whitby, and Selby, but below the leading towns of York, Beverley, Hull, and Scarborough. See R. B. Dobson, 'Yorkshire Towns in the Late Fourteenth Century', *The Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 59 (1986), 1–21 (pp. 4 and 6–7).

<sup>107</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', pp. 231–32; Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>108</sup> Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, p. 151.

properties after 1349, penalized members who let their properties fall into disrepair.<sup>109</sup> There were some other landlords who lowered rents and undertook repairs like the Ripon Fabric wardens. The borough community of Wells bore the cost of repairs and reduced rents during period of crisis in the 1420s and 1430s.<sup>110</sup>

Ripon also stands apart from many of the other towns whose urban estates have been researched in that there was no lordship element to property holding, no developed civic authorities, and no known conflict between the town and the major ecclesiastical landlords. Ripon was a much smaller town than York and naturally lacked the well-developed system of civic administration to be found there, but it hardly even compares with other urban centres of a similar size such as Wells, Coventry, and Bury St Edmunds. The guild of St Mary in Coventry, for example, was able to gain sufficient power through the accumulation of property in the fourteenth century that its merchants were ultimately able to win independence from the cathedral priory.<sup>111</sup> In contrast, Ripon's guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints declined in power during the beginning of the fifteenth century and was replaced by the guild of Holy Cross as the town's most powerful guild. Holy Cross held properties in town but did not use them as a means of acquiring greater political power and challenging the local authority of either the Chapter or the Archbishop. The properties of the Holy Cross guild were mainly for the support of guild charity and festivities. The majority of the urban estates in medieval Ripon were similar — they provided for religious services such as chantries and obits but did not permit the flourishing of independent secular authority.

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<sup>109</sup> Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanization*, pp. 247 and 253–54.

<sup>110</sup> Shaw, *The Creation of a Community*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>111</sup> Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanization*, p. 247.

## Conclusions

The thesis sets out a series of research questions intended to make good use of the available evidence to place Ripon Minster in its social context. The central component of this investigation is the analysis of how the building was used by clergy and parishioners. Past studies of the minster have not addressed such questions, focusing instead on the architectural history of the building, especially the earlier phases of construction. The findings of the present work are relevant to scholars not only of Ripon's history but also of other related fields, including the medieval parish church, ecclesiastical institutions, saints' cults, death and commemoration, religious fraternities, craftsmen and wages, and the relationships between landlords and tenants in the period after the Black Death.

The opening chapter of this thesis revealed that the authority of the minster's Chapter was founded on its relationship to St Wilfrid and its control of space within the church building. Wilfrid's relics were located in a shrine behind the high altar and access to them was restricted by the Chapter. For parishioners, a separate image of the saint was provided in the nave of the church. This separation between relic and image made a clear distinction between Chapter and parishioners and also set the latter apart from pilgrims. Control of Wilfrid's relics reinforced the Chapter's power and was expressed most clearly during the annual Rogation procession during which the relics became accessible to all parishioners by travelling out from the minster and around the parish. This, and not the procession at Corpus Christi, was the crucial moment in the annual cycle of feasts when the corporate identity of the parish was constructed. Widespread involvement of parishioners from the whole parish and not simply the town of Ripon is documented in the 1481 description of the procession and extant Fabric Rolls show that the three-day procession was an important fundraising opportunity. The procession's route along the periphery of the roughly eighty square miles of the parish emphasized parochial unity and expressed the hierarchy of parish society. Wilfrid and his terrestrial representatives, the canons, were clearly at the apex of this hierarchy. Certain individuals (Marmion tenants) who held land of the Chapter were obliged by a feudal service to bear the relics of the saint. Among them were some of the leading families of knights and gentry, such as the Markenfields and the Kendales. St Wilfrid was instrumental to the Chapter's regulation of behaviour in its liberty as well as to its spiritual authority over the parish. Certain offences, such as assault, were classified as affronts to the saint and required that the perpetrators make restitution to Wilfrid. Even in penance the parochial image was the medium between parishioner and saint, not the shrine behind the high altar.

The entire eastern arm of the building could be closed off at will by the canons, meaning that access to not only the ambulatory containing Wilfrid's shrine but also the presbytery and the Chapter House could be denied to all laypeople. The Chapter House and presbytery were as crucial to the Chapter's authority as its relationship to St Wilfrid. The former

was the meeting place for the canons, where they regulated the behaviour of the minster clergy and of their parishioners, acting as archdeacons to the latter because the parish was exempted from the Archdeaconry of Richmond. The presbytery was where the minster clergy met to perform the high mass and the daily office. These services were to be attended by the canons, vicars, chantry priests, and clerics in lower orders. With very few exceptions (elite lay men) laypeople were not admitted to the services there. The solid stone screen prevented anyone outside from seeing the mass. This arrangement is similar to that of a religious house or a cathedral and suited the liturgical requirements of the minster's clergy rather than those of its parishioners. It had two notable consequences. The first is that the high status of those few elite males allowed to be present during the mass was reinforced. Among them were no doubt the same knights who were responsible for bearing Wilfrid's relics at Rogation, and the extension of this privilege by the Chapter to the knights was a means of preserving a close relationship to them. The second consequence is that the spiritual life of the minster's parishioners was rather different than those of most parish churches where, for example, the rood screen served to frame viewing of the elevation of the host during the mass rather than to totally preclude viewing it. The liturgical arrangements at Ripon had a profound impact on the spiritual lives of Ripon's parishioners. If they wished to participate more directly in the mass or to witness the elevation of the host then they were reliant upon the additional masses performed at the number of lesser altars in the minster. Daily masses would have been performed by the chantry priests and also the vicars. All chantry founders effectively provided additional masses for the minster's parishioners to attend and also enriched the liturgy of the minster clergy by requiring that their chantry priests participate in the high mass and daily office in the choir.

The vicars were the second key clerical component of the institutional minster. They originated as substitutes for the canons and became increasingly institutionalized over time. Ripon's vicars were first given official status and standard wages by order of Archbishop Greenfield around 1300. At this time they also received a common residence that they later abandoned. The best explanation for their abandonment of the first residence is that it did not give them the private quarters to which they felt entitled by virtue of their social standing. The new residence given to them by Archbishop Bowet in 1415 was a quadrangle formed of separate houses and thus met their needs better than the earlier residence. The vicars were also incorporated at this time, following which they were able to hold property and use a joint seal. Their incorporation led the creation of an urban estate made up of properties donated for the endowment of annual obits. In *c.* 1459 the vicars produced a record of their holdings and obligations.<sup>1</sup> This obit roll, of which only a portion survives, shows that the vicars took care to maintain records of their urban estate and that it included properties donated long before their incorporation, meaning that the estate had been carefully constructed from properties held by

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<sup>1</sup> Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, MS Dep 1980/1 fols 103a–103j.

other parties (usually individual vicars) before 1415. Wills of chantry priests demonstrate that they too had a sense of their high social standing. Many of them owned books and weapons and their bequests to members of local gentry families show close ties to the social elites. Unlike the vicars, the chantry priests were never incorporated and never had a common residence.

Ripon's vicars were not vicars choral — in addition to their choir duties they were expected to undertake the cure of souls attached to the prebend they served. The minster canons were prebendaries who drew their income from separate prebends. There were six of these (Thorpe, Monkton, Studley, Nunwick, Sharow, and Givendale) that made up the parish of Ripon with a seventh, Stanwick, formed from a parish appropriated to the minster after the prebendal system had been established. Stanwick was served in a separate parish church by a perpetual vicar but the parishioners of the original six prebends all attended the minster as their parish church. Each prebend had a corresponding altar and it was here that its parishioners received communion at Easter. The association between altar and prebend was fixed and durable and there are a number of wills in which testators made bequests specifically to their parochial altars. It would be difficult to overstate the significance of the relationship between parishioners and altars for any analysis of how the building was used, yet past scholars have made little effort to identify the locations and dedications of the altars. In this thesis I have recovered these dedications and established their likely locations, which permits more detailed interpretations of intramural burials.

The findings presented in Chapter 3 regarding the use of the minster for burial and commemoration immediately highlight the importance of associations between prebends (as geographical sub-divisions of the parish) and altars. The most significant example uncovered in the course of this research is the tomb of Sir Thomas I Markenfield. This tomb was a monument to the Markenfield family's status as knights, with an effigy depicting Sir Thomas in his armour and with the tomb chest presenting numerous coats of arms to demonstrate connections between families of local and regional importance (Ward of Givendale, Neville, and Scrope, to name a few). Moreover, the tomb's placement was at least as important as its iconography. The altars of St Andrew (Monkton) and St John the Baptist (Thorpe) were located in adjacent chapels in the north transept arm of the minster. They were originally separated by a masonry wall that was removed in order to install Sir Thomas's tomb. This enabled the tomb to stand directly between both altars and thus become a fixture in the liturgy performed at each. In addition to its vicar, each altar was used by a chantry priest. The priests officiating at either altar could not ignore the tomb, and the parishioners of both prebends would have recognized the elite status of the Markenfields upon seeing the tomb. Nor did the Markenfields chose this location arbitrarily — the altar of St John the Baptist was their own parochial altar and the prebend it served (Thorpe) lay adjacent to the prebend served by the neighbouring altar (Monkton). The replacement of the masonry partition between the altars with Sir Thomas's tomb symbolically annexed Monkton to Thorpe and represented the Markenfields as more powerful lords than they actually were. The

neighbouring gentry family, the Kendales of Markington, did not contest the burial space around the two altars but instead chose to bury elsewhere. Although none of their monuments have survived, the Malory family used the south transept arm as a family mausoleum in a similar fashion to the Markenfields. The Malories were keen to locate their graves near the altar of St Thomas the Martyr to show continuity with the Tempest family from whom they had inherited part of the lordship of Studley in 1444.

The reshaping of spaces by local gentry families comprises only a portion of the new findings concerning the use of the building. Guilds and chantries have also been considered. They used many of the same altars already discussed in connection with prebends and gentry mausolea. A case in point is the chantry founded at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr in 1419 in connection with the guild of St Wilfrid. This was the same altar around which the Malories were being buried in the middle of the fifteenth century, meaning that daily chantry masses and the annual obit for the guild members on 23 July occurred in the presence of monuments celebrating the lordship of the Malories over Studley. The Markenfields were able to take more direct control over the chantry masses at the altar of St Andrew after they were made its patrons in 1370. Surviving accounts show that the altar of St William, next to the altar of St Thomas, was used by the guild of the Assumption for their chantry masses and to celebrate the full cycle of Marian feasts each year. This association became dominant by the time of the Reformation when the dedication of the parochial altar of Givendale was listed as St Mary and not the original St William.

The densest overlap of associations occurred at an altar at the east end of the nave. Here there was an altar known variously as the altar of Holy Cross, Holy Trinity, and St James. A chantry was founded at this altar in 1407, probably to provide a priest for the guild of Holy Cross, which never had its own chantry. The Holy Trinity association can first be documented in the will of John Rotherham in 1453 and later was used as the dedication for Canon John Sendale's 1467 chantry founded at the same altar. Sendale chose this altar for his chantry rather than his prebendal altar of Thorpe in order to benefit from the active use of the former by the guilds of St James and Holy Cross and because he would have had to fight with the Markenfields for burial space around the altar of St John the Baptist in the north transept arm. While very little is known of the guild of St James, the guild of Holy Cross (perhaps also known as the guild of Holy Trinity or in any case very closely connected with it) was Ripon's leading religious fraternity in the fifteenth century. This has been demonstrated by identifying wealthy and influential members through bequests in their wills. They included successful burgesses and knights from the Pigot family, meaning that the guild had parish-wide appeal rather than a strictly urban focus. It has also been argued that Holy Cross displaced the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints, which had been the most important guild in the parish at the end of the fourteenth century.

The guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints was based not in the minster but in one of the other chapels of the parish, which draws attention to an essential part of this thesis: its investigation into the dependent chapels, hospitals, and almshouses located within the parish. This is the purpose of Chapter 4, which provided the necessary context to evaluate the findings of Chapter 3. Previous scholarship has not approached Ripon's dependent chapels and hospitals as components of the parish that can illuminate the minster's role as parish church and its use in commemorating the dead. Only the chapel of Pateley Bridge, due to the late development of the market town there and its extreme distance from Ripon, and the Ladykirk within Ripon itself operated in a fashion resembling a parish church. Pateley Bridge had its own vicar, appointed by the Chapter of Ripon Minster, who could even baptize its parishioners. There would have been regular masses in both the chapel at Pateley Bridge and the Ladykirk as well as in the hospital chapels but the remainder of dependent chapels in the villages of the parish may have offered little more than a place to pray, a saint's image, and an annual mass on the feast of its patron saint. Manorial chapels provided private masses for gentry families but the conditions of their licences proscribed their use in any way that might rival the minster as parish church. The hospitals and almshouse of the parish also served functions that did not conflict with the minster as parish church. The charitable dispensations of the hospitals of St John the Baptist and St Mary Magdalene did, however, reinforce the power of their patron, the Archbishop of York. That their control remained with the Archbishop and never entered the hands of the civic authorities serves as a reminder of how extremely limited the power of the latter remained.

Many of the most influential burgesses of the late fourteenth century were probably members of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints. This is certainly the impression given by identifying donors to the guild's chantry in the 1379 poll tax returns. The town's aldermen were no doubt among these wealthy merchants. Perhaps the most significant finding, though, is that this guild was eclipsed in the fifteenth century by the Holy Cross guild and that the latter was based in the minster while the former was not. Although it has been destroyed, documentary sources, antiquarian notes, and excavation reports give a good indication of the Ladykirk chapel and its facilities. It had its own hall and kitchen for the guild's banquets and its own churchyard for burials. By the first decade of the fifteenth century, when the guild of Holy Cross seems to have been established, the trend toward founding new guilds based in the minster is already evident and only increased in the following decade. The foundation of guilds in the minster rather than in separate chapels is a very good indication that many parishioners felt a strong attachment to the minster as their parish church at this time, and the rise of the Holy Cross guild at the expense of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints reflects this sentiment. By the late fifteenth century the Ladykirk still had an active chantry and was the burial place of some of the local gentry from the southern margins of the parish, but there is no evidence of the guild's continuing activity. It was probably finished off by the 1450 tower collapse which damaged the minster to the point that the Ladykirk had to be used temporarily

for some of the minster's services. The fall of the tower resulted in an outpouring of devotion to the minster by its parishioners that funded not only its repair but also the rebuilding of the nave in the early sixteenth century.

Past studies of the history of the building have discussed the fall of the tower and renovation of the nave with very little examination of how these campaigns impacted on the use of the building. Analysis of the use of the building for liturgy and commemoration paves the way for an unprecedentedly detailed investigation of the two building campaigns and their effects. Earlier chapters of the thesis have treated the building itself as an architectural frame for the spaces within which living and dead parishioners and clergy interacted. Just as changes to the spaces within this framework — such as the installation of a tomb or the endowment of a chantry mass — had an appreciable impact on the social use of that space, so too the dramatic change of the building's architecture had a recognizable social dimension.

When the southeastern corner of the central tower fell in 1450, a period of nearly 150 years during which almost no appreciable new building work had taken place at the minster ended. Analysis of the fabric of the building and the archiepiscopal indulgences issued between 1450 and 1482 indicate that the response to the collapse of the tower involved two phases. During the first, which concluded in 1457, all the rubble was removed and the building was made completely usable again through the repair of its damaged roofs. The major repairs to stonework occurred during the second phase, roughly 1465 to 1480. These repairs included the strengthening of three of the four crossing piers, the rebuilding of the south and east sides of the central tower, and the renovation of the arcade and chapels of the south transept arm. Both phases would have impacted dramatically on the use of the building. The high mass and daily office could not be performed in the choir until the rubble was removed from it and the ceiling made weatherproof again. In the meantime these services moved to the Ladykirk where they disrupted the activities of the guild of SS Mary, Wilfrid, and All Saints. Parochial use of the two altars in the south transept arm would also have been curtailed for the duration, affecting the parishioners of Givendale and Studley prebends. In addition, the activities of the guilds of the Assumption and of St Wilfrid would have been affected. The south transept arm no doubt had a much different character than before its renovation: the first Malory burials by the altar of St Thomas probably took place after the renovation (they had only inherited their portion of the lordship of Studley in 1444) and it seems likely that the scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary were added by the guild of the Assumption to the wall of the adjacent chapel around the same time. Further investment by the Malories, Nortons, and Pigots is demonstrated by the heraldry formerly displayed on the post-1450 ceiling of the south transept arm.

Within about twenty years of the completion of the tower repairs Ripon's last great building campaign before the Reformation began. By 1500 only the north transept arm of the minster and its nave were substantially unaltered since their construction *c.* 1175. Contemporary indulgences alleged that the nave had become worn with age, which may have been the case

though these claims may just as easily have been exaggerations designed to raise funds. Whatever the reason for the renovation, the Chapter was the driving force behind the campaign. It harnessed all the fundraising potential and goodwill of its parishioners as well as its recent institutional experience with large building operations to undertake works that were even more disruptive than the tower collapse. The heraldry displayed in the two aisles demonstrates the investment of local gentry as well as support from the Archbishop of York and the civic authorities.

Analysis of the fabric of the building and the documentary sources show that this campaign also proceeded in two stages. To begin with, the wall of the south nave aisle was constructed while the original nave was still standing between the years 1503 and 1511. The old nave was then completely dismantled so that the north nave aisle and new central vessel could be constructed. These were completed as late as 1530 though probably the end date was closer to 1523. These findings are surprising because they show that the approach taken was the one that would cause maximum disruption. Perhaps this is the reason that previous scholars argued that the remnant of the nave was blown down in a windstorm in 1512 despite the fact that Cardinal Bainbridge's indulgence clearly states that the nave was dismantled by craftsmen. The removal of the nave would have impacted on access to saints' images, the use of altars, and processions. Services performed in the nave must have moved to other altars for the duration. Moreover, contemporary documents mention activities continuing in 'the body of the church', demonstrating that the crossing and transept arms were included in this definition of space. In other words, the eastern arm with the presbytery, saint's shrine, and Chapter House was effectively the Chapter's church while the transept and everything to the west was the parish church. The rood screen at the western side of the crossing was not, as in most parish churches, the frontier of parochial space. Rather, the rood was located in the middle of the parishioner's part of the church, which may account in part for the development of the Holy Cross guild.

The town and parish were shaped not only by the use of space within the building but by the building's needs — its maintenance and renovation. The two campaigns just discussed would have required the employment of large numbers of craftsmen drawn from across the region. The scale and complexity of these works required careful management and resulted in the production of more detailed Fabric accounts than those produced before 1450. Unfortunately, these accounts were kept in paper notebooks of which only one has survived. The post-1450 parchment Fabric rolls are merely final summaries of the income and expenses of the period. The extant rolls of 1350 to 1450, by contrast, include much greater detail and serve as the basis for the analysis of Ripon's building industry in Chapter 7. This and the following chapter on the Fabric's management of its rental properties should not be viewed as little branches grafted awkwardly to an otherwise coherent study of knights and clergy. Rather, they are boughs springing from the same trunk as every other chapter in the thesis and are an integral and original part of the research. Chapter 7 provides the best insight into the working lives of

the town's skilled craftsmen. Because the minster building was so essential to the Chapter (and parishioners) it had to be maintained properly. The Fabric wardens' approach to hiring craftsmen and labourers as well as to purchasing building materials provided regular income for some craftsmen and concentrated certain types of skilled workers in the town. Because the work undertaken in this period was basic maintenance, carpenters and plumbers were the most important craftsmen and masons were less essential. Comparison of the 1379 Fabric Roll with the 1379 poll tax returns shows that carpenters and plumbers were drawn from the surrounding villages, not just the town of Ripon. The big attraction for skilled craftsmen at this time was the illegally high wages offered by the Fabric. These wages may have enabled some craftsmen to acquire sufficient capital to become involved in the sale of building materials. Local merchants and even chaplains also profited by selling building materials to the Fabric.

In addition to maintaining the building, the Fabric also needed to maintain its rental properties and to keep them occupied to generate income and to prevent their decay due to vacancy. Large sums were invested at times to rebuild houses or to give them more attractive features such as slate roofs. The cost of repairing properties was shouldered by the Fabric rather than the tenants as a means of guaranteeing occupancy. Rents were also frequently reduced to keep properties occupied, though the Fabric wardens kept a record of the full values of the properties in the hopes that they would eventually be able to stop letting them at a discount. Income from its rental, together with gifts and a cash reserve held over from one year to the next, was one of the three most important sources of revenue for the Fabric despite the fact that rents were reduced and the decay or vacancy of the rental properties would have slowly eroded the cash reserve, negated previous investment, and hindered the Fabric's ability to undertake new work in the future. Through the strategies employed by the Fabric, the maintenance needs of the minster shaped the urban landscape and relationships between the Fabric as landlord and the parishioners who were its tenants. In both Chapters 7 and 8 the findings demonstrate an institutional response to new social conditions caused by the Black Death and indicate the general effect of the same on the town and parish. The many guilds and chantries founded by laypeople in the second half of the fourteenth century and first half of the fifteenth may very well have been paid for by the greater wealth of the plague's survivors.

Many of Ripon's features were unusual and there are few close parallels. The number of parochial altars and the definition of parochial space is a case in point. There were plenty of monasteries that also served a parish, but many used a separate chapel for the purpose. Moreover, from among those that served parishioners within the monastic church, it has not been possible to find any with six parochial altars and serving a parish as vast as the parish of Ripon. To find such an arrangement it is necessary to look to Ripon's sister minsters of Beverley and Southwell, though further research may reveal that they are more accurately described as cousins than siblings. Beverley is the better researched of the two. It bears many similarities to Ripon while also being somewhat grander. The town of Beverley was larger and

more developed than Ripon with more hospitals and chapels as well as houses of mendicants. There are also more surviving tombs in the church of Beverley and it received greater attention from noblemen and kings than did Ripon. Southwell Minster is by far the least understood, and the findings of this thesis may prove very useful in setting out an agenda for future research on Southwell.

Individual strands from this thesis stretch out much more easily in many directions. The cult of St Wilfrid, for example, brings to mind not only St John of Beverley but the relationship between the monks of Durham and St Cuthbert. Broader comparisons between Ripon and Durham reveal differences that are themselves highly informative. The town of Durham was much larger than Ripon and was divided into five boroughs under the control of different ecclesiastical lords while the lordship of Ripon was only divided in two — half for the Chapter and half for the Archbishop of York. At Durham, and also at York, the acquisition of new properties could extend the legal franchise of the landlord into new territory. The Ripon Fabric exercised no independent lordship and acknowledged the Archbishop's lordship over properties donated to them by burgesses in the Archbishop's liberty. The Fabric's urban estate was strictly for raising funds. The greater size of cathedral cities like Durham and York meant that there was more work for building craftsmen and the larger scale of the estates held by landlords in these cities meant that there would have been much more work for the craftsmen they employed to maintain them than what was provided by the relatively meagre urban estate of the Ripon Fabric. Moreover, the building campaigns of Durham, York, and other English cathedrals were larger and occurred much more regularly than new building work at Ripon. York Minster generated about ten times as much annual income for its Fabric as Ripon during the fourteenth century and spent virtually all of it on construction. The works of cathedrals would also have concentrated more masons and glaziers in cities than could be supported by Ripon Minster between 1300 and 1450, and in general the building demands of cathedrals and their cities permanently supported far greater numbers of building craftsmen who were organized into craft guilds, unlike the building craftsmen of Ripon.

The operations of Ripon's Fabric between 1300 and 1450, with their focus on basic maintenance of the minster and of the Fabric's properties, were much more akin to those of a contemporary parish church or a guild that held an urban estate. The best comparison offered by the Holy Cross guild of Stratford-upon-Avon in the fifteenth century. Like Ripon, its most important craftsmen were the carpenters it attracted both from Stratford and the surrounding countryside; however, while the origins of the Stratford craftsmen are known only from toponyms, the evidence for Ripon's catchment area is much stronger. The identification of craftsmen in both the 1379 Fabric Roll and 1379 poll tax returns shows not only where they lived but gives an indication of their wealth. This same approach could be applied using the poll tax returns and surviving building and manorial accounts in a much greater survey of county,

regional, or national scope, and would not doubt provide valuable insights into the nature of the medieval English building industry.

The favourable conditions under which Ripon's building craftsmen were employed together with the Fabric's approach to renting properties shows an institutional response to the social change caused by the Black Death. Not all institutions responded in the same way. The civic authorities of Wells, for example, acted like the Ripon Fabric wardens, reducing rents and paying for repairs during times of crisis. By contrast, the town government of York and the urban landlords of Durham reduced rents but expected tenants to pay for repairs themselves while guilds in Coventry sought to keep properties in good repair by penalizing negligent tenants rather than by maintaining them with guild resources. The different strategies employed by different landlords obviously reflect the conditions of their own towns and their institutional objectives. If the strategy of the Fabric represents the attitude of the Chapter, then this may in part explain why there was so little friction between the burgesses and the minster. Because the minster was not attempting to fully enforce its economic rights but instead dealing in a manner that was profitable for employees and tenants, then there was little reason for agitation.

Ripon Minster should also be of great interest to students of the medieval English parish church because it challenges assumptions about what a parish church was. There can be no question that many of its parishioners were devoted to it as their parish church. This is clear from wills, the foundation of guilds based in the minster, and the financial support for building campaigns. Yet the minster had some additional elements that most parish churches lacked and did not have others that were virtually standard throughout England. For example, while they supported its building campaigns, the parishioners were not directly responsible for maintenance of the building. There were no churchwardens and the whole building was the responsibility of the clerical institution, not the laity. Churchwardens and lay influence over the nave of the building were such basic components of English parish churches that it is difficult to imagine their absence. The office of churchwarden would have served as a stage in the political careers of the town's leading burgesses and the lack of this stage may have inhibited the development of the town's secular government. The office of mayor only replaced that of Wakeman after the Reformation had dissolved the clerical institutions that had conducted the business usually undertaken by churchwardens. The spatial arrangement of the building was also very unusual for a parish church and reflected its institutional status. It has been demonstrated that although they were not responsible for its upkeep, the nave, transept arms, and crossing formed the parishioners' portion of the building where their parochial altars and saints' images were located. In some ways there were effectively six parish churches within the minster as each of the parochial altars represented one of the six prebends. The burial practices of the Markenfields and Malories show them using the chapels in the transept arms for burial as a means of demonstrating territorial lordship just as they would have done in any other parish church and just as their neighbours the Nortons did at Wath parish church.

In conclusion, this thesis provides numerous original findings regarding the social use of Ripon Minster by its clergy and parishioners, which in turn have yielded new insights into the impact of its two late medieval building campaigns on the use of the building. Furthermore, although the focus was on the use of the building, the scope of the thesis was wider. It has been shown how the Rogation procession served to create a unified parish identity, how the maintenance of the building affected the careers of craftsmen and the local economy, and how the Fabric's management of its rental properties shaped the urban landscape of the town. These aspects of the thesis are as essential as the analysis of the use of space within the building, and only by considering all these aspects together has it been possible to locate Ripon Minster in its social context.



## Appendix: The Vicars and Chantry Chaplains of Ripon, 1350–1546

This appendix was constructed from all references to vicars or chaplains in any of the five Surtees Society volumes of Ripon material. A database entry was made for every document naming a vicar or chaplain. The entries were then collated to establish the offices held by each individual and the dates of their tenure. The appendix is divided into two categories: vicar and chantry priest. Some individuals served both as vicars and as chantry priests, though it has been assumed that they did so successively rather than concurrently. Other offices held by the vicars and chaplains are referenced in the right-hand column. Many dates are uncertain; those that are conjectural are in bold. A ‘d.’ next to the dates indicates that the individual died in office, while an ‘r.’ signifies that he resigned.

## Vicars

*Givendale (St Mary)*

Thomas Kendale	(–1413) d.	
Thomas Litster	(–1447) d.	
William Sawle	(1447–1471)	
Lawrence Duffield	(–1480) r.	
John Langbotham	(1480–)	
Robert Wilson	(–1510) r.	cantarist Assumption BVM (1510–1517)
John Burton	(1510–1511) d.	
William Anman	(c. 1535)	
John Steele (Sceile)	(c. 1546)	

*Monkton (St Andrew)*

William Speton	(–1423) r.	cantarist Ladykirk (1423–)
William Bedale	(1423–1433)	cantarist St Andrew (1433– <b>1439</b> )
Henry Friston	(–1437) r.	
Thomas Grundall	(1437–)	
Robert Brompton	<b>(1459–1471)</b> d.	
Richard Tong	(1471–1475) d.	
Thomas Brathwaite	(1475–1481) d.	
William Rayner	(1481– <b>1503</b> )	Subtreasurer
Giles Webster	<b>(1535–1546)</b>	

*Nunwick (St Lawrence)*

William Norton	(–1442) d.	
Robert Forster	(1442–1458)	
Thomas Esby	(1458–1464) d.	
John Tone	(1464–1482)	cantarist Assumption BVM (1483–1484) r.
Thomas Labray	(1482–1485) d.	cantarist Clotherholme (1469– <b>1482</b> )
<b>Thomas Brathwaite</b>	<b>(1482–1505) d.</b>	
John Pierson	(1485–1490) r.	
John Watson	<b>(1520–1546)</b>	

*Sharow (St Stephen)*

Robert Merot	(1400– <b>1408</b> )	
Hugh Pyamore	(–1436)	
Robert Aberwick	(1436– <b>1454</b> )	
Henry Scroton	<b>(1454–1459)</b> d.	
John Snape	(1459–1474) d.	
Henry Ward	(1474–1483) r.	cantarist Assumption BVM (1484–1485) d.
Robert Atkinson	(1483–1506) d.	

Henry Crosby (1507–)  
 Thomas Prat (Pralle) (c. 1535)

*Studley (St Thomas the Martyr/St Wilfrid)*

John Stransale (–1392) r.  
 John Mephale (1392–**1399**)  
 Robert Sherop (**1453**–1468) r. cantarist St James (1468–1488) r.  
 Robert Castelford (1468–**1488**)  
 Richard Seile (Steele) (**1535**–**1546**)

*Thorpe (St John the Baptist)*

Richard Wakefield (**1371**–1399) d.  
 John Exilby (**1459**–1471) d.  
 John Darby (1471–1483) r.  
**Thomas Plumber** (**1471**–**1477**)  
 Richard Belyngton (1483–1506) r.  
 John Hall (1506–)  
 Lionel Batty (c. 1535)  
 John Clifton (Clyston) (c. 1546)

Cantarists

*Assumption BVM*

Robert Witton (c. 1416)  
 Thomas Hawk (**1453**–1469) d.  
 John Shirburne (1469–1476) d.  
 John Tone (1483–1484) r. vicar of Nunwick (1464–1482)  
 Henry Ward (1484–1485) d. vicar of Sharow (**1474**–1483) r.  
 John Matthew (1485–)  
 John Thomson (**1504**–1510) d.  
 Robert Wilson (1510–1517) d. vicar of Givendale (–1510) r.  
 Miles Malory (1517–)  
 William Scabell (c. 1535)

*Holy Trinity (Plumpton)*

John Walkingham (**1371**–1399) d. Fabric  
 William Berforth (–1410) d.  
 William Manchester (1410–)  
 Roger Warren (**1444**–1454) d.  
 Edmund Browne (c. 1456)  
 William Bowland (**1460**–1476) d. Chamberlain  
 Richard Mowbray (1476–1478) d.  
 John Whixley (**1481**–1487) d.  
 John Preston (1487–1508) d. Fabric  
 Stephen Dowson (c. 1535)

*Holy Trinity (Sendale)*

Richard Lucas (1466–**1511**)

*Ladykirk*

John Cabergh (**1377**–1399) d.  
 Simon Stockdale (1399–)  
 Robert Rukeby (–1423) r.

William Speton	(1423–)	vicar of Monkton (–1423) r.
John Arncliffe	( <b>1461</b> -1478) d.	
Henry Milner	(–1478) d.	
Robert Clotherholme	(1478– <b>1481</b> )	
William Baker	(1478–1485) d.	
Robert Dokker	(1485–1503) d.	
Thomas Percival	(1485– <b>1511</b> )	warden of St Wilfrid's head
William Hebden	( <b>1535</b> –1546)	
John Rawling	(c. 1546)	
<i>St Andrew</i>		
Cuthbert Leming	(c. 1286)	
John Clynt, Sr	(1370–1399) d.	
John Fulforth	(1399– <b>1410</b> )	
Robert Litster	(1410–)	
John Weston	(–1433) d.	
William Bedale	(1433– <b>1439</b> )	vicar of Monkton (1423–1433)
John Birtby	( <b>1452</b> –1477) d.	
<b>Richard Clarkson</b>	( <b>1468</b> – <b>1502</b> )	
William Dogeson	(1477–1483) d.	
Thomas Neville	(1483–)	
William Wilson	( <b>1502</b> – <b>1546</b> )	
<i>St James</i>		
John Studley	(–1444) r.	
Edmund Karre	(1444–)	
Robert Chamber	( <b>1453</b> –1468) d.	
Robert Sherop	(1468–1488) r.	vicar of Studley ( <b>1453</b> –1468) r.
Richard Morehouse	(1488–)	
John Percival	( <b>1540</b> – <b>1546</b> )	Fabric
<i>SS John &amp; John</i>		
John Allhallowgate	( <b>1371</b> –1381) a.	
Richard Asmunderby	(–1400) d.	
Henry Cook	( <b>1439</b> –1459) d.	Chamberlain
Henry Grene	( <b>1463</b> – <b>1469</b> )	
John Hall	(c. 1535)	
Thomas Blackburne	( <b>1541</b> – <b>1546</b> )	Subtreasurer
<i>St Mary</i>		
Adam Bondgate	( <b>1338</b> – <b>1371</b> )	Fabric
John Rednes	( <b>1398</b> – <b>1417</b> )	Fabric, Subtreasurer
John Grange	( <b>1452</b> –1454)	
Thomas Blackman	(1454–1483) d.	
Lawrence Lancaster	(1483–1504) r.	Sacrist, organist
<i>SS Thomas &amp; Wilfrid*</i>		
Richard Tankard	( <b>1410</b> – <b>1419</b> )	
John Gregson	( <b>1469</b> –1488) d.	
Thomas Skelton	(–1485) d.	

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\* There were two chantries of St Wilfrid, one of which was at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr. It has not been possible to distinguish between the two so the chaplains of both are given together.

<b>Robert Laton</b>	<b>(c. 1477)</b>	
Christopher Kendale	(1488–)	Chamberlain, Subtreasurer, Fabric
Ralph Siggeswyk	<b>(1525–1546)</b>	
John Brownfleet	<b>(1535–1546)</b>	

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