

**Guildhalls and Social Identity in Late Medieval and  
Early Modern York, c.1350 - 1630.**

2 volumes: volume 1.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the use of architecture and architectural space to structure particular levels of social identity in late medieval and early modern York. It focusses on the detailed case study of a specific group of medieval public buildings - the guildhalls of York, c.1350-1630, and is concerned with the ways in which the structuration of identity within these buildings was bound up with the reproduction of particular forms of religious ideology and political power.

The study may be broadly described as interdisciplinary, in that it draws on theories from sociology, history and social geography, as well as archaeology, and on a range of documentary and historical sources, as well as material culture. However, the research agenda, methodology, and the interpretations presented within it, are primarily archaeological.

The aim of the thesis is to develop a research agenda for the wider study of guildhalls and other forms of medieval public buildings. Comparative material is drawn from not only other guildhalls, but also contemporary ecclesiastical and domestic architecture. The thesis proposes that York's guildhalls were actively used to frame particular forms of individual and communal identity within the normative discourses of medieval and early modern urban society. Guildhall architecture is therefore interpreted as a mechanism through which the social and political hierarchies, as well as the values of civic society, were structured and reproduced over time.

The chronological span of the thesis facilitates an understanding of aspects of continuity and change in these processes during the early modern period. It is concerned to challenge the existing disciplinary subdivisions of 'medieval' and 'post-medieval' archaeology and in so doing develop a more coherent and contextual approach to the archaeology of the historic period.

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**Abbreviations used in the text**

<b>BIHR</b>	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research
<b>PRO</b>	Public Record Office
<b>RCHME</b>	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
<b>VCH</b>	Victoria County History
<b>YCA</b>	York City Archives
<b>YCL</b>	York City Library
<b>YML</b>	York Minster Library
<b>YMAA</b>	York Merchant Adventurers' Archives
<b>YMT</b>	York Merchant Tailors' Archives
<b>YAYAS</b>	York Architectural and York Archaeological Society

**Abbreviations for printed sources.**

**CCCY** - Page, W. 1894-5. 'The certificates of the commissioners appointed to survey the chantries, guilds, hospitals etc. in the county of York', 2 vols. *Surtees Society* 91 & 92, Andrews (Durham)

**GCCY** - Skaife, R.H. 1872. 'The register of the guild of Corpus Christi in the city of York', *Surtees Society* 57, Andrews (Durham)

**YCR** - Raine, A. 1939-53. York Civic Records, 8 volumes, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, vols. 1-4 Yorkshire Printing Co. (Wakefield); vols. 5-8 Herald Printers (York and London).

**YMA** - Sellers, M. 1918. 'The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917', *Surtees Society* 129.

**YMB** - Sellers, M. 1912-1915. 'York Memorandum Book', 2 vols., *Surtees Society Publications*, Andrews (Durham).

**Abbreviations for stratigraphic terms used in chapters 3-5.**

**C - CUT**

**F - FILL**

**STR - STRUCTURE**

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How morning sometimes works,  
unpicking our brighter selves from the wool  
tangle of the everyday  
the way an archaeologist  
picks centuries from dust...  
(Burnside, J. *Feast days* 1992, 35)

## Author's declaration

Some of the ideas presented in Chapter 7 were outlined at an early stage of research in an article 'The familiar fraternity; the Guildhalls of Late Medieval and Early Modern York' (Giles 1998). A brief summary of the case study presented in Chapter 3 appeared as part of a joint article 'The Merchant Adventurers' Hall, York; an inter-disciplinary study' (Giles 1997).

## **Chapter One. An Archaeology of Social Identity Theoretical Approaches to The Archaeological Study of Buildings.**

**As far as I'm concerned, I have a very pragmatic relationship with authors; I turn to them as I would to fellows and craft-masters, in the sense those words had in the mediaeval guild - people you can ask to give you a hand in difficult situations. (Bourdieu 1990, 3)**

### **Introduction**

This thesis is an archaeological case study of medieval fraternity or guildhalls in the city of York between 1350 and 1630. It aims to establish how their physical structure and spatial arrangement was altered over time, but beyond this structural and functional interpretation, it seeks to understand how the social meanings of these buildings were reproduced, maintained and transformed by those who used them. This broadly contextual approach (after Barrett 1987) seeks to explore the implications of particular material conditions for the structuring of social identity and social relations in medieval and early modern York. It is therefore also concerned with the ways in which buildings were used to maintain dominant forms of medieval and early modern discourse and power. The archaeological interpretation of buildings has developed greatly within the post-processual paradigm over the last decade, with several key works focussing on the medieval period (Johnson 1993a; Gilchrist 1994a; Grenville 1997). These have emphasised that the study of medieval buildings has to be set within a broader debate about the discipline of medieval archaeology itself, particularly in relation to the practice of documentary history. Arguments have polarised around two issues: the selective use of material culture by other disciplines to illustrate particular historical narratives; and the use of existing historical narratives either to set research agendas for, or offer explanations of, material culture by medieval archaeologists themselves.

In Britain, the study of material culture produced within historic, or text-aided periods has traditionally been divided into a series of sub-disciplines, which include medieval and post-medieval archaeology. This reflects the fact that historical archaeology in Britain emerged within a field dominated by prehistoric and classical studies, and therefore sought to establish disciplinary legitimacy and academic credibility by adopting a periodisation long established within the discipline of history. It was also a pragmatic mechanism designed to identify discrete and manageable areas of specialist study. A particular interest in the *longue durée* within British

archaeology allowed these discrete chronological divisions to be seen as progressive stages in wider archaeological narratives, which gave a sense of coherence and continuity to the discipline as a whole (Courtney 1997). However, there are important differences between this disciplinary structure and historical archaeology in the United States. Here, historical archaeology is broadly considered to be the study of the recent past, often commencing with the colonial, or 'post-contact' period (Orser 1995, 5). It is concerned not only with text-aided, literate societies, but seeks to use historical and archaeological sources in equal combination (Orser 1995, 8; Beaudry 1988). American historical archaeology is also much more anthropological than British post-medieval archaeology, and has focussed largely on the spread of European culture amongst indigenous peoples across the world, from the fifteenth century onwards (Deetz 1977). These differences have caused American scholars to conclude that historical archaeology is not considered to be an 'area of investigation as such' in Europe 'there are no publications, congresses, scientific forums, research centres, or university departments using this denomination' (Pedrotta and Romero 1998, 116).

Inspired by these contrasts, a number of British archaeologists have recently sought to challenge and deconstruct the rigid chronological divisions of medieval and post-medieval archaeology by exploring the processes of transition from medieval to early modern society. Johnson's (1996) *An Archaeology of Capitalism* is specifically concerned to theorise the changes observed in different aspects of material culture, including landscapes, architecture and artefacts, by relating them to wider socio-economic and ideological shifts within early modern society. It therefore draws explicitly on the work of American historical archaeologists such as Glassie (1975), Deetz (1977) and Leone (1988). A similar concern to eschew the 'sterile debate on which date or what constitutes medieval or modern', has recently been expressed by the first joint conference between the Societies for Medieval and Post-medieval Archaeology which sought to inform 'with original evidence the general and global trends such as the rise of capitalism, secularism, materialism and increasing social mobility' (Gaimster and Stamper 1997, x-xi).

These works have emphasised the inadequacy of existing archaeological understandings of the medieval to early modern shift, and highlighted the complexity of the socio-economic and ideological processes which occurred in Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They have also drawn attention to the danger that an emphasis on transition implies a sense of inevitability or causality in long-term structural change which masks or marginalises evidence of continuity in the archaeological record. This means that the significance of the material

mechanisms through which contemporaries sought to negotiate or resist change is often overlooked or ignored (Dyer 1997; Morris 1996; Johnson 1996, 68). Rather than dissolving existing disciplinary boundaries in order to develop a new, coherent British historical archaeology, there is a tendency for work in this field simply to reinforce the existing subdivisions of medieval and post-medieval archaeology, and therefore to reproduce existing dominant historical narratives of change. This increases the perception that the research agendas of British historical archaeology are those set by documentary historians, rather than archaeologists themselves. It can therefore be used to support the argument that a theoretical and methodological break with the discipline of history is the only mechanism through which purely archaeological agendas can be developed within British historical archaeology.

### **1.1 Medieval archaeology, history and interdisciplinarity**

Archaeological data are not historical data and consequently archaeology is not history. (Clarke 1978, 11)

In 1981, in his inaugural address to the University of York, Rahtz summarised the problems of medieval archaeology. It was, he argued, a discipline operating as the 'handmaid of history..... working wholly within a framework provided by written sources' (1981, 3). Medieval archaeology was (and arguably still is) marginalised within the discipline of British archaeology as a whole, whose overwhelming focus has tended to be the material culture of non text-based prehistoric societies or classical civilisations. Rahtz suggested that medieval archaeology should therefore adopt the model developed by prehistoric archaeologists such as Binford (1968; 1972) Clarke (1968; 1973) and others who had pioneered the 'processual' movement in the 1970s. These scholars had sought to establish intellectual credibility and disciplinary independence of prehistoric archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s by stressing the uniqueness, not only of archaeological data, but of the practice of archaeology itself. The rigorous, 'scientific' methodologies advocated by these writers were therefore seen by Rahtz to provide a mechanism through which medieval archaeology could distinguish itself from the practice of documentary history.

Rahtz's methodology for the 'new medieval archaeology' ran counter to that of archaeologists who had long pursued an inter-disciplinary approach to the material culture of text-aided periods. These included scholars such as Barley (1986), Keene (1978), Driscoll (1984; 1988), Webster (1986), Moreland (1991) and Gardiner (1993). For Driscoll (1984), Rahtz's approach amounted to a 'divorce' from the practice of history in its broadest sense. Far from being hopelessly

particularist, historical sources were argued by Driscoll to add to the strength of medieval archaeology because they could be approached as a form of material culture which had played an active role in the construction and manipulation of social relationships. This was an approach which acknowledged and developed contemporary historical studies which were placing emphasis on the materiality of the text (Clanchy 1979; Appleby et. al 1996; Chartier 1988; Hunt 1989). It was one which also drew on the well-established paradigm of the Annales school (Bloch 1965; Braudel 1972-3; 1984) which had long since advocated an inter-disciplinary approach to producing 'total histories' (Knapp 1992; Moreland 1992; Bintliff 1991). These archaeological approaches stressed that neither the study of artefacts nor documents alone could serve as a sufficient basis for understanding the historic past (Driscoll 1984, 10; 1988). From their perspective, the challenge was to develop new theoretical and methodological frameworks in which documentary sources as well as archaeological evidence could be assessed *in tandem* (Webster 1986, 156) rather than being seen as a 'check' against which the evidence of material culture could be compared.

It is surprising that despite the apparent vibrancy and divergence of the debates between Rahtz, Driscoll and other medieval archaeologists in the 1980s, there appears to have been little progress in the field. Many of the seminal works in medieval archaeology over the past decade have simply reiterated Rahtz's view that medieval archaeology is a marginalised discipline suffering from an crisis of identity and methodology. Gilchrist (1990) for example, has argued that medieval archaeology continues to operate as the 'handmaid of history', and is a discipline 'stripped of its own identity in order to serve a reproductive function -in this case reproducing another discipline's idea of the past' (Gilchrist 1990, 2; 1994, 9). Austin (1990, 31) has expressed a similar sense of disappointment about the role of medieval archaeology, and has maintained that the failure of the New Archaeology to change this situation can be attributed to 'the constant presence of documentary history as pre-eminent paradigm, analogy and explanation of the past.' Despite the 'pious hopes' of post-processualism, these authors maintained that 'inter-disciplinary syntheses cannot be produced with sufficient conviction to claim the attention of our society and its historians until we know what we can legitimately say for ourselves as archaeologists from our own evidence.' (Austin 1990, 29).

The perceived failure of archaeologists to develop a unique and distinctively archaeological approach to the medieval period must be considered carefully. It is no longer tenable to blame this on the intellectual or academic dominance of the discipline of documentary history.



Archaeologists must accept intellectual responsibility for their own research frameworks and complicity in using material culture to illustrate those of historians. The real reason for the lack of success of the 'new medieval archaeology' is that it is based on a theoretical and methodological paradigm (processualism) which has been fundamentally challenged over the past decade by the post-processual movement. By suggesting that independently produced archaeological and historical narratives could be compared with, or act as a check against, each other, Clarke (1973, 18), Binford (1983, 25-6) and Rahtz (1981, 13) sought to argue not only that a qualitative judgement could be made between the empirical validity of archaeological versus historical interpretation, but that archaeological material was somehow more 'real' or objective than historical data:

The new developments insist that the historical evidence be treated by the best methods of historical criticism and the archaeological evidence by the best archaeological treatment and not some selective conflation of both sets of evidence and their appropriate disciplines. (Clarke 1973, 18)

Each discipline has to establish its own view of the past, and then at a secondary stage discuss the relationship of one view of the past derived from the study of written sources with another derived from the study of material culture.

(Rahtz 1984, 110)

After such a process of comparison, 'discrepancies' could be 'ironed out until a composite, interdisciplinary model is created to the satisfaction of all parties, which can then be tested against further research' (Rahtz 1981, 13). A similar approach was advocated by Austin (1990, 29) who argued that it was only at the level of synthesis that archaeological narratives of the past should be compared with 'higher level' history to address 'the trajectories of social organisation, the role of the individual mind and the objectives of humanity.'

Such an approach was clearly based on the processualist premise that the archaeological data was a physical record of cultural systems which simply required the application of appropriate scientific procedures to recover the 'total reality' of past societies (Binford 1962, 218-9 in Patrik 1985, 38). The irony of this approach is that it reinforces historians' reductive view of material culture as a 'passive' reflection or mirror of past cultures and societies, and thus their perception of the primacy of the written text:

a society is less self-conscious about what it makes, especially such utilitarian objects as houses, furniture, and pots, than in what it says or does, which is necessarily conscious and intentional. (Prown 1993, 5)

The view of archaeological data and the archaeological process which underpinned the 'new medieval archaeology' has therefore been fundamentally challenged by the post-processual movement in archaeology over the past decade. Archaeologists such as Hodder (1986; 1987) Shanks and Tilley (1987a; 1987b), Patrik (1985) and Bapty & Yates (1990) have drawn on post-modern and post-structuralist movements in other branches of the social sciences (see for example Lowenthal 1985; Gretton 1986) in order to challenge processualism's claim of scientific objectivity and its aim of producing universalising laws about human nature and society. Increasing emphasis has been placed on the reflexive and interpretative nature of archaeological practice, and on the active and dynamic role played by material culture in the past, particularly within the paradigm known as 'contextual archaeology'.

Contextual archaeologists such as Hodder (1986; 1987) and Moore (1985 after Ricoeur 1971) have sought to use the model of the text as a metaphor for material culture. Within this paradigm the archaeological record is seen to encode past cultural and ideological meanings which can be read or decoded by the archaeologist through an analysis of the associations and differences between it and other aspects of material culture produced within the same cultural context. Influenced by post-structuralism, contextualism stressed that there would always be a multiplicity of meanings embedded in such material texts, which would be interpreted in a subjective way by the archaeologist, depending on his/her theoretical perspective. However, although contextual archaeology seems to offer a radical departure from processualism, in reality both are premised on the idea that material culture is a *record* of the past, and both assume that this enables archaeologists to make generalising assumptions about the human past. Critics such as Patrik (1985, 56) have argued that the concept of the physical and/or textual record is a chimera, because it cannot 'capture the actual connection between archaeological evidence and what it is evidence of.' Barrett (1987; 1988, 6) has argued that material culture is not a record of past events, but rather evidence for past social practices. His version of contextual archaeology is therefore concerned with the relationship between social structure and human agency. Rather than seeing material culture as a simple record, reflection or mirror of past societies, it is understood as

the surviving fragments of those recursive media through which the practices of social discourse were maintained. (Barrett 1988, 9)

The recognition that documents and material culture are simply different kinds of mechanism through which particular levels of discourse were structured in the past provides archaeologists with a theoretical and methodological framework which does not reduce the significance or

uniqueness of either source. Medieval men and women did not live their lives in isolation from textual sources, and the material conditions in which they lived and the sense of identity which they espoused was often framed through written sources. Indeed it is precisely because documents were often designed to structure particular levels of power and forms of authority, that they are such resonant and eloquent sources for archaeologists. It is therefore only through a critical examination and engagement with them, that the contemporary use of material culture to reproduce, negotiate or contest dominant social and political discourses becomes apparent.

So why have historical archaeologists been reluctant or unwilling to embrace the kind of post-processual, interdisciplinary approach outlined above? In part it can be argued that this reflects a frustration with the apparently deliberately esoteric and abstruse way in which the ideas and methodologies of post-processualism have been communicated. An example can be drawn from Shanks and Tilley's 1987 *Reconstructing Archaeology and Social Theory and Archaeology* which sums up the intellectual project of post-processualism as

..an hermeneutically informed dialectical science of the past and present unremittingly embracing and attempting to understand the polyvalent qualities of the socially constructed world of the past and the world in which we live.  
(Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 243)

This appears to be a characteristic of post-modernism, rather than a problem specific to post-processual archaeology *per se* (Eagleton 1990; 1996). Evans (1997, 200) for example, has attributed hostility towards post-modern theory within the discipline of history to the self-regarding and narcissistic tendencies of post-modern writers. However, more potentially damaging than the intellectual elitism and the lack of clarity which is seen to characterise the post-modern approach is the fear that it advocates historical particularism and moral relativism (Binford 1989; Kristiansen 1988; Evans 1997). Many scholars are concerned that if authorial intention is denied, and if the meaning of both literal or metaphorical 'texts' is really multiple, shifting and 'endlessly deferred' (Jenkins 1991, 66-7), then all interpretations must be seen as equally valid. This seems to entirely dismiss the idea of scholarly objectivity through which the intellectual validity of academic argument has traditionally been assessed. Indeed it seems to imply that researchers are no longer bound to or confined by historical 'facts' at all:

If historians are not engaged in the pursuit of truth, if the idea of objectivity is merely a concept designed to repress alternative points of view, then scholarly criteria become irrelevant in assessing the merits of particular historical argument. (Evans 1997, 219)

The danger of such relativism is that it removes the mechanisms through which poor scholarship -including that motivated by ethnic, gender or political bias- can be identified and exposed (Evans 1997, 200). Perhaps the greatest irony of much post-modern writing, however, is that although its authors advocate a position of intellectual relativism, they are reluctant to accept this in relation to their own work.

In order to adopt a post-modern approach, we must therefore be clear about several issues, including the fact that post-modernism is simply one theoretical paradigm amongst many. If we are to counter the challenges of relativism we must accept that there are limitations imposed on interpretation not simply by the academic community or by the normative values of contemporary society, but by the constraints and possibilities of the archaeological data itself (Evans 1997, 147; Eco 1992). Archaeologists must therefore reserve the right to choose between different interpretations, according to the intellectual credibility of the hypothesis and the data presented to support it. Adopting this approach to material culture allows archaeologists to engage in a critical way with the limitations, not simply of archaeological data, but also with documentary sources and historical debate. Rather than using material culture simply to illustrate existing historical narratives of transition between medieval and early modern society, this allows research agendas to be framed which are concerned with aspects of continuity as well as change, in the material construction of social identity and social structure in the historical period. This thesis is specifically concerned to explore these issues through the study of a particular aspect of material culture (architectural space) within a particular context (the city of York c.1350-1630). It is to the theoretical possibilities and constraints of buildings and architectural space that this chapter therefore now turns.

## **1.2 Theoretical approaches to buildings archaeology**

### **Stylistic and typological approaches**

Together with the disciplines of architectural studies and social geography, archaeology has recently turned its attention to the potential of buildings to inform us about social structure and social practice. In archaeology these approaches have often been developed in reaction to traditional studies, which have tended to focus on the stylistic or functional aspects of architecture at the expense of their social meaning. Stylistic and typological approaches to buildings have been largely concerned with establishing the date and relative chronology of material culture (Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 2; Davis 1990). They have been of particular importance for establishing the development of construction techniques within the craft tradition and the diffusion of architectural styles across different agricultural regions or from polite to vernacular architecture (cf. Hewett 1969; 1980; Smith 1958; 1965; 1992; Brunskill 1978; 1985; 1990; Jope 1963). Formal and functional typologies have also tended to dominate the wider study of the use and meaning of medieval buildings (cf. Wood 1965; Faulkner 1958; Pantin 1962-3). More recently however, archaeologists have sought to question the normative function of style and stylistic analysis. Critical approaches to the use of 'style' have stressed that its concern with chronology tends actually to abstract material culture from its specific historical context (Sauerlander 1983). They have also highlighted problems with the presumption that there is a direct correlation between material culture and socio-cultural phenomena, and thus with the idea that artefacts or buildings simply reflect the structural organisation of past societies and cultural systems (Conkey 1990, 9).

The problem is that archaeologists often slip between the use of style as an analytical tool through which they, as outsiders, make sense of the materials and representations of a particular culture, and the desire to understand the active use of style as a form of cultural expression by particular social or ethnic groups in the past. It is therefore often difficult to understand the ways in which the notion of style has informed the interpretation of cultural meaning from the data. Although style undoubtedly had significance in past societies, we must acknowledge that this meaning is not necessarily the same as *our* observation of patterns of cultural phenomena which we wish style to 'reveal' to us (Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 3). This thesis draws explicitly on Sackett's (1990) notion of 'isochrestic variation' (a neologism from a Greek word meaning 'equivalent in use') as a useful way theorising the use of style. Sackett (1990, 33) draws attention to the fact that although there are always a number of functionally equivalent options open to the members of a particular craft, artisans tend to limit their choice to only one, or a few, which are

'largely dictated by the technological traditions within which they have been enculturated as members of the social group that delineates their ethnicity.' Style can therefore be understood to be embedded in the isochrestic variation of socially bounded material culture.

### **Economic approaches**

Moving on from stylistic approaches to the ways in which the architectural form and function are related to economic trends presents a different set of problems related to the use of buildings to support particular historical narratives. The classic example of this tendency has been Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding' (1953) which identifies an apparent rise in building activity c.1570-1640 from an expansion in the number of surviving buildings from the period. This is directly linked to the socio-economic 'rise of the middling sort' - yeomen farmers keen to express their new-found wealth and social status by investing in new houses. Hoskins' theory has been highly influential in shaping contemporary approaches to buildings archaeology (Smith 1992; Mercer 1975; Machin 1977). Such 'economic' approaches are attractive, because they acknowledge that people play an active role in shaping their environment. However, these hypotheses are based on the presumption that the number of surviving buildings directly correlates with the number of buildings actually constructed during this period (Currie 1988, 6). Moreover they attempt to link this quantitative evidence to trends within contemporary social and economic history which have been subsequently challenged and revised (Johnson 1993b, 121-2). Both Johnson's (1993a) research in Suffolk and Pearson's (1994) work in Kent suggests that these changes cannot simply be explained by economic trends, but reflect wider social and cultural shifts in early modern society.

Archaeologists must therefore develop a much more critical approach to the use of economically determinist explanations for building activity. The construction of a building was not simply a reflection of economic wealth and prosperity. Indeed as Tittler (1991, 68-72) has demonstrated in relation to early modern town halls, it was often in times of financial and political insecurity that civic authorities chose to embark on ambitious building projects. Investment in a building might therefore be a symbolic act designed to boost the prestige and self-image of particular forms of authority in a period of economic decline or political uncertainty. Conversely we must be equally wary of simply interpreting an apparent lack of building activity as 'evidence' of economic decline (Dobson 1977, 9-10). Archaeologists must remember that there were other forms of more ephemeral material culture such as the fittings and fixtures of buildings, in which contemporaries might alternatively invest. In conclusion we must accept that political and ideological motives

often overrode financial concerns in the decision to construct buildings in the past. Contemporary economic conditions were reflected as much in the ways in which people thought about and used buildings as in the building structures themselves.

### **Functionalist and structuralist interpretations of buildings**

It is not surprising that the emphasis placed on human activity by functional and structuralist approaches such as that outlined in Rapoport's *House Form and Culture* (1969) should have inspired such a wealth of similar archaeological studies. Rapoport (1976; 1977; 1982) argues that built form is primarily influenced by social and cultural factors ('form follows function') which is then modified in response to environmental and material conditions. Human activity is seen as a series of 'systems of activities' for which buildings are 'systems of settings' (Rapoport 1990, 13-14; 1982). These settings contain a series of 'visual cues' which communicate, in a non-verbal way, the 'rules' for appropriate social behaviour. They may be fixed-feature elements such as the building structure, floors and walls; semi-fixed-features such as fittings and furnishings; or the non-fixed-features of people, their activities and behaviour. Rapoport's approach has been developed by a number of archaeologists, including Kent (1990, 127-152) who has argued for the existence of a cross-cultural and cross-temporal correlation between the segmentation of architectural space and social structure. Kent suggests that because the socio-political complexity of a society determines the organisation of its built space, socio-political structure can be read directly from the ways in which its space is organised. Thus the more politically complex a society and its culture becomes, the more segmented, or partitioned its built space can be expected to be (Kent 1990, 127). Kent's work seems to offer a cross-cultural, generalising approach for the study of the relationship between social structure and the organisation of the built environment, yet it is deeply problematic precisely because it is based on the premise that different cultures and societies perceive and use space in exactly the same way.

The cross-cultural, generalising tendencies of structuralist approaches ignore the wealth of ethnographic and anthropological studies which have demonstrated that attitudes to space, and towards the framing and placement of the body within that space, are culturally and temporally specific. They are informed and structured by particular cosmologies (Barth 1969; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994), by political or religious ideologies (Barrett 1994; Graves 1989), and they are also dynamic; changing over time. Even within one society or cultural group, attitudes towards space can differ according to the gender, age, class, or social role of individuals (Moore 1985; Gilchrist 1994a; Saunders 1990). This must be understood by archaeologists to

have had a fundamental impact on the structuring and partitioning of space, on perceptions of privacy and on the nature of proxemic relations structured within a particular spatial environment. In order to understand the organisation and meaning of space it is therefore necessary for archaeologists to engage with the specific cultural and ideological context in which architecture and architectural space is produced and experienced by individuals in the past. It is social practice rather than spatial partitioning which informs us about the socio-political complexity of past cultures.

There are many parallels between Rapoport's kind of functionalism and structuralist approaches within archaeology which developed as a consequence of the explosion of interest in literary and linguistic theory across many of the social sciences in the 1970s and 1980s (Tilley 1990; Hodges 1982a; 1982b; Leach 1997). Ultimately this paradigm was based on the work of linguists such as Saussure (1857-1913), who was primarily concerned with the ways in which the arbitrary relationship between words and the meaning which they signified was established through a culturally accepted system of signification, which allowed communication to occur (Eagleton 1996; Tilley 1990; 1998). In the same way, structuralist archaeologists see material culture as having meanings which are not overtly expressed, but which operate as a system of signification for a particular culture in the past. The built environment is therefore seen as an expression of culture in which mental structures and processes are deeply embedded. The archaeologist's role is therefore to identify the systematic relationships between different aspects of the built environment (in particular spatial organisation and access routes within a building) in order to reconstruct these past cultural and social systems (Lawrence and Low 1990, 466).

Many archaeologists working within this paradigm have drawn on the work of the structuralist anthropologist Levi-Strauss. Of particular importance has been his emphasis on the ways in which unconscious mental structures representing universal systems of thought were organised in terms of binary opposites. For example, Lawrence's (1987) analysis of house plans has sought to demonstrate that English houses conform to a set of underlying social and cultural codes or rules which are articulated by a series of binary oppositions (front/back, clean/dirty, public/private, male/female). Similarly, Douglas (1966) has explored how such binary oppositions within the wider environment are related to deeper symbolic structures involving concepts of order and pollution. The work of another linguistic theorist, Chomsky, has also greatly influenced work on architectural structure and spatial organisation. His idea of 'generative grammar' has been developed by historical archaeologists such as Glassie (1975), whose *Folk Housing in Middle*



*Virginia* is concerned with the 'syntax' encoded in the spatial organisation and built form of American vernacular houses. Changes in this grammar or syntax are seen to reflect shifts in underlying cultural and ideological social systems which are interpreted as a process of 'Georgianisation'. Deetz (1977) in an *Archaeology of Small Things Forgotten* also uses the idea of a generative grammar to understand the ways in which the deep mental and cultural shifts associated with 'Georgianisation' are reflected in the syntax of a wide range of material culture, including gravestones and pottery assemblages.

In Britain the idea of a spatial grammar or syntax has underpinned the analysis of the structure and spatial organisation of the built environment. The most popular of these is the technique known as 'access analysis' or 'space syntax' pioneered by Hillier and Hanson (1984; Hanson 1998). Space syntax produces a graphical representation of the system of spatial relations within a building which can be derived from standing or excavated fabric (fig. 1). This representation is subsequently 'justified' to highlight the number of doorways or access points which the observer/visitor has to negotiate in order to gain access to particular rooms or spaces. Space syntax seeks to establish the 'symmetry/asymmetry' of spatial organisation, which is interpreted from an analysis of the importance of a space in terms of its degree of separation from others, and its 'distributedness/nondistributedness', which derives from an analysis of the means of access to a space and its boundaries (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 148). Hillier and Hanson (1984, 18) use Durkheim's (1964; 1982, 18) theory of 'organic' and 'mechanical' society as a model against which the established space syntax can be set. Integrated and dense space is interpreted as evidence of 'organic societies' which thrive on 'interdependence through difference', whilst segregated and dispersed spaces are interpreted as evidence of the ways in which 'mechanical societies' rely on similarities in belief and group structure.

Like other structuralist approaches, 'space syntax' or 'access analysis' presumes that there is a direct relationship between spatial form and social structure:

Architecture is not a social art simply because buildings are important visual symbols of society, but also because, through the way in which buildings, individually and collectively, create and order space, we are able to recognise society: that it exists and has a certain form. (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 2)

As with the work of Kent, it is the central assumption of structuralists like Hillier and Hanson (1984) that spatial organisation is a function of the form of social structure which is most problematic for contemporary archaeologists, and for this study (Leach 1978; Batty 1984). By suggesting that either 'organic' or 'mechanical' forms of social organisation can be identified

from the organising principles behind the organisation of space, the latter is treated as a totally independent form of discourse (Foster 1989, 44). This thesis starts from the premise that space is not simply a container for human action, but is active in the construction and maintenance of social relations and power structures. Although the study of patterns in spatial configurations may enable us to identify the generic rules operating within particular spaces, it must be remembered that 'there is unlikely to be a one-to-one relationship between spatial organisation and society' (Foster 1989, 43). There is also a danger that by using structuralist approaches such as space syntax, we will conflate our modern 'experience' of architecture (in the form of standing fabric, excavated ruins or ground plans) with that of visitors to these buildings in the past. We must therefore seek to use techniques which inform us about the ways in which architectural structure and spatial organisation framed relationships *between* the members of the social groups living and working within these buildings.

Archaeologists such as Fairclough (1992) have therefore sought to counter the limitations of access analysis by combining it with techniques such as planning analysis, originally developed by Faulkner (1958). Planning analysis diagrams were designed to revealing the 'mode of living' of the inhabitants of domestic buildings and to emphasise the ways in which the status or social knowledge of an individual affected their use of architectural space. They are schematic representations which do not necessarily correspond to the actual physical layout of the building since they give 'priority to internal relationships rather than to external form or design' in order to 'filter out from a building's planning the less significant background noise such as aesthetic and design.' (fig. 2; Fairclough 1992, 359). Fairclough also places emphasis on the ways in which the iconography and symbolism of architectural fixtures and fittings may affect access patterns and movements within buildings. This combination of access, planning and symbolic analysis has also been highly successfully used by Gilchrist (1990; 1994a) in order to study the material construction of gender identities and relations in medieval monastic buildings, and it is this approach which will be developed in the case studies within this thesis.

Structuralist linguistic metaphors have also been adopted by British archaeologists as a means of understanding the construction techniques and spatial organisation of buildings. The work of Richard Harris (1989) is particularly germane to this thesis since it uses the metaphor of a 'grammar' to approach the unconscious rules by which the late medieval craft tradition constructed timber-framed buildings. Harris (1989, 1) suggests that there were four 'rules' of assembly which can be consistently observed by the archaeologist in a range of medieval

buildings. These included the use of tiebeam lap-dovetail assembly at the junction of the tiebeam and wall plate, the use of the bay system in relation to the plan and structure of the building, the rules by which the upper face of a cross frame is placed, and the rules by which trees are converted to frames. Harris emphasises that, as with a language, there may be other rules, regional dialects and chronological changes in the 'grammar'. However, the significance of his work is that he relates these rules not only to the craft tradition itself, but to the social structures and hierarchies of the medieval households who inhabited these buildings (1989, 8).

Johnson (1993a) has developed and expanded Glassie's (1975) model of the generative grammar of Virginian vernacular housing as a means of understanding English domestic architecture. However, he seeks to avoid its ahistorical and structuralist tendencies in two ways. First he uses Harris' (1989) work as means of locating the production and maintenance of the grammar in the medieval craft tradition (Johnson 1993a, 49). Secondly, he places the operation and transformation of the grammar in its specific socio-historical context. Like Glassie he relates a process of 'closure' in the structural frame and spatial organisation of buildings to processes of social and cultural closure within the early modern household and wider community. This process of architectural 'closure' is related to the 'enclosure' of contemporary landscapes, and to changes identified in the perception and consumption of other artefacts and material goods. However Johnson argues that these structural and spatial changes played an active role in the transformation of social relationships and social structures, rather than simply passively reflecting them. The idea of a generative grammar is therefore used as an heuristic device (rather than an end in itself) to explore particular aspects of the material structuration of long-term social, economic and ideological shifts in late medieval and early modern society. Ultimately Johnson's work therefore follows a contextual rather than a structuralist approach.

### **Contextual archaeology**

The universalising tendencies of structuralism have been fundamentally challenged over the past decade by the development of post-structuralist or post-modern approaches in the social sciences. In archaeology this movement is known as post-processualism and it is closely associated with a methodological procedure known as 'contextual analysis'. Like post-structuralism more generally, contextual archaeology starts from the premise that humans are knowledgeable agents whose actions both structure and reproduce social institutions across time and space. It uses the linguistic metaphor of the text in order to understand the way in which material culture encodes particular kinds of meaning which are specific to the culture within which it was produced. By

placing material culture within its specific historical context, contextual archaeologists like Hodder (1986, 124) claim to be able to 'read' or decipher the meaning encoded within it, as this chapter has already discussed (see above p.5-6). However, this thesis draws rather on Barrett's (1988) understanding of contextual archaeology. Barrett emphasises that it is active human agents who reproduce the material conditions in which they live, and the knowledge through which they understand their place in a matrix of social relations. Although he also argues that these human agents employ particular cultural codes in their discourse, these codes are understood to reflexively structure the kinds of knowledge humans can possess. Barrett (1987, 471) argues that contextual archaeology should be concerned with the implications of particular material conditions for structuring and maintaining specific kinds of discourse, and thus particular forms of knowledge and power. Moore's (1985) work on the Marakwet of Kenya is an example of a contextual study which has sought to pursue these aims, focussing particularly on the issue of gender relations.

The rest of this chapter will therefore be concerned to harness the potential of post-processual and contextual movement in archaeology in order to develop a coherent theoretical and methodological approach to an archaeology of social identity. It will focus on a series of concerns or issues which link post-processual approaches to the study of buildings. The first of these is a general concern with the relationship between human agency and social structure. The concept of identity is bound up with and embedded in this dynamic, and a number of key works on medieval buildings have explored this relationship in detail (Gilchrist 1990; 1994b; Johnson 1993a; 1996; Graves 1989). The second is the idea that both buildings and architectural space are forms of material culture which are active in the construction, maintenance and reproduction of social relations. This relationship is understood to be a reflexive or 'recursive' one; space does not simply reflect social organisation but transforms it through social practice. This shift is part of a wider post-modern discourse about space and time operating across the social sciences, particularly within social geography (Gregory and Urry 1985; Giddens 1985; Thrift 1989). A third concern is with the nature of social and ritual practice -the mechanisms through which social identities and relations, and the meanings of architectural space, are structured and reproduced over time (Parker Pearson & Richards 1994; Geertz 1975). Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which social practice is framed through the physical presentation of the human body (Turner 1996; Shilling 1993).

### 1.3 An archaeology of social identity

An archaeological approach to social identity cannot be established without enquiring what it is that we mean by identity, and specifically by *social* identity. The literal definition of the term encompasses two basic concepts: the idea of sameness or similarity, and the idea of difference or distinctiveness. Identity is not something which is simply an inherent property of human existence, but something which is always being worked at by the individual or society. It is therefore a social project. Identity must also be understood as reflexive; a concept which is often contrasted with the notion of *social* identity (or identities) and equated with the idea of individual identity. A number of authors have sought to link the development of reflexive social identity to a particular period of history, or cultural movement. It is possible to find accounts of the rise of the self-conscious individual in the early medieval period (Gurevich 1995), the later medieval period (MacFarlane 1978), or associated with the Reformation (Hill 1966), the Renaissance (Burckhardt (1860) 1995), or the Enlightenment and modernity (Jameson 1991; Giddens 1991). Jenkins has provided an eloquent counter to these hypotheses:

It is nothing new to be self-conscious about social identity - what it means to be human, what it means to be a particular kind of human, what it means to be a person, whether people are what they appear to be - to be uncertain about it, or to assert its importance. To suggest otherwise is to risk a conceit that consigns most of human experience to an historical anteroom, and to reinvent ethnocentrism and historicism under the reassuring sign of post-modernism's break with both.

(Jenkins 1996, 10)

An archaeology of social identity must therefore be based on the premise that identities are constructed through an internal-external dialectic of identification between the individual and society (Mead 1934; Goffman 1959; Barth 1969; 1981; Berger & Luckmann 1966). Individual identity is always *socially* constructed, and individual and collective identities must therefore always be understood to be systematically structured, reproduced and bound up with each other.

These issues are particularly germane to ongoing debates about notions of community and individual identity in medieval society. Most of the debates surrounding this issue are framed in accordance with, or reaction to two traditional models of society which were first described by Tonnies (1955). The first consists of an organic form of community characterised by intimacy, kinship networks and stability, or *Gemeinschaft*. The second is a society characterised by ego-focussed, discontinuous relationships and social tension, or *Gessellschaft* (Tonnies 1955). In the work of Weber (1978) these types were dichotomised as societies of 'mechanical solidarity' founded upon likeness and therefore unable to tolerate dissimilarity, and societies of 'organic

solidarity' founded upon the integration of difference into a collaborative and therefore harmonious whole. Subsequent sociologists, particularly members of the Chicago School such as Park and Burgess (1969) and Wirth (1938; 1964) used these as models to explain historical change and social development. They were particularly concerned to chart the disappearance of the cohesive, close-knit organic communities of pre-Industrial society, and the development of much more complex and fragmented societies in which the individual was forced to negotiate a complex set of social relationships characterised by anonymity and independence.

The idea of community has become an important heuristic device for medieval and early modern historians. However, although some scholars have sought to understand the term 'community' in its medieval usage (Reynolds 1997), it is a concept often used by historians as an explanatory tool or model in an uncritical way. Moreover it is often conflated with the description of a geographically or topographically defined population, rather than a set of social relations (Calhoun 1980, 106). Abstracting the notion of community from its social and historical context ignores the fact that, like all aspects of social relationship, and social structure, it was a form of identity which was always discursively constructed in the past. This is a point which has been emphasised by historians such as Rubin (1991b, 135), Rosser (1988a, 45) and Beckwith (1994; 1996b) and sociologists such as A. P. Cohen (1985; 1994) and Young (1990) who have been concerned to explore the ways in which their ritual and social practices were used to structure particular forms of individual and communal identity. Of particular importance has been recent interest in the relationship between ritual and social practice, and the ways in which strategic ways of acting constitute 'ritualisation', differentiating themselves from other forms of social practice (Bell 1992).

Although these issues have therefore been considered by historians in the light of medieval political theory and ceremonial activity, and by sociologists and anthropologists at the level of abstract theory, much less attention has been paid by archaeologists to the material mechanisms through which these processes occurred. The archaeology of social identity developed in the following chapters is, however, explicitly concerned with this issue. It is therefore a heuristic device through which the lived experience of individuals can be brought into the same analytical framework as the social structures and institutions of medieval and early modern society. This is essentially a concern with the relationship between human agency and social structure which is developed below through the work of Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977).

### **Giddens' structuration theory and Bourdieu's idea of *habitus***

The combined use of Giddens' structuration theory and Bourdieu's idea of *habitus* as a theoretical framework for archaeological study is neither radical or new. The most influential proponent of this approach has been Barrett (1988), but a number of works focussing on medieval buildings have also drawn explicitly on their ideas (Graves 1989; Gilchrist 1990; Johnson 1993a). Structuration theory developed from Giddens' (1971) radical critique of the social theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber. It is not designed to provide a simple model of society or trajectory of change to which historical or archaeological evidence can be fitted, but rather a means of thinking about how society and social knowledge are reproduced over time (I.J. Cohen 1989; Outhwaite 1990; Clarke 1990; Samson 1990; Layder 1997). Giddens (1984, xxi) emphasises that all human action is carried out by knowledgeable human agents who both structure the world through their actions, but whose actions are also constrained by that world. In some ways this parallels Marx's assertion that men make their own history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing. Social structure is seen as both the medium and outcome of a process of structuration -the production and reproduction of practices across space and time. Apart from its attempt to provide an adequate theorisation of the relationship between structure and agency, structuration theory also places emphasis on two themes of particular relevance to the study of social identity in buildings: the formation of power structures, and the temporal and spatial location of practice.

Like many other sociologists and philosophers, Giddens (1984) places emphasis on the fact that time is bound up with space in the individual's experience of the self and others (see also Campbell 1994). Structuration theory rejects traditional Kantian views of space and time as empty categories with no objective reality. Rather than being seen as an arena or backdrop against which social life unfolds, space is rather understood as a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced over time (Gregory and Urry 1985, 3). Indeed, social structure is seen to be spatially contingent on the context of the presence or absence of human actors and the social practices in which they are engaged (Pred 1990, 119; Soja 1985). Giddens has developed the term *locale* as a means of theorising these ideas. The *locale* is a physically bounded space which provides a setting for 'institutionally embedded social encounters and practices' (Giddens 1979, 206-7; 1981, 39; 1984, 118-19). It is therefore a term which insists not only on the consideration of the material settings of interaction between people (the physical structure of buildings and landscapes) but also the social practices which occur within it, and on human recognition of its meaning (Giddens 1985, 271).

Giddens (1984, 110ff.) suggests that within the *locale* there is a degree of 'regionalisation'. This is a term which refers to the zoning of social practices according to their spatial extent and temporal depth. It derives from the emphasis placed on the routinised character of social life by social geographers such as Hagerstrand (1978) and sociologists such as Goffman (1959; 1967). Like both of these authors, and the historian de Certeau (1984), Giddens places considerable emphasis on the corporeality of the human body as a factor which imposes constraints on the individual's occupation of time-space. The level of 'presence-availability' of the individual body dictates the potential for social encounters (or 'co-presence'), and thus the regionalisation of the *locale*. Giddens argues that regionalisation also contributes to the structuration of social systems by 'zoning' space into 'front' or 'back' regions. This draws explicitly on Goffman's (1959, 109-40) ideas about the social interactions of embodied individuals in 'frontstage' (public) or 'backstage' (private) regions. Goffman sees human interaction as a 'performance' or a 'game' (1961; 1970) governed by rules which act as resources through which individuals seek to achieve ontological security. In many ways Giddens' (1984, 33) idea of allocative resources which generate command over objects, goods or material culture, and authoritative resources which generate control over human actors or agents seeks to expand Goffman's idea of 'cultural resources'. Both offer ways of theorising the construction of power in buildings by placing emphasis on the use of material resources by particular groups to structure control over others.

The idea of regionalisation has considerable potential for the archaeological study of buildings. Goffman's emphasis on the performative nature of social practice is a useful means of thinking about the ways in which the spaces within the guildhall might have acted as 'front' or 'back' regions at different moments in time, depending on the presence or absence of members of fraternities and mysteries and the activities in which they were engaged. As Giddens (1984, 126) emphasises, these two axes of regionalisation operate as a complex nexus of relations between meanings, norms and power. 'Front' regions can act as public space in which particular kind of ritual activities involving normative sanctions regulating 'correct performance' can be seen to operate. The successful use of front regions like the guildhall to structure ontological security therefore depended on the individual's knowledge and ability to embody these norms through the appropriate presentation and management of his/her body. However, although 'back' regions are resources through which individuals can distance themselves from official norms, they are not always private spaces. Those leaving the ceremonial 'front regions' of buildings like guildhalls were often still concerned to maintain particular forms of behaviour in front of social inferiors operating 'behind the scenes' (Giddens 1984, 127).



The idea of the *locale* and of regionalisation are useful frameworks through which the social practices which occurred within guildhalls can be theorised. However, the material structuration of the *locale* and its regionalisation over time is never really explored by Giddens (Barrett 1988, 8-9; Graves 1989, 299). A number of authors have therefore turned to the idea of *habitus* developed by the sociologist Bourdieu (1977; Fowler 1997, 17-8) as a means of theorising the materiality of social practice. *Habitus* means a habitual state or condition, especially of the body. Bourdieu uses it to refer to the strategy generating principles or organising framework of cultural dispositions through which individuals gain an understanding of 'how to go on' in social life. Goffman's (1959) idea of social life as being governed by rules is replaced in this approach by the idea of 'strategies' - improvisatory and performative forms of social practice (Jenkins 1992, 39). *Habitus* is seen to be neither wholly conscious or unconscious, but to exist through embodied, routinised social practices. This places emphasis on the physical presentation of the human body -or bodily 'hexis'- as the mechanism through which *habitus* is imprinted on the individual through the processes of learning or socialisation (Bourdieu 1977, 87 and 93-4).

It is important to stress the difference between the *habitus* embodied by individuals and collective *habitus* (Jenkins 1992, 80). The first is acquired through personal experience and socialisation, and reflexively adjusted over the individual's lifetime in relation to objective reality. The second is a shared body of generative schemes and cultural dispositions which form a collective homogenous phenomenon uniting particular groups in society. The objective world and the material environment experienced by individuals is therefore understood as the product of past experiences and social practices. Bourdieu is therefore arguing for a dialectical relationship between the collective history inscribed in objective conditions and the *habitus* inscribed by individuals (Jenkins 1992, 80). The most important aspect of *habitus* for archaeologists is the fact that material culture is also seen to be intrinsically linked to social structure through a process of enculturation. In his study of the Berber (or Kabyle) house, Bourdieu (1960; 1990, 271-83) argued that a sense of self-identity is encultured in the individual through a process of 'symbolic interaction' with the material world. Bourdieu's ideas provide archaeologists with an understanding of cultural significance of particular aspects of material culture, including the spatial arrangement and partitioning of buildings, their moveable fittings and fixtures, and the artefacts and goods used within them during particular activities or rituals. Material culture can therefore be understood as one aspect of the cultural resources over which struggles or manoeuvres take place within a particular social arena, or in Bourdieu's terminology, a 'field' (Jenkins 1992, 84).

These ideas have been central to the formation of Barrett's (1988) term 'fields of discourse'. Barrett's (1988, 10-11) uses the term 'field' as an explicitly heuristic device to facilitate the analysis of the ways in which social practices occupy time-space. Fields are defined by their tempo, their spatial extent, the cultural resources required to define and reproduce a particular discourse within them, and the transformations which occur as the field is reproduced. Chapters 6 and 7 will explore some of the fields of discourse which operated within the *locale* of the medieval and early modern guildhall. Of particular significance will be the relationship between the fields of secular and political discourse which structured civic identity, and religious and ideological fields such as Catholicism and Protestantism. Attention will be paid to the ways in which guilds transferred symbolic value to their use of guildhalls, and the ways in which their control of the meanings of these buildings structured particular kinds of social and political power. The work of Giddens and Bourdieu, and its archaeological application in the work of Barrett, allows us to develop a critical understanding of the relationship between material culture and social practice, and the interaction between the human body and architectural space. In order to develop a coherent approach to the structuration of social identity, however, it is necessary to develop these approaches in the context of two further paradigms - phenomenology and embodiment theory.

### **Phenomenology and embodiment theory**

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach which draws on Heidegger's (1972, 332) premise that people objectify their 'being-in-the-world' by setting themselves apart from it through social practice, and his belief that this results in a spatial gap which individuals are concerned to bridge through a variety of somatic and perceptive mechanisms (Tilley 1984, 12). Phenomenological approaches within the social sciences have tended to follow the approach of Merleau-Ponty (1962), who has been explicitly concerned with the ways in which the individual's perceptual consciousness stems from bodily presence and bodily awareness. Within archaeology, phenomenological approaches have been used to illuminate the ways in which personal, cultural identity is therefore bound up with a particular place, or the ways in which 'places *constitute* space as centres of human meaning' (Tilley 1984, 14). However, these have largely been confined to the interpretation of prehistoric landscapes and non-text aided societies. There has been little attempt to exploit this paradigm by buildings archaeologists working within the historic period.

There are several explanations for this lack of study. First, the work of Heidegger is politically and ethically controversial. Second, the recording methodologies of buildings archaeology have traditionally been concerned with establishing the structural sequence and construction techniques of buildings, rather than thinking about abstract concepts like 'somatic' or 'perceptual' space (Tilley 1984, 16-17). However, underlying this may be deeper reservations about the emphasis of phenomenological approaches on the individual's experience of space. Phenomenological interpretation is produced by the individual archaeologist combining his/her subjective experience of historic places with archaeological knowledge in order to reconstruct the subjective experience of individuals in the past. This is problematic, since it implies that archaeologists can achieve a form of empathy with people in the past, who may have seen and understood space and place in fundamentally different ways. Moreover, it is also asocial, since its emphasis on the individual overlooks the significance of the social and communal production and consumption of space. A similar argument can be made about Hagerstrand's (1978) time-space geography. This approach is also derived from the work of Heidegger, but is rather concerned to plot the trajectories, or spatial 'biographies' woven by individuals as they move through time-space, and the social encounters or 'settings of interaction' which occur as a result. Time-space geography represents the spatial and temporal depth of these settings of interaction or 'domains' in three-dimensional graphic form. However, like phenomenology, it is primarily concerned with the individual, rather than the social, experience of space.

This thesis does not therefore seek to develop an explicitly phenomenological approach to guildhalls, nor to use time-space geography to understand the interaction of individuals within guildhalls. It is not concerned to reconstruct the ideas in the minds of individuals in the past, but to explore the material construction of different kinds of social and somatic (bodily, or corporeal) identity within a specific historical context. It is therefore influenced to a much greater extent by embodiment theory which places particular emphasis on the fact that

Social relations, inequalities and oppressions are manifest not simply in the form of differential access to economic, educational or cultural resources but are *embodied*. The experience, understanding and effects of social relations is not a disembodied, cognitive phenomenon, but is corporeal through and through. (Finkler 1989 in Shilling 1993, 125)

Within embodiment theory, the body is seen as a form of physical capital which facilitates access to particular economic, social and cultural resources (Bourdieu 1977). However the relationship between the body and social status is understood to be reflexive, due to the presence of substantial inequalities in the symbolic value accorded to particular kinds of body within

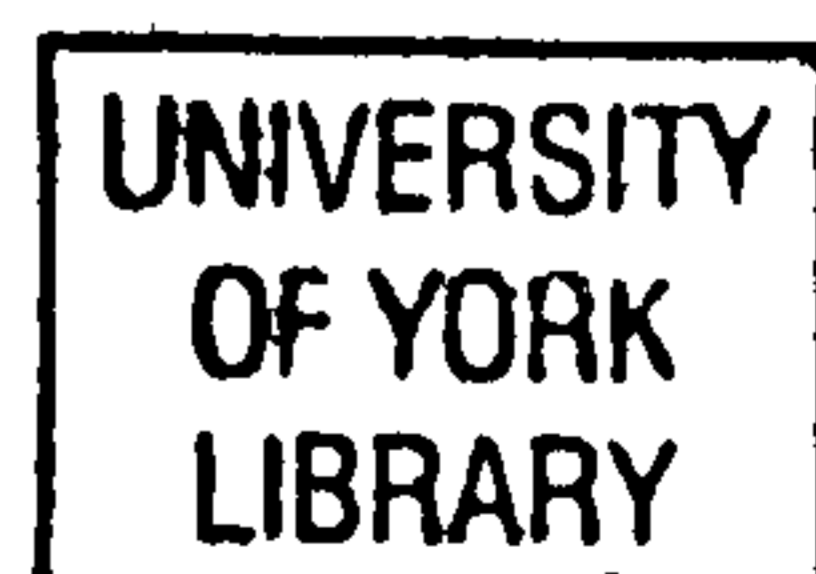
particular societies. This highlights the need for archaeologists to engage with the models of corporeality reproduced by contemporary social, political and religious discourses (Camille 1994; Rubin 1996). It also stresses that ontological security is directly linked to the individual's ability to manipulate and maintain control over their physical body; an ability which was dependent on the individual's health and/or physical ability as well as their socio-economic status (Freund 1990; Finkler 1989). One of the most significant aspects of embodiment theory in relation to this study is therefore the understanding that power resides with those dominant social groups who are able to define or construct their bodies as being socially superior to those of others, and to impose particular kinds of bodily identity on others (Shilling 1993, 140). This has particular implications for the interpretation of the framing of the identities of the poor in guild hospitals, as well as the framing of the bodies of fraternity and mystery members themselves.

By rejecting structuralist perceptions of the body as a cross cultural, cross temporal 'common symbol' drawn upon as a social and political metaphor (Douglas 1973; Turner 1996; James 1983), we are developing an understanding of the body as a much more fluid, unbounded and fragmented *corps morcelée*, framed within particular social, political or scientific discourses over time (Deleuze and Guattari 1990; Kay and Rubin 1994; Barkan 1975). The advantage of studying these issues within the historical period, is that it is possible for archaeologists to engage with the models of corporeality projected within historically specific fields of discourse. As Camille (1994, 62) has argued, during the medieval period the human body 'was the site of intense visual scrutiny and surveillance by the Church, was subject to the bonds of feudal lordship, and was at the same time caught in a cosmic network that controlled both its internal and external movements.' Gilchrist (1990; 1994b) has demonstrated the potential of this type of study to illuminate the ways in which aristocratic buildings and urban space were used to frame particular kinds of gender identity, or to stigmatise the diseased and leprous bodies of those on the margins of medieval society.

#### **1.4 Theory and practice**

This thesis seeks to develop an archaeological approach to the structuration of social identity through the case study of the three surviving medieval guildhalls in the city of York. The theoretical framework developed above will therefore be used to explore the material construction of particular levels of individual and communal identity by urban religious fraternities and craft mysteries between c.1350-1630. Particular attention will be paid to the fact that the inclusive sense of collective identity constructed within the guildhall created a boundary of *exclusion* which stressed the distinction of fraternities and guilds from other sections of urban society. The thesis will explore the use of guildhalls by particular levels of urban society to symbolise their membership of the civic community and to frame the identities of those on the margins of that community, namely the poor. Guildhalls will therefore be seen as one of the cultural resources through which the social hierarchies and normative values of civic society were both structured and reproduced, and social identity will therefore be argued to have been a matter of imposition and resistance as well as mutuality and negotiation (Goffman 1959; Jenkins 1996, 76).

The theoretical agenda outlined above will influence the research agenda and recording methodology developed in Chapter 2. Both of these will also be framed in relation to a critique of existing archaeological and historical research on guildhalls, religious fraternities and craft mysteries, and by the archaeological potential of the three buildings which form the basis of this study. Chapters 3-5 will be explicitly concerned with their archaeological interpretation and Chapters 6 and 7 will integrate this empirical evidence with the theoretical approach advanced above. Chapter 6 will focus on the construction and use of guildhalls from the mid fourteenth century up to the Reformation, and Chapter 7 their adaptation and alteration in the post-Reformation period, through to the early seventeenth century. This will bring the thesis to a conclusion which will outline the potential for future research and re-examine current attitudes towards the transition between medieval and early modern society, the disciplinary divisions of medieval and post-medieval archaeology, and the relationship between archaeology and the discipline of history.



## **Chapter 2. Guildhalls In Context: an Archaeological Agenda & Recording Methodology.**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will outline the research agenda for the rest of the thesis. The agenda may be broadly expressed as one which seeks to develop an archaeology of the construction of social identity at particular levels of urban society during the later medieval and early modern period. A review of existing work in the field will be used to demonstrate that there is insufficient published archaeological data to form the basis of a national comparative study of the use of guildhalls. It will be argued that the detailed contextual interpretation of York's surviving halls therefore offers a framework within which future research on this type of building may be set. Guildhalls will be argued to have been one of a number of *locales* in which individual and collective urban identities were structured. It will be argued that their interpretation has implications for wider research questions concerning medieval public architecture and civic identity. Although the research agenda of this thesis is primarily set by archaeological evidence, it is also framed in reaction to existing work on medieval fraternities and mysteries, and this chapter will therefore also develop a critique of existing historical work in the field. The final part of the chapter will use this agenda to develop a recording methodology for the case studies presented in Chapters 3-5.

### **2.1 Medieval guildhalls: form and function**

Guildhalls have received little coherent critical attention from either historians or archaeologists, and cannot be fitted easily into either a formal or functional typology. 'Guildhall' is a term usually applied to the buildings of two types of medieval guild: religious guilds (or fraternities) or craft guilds (or mysteries). However it can also refer to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century common halls of proto-town councils or 'guild merchants' (Reynolds 1977, 123-6; Gross 1890). As in York, these early 'town halls' often provided a model for later guildhalls or civic buildings constructed on the same site (VCH 1961, 34). The study is further complicated by the fact that guildhalls were often constructed by more than one association (particularly in urban contexts), or built by one type of guild and gradually appropriated by another over time. The identification of guildhalls is also problematic, particularly in rural areas, or where there are documentary lacunae in the records. Medieval guilds usually referred to their halls by the name of their fraternity or craft whilst town halls were simply known as 'the Guildhall', or 'the Common hall'. Evidence of their religious function was, however, often suppressed during the Reformation, and many guildhalls were subsequently converted into domestic buildings, grammar schools or

almshouses. The typological study of guildhalls is further compounded by vast differences in their scale and form. Many rural examples consist of one or two simple rooms adjacent to a parish church whilst urban examples such as the Livery Company halls of London, or Trinity hall in York were elaborate courtyard complexes with gatehouses, gardens (Boardman 1982), halls, chapels and hospitals.

### **Summary and critique of previous work in the field**

This section will review the inadequacy of existing typological approaches to guildhalls, which are based on the assumption that their form is simply derived from that of contemporary domestic architecture. Rigold's (1968) typological study of 'court halls' has been the most influential work in the field and encompasses town and market halls as well as secular guildhalls. However, it is based on the pejorative premise that

Medieval English public halls are a poor lot; only in East Anglia do they come within hailing distance of the glories of the Netherlands and north Germany. Those of Kent, apart from the Maison Dieu of Dover which is in origin a religious building, are no better than average. (Rigold 1968, 1)

The typology derives from Rigold's comparative analysis of the formal and structural characteristics of these buildings rather than their function or date. Two types of 'court hall' are identified (Appendix 1, table 1). The first is a 'mutation of the typical late medieval dwelling house -a ground floor hall.....with a storied chamber at either end', and the second of 'specialised derivatives of the early medieval first floor hall'. This is a typology clearly derived from contemporary classifications of domestic buildings by Wood (1974; 1950; 1965) and Faulkner (1958). Wood identified two principal forms of medieval house -the single storey aisled ground floor hall, and the first floor hall constructed over a stone undercroft (1965, 16-34). Rigold identifies three court halls (Canterbury, Milton Regis and Fordwich) and then focusses on the formal parallels between these and Wood's domestic building types.

Rigold's approach has been used as a research framework by other scholars since many guildhalls appear (like Canterbury) to have been constructed on the site of, or converted from, medieval houses. Schofield (1995, 44) has suggested that most of the London livery halls are of this type, including early examples such as the tanners' twelfth-century hall in the parish of St. Peter le Poor. By 1400 the goldsmiths, the merchant taylors and possibly the skinnners, cordwainers and saddlers possessed halls, and the documentary evidence suggests that their construction followed a particular pattern:

A prominent member of the craft would bequeath a house, nearly always a courtyard house with a large hall suitable for the ceremonies and convivial meetings of the brethren to a group of trustees, including members of the guild. Once in possession the company would generally adapt and expand the buildings but not fundamentally alter their arrangement. (Schofield 1995, 44)

It is more difficult to examine the archaeological evidence for this process since many of the halls were destroyed in the Great Fire of 1662. However the evidence of existing buildings such as the taylor's hall suggests that the situation -even in London- may be more complex than Schofield suggests. In many cases it is difficult to establish whether the surviving late medieval fabric relates to the rebuilding of earlier domestic halls, or to purpose-built guildhalls erected after the transfer of these sites to the relevant guilds. In one sense this confusion simply highlights the apparent similarity of the two building types. But little attempt is made to understand the significance of these formal parallels, nor to understand how their internal organisation and function changed after their appropriation. It is usually presumed that despite their public status, the use of guildhalls also paralleled that of domestic buildings, and that it was their continued use in traditional, 'medieval' ways which prolonged the survival of their open halls after they had begun to disappear from private domestic buildings (Schofield 1995, 34-51, 44).

The distinctive nature of the London livery companies and their halls also makes it difficult to transfer Schofield's model to provincial urban or rural contexts. Although some urban guildhalls were constructed on the site of, or converted from, domestic buildings, the site was often purchased by the guild itself and a purpose built hall erected. This was particularly the case in those rural contexts where guildhalls were a relatively modest and low-key affair built on the edges of churchyards. Moreover, this approach suggests that the impetus for the construction of a guildhall was the death of a prominent, wealthy member willing to leave a suitable house to the company. It tells us little about the why guilds felt the need to have their own halls in the first place. An alternative and more interpretative approach to urban guildhalls as a form of public architecture is offered by Steane (1985) and Brown (1986). Steane (1985, 23) suggests that, like continental halls of Belgium and northern Italy, England's urban guildhalls were symbols of the power and authority of civic government. However he does not seek to establish the processes by which these buildings came to reflect or structure civic power, and makes no attempt to distinguish between guildhalls built by town authorities and those built by religious or craft mysteries. He simply repeats Rigold's (1968, 25) typological classification and his conclusion that English guildhalls are a 'poor lot' in comparison with their continental counterparts.



Brown's (1986) typological study of timber-framed guildhalls from the south-east and midlands of England is more useful because it is based on the institutional differences between the associations which built guildhalls, as well as their form. His analysis of two main guildhall types is summarised in Appendix 1, table 2. The first comprises fifteenth- and sixteenth-century religious fraternity halls drawn mostly from rural contexts in the south and east of England. These are generally two-storey, narrow structures, of five to seven bays in length in which the upper storey was divided into two rooms; a larger hall-type meeting room and a smaller ante-chamber with services. The ground floors of these halls appear to have been used for various functions including accommodation and storage (Brown 1986, 196). The second type consists of halls built by mercantile and craft mysteries in urban contexts. These were also often two-storey structures with a trading or market space at ground floor level, and include buildings from the south and the north-east of England as well as Shropshire. Brown (1986, 198-203) also stresses the importance of the topographical context of guildhalls, particularly the relationship of rural religious guildhalls to parish churches and churchyards. Unlike Rigold, he also draws a clear distinction between urban guildhalls and market halls.

The lack of coherent synthetic work on guildhalls as a type of public architecture means that many of the archaeological articles and monographs on individual guildhalls remain primarily concerned to establish the date of their construction, their relationship to earlier buildings on the site, and their subsequent structural development over time. Examples of this type of study include work on civic guildhalls such as that of London (Barron 1974; Wilson 1977; Marsden 1981), Norwich (Kent 1929), Exeter (Blaylock 1963), Leicester (Pegden 1981). Other scholars have focused on particular religious fraternity halls such as St. Mary's, Lincoln (Stocker 1991), St. Mary's, Coventry (Morris 1988; Carlick 1993), Trinity house, Hull (Woodward 1990), or craft mystery halls such as that of the Tanners, Gloucester (Heighway 1984). Although local and regional parallels with comparative buildings have been made by a number of authors such as Schofield (1995) in London, Smart (1991) in Dartmouth, and Williams (1983-4) in Northampton, there is much less concern to relate these studies to guildhalls as a distinctive type of public architecture. They are usually simply lumped together with other types of medieval public building, including town halls and market halls (Platt 1976; 1990; Ryder 1982; Sheeran 1998; Girouard 1990; Lloyd 1992). Alternatively the architecture of guildhalls tends to be considered in a fairly cursory manner as an adjunct to a primarily historical study of a particular corporation, guild or fraternity.

## **Conclusion**

Existing interpretations have sought to develop a typological approach based either on the general form of medieval guildhalls, or on urban and rural distinctions derived from the associations which built them. These fail to address the basic question of why guildhalls were built in the first place, and with the exception of individual case studies, are not particularly concerned with their use over time. The very diversity of this building type, moreover, suggests that a typology based entirely on their physical form is misguided. Their structure and spatial organisation can only be understood in the light of their specific institutional function, which requires a level of detailed archaeological analysis and data about this building type which simply does not presently exist. It also depends on the contextualisation of this data in the light of historical evidence. Although a preliminary gazetteer of extant guildhalls was compiled in the early stages of the research project, it soon became apparent that a comprehensive national archaeological study of guildhalls lay beyond the scope of this thesis. It was therefore decided to focus on the detailed analysis of York's surviving guildhalls, in order to develop a wider research agenda for the future study of this type of medieval civic, public architecture. Although the research agenda is distinctly archaeological, it has to be framed through a critical engagement with current historical debate about medieval guilds.

## **2.2 Medieval guilds: religious fraternities and craft mysteries**

Although historians have paid considerable attention to the organisation, ordinances and ritual activities of religious fraternities and craft mysteries, their material culture has been largely overlooked, with the exception of guilds' involvement in and patronage of parish churches. Indeed historians such as Nightingale (1995, 430) have suggested that charitable bequests to the latter often occurred at the expense of the guildhall itself. The historiography of guilds has tended to follow the clear distinction drawn by the Parliamentary returns of 1389 between religious fraternities and craft/mercantile mysteries (Toulmin Smith 1962; Jones 1974). The motives behind the 1388 petition and the five hundred Parliamentary returns submitted the following year are complex. It is possible that the secret meetings of small groups like guilds were considered potentially seditious after the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and that the returns were a means of gathering information about them. It is equally possible, however, that they were part of the wider social and economic regulation which characterised late fourteenth-century society (Dobson 1983). They were certainly a financial mechanism designed to collate information about the economic status of both types of guild and maximise the potential of the Statute of Mortmain. Whatever their original function, this distinction has resulted in an historiographical dichotomy.

Fraternities tend to be used by religious historians to illustrate the popularity and vigour of late medieval lay piety, and as a foil against which the destructive impact of the Reformation is set. In contrast craft and mercantile mysteries have been used by economic historians to explore the industrial organisation of medieval society and the development of wage labour and capitalism.

### **Religious guilds**

Quasi-religious 'soliditas' and burial societies are known to have existed alongside the Roman 'collegium' or 'corporatio', but it is unclear whether there was any continuity between these associations and the religious guilds of Anglo-Saxon society. It was only in 852 that legislation promulgated by Hincmar of Rheims defined guilds (*guildonia*) as a confraternity (*confraternia*) (Epstein 1991, 13; 36; Toulmin-Smith 1962; Rosser 1988b) and activities such as psalm singing after the death of a guild members were only articulated in ordinances made by Athelstan (AD 924-40). The first national picture of their growing popularity comes from the returns of 1388-9 and from increasing numbers of surviving fourteenth-century probate bequests. From the publication of these returns in 1870 onwards, the interpretation of religious guilds became associated with, or developed in opposition to, particular traditions of religious historical scholarship. For the Protestant Toulmin-Smith, guilds were 'social' organisations seeking to break free of the 'dangers to enterprise and manly liberty threatened by...restrictive rules' of Catholicism (1962, *xiii, xxviii*). Their social function was also stressed by the German, Catholic scholar Bretano who wrote the introduction to the writs. However he saw this as a natural part of late medieval Catholicism:

the early English guild was an institution of self-help which, before Poor-laws were invented, took the place...of the modern friendly or benefit society but with a higher aim, while it joined all classes together in a care for the poor and needy and for objects of common welfare, it did not neglect the forms and the practice of Religion, Justice and Morality. (Toulmin-Smith (1870) 1962, *xiv*)

Similar emphasis on their social and charitable functions was provided by Walford's (1879, 5) study of guilds as the 'Insurance Associations of the Middle Ages'. However the centrality of their religious function was emphasised by Westlake's (1919) seminal study of English parish guilds for the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge which maintained that the guilds were primarily an elevating example of orthodox late medieval lay piety.

More recent scholarship has been dominated by the research objectives of Reformation historians. Guilds have been interpreted by these historians as evidence of the vitality and popularity of the late medieval Church, and as symbolic expressions of the parochial or fraternal 'community'. In particular emphasis has been placed by historians such as Scarisbrick (1984, 19-39) and Haigh (1987; 1993) on their orthodox religious nature, and the ways in which they successfully constructed particular intercessory practices associated with the doctrine of Purgatory. Indeed Hanawalt (1984) has suggested that the fraternal 'Keepers of the Lights' were a deliberate evocation of the harmonious communal Apostolic spirit of the early church. A more detailed consideration of the sense of social obligation fostered by London's religious guilds has been developed by Brigden (1984). She has emphasised the ways in which such obligations extended not only beyond the normal topographical boundaries of the parish community, but also beyond the community of the living to that of the dead. She argued that the popularity of the religious and social functions of fraternities was directly, if not inversely proportional, to the contemporary rise in the economic functions of craft mysteries:

For all the companies' efforts to ensure charitable dealings between members, their economic functions had become predominant long before, and the acquisition of wealth might not always be compatible with laying up treasure in Heaven. The religious guilds had grown up to fulfil a need that the parishes and trade guilds were no longer satisfying. (Brigden 1984, 97)

All these authors draw explicitly on a wider historiographical tradition which stresses the social functions of the late medieval church and its associated doctrines and rituals (Bossy 1983). One of the most cogent and persuasive account of guilds in this context is Duffy's (1992) *Stripping of the Altars*. Like the authors above, Duffy (1992, 131-132) is concerned to develop a picture of late medieval Catholicism against which a sense of disrapture caused by the Reformation is set. He emphasises that pre-Reformation Catholicism was a 'corporate Christianity' and rejects an idea popular with many historians that there was a move towards individualism in worship during the late medieval period which signalled a breakdown in Catholicism and the rise of 'secularism'. He focuses on the use of particular social practices -the maintenance of lights, obits and altars, the foundation of chantries, provision of charity, and attendance at each others' funerals- as well as aspects of material culture to structure a sense of communal identity, corporate pride, and mutual harmony between parishioners.

However, Hanawalt and McRee (1992, 165) suggest that there was a real difference between the open, egalitarian rural religious guilds and their hierarchical urban counterparts which were often heavily involved in civic politics. This interpretation is based on the work of Gabriel le Bras

(1964) and on McRee's (1987; 1992) case studies of religious guilds such as that of St. George, Norwich. These associations are interpreted as 'shadow governments' who used their socially cohesive functions to draw together a cross-section of urban society and create political stability and unity; an argument made in relation to Coventry by Phythian-Adams (1972; 1979). McRee suggests that guilds' concern with the regulation of behaviour and public image was

part of a code of conduct that the upper ranks of urban society of late medieval England imposed upon itself...They knew that urban life had always been and would always be a game of appearances. Respectable behaviour was simply part of the game. (McRee 1987, 118)

Guild charity is interpreted in this light as a practical system designed to get members who had briefly fallen on hard times back on their feet to preserve the public image and corporate dignity of the guild (McRee 1993, 209-10). Crouch's (1995) study of religious fraternities in Yorkshire provides a sophisticated and contextual study of many of these issues. He has demonstrated the complex interplay between the religious, social and political functions of guilds such as Corpus Christi in York and Holy Trinity in Hull. As public manifestations of orthodox lay piety, York's fraternities appear to have become allies of the Lancastrian regime and as their wealth increased, they appear to have been used by particular levels of urban society to structure and maintain civic authority and political power.

The central thread linking all these interpretations is that guilds were capable of projecting or structuring a powerful sense of communal identity -or 'corporate Christianity'. Chapter 1 has already discussed the significance of the notion of community in relation to the issue of social identity. It has emphasised the need to deconstruct not only contemporary medieval understanding of the term 'communitas' but also its use by subsequent historians to describe particular social, political and economic groups (Reynolds 1982; 1997) or particular administrative or topographical units (Calhoun 1980). Characterising medieval society as a form of organic community ignores competing contemporary notions of social structure and plays down social tension and conflict by glossing over evidence of political or social exclusion (Rigby 1995, 186-9). Chapter 1 has emphasised that this thesis starts from the premise that notions of individual and communal identity are always structured in tension with each other, and that the construction of an *inclusive* sense of community is by definition also therefore *exclusive* and 'always laden with aspirations and contests over interpretative power.' (Rubin 1991b, 134)

### **Craft and mercantile mysteries**

The fact that Anglo-Saxon 'gegildan' appear to have been primarily religious and social in character suggests that there is little continuity between medieval craft mysteries and the Roman guilds known as 'collegium' or 'corporatio' (Epstein 1991, 13). Medieval craft mysteries were also subtly different from earlier medieval associations known as 'guilds merchant' which incorporated members from a variety of urban professions and functioned essentially as proto town councils (Epstein 1991, 53-4; Gross 1890). Guilds merchant were gradually replaced by conciliar government structures in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Craft associations calling themselves 'crafts' or 'mysteries' emerged across Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century onwards. The use of the term 'guild' to describe these associations has become a widely accepted historical misnomer, perhaps because so many craft mysteries were also associated with a religious fraternity or guild (Thrupp 1941; Hibbert 1891; Lambert 1891; Black 1984).

The historiography of craft mysteries has tended to revolve around macroeconomic trends such as the development of wage labour and capitalism. Two theories of polarisation have dominated their study. The first relates to the supposed increasing separation of the mercantile and artisan 'classes', which is usually associated with a particular tradition of Marxist scholarship (Hilton 1998). The second relates to a supposed breakdown of relations between master craftsmen and their apprentices or journeymen within the artisan 'class' or craft community itself. These theories -and the desire to problematise the organisation of medieval work and labour relations- have challenged traditional assumptions that craft mysteries simply reflected the structure of the late medieval craft industry (Lipson 1956-9, 384-5). It is the deconstruction of the idea of work and working identities by the contributors to Corfield and Keene (1990), Rosser (1997) and Hilton (1998) rather than the descriptive reconstruction of working practices (Blair and Ramsay 1990; Woodward 1995; Crossley 1981), which therefore offers most potential for the archaeological study of the material culture of these associations.

It has long been accepted that craft and mercantile mysteries had important political as well as economic and professional functions. The active, manipulative role of town councils in the functioning of craft guilds was emphasised by Green (1894, 145-7) and Unwin (1963). Thrupp (1941) expanded this in her study of London's emergent mercantile class, arguing that guilds were mercantile 'agencies of social control'. Dobb (1963) also interpreted the guild system as a form of political control exercised by 'a well-to-do section of wholesale merchants'. This argument has also been adopted by Hilton (1982; 1992), Britnell (1993, 175) and Miller and

Hatcher (1995, 368-9). Indeed the political role of craft and mercantile mysteries often overshadows their economic and professional function in current historiography. The most trenchant exposition of this interpretation is Swanson's (1988; 1989) Marxist study of the craft mysteries of medieval York. Swanson rejects the idea that craft 'guilds' reflected the occupational structure and labour relations of the late medieval city for several reasons. She highlights the fact that many trades or crafts were simply not represented by the system, and argues that guilds had little to do with economic structure since they did not reflect the basic household unit of production. Swanson (1989, 5; 40) emphasises that most households were multiple-occupation units, and, like Kowaleski and Bennett (1989), stresses that a large percentage of women in the medieval labour force were excluded from craft guilds. The formal demarcation and monopolies exercised by guilds is therefore argued to have served *only* the interests of a male mercantile elite.

The interpretation of the guild system as a mercantile tool of political and social control is related to wider attempts to control the fluid labour market and changing social relations of the post Black Death period. Swanson makes an explicit connection for example, between the registration of craft ordinances in York's Memorandum Books c.1380-1400 and the 1363/4 statute which ordered

Artificers, handicraft people, hold them every one to one mystery, which he will chose betwixt this and the said feast of Candlemas; and two of every craft shall be chosen to survey, that none use other craft than the same which he hath chosen. (*Statutes of the Realm*, i, 379 quoted in Swanson 1989, 4)

It is clear that there was a national concern with the 'problem' of labour following the demographic and economic crises of the period (Ormrod and Lindley 1996; Bolton 1996), and the political and social unrest manifested by the 1381 Peasants' Revolt. However, it is unlikely that either the statute of 1436/7 requiring the registration of guild ordinances, or the writs of 1388 represent a concern with the potentially seditious character of guilds (Dobson 1983; Epstein 1991, 254). The former was far more concerned with preventing guilds formulating regulations against the franchise (*Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 298-9). The connection between the civic freedom, craft mysteries and the political control of a mercantile oligarchy has been considered by Dobson (1973), Kowaleski (1984) and Swanson (1989, 107-8). These are seen as mechanisms through which merchants prevented the development of artisan 'class consciousness' and excluded artisans from the political power of prestigious civic offices such as Mayor, Alderman and the Council of Twenty Four in York (Swanson 1989, 124-5). The 1381 rising (Dobson 1983)

and the 1475 bill of the commonalty, and the revision of the civic constitution in 1517 (Swanson 1989, 124) are also seen to be expressions of this political exclusion:

For alsmuch as we bene all one bodye corporate, we thynke that we be all inlike  
prevaliged of the commonalte, which has borne none office in the cite.

(YMB 2, 246)

There are therefore two central hypotheses in the historiography of guilds against which a research agenda for the study of the material culture must be set. The first is the assertion that craft mysteries did not express or structure a meaningful sense of working identity for medieval artisans. The second is that they were primarily an artificial mechanism imposed on an artisan 'class' by the mercantile elite. Neither of these sits easily with the archaeological evidence of the craft guildhall nor the vast investment which members made in the rituals and material culture of the 'mystery plays'. We must either seek evidence of resistance to mercantile power in these sources, as Beckwith (1994, 265) has attempted to do, or we must reintroduce human agency into the equation and see the active participation of craftsmen in guilds as evidence that they had a real and beneficial function for their members. The model of polarised mercantile and artisan classes cannot simply be imposed on a provincial city like York (Kermode 1998). Although there was undoubtedly political and social exclusion in medieval towns, this was based on horizontal as well as vertical divisions within society. Status, as Rigby (1995) has emphasised, was based on complex and overlapping criteria which included ethnicity, age, gender, kinship and personal reputation, as well as economic prosperity or profession.

A more useful research framework for the study of the archaeology of craft and mercantile mysteries can be developed from the understanding that although the craft guild system was not a mirror of late medieval industrial organisation, it did have very real benefits for its members and was actively used to structure professional identities, and as access to important networks of credit and trust as well as to political power. Epstein (1991, 112-3; 231-41) has stressed the ways in which craft mysteries were a practical response to the need to regulate wage labour and to employ workers drawn from outside the household, particularly after the demographic and economic crises of the fourteenth century. For Epstein (1991, 259) the contemporary 'social setting of competing forces' meant that mutual co-operation between artisans and merchants was preferable to unfettered competition. The securing of monopolies and the protection of trading standards and specialisation in particular provided very real economic benefits for craft guild members. However, Epstein (1991, 122-3) also emphasises the ways in which craft mysteries



served the interests of all craft masters by binding members into a 'hierarchy of labour', reinforcing their authority over apprentices and workshops and reproducing the dominant social structures of medieval society.

Rosser's (1997) study of the nature of working identities structured by crafts and guilds, and Salaman's (1986) sociological approach to working, provide a useful theoretical counter to traditional Marxist emphases on the 'false consciousness' of workers. By placing emphasis on the human agency and the reality of the lived experience of workers, Salaman (1986, 33) is able to assert the wider social significance of the identities and differentiations constructed within the workplace or workshop. Rosser (1997) develops a parallel understanding of craft mysteries, arguing that they provided an important locus where the individual's multiple and overlapping social roles and responsibilities could be negotiated, and their public reputation structured and maintained. Intrinsically linked to this emphasis on personal reputation was also the creation of access to important mechanisms of credit and trust beyond the individual's immediate status group or parish community (Rosser 1997, 8-11). The creation of a sense of 'occupational consciousness' is also seen by Salaman to have been one of the benefits of workers' associations. However he suggests that the creation of strategies which stressed the uniqueness or distinctiveness of the 'craft' was a means of gaining access to political power (Salaman 1986, 80-1). This has clear implications for the interpretation of the material and written construction of discourses concerning the 'mystery' of crafts in York, including the use of guildhalls, guild ordinances, and for particular aspects of social and ritual practice, such as the mystery plays.

## **Conclusion**

The critique of existing historical interpretations of both religious and craft mysteries continually brings us back to the question of the relationship between individual and communal identities, and particularly to the relationship between identity and social structure. The distinctive relationship between urban fraternities and craft mysteries also requires particular consideration in the light of current interest in the cultural similarities and differences between towns and their rural hinterlands (Rubin 1992; Bainbridge 1996). Both religious fraternities and craft mysteries were used by their members to negotiate and reproduce social and political identity, and both appear to have been bound up with the medieval civic 'game of appearances' (McRee 1987). The importance of the critique presented above is that it sets up a series of conflicting hypotheses against which tensions and contrasts between the archaeological and historical evidence can be explored.

## **2.3 Guildhalls: a research agenda and recording methodology**

### **Historical sources**

The contextual study of York's medieval guildhalls necessitates a critical engagement with historical as well as archaeological sources. With the exception of the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary and the guild of Corpus Christi, few records of York's religious guilds survived the Reformation (Crouch 1995). This means that fraternities often only appear in the records at particular ceremonial moments such as the fraternity feast or the rites of passage associated with death and burial. We are particularly reliant on the evidence of probate bequests, which focus, not surprisingly, on activities with eschatological significance such as the provision of charity or the patronage of devotional foci. They do not therefore represent the full picture of the patronage activities of brethren and sisters during their lives, which may well have included their funding or maintenance of guildhalls and other more ephemeral aspects of fraternal material culture.

There are also problems with using official sources to reconstruct the number and level of popularity of religious guilds. Only York's Paternoster, Corpus Christi and St. John the Baptist's religious guilds appear in the returns of 1389 (Toulmin-Smith 1962) and it is likely that they played down both the level of their endowment and the scope of their activities in these sources. The lack of surviving records makes us particularly reliant on those of the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the guild of Corpus Christi. However it must be remembered that these were two of the largest and most influential guilds in the city, and are not therefore directly comparable with the smaller religious fraternities. Differences in their scale and scope must therefore be acknowledged in the absence of documentary sources in order to understand the contextual significance of their material culture. It must also be recognised that both religious and craft guild records had particular political and didactic functions, and were not simply administrative records of accounts and expenditure.

A similar caveat must be added to the use of civic records such as York's House or Memorandum Books which contain series of ordinances and anecdotal evidence for York's medieval craft mysteries. The production and maintenance of these records had a powerful political purpose (see O'Brien forthcoming). Indeed the registration of guild ordinances in the York Memorandum Books has been interpreted as a mechanism of political control imposed by the mercantile elite on an artisan class (Swanson 1989). Although this is not a view espoused by this thesis, it is clear that there was a gulf between the normative values and fraternal rhetoric of

craft ordinances and the actual practices of guild members. Our attention must therefore focus on the mobilisation and manipulation of guild records by these associations. Like guildhalls themselves they must be understood as the fragments of particular recursive social practices in the past.

Although original sources such as guild records, probate evidence, episcopal licences and civic records have therefore been consulted for this thesis, it is not the aim of this research project to carry out an exhaustive study of all the surviving evidence for York's medieval guilds (cf. Crouch 1995; Swanson 1989). There will be no attempt at prosopographical study; rather the thesis will seek to draw general conclusions about particular levels and status groups within society. It will also draw on existing published material, particularly antiquarians such as Drake (1736) and Raine (1920; 1955) and syntheses including that of the Victoria County History (1961; hereafter VCH) and RCHME (1981). Published extracts from the House Books by Raine (1939-53; hereafter YCR) and Memorandum Books by Sellers (1912-15; hereafter YMB) and the surveys of the chantry commissioners (Page 1894-5; hereafter CCCY) will also be used. However, the original House Books and Memorandum Books from c.1554-1630 and the early modern records of the mercers' and tailors' mysteries have been extensively searched for evidence of the use and alteration of the guildhalls after the Reformation (Johnson 1949; Sellers 1918; hereafter YMA). Historic pictorial and architectural collections within York City Archives and York Library have also been consulted for this purpose.

### **Archaeological evidence: methodology**

This thesis is a research driven project; one in which the recording methodology is designed to answer specific questions rather than produce a 'total' record of the building. It therefore draws on Carver's (1980; 1990, 77-82) insistence that all archaeological recording should be underpinned by a sound research agenda, and that recording strategies should be concerned to identify levels of archaeological recovery appropriate to that agenda. These principles are also now formally expressed by the English Heritage document 'Management of archaeological projects (MAP2; English Heritage 1991). The methodology is based on the general premise that recording is never an 'objective' act, and therefore that the idea of a 'total' record is an archaeological chimera (cf. Ferris 1989; Smith 1989; Bold 1990; Davis 1993; Meeson 1989; Wrathmell 1990). There are therefore two principal means of exploring the archaeological research agenda outlined above: the production of a structural sequence through stratigraphic analysis which enables us to understand a building's construction and alteration over time; and

the study of internal evidence for partitioning and moveable fixtures and fittings which enables the spatial organisation of the building to be reconstructed over time. The application of stratigraphic analysis to above ground archaeology is controversial, not least because many of the basic principles of the 'Harris' system simply do not apply to standing buildings (Davis 1993 after Harris 1989; 1993). The aim of stratigraphic recording is to provide 'a systematic dissection of a structure into its component phases augmented by equally systematic recording of such other aspects as building materials and contexts of construction' (Grenville & Morris 1991, 3; see also Stocker 1992; Wood 1996). It therefore focuses on features which architectural or art historians might consider mundane, but which may be nevertheless of central importance in understanding the building's structural sequence. The definition of a stratigraphic unit is particularly problematic (cf. Wrathmell 1990; Davis 1993). The approach followed in this thesis is therefore that advocated increasingly by below-ground archaeologists and further developed in relation to standing buildings by Jones (1997). Stratigraphic units are seen to be flexible entities defined by the recorder as materially embodied 'actions' or 'events'. In practice they are identified as being 'physically consistent in a manner which distinguishes them from their surrounding elements' and by the fact that they constitute an entity in basic functional terms (Jones 1997, 43). Thus, depending on the research agenda and recording strategy of the archaeologist, a stratigraphic unit can encompass a single floor board, or an entire, pre-fabricated timber frame.

Stratigraphic analysis provides a clear and accessible form of record including context sheets, scale drawings, photographs and stratigraphic matrices which constitute a valuable archive which remains open to future (re-)interpretation. An example of the pro forma context sheets used in this project is included in Appendix 2. The forms and levels of recording outlined in Appendix 2, Tables 1-6 for the three buildings fit broadly into the descriptive specifications for the recording of historic buildings devised by the RCHME (1991; 1987). The recording methodology was initially based on an assessment of the archaeological potential of each site. This was framed by MAP2 -guidelines, which have equal significance for academic as well as commercial archaeological projects. The methodology was refined by the time constraints and recording capacity of the research project, and by the accessibility of the buildings under study.

A selective programme of EDM, hand survey and photographic recording was designed to illuminate the construction sequence of the three guildhalls, and to explore use of particular building materials and construction techniques in relation to regional patterns and the 'grammar of carpentry' (Harris 1989). Those elevations containing substantial amounts of medieval fabric were surveyed using computer rectified photography, but hand survey was used to record those containing small areas of original fabric, or which it was impossible to record with an EDM and medium format camera, owing to constraints of access. No attempt was made to survey the internal timber-framing of the guildhalls, with the exception of the last building to be recorded - St. John the Baptist's hall. Here, a record of the arch brace collar construction of the hall was made with the aid of a newly-acquired reflectorless EDM (Chapter 4). However, a detailed photographic, rather than stratigraphic record and analysis was made of the timber-framing within the other two guildhalls. The archaeological data generated by this recording is presented as a series of scaled CAD plots, reconstruction drawings, and photographs.

Throughout the recording process, particular attention was paid to the intra-site relationships between the various functional components of the guildhall complex (the hall, the chapel, the hospital/*maison dieu* and associated service buildings). The study was also concerned to reconstruct (as far as possible) the appearance of the original fenestration schemes and wall and cross frames. Archaeological evidence for the historic partitioning of the guildhalls, hospitals and chapels, and other aspects of moveable material culture such as galleries, plasterwork, lighting etc. was also the focus of attention. The aim of the recording was therefore not only to enable particular forms of spatial analysis to be carried out, but also to facilitate a more phenomenological understanding of these buildings. It was hoped that the juxtaposition of this archaeological with historical evidence would enable the 'regionalisation' of the internal space of guildhalls to be understood (after Giddens 1985). To this end, historic and contemporary plans and elevation drawings were also used to establish previous restoration work which involved the removal of both medieval and post-medieval architectural features. The nineteenth and early twentieth-century masking and/or removal of many of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century alterations made to guildhalls also forced the study to rely heavily on surviving documentary records of these alterations in guild accounts and the city House Books (see Chapters 3-5 and Chapter 7).

## **Chapter 3. Trinity Hall (The Merchant Adventurers'), Fossgate, York.**

### **3.1 The topographical context of Trinity hall**

The river Foss provided a natural boundary to the south-east of Trinity hall (fig. 3). To the south-west were a lane and passage referred to in a lease of 1312 as 'trichourgail' and 'bacusgail' respectively (Raine 1955, 66), and a cambered, cobbled surface excavated along the south-west side of the hall may well represent the remains of the latter (Hunter-Mann 1996, Plate 1). Beyond bacusgail was an open area stretching towards St. Mary's, Castlegate, an eleventh-century foundation whose advowson belonged to the Percy family (VCH 1961, 392) and beyond this lay the castle, its baile and the buildings of the Franciscan friary. The position of trichourgail may be reflected in the surviving property boundary which runs parallel with the north-west side of the hall. Beyond this were tenements and burgage plots stretching back from Fossgate and the Pavement, York's second principal marketplace (VCH 1961, 485). The street of Fossgate itself provided the boundary and entrance to the hall on its north-east side. This area was a 'commercial quarter' in late medieval York; home to many of the city's prosperous merchants, mercers and drapers (Goldberg 1992, 67). It lay in the parish of St. Crux, whose church provided a devotional focus not only for the religious fraternity who were to build Trinity hall, but also for crafts like the butchers who were based in the nearby flesh shambles. Fossbridge was the base for York's saltwater fish trade. The bridge was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and the chantries of wealthy late medieval mercantile families such as the Blackburns were established in its chapel of St. Anne (VCH 1961, 518; Dobson 1992). A further focus of activity in the area was the thirteenth-century Carmelite friary in Stonebow Lane (VCH 1961, 361).

### **3.2 The historical context of Trinity hall**

Trinity hall was constructed by the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, a fourteenth-century religious guild associated with the nearby parish church of St. Crux. In 1356 several prominent members of the fraternity, John Freeboys, John Crome and Robert Smeton 'citizens and merchants', had acquired a piece of land in Fossgate from Sir William Percehay, knight, described as

All that piece of ground with the buildings etc., in Fossgate lying in breadth between Trichour lane on one side and the river Foss on the other, and in length from Fossgate in front to the land of Henry Haxiholme at the back, the whole of which he lately acquired of Robert Lisle and Thomas Duffield, co-executors of the will of Henry Belton late merchant, York. (PRO Pat.R., 30 Ed. III in YMA, iii)

The acquisition of the land, along with a series of five surviving account rolls dating to c.1357-1367, and a paper account book of 1358-1369 indicate that the fraternity intended to embark immediately on an ambitious building programme on the Fossgate site. A formal licence of incorporation for the foundation of the religious guild for men and women in honour of Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, was granted in 1357 (PRO, Pat.R., 31Ed.III, pt.1, m.18in YMA, iii). In 1371-2 the guild obtained a further licence of incorporation which enabled it to found a hospital and enlarge its foundation (BIHR Arch. Reg. Thoresby f.169). Both the 1368 account rolls and the 1371-2 licence imply the existence of a chapel and references to the 'ruinous' condition of this earlier building were made during its replacement in 1411 (YMA ix, 31). By 1411 the hospital, the first floor hall and re-built chapel were therefore complete, and existing interpretations have sought to tie these documentary sources to the existing evidence on the site. Appendix 3, table 1 lists bequests to the fraternity compiled by White (BIHR, *White Bequests to Guilds*).

### **3.3 Trinity hall: previous structural and historical interpretations**

Until recently, there had only been one coherent interpretation of the structure of Trinity hall, by the RCHME (1981, 82-88). Three principal phases of construction were identified: the late fourteenth-century undercroft and first floor hall; the early fifteenth-century chapel; and the early seventeenth-century north-east range. The RCHME was primarily concerned to link these phases to the institutional history of the religious fraternity who built the hall, and the mercers' mystery who became associated with it during the fifteenth century. It therefore drew on the historical study of the acts and ordinances of the Company published by its archivist Maud Sellers in 1918 (hereafter YMA). More recently, a re-interpretation of the earlier history of the site has emerged from archaeological excavations carried out by YAT (Hunter Mann 1995; 1996; 1998). Because the RCHME and YAT were concerned with different areas of the building's archaeology and chronology, there was no contradiction between the two accounts, but both raise a series of questions which the archaeological analysis of the standing fabric must address.

#### **The RCHME and Trinity hall**

The undercroft and first floor of Trinity hall were identified by the RCHME as being of one construction phase dating to the later fourteenth century, reflecting the building materials recorded in contemporary account rolls (fig. 4). The 'slightly irregular plan' and the unequal sizes of the bays in the undercroft were interpreted as a reflection of the 'function of the hall above' (RCHME 1981, 84, fig. 5). Differences were highlighted between the predominantly brick

south-west wall (with its series of five fourteenth-century single-light windows) and the masonry north-east wall of the undercroft (with its two fifteenth-century windows and a blocked doorway). However, no explanation was proposed for this, or for the different ways in which these walls supported the internal timber frame of the undercroft. The chronological account sought - and found - evidence for the earlier 'ruinous' chapel in the form of the buttress and truncated plinth in the returning south-east wall of the undercroft, and suggested that fragments of the south-west wall of this building also survived in its successor of 1411. Attention was also drawn to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century alterations to the undercroft, particularly the replacement of its originally timber-framed north-west wall with brick, and the insertion of the four-fireplace complex at its north-western end.

Records of expenditure on timber in the account rolls of 1357-1367 were interpreted by the RCHME as relating to the construction of the first floor hall with its two types of roof truss: tie beams with crown posts, collar and side purlins and wind braces in the first, third, sixth and seventh trusses from the south-eastern dais end of the hall, and simpler tie beams without crown posts in the remaining bays (fig. 6). The original use of crown posts in the restored south-east gable ends was posited from restoration drawings of 1894 and 1935, although it was suggested that the south-west gable had undergone an earlier alteration through the addition of close studding and ogee struts (fig. 7). The evidence for the original fenestration and wall framing of the hall was also noted in the north-east wall of the hall (fig. 8). The RCHME account, however, made no reference to a letter written during the restoration of the north-west gable ends in 1929 by Powys. This suggested that the seventh and eighth bays of the hall 'might have been added in the 15th century and that the old gable end might then have been taken down and rebuilt' (YMAA Building Corr. 15.11.1929). Powys did not cite the evidence for his conclusion, and his suggestion has been completely ignored because of the apparent 'fit' between the architectural and documentary evidence. Rather, attention was drawn by the RCHME to late sixteenth-century documentary evidence for the construction of a chimney stack in the sixth (screens passage) bay of the hall (fig. 9). An early seventeenth-century date was proposed for the north-east range, based on the stylistic evidence of its timber-framing (fig. 10; RCHME 1981, 87). In conclusion, despite presenting a coherent chronological description and narrative of the site, the RCHME did not explain the structural inconsistencies and anomalies evident in the archaeology of the undercroft and the hall.



### **YAYAS.'s excavations 1949-50**

Excavations by YAYAS in 1949 uncovered earlier foundations at the Merchant Adventurers' hall at a considerable depth beneath Trinity hall (fig. 11; YAYAS Annual Report 1949-50). A trench was excavated to a depth of 6ft 9in in the south-west corner of the chapel adjacent to the screen, and another dug in a similar position on the north-east wall to a depth of 4ft 6in, which revealed the 'foundations of stone walls extending below the undercroft'. A trench underneath the chapel's east window uncovered limestone foundations to a depth of 3ft, beneath which was a brick wall 18in high running parallel with the present east wall but not extending to either of the side walls. This in turn rested on a sandstone foundation which was interpreted as evidence of the base of the alabaster altar made for the Company by Thomas Drawsword in the fifteenth century (YAYAS 1949-50, 17). The foundations of the fifteenth-century chapel wall extended to a depth of 9ft, but although no constructional differences were noted within the exposed masonry it was suggested that parts of the foundations might be of a twelfth-century date. They were interpreted as evidence of those buildings referred to in the deeds of 1356 (see above p.42) and it was hypothesised that they might have been part of a domestic building owned by the Percy family (YAYAS 1949-50, 17). This suggestion was re-iterated by Palliser (1986, 2-3) and proved highly significant in the light of the excavations carried out by YAT during the 1990s.

### **York Archaeological Trust: excavations and interpretations**

In 1995 a 2.0 m square trench at the south-eastern end of the undercroft was excavated to a depth of 1.20m to explore the floor levels of the medieval building (fig. 12). A brick floor and the base of a timber wall which appeared to have partitioned the south-eastern corner of the undercroft from the rest of the building were discovered at a depth of 0.20m, dated by associated finds to the seventeenth century (Hunter-Mann 1995, 28; contexts 1003 & 1005). This overlaid a thick dump of silty clay loam which had been deposited over two earlier floor levels discovered at a depth of 0.60m. The earliest of these was simply a mortar skim subdivided by four low brick walls which formed the footings of timber and plastered partitions (1039-41, 1035-8). Immediately above this was a more substantial floor composed of broken and mortared black-glazed floor tiles (1018). Three of the earlier partitions had been dismantled by the time this floor was laid, apparently in association with the insertion of a doorway (1021, 1034) through the surviving principal partition (1025). Although excavations continued for a further 0.60m, no earlier floor level was found and the lowest surface was therefore identified as the original floor level of the hospital. It was admitted that this conclusion rested upon 'equivocal' archaeological evidence of a 'late medieval period (14th to 16th century)' date (1995, 30). Supporting evidence appeared to be provided by

the depth of a stone-lined culvert excavated in 1925 on the north-east side of the hall (Hunter-Mann 1995, 32; fig. 13 BIHR AB coll.). Such an interpretation was significant, for excavations exposing the bases of three fourteenth-century posts in the south-west wall in 1925 had suggested an original floor level over a metre below the present surface (fig. 14). During the sixteenth century the bases of these posts were replaced with re-used fifteenth-century capitals, probably due to flood damage to the original timbers. YAT's (1995, 31) re-interpretation implied not only that the bases of these aisle posts were originally buried, but that the medieval hospital was originally partitioned.

YAT also sought to model the historic regime of the river Foss from a trench excavated adjacent to the river bank in 1996. Environmental evidence suggested a continual process of encroachment on to and silting up of the river bank, rising water levels and episodic flooding throughout the medieval period. Alluvial formation at this naturally narrow point of the river appeared to have been exacerbated by damming further upstream in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to create the castle moat and the King's fishpool (VCH 1961, 509). The raising of the ground level around the hall to a height of 6.7m AOD through the deposition and dumping of large amounts of soils, gravel and rubbish appeared to have been a fourteenth-century response to the problems this created (Hunter-Mann 1996, 29-30).

Evidence from a further trench excavated to a depth of 3.7m below the third window from the north-west in the south-west wall of the hall revealed that the brickwork in the undercroft wall sat on five courses of fourteenth-century limestone masonry (fig. 15; context 3037). Within this context, a large sandstone block was interpreted as an original fourteenth-century sill *in situ* (3036) and thus as evidence that the window associated with the trench had originally been 0.95m lower than its present position. This argument was extended to all of the fourteenth-century windows in the south-west wall and their original level was postulated in a reconstruction drawing (fig. 16). Moreover the fourteenth-century limestone wall had in turn been constructed on top of nine courses of ashlar quality limestone masonry (3049) with fine diagonal adze tooling, containing masons' marks and two possible putlog holes (fig. 15). These features, together with environmental and pottery evidence from the demolition dumps against the wall, suggested an eleventh- or twelfth-century date for the structure (Hunter-Mann 1996, 30).

A final trench excavated 1.70m from the south-eastern end of the chapel to a depth of 1.40 m explored the continuation of a straight joint visible above ground (fig. 17). Neither the base of the fifteenth-century wall, nor any evidence of earlier buildings on the site was discovered, but a plinth projecting 0.02 m from the wall was identified either side of the joint (4012, 4013). Under the plinth and to the north-west of it was a tile course. Similar fragments filled part of the joint itself (4012) but were not found to its south-east (4013). These features were interpreted as evidence that the chapel was extended by 1.70m shortly after its original construction, and mortar on its surface as evidence that it was originally plastered (Hunter-Mann 1996, 31).

### **3.4 New archaeological fieldwork at Trinity hall: summary and interpretation**

My archaeological fieldwork at Trinity hall sought to re-evaluate the RCHME's interpretation of the standing fabric of the hall as well as the implications of YAT's below ground excavations. The discovery of an earlier substantial building of considerable quality on the site raised questions about whether clues for its original form and function might be incorporated into the late medieval fraternity hall. The discrepancies between the south-west and north-east walls of the undercroft, the unequal bay rhythm and differences in structural supports outlined above required further exploration. It was hypothesised that the re-use of existing foundations might have influenced the construction sequence of both the undercroft and hall. Recording focussed on the detailed stratigraphic interpretation of exterior elevations since there was no possibility of archaeological exposure on the internally rendered walls. Attention was paid to evidence within these elevations, and the internal timber frames, which might indicate whether the sequence of the building ran from north-west to south-east or *vice versa*. Recording also sought to establish the original fenestration scheme and appearance of the fourteenth-century hall, and to re-consider the re-building and proposed extension of the chapel in the early fifteenth century. Throughout the fieldwork attention was paid to evidence for the position of original and later access routes, partitions, galleries, ceilings and decorative schemes, particularly in the light of YAT's interpretation of the hospital as being originally partitioned. Figs. 18-24 show the CAD plots from which the stratigraphic interpretation of the building was made. Figs. 25-26 translate this into phased ground plans, whilst figs. 27-31 offer interpretative results in the form of reconstruction drawings.

### **The construction of Trinity hall and earlier buildings on the site.**

The south-west and north-east walls of the undercroft of Trinity hall differ in three fundamental ways: their constructional materials, their fenestration, and the ways in which they provide structural support for the internal timber frame. The stratigraphic analysis of the south-west wall confirmed the late fourteenth-century date of the brick wall itself and its series of five trefoil-headed single-light sandstone windows. The average brick size and English bond construction which courses through most of the south-west elevation is characteristic of that date (fig. 4 Brunskill 1990, 36-7). These bricks are referred to in the fourteenth-century account rolls as 20 000 'walteghill' (walltiles) purchased for £6 from the Carmelite friars' tile works near Bakeners' lane in Walmgate (YMB 1, 21). Similar 'walteghell' were recorded at York Castle in 1364, and Hull in 1353 (Salzman 1952, 21). In addition to this structural evidence, the style of the single-light windows with their simple trefoil head, is characteristic of the fourteenth century, and comparative lights can be found in high status sites like Windsor Castle (Brindle and Kerr 1997). YAT's excavations revealed that although at least part of the south brick wall was constructed on top of five courses of contemporary limestone masonry, the bulk of the foundation was made up by nine courses of twelfth-century limestone from a previous structure on the site. This explains the absence of references to the purchase and carriage of stone in the account rolls (YMA, vi).

The limited scope of the 1996 excavations made it difficult to establish how far the earlier building survived underneath the rest of the south-west wall. However stratigraphic analysis highlighted subtle differences in its construction which enable tentative suggestions to be made. Towards the north-west end of the south-west wall, adjacent to an area of original medieval brickwork (1112STR), is a cut and fill (1110C, 1111F) which separates the last two bays of the undercroft from the rest of the south-west elevation (fig. 32). To the north-west of this cut is a substantial amount of re-used medieval brickwork, but also much later, irregularly bonded, material. This area of brick now contains a blocked sixteenth-century window (1002C, 1003F), which was clearly visible on the interior during recent restoration work, and a doorway cut into the brick wall during the early twentieth century (fig. 33 1008C, 1009F). The internal and external archaeological evidence suggests that this part of the south-west wall was originally timber-framed. A series of three mortises in the floor joists in the eighth bay of the undercroft are evidence of braces from original posts in the last bay of both the south-west and north-west walls, and mortises in the jetty over the ground floor of the north-west wall further support this interpretation (fig. 34). The use of timber-framing implies a difference in the nature of the foundations of this area of the undercroft and may indicate the limit of the twelfth century

building in the region of the present hall's sixth bay. The replacement of the timber-framing by brick in the sixteenth century suggests that it ultimately proved inadequate support for the weight of the hall above. This may have been exacerbated by damage to the timbers caused by the repeated flooding of the site.

The original appearance of the south-west wall would thus have been subtly different from that proposed in YAT's reconstruction drawing, with the north-western end of the ground floor being timber-framed (although both may have been rendered). This interpretation also raises questions about the suggestion that an original light from this bay was moved and re-set at a later date within the fourteenth-century doorway at the south-east end of the south-west wall (fig. 35). Stratigraphic analysis suggests that this window has not been moved, for it is associated with the blocking of the feature (1357STR). The analysis of this elevation also raises questions about the supposed 'jacking up' by 0.95 m of all the fourteenth-century lights in the south-west wall (Hunter-Mann 1996). The contextual analysis of each of these windows is presented in figs. 36-40 and table 3.1. It suggests that the areas of brick re-facing around the fourteenth-century windows are related to the historic palling and subsequent re-facing of their eroded sandstone architraves. The heads and jambs of the windows are in their original positions; indeed the course of limestone running along the top of the south-west wall would appear to 'frame' their position in the wall. However, the stratigraphic evidence of the brick and masonry fill visible under the exterior of each light and the sandstone sill excavated by Hunter-Mann in 1996 does suggest that the *sills* of these windows were originally lower, possibly up to 0.95m, than their present position. Fig. 29 incorporates this into the reconstruction of the south-west elevation, where their proportions seem more harmonious with the fourteenth-century ground level. This interpretation is supported by the lack of internal evidence of the re-setting of the window heads, and by the presence of substantial blocks of medieval masonry at the proposed level of the original sills (fig. 41).

Bay no. for window	Context numbers - c14th structure	Context numbers - fill beneath sill	Context numbers -replacement of jambs/heads
6	1112STR, 1127STR	1113F 1119C, 1120F	1114C, 1115F 1116C, 1117F 1119C, 1120F 1125C, 1126F
5	1129STR, 1130STR	1124F 1127C, 1128F	1123C, 1124F
4	1131STR	1132C, 1133F 1136C, 1137F	1135C, 1134F 1136C, 1137F 1138C, 1139F
3	1264STR	1259C, 1260F 1261C, 1262F 1265C, 1266F	1254C, 1255F 1257C, 1258F
2	1357STR, 1360STR		1353C, 1354F 1355F, 1356F 1358C, 1359F 1361C, 1362F

**Table 3.1 Context numbers for windows in the south-west elevation of Trinity hall, York.**

### The north-east wall

The reconstruction of the fourteenth-century appearance of the south-west wall re-emphasises its complete contrast with the north-east wall of the undercroft (fig. 42). This consists primarily of limestone masonry (5000STR), with some areas of exposed rubble core (5009STR, 5022STR, 5029STR, 5034STR) and several areas of later stone and brick refacing. It is important to note that there are no diagnostically fourteenth-century features contained within this wall. Three square-headed, cinquefoil two-light windows were inserted during the fifteenth century (fig. 43). One at the south-eastern end of the wall was relatively recently replaced by a modern doorway (5007C & 5008F), one original survives to the north-west of this (5014C & 5015F), and the position of the third is suggested by an area of blocking (5023C & 5024F) clearly visible on the exterior and interior of the wall. Moreover the exposed rubble core within the wall is flush with the surface of the supposed contemporary fourteenth-century timber frame in the first floor hall

above (fig. 44). It seems anomalous -and structurally unsound- to suggest that the wall originally projected out beyond the level of the first floor. Yet the survival of faced masonry at the south-eastern end of the elevation (5000STR) indicates that it has clearly been cut back elsewhere. This must have been before the fifteenth century, for the embrasures of the inserted two-light windows are flush with the rubble core, as are later features such as the re-set medieval niche (5030C & 5031F) and modern windows towards the north-west end of this wall (5005c & 5006F, 5010C & 5011F, 5018C & 5019F, 5023C & 5024F, 5032C & 5033F).

These anomalies can only be understood if the fourteenth-century date of the north-east wall is questioned, and the wall is seen in context with other archaeological evidence in the returning south-east elevation. This wall contains another inserted fifteenth-century window, a large buttress, and an exposed plinth (figs. 45-46). It consists primarily of limestone masonry (4000STR, 4007STR), some of which has been re-set (4001C & 4002F) with substantial areas of modern refacing which can be securely dated to restoration work in 1925 (4003C & 4004F, 4005C & 4006F, 4008C & 4009F). At the north-east corner of this south-east wall is a substantial buttress (4011STR), the top of which has been refaced in modern brick (4011C & 4015F, 4017C & 4018F, 4020C & 4021F, 4023C & 4024F). The buttress and south-east wall have a plinth profile which is strikingly characteristic, not of fourteenth but of thirteenth-century buildings in York, for example at York Minster (fig. 47). This plinth returns, but has been cut back, under the south-west corner of the window, where the wall is abutted by the early fifteenth-century chapel (4010STR). This would imply that there was another buttress or returning wall in this position during the thirteenth century, which must have been cut back before the chapel was re-built in c.1411, but parts of this feature appear to have been excavated by YAYAS in 1949-50. There is therefore, clear archaeological evidence for substantial building activity on the site of Trinity hall not only in the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth as well. This conclusion therefore allows us to return to the issue of the date of the north-east wall.

The raising of the ground level on the north-east side of the building makes it impossible to tell whether the thirteenth-century plinth returns along the north-east side of the building. The area of limestone facing at the south-eastern end of the north-east wall (5000STR) suggests that it did, but the exposed rubble core implies that this must either have been on a slightly different alignment or, alternatively, that there was another structure built up against it which must have been cut back before the insertion of windows into this elevation in the fifteenth century. The upper part of the blocked doorway in the fourth bay of this elevation (5034STR, 5035C &

5036F), is of similar form and style to that in the seventh bay which still forms the principal entrance into the undercroft (fig. 48). Both were dated to the fourteenth century by the RCHME, but this type of two-centred arch is in fact a form found throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Large areas of seventeenth-century re-facing make it difficult to prove structural continuity between these various fragments of the north-east wall. But surviving masonry exposed in two cupboards in the fifth and sixth bays of the undercroft is of a similar character to that at the south-east end of the north-east wall.

The contemporaneity of the two doorways is problematic, for it is unclear why two separate entrances into the hospital undercroft should have been required, and there is no internal archaeological evidence for a timber or masonry partition between them. However, if another structure was built up against the north-east wall, the doorway in bay four might provide access, not into but *out of* the undercroft into another building. This hypothesis would explain why some areas of the wall retain their original facing whilst much of the remaining wall consists of rubble core. A thirteenth-century date would be consistent with the evidence of the south-east wall and would also explain why the later timber-framing of the hall is flush with the rubble core and the surviving areas of faced limestone masonry in the north-east wall. A thirteenth-century date would also explain the constructional differences between the two undercroft walls, the lack of a fourteenth-century fenestration scheme in this elevation, and the insertion of windows after the demolition of the rest of this earlier structure in the fifteenth century.

The different structural supports in the south-west and north-east walls are also explained by the proposed thirteenth-century dating of the north-east wall. In the latter, the timber aisle posts and their braces rest on a series of six corbels, but this is only the case with the first post from the south-east in the south-western wall (fig. 49). The second aisle post in this elevation is truncated at the present ground level, but the third, fourth and fifth posts have been excavated to reveal that they extended down towards the original medieval floor levels (fig. 14). It may be suggested that the aisle posts in the north-east wall and the first in the south-west wall are actually re-using pre-existing thirteenth-century supports, whilst the rest of the posts of the south-west wall are related to its re-construction in fourteenth-century brick. This would explain the anomaly of an unused corbel located in the sixth bay of the south-west wall adjacent to a fourteenth-century aisle post (fig. 49). The identification of surviving thirteenth-century fabric in the south-west as well as the north-east wall is further supported by the supposed blocked fourteenth-century doorway in its second bay. It has already been suggested that the fourteenth-century window in this bay is



original but stratigraphically later than the hood mould into which it is set. This hood mould is more characteristic of a thirteenth-century lancet window than a fourteenth-century doorway; an interpretation which is supported by the splaying of its internal embrasures (fig. 50).

Evidence that the undercroft was laid out in relation to a pre-existing twelfth- and thirteenth-century building, re-using existing structural supports rather than simply 'being determined by the function of the hall above' (RCHME 1981, 84) comes from the timber frame itself. The undercroft is divided into two aisles and eight bays by a series of seven massive samson posts (figs. 51-52). Evidence for the existence of the twelfth-century building is strengthened by several differences between the first six bays of the undercroft from the south-east (including the entrance bay to the hospital), and the two bays at the north-west end of the ground floor. In addition there is a building break in the north-east wall adjacent to the present entrance to the undercroft. The bays to the north-west are different from the rest of the undercroft, being shorter, with their central post slightly out of line with the other six.

The circular carpenters' marks on the six central posts and their aisle posts, braces and transverse beams are different to the standard Roman numeral system used by medieval carpenters (fig. 53 Harris 1993). There is no correlation between the two which would suggest that they represent a simple numerical sequence indicating the constructional sequence from south-east to north-west or *vice versa*. Indeed, it may well be that their use relates to the fact that the timber-framing of Trinity undercroft was not laid out and framed up elsewhere (necessitating the use of conventional carpenters' marks) but rather erected around a pre-existing building on site. Table 3.2 shows the correlation between these marks and both sequences, whilst fig. 54 shows their position *in situ*.

No. Of Truss	1 or 6	2 or 5	3 or 4	4 or 3	5 or 2	6 or 1
S-W wall						
Centre						
N-E wall						

**Table 3.2 Correlation of carpenters' marks with south-east to north-west or north-west to south-east construction sequence, Trinity hall undercroft.**

Support for the hypothesis advanced above is given by the fact that the sequence makes slightly more sense if it is re-arranged to reflect the fact that the central posts of the undercroft must have been laid out first in relation to the structural supports in the north-east wall (table 3.3). This would explain the off-set bay rhythm of the undercroft; the central posts are regularly spaced but their transverse beams had to be skewed to tie in with pre-existing thirteenth-century corbels. The only place where this would have created too great an angle between the aisle post, transverse beam and the central post itself, is in the sixth bay, where the corbel remains unused.

No. of truss	1 or 6	2 or 5	3 or 4	4 or 3	5 or 2	6 or 1
Centre						
N-E wall						
S-W wall						

**Table 3.3 Correlation of carpenters' marks with revised construction sequence, Trinity hall undercroft.**

### **Conclusion**

My archaeological interpretation of Trinity hall suggests that its fourteenth-century undercroft incorporates substantial amounts of twelfth- and thirteenth-century masonry belonging to earlier buildings on the site. Twelfth-century material in the south-west wall may have extended as far as the present entrance bay of the undercroft. The north-east and south-east walls consist largely of thirteenth-century masonry, and imply the existence of an earlier structure which had been demolished by the fifteenth century. From this archaeological evidence we can therefore hypothesise about the form and scale of this earlier medieval building.

### **The eleventh- / twelfth-century building and Norman houses in York**

The quality of the twelfth-century masonry at Trinity hall indicates the status and prestige of the earlier building on the site. Although only one example of a 'Norman hall' survives in York (RCHME 1981, 225-6), examples such as Alan son of Romund's house in Ousegate, and that Hugh son of Lefwin in Coney street, are also known from documentary sources (YAYAS 1951-2). York was a thriving and prosperous city in 1066, supporting a population of c.9000 (VCH 1961, 19). Its prosperity is reflected by its ability to attract the kinds of families who built houses

like the 'Norman hall'. This building, like Trinity hall's predecessor, was set back from the street (fig. 55). This parallels contemporary examples such as 'Moyses' Hall in Bury St. Edmunds, three of the seven recorded early medieval houses in Colchester and examples from 'Tannerestret' and 'Calpestret' in Winchester (Corner 1860; Vogts 1930; Buttner & Meissner 1983; Wood 1965). The 'Norman hall' in Stonegate appears to have been a first floor hall over a vaulted undercroft, but as at Trinity hall there is insufficient evidence to indicate its original width or bay rhythm (YAYAS 1951-2, 36-39). It may have been similar to Corbet Court, Gracechurch street, London (Schofield 1995, 30). This was square in plan and entered from the ground floor through a short porch with blank arcading along its walls, and there are similar examples known from Southampton (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975 83-5 fig.68 ) and Stamford (RCHME 1977, 129 plate 58). Alternatively the undercroft might have been like the barrel-vaulted stone basement at Milk Street, London, which belonged to a solar block originally associated with a detached timber hall (Schofield 1995, figs. 32-33).

### **The thirteenth-century building**

The incorporation of thirteenth-century fabric in both the south-west, north-east and south-east walls of Trinity hall, and the limit of this fabric in the present entrance bay of the undercroft provides us with the bay rhythm, form and approximate size of the building by the thirteenth century. It was c.40 feet (12.0m) x c.85 feet (32.0m), and the surviving corbels along the north-east and south-west walls suggest that it was of seven bays. The demolition of the upper parts of the walls has eradicated any evidence there may have been for its roof in the form of scars for the springing of vaults. This type of vaulted undercroft survives at Blackwell Hall (Schofield 1995, 159), and fragments of similar undercrofts exist at the house of the Prior of Christ Church Canterbury, in Cheapside which dates to c.1272-9, and at the Bishop of St. David's Inn in Bride Lane, and Crosby Place, Bishopsgate (Schofield 1995, 73; 36). However, the use of quadripartite vaults generally limited the span of these buildings to one or two aisles. The distance between the surviving thirteenth-century buttress at the south-east corner of the south-east wall on the site of Trinity hall, and that cut back by the abutting fifteenth-century chapel suggests that the building was divided into two aisles just over 3.0m wide, either side of a central 'nave'. Surviving comparative urban examples of this type of timber-framed, aisled hall are difficult to find, but documentary sources record their existence. Buildings like the Verdennel house known as 'Wyndsour' in Ketmangergate and John Selby's house, called 'Munsorel' in Micklegate, York, may have been of this type (VCH 1961, 51). Appendix 3, table 2 therefore lists comparative examples from both urban and rural as well as manorial, ecclesiastical and royal sites.

The closest parallel for Trinity hall's predecessor appears to be the two aisled, seven bay hall of Bristol castle, and this suggests that we may be seriously underestimating the scale and level of investment in thirteenth-century urban seigneurial architecture. This should not surprise us, for later medieval mercantile and gentry urban houses in London certainly rivalled or mimicked the grandeur of royal buildings (Schofield 1995, 41). The Trinity hall site was purchased from Sir William Percy in 1356 and the Percy family also had other connections in the area, for example holding the advowson of St. Mary's Castlegate from 1267 where they founded a chantry to Henry Percy at the altar of St. Mary the Virgin (Drake 1736, 284). However, this is not conclusive or sufficient evidence that the earlier buildings on the site of Trinity hall were part of the townhouse of part of this prestigious family.

### **The chapel and earlier buildings on the site.**

The licence granted to the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1357 records that permanent chaplains were to be employed by the guild but implied that divine service was celebrated in the parish church of St. Crux. However, an account roll of 1368 suggests that the guild was also celebrating mass in a small chapel associated with the hospital itself:

*Item, domino Willelmo, capellano nostro, pro salaria sua in partem xlvjs viijd. Item in oleo empto pro j lampade ardente in capella vjs viijd. Item in pane, cera et vino empto pro celebracione divinorum xvijd. (YMA, 24)*

The deed for the foundation of the hospital itself in 1371-2 refers to

*Habenda et tenenda sibi et successoribus suis, pro sustentacione sua, et aliorum capellanorum divina in hospitali predicto, pro salubri statu nostro. (4 August 1373, Arch. Reg. Johannes Thoresby, f.169)*

This older chapel was described as ruinous in the licence of its successor in 1411:

*...quodque dicta capella, transcurso annorum ruinis gravibus deformata, jam civium modernorum civitatis ejusdem sumptuosis expensis erecta in dicta capella altari, de novo ad laudem Dei et divini cultus augmentum decenciori amplitudine insignius fabricatur..... (YMA, 30-31)*

The present chapel is undoubtedly that of 1411, although it incorporates considerable amounts of older, re-used architectural fragments, as a recent watching brief by YAT (fig. 56-57; Hunter-Mann 1997) has made clear. Stylistic parallels for the chapel's fifteenth-century tracery survive in the mid fifteenth-century three-light cinquefoil windows of St. Cuthbert's and the two-light cinquefoil window surviving in the south-west wall of St. Anthony's hall (fig. 58). The profile of the plinth exposed at the south-east end of the chapel is comparable with fifteenth-century

examples at St. Anthony's and the Guildhall, and at St. Cuthbert's and St. Sampson's churches (fig. 59). The four centred 'chancel' arch with two chamfered orders which separated the re-built chapel from the undercroft also has close parallels with the north aisle at Holy Trinity Goodramgate. The fact that the chapel was already 'ruinous' by 1411 suggests that it must have been older than the newly-finished fourteenth-century guildhall. Given the interpretations advanced above it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this was a domestic chapel associated with the Norman or thirteenth-century house on the site, which the fraternity continued to use while they expended funds on building the hall itself. It may well have been within this earlier chapel in 1396 that three of the brethren of St. John the Baptist's fraternity founded a chantry (Johnson 1949, 119-20).

Was the earlier chapel on the same alignment and site as the later building? The foundations excavated at the junction of the south-east wall of the undercroft and chapel and the east end of the chapel itself in 1949 might suggest this was the case. The truncated buttress in the undercroft's south-east wall and the straight joint in the chapel's south-west wall have been interpreted as evidence of this earlier building, which was presumed to have been a fourteenth-century structure (RCHME 1981, 85). However, it is equally possible that these foundations might represent evidence of a solar wing associated with the earlier hall. Doubts about the assumed location of the chapel are also raised by the fact that the two areas of medieval masonry interpreted by the RCHME as representing structural continuity between the fifteenth-century chapel and its predecessor, are not bonded together, and are separated by several areas of brick (figs.58-59 1367STR & 1372STR, 1368C & 1369F, 1370C & 1371F, 1373C & 1374F). There is a straight joint immediately to the south-east of the junction (1375C), and the structure of the chapel clearly abuts the south-east wall of the undercroft on its north-east side, where it truncates the thirteenth-century plinth and buttress (fig. 60 3010STR, 3013C & 3014F; fig. 61 4007STR & 4010STR).

An alternative and equally plausible location for the chapel is on the north-east side of the hall. The placing of chapels in close association with halls was common practice in the thirteenth century (Appendix 3, table 3). Although many of these were associated with solars at first floor level, comparative examples associated with ground floor halls are known from manorial sites such as Sutton-at-Hone (c.1234) and Swingfield (c.1240) in Kent; at Petworth, Sussex; East Hendred house, Rockbourne Manor, Hampshire; and Uploman Manor and Membury Court in Devon (Wood 1965, 243-4). Similar arrangements have been suggested for the thirteenth-century

arrangements in ecclesiastical buildings such as the Bishop's Palace, Wells, and royal sites like Pickering castle.

The blocked doorway in the north-east wall may therefore have originally provided access into the chapel from both the thirteenth-century domestic hall and later, from the late fourteenth century-hospital. It is significant that the fifteenth-century windows inserted into the north-east wall are stylistically similar to the chapel windows. They suggest that the earlier chapel may have been demolished as that of 1411 was built, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the re-used architectural fragments in the present chapel originated in this earlier building. Moreover, the idea that the chapel was re-positioned may explain why the licence of 1411 emphasises the visual relationship between the Host suspended before its high altar and the hospital inmates:

*..quod ipse de nobiliori et potenciori hujusmodi mundi alimento pro anime refeccione pia disposicione providit ob populi ad dictum hospitale confluentis et pauperum ibidem degencium devocionem excitandam, eo quod frequencius aspicitur hijusmodi memoria disticcus retinetur, desuper altare ejusdem capelle in vases mundo pendendi, panem et aquam ibidem diebus dominicis benedicendos... (YMA, 30-31)*

### The fourteenth-century undercroft

Previous interpretations (particularly YAT's excavations of 1995) presented a paradox concerning the original floor level of the fourteenth-century undercroft. The archaeological evidence of a surface 0.60 m below the present level did not match that suggested by the bases of the aisle posts in south-west wall, or that implied by the five courses of fourteenth-century masonry excavated beneath this elevation in 1996. But it is unclear whether the 1995 excavations actually reached the earliest levels of the hall. The dumps of silty clay loam (1043, 1044) beneath the supposed earliest floor were interpreted as being 'deposited at some point between the 14th and early 16th century', as were the bricks which formed the floor surface and associated partitions (1018, 1038; fig. 12). In fact, the level of this early floor corresponds almost exactly with another feature in the undercroft: the four-fireplace complex constructed in its sixth bay during the later sixteenth century (fig. 62). Moreover, the proposed fourteenth-century date of the earliest excavated floor implied that the original hospital was partitioned (Hunter-Mann 1995, 32), and this is both archaeologically and historically problematical. The width between these 'partitions' was less than one metre, which would hardly have been sufficient to accommodate a bed.

Medieval hospitals were usually open spaces in which inmates were accommodated along the longitudinal walls, and the 1411 licence for the Trinity hospital makes it clear that inmates *were* to be able to see the elevation of the host from their beds, which would have been impossible if the hospital was partitioned. Indeed, with the exception of leper hospitals, the subdivision of hospitals before the fifteenth century was rare (Orme and Webster 1995, 91; Gilchrist 1995, 18). Where partitioning did occur in the fifteenth century, it also tended to respect the longitudinal rather than the transverse axis of the building, as at St. Mary's, Chichester (fig. 63). The width of the bays created by this partitioning was also at least twice that of the proposed structures in Trinity hospital. Surviving brick, timber and plaster partitions are shown on plans of the building dating to 1919 and 1925 (fig. 64-5). Their position is indicated by a series of mortises cut into the transverse beam of this bay, described during their removal in the restoration works of 1925:

Removal of staircase, walls and partitions to form antechapel.....  
Taking down partitions and floors west of proposed antechapel &  
laying flag floor on concrete.....  
Taking up brick paving in Antechapel and laying flag floor on concrete.  
(BIHR AB 8/132/5)

The seventeenth-century date of these later partitions does not mean that the stratigraphically earlier floor level *must* be that of the fourteenth century, particularly in the light of the depth suggested by excavations along the south-west wall in 1996. It seems more likely that they are part of the changes made to the undercroft during the sixteenth century, and it is possible that if excavations had extended down another 0.5 m an earlier floor level would have been discovered.

The position of a partition or screen separating the entrance from the seventh and eighth bays of the undercroft is implied by a line of smoke blackening on the underside of the floor joists in the north-eastern bay (fig. 65). It is possible that these bays provided some form of separate or private accommodation for the master of the hospital. A document dating c.1394-1435 describes the attempted delivery of a gown to the master of the hospital, William Ottley, by a skinner, who, although he had tried

to come in the morning to your chamber dore, he might not come into your chamber. And laid it with a sister of the house, and also by the tokyn that I hask of yow xl pens thereon, and is lent me not scheleynges befor the glas wyndow, as ye said your matyns (YMA, 41)

The short-changed skinner could clearly see Ottley from where he was conversing with the sister, which may have been at the hospital entrance in the sixth bay of the undercroft. Similar screening of the lower ends of hospitals to provide accommodation for porters or priests has been found at St. Anne, Ripon and St. Bartholomew, Bristol (Gilchrist 1995, 19).

### The fourteenth-century hall.

Considerable numbers of the common rafters, as well as parts of the wall frame and the floor of the hall were repaired or replaced during successive restoration programmes in 1925, 1929 and 1937. However, most of the principal posts and roof trusses are original, and dendrochronological analysis by Nottingham University for the RCHME provided a felling date of 1367 (-9, +20) (*Vernacular Architecture* 22).

Site	Timbers Sampled	Date of Outermost Ring	Years Spanned Site Cross-matching
Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Fossgate, York SE 606516	Braces, Post King posts Tiebeams Total dated: 8/9	1338(H/S); 1344(H/S) 1346(3); 1349(19) 1351(26); 1352(18) 1355(16); 1357(11)	1241-1357 t=5.1, MGB-E01 t=4.7, E.Midlands

Table 3.4 Dendrochronological dating of Trinity hall



These dates support documentary records of expenditure on 530 trees from Bolton Percy, Acaster, Thorp Underwood, Wighill and Henderskelf between 1357-1361. The hall, like the undercroft, is a double-aisled, eight-bay structure, divided into the typical medieval 'tripartite' form of a 'high' or 'dais' end in the first (south-eastern) bay, and a low service end containing a buttery and pantry in the seventh (figs. 67-68). Each bay is approximately 4.0 m (11 feet) long, with the exception of the south-eastern bay which is just over 5.0 m (16 feet), and the screens passage bay which is 2.5 m (4 feet) long. The hall is entered through a screens passage in its seventh bay (unlike the ground floor where the undercroft is entered in the sixth). Large mortises in the four posts framing this bay, and scorch or candle burns along the associated tie beams indicate the position of some form of gallery and 'screen' (fig. 69). Moreover in 1929 references were made to the removal of a 'minstrel's gallery', and to a plaster panel containing a date and inscription located 'between the minstrel's gallery and the main hall' (YMAA Building Corr. 18.09.1929). However, no drawn or photographic record of either of these features appears to have been made.

The position of a possible gallery here is supported by the fact that fourteenth-century porches were usually positioned towards one end of a hall, often with a chamber over their entrance leading to a gallery over the screens passage (Wood 1965, 150). Trinity hall probably had an external timber-framed porch providing access from the 'halle warde' both to the screens passage on the first floor and the hospital on the ground floor. It is possible that some of the re-used timber in the north-east range originated within this structure. The location of this porch is supported by a contemporary squint in the sixth bay of the hall which would have provided a clear view of the original 'halle warde' but is now obscured by the north-east range. Comparative examples of squints at the service end of halls survive at Dartington Hall, Devon and Great Chalfield, whilst squints commanding views of entrances or gates are also found at the thirteenth-century Nassington Prebendal House, the fifteenth-century Little Sodbury Manor, Gloucestershire, and at Wanswell Court (Wood 1965, 355-7).

The hall is divided into two aisles by a series of posts 4.75m high (fig. 6) with jowled heads and chamfer stops at their base. The roof trusses consist of cambered tie beams with curved braces to the wall posts and cusped kerb principals. Crown posts supporting a braced collar and collar purlin are situated on the first, third, sixth and seventh trusses from the south-east end. The second, fourth and fifth trusses do not have crown posts and their associated braces, and a second collar offers structural support for the collar purlin. Wind braces are associated with both types

of roof truss. The closest comparative examples within York exist in buildings such as the Red Lion and 16-22 Coney Street, dated by the RCHME to the early fifteenth century (fig. 70). Many later examples have additional struts from the tie beam to the principal rafters, although Trinity hall is the only example with cusped kerb principals. Although doubts about the late fourteenth century-date of Trinity hall had been expressed by Wood (1965, 44) on stylistic grounds, previous interpretations had generally assumed the hall was of one construction date. However in 1929 Powys made a suggestion that the seventh and eighth bays of the hall 'might have been added in the 15th century and that the old gable end might then have been taken down and rebuilt' (YMAA Building Corr. 15.11.1929; see above page 44). Powys never elaborated his idea, probably because he was also convinced that the north-west gable windows were of a fourteenth-century date, comparable with those at Chaffield Farm, Sussex.

My detailed examination of the cross and wall frames and roof trusses of Trinity hall has explained this paradox through establishing the constructional sequence of the hall indicated by surviving carpenters' marks (figs. 71-72). Construction commenced in the south-east gable end of the south-west aisle (which appears to have been replaced c.1667), and continued down the south-west aisle to the screens passage bay (truss VII), after which it returned up the north-east aisle to its dais end (originally XIV). This sequence is also indicated by the north-east wall frame. Powys' interpretation cannot have been based on observation of these carpenters' marks, for if two original bays had been built and then demolished, there would be four missing numbers in the sequence. The explanation for this break in the structural sequence lies not in the evidence of the hall itself, but in the undercroft. As demonstrated earlier, on the ground floor, this bay appears to indicate the end of the re-used twelfth and thirteenth century; beyond this the south-west, north-west and north-east walls of the undercroft were originally timber-framed. Although the first six bays of the building from the south-east were therefore built as a coherent unit, there appears to have been some doubt or delay concerning the construction of the end of the building, or perhaps the ultimate size of the hall itself. This may have been related to uncertainty about the depth of foundations needed to support the weight of the hall above on a site which the medieval carpenters knew was prone to regular flooding. However, the stylistic similarity between the north-west gables and the rest of the hall suggests that these problems were resolved and the bays completed soon after the main body of the hall itself.

The wall posts in the hall have curved downward braces to their sills and are connected by a horizontal mid rail. Both the south-west and north-east walls have been greatly altered by the insertion of windows in the eighteenth century, the re-facing of the two south-eastern bays of the north-east wall in brick, and the replacement of the timber-framing of the two north-western bays (fig. 4). However the fourteenth-century appearance of the wall frames and the original fenestration scheme can be reconstructed from the stratigraphic analysis of the south-west wall, the two fourteenth-century windows remaining in the north-east wall, and peg holes in both the south-west and north-east wall plates. There is clear archaeological evidence for original medieval windows in the second, third, fifth and sixth bays. The insertion of a fireplace in the sixth bay of the south-west aisle during the sixteenth century has resulted in the preservation of an original medieval mullion window in this elevation (1071-5STR). The window is formed by three substantial studs which form part of, and are flush with, the timber frame, with a mullion either side of the centre stud (fig. 73).

Two original windows of the same dimensions were also preserved in the fifth and sixth bays of the north-east wall, but these have diagonally set mullions, like surviving examples in the north-west elevation. Both of these had shutter grooves, whereas the mullions flush with the window may well reflect an alternative form of closing such as horn, or reed mats bowed and sprung into the opening (Armstrong 1977, 832). Alternatively, the windows may never have been glazed, like those uncovered by Knowles in the Guildhall in 1949 (YAYAS Annual Report 1949-50). References in the House Books indicate that unglazed but shuttered windows were still in use in 1556 when Richard Aynly, keeper of the Guildhall was charged with 'kepyng shutt the wood wyndowes of the sayd Hall soo that no doves or other fowle entre nor buyld in the sayd Hall' (YCR 5, 148). Comparative examples of similar windows are found elsewhere in York (fig. 74). The stratigraphic evidence for these windows from peg holes in the south-west elevation is summarised in table 3.5, and together with that in the north-east elevation is incorporated into the reconstruction drawing figs. 27-28. There also appear to have been substantial windows at the dais end of the hall which are shown on early restoration drawings (fig. 7) but which were masked by the raising of the level of the chapel roof in the later seventeenth century.

Bay no. from south-east	Context nos. of surviving structure	Context nos. of associated mid rail	No. of lights & mullions
1 (dais end)	<i>peg holes in 1191</i>	1307, 1308, 1312	? Mullion window above and below transom - as in NW gable 8 lights; 6 mullions
2	1270, 1271	1268, 1273	4 lights; 3 mullions
3	1233, 2041	1214, 1243	4 lights; 3 mullions
4	<i>no window-braces with central stud</i>		
5	1141, 1142	1143, 1144	4 lights; 3 mullions
6	1070-5	1065	
7 (screens passage)	<i>No evidence in SW wall</i>	-	<i>from comp. in NE wall</i>
8 (buttery/pantry)	<i>No evidence in SW wall</i>	-	<i>from comp. in NE wall</i>

**Table 3.5 Context numbers for timber-framed windows, south west elevation of Trinity hall.**

There appear to have been differences in the screens passage bay -where a smaller two-light window was probably associated with the position of the porch, in the fourth bay -which does not appear to have contained a window in either elevation, and in the south-east gable end of the hall -where it is possible that there was one large window extending above and below a transom (figs. 75-80). Windows of this type were uncovered in the north-west gable in 1929, and restoration drawings of the south-east gable end of the north-east aisle suggest a similar arrangement (fig. 73). The south-east gable of the south-west aisle was probably similar, but was altered before the nineteenth century (probably in association with the raising of the chapel roof in 1667). Large windows at the service end of the building would have provided important additional light for the buttery and pantry. But they were also used to symbolise the status of the dais end of the hall, performing a similar function to the oriel or bay windows found in later medieval buildings. The visual emphasis placed on different bays in the hall by the fenestration scheme was mirrored by differences in the wall framing. Detailed stratigraphic analysis of the external elevation indicates

that its 'close studding' is in fact a later decorative scheme, cut into the original wall plates and mid rails of the hall (see figs. 75-80). The contextual evidence for this is presented in table 3.6.

Bay no.	Context no. of wall plate	Context nos. of studs cut/pegged into wall plate	Context nos. Of mid rail	Context nos. of studs cut/pegged into mid rail	Context nos. of other studs associated with braces &c
1	1191STR	1317C & 1318F	1307STR 1312STR	1325C & 1326F 1327C & 1328F	1334-1341
2	1191STR	1279C & 1280F 1281C & 1282F 1283C & 1284f 1278	1268STR 1273STR	1286C & 1287F 1288C & 1289F 1290C & 1291F 1285	1292, 1293, 1295, 1296
3	1191STR	1215C & 1216F 1217C & 1218F 1219C & 1220F 1221C & 1222F 1233C & 1234F 1235C & 1236F	1214STR 1243STR	1227C & 1228F 1231C & 1232F 1245C & 1246F 1247C & 1248F	1239C & 1240F 1238, 1249, 1250
4	1191STR	1183C & 1184F 1185C & 1186F 1187C & 1188F 1211C & 1212F	1179STR 1203STR	1192 1204 1205C & 1206F	1195C & 1196F 1207, 1197
5	1073STR	1147C & 1148F 1149C & 1150F 1151C & 1152F 1156C & 1157F 1183C & 1184F	1143STR 1144STR	1158C & 1159F 1160C & 1161F 1162C & 1163F 1164	1169C & 1170F 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168
6	1070STR	1076C & 1077F 1078C & 1079F 1080C & 1081F 1082C & 1083F	1065STR	1084C & 1085F 1086C & 1087F 1088C & 1089F 1090C & 1091F 1092C & 1093F 1094C & 1095F 1096C & 1097F 1098C & 1099F	1100, 1101, 1102, 1103
7 C18	-	-			1042, 1054, 1055
8 C18	-	-	1038	1034C & 1035F 1036C & 1037F	1017, 1022- 1024

Table 3.6 Context numbers for timber-framing of the south-west elevation of Trinity hall.

When these later studs are removed the original appearance of both of the elevations becomes clear (figs. 27-28). Downward braces extended from the wall posts to the sill, with a central stud in between. A mid-rail located slightly above the middle of the elevation supported the original windows above, except in the fourth bay of the hall where there was no window, and upward braces to the wall plate flanked a central stud. This, of course was the central bay of the hall, and suggests a desire to create some form of symmetrical impression in the elevations. It also supports the idea that an eight-bay building was intended from the start of the construction process. The addition of close studding at a later date transformed the appearance of Trinity hall, creating a much more elaborate elevation to both sides of the building, and similar studs appear to have been added to the north-west gable end of the building. It may have paralleled the use of close studding at fifteenth-century buildings like St. William's College and must have preceded the plastering of the building in the seventeenth century, for the studs -like the principal structural timbers- all contain nails to receive render (fig. 81).

### **The central hearth and the kitchen**

The possible presence of an open or central hearth in Trinity hall is suggested by references to louvre strings in the fourteenth-century account rolls (Wheatley pers. comm). A break in the ridge piece at St. Anthony's hall indicates the position of a similar feature, but the replacement of many of the common rafters and ridges of over time may have destroyed similar evidence at Trinity hall. Although they posed a fire risk, central hearths in timber-framed first floor halls are known from the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester (c.1383), Portchester Castle (c.1399), and Hampton Court (c.1535), where a stone pillar within the undercroft rose to support a hearth at first floor level. The smoke blackening on the timber towards the dais end of the south-west aisle of Trinity hall probably reflects the heating of the hall with coal fires in the nineteenth century rather than the position of the medieval hearth. It is also possible that the louvres were designed to take the smoke from free-standing brasiers, which were also a common means of heating medieval halls.

The permanent hospital community and the elaborate feasts held by the fraternity necessitated the presence of a kitchen. This is indicated by references in the account rolls of 1432/3 to 'Item, for makyng of the rerdose in the kechyn in the Trinite halle, v lode clay vd' (YMA, 38). A 'reredos' could refer either to an open hearth or the back of a fireplace but it is unlikely that the kitchen - which posed a considerable fire risk- would have been located within the hall itself. Some form of access between the buildings would have been likely (Wood 1965, 247; 259) but the lack of archaeological evidence makes it difficult to speculate further about its position or form.

### **The fifteenth-century building: continuity and change?**

Archaeological evidence suggests there was both continuity and change at Trinity hall in the fifteenth century. Structural continuity in the form of the hospital and hall contrasts with alterations made to the appearance of the building through the addition of close studding to the north-east and south-west walls. Documentary records suggest that windows were being constructed, or at least glazed, within the hall during the later fifteenth century (YMAA Acc. Roll 16) and the timber window inserted into the first bay of the south-west wall of the undercroft may well be a surviving example of one of these (fig. 4). Fundamental changes in the fenestration of the north-east wall, as well as the possible removal of an older chapel from its north-east elevation must also have transformed the appearance of the fourteenth-century undercroft.

The archaeological analysis of the fifteenth-century chapel has revealed considerable evidence for its original form. The original floor level appears to have been similar to that in the undercroft; its position is indicated by the level of the original plinth in the south-east, north-east walls and the south-west wall, where it was excavated two courses below the present ground level (Hunter-Mann 1996). The chapel is built predominantly of limestone masonry, but incorporates considerable quantities of re-used, probably thirteenth-century masonry from the earlier buildings on the site. Some of these blocks contain weather strips, and must have originally formed originally part of a gable end (1381STR fig. 58). The chapel's restoration and the raising of its roof in 1667 (Drake 1736, 302) is reflected by a large area of brickwork above the masonry in all three elevations (1401C & 1402F, 2009C & 2010F, 2011C & 2012F 3005C & 3006F). At the same time, the original fifteenth-century windows in the south-west (1386C & 1387F), and the south-east wall (which is now in the rest garden) were raised up the wall to accommodate the new pews inside the chapel (fig. 82).

The straight joint visible 1.70m from the south-eastern end of the south-western wall has been interpreted as representing either the limit of the earlier chapel on the site (RCHME 1981, 84) or the extension of the chapel shortly after its construction (Hunter-Mann 1996, 31). However the stratigraphic analysis of this elevation suggests that it is related to the movement of a fifteenth-century window from its original position at the south-east end of the wall to its present position in the centre of the elevation. Its original position is indicated by the cut which has been misinterpreted as a straight joint at the south-east end of the wall. This is associated with the fill of the original position of the window with re-used masonry (fig. 83 1396STR, 1394C & 1395F). The centre of the fifteenth-century wall was in turn cut to accommodate this inserted window

(1381STR, 1384C & 1385F), and an area of fill beneath the sill suggests that it was re-set slightly higher up the wall (1385F, 1386C & 1387F). Its stratigraphic relationship to the surrounding brickwork (1401C & 1402F) suggests that all three events were part of the 1667 restorations. This interpretation also explains the paradox of the straight joint continuing through the plinth. The plinth was clearly cut and re-set when the window was removed above it, hence the need for the tile 'packing' observed in excavation. Another fifteenth-century window at the north-west end of the south-west wall was entirely removed at the same time. Its position is indicated by another cut and fill (fig. 84 1372STR & 1381STR, 1375C & 1376F). The fifteenth-century chapel therefore had two symmetrically placed windows in its south-west wall; during the seventeenth century one of these was removed entirely and the other placed centrally within the elevation.

There appears to have been only one original window in the north-east wall of the chapel, which was also removed during seventeenth-century alterations. Its position is indicated by the cutting of the fifteenth-century masonry (3000STR) at the south-east end of the wall and the filling of the void in the wall with a mixture of brick, tile and masonry fragments and the building up of the wall itself to raise the roof level (3005C & 3006F). The plinth on this side of the building was not cut during these alterations, and there is no evidence for a second window in this north-east wall. A small doorway was later cut into this wall but subsequently blocked (3011C & 3012F, 3015C & 3016F). The stratigraphic relationship of the fifteenth-century chapel to the thirteenth and fourteenth-century buildings at Trinity hall is particularly clearly where its north-east wall abuts the south-east wall of the undercroft, truncating its thirteenth-century plinth and buttress.

The south-east (the liturgical 'east') wall of the chapel has been substantially altered. The 'east' window was largely replaced in the nineteenth century, and the top part of the original moved to the rest garden (fig. 85-86 2006C & 2007F). The seventeenth-century brickwork, the surviving fifteenth-century masonry, and two later fills, are all cut by this removal and 'restoration' (2012F, 2010F, 2000STR, 2001STR & 2005F, 2003F). The decay of the original east window may have been exacerbated by the fact that it was repositioned higher up the wall during the restoration of the chapel in 1667 (2011C & 2012F, 2009C & 2010F). At this time, or possibly earlier, it was also appears to have been substantially altered by the removal of two of its original lights. The fifteenth-century masonry at the ends of the south-east wall has clearly been cut by the removal of a feature either side of the present aperture, which has subsequently been filled (2004C & 2005F, 2002C & 2003F), but these fills are themselves cut by the seventeenth century



brickwork. Cuts in the surviving mullions of the original east window in the rest garden suggest that it was originally wider than its present form, and the dimensions of the fills in the south-east wall suggest that two lights were removed from it at some point before the 1667 alterations. Support for this interpretation also comes from the account rolls of 1490-1 which refer to the glazing of a seven-light window by the high altar in Trinity chapel by William Cleveland (YMAA Acc. roll 1490-91; YMA, 83). The archaeological evidence allows us to reconstruct the original appearance and fenestration scheme of the fifteenth-century chapel. When this is related to fifteenth-century documentary evidence, we can speculate about the relationship of the windows with the position of altars in the chapel (see Chapter 6). It is not unreasonable to suggest that these windows were destroyed c.1547-8 by the mercers' mystery who were keen to convince the chantry commissioners that their religious functions had been suppressed.

### **3.5 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the Merchant Adventurers' hall**

#### **The undercroft**

Although its connection with the mystery of mercers ensured that the physical structures of chapel, hospital and hall survived the suppressions of 1546 and 1548, fundamental changes in the building's appearance, use and meaning were heralded by the Reformation. No mention of the chapel occurs in the chantry certificates of 1546; but it is probable that much of the religious or devotional imagery was removed or concealed within the chapel for the purposes of the survey. Fragmentary remains of an image of the Virgin and altar stones carved with the crosses representing the wounds of Christ were excavated in 1949 (fig. 87). Sadly, the rendering and fitting of pews to the walls in 1667 has obscured and destroyed evidence for post-Reformation alterations. However, the loss of the chapel as a liturgical and visual focus within the undercroft is indicated by the construction of partitions which severed visual and physical access between it and the hospital. The stratigraphic evidence suggests that there may have been at least two partitioning 'schemes' in the undercroft in the early modern period. A transverse partition separating the last two bays of the south-east end of the undercroft from the rest of the ground floor can be tentatively dated to the later sixteenth century, whilst a later partitioning may be more securely dated to the seventeenth century (fig. 12). The timber-framed window inserted into the end of the south-west wall of the undercroft after 1925 may well have originated within this partitioning (fig. 4). A further partition constructed immediately in front of the 'chancel' arch of the chapel was associated with the construction of a staircase from the dais end of the hall. Its position is indicated by a series of cut floor joists in the first bay of the north-east aisle, and it is shown on an early photograph of the dais end and on early plans of the hall (fig. 88).

The longitudinal partitioning of the undercroft appears to have been of a similar character to that in the second bay of the undercroft. Its position is indicated by a series of small mortises cut into the faces of the central samson posts, which in conjunction with other partitions depicted on both plans, effectively created a series of separate rooms within the hospital. The date of this partitioning is again problematic, but the sixteenth century is suggested by its relationship to the four-fireplace complex inserted into the sixth bay of the undercroft. This provided separate sources of heating for the subdivided 'rooms', and may well be that referred to in the account rolls of 1574-1575:

Item for charges of makyng a newe chymney at oure hall and pavyng the kytchyng and other places vj£ viiij s vjd and ijd for 'fyererth' (YMAA Acc. Roll 104).

The substantial expenditure accords with the scale and monumentality of these fireplaces. The bricks used in their construction match the standard brick size established by the York tilers in 1505 (Brunskill 1990, 37). Comparative and contemporary examples of the span and moulding of both fireplaces survived at the Treasurer's House and the Fox Inn, Petergate.

Other changes made to the undercroft during the sixteenth or early seventeenth century include the replacement of the timber-framing in the south-west, north-west and north-east walls of the seventh and eighth bays with brick (see figs. 32-34). The south-west wall incorporates re-used medieval brickwork but the north-west wall does not. A new fenestration scheme was provided in the north-west wall by a series of eight rectangular windows whose external hollow chamfers and mouldings compare with contemporary examples at the Treasurer's House (fig. 89). The five towards the south-west have wider splays and lower sills than the other three which may reflect a functional distinction or differences in the floor levels between bays. A similar window existed at the north-west end of the south-west wall, but has subsequently been blocked. The lack of deep foundations in this area may well have necessitated this rebuilding on structural grounds.

### **The hall**

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs suggest that the roof trusses of Trinity hall were plastered or ceiled over well before the nineteenth century (fig. 90). In 1834 'one square of the ancient ceiling, about 9 feet by 7, fell down with a tremendous crash' in the north-east aisle on top of a Sunday school (YCL Yorks. Gazette 13 December 1834), but the remainder was only removed during the restorations of 1925 (BIHR AB 8/132/5). The ceiling in the south-west aisle had been removed in 1892 and the re-exposed crown posts are visible on postcards from the turn of the century (YMAA Minute Book 1846-1908). The date of this ceiling is problematic, but the

account rolls of 1584-5 record the substantial expense of six pounds 'for the rug casting the ende of the hall and for stuff and werkmanship' (YMAA Acc. Roll 114), which certainly suggests that large areas of the now old-fashioned timber frame were being covered over. Parts of the wall frames appear to have been wainscoted during this period. Two areas of re-set panelling survive in the north-east and south-east walls of the dais end of the hall (fig. 91). Although both these were dated on stylistic grounds to the seventeenth century (RCHME 1981) there are clear differences in their proportions and moulding details. Two phases of timber-wainscoting are also indicated by the account rolls of 1571-2:

Item paid therefore this yere viz for seallynge of the hall for xxij (4 score) ix yerdes at xvij*d* a yered and v*£* iijs v*d*.. Sum of vij*£* xijs x*d* (YMAA Acc. Roll 100)

In 1572-3, fifty nine shillings and eleven pence was 'payd to Mr Barmby for c and xvij bordes at iiij*d* a pece lxxxvj Rayles at iiij*d* a pece for sealyng of the hall' (YMAA Acc. Roll 102). Although only the dais end of the hall is currently panelled, this panelling has been re-set, and parts may therefore have come from elsewhere in the hall. In 1575-6, the guild spent further sums of money on 'payntyng the marchantes Armes' in the hall (YMAA Acc. Roll 105). Similar schemes of wainscoting and painting occurred at St. Anthony's and St. John the Baptist's halls.

Unlike the undercroft, the hall does not appear to have been partitioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The longitudinal partitions indicated by mortises in the hall posts and shown early photographs were described as dating to the later seventeenth century during their removal in 1930. The documentary records suggest that the hall was being altered by the construction of new windows in 1504 (YMA, 112-114) but the complete re-glazing of both elevations in the eighteenth century has destroyed any possible evidence in the timber frame for such features. (The windows in the seventh and eighth bays of the hall were further replaced in 1915). The archaeological evidence of the partitioning of the seventh and eighth bays of the south-west aisle however does survive, in the form of a fireplace in the sixth bay of the hall (fig. 9). References in the account rolls to the construction of a 'newe chymney at oure hall' suggest a date of 1574-5 (YMAA Acc. Roll 104). In the same document the expenditure of three pounds and four shillings for 'makyng Rowmes in the hall for lyeng of cloth', appears to reflect aptly the room which such partitioning created. The account rolls of 1597-8 also record the substantial sum of twelve pounds for 'setting up a paine of a wall in the hall' (YMAA Acc. Roll 127), which may refer to the construction or replacement of the partition between this 'cloth room' and the services.

### **The north-east range**

There is no archaeological or documentary evidence to indicate the construction date of the north-east range which abuts the medieval hall and undercroft (fig. 92). This is compounded by the removal and restoration of much of its timber during restoration works in 1935-8. However stylistic parallels can be drawn between the detailing on the gable bargeboards of the range with early seventeenth-century examples at the Herbert House, Pavement, and Mulberry Hall, Stonegate (fig. 93). The incorporation of classical detailing in the heavy entablature with its frieze of arabesques, lozenges and lions' masks in the doorway to the undercroft parallels the introduction of classical motifs in the interiors of buildings such as 58 Stonegate, and the Treasurer's house. The Company's account rolls only survive for the years 1605-6, 1617-19 and 1679-82, but the fact that the late seventeenth-century Minute Book (YMAA 1677-1736) makes no reference to the range's construction may support the proposed early seventeenth century date. It is certain that from 1580 - when the mercers were granted a charter of incorporation as the society, or company of merchant adventurers - their business and financial affairs demanded increasing attention (see p. 181).

The north-east range incorporates large amounts of re-used medieval timber, which is characteristic of buildings in York during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much of this has subsequently been replaced, but the north-west room on the first floor demonstrates how the re-used face of the timber, replete with mortises, empty peg holes and 'pecking', was placed facing into the room, whilst the 'clean' side was placed to the exterior of the building (Giles 1995). This north-west exterior elevation retains its series of seventeenth-century chisel cut assembly and levelling marks (fig. 94). These re-used timbers may have come from earlier structures on the site (for example the porch) or from a source such as the re-used timber warehouse in Jubbergate, York (Palliser 1979, 265). However, although the individual structural functions of these timbers can be suggested, it is unclear whether they originated from one building. Both walls flanking the entrance staircase incorporate re-used timber, although it seems that the timbers in the central and south-eastern rooms were of a better quality than those in the north-west room of the range (figs. 95-96). This may reflect differences of status and function. The north-west room was associated with the service end of the hall and apparently provided direct access to the undercroft via a staircase whose position is shown on early plans and which was lit by a small window visible in the north-east wall (fig. 97). It is difficult to speculate about the function of the ground floor of the north-east range during this period, due to the addition of a fireplace in 1698/9 (YMAA Minute Book 1677-1736), and its remodelling between 1935-8.

## **Conclusion**

Trinity hall demonstrates the depth and scale of archaeological complexity to be found in medieval guildhalls. In many ways this building set the archaeological agenda, not only for other guildhalls, but also for York's other ecclesiastical and civic public buildings, as the next three chapters will reveal. It is also likely that the halls of the butchers, cordwainers and that of the guild of Corpus Christi owed much to the design and appearance of Trinity hall. Trinity hall is also perhaps the most important of the three guildhalls because its archaeological potential is accompanied by an extensive documentary archive which provides us with important contextual information about the day to day use of the guildhall by its religious fraternity and associated mercantile mystery. As Chapters 6 and 7 will demonstrate, it is this combination of structural and functional information which is central to our understanding of the structuration and transformation of medieval and early modern *habitus*.

## **Chapter 4. St. John The Baptist's Hall, (the Merchant Taylors'), Aldwark, York.**

### **4.1 The topographical context of St. John the Baptist's hall**

The topographical context of St. John the Baptist's hall requires detailed consideration in the light of the substantial excavations carried out in Aldwark during the 1980s, and associated historical research by Palliser and Rees Jones (fig. 98; Magilton 1980; Dawes and Magilton 1980; Hall, MacGregor and Stockwell 1988). 'Aldwark' means 'the old fortification' and reflects the position of the returning south-east defensive wall of the Roman fortress in this area, which was partly discovered in excavations at 7-9 Aldwark in 1985. Although this wall was demolished by the tenth century, it appears to have greatly influenced the development of medieval property boundaries and burgage plots in the area (Hall, MacGregor and Stockwell 1988, 112-116). St. John the Baptist's hall was also located on the site of a medieval defensive ditch known as the Werkdyke (*Wirchedic*), which was in existence before the twelfth century (Harvey 1976; 15-16; Magilton 1980, 6 and 40). This feature is referred to in the fraternity's leases of 1415 (YMB 3, 54) and in 1552 as 'soo much of the common moate of this citie as part of Saynt Johns Hall stands apon' (YCA B20, f.121).

Excavation of the adjacent tenth-century church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls revealed that this building also encroached on the werkdyke during the later medieval period, hence its alternative name of St. Helen-in-the-Werkdyke (Magilton 1980, 23). St. Helen's was demolished soon after its amalgamation with the parish of St. Cuthbert's in 1547-9 (YCR 5, 5) but its position to the north of St. John the Baptist's hall had been identified by various historians from a custody of 1380 (Drake 1736; Skaife 1864; Raine 1955; VCH 1961; 382; RCHME 1972, 2). The location of the church to the *south* of St. John the Baptist's hall by YAT's excavations of the 1980s therefore transformed previous understandings of the topographical context of the hall. This discrepancy between the two sources requires further exploration, because the reliability of the 1380 custody, and its repetition in parish constables register rolls of 1403 (YCA 102c), is central to the interpretation of previous buildings on the site of St. John the Baptist's hall.

The 1380 custody documents introduced in response to the 'Gisburn-Quixley' riots of that year (VCH 1961, 81-2) divided York's city walls into a series of defensive 'beats' for which various parishes and ecclesiastical institutions were made responsible. The stretch of wall between Monk Bar and Layerthorpe Postern was divided into four such beats (YMB 1, 151-154):

Area of jurisdiction	Authority responsible
Pro custodia porte de Munkgate usque ad ecclesiam Sancte Elene in le Werkdyke	Parochie Sancte Trinitas in Gotherumgate et Johannis del Pyke, cum Bederum Constabularis, Robertus de Howom. Subconstabularii, Ricardus de Waghen, Ricardus de Soureby, Johannes de Seleby
Pro custodia ab ecclesia Sancte Elene in Werkdyke usque turrim super Herlothill juxta Petrehall	Parochie Sancti Sampsonis, Sancti Andree et Elen in Werkdyke Constabularii, Johannes de Sheffield, Willelmus de Hensham, Adam de Burton, Hugo del Cartrot
Pro custodia turre super Herlot hill usque ad novam turrim super conerium versus le Jubiry	Parochia Sancte Trinitatis in curia regis Constabularii, Johannes de Houedon, Walterus de Frothyngam, Johannes de Chestre, Willelmus de Tankerlay, Johannes de Westiby
Pro custodia turre super cornerium versus le Jubiry usque ad portam de Layerthorp, cum dicta porta	Parochie Sancti Salvatoris, Sancti Cuthberti et aliorum Constabularius, Rogerus de Moreton Subconstabularii, Willelmus de Burton, Robertus de Duffeld

**Table 4.1 The custody of 1380**

These 'beats' have usually been presumed to be a literal reflection of the city's topography; an interpretation which is certainly true of most of the document. The identification of St. Helen's in the second 'beat' was therefore incorporated into Johnson's (1949, 18) discussion of the topography of St. John the Baptist's hall. The custody was re-written into the parish constables' register rolls of 21 July 1403 (YCA 102c), when a building called 'Pertre' (or 'Peartree') hall was described as being adjacent to the Herlothill tower. This enabled the RCHME to identify Tower 31 of the city walls with the tower described in 1403 as that 'super Herlothill juxta Petrehall' (RCHME 1972). But neither documentary source could be reconciled to the archaeological location of St. Helen's church and cemetery to the *south* of St. John the Baptist's hall (Palliser in Magilton 1980, 2).

However, if the documents are interpreted as reflecting the responsibility for the custody of the walls rather than being a direct topographical 'mirror' of the city, their function becomes clearer. The size of the beats on this stretch of the city wall is smaller than elsewhere in the city. This may reflect the sheer number of parishes associated with the Aldwark, and Bedern area. But it may also be suggested that this section of the walls was essentially divided into three, not four beats: the first from Monk Bar to St. Helen's (which was in fact situated very close to the Herlothill tower); the second from Herlot Hill tower to the new tower at Jewbury; and the third from Jewbury to Layerthorpe postern. *Additional* responsibility for the area of the wall immediately associated with St. Helen's might have been allocated to the smaller and poorer parishes of St. Helen's, St. Andrew's and St. Sampson's. Fig. 99 shows this interpretation in relation to the walls and their immediate topographical context. The reason for this doubling up of responsibility may also reflect the fact that there was some form of direct access onto the walls by St. Helen's church which made it an area of strategic importance. This hypothesis is supported by the 1415 lease which stipulated that the Mayor and Commonalty were to be allowed free entry and exit to repair and defend the walls (YMB 3, f.39-39v). A lease of 1 February 1731/2 also mentions this access point:

all that rampart or garden lying behind and adjoining the Hall, 12 yards and a half at the west side of the rampart and 9 yards and a half with a passage to the street called Aldwark which passage is 2 yards and a half wide, going up a pair of stone steps to the rampart; rendering annually 10 shillings, in equal portions at Michelmas and Lady Day (1 February 1731/2 YCA Deeds & Leases 2)

The 1380 and 1403 custody rolls confirm the presence of an earlier domestic building called 'Petrehall' close to the site of the later St. John the Baptist's hall. Additional historical research by Palliser and Rees Jones (in Magilton 1980, 3) enables us to reconstruct the curtilage of the site in 1415. To the south-east of St. John the Baptist's hall lay St. Helen's church and churchyard; to the north-west was Thomas Crofton's boundary, following the line of the Roman wall. The moat and city walls formed the hall's north-eastern boundary, whilst to the south-west the property abutted the backs of various conventual townhouse burgage plots. On the north side of the street, to the west of St. Helen's was the hospice of Guisborough Priory and an adjacent property (B on fig. 98) on which they paid rent. 'Kirk lane' ran down the side of this property providing access to the north-western entrance of St. Helen's and the city walls (Magilton 1980, 40). This lane is shown by Speed in 1574 (fig. 100) and the OS map of 1852. Another private property occupied site C; D was in the hands of Wilberfoss priory by the mid twelfth-century; E was the town house of Bridlington Priory and F (backing onto St. Helen's churchyard) passed into their hands in 1299-1300 from Bolton Priory (Palliser in Magilton 1980, 3).



## **4.2 The historical context of St. John the Baptist's hall**

The large increase in the number of the 'tailors' or 'scissors' taking up the freedom of the city between 1326-1350 preceded the registering of the tailors' ordinances in the Memorandum Books in 1386-7 (YCA E20 f.37r). However, it is possible that the tailors had been acting corporately well before this date (Johnson 1949, 9; 21). Although their archives survive only from the later sixteenth century onwards, their 1386-7 ordinances give no indication that the mystery was associated with a particular religious fraternity, or that it maintained a hall, hospital or chapel. The fact that its annual feast was held on St. James' day has also been used to suggest that there was no formal connection -at this date- between the guild and the fraternity of St. John the Baptist. St. John the Baptist's fraternity was one of the few guilds to make returns to Parliament in 1388-9 (Toulmin Smith 1962, 146-7). These suggest a modest association with wardens and a chaplain, but again, make no mention of a hall, hospital or chapel. A lack of their own chapel is also supported by the fact that three brethren made an agreement in 1396 with William Ottelay, Master of Trinity hospital, to found a perpetual chantry in its chapel (Johnson 1949, 119-20).

However, although there is no definite evidence of a formal connection between the guild of tailors and the religious fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century, probate bequests of tailors such as John de Sevenhaus (27 June 1386) and Peter de Barlborough (21 December 1390) to a guild of St. John the Baptist suggest that some tailors may already have been members of the fraternity (Appendix 4, table 1). This would parallel the contemporary informal association of mercers with the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and may explain why the 1415 lease of the Aldwark site was to four tailors (Thomas Skelton, Richard Broghton, Thomas Stirtavant and John Lancaster) who were given precedence over John Mallom, dyer and Master of St. John the Baptist's fraternity. If these men were, as Johnson (1949, 24) suggests, the searchers of the tailors' guild, the lease may have marked the consolidation of a informal relationship which existed between the two associations. This was only formalised by the royal licence of incorporation granted in 1452-3 to fifteen tailors to found a guild in honour of St. John the Baptist with a Master and wardens (*Cal. State Papers Domestic*. 30 Henry VI in Johnson 1949, 26). It is important to establish the complexity of these relationships since existing interpretations have sought to fit the archaeology of the building to this documentary evidence, and since this thesis takes an alternative view, placing the archaeology of the building first.

### **4.3 St. John the Baptist's hall: previous structural and historical interpretations**

#### **YAYAS excavations of 1949**

In 1949 excavations under the floor of St. John the Baptist's hall were carried out by Waterman, York's city surveyor (YAYAS 1949-50). A trench appears to have been placed across the width of the hall, and a cross section diagram was published in the annual report. The excavations were never published, and the location of the trench was unspecified. However, it does indicate that the hall appeared to be constructed on an inclining surface running down from the medieval city bank and walls (fig. 101). Two cobbled surfaces were discovered under the hall at depths of six and seven feet respectively; the first of these containing a piece of Roman tile. It is difficult to speculate about the date or function of these layers without further information, but it is significant that no evidence was apparently discovered for earlier structures underneath the hall itself.

#### **Bernard Johnson**

Bernard Johnson's (1949) study of the *Acts and Ordinances of the Company of Merchant Taylors* has greatly influenced subsequent interpretations of the building. He interpreted the absence of references to building work, halls or *maison dieu* in both the tailors' ordinances of 1386 and the 1388 returns of the religious fraternity as evidence that neither association had their own building in the late fourteenth century. Johnson was concerned to identify the earliest documentary references to the hall in civic records. In 1487/8 the House Books record that a document was brought 'afore the Sersours in the Tailleur Hall' (YCR 2, 136), and in 1529/30 a deposition of William Pulley 'Maister of the Tayllours' mentioned that proof of an apprenticeship was 'registered and entryd amongst the records of Saynt John Hall' (YCR 3, 130). Further references included that of 1545/6 to a close 'pertenying to Maister Gaill and to Seynt John Hall' (YCR 4 136), and the new ordinances granted to the Tailors and Drapers in 1551 which referred to their hall twice (YCR 5, 57-62). Evidence for later alterations to the hall was also summarised: the repainting of the King's and the Drapers and Tailors' arms in 1660, repairs to the north end in 1667, the construction of the waits' gallery in 1694, the wainscoting of the hall in 1683-4, the insertion of ceilings in 1705, and brick refacing of the exterior of the hall in the early eighteenth century (Johnson 1949, 103-105).

Despite an absence of documentary sources, Johnson (1949, 19-20) dated the arch-braced collar construction of the hall to the late fourteenth century, on the grounds of the stylistic analysis of the roof by the historian Maud Sellers and the architects Sir William Milner and Stuart Syme

(who suggested that the hall was constructed by 1380), and Professor A.E. Richardson (who suggested a date of 1360). Because of the absence of references to a hall in both the tailors' ordinances of 1386 and St. John the Baptist's returns of 1388, Johnson (1949, 20) ventured that the hall might therefore be the 'Petre hall' mentioned in the custody of 1380. It was interpreted as a transitional type of roof between the 'tie and collar beam type with braced king posts' of the Merchant Adventurers' hall and the St. Anthony's, Aldwark, which incorporated both crown posts and arch-braced collar construction without tie beams. Although the roof's restorer, F.V. Rhodes suggested that the 'alternate peg holes' in some of the principals might be evidence of the building being taken down and re-erected on its present site, his ideas have been subsequently ignored (Johnson 1949, 19-20). However, I shall return to them below.

Johnson (1949, 103) identified the 'Little Hall' as the building referred to in the Company Minute Book of 13 June 1589 as the 'Counsell howse of the Tailors Hall'. Its re-facing, re-roofing and heightening in 1672-3 and 1715 swept away considerable evidence of its original date and form, but the timber-framing still visible in its south-east wall was interpreted as evidence of its original domestic function. Other important documentary references to buildings demolished in 1703-4 included those of 1589 to a 'courtgate' - a two storey structure with 'Chamber over the said Gayte House', and a well 'to drawe water at' (BIHR MTA 5/1 & 5/4). References in 1714-15 to the brick refacing of the south-west hall wall and the 'Little hall' and the new almshouses of 1729-30 were also highlighted (Johnson 1949, 107).

### **The RCHME and the Merchant Taylors' hall**

The RCHME (1981, 88) largely followed Johnson's descriptions of the building, maintaining 'there is no other dating evidence for the building apart from the fabric itself, which can be assigned to the late 14th or early 15th century.' It did suggest however, that the original arch-braced collar construction of the roof had been rebuilt c.1567 to incorporate new tie beams, 'the omission of which from the original design must have led to the roof thrust tending to force the side walls outwards' (RCHME 1981, 89). This interpretation was related to the record of four trees and 40s. being donated to the Company by Alderman Thomas Hughes in 1567. The 'inserted' tie beams were described as being of rougher quality than the other principals (fig. 102) whilst Rhodes' 'alternate peg holes' were interpreted as evidence that each arch brace originally had three short struts to its principal rafter. Based on evidence in surviving timbers below the window in the fourth bay of the north-east wall (fig. 103), the RCHME suggested that the wall framing originally consisted of two downward braces and subsidiary vertical studs. However no attempt was made to reconstruct this in relation to the original fenestration scheme. The account suggested that the dais bay of the hall had been extended at some point; its original extent being

indicated by a straight joint in the brick refacing of the north-east wall (fig. 103). No attempt was made by the RCHME to date the 'Little hall', but cuts in the two surviving posts in the north-west elevation were linked to references for its heightening in the late seventeenth century (RCHME 1981, 90). The transverse beams within the building were interpreted as evidence that it was always a two-storey structure. Cartographic evidence and the lack of brick refacing in the north-west gable end of the hall was interpreted as evidence of the wing in this position (RCHME 1981, 88; Drake 1736; fig. 104 Horsley 1697; Cossins c.1727).

### **York Archaeological Trust - excavation and historical research**

YAT's 1980s excavations had not impinged on the area of St. John the Baptist's hall itself.

However the archaeological location of St. Helen's church raised an important question about the position of the *maison dieu* in relation to a probate document of 1446 which referred to William Gyslay's bequest to 'le masendew Sancti Johannis Baptiste iuxta ecclesiam Sancte Elene ad Muros' (BIHR Prob. Reg. 2, f. 128v-129r). Previous interpretations of St. Helen's to the north had influenced Raine's (1955, 52) location of the *maison dieu* at the north-west end of the hall. YAT's excavations however, prompted Palliser (in Magilton 1980, 5) to suggest that it was to the south-east, probably underneath the position of the almshouses built between 1729-30. This left the function of the north-west wing shown on cartographic sources open to question, until excavations were carried by YAT in 1991, before building work.

A trench 6 x 1.50m and 1.70m deep (fig. 105) contained an edge set tile hearth, brick wall and a brick floor with its associated occupation deposits, interpreted as 'part of a well preserved structure which seems likely to have been part of the Merchant Taylors' complex', and dated to the sixteenth-seventeenth century (Evans 1991, 15-16). The building was on the same alignment as the north-west hall wall. It had been partly demolished before being expanded, a series of linear cuts containing limestone foundations for brick walls indicating that this occurred during the later seventeenth century. A new east-west wall was constructed at the same time, parallel to and c.0.50m north of the southern wall, creating a very narrow passageway running south-east to north-west within the range (Evans 1991, 15 fig. 4). Subsequent dumps, levelling, and robbed out floor layers indicated that the east-west wall had been demolished and the southern wall rebuilt on a slightly different alignment by the early eighteenth century. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century deposits indicated that the site had gradually become used as a dump (Evans 1991, 16).

Although excavations did not reach the fifteenth-century levels, various suggestions were made about the possible functions of the north-west wing. The building was certainly still in existence when Horsley (1694) and Cossins (1722) drew their maps, although its absence from

Chassereau's map of 1750 suggests that it disappeared between 1694 and 1750. The inclusion of the wing on both Gent's 1730 and Drake's 1736 maps was argued by Benson (1926-7) to reflect their copying of Cossin and Horsley rather than provide evidence of the structure's survival into the mid eighteenth century. The building was interpreted by YAT as an earlier guildhall, partly because the 1415 lease referred to the fraternity's existing 'tenement' on the site and partly because the north-west wall of St. John the Baptist's hall respected the line of this structure. The excavation evidence was interpreted as evidence that this earlier guildhall was re-built as a service wing during the sixteenth century.

**Nottingham University - dendrochronological dating of the hall**

In 1991 Nottingham University (on behalf of the RCHME) used dendrochronological dating to establish felling dates for the timbers in the Merchant Taylors' hall. The results suggested a felling date of c.1413/14 which ties in neatly with the 1415 lease and proposed construction date of the hall.

<b>Site</b>	<b>Timbers sampled nos. taken</b>	<b>Date of outermost ring (including sapwood)</b>	<b>Years spanned site cross matching</b>
Merchant Taylors' Hall, Aldwark York  SE 605515	Rafters Posts, Tiebeam Ties Total dated: 5/8	1393(H/S) 1404(18); 1408(23) 1413(47C;25C)	1240-1413 t=5.7, YRKASQ01 t=3.8, DURASQ03 t=3.8, E.Midlands t=3.3, MGB-E01

**Table 4.2. Dendrochronological dating of St. John the Baptist's hall**

#### **4.4 New archaeological fieldwork at St. John the Baptist's hall: summary and interpretation**

My archaeological fieldwork at St. John the Baptist's hall was more limited than on the other two sites, owing to the substantial alterations to the interior and exterior of the building during the early eighteenth century. These had resulted in the loss of the chapel and *maison dieu*, the refacing of the exterior of both the hall and the 'Little Hall' in brick, whilst the hall itself had been re-wainscoted in 1949-50 (fig. 106). It was essential to consider the relationship of St. John the Baptist's hall to earlier buildings on the site in order to understand the sequence of construction and the layout of the fraternity hall. Moreover it was hoped that the detailed stratigraphic interpretation of the roof trusses and the wall frames might provide evidence for the hall's original roof structure and fenestration scheme. Photographic recording of the south-east wall of the 'Little hall' was used to establish stylistic parallels with other buildings in York, and thus date the 'counsel' or 'counting' house (which had not been sampled by the Nottingham Unit). Figs. 108-111 show the CAD plots of the roof trusses and figs. 112-113 the wall frames. Evidence from these has been integrated into the ground plan shown in fig. 107 and the reconstruction drawings 114-115.

#### **The construction of St. John the Baptist's hall and earlier buildings on the site.**

The documentary evidence for earlier buildings on the site essentially consists of the 1380 and 1403 custodies, and references in the 1415 lease to a fraternity tenement

a cornerio exteriori tenementi dictorum fratrum et sororum quod de nobis tenent  
exoposito cimiterii Sancte Elene Attealdwalles in Civitate predicta versus  
austrum... (YMB 3, 54)

YAT had identified this 'tenement' as the north-west range. The fact that the 1949 excavations had not discovered evidence of an earlier building underneath the present guildhall strongly suggested that this tenement must also have been on the north-west side of the site. This could possibly be a twelfth or thirteenth-century domestic building which was still in use in 1311 when Geoffrey de Melsa was its tenant-in-chief (Palliser in Magilton 1980, 14). The antiquity of its property boundaries and its position, set back from the street frontage, parallels that of twelfth and thirteenth-century buildings in Stonegate and Fossgate. By the later fourteenth century this building had evidently fallen out of domestic use, and references to the 'tenement' in 1415 may indicate that it was being leased for guild meetings before, and during the construction of, St. John the Baptist's hall. The guild may have initially retained the hall as a service range, but were probably forced to rebuild it in the sixteenth century due to its considerable antiquity.

It may well be that both the fraternity of St. John the Baptist and the guild of the tailors were using this building as a meeting place, and that this created an informal connection between members in the later fourteenth century. Probate evidence would certainly appear to support this idea of an informal association. On 27 June 1386 John de Sevenhaus, a tailor, left 10s to 'the guild of tailors of the Blessed John' (BIHR D/C 1 f.84v-85r; YML Wills Register L2/4). And on 21 December 1390 Peter de Barleburgh, another tailor, left a bequest of 3s 4d to the chaplain of the guild of St. John the Baptist. In the text of the will, this bequest was immediately followed by another to the canons, priors and convent of Bridlington. It seems more than a coincidence that their conventual townhouse was also situated adjacent to the site (Magilton 1980, 3). Peter de Barleburgh's will appears to express his fraternal affiliations through a mental mapping of the civic space with which he was familiar. In conclusion, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that both the 1415 lease and the 1452/3 licence reflect an earlier association of the tailors' and St. John the Baptist's fraternity which may have developed as a consequence of their shared use of buildings on the site in the late fourteenth century.

### **St. John the Baptist's hall - construction and sequence**

My fieldwork has provided evidence to support the hypothesis that the north-west gable wall of St. John the Baptist's reflects the line of the south-east wall of this earlier domestic building (fig. 116). The surviving timber-framing in this elevation indicates that in its reconstructed sixteenth-century form it survived the brick refacing of St. John the Baptist's hall in the early eighteenth century. The archaeological evidence suggests that it was retained as a service wing for the new, fifteenth-century guildhall, until its demolition. This is supported by its position adjacent to the screens passage, buttery and pantry of the new guildhall. St. John the Baptist's hall, dendrochronologically dated to c.1415, was a single storey open hall of six bays (not seven, as Johnson suggested). The analysis of carpenters' marks on the posts and cross frames of the hall indicates that the sequence of construction commenced in the north-west gable where it abutted the earlier range, and extended south-eastwards towards the dais end of the hall (fig. 117). The screens passage cross frame is numbered II (fig. 118), and separates the first bay of the building from the remaining five in the hall, which are numbered III-VI from the north-west to south-east. The fair face of the timber (with its carpenters' marks) therefore faces the dais end, although that in the south-east gable may have been replaced in November 1672 when it was ordered that

the fore part of the hall which is false and that which is defective be forthwith repaired and the Maister to plaice the charges thereof to accompt.  
(BIHR MTA 2/1, f.129r)

Previous interpretations of the hall emphasised its significance as the first example of arch-braced collar construction in the city, presumably providing the model for the mid fifteenth-century St.

Anthony's hall (fig. 119). However, the archaeological analysis of the roof trusses raises immediate questions about this, and about the RCHME's (1981, 84) interpretation of the tie beams as late sixteenth-century insertions. They are mortised to the wall posts at both ends and tie beam lap dovetail assembly is used at the junction of the wall and cross frames with the principal rafters (fig. 120). The tie beams are similar in their massing and detailing to the wall posts and neither have the decorative moulding used on the arch braces. Moreover, the dendrochronological analysis of the tie beams and posts (carried out in 1991) suggest felling dates of *c.*1408 and *c.*1404 respectively. They cannot therefore be the oaks donated by Alderman Thomas Hughes to the Company in 1567, which were apparently still growing in Peaseholme Green. Table 4.3 summarises the context numbers for the roof trusses recorded within the hall.

Bay no.	Truss no.	Wall posts	Tie beam	Principal rafters	Collar
2	III	3000STR 3014STR	3003STR	3008STR 3018STR	3026STR
3	IV	4000STR 4015STR	4003STR	4009STR 4018STR	4024STR
4	V	5000STR 5015STR	5003STR	5008STR 5018STR	5025STR
5	VI	6000STR 6017STR	6003STR	6010STR 6020STR	6027STR
6 missing	-	-	-	-	-

**Table 4.3 Context numbers for the roof trusses recorded in St. John the Baptist's hall**

It is the arch braces rather than the tie beams which were added to St. John the Baptist's hall at a later date. They are cut into the wall posts, tie beams, principal rafters and collars, using chase mortises and ties. The fact that they are not part of the original, pre-fabricated building structure is also indicated by the absence of carpenters' marks from their surfaces, and the fact that the braces are in two sections, pieced around the tie beams (fig. 119). It is therefore unsurprising that there is such a strong visual contrast between the existing tie beams and wall posts. The arch braces were originally intended to be connected to the principal rafters by a series of three struts (see figs. 108-111). These are indicated by unused mortises and peg holes at the base of the principal rafters, a surviving strut half way up the brace, and another unused mortise at the top of the principal rafter. The north-eastern arch brace of truss VI has a series of cuts in its upper surface which were never even cut into full mortises or pegged. Only the lower part of the arch brace of truss III is attached to the north-east wall post by a strut. The context numbers for all of these are summarised in table 4.4.



Bay no.	Truss no.	Strut for lower brace	Strut at base of upper brace	Strut in centre of upper brace	Strut at top of upper brace
2	III	3002F	3010C 3019C	3011C & 3013F 3020C & 3022F	3024C 3023C
3	IV		4013C 4022C	4014C & 4012F 4023C & 4021F	
4	V		5010C 5020C	5013C & 5012F 5023C & 5022F	5014C 5024C
5	VI		6014C 6024C	6015C & 6013F 6025C & 6023F	6016C 6026C

**Table 4.4 Context numbers for mortises and struts in the roof of St. John the Baptist's hall**

This re-interpretation raises several questions about the original form of the roof trusses in St. John the Baptist's hall. Archaeological evidence for this survives in the roof trusses themselves, and in the surviving wall dividing the first and second bays of the building (fig. 121). This contains a crown post roof truss, and although constraints of access meant that it was only possible to examine the tie beams through binoculars, the anomalies in the trusses appear consistent with the original use of this form throughout St. John the Baptist's hall. Most of the tie beams either have a series of cuts, or large pieces of timber scarfed into their upper surface, where one would expect to find evidence of the central crown post and its braces in the form of mortises and peg holes. Table 4.5 summarises the context numbers for these features, which have been erased completely from some of the tie beams, but survive particularly well in trusses III and IV (figs. 108 and 109). It implies that the central post was flanked by two sets of downward braces and a pair of struts to the principal rafter. And this explains why the sets of mortises in the centre of the principal rafters seem slightly off position in relation to the later struts and arch braces. They are re-used by these later struts, but the latter do not fill them entirely.

BAY NO.	TRUSS NO.	TIE BEAM	CUTS IN TIE BEAM	MORTISES IN CENTRE OF PRINCIPAL RAFTERS
2	III	3003STR	3004F 3005C & 3006F 3007C	3011C 3020C
3	IV	4003STR	4004C & 4005F 4006C & 4007F 4008C	4014C 4023C
4	V	5003STR	5004C & 5005F 5006C & 5007F	5013C 5023C
5	VI	6003STR	6004C 6005C & 6006F	

**Table 4.5 Context numbers for mortices in the tie beams of St. John the Baptist's hall**

If crown posts were used at St. John the Baptist's hall, then it is not unreasonable to suggest that Trinity hall was the model used by the fraternity and its carpenters in 1415. The decision to 'update' the hall by adding arch braces at a later date is therefore intriguing. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were added after arch brace collar construction was used in the second (later fifteenth century) phase of St. Anthony's hall, just round the corner in Aldwark. If so, they suggest a degree of competitive emulation between the guilds. However, the later fifteenth century was also a period of economic decline, and the decision to update the hall may well have been an attempt to enhance the self-confidence and prestige of the craft in a period of economic insecurity. An alternative hypothesis is that they date to 1567 and were constructed from the four oak trees given to the Company by Alderman Hughes. However, at this date they would have been a deliberately antiquated addition to the building. The lack of dendrochronological analysis of the arch braces by the RCHME makes this an issue for future research.

The wainscoting of the hall during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and its replacement in the early twentieth century mean that it is difficult to reconstruct the original appearance of the walls of St. John the Baptist's hall. None of the posts is visible below the level of the springing of the arch braces on the interior, and evidence has been virtually destroyed on the exterior by the eighteenth-century brick re-facing. However the timber exposed on the exterior of the fifth bay of the north-eastern wall suggests that the framing of each bay consisted of a pair of substantial braces above the brick wall which were truncated by the insertion of an eighteenth-century window (fig. 103). Towards the bottom of each wall plate in this north-eastern wall are a series of three regularly spaced pegs which indicate the position of vertical studs in the upper parts of the wall. A set of three closely set pegs approximately 0.5m from the top of each of the posts indicates the position of another timber mortised into the posts half way up the upper part of the wall. These appear to be evidence of a series of windows along the north-eastern wall with a pair of braces and two vertical studs to the sill underneath (see reconstruction fig. 114) which closely parallels the original fenestration scheme of Trinity hall. The truncated appearance of the windows which such features imply is explained by the fact that light would have been restricted by the city rampart on this side of the building.

The original appearance of the south-west elevation is much more difficult to interpret owing to its comprehensive re-facing. The series of three pegs in the wall plates of the third, fourth and fifth bays of the hall indicate a similar arrangement to the north-east wall. The wall posts in this south-west wall are significantly wider than those in the north-east wall, and the 1949 excavations suggest that their foundations are also deeper (fig. 101). The latter may simply be dictated by the slope of the site towards the south-west, but the former may also indicate an

intention to build up against the south-west hall wall. If so, the positions of the windows in this elevation indicates that this can only have been a single-storey structure.

The screens passage may have been partially separated from St. John the Baptist's hall by moveable screens which were donated to the parish church of St. Crux in 1692 (Johnson 1949, 102). The room above the passage appears to have been original, and may well have provided some form of accommodation, perhaps for the master of the *maison dieu*. However, the series of joist holes visible on pre-restoration photographs of the hall may indicate the existence of some form of gallery projecting from the partition wall into the hall (fig. 106) If the earlier building on the site was retained as a service wing for St. John the Baptist's hall, it was probably accessed directly through the screens passage. The close proximity of the hall and kitchen may be implied by an order of 6 June 1685 (BIHR MTA 2/2 f.28v) to 'gitt the kitching windows in the hall amended. And other windows about the hall.'

### **The chapel and *maison dieu***

The absence of archaeological evidence for a chapel and *maison dieu* associated with St. John the Baptist's hall forces us to rely on documentary sources to hypothesise about their existence and location. Although the returns of 1388/9 mention a chaplain, the foundation of a perpetual chantry in Trinity hospital in 1396 suggests that St. John the Baptist's fraternity did not possess their own chapel at this date. However, in 1446 a consecration licence was granted for Mass to be said in a chapel attached to the hall (BIHR Reg. Kemp f.193), and this licence was renewed in 1469 (BIHR Reg. Geo.Neville f.49). In 1489 a bequest of two yards of a 'paynted clothe' to be made into 'an alter clothe of in St. John chappell' was made by William Akers (BIHR Prob. Reg. 5, 438). In 1494 James Lonnerdale also left a tenement in the suburbs of Micklegate on the condition of the celebration of a daily 'placebo et dirige', which was presumably to be in the chapel (BIHR Prob. Reg. 5 f.463v-464r). In 1503 William Barton left 3s 4d for work in the new chapel (BIHR Prob. Reg. 6, f.76r), and in 1530 a piece of timber was left for the ongoing work by Agnes Bell (BIHR Prob. Reg. 10, f.16r). The fact that there is no evidence of the mystery maintaining an altar or chapel within a particular local parish church also suggests that the guild had its own chapel.

The presence of a *maison dieu* is also directly indicated by probate bequests such as that of William Gyslay in 1446 who left 3d. to the 'pauperibus in le masyndewe Sancti Johannis Baptiste iuxta ecclesiam sancte Elene as muros' (BIHR Prob. Reg. 2A f.128v-129r). This is much more specific than many bequests, which simply left money to the guild of St. John the Baptist. However, the 6s. 8d. left to the 'ffraternitati ffratrum et sororum Sancti Johnis Baptiste'

by Thomas Thirske on 12 August 1482 may refer to the hospital community, and its continuing popularity is indicated by William Beene's bequest of 2s.12d. to the 'masyndewe' on 24 July 1505 (BIHR D/C 2 f.45v). The tailors' incorporation licence of 1453 also indicates a close connection with the *maison dieu*. Like Trinity and St. Anthony's hospitals, St. John the Baptist's *maison dieu* survived the Reformation. References to it occur throughout the Company Minute Books until its demolition in 1702-3.

There are several hypotheses for the location of the hospital and chapel, which revolve around the dating of the 'Little hall' and other structures built up against the south-west wall. The thickness of the posts here have already been discussed, and a building identified as the hospital is shown in the angle of hall and 'Little hall' on Skaife's plan of York (fig. 122). It is significant that this area underwent substantial refacing after the demolition of the *maison dieu* in 1702-3. Up until this date, admissions to the hospital and quarterly payments to the inmates are recorded in the Minute Books (BIHR MTA 2/1 & 2/2). References such as that of 13 August 1651 (f.69r) and 14 August 1661 (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.81r) suggest that there was a waiting list for places. After 1669 frequent references to 'bedroomes' in the *maison dieu* were made (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.116r), but by 1696/7 only two widows appear to have been resident. This decline in numbers, and its dilapidated state may have prompted an order of 20 February 1702/3 that the Master should

sett workmen on work to pull downe all the houses adjoyning to the Merchant Taylors Hall and that notice be given to the Women for removall out of the said premisses (word crossed out) against the ffirst day of May next Ensuing and that the Master shall be saved harmeless & Indemnified doe what he shall doe or be requested to pay upon this charge. (BIHR MTA 2/2 f.108r)

The fact that the Master was to be protected from any consequences of the demolition of the women's accommodation suggests that the 'houses' were pseudonyms for the *maison dieu*, whose demolition might be controversial. In July 1703 the Minute Books reiterated that the Master, Edward Lofthouse, was to be 'saved and kept harmeless from any trouble or Incumbrance that shall happen or arrise by reason of any rule or rules at Law' (BIHR MTA 2/2 f.109v). The buildings were actually demolished in August, and the timber, tiles and brick used to repair the hall. From this date references to the building and its inmates are entirely absent from the Minute Books and a new row of almshouses was built in 1729/30.

It is possible that, as at Trinity hall, the religious function of St. John the Baptist's chapel was concealed from the chantry commissioners in 1547-8 and that the chapel itself physically survived the Reformation. If this was so, three alternative hypotheses about its original position may be proposed. Two of these revolve around the function of the 'Little hall'. This building first

appears in late sixteenth-century records but is referred to as the 'Counsell howse' in 1589 (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.3r) and the 'Counting house' in 1672 (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.131r). Internally it has a series of three tie beam trusses, which it has not been possible to analyse for the purpose of this thesis. On 10 June 1663 and 1672 repairs were ordered to the 'great Chamber and roofe of the Countinge house', including its glass windows (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.88v). This seems to refer to the room in the upper storey of the little hall rather than the main hall (*contra* Johnson 1949, 104). Peg holes for floor joists in the transverse beams indicate that it was always a two storey building (fig. 123).

The first hypothesis is that the Little hall is in essence a fifteenth-century building which originally accommodated a chapel at ground floor level and a chamber above. The function and internal appearance of the building would have been radically altered after the Reformation, and its name changed to convince the chantry commissioners of its secular role. Alternatively, the present building may be a late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century structure built on the foundations of an earlier chapel. Both of these hypotheses could be tested by dendrochronological analysis, but both imply an important spatial link between the site of the chapel and the *maison dieu*. Structural evidence for access between the two may well still survive behind the panelling on the north-west wall. An alternative hypothesis for the location of the chapel might be up against the south-east end of the hall itself. Indeed the collapse of the 'fore part' of the hall in 1672 might reflect a long-term structural weakness caused by the removal of the chapel in the preceding century (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.129r). However, the lack of archaeological and documentary evidence at this end of the building means that this interpretation is purely speculative.

### **The gatehouse and curtilage of the hall**

There is little archaeological evidence for the original gatehouse of St. John the Baptist's hall, although its position can be estimated by the line of the Roman wall and the angle of the north-west wall of the hall, and by anomalies in the ground surface of the present hall precinct.

References to the 'courtgate' in the Minute Book of 1589 (BIHR MTA 5/1) and its lease to John Watson a tailor on 25 November 1642 described it as

a house called the Gate House containing one room below abutting on the lane towards the king's street, with one chamber above the said low room, and one other chamber over and above the gates, with egress and regress to the little garden or garth which has a well in it; annual rent 6s 8d in equal portions at Whitsun and Martinmas. (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.3r)

In 1663 its lessee was Richard Mason, who erected a wall in the garden adjoining the gatehouse in 1665 which the Company ordered to be knocked down (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.102r). If it was

contemporary with the hall, the gatehouse may have been in considerable disrepair by the eighteenth century, and it appears to have been demolished at the same time as the *maison dieu*.

#### **4.5 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the Merchant Taylors' hall**

Although the religious fraternity of St. John the Baptist continued to be popular in the early sixteenth century; its absence from the chantry surveys implies that it was suppressed shortly before 1546-7. During this period the tailors were developing closer links with the drapers' mystery, which was one of the thirteen major crafts to elect representatives to the Common Council in 1517 (Palliser 1979, 69). The general decline in the cloth trade and the gradual erosion of professional distinctions between the two guilds prompted their amalgamation, and their joint ordinances were formally registered in the House Books on 27 October 1552 (YCR 5, 57-62). The drapers never built a hall of their own, but may have met in St. Anthony's, to whose upkeep they continued to contribute in 1622 (Drake 1736, 224). The tailors and drapers were joined by the hosiers at some point between 1585-1630. This was another craft with early fifteenth-century origins, but by 1517 it was considered to be one of the 'lesser' crafts of the city.

The archaeological evidence for alterations to St. John the Baptist's hall in the sixteenth and seventeenth century is problematic, and compounded by the fragmentary nature of the documentary sources for most of the period. Unlike Trinity hall, St. John the Baptist's hall roof remained open until the end of the seventeenth century, when ceilings were inserted (Johnson 1949, 105). The archaeological evidence for the hall's appearance was mostly swept away by eighteenth- and twentieth-century alterations. But later sources suggest that the hall was whitewashed and wainscoted at some point in the seventeenth century. In 1660 the Minute Books ordered that the

Kinges Armes be renewed in the hall. the Taylors and Drapers Armes likewise the hall to be washed all over. (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.76r)

A rendering of the drapers' arms in oil on oak still survives above the fireplace in the hall (fig. 124). The *renewal* of the arms and whitewash in 1660 suggests that they may have been originally added in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Measures taken in 1705 to prevent the damage of the 'sealyng' of the hall by players also suggest that this had been added during an earlier period (BIHR MTA 2/2 f.121v). Its addition to St. John the Baptist's hall may have been designed to symbolise the amalgamation of the tailors with the drapers and hosiers' guilds to other guilds who were apparently using the hall as a meeting place by this date. An order of 13th June 1589 appears to be an attempt to stop this, noting that

...yt was agreed by the Master and Merchants and fflower Searchers Mr Thomas Askwith beinge Master the ffyrste tyme that the hall or any ffurniture belongynge thereunto shall not hereafter at any tyme be lentt furthe to any person or persons, but if it be to one of the Companye belonging to the house.....And not to be lett to any players or such likethinges...(BIHR MTA 5/5)

However, in November 1698 damage appears to have resulted from a similar event:

Ordered then by Generall Consent that the Carpenters and Joyners shall never hereafter be admitted to have our hall to feast in. And that Maister that shall give them leave shall forfeit and pay to the use if the Companye twenty shillings.  
(BIHR MTA 2/2 f.92r)

In 1705, when the hall was hired by Mr. Gilbert's Company of Players the Company insisted that

John Jackson the printer and John Gilbertson Joyner to give bonds that none of the sealyng or fflower of the hall to be damaged and to be left in good order.  
(BIHR MTA 2/2 f.121v)

Archaeological evidence for some of these features may survive behind the twentieth-century panelling in the hall, including the 'cubbert' of 1663 (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.91v) possibly used to store the napiery and plate itemised in 1649 (BIHR MTA Camidge). The use of the hall for feasting is also reflected in the of '16 green quishions' and 'one dozen and a half of hie stools' listed in 1649. Indeed, the increasing importance of this function following the amalgamation of the three cloth-related trades may well explain the decision to rebuild the old service range at some point in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

There may also be substantial unexposed evidence for alterations and repairs made to the 'Counting house' and its 'Great Chamber' at this date. If this building does represent the site or actual structure of the chapel, then its conversion or demolition would symbolise the huge shift away from the religious and fraternal functions of the guild. The use of the building for private, secular meetings is implied by the use of the name 'Counting' or 'Counsel House' in 1672 (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.131r), and at this date its function may well have paralleled that of the north-east range of Trinity hall. The 'Checker court', mentioned in 1654 (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.52r) may have been held in the 'Great Chamber'. Although it is clear that individual glass windows were added to areas such as the Little hall in the later seventeenth century, it is possible that the hall itself retained its medieval fenestration before the eighteenth century.

Although there is no archaeological evidence for alterations made to the *maison dieu* during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, documentary sources suggest that the hospital was partitioned

during this period. References to the admission of inmates to 'bedroomes' appears frequently in contemporary Minute Books (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.116r), and this would again parallel changes at Trinity and St. Anthony's hospitals. The form of the hospital beds in the late seventeenth century is indicated by an intriguing note in the Minute Book permitting Hester Kell to 'have leave to sett a truckle bedd under Julian Harpers bedd' in the *maison dieu* (BIHR MTA 2/1 f.81r). This raises interesting questions about the gendered segregation of hospital inmates which is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The loss of a connection between the *maison dieu* and a chapel may also be implied by payments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the hospital beadle to 'read' passages of scripture to the inmates in the hospital itself. Indeed, in 1684 Thomas Hurst granted a leather chair for the hospital reader

to preach (crossed out) and pray upon; provided it be done after the Constitution according to the Sarmouns of the Church of England. And for none other use Intent & purpose whatsoever. (BIHR MTA 2/2 unnumbered folio)

## **Conclusion**

Although St. John the Baptist's hall appeared to hold less archaeological potential than the other two fraternity halls under study, it adds important information to our understanding of the exchange of ideas between medieval craftsmen, and the competitive emulation which existed between York's medieval mysteries and fraternities. It also contributes to our understanding of the parallels and contrasts between York's guildhalls, which are further discussed in Chapter 6. Moreover the lack of immediate archaeological evidence for changes made to the building in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should not blind us to the fact that very real changes in the use and meaning of the building were occurring at this date, a phenomenon which is further explored in Chapter 7.



## Chapter 5. St. Anthony's Hall, Peaseholme Green, York.

### 5.1 The topographical context of St. Anthony's hall

St. Anthony's hall is located at the corner of Aldwark and Peaseholme Green, just around the corner from St. John the Baptist's hall. Peaseholme Green is a triangular shaped piece of land adjacent to the river Foss, and the site of St. Anthony's itself forms the boundaries between three medieval parishes: its north-west wall lies on the boundary of St. Saviour's and St. Helen's, and its north-east wall between St. Saviour's and St. Cuthbert's (fig. 125). Further north of the site of St. Anthony's was the tenth-century foundation of St. Helen's church (Magilton 1980). St. Anthony's was built close to Jewbury tower, the point at which the medieval *werkdyke*, and fourteenth-century city walls turned north-east towards Layerthorpe postern and bridge. To the north-east of St. Anthony's was St. Cuthbert's church (RCHME 1981, 12-14) and to the south-west St. Saviour's-in-the-Marsh (RCHME 1981, 46-47). Both of these were eleventh-century foundations which were substantially rebuilt in the mid fifteenth century. Substantial thirteenth- and fourteenth-century domestic buildings were also located in St. Saviour's (Raine 1955, 76).

Late thirteenth-century references indicate the presence of a chapel dedicated to St. Martin on the site of St. Anthony's hall (Raine 1955, 273-4). Testamentary bequests to its reclusive priest were made throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. References in John Kyghlay's will of 1389 locate the chapel precisely, indicating that a garden belonging to All Saint's Pavement stood opposite the chapel of St. Martin at 'Hikenyld' and 'Hakenyld' (Raine 1955, 90). In 1406 its priest John Raventhorpe was left *12d.* by John Moreby, and in 1433 Adam Wigan, the rector of St. Saviour's left *3s 4d.* to 'the chapel of St. Martin which lies in my parish'. Its antiquity is stressed by the fact that when John Raventhorp its priest bequeathed various vestments and wooden altar to it in 1432/3 it was on the condition that the chapel still stood and was available for worship (BIHR Prob. Reg. 3 f.358v).

### 5.2 The historical context of St. Anthony's hall

St. Anthony's hall was constructed as a result of the amalgamation of the religious fraternities of St. Anthony, the unlicensed guild of Holy Trinity and the Paternoster guild, with the chapel of St. Martin in Peaseholme Green. A charter of incorporation was granted to these associations in 1446 by Henry VI (*Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1441-1446, 442). This licence granted St. Martin's guild the acquisition in mortmain of a piece of ground called 'Hiknas' *alias* 'Haknas' 'with a messuage on the north side annexed thereto' from John Langton, knight. There is little evidence

for a guild dedicated to St. Martin associated with the site before 1446, and the suggestion that the chapel was used by a guild of St. Anthony (French 1994, 2) is equally problematic. Although a hospital and chapel of St. Anthony's in the Horsefair (or 'St. Anthony's in Gillygate') is known from numerous testamentary bequests (Appendix 5, table 1) and a papal indulgence of 1401 (Raine 1955, 272-3), there is no clear evidence for the existence of *another* guild of St. Anthony in York. The reference to 'St. Anton's' in St. Saviour's parish in parish boundary dated c.1362 (but subsequently lost) is also problematic, since even Raine (1955, 92) acknowledged that it was probably a fifteenth-century re-working of an earlier source.

The principal evidence for a second guild of St. Anthony rests on the interpretation of a dispute between members of the Holy Trinity guild, which was entered in the York Memorandum Book between c.1410-1420 (YMB 2, 71; Sayles 1940). This guild was suppressed as adulterine, but the entry records that most of its members (who had previously met in the conventual church of the Friars Preachers in Toft Green) wished to amalgamate with the guild of St. Anthony's of York. Holy Trinity's possessions and funds were split between the Friars Preachers and the chapels of St. William on Ouse bridge and St. Anne's on Foss bridge (YMB 2, 71), and this amalgamation therefore proceeded before the guilds also amalgamated with St. Martin's in 1446. Although the existence of another guild of St. Anthony is implied by the sources surrounding the suppression of the Holy Trinity guild, there is no evidence to indicate where such a guild was based. The only guild of St. Anthony for which there is explicit probate evidence is that of St. Anthony's in the Horsefair: a religious fraternity with an associated hospital and chapel. John Wyman's bequest of 1432/3 (BIHR Prob. Reg.3 f.350v) simply refers to the brethren and chapel of St. Anthony's guild. It does not therefore provide evidence for a guildhouse and chapel of St. Anthony's on the Aldwark site (*contra* French 1994, 2).

It can only be concluded that it was the amalgamation of *a* guild dedicated of St. Anthony with the Paternoster guild at some point before 1444, which brought it a connection with Aldwark. The Paternoster guild met in a room in the Priory house of Bridlington in Aldwark, adjacent to the site of St. John the Baptist's hall (Raine 1955, 91-2). The testamentary and burial bequests of its members indicate a very close connection with adjacent church of St. Helen's. However, joint bequests to the two guilds survive from 1444 onwards (Appendix 5, table 1), which suggest that some form of amalgamation between the two had occurred before 1446. This hypothesis is supported by that fact that St. Anthony's guild also became responsible for bringing forward the Paternoster play.

### **5.3 St. Anthony's hall: previous structural and historical interpretations**

There are two principal narratives of the structural development and the functional interpretation of St. Anthony's hall, within which my archaeological recording of St. Anthony's hall must be set. The first detailed consideration of the building was an architectural and historical description of the building by Purvis and Gee (1953; Purvis 1951; Gee 1954). This was largely incorporated into the RCHME's (1981) study of the building. Recently, however, a substantial re-interpretation of the building has been produced by French (1994). Gee and Purvis placed greater emphasis on the architectural details of the building, whilst French relied to a much greater extent on the guild's surviving documentary material for evidence of the building's functional arrangement. The point of contention between these two accounts concerns the structural and chronological development of the building. Gee and Purvis argued that the hall was constructed from the south-west to the north-east (in their account from west to east) in two phases; whilst French's re-interpretation of the building suggested that the hall was constructed in one phase, from north-east to south-west (in his account from east to west). There are four sources of evidence used in these conflicting interpretations. The first is the existence of two types of roof truss in the main hall of St. Anthony's: crown posts in the three south-west bays and an arch-braced collar construction in the remaining six bays to the north-east (fig. 126). The second is the reflection of this division on the ground floor by a passageway running from an entrance in the south-east wall facing Peaseholme Green, to the north-west wall of the building (fig. 127). The third source is the surviving fifteenth-century masonry on the exterior of the building, and the fourth the documentary evidence of the guilds themselves.

#### **J. S. Purvis & E.A. Gee: The history and architecture of St. Anthony's hall**

Gee identified a constructional break in the timber-framing of the great hall, between the three crown post bays at its south-west end, and the arch-braced collar construction over the six remaining bays of the hall to the north-east (fig. 126). He did not attempt to provide an explanation for this constructional break, nor explain the change in the form of the roof trusses to arch-braced collar construction. Evidence that the timber of the aisle roofs rested on these later trusses, was interpreted as an indication that they were contemporary with the later phase of the hall (Gee 1953, 15). With the exception of the three south-west bays, the aisles were interpreted as being originally open to the hall.

Gee argued that the constructional break in the hall was reflected in the division of the ground floor into two areas by a passageway running from the south-east to north-west. This rested on the identification of the area to the south-west of the passage as the chapel and the fact that a consecration licence of 1450 (BIHR Arch. Reg. Kempe 19, f.430v) and a commission of 1452/3 (BIHR Arch. Reg. Kempe 20 f.378) implied that the chapel must have been part of the earliest phase of construction. No attempt to identify this construction break in the exterior masonry of the building was made, however, and the north-west and south-east walls were interpreted as consisting largely of original fifteenth-century fabric (Gee 1953, 13). Features such as the blocked 'ceremonial entrance' flanked by niches at the western end of the south-west wall were highlighted, along with an original fifteenth-century window further to the south-east (fig. 128). Two blocked medieval doorways were identified in the south-west wall (that to the north blocked c.1828/9 and one further south, blocked c.1850). The Victorian windows inserted in the blocked ceremonial archway and adjacent to the fifteenth-century window were also highlighted.

The south-eastern wall was interpreted as of the same build as the south-west wall, incorporating a magnificent fifteenth-century window at its south-west end (fig. 129). Adjacent to this was a seventeenth-century doorway with '*oeil-de-boeuf*' window above, both of which were interpreted as being re-cut into an original medieval opening. Two fifteenth-century windows to the north-east of the buttress were identified in this elevation, along with an area of refacing and a later window cut into the position of an original doorway. The position of another fifteenth-century window was suggested by an area of refacing at the north-eastern end of the south-east wall.

### **The RCHME and St. Anthony's hall**

The RCHME interpretation of St. Anthony's largely supported Gee's dating and interpretation of a constructional break in the hall. Although according to French (1994, 4) an 'unfortunate error in surveying' in 1952-3 caused the RCHME to identify a construction break in the south-east (in their account the south) wall, this never made it into the published interpretation of 1981, which repeats Gee's assertion that the south-west and south-east walls were of one phase of construction (fig. 130). The functional interpretation of the building also followed Gee's account. Evidence supporting a division of the two areas of the ground floor was apparently discovered in the form of a doorway in the north-eastern wall of the passage (fig. 131). The fact that the post at the north-west corner of the first bay of the ground floor had chamfers on its south-west but not its north-east face was also interpreted as evidence of a partition in the position of the present wall.

**T. French: An architectural and functional re-interpretation of St. Anthony's hall**

French's re-interpretation focussed initially on the documentary evidence for the construction of St. Anthony's hall. He argued that the pattern of surviving bequests -seven from before 1440, fifty between 1440-1475 and fifteen from 1475-1490- indicated that there was only one long period of construction dating to 1444-1475. This had serious implications for the interpretation of the structural sequence of the hall, and the location of the chapel. French used a simplified orientation of the building along a west-east axis, to argue that the chapel was not located in the area identified by Gee and Purvis, but in area A facing east, and placing it on the same alignment as the adjacent church of St. Cuthbert (fig. 132). Although this orientation is followed within this section, the true orientation of the building is referred to in the rest of the chapter. French argued that the substantial fenestration of the south-east wall supported his re-location of the position of the chapel, contrasting it with the apparent absence of fenestration along the south-west wall. This area of the building was interpreted as guild 'committee rooms', and French (1994, 5) therefore argued that the passageway between the two spaces was a symbolic and functional division between the sacred and secular aspects of the guild's affairs. The external masonry of the building was largely ignored by French (1994, 5), although he suggested that the 'ceremonial' entrance in the south-west elevation might have given access to an 'entrance lobby' whilst the 'wicket doors' provided everyday access to the committee rooms for guild members.

Since the consecration licence of 1450 indicated that the chapel was part of the earliest phase of the building, this interpretation implied that the construction sequence of St. Anthony's ran east to west rather than west to east (French 1994, 5). It was argued that the iconography of the surviving roof bosses in the aisles of the hall provided support for this sequence (see fig. 177). The bosses and the hall roofs themselves were identified as the work of John Foulford, the carpenter credited with the roof of the Guildhall (c.1485) and All Saints', North Street (c.1470). The presence of the royal arms (England quartering France modern 1406-1603) and those of the city of York (on a cross five leopards) at the east end of the north aisle of the hall were argued to indicate that this was the first part of the hall to be constructed (French 1994, 5). The relationship between the crown post and arch-braced collar roofs in the hall was therefore interpreted not as evidence of a construction break, but as a deliberate change in design aimed at creating a more enclosed, commodious space over the dais end.

#### **5.4 New archaeological fieldwork at St. Anthony's hall: summary and interpretation**

My fieldwork research design has concentrated on exploring these conflicting hypotheses regarding the building's construction sequence and functional divisions. Despite detailed commentary on the timber-framing and the documentary evidence, little attempt to relate the evidence of the exterior fifteenth-century masonry to the interior of the building had been made. Archaeological survey therefore focussed on a stratigraphic analysis of the south-west and south-east walls which was then related to the internal timber-framed structure and spatial divisions within the building. The aim of the survey was to establish the original sequence of construction and appearance of the medieval fraternity hall, and how this was altered throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The CAD plots of the south-west and south-east walls from which this interpretation was made are shown in figs. 135-136, whilst figs. 133-134 incorporate this into phased ground plans.

##### **The south-west wall**

The stratigraphic interpretation of both the south-west and south-east elevations demonstrates that they are more complex than previous accounts would suggest. Substantial areas of medieval masonry remain in the south-west wall at contexts 1002STR, 1019STR, 1022STR, 1025STR and 1031STR (figs. 137-139). This limestone masonry is badly weathered, but retains some evidence of hand tooling on its surfaces, which contrasts with the machine tooling of the later nineteenth-century contexts. Sadly no original masons' marks survive. The average block size for this fabric varies from 0.25m x 0.25m on some of the lower courses, to some blocks of 0.75m x 0.50m at the base and the centre of the wall. Only one putlog hole dating from the construction of this elevation can be identified, at context 1020C-1021F. It is important to note that the medieval masonry (1019STR) is not bonded through with the buttress on this elevation (1022STR).

One of the first alterations to this elevation relates to the refacing of the upper storey of the building in brick c.1656. To accommodate the facing of the brick wall, it seems that several courses of the medieval masonry were removed. This is suggested by the awkward relationship between the string course and the height of the tops of the windows, and the medieval buttresses (1022STR) which are cut back on the south-west elevation (see also 1018STR and 1027STR on the south-east elevation). The string course cuts the medieval contexts of the south-west wall (1031STR, 1025STR, 1022STR, 1019STR and 1002STR), and is reset. Its medieval profile is comparable to other fifteenth-century buildings such as the city Guildhall (fig. 140). It returns

around the north-eastern wall some 0.75m higher than on the south-east and south-western walls, supporting the interpretation of the loss of two or three courses of medieval masonry on these elevations. The original medieval entrance from Aldwark was cut back and blocked at a later date (1034F). This blocking is in turn cut by an inserted Victorian window and two Victorian niches (1035C-1036F, 1032C-1033F and 1037C-1038F fig. 139). The blocking indicates a shift of access from the ceremonial doorway to that in the south-east elevation. The original medieval doorway in this position was re-cut and an *oeil de boeuf* window inserted above it during the seventeenth century (1020C-1021F). All these features probably relate to the conversion of the ground floor into a house of correction in 1655.

During the nineteenth century fundamental alterations to the south-west elevation were made. The nineteenth-century window (1035C-1036F) cut into the blocking of the doorway (1024F) seems contemporary with the next window to the south-east (1026C-1027F). Both are cut into the medieval fabric and have simple sills, but no embrasures; both have similar twelve pane sashes and glazing bars (figs. 137-138). The original medieval cinquefoil window in this elevation was also partially refaced at this date (1023C-1024F), and another window created flanking the medieval buttress here (1017C-1018F). Both these later features cut into medieval fabric at 1025STR, and a small area of surviving medieval masonry immediately to the south of the buttress at 1019STR. There are also several areas of nineteenth-century refacing and blocking on this elevation. Gee (1953, 11) dates the blocking of the 'wicket door' adjacent to the medieval Aldwark entrance (1028C-1029F) to c.1828/9. This area of refacing cuts the top course of surviving masonry at 1031STR and that to the south-east at 1025STR. In turn, it is cut by an early twentieth-century niche to the north-west (1032C-1033F). At some point during this period two small square openings towards the south-east were also blocked (1009C-1010F and 1016C-1014F). They may relate to the position of air vents which appear on some of the earlier twentieth-century photographs of the building (fig. 141). One large area of refacing at the south-eastern end of the elevation probably also dates to the later nineteenth century (1006C-1008F). It cuts the medieval fabric at 1002STR, but is itself cut by the later twentieth-century refacing (fig. 136; 1004C-1007F and 1005C-1003F).

The two niches cut into the south-eastern end of the elevation probably date to the end of the nineteenth or the early twentieth century (1032C-1033F and 1037C-1038F). Both features cut medieval fabric (1031STR), seventeenth-century and Victorian fabric (1034F and 1029F). The masonry in both niches is machine tooled and their form is an anachronistic interpretation of the

detailing of the heads of the medieval windows on the south-east elevation (fig. 142). Context 1038F also contains a Victorian niche containing an image of the Virgin corresponding to the badly weathered depiction of St. Martin in an original medieval niche to the south-east. Some of the latest contexts in this elevation post-date photographs from the 1930s (fig. 141). Towards the south-east end of the south-west elevation, cutting into and abutting medieval masonry at 1019STR and 1002STR is an area of refacing interpreted as the blocking of a another doorway 'before 1850' (Gee 1953, 11). Although a feature may have been removed from this area before 1850, its refacing post-dates c.1930 when photographs show exposed rubble core extended to the top of the wall (1016F). The latest context in the elevation are two areas of refacing at the extreme south-eastern end of the wall (1003C-1005F and 1004C-1007F) which cut both the medieval and later Victorian fabric (1002STR, 1001F, 100F). These relate to the position of a buttress which is shown on nineteenth-century plans of the building, and which was probably removed at the same time as the buttress at the north-east end of the south-east wall (fig. 143).

### **The south-east wall**

The south-east elevation also contains substantial areas of medieval masonry at 2008STR, 2005STR, 2024STR, 2024STR, including the buttresses (2018STR and 2027STR). Once again the block size of this masonry varies from 0.25m x 0.5m to some which are at least 0.8m x 0.5m. Some of these blocks retain hand tooling, but most are badly weathered. The magnificent fifteenth-century window (2005STR figs. 144-145) at the south-west end of the wall has lost its original tracery and been partially refaced. Some of the embrasures have been replaced, and the head of the window was cut back substantially by the lowering of the string course above it (2034C-2035F). Medieval fabric survives beneath the fifteenth-century window but is cut by later refacing higher up (2016C-2017F, 2003C-2002F, 2001C-2000F). It extends into context 1005STR but it does not course through into the base of the buttress (2018STR) or at the top of the wall (2015STR). This indicates the position of a straight joint -and thus a constructional break- between the medieval fabric of 2015STR and the buttress 1018STR.

The tops of both medieval buttresses have been truncated by the resetting of the fifteenth-century string course (2034C-2035F). Both buttresses also mark a drop in the level of the medieval plinth which takes account of the falling away of the ground level towards the north-east of the site (fig. 129). Medieval fabric extends along the lower half of the south-east wall, encompassing the sills and some of the embrasures of the two fifteenth-century windows beyond the doorway and *oeil de beouf* window, but they have lost their tracery and some of the mouldings around the heads



have been replaced (figs. 146-148). The sill of another medieval window removed from the north-east end of the south-east elevation is incorporated into the window (2028C-2029F). This feature has been cut into the original medieval fabric at (2024STR), and appears to have been inserted into the position of a medieval doorway which is shown on antiquarian sketches by Cossins, c.1722 and Evelyn, c.1776 (fig. 149).

The seventeenth-century alterations to the south-east elevation consist in the resetting of the medieval string course c.1656, which cuts the medieval fabric at 2008STR, 2015STR, and 2024STR and the buttress 2018STR. The doorway in the centre of the south-east elevation and its *oeil de beouf* are probably of a similar date, for they appear on the sketches of both Cossins and Evelyn (fig. 142). A photograph from 1950 shows exposed masonry core in the position of the present area of refacing (2017F) immediately to the south-west of the buttress (fig. 141; 2018STR). It suggests that a feature had been cut back and removed from the wall at an earlier date. This was probably one of the two casement windows shown by Evelyn and Cossins which were removed when the present sash window was inserted in the nineteenth century (2006F).

During the nineteenth century substantial alterations were made to this elevation, including the insertion of this sash window (2011C-2012F and 2007C-2004F) whose glazing is stylistically similar to the two windows to the north-east and which is cut by later twentieth-century alterations (fig. 147-148; 20176C-2017F and 2003C-2002F). The seventeenth-century doorway and *oeil de beouf* (202C-2021F) were also repaired and refaced in the early nineteenth century. This refacing cuts medieval fabric (2024STR) but is in turn cut by the recent replacing of the embrasures around the adjacent medieval window (2023C-1022F). The tooling and moulding of replaced embrasures on the second medieval window suggests a contemporary date. At the same time a window at the extreme north-east end of the south-east elevation was removed and the area refaced (2030C-2031F). This window is shown by Cossins in 1722 as a simple square opening, but by Evelyn in 1774 as a sash window with its shutters pinned back.

Parts of this window may have been used to fill the position of an adjacent doorway, which is also shown by Evelyn and Cossins in the eighteenth century (fig. 149). The window and the associated blocking (2030C-2031F and 2028C-2029F) now in this position cut medieval fabric at 2024STR. It is highly significant that both antiquarians show a small square window above this doorway. This will be argued to have provided light for a staircase rising from this bay of the ground floor to the screens passage of the hall above. The latest events in the stratigraphic

sequence relate to the removal and refacing with masonry and brick of a buttress (2032C-2033F) at the extreme end of the south-east elevation, which is shown on early nineteenth-century plans (fig. 143). Two areas of refacing at the opposite, south-west end of the south-east wall probably indicate the position of another buttress (2003C-2002F and 2001C-2000F) similarly removed in the nineteenth century (Gee 1953, 9). This fill cuts both medieval fabric (2008STR) as well as earlier nineteenth-century refacing around the fifteenth-century window (2007C-2004F).

### **The interior of the building: the ground floor**

The stratigraphic relationships on the external elevations of the ground floor become significant when they are understood in conjunction with the internal elements of the building. The ground floor is divided into two areas characterised by different bay rhythms (fig. 150). In the south-west part of the building a single area is spanned by seven bays of timber-framing on a south-east to north-west alignment. The framing consists of wall posts with arch braces to tie beams (fig. 151). The timbers are moulded and each bay of the ceiling is subdivided into four by two structurally separate pieces of timber tenoned into either side of the tie beam. The wall posts may be truncated; those in the south-west wall now rest on corbels whilst those to the north-east with their associated wall plate, are embedded in a later seventeenth-century wall (fig. 152). In 1952 the south-easternmost post in this wall was apparently exposed during building work (RCHME Boxfile). The fact that it was chamfered on its south-west but not its north-east face was interpreted as evidence of some form of original partitioning in the position of the present wall. Peg holes in parts of the wall plate exposed at the same time also apparently reinforced this interpretation. The significance of these features is that the line of this partition wall corresponds exactly with that of the straight joint and construction break identified in the exterior masonry of the south-east wall.

The rest of the ground floor to the north-east of the passageway runs along a different alignment and bay rhythm. This is a south-west to north-east alignment of five bays of timber-framing (fig. 150). Each bay originally consisted of five posts; two in the exterior walls, and three spanning the internal space of the hospital. Unfortunately many of these have been removed and the surviving examples are cased in deal with archival stacks built up against them. A mortise exposed in 1952 in one of the south-east to north-west transverse beams apparently contained evidence for partitions (RCHME Boxfile), but there is no evidence to indicate whether these were original. Huge original mortises do however survive in the two transverse timbers in the last two north-eastern bays of this part of the ground floor (fig. 153). These correspond to the position of an

original doorway in the south-east elevation, and the possibility that they represent a staircase in this bay is further discussed below. Evidence for partitions separating this north-eastern area from the passageway was indicated by the exposure in 1952 of a fifteenth-century doorway in the present eighteenth-century wall (fig. 131). Peg holes for a mid rail between the third and second posts in this wall further support the idea of partitioning. The passageway itself appears to be contemporary with the north-eastern part of the building. The two plastered arches which span it are actually fifteenth-century timber braces springing from the posts in the north-east wall (fig. 154). These posts have chamfer stops which are stylistically similar to those associated with the arch-braced collar construction in the hall.

### **The hall**

The timber-framing in the great hall on the first floor of St. Anthony's has been used to support the conflicting hypotheses of the constructional sequence of the building. The first three bays from the south-west end (in Gee, the RCHME and French the 'west' end) of the hall are of a crown post construction with subsidiary transverse beams beneath. These are mortised for a ceiling, suggesting that the crown posts were never meant to be seen (fig. 155). The remaining six bays of the hall (bays 4-9) consist of an arch-braced collar construction (figs. 156). Peg holes in the tie beam of the south-west gable indicate that it supported a crown post roof truss (fig. 157) whilst those in the tie beam of the north-west gable imply an arch-braced collar construction. However there is no visible evidence for the original appearance of the gable ends of the aisles (fig. 158). The tie beam under the last crown post in bay 3 contains mortises which were never pegged (fig. 159). This indicates an intention (which was never realised) to continue these trusses to the north-east. The first bay of arch braces abuts this structure. They are pegged from the north-east side wherever they abut the crown post trusses, implying that the latter were already standing when bays 4-9 of the hall were constructed.

These stratigraphic relations imply a constructional sequence from south-west to north-east and reinforce the idea of some form of constructional break between the two forms of truss. This is given overwhelming support by the evidence of carpenters' marks on the wall posts (figs. 160-1). Those associated with the north-easternmost crown post roof truss (bay 3) are marked with a IIII, indicating that construction commenced at the south-west end of the hall (I) and progressed north-eastwards to this bay. No carpenters' marks are visible on the arch brace truss which abuts these posts, but the next set of arch-braced collar posts (in bay 5) are marked with a II. The sequence then progresses north-east until the penultimate truss in bay 8 which is numbered VI. No marks

are visible on the wall posts of the final north-east truss in bay 9 (which would have been VII), for it is embedded in the later north-east brick wall. The sequence established by the carpenters' marks raises fundamental questions about French's interpretation of the indication of sequence by the symbolism of the roof bosses in the north-west aisle. Such a reading is problematic, for these bosses are not primary structural members of the timber frame. They may rather reflect a general understanding of the function of the north-west aisle which is further discussed in Chapter 6.

The posts associated with the second phase (the arch-braced collar construction) of the hall have angel corbels at the springing of the arch braces, and chamfer stops which are repeated at the base of the post. Separate pieces of timber with decorative brattishing were also added to the wall plates in the interlinking bays (fig. 162). Pegs in the posts themselves indicate the position of a mid rail with a central stud and flanking braces in the upper parts of the bay walls, and these are still visible behind later plasterwork (fig. 163). However, the lower part of the walls of bays 4-7 appear to have been open to the hall beneath the mid rails. There is no evidence of peg holes lower down the posts for additional partitioning, and the octagonal chamfering of the wall posts suggests that they were meant to be seen in the round. The reason for this openness may have been to increase the functional space of the hall, but it may also have allowed light from the windows in the external south-east and north-west aisle walls into the hall. The fact that the height of the aisle ceilings corresponds exactly with the position of the mid rails in the hall walls supports such an interpretation. The encasing of the wall plates by later seventeenth-century walls brick walls makes it impossible to reconstruct the original aisle fenestration schemes. There is also less evidence for the relationship of the hall with the aisles in bays 1-3, although peg holes in the wall plates imply partitioning in the upper part of the walls at least.

The posts separating bays 8 and 9 of the hall contain mortises indicating the position of the screens passage separating the service area (with its buttery and pantry) from the rest of the hall and a gallery extending into bay 8 (fig. 164). The survival of these features into the seventeenth century is indicated by documentary sources which are further discussed below. Differences in these bays are reflected in the aisle walls of bay 8 where braces spring up from the mid rail to the posts, rather than from the central stud to the mid rail, and in bay 9 where simpler vertical studs link the mid rail with the wall plate (fig. 165). The location of the services and some form of brazier or heating at this end of the hall is also indicated by the absence of the ridge piece over the seventh bay, which implies the position of some form of louvre or ceramic smoke vent.

### **Construction sequence, form and function**

The internal and external archaeological evidence at St. Anthony's hall therefore indicates that the building was constructed from the south-west to the north-east, and that it was built in two phases of construction. The constructional break is marked on the ground floor by the position of the north-west to south-east passageway and the straight joint visible in the masonry of the south-east wall, and on the first floor by the abutting of the two different forms of roof truss. The thrusts from the posts of bays 1-3 in the hall are carried by the arch braces and wall posts of this ground floor area. This explains the transverse nature of these ground floor roof timbers, and suggests a possible explanation for several areas of refacing on the south-west and south-east walls. Contexts 1029F, 1014F-1016F and 1007F are directly in line with the position of the posts on the interior of the building (figs. 136-139). These appear to represent the position of buttresses similar in size and form to the surviving example on this elevation, providing structural support for the wall posts of the chapel. This is certainly the case with 1007F, which is shown on an early nineteenth-century plan. It is also a much more convincing explanation than that of 'wicket doors' providing access to guild committee rooms. The area of refacing on the south-east elevation of the building (2002F) probably represents a similar feature (fig. 145), whilst the surviving buttress (2019STR) provided support for the north-eastern limit of this earlier building.

The archaeological analysis raises fundamental questions about French's re-interpretation of the location of the chapel and hospital. The consecration licence of 1450 and the commission of 1452/3 imply the completion of the chapel only six years after the guilds' amalgamation in 1446. It must have been in the earliest part of the building, which is the area to the south-west of the passageway, originally proposed as such by Gee and the RCHME. The quality of the moulding on the timbers of these seven bays indicate that it was a prestigious space, and there is no archaeological evidence for the subdivision of this space into 'guild committee rooms'. To the north-west was an impressive ceremonial entrance from Aldwark, flanked by images of St. Martin and the Virgin. To the south-east was the magnificent fifteenth-century window lighting the position of the altar. French's over-simplification of the orientation of St. Anthony's caused him to re-locate the chapel 'due east' (A in Area B on his plan fig. 132). However, this is actually north-east, and the south-eastern orientation of the chapel implied by the interpretation presented above is equally plausible. Indeed, the 'liturgical' east of the chapel at Trinity hall is orientated in exactly the same way. In any case it is likely that the orientation of the earlier St. Martin's chapel on the site exercised greater influence over that of St. Anthony's than the adjacent church of St. Cuthbert's.

The final piece of evidence which challenges French's re-interpretation is that of the mortises in the transverse timbers in the last two north-eastern bays of the ground floor (fig. 153). These imply the position of substantial partitions which are not consonant with this being the liturgical east end of a chapel. However, they do correspond exactly to the position of an original doorway in the south-east elevation. It can therefore be suggested that they are evidence for a staircase which provided direct access from the ground floor to the screens passage of the guildhall. Further evidence to support this hypothesis can be found in the form of a small window shown on the eighteenth-century sketches of Cossins and Evelyn as being half-way up the south-east elevation (fig. 149). This would have provided an excellent light source for the staircase. The significance of this doorway, staircase and light are that they provided an alternative entrance point to the 'ceremonial' doorway in Aldwark. It is also probable that the doorway provided direct access into the hospital, an arrangement which would have paralleled that at Trinity hall.

### **Interpretation**

The archaeological re-interpretation of St. Anthony's may offer an intriguing perspective on Eileen White's summary of the pattern of probate bequests made to the amalgamated guilds after 1446 (Appendix 5, table 1). This patterning has been presumed to reflect the relative and enduring popularity of the guilds' names following the 1446 amalgamation (French 1994, 2). However, it seems significant that although the chapel of St. Martin was in a ruinous state by 1432/3, *none* of the early series of bequests between 1446 and 1451 (the period of the first phase of construction of the chapel and the crown post roof trusses in the hall) were made to St. Martin's, but rather to the guild of St. Anthony and/or the Paternoster guild. It was only in 1451 -a year after the consecration of the new chapel- that the guild of St. Mary and St. Martin begin to receive large numbers of bequests alongside that of St. Anthony's. This second phase from 1451 onwards, represents the construction of the hospital and the six bays of arch-braced collar construction, and probably took several decades to complete. Bequests to the separate guilds continue to be made until 1473 (BIHR D/C 1 f.337r; BIHR White *Bequests to Guilds*), after which the guild St. Mary and St. Martin seem to disappear from the records altogether.

There are two possible interpretations of such a pattern. It may reflect the longevity of social or ideological connections between members and their original guilds. But it may also reflect a arrangement between St. Anthony's (incorporating Holy Trinity and the Paternoster guild) and St. Martin's. The expanded guild of St. Anthony required a site on which to build a new hall, and the chapel of St. Martin was in a near-derelict state. Did St. Anthony's offer to be responsible for

the construction of the new chapel whilst St. Martin's secured the licence to acquire the site in mortmain? This proposition provides an explanation of the pattern of the documentary evidence, and is supported by the fact that St. Martin's chapel appears to have continued to stand during the first phase of construction of the new guildhall. St. Anthony's rhomboid shape is characteristic of a building whose diagonals could not be checked whilst under construction, a phenomenon which normally reflects the presence of another building on the site. St. Martin's may therefore have provided accommodation for the brethren and sisters of the new guild until it was demolished to make way for the second phase of St. Anthony's hall.

### **5.5 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: St. Anthony's hall**

The archaeological evidence for alterations to St. Anthony's hall during this period consists mainly of alterations to the internal division of space within the building, and the insertion of features such as fireplaces and chimney stacks. These are now plastered and have not been exposed as part of the research project. But it is possible to link the visible archaeological evidence with the documentary record of these alterations which are contained in the York House Books. Membership of St. Anthony's guild does not seem to have been associated with one particular group of craftsmen during the fifteenth century, and thus no craft or mercantile guild had emerged to dominate the use of the hall before the Reformation. In 1554 the city corporation handed the hall over to all those craft guilds without halls of their own:

The searchers of the craftes of the citee such as want metyng howses hath nowe unto the Sunday forthnighte after Trintye Sondag to make answeere in wrightyng insofar eny of theym will gyve yerely towardes reparyng & mayntaynyng Saynt Anthonyes howse. And it to be ther metyng howse &c.

(18th May 1554 YCA B21 f.45v)

From this date the York House Books and Chamberlain's Account rolls record the corporation's financial responsibility for, and alterations made to, the hall. Drake (1736, 224) gives an unreferenced list of the guilds contributing to the hall in 1632 (Appendix 5, table 2). This included guilds such as the mercers and butchers, who had their own halls and other guilds such as the drapers who had the use of the tailors' hall. St. Anthony's guild was not mentioned in the chantry surveys of 1546 and 1548, but the guild and its master continued to exist, and were responsible for providing a triennial feast for the corporation. As at Trinity and St. John the Baptist's halls, St. Anthony's hospital survived the Reformation, and in 1565/6 the assessment of the guilds was raised to contribute to its upkeep (YCA B24 f.38v).

### **The ground floor: hospital and chapel**

The archaeological interpretation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century features on the ground floor of St. Anthony's is complicated by the plastering of the fireplaces, chimney stacks and walls in the chapel and hospital. However, the rebuilding in brick of the wall separating the chapel from the passageway appears to date from the seventeenth century. It abuts and contains both the phases of the fifteenth-century wall posts, plate and arch braces. The RCHME's dating of the brickwork may have been based on evidence exposed during the restorations of 1952, and the House Books indicate that the ground floor was still thought of as essentially two separate spaces in 1628:

And now yt is ordred that the two lower roomes in St. Anthonyes hall shalbe sealed on the topp under the hall and the walls also runnover with lyme and hare and the floores paved with brick. (YCA B35 f. 60v)

These two spaces were further subdivided during the early modern period. The two north-western bays of the chapel were partitioned from the rest of this south-west area by the construction of a wall and chimney stack which abuts and partly encases the chapel's fifteenth-century arch braces and roof timbers (fig. 150-151). These changes may have been related to the licence granted in 1579 to William Pinke to set up a school in the 'lyttle chapel' (YCA B27, f.195r). The stack from the fireplace in this inserted wall also created a fireplace at first floor level in the north-west wall of the dais end of the hall. A similar wall and chimney stack providing both ground and first floor fireplaces was inserted between the second and third bays from the south-east end of the chapel (fig. 150-151). This has been identified as an eighteenth-century feature, although it is possible that it dates to the major alterations to the building carried out in c.1655. Apart from these two insertions, there is no clear visible evidence for the further subdivision of the chapel at this date.

The lack of archaeological exposure makes it impossible to establish evidence for the partitioning of the hospital area north-east of the passageway. The RCHME (again presumably on the grounds of material exposed in 1952) identified this as an eighteenth-century feature. The wall encases the earlier fifteenth-century wall posts and wall plates, but preserved a fifteenth-century doorway at its south-eastern end. Evidence of a party wall was apparently discovered in one of the transverse north-west to south-east timbers in this area in 1952 (RCHME Boxfile), but no record of this was made. Many of the principal posts in this area were removed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century; those removed from the first bay of this area in 1705 created a structural weakness which necessitated the insertion of braces to two of the posts in the hall above.



Evidence of the subdivision of the hospital therefore relies heavily on documentary sources which record alterations made to the building, and the inhabitants of the hospital during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1622 an offer was made by Miss Beatrice Hudson who, 'hath of her owne benevolence bene at chardges in erectinge new Chymnes in St. Anthony hall' and who was 'willinge to be at some further chardges in makeinge convenient places and Lodgeings for the poor people in the hospital ther' (YCA B34, f. 246v). The condition of the hospital *and* its inmates was subsequently assessed in August 1622, to see

what is needfull to be donne in makeinge the Lodgings Conveniente for the poore....to thende further order may be taken for the perfectinge thereof, which being done this Courte will take order that none of the poore people nowe being in the said hospitall be suffered to remaine ther, but such as be old and decayed people and to displace such as are younge hable persons to Laboure for their Liveinges. (YCA B34, f. 246v)

Part of the 'timber and stuffe' used for the construction of these partitions appears to have come from a demolished 'spittle house' in Fishergate (YCA B34, f.250r). By 1627 these alterations had resulted in the creation of separate rooms in the hospital, when St. Anthony's hospital was viewed to 'see what roomes are or may be fitt to sett the poore people in that are at St. George's house' (YCA B35 f.52). In 1629 the hospital was viewed to see if there 'be any roome convenient' for the accommodation of Richard Tomlinson and his wife (YCA B35 f.75r), and in 1630 'Lawrence Thorp and his wife and Ann Easter who dwell in houses in Fossbridge belonging to this Citty and are not able to pay rent' were housed separately in the hospital (YCA B35, f.83v), and in 1648 Frances Sparke was also provided with a 'room' in the hospital (YCA B36, f.221v).

### **The hall**

The structural and spatial changes made to the first floor hall of St. Anthony's may also be approached through a combination of archaeological and documentary sources. The closing off of the aisles in bays 4-7 of the hall underneath the mid rails was perhaps the most significant alteration made to the open hall (fig. 163). Although it impossible to explore in detail the stratigraphic relationships of these walls with the timber partitions above them and the wall posts themselves, they clearly abut both features and obscure the octagonal chamfers of the posts entirely. Their construction must have preceded the addition of wainscot to the walls in 1611, although no evidence of this panelling survives:

And whereas diverse occupacons & companies have bestowed cost in the wainscoting and seallinge of some partes in St. Anthonyes hall to the beutifyinge thereof It is thought good and agreed by this court that the place wher my Lord Maior & Aldermen do use to sit in the same shalbe wainscoted and sealed with the Kinges armes and suche like work at the cost and chardges of the Comon chambre of this cittie. (YCA B33 f.250v)

The 'sealyng' done by the plasterer Lawrens Holes cost the corporation eight pounds, seven shillings and eleven pence, whilst the two tables of wainscot cost thirty shillings, and their painting by Edward Bynkes with the king's arms an additional three pounds. Clasps and hooks for the tables were made by the blacksmith Edward Begson for an additional two shillings (YCA CB14 f.46r-49r). The 'sealyng' and wainscoting of most of the hall by the various craft guilds may well have included the construction of walls up to the mid rails in bays 4-7 of the hall. The corporation's 'space' in the hall was the dais end, where they were seated for St. Anthony's feast. If the aisles in bays 1-3 were originally open to the dais end of the hall below a mid rail, the corporation would have had to have built some form of partition underneath on which to fix their wainscot and painted arms. The hall itself however, remained open throughout the seventeenth century. It hosted the feast until the guild's dissolution in 1626, and was also apparently used for archery practice. The master of the guild Michael Starre was reported to the corporation in 1602 for hindering citizens 'from shotinge therein as heretofore hath bene formerlye accustomed' (YCA B32 f.208v).

The aisles were spaces within which the various craft guilds could meet. But they were also spaces which became increasingly associated with St. Anthony's function as a workhouse for the poor. 'Milnes' or mills were set up in the building during the 1580s and 1590s, and were constantly repaired throughout the early seventeenth century. In 1627 a 'treasure howse' was constructed within the hall for the storage of the 'stuffe' for setting of the poor on work (YCA B35 f.37v). Separate accommodation was provided within the aisles. In 1637-8 substantial alterations are recorded in connection with the provision of a 'dwelling' for Edward Whalley at the cost of 'six poundes or thereaboutes' (YCA B35 f.331r). He was to set up looms taken from St. George's house and 'have a lease of the roomes that are now made ready for him for seven yeares'. Windows were also to be made for the room, presumably to provide more light for weaving, and Thomas Johnson the carpenter was paid a total of forty shillings and six pence for his work on these rooms. Sadly, evidence of these alterations was swept away by eighteenth and nineteenth-century alterations to the aisles, particularly the rebuilding of the external walls of the building in 1655.

The earliest stack which can be identified in the hall abuts the timber-framing of the north-west wall of the screens passage bay. It is now rendered over, but was dated by both the RCHME and Gee to the nineteenth century. Although the stack is no longer functional, its position suggests that it may have been connected to back-to-back fireplaces heating the hall and the north-west aisle simultaneously (figs. 160 and 166). It is therefore significant that the House Books of August 1622 record an offer made to the corporation by Miss Beatrice Hudson to build a 'doble chymney in St. Anthony Hall' (YCA B34 f.224v). Moreover, the position of this stack in the screens passage bay corresponds exactly to the position of the 1622 stack described by the House Books. The wardens of Monkgate and the workmen involved in its construction agreed 'not to deface the hall in any parte but only through a Buttry' (YCA B34, f.225v) and in September agreed that

We thincke fitt that the Chimneyes shalbe set betwixt the fower postes within the hall of St. Anthonie next unto the east end, and not in the out wall and that some one of the fower postes which Mr Robert Belt shall thinck mete by consente of some of the vewers shalbe cut of and the end of the post so cutt shalbe sett upon the mantle tree and the tunnell of the Chimneys to be brought up close unto the skrene and not further within the hall. (YCA B34 f.228v)

The other chimney stacks in the hall are more difficult to date. The stack situated in bay 7 abuts the wall plate, brattishing and the arch braces and mid rail of the south-east wall. In 1638-9 repairs and alterations were made to St. Anthony's hall, and timber was purchased in Appleton by Mr Hewley, costing seven pounds, fifteen shillings and eight pence (YCA. CB22, f.32v). These repairs included getting a 'chymney builded in St. Anthonies Hall for William Gibson', who had been the 'reader' or 'recorder' at the hall since at least 1627-8, and was paid quarterly by the city Chamberlains (YCA B36 f.15r). The documents suggest that he was resident in the building, and it may be that the chimney in bay 7 indicates his occupancy of part of the south-west aisle. At the time the carpenter Mr Knight was paid twenty eight shillings and then a further twenty five shillings 'for 4 trees for St. Anthonies' and 'for building a chimney in St. Anthonies hall' (YCA CB22, f.32v), which may reflect the construction of this stack, or alternatively that which abuts the timber-framing of the north-west wall of bay 2, towards the dais end of the hall. However, no evidence of its seventeenth-century form is visible in the hall, and the fireplace it created in the north-west aisle was substantially remodelled in the eighteenth century. The position of a fireplace in this bay of the south-east wall is also suggested by bulges in the plastered brickwork of the wall.

In 1655, after the civil war and the use of the hall as a store for munitions, a hospital, and a prison, substantial repairs were made to the building to return it to its previous use. The corporation ordered

Item that two walls of bricke be made in St. Anthonyes hall to be carried up to the pannes and that eight fire places and Chimneys in order to make and fitt the same for a house of correction or a house of workes. (YCA B37 f.72v)

Each ward was required to provide an area in which 'soyles and gravell' from the building work might be laid (YCA B37 f.81v). In November 1655 over thirty thousand bricks were purchased from Thomas Brekin for the re-building of the hall at a cost of fifteen pounds, and another one pound, one shilling and eight pence was paid to Christopher Williamson 'for the like' (YCA CB25A f.25r). Most of the work seems to have been carried out by Edmund Gyles, who was paid a total of four hundred and ten pounds, fifteen shillings and ten pence between 1655 and 1658-9! These 'two walls' carried up to the wall plates may well have been the exterior south-east and north-west walls of St. Anthony's, as previous interpretations have presumed. But all four walls of St. Anthony's were refaced at the same time, and it is also possible that the 'two walls carried up to the pannes' (the wall plates) are the *internal* north-west and south-east walls in bays 1-3 of the hall. The fact that they are mentioned in conjunction with eight fireplaces implies that these were internal rather than external alteration.

## Conclusion

St. Anthony's, like Trinity and St. John the Baptist's halls, is a complex structure which requires detailed archaeological analysis in order to understand its construction and original function. It highlights once again the dangers of trying to fit the architectural details of a building to fragmentary documentary sources, and reveals that patterns in the documentary evidence can often be given further meaning and significance in the light of archaeological interpretation. Because it was never associated with one mystery or craft guild, St. Anthony's was vulnerable after the Reformation. However the corporation's responsibility for its upkeep means that there is a considerable amount of contextual evidence for the use and conversion of the building during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, through its conversion into a craft meeting place, and a house of work and correction, St. Anthony's came to express the ideological and political sea-changes of the early modern period perhaps more powerfully than either of the other two guildhalls studied in this thesis.

## Chapter 6. Medieval Guildhalls as *habitus*.

### Introduction

This chapter will be concerned with the archaeological and theoretical interpretation of York's medieval guildhalls. It will present an analysis of their topographical location, chronology, form and function framed by the research agenda set out in Chapter 2, and the theoretical position outlined in Chapter 1. Bourdieu's (1977; 1979) idea of *habitus* will be used to suggest that their spatial organisation was part of a wider understanding of the ways in which architecture could be used to structure individual and communal identities in medieval society. Giddens' (1984) structuration theory will inform the interpretation of the reflexive and recursive nature of the social practices which occurred within the guildhall, as well as the analysis of the multiple ways in which dominant religious discourses were used to underpin the structuration of social and political power by particular levels of society. After considering these issues in relation to the halls, hospitals and chapels of guilds, the chapter will briefly consider their implications for the wider study of medieval urban space and civic architecture.

### 6.1 Guildhalls, occupational topography and chronology in late medieval York

Chapter 2 has suggested that existing typological approaches based on the form of medieval guildhalls do not explain why they were built in the first place, nor do they take account of their complex construction and use over time. An alternative, contextual approach will be developed in relation to York's medieval guildhalls. This highlights their important connections with the occupational topography of the city, and suggests that their construction was bound up with the desire of particular fraternities or mysteries to construct or emphasise their corporate identity during periods of expansion, amalgamation or crisis. Religious fraternities and craft mysteries in York commonly sought two or three different modes of expression through which they channelled their social, religious and charitable functions. These were a place where they could meet to discuss their administrative business; a devotional focus (often an altar, light or image within a parish church or monastic chapel); and increasingly during the fifteenth century, some form of charitable focus (usually a *maison dieu* or hospital). Although these spaces were linked by the guilds' activities, they were often located in different topographical contexts. The construction of a guildhall enabled both types of guild to bring together two or more of these elements, quite literally, under one roof.

It was common for fourteenth-century craft mysteries to use for business meetings the naves and aisles of parish churches in which their associated fraternities maintained altars, obits and lights (Davies 1968; Cook 1954). Unfortunately this practice is rarely explicitly recorded in York, with the exception of references to the mayor and aldermen meeting for discussion before the chapel of the guild of St. Christopher in the south aisle of the Minster (YCR 2, 14). Evidence from historical records (VCH 1961; Raine 1955) suggests that a similar use may have been made of those naves or aisles of churches where purely religious guilds were based, such as the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary in St. Crux, St. Nicholas' guild in Micklegate and the various guilds dedicated to St. Mary in St. Margaret's Walmgate, All Saints' Pavement, St. Nicholas Micklegate and St. Lawrence's Walmgate. This may also have been the case for the religious fraternities associated with craft mysteries such as the weavers in All Saints' North Street, the fishmongers at St. Denys' Walmgate, the pinners and butchers in St. Crux and the skinnners in St. Giles' Gillygate, whilst St. George's fraternity met in the chapel of the Knights' Templars in Castlegate, and the marshals and the smiths in the chapel of St. William on Ouse bridge.

Several guilds also used the rooms and chapels of the townhouses of religious orders to provide at least two of the three modes of expression outlined above (VCH 1961; Raine 1955). The carpenters and their associated fraternity of the Resurrection met within the Austin Friary in Lendal, where the guild of St. Catherine was also based. The cordwainers and their associated fraternity of St. Mary the Virgin met in the Carmelite Friary in Hungate. Similar connections existed between the adulterine guild of Holy Trinity based in the Friars' Dominicans in Toft Green, and the Paternoster guild, which met in a house belonging to Bridlington Priory in Aldwark.

During the fifteenth century these two modes of expression were enhanced by connections with charitable institutions, including hospitals and *maisons dieu*. Some guilds simply created an informal link with an existing hospital or *maison dieu*, but those who were already constructing their own halls appear to have sought to incorporate such a foundation within the guildhall complex itself. Table 1, Appendix 6 juxtaposes evidence for these three modes of expression with details of purpose-built guildhalls in later medieval York. Table 2 and fig. 167 relates this data to research into the 'occupational topography' of medieval York carried out by Goldberg (1992) in which data from the 1381 Poll Tax and fifteenth-century probate sources was used to identify the inhabitation and continuity of association between craft groups and particular areas of the city

over time. These demonstrate the very strong connection between the occupational 'zones' of particular crafts, and the devotional foci of their guild, or craft fraternity.

This connection is significant because it challenges Swanson's (1989) hypothesis that the guild system was an artificial structure imposed on an artisan class by the mercantile elite, and provides an important caveat to traditional, functionalist interpretations of the occupational zoning of medieval cities (Schofield and Vince 1994; Miller and Hatcher 1995). This patterning suggests that not only craft workshops but also their associated households tended to congregate in particular areas of the city. This linked the basic units of production and consumption -the household- with the wider communal identity of the craft at the level of the neighbourhood or the parish. This occupational concentration of craft groups probably created a 'snowball effect' by attracting recent immigrants and prospective apprentices to the area. Peripatetic labourers and journeymen may also have been similarly attracted by the prospect of casual or temporary employment in these established workshops. Such a close topographical connection between the two sides of the labour market would have facilitated the kinds of informal employment arrangements indicated by the carpenters' ordinances of 1482:

..it is also ordeyned that thar shalbe every year a brodir chosyn and assigned of the said fraternite, to who every brodir that is owt of wark shall make knowlege that he is owt of wark, so that he that wold have a warkman may have knowlege of hym that is owt of wark (YMB 2, 280)

The creation of a devotional focus in the local parish church or monastic townhouse reinforced the connections between the household, workshop and the craft community as a whole. But the creation of a devotional focus within these parishes also provided a mechanism through which craftsmen living and working outside these occupational zones could be incorporated into the craft community.

In addition to the influence of contemporary occupational topography, the location of York's medieval guildhalls was influenced by the archaeology of the city, and the historic associations of space and place which were embedded in civic memory. As Benjamin (1979; see also Urry 1995, 24-5) has argued, the city is a repository of social memory, and buildings may take on a series of meanings and collective myths related to their social use and inhabitation over time. The street layout and monumental space of the medieval city was underpinned and informed by the Roman city with its *via principia*, its fortress and its defensive walls (Ottaway 1992; 1993; Hall 1996, 28-9). The line of the principal Roman streets conferred prestige and symbolic importance on Petergate and Stonegate, and the ecclesiastical liberty surrounding the Minster. Medieval burgage

plots appear to follow the lines of Roman property divisions. Indeed Rees Jones (forthcoming) has suggested that the organisation of medieval civic space was underpinned by Classical ideas about the form and appearance of the city. Over time these associations were enhanced and transformed by the occupational history of a street or neighbourhood. The decision to build a new building was also affected by the existence of previous buildings on the site. Medieval craftsmen and their patrons were highly aware, not only of the technical and strategic implications of their surviving fabric or foundations, but also the social and symbolic resonances which their previous inhabitants conferred on the site.

The integration of all of the above factors could produce a powerfully charged site for monumental buildings such as guildhalls. For example both the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary and that of St. John the Baptist had existing connections with the Fossgate and Aldwark sites on which they built their halls. The former had previously met in the parish church of St. Crux in Fossgate, and large numbers of the mercers and merchants who lived in this 'commercial zone' of medieval York were members of the fraternity and the mercantile mystery with which it became associated in the fifteenth century. It is possible that St. John the Baptist's fraternity had shared the use of the Aldwark site of its hall with the mystery of tailors with which it became associated. But both sites were also locations on which high status domestic buildings had previously been constructed. This conferred a particular kind of prestige through association on the guildhalls which replaced them. A similar connection may have been made by St. George's guild, who used the old chapel of the Knights' Templars near the castle before their amalgamation with the guild of St. Christopher in c.1446/7 (fig. 168). Much of the chapel's medieval masonry was used to repair Ousebridge in 1571, and it was largely rebuilt as a workhouse in the seventeenth century before being demolished in 1856 (Cooper 1911, 138-140).

An historic connection with a particular area or site also influenced the location of other guildhalls (VCH 1961; Raine 1955). The butchers' fifteenth-century hall in the Shambles was very close to the church of St. Crux, in which the fraternity still maintained a chapel in the sixteenth century (fig. 169). The cordwainers constructed their fifteenth-century hall in Hungate, close to the Carmelite Friary in which they had traditionally met, and where their fraternity of the Virgin Mary continued to be based (fig. 170). More symbolic associations were made by the decision of the newly amalgamated guilds of St. Christopher and St. George to fund the construction of the new Guildhall on the site of the earlier hall of the guild merchant, which subsequently became the 'common hall' of the corporation itself (fig. 172; White 1987). The



topographical connection between the old and new Guildhalls therefore symbolised not only the connection between the two associations but also that between the city's fifteenth-century government and its political predecessors. The construction of a hall by the guild of Corpus Christi adjacent to the existing hospital of St. Thomas in 1478 also had important resonances (fig. 173). Corpus Christi was the wealthiest guild in the city, drawing members not only from across the social scale, but from the Yorkshire gentry, leading citizens of London and the royal family (Crouch 1995). The hall was placed directly next to Micklegate Bar, the ceremonial entrance to the city from London. Through its liminal position the guildhall symbolised the guild's regional and national connections, but it also made the guildhall and hospital the first religious and charitable institution to be seen (and patronised) by prestigious visitors to the city.

This section has sought to explain the topographical location of guildhalls in later medieval York through an understanding of the ways in which three 'modes of expression' were embedded in occupational topography, and the historic associations of civic space and place. However this does not explain why some guilds should have chosen to build purpose-built guildhalls whilst others were content to continue their meetings and devotional activities in existing *locales*. A hypothesis can be advanced in relation to the York evidence that the construction of a guildhall was related to a specific moment of change, expansion, or crisis in the corporate identity of the guild or mystery concerned. Trinity and St. John the Baptist's halls represent subtle examples of this point. Previous interpretations have stressed the separation of the fourteenth-century religious fraternities who constructed these halls from the mysteries of the mercers and tailors with which they became formally associated later in the fifteenth-century (Crouch 1995; Johnson 1949). But prosopographical and testamentary evidence suggests that informal connections between the membership of these associations may have existed at a much earlier date (Sellers 1918; Wheatley 1993). The construction of these halls may therefore have symbolised the beginnings of relationships which were formalised only later in the fifteenth century.

Two of York's guildhalls provide clear evidence of a building constructed as a result of a fundamental change in identity for the religious guilds involved. St. Anthony's hall was constructed shortly after the amalgamation of three religious fraternities with the chapel of St. Martin in 1446 and was therefore an important visual symbol of these guilds' new communal identity. Similarly, the construction of the new Guildhall from c.1445 symbolised the communal identities of the recently amalgamated fraternities of St. Christopher and St. George as well as formalising their existing connections with York's civic authorities.

The construction of the Corpus Christi hall also occurred at a pivotal moment in the history of the fraternity. The guild had been founded in 1408 by 'certain chaplains and other worthy parsons, both secular and regular' and was part of the widespread and powerful cult of the feast of Corpus Christi (Rubin 1986a; 1991a; Crouch 1995). During the 1460s the popularity of Corpus Christi guild had declined as a result of the involvement of some of its most prominent members in the York and Lancaster struggles (Crouch 1995, 269; YCCG, 270-271). However the guild's fortunes were transformed when Richard Duke of Gloucester joined the guild in 1477, followed by a flood of prominent gentry and aristocracy. In 1478 the late fourteenth-century hospital foundation of St. Thomas, located just outside Micklegate Bar, also became a corporate member of the fraternity. Clear evidence for the spatial relationship between the hospital and chapel is given in a 'viewe' of St. Thomas's on 22 October 1593 (YCA B31, f. 36r), which was erroneously identified as a 'viewe of St. Anthony's hospitall' in the margins of the House Books and subsequently mis-quoted by various sources (see VCH 1961, 482). Before 1477 the fraternity had met in Trinity hall, but the construction of a new guildhall in association with the hospital and chapel of St. Thomas was therefore a highly symbolic expression of a shift in the fortunes and corporate identity of the guild.

The construction of the butchers' hall (fig. 169; Fitzell 1975) may also have been related to the political and economic fortunes of that guild in the fifteenth century. Although members of the craft often held the office of chamberlain in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Swanson notes that

Nonetheless they remained outsiders, excluded in general from civic office and characterised as a minor craft. They posed too much of a threat economically, but equally, whereas it was considered possible to make a silk purse out of a tailor, a butcher remained a sow's ear. (1989, 170-1)

The apparent exclusion of this wealthy craft from civic government throughout the medieval period requires more detailed analysis than it has previously been given. The assumption that all craftsmen automatically sought civic office, and resented exclusion from it, is problematic. The butchers' hall can be interpreted as a statement of the economic and commercial priorities of the butchers', rather than a symbol of unity in the face of political exclusion. One hundred and forty six butchers took out the freedom between 1401-50, and existing members of the trade may have used the guildhall to bind these new men into the working community and practices of the craft, or simply to maintain their collective stance against the increasing attempts of civic authority to regulate the butchery trade and stop its restrictive practices.

The cordwainers' hall in Hungate may also be interpreted as a symbolic attempt to reinforce craft identity in the face of competition with the tanners' guild over the supply of worked leather, particularly after they were banned from carrying out the tanning process by statute in 1402 and 1423 (Swanson 1989, 55). Even though some of their members were prosperous and successful craftsmen, the cordwainers were always outnumbered by the more influential tanners. A leather seld was established in the common hall in 1428 as a result of trouble between the crafts, but conflict between them continued throughout the 1450s. The construction of a guildhall may therefore have been an attempt to bind members together during this difficult period. It may also have been an attempt to control troublesome servants and apprentices, who were meeting secretly and apparently challenging their masters' authority (YMB 1, 190-1).

It should be noted that although depictions of the haberdashers' hall, in Walmgate (fig. 171) suggest that it was in origin a medieval building, both Drake (1736, 309) and the VCH (1961, 161) record that the construction of an assembly hall for the craft occurred as a result of bequests made by Sir Robert Watter in the early seventeenth century. It is, of course possible that the haberdashers had been meeting here informally for a number of years, and possibly decades, before this, and is a subject which requires further research. Although the haberdashers became an increasingly important craft during the early sixteenth century, their numbers declined over the course of the seventeenth (VCH 1961, 127; 167). The construction or reconstruction of their hall may well have been an attempt to boost their confidence during a period of economic difficulty and professional decline.

## **Conclusion**

The fact that many religious fraternities and craft mysteries never built guildhalls is significant, for it suggests that their existing 'modes of expression' continued to function effectively throughout the later medieval period. The decision to build a guildhall was therefore a highly charged act which was inextricably linked to a community's desire to re-fashion or re-create its corporate identity within the wider civic community. The next section of this Chapter will focus on the buildings themselves, and examine the archaeological evidence for their form and function. Parallels with contemporary domestic buildings will be considered, but it will be concluded that the structure and spatial organisation of guildhalls can only be understood as part of a wider *habitus* which is found in a range of medieval building types.

## **6.2 Medieval guildhalls: the domestic parallel**

The connection between medieval domestic buildings and guildhalls seems to be supported by evidence that many guildhalls were constructed on the site of earlier medieval houses (Rigold 1968, 2-11). Schofield (1995, 212) also draws attention to several cases where London guilds visited aristocratic and episcopal domestic residences, in order to view architectural features which were subsequently copied in their halls. In 1425 for example, the drapers visited the palace of the Celestines at Sheen and the hall of the Bishop of Bath in the Strand before building their new hall in St. Swithin's Lane in 1425, and in 1496 the pewterers viewed the roofs not only of the carpenters' and haberdashers' halls, but also that of the Brotherhood of Papey and the Dean (of St. Paul's?) in Hackney before rebuilding their Lime Street hall (Schofield 1995, 198). Similarly, the merchant taylors' new kitchen roof of 1433/4 appears to have been partly modelled on that at Kennington Palace (Schofield 1995, 224). However, it requires more than evidence of architectural emulation to establish that guildhalls were direct derivations of seigneurial architecture.

It is worth asking therefore whether the choice of the first or ground floor hall 'type' by guilds can shed further light on the reasons for these parallels. Current debate surrounding the first floor hall 'type' of domestic building is germane to this question (Meirion-Jones & Jones 1993). Blair (1993) has asserted that many of the so-called English first floor halls of c.1150-1220 are not halls at all, but two-storey stone chamber blocks originally associated with separate ground floor timber-framed halls. However, although archaeological evidence to support his hypothesis has emerged in the form of the remains of the timber-framed hall at Boothby Pagnell, we should be wary of therefore assuming that the first floor hall is therefore an historical chimera. The stratigraphic relationship of these disassociated buildings needs more careful analysis, and there are still numerous examples of twelfth- and thirteenth-century 'first floor halls' which were constructed alongside contemporary chamber blocks, such as the first floor hall and associated chamber block in the west and north ranges of Henry II's townhouse in Wigford, Lincoln (Stocker 1991, 37). Contemporary parallels also survive at Scolland's hall, Richmond Castle and the new hall built by the Bigod family at Framlingham Castle in the 1150s (Stocker 1991, 37-8).

It is difficult to be certain whether guilds consciously appropriated either the model of the ground or the first floor hall in those cases where guildhalls were simply converted domestic buildings. It is also difficult to make a functional argument for the selection of the first or ground floor hall type by guilds. Although the provision of an undercroft was a central concern for guilds seeking

to accommodate hospitals in late medieval York, other undercrofts seem to have been of little importance to craft mysteries such as the shearmen in London, who simply rented theirs out (Schofield 1995, 228). Tables 3 and 4, Appendix 6 tabulate data from the London livery halls and reveals that even within one topographical context, there are no clear patterns or chronological distinctions to indicate reasons for the preference of one form over another. The evidence suggests that the form of the guildhall depended not only on its physical context and the limits imposed upon it by adjacent properties, but also on a series of complex factors relating to the institution with which it was associated.

Might the relative popularity of the first or ground floor hall in particular kinds of *domestic* buildings offer an explanation for the choice of either form by medieval guilds? Two contrasting interpretations of the first floor hall during the later medieval period are particularly germane to this question. Thompson (1995, 152) argues that there was a rise on the popularity of this form from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, citing examples of first floor halls in towers at Tattershall, Lincolnshire and Ashby de la Zouche, Leicestershire and the rebuilding of older halls at Kenilworth, Warwickshire (1347) and Portchester, Hampshire (1390s). He suggests that the expansion of the late medieval household prompted

an increasing preference for first-floor halls on the grounds of comfort and possibly to provide an overflow for the household below, and secondly a retreat from the household altogether to create a smaller separate establishment still linked to the household. (Thompson 1995, 155)

In contrast, Wood (1965, 28) maintains that there were remarkably few first floor halls constructed in the fourteenth century, but notes that those which were built were often high status episcopal, monastic or aristocratic halls which afforded their owners opportunities for prominent display. Examples such as Ely Cathedral Abbey, the Bishop's Palace at St. David's, Pembrokeshire, the Abbot's Hall in Westminster and domestic complexes such as Kenilworth are also cited. Wood's emphasis on the display function of the first floor hall provides a more convincing explanation of its particular popularity with guilds. As well as offering a flexible space which could accommodate a *maison dieu*, chapel or simply storage space, the undercroft physically elevated the hall to a visually prominent position within the courtyard in which it was situated.

Wood's hypothesis appears to be supported by the sheer scale of many urban guildhalls in relation to contemporary domestic buildings. Table 5, Appendix 6 plots contemporary examples of domestic buildings drawn from Wood (1965) and from Sandall's (1975; 1986) lists of aisled halls published in *Vernacular Architecture*. Most of these examples are drawn from rural seigneurial sites, but tables 6 and 7 also list comparative ecclesiastical and monastic examples, and table 7 collegiate buildings. It is particularly significant that, in terms of sheer scale and the number of bays, the closest parallels for the York guildhalls and the London Livery Company halls are the halls of a group of elaborate courtyard houses of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including Kenilworth (late fourteenth century), Dartington (c.1388-1400), South Wingfield Manor (1440-59), Gainsborough Old Hall (c.1470-84) and Rufford Old Hall (c.1500).

These parallels are also significant because, like these buildings, guildhalls were often associated with gatehouse and courtyard complexes. This meant that the full architectural splendour of the guildhall itself was only visible to those with the status and/or confidence to negotiate access through the gatehouse to the hall itself. Although evidence for the medieval appearance of the gatehouses of St. John the Baptist's and Trinity halls no longer survives, there is good historical evidence for their former existence. At St. John the Baptist's hall, the gatehouse was a two-bay, two storey structure with a chamber over the gate (MTA 5/1) which was demolished as late as c.1702-3. There are clear references to 'pavyng the entre to the halle warde' at Trinity hall dating to 1433-4 (YMA, 38) and to the 'hallgat' in accounts of 1679-82 (YMA, 291). The structure appears to have extensively remodelled in both the mid seventeenth, and the present century. The York Guildhall was also set back within a courtyard entered through the 'Common Hall gates' which partly lie under the present Mansion House, whilst some form of gate also appears on illustrations of St. Thomas' hospital and the hall of the Corpus Christi guild. Although the guildhalls themselves dominated these courtyards, a secondary visual focus of these complexes was the guild hospital. The *maisons dieu* of both St. John the Baptist's guild and St. Christopher and St. George's guild were located in structurally separate buildings which abutted or were adjacent to the hall entrance itself, whilst at Trinity hall the hospital entrance dominated the ground floor and was situated almost directly underneath the first floor entrance to the hall.

### **6.3 Guildhalls and the craft tradition**

Although the visual and ceremonial potential of the first floor hall form might explain its relative popularity with guilds, the wider structural and symbolic links between the two buildings demand closer attention because they involve questions about the use and meaning of these buildings. The decision to use a particular structure and spatial organisation can either be seen as a product of the craft tradition, or as a conscious emulation of other building types by the guilds as patrons of these buildings. This is significant, because there is a tendency for the medieval building craft tradition' to be seen as an innately conservative, reactionary industry grounded in the practical business of materials and construction. The lack of evidence for a self-conscious architectural profession has therefore resulted in considerable emphasis being placed on architectural patrons, who are seen as dynamic and creative forces. The contrast between these two modes of working is drawn by Harvey,

Building, with all its component skills such as masonry, carpentry, glazing, is a collective technique taught by the members of one generation to those of the next. It may be greatly modified in the course of time by the discovery of new materials or the invention of improved methods, but those changes come from outside. Architecture, however, is not simply the control and supervision of buildings; its primary function is the creation of fresh solutions to fresh problems posed by patrons who wish to have not standardised but specially designed works put up in answer to their requirements. (Harvey 1975a, 2; 1958).

So are guildhalls simply the product of building craftsmen whose lack of imagination resulted in the simple adaptation of the domestic building type? Or are they the result of an active and conscious decision on the part of medieval fraternities or guilds? In order to answer this question it is necessary to consider the craft tradition in York, and to explore the links between the construction techniques and the social function of medieval buildings.

Public building projects by ecclesiastical, monastic and civic authorities in later medieval York provided a market for the skills of established and itinerant craftsmen from both the masonry and carpentry trades (Harvey 1975a; 1975b; Morrell 1950; Gee 1979). This included the rebuilding of the Norman nave of the Minster (completed by c.1360), and the choir and towers (which continued well into the fifteenth century). At least eight of York's parish churches were also extensively remodelled during this period, and there was continuous building activity at the monastic sites of St. Mary's Abbey, St. Leonard's hospital, and the various city friaries (RCHME 1981; VCH 1961; Raine 1955). Civic construction projects were also numerous. Although the city walls were largely completed by c.1315 (RCHME 1972, 13), the Fishergate-Walmgate section was still under construction well into the fourteenth century, as were parts of

the bars and barbicans. Work on the Ouse and Foss bridges and their associated chapels and chambers continued throughout the period, alongside the Guildhall itself from c.1445 onwards. There were also corporate or collegiate building works such as the Bedern and St. William's College, and to this one must add the hundreds of private commissions of shops and houses which comprise the larger part of the surviving medieval building stock of York.

The most coherent study of York's craft mysteries has been Swanson's (1983; 1989) collation of data from guild ordinances, contracts, civic records and probate evidence. The York building industry was divided into four major groups: the carpenters, masons, plasterers and tilers. Most of these crafts included large numbers of itinerant journeymen as well as established master craftsmen with workshops and apprentices. The itinerancy of the craft of masonry may well explain the lack of a formal guild but many masons established themselves within the civic community by taking out the freedom (Swanson 1983, 9-10). Moreover even the itinerant masons inhabiting the 'lodge' may have been informally associated with the masons' fraternity which was responsible for the Herod play of the Corpus Christi cycle. In contrast to the masons, the carpenters had a highly complex mystery incorporating the specialised groups of the carpenters, joiners, carvers, cartwrights and shipwrights. Although these divisions may have been blurred in practice, a clear distinction was always maintained between the carpenters and the sawyers, perhaps because of the latter's specialised knowledge of timber selection and woodland management. The succession of carpenters' ordinances registered in the Memorandum Books certainly suggests that the mystery responded swiftly to changes in the demand for different carpentry skills (Swanson 1989, 86).

Two other building professions, the plasterers and tilers, also deserve attention. The use of thin, edge-set bricks known as 'walltiles' or 'thaktile', as infill panels for timber-framing may well explain the close connection of the tilers and the plasters in York. These 'walteghill' were also used in the construction of entire walls, as in the undercroft of Trinity hall between 1358-67 and at York Castle in 1364 (Salzman 1952, 141) and had become the most common roofing material in York by the fourteenth century (Swanson 1983, 20; RCHME 1981, *xcvi*). However the two crafts maintained distinct identities throughout the medieval period and were responsible for separate plays in the Corpus Christi cycle. Tile works were established by the Carmelite friars in Bakener's Lane, Walmgate in the fourteenth century, whilst the Vicars Choral had two fifteenth-century works; one in Spitalcroft, Layerthorpe, and one on the south-west side of the Ouse between Blossom Street and the river (RCHME 1981, *xcvi*). The increasing use of brick as a



building material in fifteenth century York is evidenced by the construction of the Red Tower, Walmgate and brick extensions to buildings such as the King's Manor. Tilers were also responsible for the construction of central hearths such as that now reconstructed at Barley Hall, York, and both plasterers and tilers became involved in the construction of chimney stacks (Swanson 1983, 21).

The association of crafts such as the glaziers and plumbers with building construction is also significant. Ecclesiastical work in late medieval York by the glaziers has received considerable attention (O'Connor 1977). In domestic buildings windows were usually closed with wooden shutters or horn panels, but glass windows were commissioned at Trinity hall in 1477 and 1504 (RCHME 1981, *lxxv*) and glass was increasingly used for domestic windows from the sixteenth century onwards. The plumbers, who worked with lead for roofs, gutters and perhaps, windows, were closely associated with both the glazing and tiling trades, but there is no evidence of formal plumbers' mystery in the later medieval period.

Much of the construction and repair work carried out by the various building crafts was executed either by journeymen or through household-based workshops rather than the craft 'guild system'. However, craft mysteries were not simply bodies which organised craft production, but rather social and political organisations which gave expression to the specialist skills and wider interests shared by their members (Salaman 1986, 80). Their success lay in their recognition of the flexibility and fluidity of the late medieval labour market (particularly the itinerant building trades), their acknowledgement of the tensions and rivalries which might develop within it, and their provision of a private forum in which the knowledge and 'mystery' of the craft could be disseminated. Rather than being innately conservative, it is likely that the craft mysteries were melting pots for the exchange of practical ideas and innovation (Epstein 1991, 247). In conclusion, existing work on the York guilds, and on the craft tradition in general, has therefore resulted in a wealth of descriptive information about the organisation, materials and techniques of the late medieval building trade. Far less attention has been paid to the ways in which building construction related to the actual use of buildings, but York's guildhalls can only really be understood if this dichotomy is broken down.

The construction and spatial organisation of buildings is intimately related to their social meaning. Chapter 1 has discussed this in relation to R. Harris' (1989) 'grammar of carpentry'; a structuralist, linguistic analogy which identifies four 'rules' underpinning a 'way of building' by medieval carpenters. These include issues of technological competence which closely parallel Sackett's (1990, 33) understanding of 'isochrestic choice', where the selection of one option by the craft tradition from many equivalent alternatives is interpreted as being largely dictated by 'the technological traditions within which they have been encultured as members of the social groups that delineate their ethnicity'. However Harris is also concerned with the visual cues by which the meaning and use of buildings was communicated. This 'mental mapping' is most easily understood through the idea of *habitus* -the unconscious knowledge and sense of order which an individual possesses about how to 'go on' in life and operate in society. Bourdieu (1977) emphasises that this knowledge is learned implicitly, particularly through the physical and spatial arrangement of the built environment, and thus emphasises the dialectical relationship between social practice and the material culture. These ideas enable us to break down the dichotomy outlined above by seeing the form of a building as the product of a *habitus* shared by both craftsmen and the patron/user. The 'grammar' of carpentry can therefore be understood not simply as a set of techniques passed through the craft tradition, but as a culturally specific form of social practice. The next section of this chapter will therefore focus on the grammar of the York guildhalls and the *habitus* which operated in a range of medieval buildings.

#### 6.4 Guildhalls, grammar and *habitus*

The development of the domestic tripartite plan has been discussed in considerable detail by Wood (1965), Girouard (1978) Thompson (1995) and Grenville (1997). Although thirteenth-century domestic planning was fairly eclectic, by 1300 the division of the main body of the hall from a service end by means of a cross passage was becoming more widespread (Grenville 1997, 96). By the end of the fourteenth century the fully developed tripartite plan was well established, with the 'low' service end (often with a projecting, separately roofed service wing) at one end of the hall, and a 'high' end with a raised dais at the opposite end (often with a parlour, or a projecting, separately roofed solar wing beyond). The tripartite arrangement is found in both urban and rural contexts in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and Pantin's (1962-3) study is specifically concerned with the adaptation of this form to the topographical constraints of the medieval town. Recent research has refined our understanding of this process by placing emphasis on those urban buildings which did not contain open halls, particularly two-storey commercial properties (Harris forthcoming), or those lower down the social scale (Schofield 1994, 72-74). However, members of the craft tradition would still have been familiar with the tripartite form from their experience of living and working in these buildings over time.

The tripartite division of the open hall created a hierarchical space in which the relative social status of members of the medieval household could be expressed. It contains a horizontal hierarchy structured through the separation of the 'high' end of the hall which usually contained a raised dais, from the 'low end' which contained service rooms such as the buttery and pantry. The low end was often separated from the rest of the hall by moveable or fixed screens and a narrow entrance bay which became known as the 'screens passage'. This is of significance because a spatial hierarchy was also structured by the east-west division of contemporary medieval ecclesiastical and monastic buildings (Cook 1954; Radding and Clark 1992). This division was familiar to the craft tradition because it was one which they experienced every Sunday in the parish church. Both these arrangements can therefore be understood as a form of *habitus*; a way of organising space to structure social relations which was communicated through visual cues encoded in the physical structure and spatial organisation of medieval buildings. These 'cues' can be conceptualised following Rapoport's (1982; 1990) schematic subdivision of the built environment into 'fixed-feature elements' (buildings, floors, walls etc.), 'semi-fixed-feature elements' (furnishings, interiors and exteriors) and 'non-fixed-feature elements' (people, their activities and behaviour).

Access analysis diagrams for the York halls emphasise the importance of a 'carrier space' outside the guildhall itself, usually located in an enclosed courtyard from which the visitor could enter the hospital/chapel directly, or take a further access route to the hall (fig. 174). From this position the visitor was also faced with the first visual cues encoded within the fixed-feature elements of the timber frame. The exterior longitudinal elevations of Trinity hall (see figs. 4; 18-19) articulated the internal tripartite division of the open hall. The screens passage bay was narrower than the other bays of the hall and was emphasised by the position of the porch at first floor level which gave the visitor access to a further 'carrier space' between the services and the guildhall itself. In contrast the dais bay was slightly longer, with a more substantial windows emphasising the position of the high end of the hall. The external articulation of the tripartite arrangement thus provided the visitor with important visual cues about the space he/she was about to enter, allowing him/her to recognise and the *habitus* operating within the hall. Although the guildhall courtyard could therefore be a 'front' region during particular moments of guild ritual or ceremony, on a day-to-day basis it could also be a 'back' region in which the individuals gained composure and ontological security before entering the hall (after Giddens 1995).

### **Guildhalls: fixed elements**

The screens passage bay was not only slightly narrower than the other bays of the guildhall but was also often ceiled over, creating a dark and enclosed space lit by candles or rush lights. This was commonly associated with the provision of a gallery over the screens passage as at Trinity, St. Anthony's and the Guildhall, or with the floor of a first floor chamber, as at St. John the Baptist's (see above Chapters 3, 4 and 5). The screens passage was also separated by screens such as the moveable example at St. John the Baptist's hall which was subsequently removed and donated by the Company to St. Crux in 1692 (see above p. 87), or by fixed partitions such as that recorded in 1611 at St. Anthony's and the example which survived at Trinity hall until earlier this century (fig. 6 see above p. 104 and 61). Parallels for screens and associated galleries are well known from domestic buildings (Wood 1965, 143). Both buildings therefore incorporated fixed-features which could be used to stage ceremonial entrances, particularly when these were enhanced by 'audio cues' such as the music played in the galleries of these halls.

The use of bays was both a structural system through which loads from individual architectural elements were transmitted to the principal posts and tie beams, and a spatial division which divided the hall into a series of compartmentalised spaces which were intimately related to the overall plan of the building (Harris 1989, 4). This was enhanced by other aspects of the

'grammar of carpentry', particularly the placing of the fair face of timber towards the dais. It is also significant that the construction sequence indicated by carpenters' marks at both Trinity and St. Anthony's halls indicate that the dais ends were the first parts of the frame to be laid out (see p. 62; 83; 103-4) at St. John the Baptist's this was superseded by the fact that the low end of the fraternity hall abutted an existing building). Evidence in the wall plates suggests that there was more substantial fenestration at the dais ends of Trinity and St. Anthony's halls. These may have paralleled contemporary domestic examples such as those reconstructed at Barley Hall and 49-51 Goodramgate in York (fig. 121), or comparable oriel windows known from the London Livery halls. The level and visual effect of light streaming through these windows would have varied according to the time of day and season, and could have been emphasised through the shuttering of other lights as well as the location of braziers or rush lights elsewhere in the hall.

Visual emphasis was also placed on the dais end by the roof trusses of the York guildhalls (see p. 62-63; 84-86; 103-4). At Trinity hall crown posts were placed on alternate tie beams (fig. 6), drawing the eye immediately towards the dais bay, which was framed by crown posts with cusped braces. Crown posts were the most popular form of roof truss used in fourteenth and fifteenth century York and at both Trinity and St. Anthony's are used in conjunction with cusped kerb principles. At the latter site however visual emphasis was created by an enclosed ceiling beneath the crown posts and over the dais end, a design which parallels the insertion of 'canopies' over the east ends of contemporary parish churches. St. John the Baptist's hall also appears to have had crown posts but these were probably closer to examples such as nos. 28-32 Coppergate, 16-22 Coney Street and no. 2 Coffee Yard (Barley Hall) with raking struts to the common rafter (fig. 121). The use of arch-braced collar construction in the second phase of St. Anthony's hall and in the later replacement trusses at St. John the Baptist's therefore reflects a clear development in the style and aesthetic. At both sites the arch braces are elaborately moulded, but whereas those at St. Anthony's create a graceful sweeping arc from the wall post to the collar, those at St. John the Baptist's are less aesthetically pleasing owing to the fact that the braces are pieced around existing tie beams. St. Anthony's appears to be the earliest surviving example of the use of arch brace collar construction in the city of York. A similar late fifteenth-century example survives at St. William's College, and the decision to reconstruct St. John the Baptist's may well have been taken shortly after both these roof trusses were erected in the immediate vicinity.

Crown posts are usually associated with the 'regional dialect' or styles of the 'lowland zones' of the south and east of England whilst the arch braces are more often associated with the 'highland' or western school of carpentry (Harris 1993; Smith 1965). This is significant because the addition of close studding to the exterior of Trinity hall also emphasised its stylistic connection to buildings in the south and east. Does the shift from crown posts to arch braces in the mid-late fifteenth century reflect a different emphasis in the craft tradition? Arch braces are known to have been used in late fifteenth-century buildings in the west of the region such as at Horbury Hall (RCHME 1986, 201) where the intermediate trusses are of an arch-braced form, and at Calverley Hall, Pudsey (RCHME 1986, 193) whose hall contains a 'false hammer beam' with arch braces (fig. 175). It is possible that carpenters who had worked on these buildings in the west of the county immigrated to York, or were exchanging their knowledge in some way with the York guild. But it is also significant that this was a period in which particular parts of the cloth production industry were shifting to West Yorkshire. It is therefore also possible that the architectural products of this area's increased prosperity were being copied by the patrons or craftsmen associated with the York guildhalls. The insertion of arch braces in St. John the Baptist's hall is a clear example of competitive emulation between the York guilds, but it may also reflect a desire on the part of both of these guilds to project a sense of communal confidence during a period of economic recession and insecurity.

French (1994) has drawn attention to stylistic parallels (particularly the compartmentalisation of the roof and use of roof bosses) between the roof of St. Anthony's and other late fifteenth-century roofs at the Guildhall (c.1458) and All Saints' North Street (c.1470) credited to the carpenter John Foulford (Harvey 1984, 11). Closer examination of the connections between these buildings is impossible owing to the destruction of the Guildhall roof (along with St. Anthony's hall bosses which had been removed there) in 1942 (fig. 176; Morrell 1950, 93). There are however surviving bosses in the aisles of St. Anthony's (see p. 94). Although Chapter 5 has rejected their supposed link with the structural sequence of the hall, there may be some significance in the contrast between the heraldic, religious and civic images of the bosses in the north-west aisle and the more prosaic animals and 'Green Man' figures in the south-east aisle (fig. 177). As in contemporary parish churches, the north aisle may have been paid for or been used by particular groups within the amalgamated fraternity. This would parallel the arrangements in medieval parish churches such as St. Michael's, Coventry where aisles were grafted onto the church by the various trade guilds in the city (Cook 1947, 20-24). It certainly suggests that transverse as well as vertical hierarchies were being structured within the guildhall.

### **Guildhalls: semi-fixed and non-fixed elements**

So far attention has focussed on the 'fixed-features' of the York guildhalls, but is also their 'semi-fixed' and 'non-fixed' elements which allow us to explore their use, and it is this social practice which forms the essence of *habitus*. The lack of medieval records for St. John the Baptist and St. Anthony's guilds places considerable emphasis on those of the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary and the mystery of mercers (YMA; YMAA). Two kinds of record will be used to approach the issue: inventories and accounts which refer to material culture and ceremony, and craft ordinances, which provide evidence of the activities of guild meetings. It is worth highlighting the fact that it is by no means clear exactly how Trinity and St. John the Baptist's halls were shared between the religious fraternities who built them and the secular mysteries with which they became associated in the fifteenth century. A clear administrative and financial distinction continued to be made between the two associations at Trinity hall, even after the formal incorporation of the mystery of mercers in 1430. Guild officers reiterated this distinction (YMA, 66-7; 99) and the mystery and fraternity continued to use separate seals. However the structural division of guildhalls should not be read as evidence that the activities of the fraternity became confined to guild hospitals and chapels, whilst the 'secular' mysteries took over the use of their halls. There was a considerable overlap in the membership of these associations, and the religious fraternity appears to have continued to meet in halls for ceremonial and administrative purposes (see YMA, xxii; 66-7).

The 1495 ordinances of the mercers' mystery ordered their members to be 'lele and trewe brother into the hospitale of the holy Trinite; of Our Lady Seint Mary and xii apostles' and emphasised that 'ye sall worship iij solempne festes, that is to say, the feste of the Trinite, Assumpcionis, and Annunciacionis of our Lady' in Trinity hall (YMA, 90). There was a particular concentration of ritual activity in York's guildhalls at this time of the year. Trinity Sunday was a moveable feast falling on the Sunday next after Pentecost (the seventh Sunday after Easter). But the Thursday next after Trinity Sunday was also the feast of Corpus Christi, in which all the guilds of late medieval York were heavily involved. The latest date on which Corpus Christi could fall was 24th June, which also happened to be the feast of St. John the Baptist; whilst that of St. Anthony was the 13th June. Therefore although York's ceremonial year does not appear to have been divided into a 'ritual' and 'secular' half (Phythian-Adams 1972), the period between Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi must have been a highly charged round of ritual activities in and outside the guildhall.

These feasts were marked at Trinity hall by a supper at which bread, wine, ale and a variety of meat including pork, chicken, lamb and calves' feet were provided for members. Details of expenditure feature in numerous account rolls, including that of 1433-4, when twenty shillings were paid to the master Nicholas Louth and John Burnley, 'for a soper made on Trinite Sunday at even' (YMA, 69). By the later fifteenth century an annual Venison feast had been added to this round of paraliturgical ceremonies (YMA, 69). This food was presumably prepared in the kitchens which are known to have existed at Trinity, St. John the Baptist's and St. Anthony's halls. In 1433 a 'rerdose in the kechyn' at Trinity hall was made at a cost of five pence (YMA, 38; see p. 66-7) and cooking vessels including brass pots 'a lang brandrith with vj feit' and a 'greit stane mortar' were also listed in 1495 (YMA, 87). The kitchen of St. John the Baptist's is mentioned in ecclesiastical cause papers in c.1441 when it was the location for a test of the alleged impotency of John Savage (BIHR, CP. F.224; see p. 83). Early seventeenth-century records also refer to a kitchen and chamber above at St. Anthony's hall (YCA, YC/G).

Fraternity feasts were occasions in which guilds could display their control over 'allocative resources', which included the finances and foodstuffs necessary for holding the feast, and those aspects of material culture, including the guildhall, involved in its successful reproduction, and 'authoritative resources', which generated command over other guild members and the social practices in which they were engaged (Giddens 1984, 32). But the fraternity feast did more than reflect the power of the guild elite. It facilitated the negotiation of social and political relationships by creating a *locale* in which there was considerable potential for social encounters between members. The archaeological evidence therefore supports Rosser's (1994, 433) argument that the fraternity feast was not simply a ceremony designed to reinforce an idealised sense of community between members, or construct harmony in an unreflective, static way, but a ritual process in which social and political relations were actively negotiated and through which prestige and dignity was conveyed to its participants. The 'regionalisation' of the guildhalls was deliberately manipulated to facilitate these encounters and evoke a paraliturgical symbolism between the fraternity feast and the practices of the mass.

The fraternity feast usually followed a service in a nearby church or guild chapel. The celebration of mass would have created an initial focus of attention on the chapel, whose spatial constraints must have limited the numbers able to gain physical and visual access to the elevation of the Host. This ritual must also have foregrounded those hospitals which were associated with chapels, transforming them into 'front' regions during the ceremony, and disclosing the normally



enclosed bodies of the poor to the public gaze of the fraternity or mystery. The shift of activity through the ritual procession of the guild elite from the chapel to the dais end of the guildhall would have made a powerful symbolic link not only between the paraliturgical qualities of the feast and the Mass, but also the guild elite and the community of the Apostles. This ritual activity transformed the *guildhall* into a 'front region' and was clearly designed to re-emphasise the paraliturgical parallels between the guildhall and the parish church.

It is impossible fully to reconstruct the original appearance of the interiors of the York guildhalls, because so much of the ephemeral material culture associated with them has disappeared, and because inventories only tend to focus on the most precious items curated by the guild. However, it is clear that the status of particular groups within the fraternity, especially that of the guild elite, was emphasised through the seating of members within the hall. Contemporary records of the London guilds suggest that the guild elite were normally seated at the dais end of the hall whilst the rest of the fraternity or mystery were accommodated on benches around the sides (Rosser 1994, 444). An undated but probably mid sixteenth-century inventory from Trinity hall (YMA, 97-8) indicates the provision of substantial furniture at the dais end. The inventory lists two 'bordes' and five trestles 'for the dece', which suggests one long table pitched in the centre of the dais end. It also refers to five 'mete bourdes for the south side with trestles' and seven 'fourmes', or chairs and four 'mete bourdes of the north side of the hall'. This must have been enhanced by other aspects of the 'semi-fixed' elements of guildhalls, such as the tapestry or painted 'hallyng of pykture belonging to the hy deyesse' of Trinity hall in 1488 (YMA, 87; Kightly 1998, 27-31).

The status of the guild elite was also emphasised through their use of elaborate napery and eating vessels for the feast, such as the dishes, saucers, tablecloths and towels listed as the contents of a 'greite arke' in Trinity hall in 1488 (YMA, 96). Account rolls of 1493 also refer to payments for pewter 'dublers, dishis, et salceres' (YMA, 84). Two old Minute Books of the tailors' transcribed by Camidge (MTA 2/2) also list a variety of diaper and table cloths, flagons, 'puder [pewter], driblows', as well as a considerable quantity of plate, and a number of wine bowls, some of which may have dated to the fifteenth century. A note at the end of an inventory from 1488 that 'master Steffallay changed all the wessells before wrettyn in hys tyme att meclems [Michaelmas]' (YMA, 87) suggests that successive Masters competed to provide these moveable aspects of material culture.

Although my interpretation of the use of the hall during these ceremonial occasions is conjectural, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the hierarchies encoded in the fixed and semi-fixed elements of the hall were also reproduced in the appearance, movement and seating of guild members. The visual distinction created by the seating of the guild elite at the dais end of the guildhall must have been greatly enhanced by their costly gowns and hoods, which are recorded in contemporary account rolls. In 1433 twenty four shillings and ten pence was spent on cloth for hoods (YMA, 39). The following year sixteen pence was spent on 'plonket cloth' for the hoods of Thomas Cleveland and Thomas Ward, three shillings and two pence for that of William Grandon, as well as six shillings and eight pence for a gown for Sir William Ottley, the Master of the hospital. The quality of these hoods and gowns is indicated by the description of Ottley's 'great gown furred with white' c.1394-1435 (YMA, 41-3). A concern with personal appearance and appropriate dress can also be detected in other sections of the fraternal community; a legitimate excuse for not attending guild feasts appears to have been a lack of appropriate dress. Just as the social hierarchy of the parish was embedded in the seating of the parish church, so an individual's position within the guildhall may have reflected his status not only within the craft, but also within the wider civic community. It is interesting to speculate in this respect whether masters, their wives and apprentices were seated together representing the household unit, or separately, reflecting the hierarchy of the workshop.

A similar use of the guildhall to create particular levels of social hierarchy and status is evident in the more mundane business meeting of guilds. All members of the mercers' mystery, for example, were required to appear before 'ten of belle at Trinite halle' for business meetings such as the 'court day' (YMA, 38), and fines were imposed on those who failed to attend. These were occasions when the 'mystery' of the craft could be discussed, standards established, and trading agreements made. They were also occasions when those individuals found breaking the mystery's ordinances were reported and/or prosecuted before their peers. Such activities undoubtedly reinforced the authority of the masters, constables and the searchers over the rest of the guild. However there were also times when smaller numbers of guild members met together for more private business discussions such as those relating to the mercers' charter and seal in 1435-6:

diverse costages and expenses made to diverse persones at Trinite halle for inquisition made with prestes, and in other places iijs. *vd.* Item, in diverse costages and expenses made be diverse tymes to diverse wurthy men of lawe and others assembled at diverse tymes to hafe thaire wyse counsaile and information, of diverse matters touching the cumpany for thaire most profit and availe ijli. xjs. viijd. (YMA, 45)

It is unclear exactly which part of the hall was used for this type of business meeting. But during the fifteenth century there was a marked expansion in the material culture of record keeping and the provision of administrative space by York's guilds. Payments of six shillings and eight pence were made by the mercers in 1436-7 for a 'kyste bunden with iren' (YMA, 47) which was provided with keys in 1438 (YMA, 50). By c.1554 the guild had not only this chest, 'bow[nd] with iron 'for evydence' but another 'irybound kist of Pruce making'. In 1554 these items were recorded as being 'in the tresour house' (YMA, 98), and this parallels contemporary references to the 'counting' or 'counsel' house at St. John the Baptist's hall which may have been in origin a fifteenth-century building (see p. 88-90). It should be remembered however, that even though these spaces, and other areas of the hall such as the hospital, might be considered 'back regions' (Giddens 1984, 127), there may still have been a considerable concern by the guild elite to maintain particular forms of behaviour in front of their social inferiors operating 'behind the scenes'.

The guildhall was a paradox; an open space which appeared to symbolise the corporate, communal identity of the fraternity, but one which also structured internal hierarchies and power relations. However, these ideas were not at odds, for a ritual such as the fraternity feast

derived its public and ecclesiastical sanction from subscriptions to hierarchical values prevalent in the wider social world yet whose social encounters..... acquired both their legitimacy and their prestige from the informing rhetoric of community. (Rosser 1994, 444)

The fraternity feast provided a series of spatial and temporal moments where the idea of community could be taken apart, debated, and reconstructed within the safety of the guildhall itself. It provided a discursive space in which the fraternal rhetoric of charity and harmony could co-exist with an acknowledgement of the inevitable tensions and instabilities which might occur between members. Moreover the co-presence and social encounters facilitated within guildhalls provided all members with mechanisms through which their social identity and status could be negotiated, and new social and political relations forged (Rosser 1997, 9-10; Hicks 1990). The guildhall was a *locale* in which different social groups, including the household, the neighbourhood, the workshop, the craft and the wider civic community overlapped. It was therefore a resource in which identities could be structured at the boundaries of social groups, and where guild members from across the social scale could attempt to improve their social and economic position.

This was particularly important for women. Swanson (1989) and Kowaleski and Bennett (1989) have maintained that women were largely excluded from guilds, and note that although widows were entitled to take over the workshops of their deceased husbands and could technically therefore hold guild office, they rarely appear to have done so in practice. However, we must be wary of simply presuming that guilds and guildhalls were simply mechanisms through which the patriarchal values of medieval society were reproduced. Future research might explore the historical evidence for the active use of these buildings by the female members of religious guilds and craft mysteries. It is possible that guildhalls provided some women with a space in which their public reputation and complex social identities could be structured not only on the basis of their gender or familial status, but also their professional skills (Goldberg 1992; Howell 1986).

Guildhall also had an important role in the initiation of new guild members and apprentices into the community following the fraternity feast (Rosser 1994, 435-6). The York mercers' ordinances of 1495 stipulated that any master setting up a new shop or warehouse was to register before the company in Trinity hall (YMA, 91), and that every new apprentice was to be brought before the master, constables and the rest of the company 'att Trinite hall' to swear 'uppon a bouke, that he sall be gode and trewe to his maister' (YMA, 94). These were not simply oaths of fraternal rhetoric but very practical mechanisms designed to link the individual to the established working practices of the craft as well as the normative values of civic society. They therefore worked as much in the interests of individual craftsmen as in the corporate interests of the craft itself. Such an intention may well have lain behind the cordwainers' concern in c.1431 (YMB 1, 190-1; see p. 119) that their servants and apprentices were meeting in illicit conventicles at the Friars (probably the Carmelite Friars in Hungate). The subsequent construction of their guildhall may have been intended to bring these inevitable tensions into the discursive space of the craft itself.

Guild ordinances placed considerable emphasis on the individual's responsibility to maintain an appropriate level of behaviour and personal respectability in his own conduct and that of his household, and also towards his fellow brethren (Rawcliffe 1991; Bennett 1992). The provision of practical mechanisms of arbitration between members was designed to ease the inevitable tensions between members, but also to maintain the public image and dignity of the guild or craft in the eyes of the wider civic community. For example the York mercers attempted to ensure that members in conflict with each other sought the arbitration of the fraternal or craft community before resorting to prosecution before the law. In 1495 they imposed a fine of *6s 8d* on those who

fer any old wreth or newe hangying betwen hym and another of the company, callyng hym fals, or lye hym, and fall at debate with him in the mercery, or in eny other place of the cite. (YMA, 92)

It was considered particularly offensive if the member 'fall at debate with any man of his feliship in the maister presence, constables beyng in the Trinite hall, or call hyme fals, or lye him in violence' (YMA, 92). McRee (1987; 1992) has suggested that this attempt at social control and concern with public image was part of a wider culture of late medieval society:

Gild behavioural statutes were part of a code of conduct that the upper ranks of urban society of late medieval England imposed upon itself...They knew that urban life had always been and would always be a game of appearances. Respectable behaviour was simply part of the game. (McRee 1987, 118)

## Conclusion

This section has demonstrated that although there are strong parallels between guildhalls and domestic buildings, guildhalls are not simply derived from medieval house types, and have strong connections with a wide range of other buildings, particularly parish churches. It has been suggested that these parallels are not simply a 'grammar' of building but evidence of *habitus* - a way of structuring social identity and relations through the organisation of the built environment and the use of material culture. This *habitus* operated at the level of practical consciousness in the minds of both the men and women who built and used guildhalls. It has been argued that guildhalls provided a mechanism through which forms of individual and communal medieval social identity could be structured in tension with each other. However, it must be remembered that the inclusive sense of collective identity constructed within the guildhall also created a boundary of exclusion which stressed the distinction of fraternities and guilds from other sections of the urban populace. It is to the use of guildhalls to impose particular forms of identity on individuals within these marginal communities that this chapter now turns.

### 6.5 Guild hospitals: the communities of the living and the dead

This section will explore the archaeological evidence of York's guild hospitals and chapels in relation to the framing of the bodies of the poor, and to the construction of links between the fraternal communities of the living and the dead. It will suggest that the spiritual labour of the poor was transformed into symbolic capital by guilds through the creation of chantry communities within guild hospitals. These institutions enabled guild members to internalise their acts of charity in a period of economic decline during which the discourses of charity and eschatology were being transformed. Particular emphasis will be placed on understanding the material and spatial mechanisms through which hospital inmates were incorporated into the intercessory practices and rituals of the guild chapel. In this way it will be argued that the spiritual fraternity of the dead was also used to reinforce the social and political status of existing fraternity and guild members. The section will therefore conclude by re-emphasising the ways in which medieval religious ideology and practice was used by guilds to structure and reinforce secular status and power.

Guild hospitals, like medieval hospitals more generally, have received little coherent archaeological attention (Gilchrist 1992, 102). Despite important archaeological monographs on particular sites (Rigold 1964; Price 1979; Harrison 1980; Smith 1980; Richards 1989; Durham 1991; Cardwell 1993), the only synthetic analyses of these institutions tend to be historical studies derived from documentary sources. Clay (1909) for example is primarily concerned with the religious and pious aspects of medieval hospitals and Seymour (1947) their administrative history. Useful historical contributions to the field include Rubin's (1987; 1989; 1994) analysis of the relationship between hospitals, poor relief and economic conditions in Cambridge, Rawcliffe's (1984) study of the links between London's hospitals and charitable provision, and Cullum's (1990; 1994) analyses of Yorkshire hospitals and *maisons dieu*. However these focus on the history rather than the archaeology of medieval hospitals, as do two recent synthetic overviews of the subject by Granshaw & Porter (1989) and Orme & Webster (1995). The most useful study for the archaeology of medieval hospitals is therefore still Knowles and Hadcock's (1971) gazetteer of 1,103 hospitals in medieval England and Wales, and its recent consideration by Gilchrist (1994b; 1995). This divides hospitals into four different types: the leper hospital, the almshouse, hospices for wayfarers and pilgrims, and those which cared for the long term sick or poor. Two architectural gazetteers on almshouses (Godfrey 1955) and hospitals (Prescott 1992) add regional detail to this typology, whilst Siraisi (1990) and Rawcliffe (1997) provide important contextual information on medieval medical practice and treatment.

Guild hospitals and *maisons dieu* have considerable parallels with almshouses, although some were also designed to care for the long term sick or poor. Associations between hospitals and guilds in the mid to later thirteenth century are known from St. John Thetford and Holy Cross Stratford, but most of the evidence of this type of connection in both rural and urban contexts dates to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Orme & Webster (1995, 143) suggest that religious fraternities founded almshouses as 'good works' and cite examples such as the hospital of the guild of Charity and St. John (1442) which became known as 'Papey' in London, urban almshouses such as St. Roche in Exeter, Trinity in Hull and Worcester and Corpus Christi in York and smaller provincial houses such as Brentford, Pilton, Sherborne and Yeovil. A clear distinction is drawn by these authors between these religious foundations and those almshouses founded by craft or mercantile guilds including that of the vintners (c.1357), the merchant tailors (c.1404), the grocers (c.1429) and the drapers (c.1521) in London, or connections between particular crafts and existing hospital foundations such as that between the mariners of Hull and Trinity hospital (1441-2) and Bristol and St. Bartholomew's (1445) (Orme & Webster 1995, 116).

The significance of guild, or fraternity hospitals is that they form part of a national and local shift in hospital foundations. Rubin (1989, 55) argues that the demographic crises and socio-economic shifts of the fourteenth century transformed existing discourses of charity in which poverty was perceived as virtuous. The poor became seen as a social menace, and more discrete and controllable forms of poor relief are argued to have resulted from this shift as part of a 'planned and concerted effort to benefit the founder's soul' (Rubin 1989, 55; Tierney 1959). Rather than being the *raison d'être* of late medieval hospitals, the poor were therefore grafted on to foundations as the 'meek who owed their survival to charitable giving' (Rubin 1994, 55). Cullum (1994) disagrees with Rubin's general hypothesis of a steady decline in charitable giving from the Black Death onwards. Although she highlights the problems of drawing chronological patterns from fragmentary sources, she identifies two late medieval 'boom' periods in the foundation of hospitals and charitable institutions in York. Large numbers of *maisons dieu* and hospitals appear to have been founded in a period of post-Black Death prosperity in 1380s-90s. A second wave of foundations consisting largely of institutions associated with religious guilds and fraternities is identified during the 1430s-1440s. Cullum (1994, 45) links this to a period of local and national economic decline, and therefore suggests that these guild hospitals were probably established by guilds to 'protect their more vulnerable members from the effects of developing recession'.

### The chronology and topography of York's late medieval hospitals

Few of the historical interpretations outlined above engage in more than a cursory way with the archaeology of hospital institutions but a useful model for this type of study is Gilchrist's (1992; 1994b) work on leper hospitals. Gilchrist focuses attention on their liminal topographical position in medieval towns and the spatial control of inmates within them. Architectural space is interpreted not only as a mechanism which physically distinguished lepers from the rest of civic society but also as one through which their stigmatised bodies were *displayed* to that society (1994b, 29). Although York's earlier medieval hospitals such as St. Leonard's, St. Mary's and St. Thomas' and the leper hospital of St. Nicholas were located in 'liminal areas' as Carlin (1989) and Gilchrist (1994b) suggest, the majority of late fourteenth-century hospitals and *maisons dieu* were actually located in the centre or suburbs of the city, cheek-by-jowl with the houses and parishes of their founders and benefactors, reflecting the often parochially-based character of late medieval charity (Appendix 6, table 9).

*Maisons dieu*, like hospitals, were a particular species of chantry designed to construct spiritual merit on behalf of their founders (Cullum 1994, 51; Rubin 1989, 55; Orme & Webster 1995, 49). All these institutions were premised on the doctrine of Purgatory and the belief in the intercessory power of prayer. Although theological and doctrinal debate about the nature of Purgatory continued throughout the period, the fourth- and fifth-century writings of St. Augustine made it clear that the living could assist the dead through suffrage (Binski 1996, 182-4; Duffy 1992, 343-8). An unequal but reciprocal relationship was perceived to exist between the living and the dead, for although the latter were powerless to help themselves, they were believed to be able to intercede on behalf of the living. By the later medieval period this economy of salvation had become elaborated and obscured by the practices associated with the *Ars moriendi* -the art of 'dying well' (Binski 1996, 188; Duffy 1992, 315ff.; Bassett 1992). The early sixteenth-century *Kalendar of Sheperds* emphasised that there were 'four keys...for to open purgatory': saying masses and prayers for the repose of the soul, and carrying out works of penance and alms-deeds (Duffy 1992, 354). The fact that the relationship between the living and the dead was believed to be based on kinship and friendship networks established in life, placed considerable emphasis on communal responsibility for the remembrance of the individual's soul. Acts of patronage and charity affirmed the individual's unity in salvation with the parish or fraternal community, and the belief that this unity would be perpetuated beyond the grave (Duffy 1992, 337).



### **Medieval hospitals and York's guild hospitals: organisation, space and structure**

The demolition and disappearance of most *maisons dieu* and guild hospitals in York makes it difficult to establish the archaeological evidence for their original medieval appearance. Apart from Trinity hospital the only surviving guild foundation is St. Anthony's, the archaeological evidence of which is largely inaccessible (see p. 87-90; 102-3). The absence of these institutions from the chantry surveys of 1546 and 1548 is usually interpreted as evidence that most guild chapels were suppressed and hospitals were 'Protestantised' at the Reformation. The interpretation presented below will therefore focus on Trinity hospital, against which the evidence from other guild hospitals and chapels will be set (see p. 59ff.). In 1360 the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary obtained a charter for the foundation of an endowed hospital which was to be governed by a chaplain. The practical care of the 'thirteen poor and feeble persons', or inmates, was to be in the hands of a master who was 'continually and personally to dwell there' (YMA, vii-viii). The number of inmates and chaplains was to be expanded as the guild's funds increased, and a later inquisition indicates that by 1396 another chaplain had been engaged (YMA, viii). By the time of the rebuilding of the chapel in 1411 these two chaplains were assisted by two clerks, and the number of inmates had increased to thirty (YMA, ix).

The fact that special arrangements had to be made in 1438-9 to allow the sister of one Richard Saunderson, deceased, to enter the hospital, indicates that guild hospital inmates were not normally ex-members of the fraternity or their relatives (YMA, 50-1). The preservation of the undercroft as a space in which only the genuinely infirm and poor were accommodated is also indicated by an indenture of 1439 stipulating that although Joan Cantcliffe, widow, was to have a tenement

within the hospital aforesaid, which Abraham Colton lately caused to be built, and one garden to the same annexed, with an entry leading to the river Foss, and one bed in the said hospital, and four pence in silver [she] ..shall not sell or alienate the foresaid bed or fourpence...but the said bed and fourpence shall maintain and take to her own proper use. (YMA, 51)

As in other hospitals, the right to present pensioners was a privilege normally exercised by the master of the hospital which could also be granted to favoured members or former masters such as John Warthill in 1430

that what bed of the poure foulk that voides next after the firste voidance wythin the hospitall of the Trinite, in Fossegate, in York, whedir it be of a man or of a woman.....the said John Warthill sall gyfe that bed for that tyme to a pouere man or a pouere woman. (YMA, 32)

The staff of guild hospitals also paralleled contemporary foundations. The master was assisted by lay sisters and brethren, and in 1475 payments were also made to a 'beadle' (YMA, 73). The 'sisters' of the house may well have been female inmates whose duties often included caring for their male brethren (Carlin 1989, 32; Rawcliffe 1997, 170-215). The post of master was often held by a member of the clergy and was a privileged position held at Trinity hall by prominent individuals such as Sir William Ottley and Sir John Gilliot (Orme & Webster 1995, 77). Masters were usually provided with some form of separate accommodation (Carlin 1989, 28) and the north-west end the undercroft of Trinity hall may have provided such a function (see p.60). Similar screening of the low ends of hospitals occurred at St. Anne, Ripon and St. Bartholomew, Bristol (Gilchrist 1995, 19).

The spatial and structural arrangement of hospitals has been considered by Carlin (1989, 28) Orme & Webster (1995, 85-97) and Gilchrist (1992, 103-118). These studies focus on the architectural nucleus of the infirmary hall and chapel at the expense of the symbolically and practically important boundaries or enclosures which surrounded these institutions (Gilchrist 1994b, 104). Most hospitals were enclosed by some form of gate or precinct which, as at St. Mary's, Newark (1330-1), could be used by the wardens to screen prospective patients and heard their confession before they were admitted to the infirmary hall itself (Carlin 1989, 26), a process satirised in the 1536 poem *The hye way to the Spyttel house* (Judges 1936, 1-25). Some, such as St. Leonard's in York, were arranged around double courtyards; one for the church and clergy and one for those hospital buildings used by the public (Cullum 1991). The gates and courtyards of guild hospitals may well have provided similar spaces in which inmates could be ritually examined or admitted into the fraternal community. Unlike some of their counterparts, guild hospitals do not appear to have had their own cemeteries and most guilds appear to have retained an affiliation to their local parish church, in which inmates were probably buried.

Apart from leper houses, most medieval hospitals were characterised by an infirmary with an associated chapel to the east; an arrangement which had strong spatial parallels with the nave and chancel of the parish church. The distinctive relationship of infirmary hall to chapel appears at early monastic sites such as Canterbury Cathedral as well as thirteenth-century hospitals such as St. Giles, Beverley and Kingsthorpe, Northampton. This arrangement allowed the bedridden sick to observe the celebration of mass by hospital chaplains. The importance of this relationship is stressed by the provision of separate double chapels for the double naves of St. John's,

Winchester or a two-storey chapel, as at St. John's, Sherborne. Alternatively the chapel could be placed transversely on a north-south axis, as at St. John's Canterbury and St. Mary's, Strood. It is usually presumed that early infirmary halls were communal but that they provided separate accommodation for men and women in screened aisles, as at St. Mary's Chichester, St. Mary's, Dover and St. Mary's, Newarke (fig. 178; Gilchrist 1994b, 107; Carlin 1989, 28; Orme & Webster 1995, 85). Sometimes double naves for the sexes were created, as at St. Nicholas', Salisbury and St. John, Winchester, or men's and women's infirmaries were built one on top of the other, as at St. John's, Sherborne.

The lack of archaeological excavation of York's guild hospitals makes it difficult to establish exactly how far their chapels and hospitals followed this characteristic arrangement (see p. 59 ff.; 87-90; 102-3). However there appears to have been a clear connection between the hospitals and chapels of Trinity hall, St. Thomas's, the Guildhall and St. John the Baptist's, whilst the walls of the passage separating the hospital and chapel at St. Anthony's may have been pierced to facilitate visual access between the two. There does not appear to have been a partition between the male and female inmates of Trinity hospital, however. Before 1411 they were probably accommodated along the south-west wall whilst access was to an earlier building/chapel abutting the north-east wall was maintained. After the reconstruction of the chapel in 1411 the men and women may have been separated in the double aisles of the hospital, but the licence of 1411 implies that there was clear visual access between all the inmates and the pyx hanging above the chapel's high altar (YMA, ix). Although hospitals such as St. Mary's, Chichester, St. Nicholas', Salisbury and St. John, Cirencester were often partitioned into private spaces in the fifteenth century, the York halls seem to have retained their communal infirmary plans until the end of the period. A degree of privacy may however have been created by the beds with curtains installed at Trinity hospital in 1437 and 1438 (YMA, 49). Similar beds with screens are known to have existed at Henry VII's Savoy hospital (Carlin 1989, 29).

The close spatial relationship between medieval hospitals and chapels is usually presumed to reflect contemporary belief in the spiritual and medicinal benefits of the mass. However, it can also be interpreted as a mechanism through which hospital inmates were transformed into a chantry community. Both these interpretations are supported by the stipulation in numerous hospital licences that inmates should be able to see the elevation of the host from their beds. The panacean qualities of Christ's body and blood had been widely established from St. Augustine onwards (Rawcliffe 1997, 19). These qualities were easily transferred to the Eucharist, which

was believed not only to have the power to heal the spiritual torments of the soul, but also the physical ailments of the body. Although communion was the focus of this belief, these qualities also became gradually associated with the simple witness of transubstantiation at the moment when the Host was elevated in the mass (Rubin 1991a, 61; Anderson 1963; 1971). Because the laity received communion so infrequently, this visual participation in the mass was an opportunity for spiritual communion based on the fervent contemplation rather than the tasting or 'smackyng' of the Host-God. It also had advantages for those unable to receive communion because of infirmity or illness, in a period when the transportation of the Host to the sick had become a precarious and elaborate ritual (Rubin 1991a, 77-82).

Hospital inmates were therefore encouraged to participate visually and orally in the mass on the certain grounds that spiritual, if not physical, benefits would be imparted by this process. Such practices were encouraged by the Fourth Lateran Council and by the promulgations of the English episcopacy (Rawcliffe 1997, 19). However, even if inmates genuinely believed in the physical benefits accrued by witnessing the mass, the amelioration of their spiritual welfare was undoubtedly also designed to improve the quality of the prayers which they said on behalf of their founders. The significance of the spatial relationship of hospitals and chapels was that it actually forced inmates to participate in a liturgical round, whether they wished to or not. This would have centred on the 'divine office' -the seven (or eight) daily services said at regular intervals between midnight and evening which all clergy were obliged to perform. In addition mass was probably said at some point in the morning by the chapel priest. Trinity hospital's foundation licence of 1373 stipulated that the office of the dead was to be recited daily, whilst the seven penitential psalms with the litany of the King were to be said three times a week. The brethren and sisters of hospitals would also have been expected to engage in private prayers, usually multiples of Paternoster, Ave Maria and the Creed (Orme & Webster 1995, 52). This process was clearly a highly effective way for guilds to educate hospital inmates and draw them into the spiritual community of the fraternity. But their involvement in these rituals also made inmates part of the very mechanism through which the normative discourses and sacerdotal power of the late medieval church was reproduced.

The appearance of Trinity chapel can be reconstructed on the basis of fifteenth-century archaeological and documentary evidence (figs. 20-22; 179; see p. 56-58). There were two windows in its south-west elevation, one in its north-east elevation and an east light above the high altar slightly larger than the Victorian replacement now *in situ*. A series of accounts refer to

the reglazing of these chapel windows in the 1490s. In 1490 William Cleveland, master of the hospital made general repairs to the masonry and bars of the chapel windows, and spent three pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence on a great glass window of seven panes at the high altar (YMA, 83). In the same year alderman John Gilliot also paid for the making and repair of 'diverse' windows in the chapel (YMA, 82). Three years later the same men were involved in a further re-glazing scheme. William Cleveland, Thomas Fynch and the wife of the late John Ince 'made a glasse wyndow nexte unto the alter of the soweth sied of thare owne costis' and further down the south-west wall, the executor of one master Carre 'maide a glasse wyndow next of the same' (YMA, 85-6). On the opposite side of the chapel John Gilliot 'paid for glassyng the wyndow of the north seid, next unto the hie altar', and the contents of his window were later described as 'two ymages of Saint John and Saint Thomas' located over 'the altar of Saint Kateryn' (YMA, 86). Thomas Fynch also gave St. Katherine's altar a frontal of striped 'satane frenget with white, red, grene silk, a scheild of sylver in the mydst' (YMA, 85), whilst John Gilliot provided a cloth for the high altar which had itself received a new marble or alabaster top in 1478 (YMA, 74, 98). Gilliot's cloth had a frontal of russet satin 'with iij sheilds of white sylver and powdered with xxxvj letters of gold of Veysse, and two kyettys of russat sairsnet pertenynng to the same', and was accompanied by a 'corpall with the case of blake welwett with one ymegge if the Trinite of golde' (YMA, 86).

The 1493 re-glazing of Trinity chapel provided an opportunity for members to express their patronage through a medium which was being exploited in a particularly effective way in all York's contemporary parish churches. Apart from the depiction of St. Thomas and St. John in the north-east light there is little indication of the iconography of Trinity chapel's windows, but it is probable that it paralleled contemporary parochial stained glass. The dedication of the hospital to the Trinity and the fraternity to Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary may have influenced Cleveland to emulate the Trinity, Coronation of the Virgin and Corpus Christi in John Walker's 1471 chancel window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Alternatively the seven-light window could have been designed to accommodate the seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, such as that of the mercer Nicholas Blackburn in All Saints' North Street (fig. 180). Successive and competing masters such as Gilliot and Cleveland sought to establish a permanent presence in the collective memory of the fraternity through such acts of patronage. These men were colourful rivals who each held the office of master several times in the late fifteenth century (see for example YMA, 81-5). It is therefore intriguing that when John Gilliot became master once again, in 1501, he appears to have replaced Cleveland's 1493 window above St. Thomas's altar,

unius fenestre vitrie in capella Sancte Trinitas fundata in Fossegate de altari  
Sancte Thome, martyris (YMA, 109)

Was this an attempt by Gilliot to erase Cleveland's memory from the hospital? Or was he making a powerful statement about their relative status by flanking Cleveland's great east window with two of his own?

To these sources we can add items which appear in the account rolls as gifts to, or the property of, the fifteenth-century chapel, such as Sir William Ottley's bequest of intricately embroidered vestments, psalters, portable breviaries, and missals in 1432 (YMA, 41-2). An important but problematic inventory of the chapel is also bound into folios 148v-157v of the original MS, which Sellers suggests dates to c.1554 (YMA, 96). The inventory includes dozens of artefacts including John Fox's gift of a vestment with 'grene birds' a mass book, an altar cloth with a white frontal and a pair of 'crewittis and ij laton cadellstyks' to the high altar (YMA, 99) and the 'burden bed of waynscott, and a bellus of waynscott over the bed' given 'to the chawmer of Saynt Thomas of Canterbury prest'. The 1554 date means that the medieval provenance of the numerous altar cloths, vestments, mass books, and hangings which are recorded as belonging to the chapel's subsidiary altars is uncertain, but they may well have been items curated by the mystery for over a century (YMA, 99). If so they must have been deliberately hidden or concealed during the Reformation, and support for this interpretation is given by the fact that the high altar, the subsidiary altar of St. Thomas and another of St. John the Baptist also appear in the inventory (YMA, 98). This suggests that either that the altar of St. Katherine had a joint dedication or that there was a further subsidiary altar dedicated to St. John the Baptist which may have been located under Carre's 1493 window in the south-west wall.

Although it is common to find multiple altars in medieval parish churches, this is not a phenomenon which has been widely discussed in relation to guild chapels. There are several interpretations of the altars in Trinity chapel which may inform future agendas in this area of research. The fact that all the altars were dedicated to popular hospital saints may simply indicate that the fraternity wished to stress the connection between the hospital and the chapel. But these were also saints to which some of the most prominent hospitals in medieval York were dedicated. The altars may therefore have been designed to symbolise links between Trinity hospital and other institutions with which members of the fraternity and mystery were connected. St. John the Baptist and St. Thomas also had important connections for two guilds which patronised Trinity chapel before establishing their own foundations. In 1386 St. John the Baptist's fraternity made

an agreement with Trinity hospital to found a perpetual chantry in its chapel, whilst the Corpus Christi guild regularly met there before building their own hall at St. Thomas' hospital in 1478.

The meaning, or 'regionalisation', of space within the hospital can therefore be argued to have been entirely dependent on the presence or absence of priests in the chapel, and the liturgical practices in which they were engaged. Lights, sacring bells, ritual chanting and incense burning provided a series of visual and oral cues to inmates which signalled the transformation of the hospital-chapel into a ritual space. These cues culminated in the elevation of the host at the high altar, the visual impact of which was heightened by the provision of large numbers of lights, candles and tapers (Rubin 1991a, 55-61). Moreover this moment of elevation was also one at which the powerful connection between the Eucharist and its symbolic evocation of the Last Supper was exploited to reinforce the social status of the guild elite. A clear spatial connection existed at all three of York's surviving fraternity halls between the dais end of the hall and the chapel (fig. 181). At the moment of elevation it was therefore not only the fraternal community of the dead with which the guild elite were associated, but the spiritual fraternity of the Apostles themselves. The successful operation of this mechanism relied on inmates' ability not only to recognise the ritual's symbolic and cultural significance, but also to maintain appropriate forms of behaviour. Just as illness made delivery of communion to the sick a dangerous and difficult practice (Rubin 1991a, 77-8), so a loss of bodily control by inmates at the moment of elevation could jeopardise the ritual significance of the mass. This may well explain why some hospitals were reluctant to admit the sick, insane, pregnant women and children, and why they insisted on catechising and confessing inmates before their admission (Carlin 1989, 25). For fraternities and guilds, the bodies of the poor were both symbols and resources; made physically distinct by their physical infirmity but spiritually valuable by virtue of that very fact.

Fraternities and guilds offered their members a means of reinforcing particular connections within and beyond the parochial community, in life as well as in death. But like the parochial bede roll this membership could be restrictive. An apparent 'unity' in salvation was one which included only those willing -and able- to play the parochial or fraternal 'game of appearances'. This is particularly apparent in the ways in which the living sought to establish intercession for their souls. Late medieval eschatology was dominated by the belief that at the Day of Judgement men and women would be judged, not only on the piety of their souls, but by their actions to the poor and weak whilst living (Matthew 25). This placed considerable emphasis on carrying out highly visible acts of charity. Some late medieval testators simply requested the highly visible presence

of the poor at their funeral, often as torch bearers in livery, such as John Barker, a tailor in 1489/90 who left 2s 4d to the poor who were to carry torches at his funeral (BIHR Prob. Reg 5.f.376r-v). But it was the 'seven corporal acts of mercy' -feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, relieving the prisoner, housing the stranger, and burying the dead- which became the most powerful image for those seeking to discharge their charitable debts. Some late medieval wills made explicit reference to the acts, literally ticking them off as mortuary bequests, whilst others emphasised their fulfilment of the acts through a variety of artistic media (Duffy 1992, 360). Nicholas Blackburn -a prosperous York merchant responsible for the Corporal Acts of Mercy window in All Saints', North Street- did both. The lack of information concerning the involvement of hospital inmates in fraternity or guild funerals makes it difficult to understand the role of the guildhall in funerary rituals. Probate records suggest that guild members were buried in their parish church, but the potential for future research on this subject is highlighted by the work of Harding (1992) and Gittings (1992).

The charitable and intercessory practices associated with medieval death and burial were ritual acts through which the individual's passage into Purgatory could be negotiated and the social ties of the living reaffirmed (Gittings 1992, 172). The advantage of hospitals and *maisons dieu* was that they were both a species of chantry and an institutionalised expression of the acts of mercy which exploited the particular qualities of the prayers of the poor. These qualities were outlined in Biblical stories such as *Dives and Lazarus* (Luke 16; Duffy 1992, 360-1). However such sources also made it explicit that effective intercession was also dependent on the poor being in a state of spiritual grace. Medieval testators were therefore faced with the need to establish the spiritual 'worthiness' of the recipients of their charity as well as the desire to ensure that their charitable acts were reciprocated through appropriate acts of intercession. This must have been difficult in institutions such as *maisons dieu* in which inmates were expected to support themselves by begging (Cullum 1994, 46-7). The particular significance of the 1430s-40s 'boom' in York's guild hospital foundations is that it appears to coincide with an apparent decline in the foundation of chantries, a pattern attributed by Dobson (1967, 32; 1992, 327) to contemporary economic recession. By fusing the dual functions of *maison dieu* and chantry into a single coherent architectural unit, the guild hospital-chapel offered members a means of internalising their acts of charity and ensuring the maximum spiritual reward for their investment.



Guild hospitals and chapels were therefore places in which the idea of the individual and the community and were taken apart, explored and re-made on a daily basis. This is significant, for Binski (1996, 120) has argued that the chantry was essentially a private foundation and a private space -the product of a 'culture of 'interiority' and the 'manifestation of that drift from the communal to the private which... had exposed numerous tensions in the culture of death and burial since the twelfth century'. The chronological shift in York away from chantries and towards the patronage of institutions such as guild hospitals suggests that this process is more complex than Binski implies. These were foundations in which the construction of *individual* salvation was dependent upon the intercession of the *community*, and in which the tensions between the individual and the community were explored through the discourse of the body. Just as the fraternal 'body' was a metaphor based on both the idea of the body politic and the physical bodies of guild members, so the social identities of hospital inmates were shaped by their corporeality. Although as Shilling (1993, 130-3) emphasises, the intrinsic value of the bodies of the poor and disabled might be low, their symbolic value could be converted into cultural and social capital. It is this process of control, conversion and manipulation of the spiritual labour or 'body work' of inmates which makes the guild hospital, rather than the chantry, particularly analogous to Foucault's (1979) understanding of 'disciplinary space'.

## 6.6 Guildhalls and civic identity in later medieval York

The final section of this chapter will consider the institutional shift represented by the construction of guildhalls in relation to fifteenth-century York. It will suggest that guilds and fraternities were normative associations which reinforced the values and ideologies of civic society and the late medieval church through the manipulation of dominant religious and political discourses. In particular it will stress the ways in which the social identities structured in the guildhall and hospital were based on particular discourses about labour, work and charity which emerged as a consequence of the socio-economic shifts of the preceding century. The section will return to the idea of *habitus* and conclude that the social processes observable in the guildhall were part of a wider structuration of 'civic society' which can be explored through other aspects of civic space and urban material and ceremonial culture.

The question of economic decline in late medieval towns is still hotly contested by urban historians (Reynolds 1980; Dyer 1991; Hadwin 1986; Palliser 1988). Although many English provincial towns such as York experienced a period of expansion and recovery after the crises of the mid fourteenth century, in a number of towns this appears to have been followed by a period of economic contraction or crisis in the fifteenth century. Several sources have been used to establish this phenomenon, including industrial shifts such as the movement of cloth production out of York and into the West of Yorkshire and an associated decline in the number of cloth-related craftsmen seeking the freedom of the city (Bartlett 1960). Early sixteenth-century corporate pleas to the Crown for the remission of the fee farm also describe long term contractions in trade and the decay of urban fabric (Bartlett 1960; Dobson 1977; Rigby 1984), and a lack of building activity has been linked to an apparent decline in the income from rents (Palliser 1978). A contraction in the personal fortunes of citizens has also been established from the apparent reluctance of prominent men to take on civic office (Clark and Slack 1972; Pythian-Adams 197; Dobson 1973; 1977) as well as a decline in the foundation of charitable institutions such as chantries (Dobson 1967; 1992).

There is a danger however, in interpreting these factors as evidence of widespread decline and crisis in late medieval English provincial towns (Clark and Slack 1972; 1979). The statistical evidence of economic decline has been challenged by Bridbury's (1981) assertion that there was a period of relative (rather than absolute) economic *growth* during the fifteenth century. Bridbury (1981) also suggests that early sixteenth-century corporate pleas of poverty were specifically designed to divert money from the fee farm to maintain oligarchic power bases. And the apparent

evasion of or 'flight from' civic office has been interpreted as evidence that late medieval urban mercantile plutocracies were simply avoiding financially onerous and politically unrewarding positions in favour of politically advantageous posts (Kermode 1982; 1987). Recent syntheses have therefore stressed the need for more comparative and empirical diachronic studies of individual towns and their rural hinterlands. The wealth of evidence from York suggests that although the shift of the cloth trade from York to the West Riding had a profound impact on particular sections of the craft and mercantile industry, there were plenty of wealthy and prosperous individuals still able -and willing- to engage in civic politics and hold civic office throughout the fifteenth century (Palliser 1988; Kermode 1982; 1987).

It may therefore be suggested that the fluctuating economic conditions of fifteenth-century towns created an air of uncertainty in which discussions about the civic economy, personal wealth and charitable provision for those unable to support themselves, fed into existing discourses about work and charity. These in turn were the product of the long term 'conjunctural' changes of the previous century which had resulted in the transformation of the labour market and the social and political unrest which culminated in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. Rubin suggests that late medieval understandings of poverty were constructed at the intersection of two processes:

the process of economic, demographic and social change which refashions areas and forms of need on the one hand, and the cultural perceptions of need as they are translated into idioms of charity and evaluations held by diverse social groups on the other. (Rubin 1994, 169-182)

The discursive construction and distinction between different types of the 'poor' was not therefore something new or peculiar to the fifteenth century. As early as 1349 and 1348 the respective Ordinance and Statute of Labourers drew distinctions between those genuinely 'impotent to serve' and able-bodied beggars, and forbade giving alms to the latter (23 Edward III, c.7; 12 Richard II, c.7 in Slack 1988, 22). These distinctions were reproduced in the sumptuary and labour legislation which followed the Peasants' Revolt (Aers 1983; Dyer 1989, 86-7; Goldberg and Ormrod forthcoming). And the binary opposites of the diligent worker and the able-bodied but unwilling pauper loom large in contemporary literature. Chaucer, Langland, Wyclif and Gower all depicted the latter as a social threat to a spiritual and political order founded on the idea of work and labour.

During the fifteenth century the general and indiscriminate provision of outdoor relief or alms and dole to the poor was therefore replaced by a 'more directly targeted and closely scrutinised form of charitable giving' which was closely linked to the supposed 'worthiness' of the recipient (Rubin 1994, 55). The guildhall was a space in which charity could be provided for members who had fallen on hard times, but this was often on the condition that the individual had fallen into poverty through misfortune rather than misdeed, and may well have been designed to ensure that the public reputation of the guild was not damaged or compromised by the financial collapse of an individual (McRee 1993, 209-10). Guildhalls and hospitals therefore provided material mechanisms through which charity could be targeted towards those whose character and reputation was known to the guild. They also provided *locales* in which the 'worthy' poor could be manipulated and controlled but also ones in which a symbolic contrast could be drawn between those who contributed to the economic and political welfare of the community through their physical and economic labour, and those who contributed to its social welfare through a form of spiritual labour.

The identities and social relationships produced within the guildhall were therefore being structured by, but also reflexively structuring civic society. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed consideration of late medieval 'civism', it is worth drawing attention to the way in which the expansion and consolidation of the infrastructure of late medieval urban government was accompanied by a parallel development of a complex understanding about the duties and privileges of citizenship (Palliser 1994; Holt and Rosser 1990; Hilton 1992; Rigby 1995; Thomson 1988). The creation of governing elites has received considerable attention (Hibbert 1978; Kowaleski 1984; Horrox 1988; Rigby 1988; 1995; Kermode 1988; Carpenter forthcoming) as has the use and manipulation of civic ceremony (James 1983; Lindenbaum 1994; McRee 1994; Attreed 1994; Beckwith 1994; 1996b) and civic records (O'Brien forthcoming). Rees Jones is engaged in a particular consideration of many of these issues in relation to York (pers. comm.). The political infrastructure of York was well-established by the time the charter of 1396 confirmed the privileges of the mayoralty, the sheriffs, chamberlains and the Council of Twelve (who were already known as 'aldermen' in 1399 (VCH 1961, 78). The Council of Twenty Four, or *probi homines* were also in existence at this date, as was the *communitas* or Council of Forty Eight -the nominal representatives of the civic community as a whole. The following century was therefore a period in which the civic community had to be defined and in which its normative political and social ideologies had to be discursively constructed through a variety of material and ritual mechanisms.

In York, the conciliar structure of civic government was supported by the operation of two grassroots organisations. The ward system provided control over the topographical division of the city into neighbourhoods and parishes, whilst the guild system enabled civic government to be involved actively in the control and regulation of the occupational, or craft, structure of the city. In many ways this supports Swanson's (1989) assertion that the guild system was primarily a political tool, but as Rosser (1997) has maintained, guilds could not be part of a broad political system regulating the lives of urban workers without also having a profound impact on the practical operation of trade and manufacture. The contention of this thesis is that rather than being imposed on the artisan class by a mercantile elite (Swanson 1989; Rigby 1995, 159), guilds were actively used by a fairly diverse range of people to gain access to political power as well as to important social and economic networks of credit and trust.

Clearly more prosopographical research along the lines of that of Wheatley (1993) and Crouch (1995), Rees Jones (forthcoming) and Carpenter (forthcoming) is required to establish the specific connections between the membership of particular guilds and civic office in York. But comparative national studies suggest that both religious fraternities and craft mysteries were used in this way (McRee 1987; 1992; Kowaleski 1984; Rosser 1997; Nightingale 1989; 1995). Indeed, although there was always a strong connection between York's mercantile community and the *cursus honorum* of civic office (Palliser 1979; Sellers 1918), the city was not exclusively governed by a mercantile 'oligarchy'. Prosopographical research has emphasised the social and economic diversity of members of the mercers' guild (Wheatley 1993) whilst recent research by Kermode (1998) has found little evidence for Thrupp's (1941; 1948; Carus-Wilson 1967) model of the self-conscious merchant class which has been often been imposed on medieval York.

Both craft and religious guilds were normative institutions which structured and reproduced the values and ideologies of civic society. They were successful precisely because they were able to express the complex and overlapping web of social roles and relationships of their members and because, rather than glossing over the divisions and tensions in urban society, they provided material mechanisms through which these could be negotiated. But although their membership was internally diverse, it was still exclusive. It consisted of those who had voluntarily chosen to play McRee's (1987) 'game of appearances', and incorporated those from the margins of society only because their spiritual labour could be converted into spiritual capital. The idea of the civic community was not simply something defined by a topographical or administrative unit, but one which had to be discursively constructed and continually reproduced on a daily basis.

Demographic impermanence, high immigration rates, and the fact that allegiances to the local ties of kin, household, parish and neighbourhood often took priority on a day-to-day basis, meant that civic authorities needed institutional and material mechanisms through which this process could be structured. Guilds were therefore important because they were microcosms of the kind of society which governments sought to create: internally diverse but normative groups of individuals brought together to give tangible and ritual expression to the idea of the civic community.

### 6.7 Civic identity and civic space

The significance of medieval public architecture has often been overlooked because of the widespread replacement of medieval guild and town halls between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Tittler 1991; Borsay 1989). Authors have seen these new buildings as mechanisms through which new forms of civic identity and civic consciousness were structured and reproduced. These have therefore been set within the wider context of changes in the perception and manipulation of the built environment which emerged as products of the European urban Renaissance (Borsay 1989; Lefebvre 1994) or Enlightenment (Markus 1993). However the archaeological interpretation of medieval guildhalls presented above forces us to question these assumptions. It indicates that both the medieval craftsmen *and* their patrons had a sophisticated understanding of the ways in which architectural space could be used to structure civic identity, political power and social control. Ongoing research suggests that this was a *habitus* which operated not only in ecclesiastical, domestic and public buildings such as guildhalls, but also civic structures such as York's Guildhall, Council Chamber, bridge chapels, and *maisons dieu*. In many ways, Tittler's assertion that

the desire to construct, renovate or convert a hall often came about not out of any desire for ostentation at a time of surplus building capital, or necessarily even at a time of particular prosperity, but rather out of the need to symbolise a particular administrative reality at a crucial stage of urban *political* rather than economic activity. (Tittler 1991, 93)

holds as true for medieval public buildings such as guildhalls as it does for their sixteenth-century replacements. The detailed archaeological interpretation of York's medieval guildhalls therefore demonstrates that a concern with the deliberate manipulation of civic buildings and civic space was not a characteristic of modernity, but an important part of medieval construction and design. The central difference between medieval and early modern *habitus*, as I will argue in Chapter 7, was that the former was underpinned by the discourses of Catholicism. The chronology of this shift is important because a number of authors have argued that a process of 'secularisation of

space' can be identified in late medieval ecclesiastical buildings (Graves 1989; Binski 1996). It is therefore necessary to explore these issues in relation to the shared *habitus* of guildhalls and churches, and to the 'appropriation' of guildhalls during the fifteenth century by nominally 'secular' craft mysteries.

The popularity of religious guilds has often been interpreted as part of the active participation of the laity in the devotional and liturgical practices of the late medieval church (Binski 1996; Burgess 1988; 1991; Duffy 1992) of which an expansion in the patronage of ecclesiastical buildings and their associated material culture is seen to be a part (Jacob 1969, 264; Duffy 1992, 81). Such charitable acts clearly conferred important spiritual benefits on the donor. However, several authors have argued that these acts of patronage were also part of a deeper process of appropriation of religious culture by secular authority. For example, Graves (1989, 313) starts from the premise that there was a fundamental shift in the later medieval period when the parish church became

the locus not only of religious practice but of practices within discourses which to modern comprehension seem more secular, such as those of patronage and social position (1989, 301).

She therefore interprets the construction of chantry chapels and subsidiary altars as the visual usurpation of ecclesiastical space, the disruption of liturgical activity, and the (re)organisation of ritual movement by secular authority (Graves 1989, 315). Binski (1996) and Dobson (1992) have also suggested that the construction of funerary monuments and chantry chapels was an annexation of communal religious space by the secular individual. Binski sees this as a product of contemporary anxieties about the 'privileges of personal interiority' (see above p. 149). The cellular incursion of the chantry chapel into the communal space of the church is therefore interpreted as a form of 'disciplinary space', a 'prison turned outside-in....a world of private opulence located in a sphere of public squalor and relatively unstructured lay religious experience' (Binski 1996, 120).

It is clear that the archaeological interpretation of guild hospitals presented in this chapter does not sit easily with these hypotheses about the secularisation or privatisation of fifteenth-century space. Giddens (1984) and Barrett (1989) have emphasised that power is constructed through the manipulation of the symbolic codes through which knowledge is produced. However, although religion was undoubtedly the dominant discourse in late medieval society, the use of religious ideology and practice to structure social and political identities and relations was not a new or

radical departure of the later medieval period. These practices do not represent a disjuncture with the past, but rather the complex ways in which *all* aspects of medieval society and social power were embedded in and underpinned by religious discourse. It is the increasing sophistication of the material and ritual mechanisms through which these processes were structured in the later medieval period which should therefore capture our archaeological attention.

A similar critique must be applied to the interpretation of the 'rise of the individual' and the 'privatisation of space' in late medieval houses, for guildhalls had important parallels with domestic as well as ecclesiastical buildings. It has long been suggested that the medieval open hall was in 'decline' in the fifteenth century (Wood 1965, 58; Girouard 1978, 30-1, 58-9; Smith 1992, 25; Thompson 1995, 177-192) and this would imply that late medieval guildhalls were appropriating a form already considered archaic in domestic buildings. Schofield has suggested that this was because guildhalls continued to use their halls in 'traditional' ways (Schofield 1995, 44) and similar interpretations have been made of contemporary collegiate foundations. These hypotheses are based on the assumption that the open hall was a symbol of 'community' and that a decline in its everyday use therefore symbolised the fragmentation of the organic medieval community (Girouard 1978, 30-1; Heal 1984; 1990).

However important challenges to this archaeological consensus have been raised by Grenville's (1997, 107-110) demonstration that far from decreasing in size, late medieval halls appear to get larger and more elaborate *alongside* their expanded parlours, services and lodging ranges. Moreover Leech (1998) has highlighted the fact that the reservation of the open hall for display and ceremonial rather than everyday purposes may have increased rather than decreased its symbolic importance. The retention of the open hall must be understood in relation to its social and symbolic role. As this chapter has argued, the open hall was used to structure a delicate balance between individual *and* communal identities. This function was still of crucial importance to guilds and high status domestic households. The addition of more complex accommodation and different kinds of space simply facilitated the increasingly sophisticated manipulation of this function.



Finally, these hypotheses must be considered in relation to guilds' involvement in civic rituals such as Corpus Christi. Although the feast was promulgated in 1317 and reached York in 1322 the texts of the Corpus Christi plays were only entered in the civic records in c.1463-1477 (Rubin 1991a, 200; Johnston 1971; 1976). Two conflicting hypotheses have been developed concerning the function of the Corpus Christi processions and plays. They are seen either as rituals designed to ease social tension and structure a holistic sense of civic community (Phythian Adams 1972; James 1983) or as occasions in which the social divisions and tensions between the mercantile elite and the 'artisan class' were manifested (Swanson 1989; Beckwith 1994, 1996b). The former is based on extending an understanding of ritual as a mechanism designed to ease social tension and bind communities together, derived from Durkheim (1965), Turner (1996) and Douglas (1966; 1973) to particular aspects of medieval ritual practice (Bossy 1983; Duffy 1992).

From this perspective it is possible to see Corpus Christi as the mechanism through which the formal constitution of the city was transformed into an idealised social reality to promote social cohesion (Phythian Adams 1972, 63). The Aristotelian metaphor of the 'body' within Corpus Christi can be argued to have been a symbolic affirmation of a 'civic body' which was in reality, deeply divided (James 1983, 4; see also Nederman and Forhan 1993):

The theme of Corpus Christi is society seen in terms of the body. The concept of the body provided urban societies with a mythology and ritual in terms of which opposites of social wholeness and differentiation could be affirmed and brought into creative tension, one with another. The final intention of the cult was, then, to express the social bond and to contribute to social integration.

In contrast, McRee (1994) suggests that both Corpus Christi plays and processions emphasised the autonomy and separation of guilds from the civic community, discouraging the formation of civic unity and emphasising social division within the city. Beckwith (1994; 1996b) also provides a critique of socially cohesive interpretations of Corpus Christi through a reading of the plays derived from Swanson (1989). The plays are interpreted as a 'topographical enactment of an increasingly wide gap between the artisanate and the mercantile oligarchy' (1996b, 74-5). Their registration in York's civic records between 1463 and 1477 is seen, like the contemporary registration of guild ordinances, to have been part of the mechanism through which the 'mercantile elite' imposed an artificial division of labour on an artisan 'class' and prevented the development of class consciousness (Beckwith 1994, 262-5). The creation of an alternative 'artisanal ideology within the play texts which placed an importance on manufacture...rather than on the control of exchange mechanisms' is seen as a cultural mechanism through which artisans actively contested mercantile power.

These interpretations do not sit easily with the interpretation of the material culture and ritual activities of guilds presented in this thesis. In particular they fail to establish why craft mysteries should have participated so actively in this kind of religious ritual. Goldberg (1997) has suggested that the Corpus Christi plays gave expression to the same kind of religious imperative expressed by craft-affiliated fraternities. However Rosser (1998) has also drawn attention to the important parallels between the form and function of the Corpus Christi plays and existing guild ceremonies. To be successful the plays had to have resonance with, and be understood by, their civic audience. Rather than symbolising an 'artificial' division of the artisan class, it can be argued that the play cycle provided a powerful underpinning of the craft specialisms of later medieval York. Its performance not only reflected but actively structured the public perception of the crafts in a number of ways, particularly through the level of expenditure on the pageant and props, but also through connections between the crafts and the subject matter or staging possibilities of their plays, through which their craft 'mystery' could be displayed (Justice 1979). Far from constructing an 'alternative artisanal ideology', the performance of the Corpus Christi plays reproduced existing discourses about urban work and the divisions of urban labour.

This connection was reinforced by the fact that both the processions and plays occurred in a wider ritual context for those guilds who processed to the pageant houses or stations of the play from their guildhalls, and who returned there afterwards for communal feasts. The symbolism and meaning of the Corpus Christi plays was therefore also subject to spatial regionalisation:

the Corpus Christi procession and theatre do not merely reflect the shape and function of the medieval town and city they articulate, but mould and recreate urban topography in ways both fantastical and material. (Beckwith 1994, 12).

The realisation of the meaning of the Corpus Christi cycle only took place because of the audience's capacity to understand the doctrinal *and* political messages operating at different levels within the play texts and performances. The metaphorical 'body' evoked in the Corpus Christi plays should therefore be thought of as Lacan's 'corps morcelée'; a fragmented, vulnerable and even potentially subversive symbol of the internal diversity of the civic community (Rubin 1996). The power of rituals such as Corpus Christi and *locales* like the guildhall lay in their provision of discursive space in which the individual's complex and overlapping sense of identity could be constructed in tension with that of the wider civic community. However, those craftsmen/women and journeymen who did not belong to religious fraternities or craft mysteries, and those on the margins of urban society such as the indigent poor, appear as absent from this discursive construction of the civic community as they do its political reality.

## Conclusion

This chapter has presented an archaeological interpretation of the physical structure, spatial organisation and use of York's medieval fraternity and guildhalls. It has suggested that the close structural and spatial connections between guildhalls and contemporary domestic and ecclesiastical buildings is evidence of a particular form of medieval *habitus*. This was an understanding of the ways in which architectural space could be used to frame social identity and political power, which was underpinned by the dominant religious discourses of Catholicism. Although the chapter has stressed the internal diversity of guilds and the opportunities for human agency which they afforded, it has also demonstrated that the *locale* of the guildhall was used to structure and reproduce the normative values and ideologies of late medieval civic society. The hall and hospital have been argued to symbolise an important distinction between those who contributed to the economic and political welfare of the city through their craft industry, and those who contributed to the spiritual welfare of the civic community through their spiritual labour. Finally, the chapter has used the archaeological evidence of guildhalls to challenge existing assumptions about the use and meaning of the built environment and social space of late medieval towns. It can therefore be concluded that it is only the use of such a fine-grained and empirically based approach to medieval buildings which allows us to understand the real complexity and sophistication of medieval *habitus*.

## Chapter 7. Early Modern Guildhalls: *habitus* in transition?

### Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the archaeological evidence for aspects of continuity and change in the structure and spatial organisation of guildhalls between c.1530-c.1630. It seeks to establish the significance of these processes in relation to the idea of *habitus* and to the role of the guildhall as a locale in which social identity was structured in post-medieval York. The study of any aspect of this period must engage with the socio-economic, ideological, political and cultural shifts which are argued to have occurred across Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. These have been associated with large scale structural forces such as the development of capitalism, as well as the impact of cultural and political movements such as the Reformation and the Renaissance (Gaimster and Stamper 1997, x). The first section of this chapter will examine some of the historical and archaeological research frameworks and agendas which have been developed to approach these issues. Particular attention will be paid to those which relate to material culture and the built environment of the medieval town. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 will be explicitly concerned with the archaeological evidence of guildhalls, which suggests that we need to re-examine and re-frame the chronological context of these processes of change. Section 7.2 will argue that the lack of evidence for fundamental changes in the form and function of guildhalls in the *immediate* post-Reformation period is evidence that they continued to be used in traditional ways, to structure a sense of continuity with the medieval past.

However, in 7.3 a chronological shift dating to the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries will be identified in the structure of guildhalls and their function as *habitus*. Guilds appear increasingly concerned to control the activities and identities structured within their halls during this period. In part this was a response to the increasingly public use of guildhalls by multiple social groups within the urban community. But it can also be understood as part of a shift in *habitus* which consisted of a severing of links with the discourse and practices of Catholicism and the use of a range of political and ideological discourses (including Renaissance humanism and Protestantism) to underpin the construction of social identity, status and power. Emphasis was placed by all of these discourses on the responsibility of secular authorities to structure social control and moral order. Guildhalls will be argued to have been one of the material mechanisms through which particular forms of identity were framed and imposed by guilds, not just on other guild members, but also those on the disordered and dangerous margins of society, such as the poor.

## 7.1 An archaeology of transition?

### The development of capitalism

There are two traditions of scholarship which have dominated historical accounts of the transformation of the medieval world and the rise of modernity. The first is derived from the work of Marx (1990) and its qualification in the writings of Durkheim (1964) and Weber (1958; 1964). The second is an alternative tradition inspired by the Annales school of historians, most notably Bloch (1965), Febvre (1974) and Braudel (1972-3; 1984). Marx's economic determinism has inspired a generation of historians to chart the development of capitalism through the long rise of the mercantile middle classes and the expansion of external trade in the towns and cities of medieval or early modern Europe (Lipson 1956-9; Pirenne 1969; Sweezy 1976; Wallerstein 1983; Britnell 1993). An alternative paradigm which places emphasis on ideology and culture as well as economics as the locus of social and political power is that of the Annales school. The work of Bloch (1965; 1991) and Febvre (1974) is seen to offer an inter-disciplinary methodology for integrating the study of socio-economic structures with cultural mentalités through a form of 'total history' (Bintliff 1991, 5-6; Knapp 1992). Archaeologists such as Hodges (1982b) seeking to theorise long-term structural change have also adopted the Annaliste Braudel's tripartite model of long-term geographic and environmental structures -*longue durée*, medium-term socio-economic cycles -*conjoncture*, and short-term socio-political events -*l'histoire événementielle*. However, the emphasis this places on long- and medium-term structures of change at the expense of human agency and social practice has also been criticised (Moreland 1992, 116).

Traditional Marxist approaches have emphasised the centrality of medieval European towns and cities to the development of capitalism by seeing them as 'non-feudal islands in a feudal sea' (Postan 1972, 212). However this has led to a tendency to see towns as isolated subjects or reified social objects (Wirth 1938, 44; Weber 1958; Pirenne 1969; Sjoberg 1960). More recent scholarship (including that of Marxists such as Hilton (1990; 1992, 9)) has moved away from this position and argued that medieval towns were distinct but nevertheless active parts of the feudal system, 'fields of action integral to some larger world and within which the actions and contradictions of that larger world are displayed with great clarity' (Diederiks and Hohenberg 1992, 32). Indeed many recent syntheses have been explicitly concerned to challenge unilinear narratives of the emergence of capitalism and/or modernity (Friedrichs 1995, 9-15; Cowan 1998; Nicholas 1999). By stressing the level of continuity as well as contrast between medieval and post-medieval towns, historians are therefore developing a deeper contextual understanding of the early modern urban experience.

British archaeologists have not really explored the potential of historical or geographical research agendas concerned with the idea of the early modern town as a stage on which social, economic, political and ideological tensions were 'played out' in particularly visible ways (cf. Kearns & Philo 1993; Williams & Thrift 1987). This may well be because archaeologists concerned with the transition between medieval and early modern society, such as Johnson (1996), have turned their attention away from towns altogether and drawn on an alternative historiographical tradition which places emphasis on the pre-industrial countryside as a particularly visible locus, or arena, of social transformation (Tawney 1912, 408-9; Dobb 1963; Brenner 1977; 1993; Ashton & Philpin 1985; Harman 1989, 44-50). Johnson (1996) is concerned to counter the economic determinism of Marxism by linking shifts in the perception and consumption of material culture (including buildings and landscapes) to ideological and cultural as well as economic change. Few archaeologists have sought to contrast or explain the material conditions and experiences of towns during the period of the 'great rebuilding' identified in rural areas (Hoskins 1953; Alcock 1973; Johnson 1986; Airs 1994), for example. These developments highlight the need for a more coherent archaeological understanding of aspects of socio-economic continuity, as well as change, in the early modern town.

Although Marx's model may be over-simplistic and deterministic, it cannot be denied that fundamental economic changes did occur within late medieval and early modern provincial towns and had a profound impact on social structure and relations. The economic decline suffered by many provincial towns in the later medieval period (see Chapter 6) affected particular sections of the craft and mercantile community and created tensions and changes in attitudes towards standards of living, social welfare and responsibility. The economic revival experienced by some of these towns and cities in the later sixteenth century also benefited particular sections of the urban community, and was therefore often associated with socio-economic polarisation. However, these economic factors must also be set within the context of processes such as the Reformation and Renaissance. Shifts in the perception and use of urban material culture not only reflected, but also structured, ideological and political change, as well as economic development.

### The 'urban Renaissance'

The Renaissance is a specific historical phenomenon which had profound long-term implications for the intellectual, cultural and political life of early modern Europe. Although a detailed discussion of its development and impact is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth highlighting the wealth of historical and archaeological study concerned with its impact on the style and meaning of material culture, including architecture and artefacts (see for example Summerson 1993; Airs 1995; Douglas & Isherwood 1979; Shammas 1990; Weatherill 1988). Johnson (1996, 191-2) has emphasised the connections between an explosion in the distribution, consumption and perception of early modern material culture, and particular artistic, political or philosophical Renaissance discourses which placed emphasis on the individual and the fashioning of the self (Rose 1989; Contamine 1988; Braunstein 1988). The (re)discovery and dissemination of Classical principles in Renaissance architectural treatises is also perceived to have transformed ideas about the built environment and urban morphology. This perception can be found in the work of architects such as Le Corbusier (1971) and sociologists such as Weber (1958), where it is also directly associated with the development of capitalism and the rise of the bourgeoisie. At the heart of these interpretations lies the belief that medieval cities were essentially organic and piecemeal developments (Abercrombie 1933) whereas the Renaissance heralded the development of deliberate urban planning, morphological regularity and the replacement of the piecemeal design of individual buildings by an aesthetic concern with the production of a unified townscape (Hohenberg & Lees 1985; Borsay 1977; 1989).

The most complex integration of these ideas with traditional theories about the feudal-capitalist transition is Lefebvre's (1994) *The Production of Space* which emphasises the centrality of urban space in the medieval-early modern shift. Lefebvre (1994, 264-7; 1996) uses the terms 'absolute' and 'abstract' space to contrast the nature of medieval space with that produced within towns during the sixteenth century. Medieval absolute space consists of both commercial and religious space; it is characterised by Lefebvre (1994, 264) as 'at once spiritual and material, intellectual and sensory, and populated by signs of the body.' In contrast early modern abstract space is seen to be a product of long term structural changes including the Renaissance and the development of capitalism (Lefebvre 1994, 269-72). It incorporates representations of space which are

conceived not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms. (Lefebvre 1994, 42)

The changes made to individual buildings are therefore seen as being politically conceived modifications to the town as a subject in itself:

The Renaissance town ceased to evolve 'after the fashion of a continuous narrative', adding one building after another, an extension to a street, or another square to those already in existence. From now on each building, each addition, was politically conceived; each innovation modified the whole, and each object - as though it had hitherto been somehow external - came to affect the entire fabric (Lefebvre 1994, 272).

Lefebvre is not alone in seeing the visual representation, or 'enframing' of space as a characteristic of modernity. Mitchell (1988; 1989), Cosgrove (1985) and Gregory (1993; 1994) all link this process of framing to the development of linear perspective in the work of Renaissance architects such as Brunelleschi. These changes are seen to relate to the constitution of the individual as a rational human individual, and to placed the eye and the 'gaze' rather than the body of the individual at the centre of human experience; a process described by Gregory (1994, 392) as the 'victory of decorporealisation'. This is also argued to explain a shift of emphasis to the perspectival qualities and exterior facades of buildings.

For Lefebvre, and other urban historians and social geographers, this process was facilitated by the use of particular forms of written discourse, particularly architectural and planning treatises, maps and plans (cf. Soderstrom 1996; Cosgrove 1985; Gregory 1994 and see Lilley 1999). Borsay's *The English Urban Renaissance* (1989) provides the most cogent exploration of these ideas in relation to English provincial towns. It contrasts a lack of aesthetic concern in medieval vernacular urban architecture (after Brunskill 1978) with the 'more ordered, integrated and therefore 'urban' appearance' of the unified early modern townscape (Borsay 1989, 42, 60; Airs 1982, 97-8; Platt 1976, 66-9):

Here was a highly theoretical architecture based on archetypal building forms and universal rules, which were intended to override local tradition and personal fancy. (Borsay 1989, 61)

However it is important to note that Borsay sees the English 'urban Renaissance' as a phenomenon of the period c.1660-1700, and notes that there were plenty of towns (including York) which retained their traditional appearance for much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is a view shared by both Friedrichs (1995, 26) and Cowan (1998, 123-4) who stress that many early modern towns continued to be altered through the piecemeal addition of individual buildings or groups of buildings to existing streetscapes rather than by wholesale morphological transformation. This leaves us with an interesting question about the visible



impact of the Renaissance in the early modern town. The phenomena which have been identified as characteristics of the Renaissance and/or modernity certainly require further consideration. Although there appears to be an expansion in the written discourses through which urban topography and architecture was manipulated during this period, similar concerns can be identified in the morphology and archaeology of medieval towns (Soderstrom 1996; Lilley 1998; 1999). The design of many medieval buildings also demonstrates an awareness and concern with aesthetics, proportion and symmetry, which can be found in the written treatises of medieval theologians and philosophers such as Albertus Magnus (Eco 1986). Urban archaeologists must therefore look to shifts in the ways in which members of the urban community perceived themselves and their relationships to others, and to changes in *habitus*, to explain the changes made to the individual buildings and the built environment of medieval towns.

### **The urban Reformation**

Even those historians who claim that very little changed in European towns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries admit that the area of religion is an exception to this rule (Cowan 1998; Nicholas 1999). The historiography of the English Reformation has traditionally been polarised along religious lines. Protestant historians such as Dickens (1959; 1964) have argued that it was a warmly welcomed, inevitable consequence of the corruption and decline of late medieval Catholicism, whilst Catholics such as Scarisbrick (1984) and Haigh (1987; 1993) have maintained that it was a devastating break with an imperfect but nevertheless popular and vibrant form of late medieval religious belief. More recently historians have sought to find a balance between these two poles of opposition, emphasising the regional and chronological specificity of the Reformation, particularly in provincial towns (Collinson 1988; 1998, Marshall 1997; Hutton 1987). Particularly germane to this thesis has been recent research concerned with reassessing the chronological impact of the Reformation. Although substantial resistance and opposition can be identified in the immediate post-Reformation period of the 1530s and 1540s, it appears that by the end of the sixteenth-century Protestantism had made real progress at grassroots level in many communities (Duffy 1992; Marsh 1998, 16; Haigh 1993).

Historians have become increasingly interested in the material construction of the Reformation and resistance to it (Duffy 1992; Aston 1989; 1993; Cunich 1998). However, they have tended to focus on the impact of ecclesiastical legislation on the fixtures and fittings of parish churches rather than the ways in which these transformed the social use of space, and thus the material construction of *habitus*. An understanding of archaeological data as the material fragments of the

recursive social practices of the past therefore offers archaeologists a unique perspective from which to approach these aspects of the Reformation (after Barrett 1987; 1988; Morris 1996). An archaeological agenda must engage with the physical effects of two processes of dissolution: that of the monasteries in the 1530s, and the chantries in the 1540s. The former had a profound effect on the topography and economy of both the medieval countryside and on provincial towns such as York, where over eleven major religious foundations were surrendered during the 1530s. This loss was accompanied by the confiscation of large amounts of urban property and land owned by monastic foundations outside the city (VCH 1961, 117). Although in the long term civic authorities may have benefited from the acquisition of monastic properties (Tittler 1998a; 1998b, 192-3; Kitching 1970; 1972), in the short term the loss of institutional investment and monastic trade undoubtedly had profound consequences for the prosperity of religious centres such as York.

Historians have tended to play down the physical effects of the Chantries Act of 1547:

The dissolution of chantries exercised only an indirect effect on the profile of the city, for they were seldom linked with impressive architectural features.

(Palliser in VCH 1961, 117; see also 1971).

However this underestimates the topographical significance of the collegiate buildings and domestic structures associated with communities of chantry priests, and of other buildings such as *maisons dieu* which although not monumental, were important parts of the street and townscape. The descriptions of decay in sixteenth-century petitions to the fee-farm suggest that these acts of dissolution exacerbated the physical condition of a city already in decline (Palliser 1979, 214-5). However the real significance of the Chantries Act of 1547 was that it sought to destroy the ideological as well as the institutional framework of chantries, those 'phantasising vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, to be done for them which be departed' (Duffy 1992, 454; see also Burgess 1988). The long-term aim of the legislation was to remove any sense of meaning or significance that these institutions may have had in contemporary society. Therefore although some historians have suggested that the suppression of socially exclusive institutions such as perpetual chantries and colleges was less controversial than the Injunctions' attack on the doctrine of Purgatory and the intercessory practices and popular institutions associated with it, the two were inextricably bound. The public image and self-perception which cities such as York projected was founded upon their function as religious centres, and the Chantries Act therefore swept away the ideological justification for numerous material and ritual expressions of parochial and civic pride.

Historians have suggested that one of the most devastating aspects of the legislation of 1547 was its attack on religious guilds, because they were one of the principal forms of medieval lay religious activity (Duffy 1992, 454; Cunich 1998, 162-5). However, it is difficult to gauge the true level of this impact because evidence for the number and popularity of fraternities before the Reformation is often derived from the chantry surveys themselves, and because there was a clear financial incentive for contemporaries to suppress evidence of guilds in order to avoid the confiscation of their assets. It is therefore likely that we are vastly underestimating the sheer scale and significance of these associations in pre-Reformation communities (Palliser 1971, 21-6; Kitching 1970). This is easy to demonstrate in York, where the guilds of St. Anthony and St. John the Baptist are absent from the chantry surveys (VCH 1961, 148), but where probate evidence indicates that they were definitely still in existence at this date (see Appendices 4 and 5). This only serves to strengthen the hypothesis that the suppression of these institutions would have had a profound impact on sixteenth-century society.

## 7.2 An archaeology of continuity?

### York's guildhalls in the immediate post-Reformation period

This section will explore the archaeological evidence of guildhalls before the Elizabethan succession. Because of their connection with craft mysteries, a number of guildhalls appear to have survived the dissolution largely intact. The lack of archaeological evidence for substantial changes made to these buildings in this immediate post-Reformation period contrasts sharply with the fundamental alterations made to parish churches as a result of the ecclesiastical legislation of the 1530s and 1540s. It will therefore be suggested that whilst profound changes occurred within ecclesiastical discourses and the parish church, guildhalls provided an important locale in which a sense of continuity in *habitus* could be maintained in the immediate post-Reformation period.

Although the Chantries Act of 1547 technically included property relating to the intercessory or religious activities of craft mysteries, the general exemption of craft associations from the Act created a mechanism through which the fraternal origins and chantry functions of guildhalls could be concealed in practice. For example the survey entry for the hospital of 'Jhesus and Our Blessed Ladye' (Trinity hall), notes that its founder, John Rowclyff, had endowed it with one house but that

none other person, sithens that tyme, hath purchased any more landes, as the Kynges comysshioners can perceyve, therefore the governour and kepers of the mysterye of merchaunts of the cytie of Yorke, incorporated the xijth day of Julye in the vijth yere if the reigne of Kyng henry the vjth, and auctorysed and licencyd by the same coporacion to purchase lands and tenements to the yerely value of *xli* and to fynde a pryste of the prouffytes of the same, did entre in to the said landes gyven to thospitall aforesaid. (CCCY 91, 76)

This was at best a partial, and at worst a deliberately misleading account, which suppressed all references to the religious fraternity who had constructed and used Trinity hall for over a hundred and fifty years! To evade suppression the mystery emphasised the purely charitable function of the hospital; a pattern repeated in relation to the cordwainers' *maison dieu* (CCCY 91, 54-5). St. John the Baptist's hall and *maison dieu* appear to have escaped the notice of the commissioners altogether, presumably because of their connection with the tailors' mystery. The concealment of their religious and chantry functions was a pragmatic mechanism designed by mysteries to avoid the sequestration of their fraternity assets. However, by retaining guild possessions they were also able to preserve a sense of institutional and social continuity for their brethren and sisters, many of whom had been members of both associations.

Purely religious fraternities without connections to craft mysteries could not, however, escape suppression in York in 1547-8. The guild of Corpus Christi was dissolved in 1547 (RGCCY, 113; VCH 1961, 147) whilst in 1549 the possessions of the St. Christopher and St. George guild were granted to the city for the sum of £212 by the Crown (YCR 5, 28). The guild of St. Anthony was not technically dissolved until 1627, but its function was reduced to providing a triennial feast for the corporation (YCA B35, f.31), and in 1554 the use of St. Anthony's hall was granted to all those craft mysteries in the city without halls of their own (YCR 5, 106-7). Despite this, two important senses of continuity also survived in these buildings. First, their hospitals and *maisons dieu* continued to exist well into the seventeenth century, like their counterparts in craft guildhalls. Second, there may have been a considerable degree of continuity between the social groups who used these buildings before and after the Reformation. Many of the members of the crafts who met in St. Anthony's after 1554 may have been members of the religious fraternity before its dissolution. It is also likely that many of the members of the civic corporation who used the city Guildhall after 1549 had also used it in the past as members of the guilds of St. Christopher and St. George.

It can therefore be argued that there is a disparity between this archaeological evidence of continuity in guildhalls during the immediate post-Reformation period, and the locale of the parish church, where fundamental changes were heralded by the Injunctions of 1547. These changes have been discussed at length by Duffy (1992, 454ff.), Kreider (1979) and Mason (1896). The significance of the Edwardian Reformation was that it sought to remove not only the physical manifestations of Catholicism, but also the ideological underpinning and liturgical rituals through which the material culture of the parish church had been incorporated into religious practice (Addleshaw 1948; Hurlbut 1941). Historians have therefore focussed on the locale of the parish church, and written sources such as the chantry certificates, Edwardian inventories and ecclesiastical visitation records, to find evidence of the devastating impact of the Reformation on 'corporate Christianity' and parochial pride (Duffy 1992, 454 ff.; Cunich 1998, 164-6). In York this transformation was further exacerbated by the closure of thirteen parish churches in 1547, ostensibly on financial grounds (Palliser 1979, 239-40).

Parish churches were spaces of surveillance in which the material expression of doctrinal orthodoxy was regulated and controlled by the machinery of the ecclesiastical visitation. Secular authorities were also keen to ensure that parish churches expressed conformity with Reformation legislation. Following their disastrous involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, for

example, the corporation of York were keen to ensure that outward conformity and obedience to royal policy took precedence over expressions of personal belief. Despite the high levels of Catholic survivalism suggested by contemporary probate sources (Dickens 1938-9; 1959, 206), it is therefore not surprising that 'passive resistance to change is the most that can be detected' in the ecclesiastical and civic records and material culture of Edwardian York (Palliser 1979, 238). This raises important questions about whether the structural and spatial changes made to parish churches during the Reformation simply reflect official ecclesiastical policy and civic polity, or a much deeper shift in the ideology and *habitus*? This is therefore in essence a question about the material evidence for the progress of the Reformation at the level of popular belief and practice.

Given the hypothesis advanced in Chapter 6 that medieval *habitus* operated in a range of building types, we would expect a shift in *habitus* to be reflected not only in parish churches, but also in guildhalls. However guildhalls were not subject to the same kind of official surveillance and control mechanisms as parish churches. Many evaded the attention of the chantry surveyors altogether, whilst those that did not appear to have played down or successfully concealed their religious possessions in 1547-8. Although the lack of inventories and visitation records therefore makes it more difficult to assess their form and function, it is highly significant that no archaeological evidence for fundamental changes to their structure and spatial organisation can be identified in those in York during the immediate post-Reformation period. Moreover, although guild chapels and the religious rituals which occurred within them must have been affected by the Injunctions of 1547, there are numerous sources which suggest that there was a strong degree of concealment and survivalism in these buildings. An inventory of Trinity chapel which may date to c.1554 suggests that many of its medieval fixtures and fittings - including the high altar and the subsidiary altars of St. Thomas a Beckett and St. John the Baptist - survived the Reformation to be restored under Mary (YMA, 96-7). The main altar of St. Thomas' hospital, York, also appears to have survived the Reformation, if not *in situ*, for in 1553 the corporation ordered it to be 'furthwyth sett up agayn' (YCR 96, 100). It therefore seems likely that, as in parish churches, guilds concealed aspects of traditional material culture and reinstated them during the Marian regime (Duffy 1992, 545-6).

Unlike parish churches, guilds may also have managed to maintain more of a sense of continuity in the ritual practices which occurred within their halls, and the particular forms of *habitus* which underpinned them. The paraliturgical qualities of their feasts may have continued to be invoked during this period, and although the daily liturgical round of obits and masses may have ceased to be said in guild chapels, craft mysteries may have continued to encourage and expect the intercessory prayers of the inmates of their hospitals or *maisons dieu*. Inmates may well have continued to perform these acts of intercession both because they still felt bound into a reciprocal relationship with their patrons and because their own sense of identity was still based on this privileged spiritual role. If many of the spatial and symbolic resonances of the medieval guildhall did survive the Reformation, it may explain why there was so little guild resistance to the dissolution of 1547, or need for guilds to make substantial changes after the restoration of Catholicism in 1553.

*Habitus* is the strategy-generating principle by which people gain an understanding of how to go on in the world. It is therefore only a shift in the individual's perception of their place in the world, and how to structure it, which will result in a change in *habitus*. The fact that there is a disparity between the parish church and the guildhalls in the immediate post-Reformation period suggests that although change may have been occurring within particular fields of discourse (namely official ecclesiastical and political policy), this may not have resulted in an immediate change in the *habitus* operating within medieval society as a whole. Support for this hypothesis comes from the evidence of widespread resistance to the process of the 'stripping of the altars' within the parish church (Scarbrick 1984; Marsh 1998). Duffy (1992) for example, has demonstrated the ways in which Catholic fixtures and fittings were often concealed by parish communities and subsequently restored under Mary. It can therefore be argued that York's guildhalls provided contemporaries with an important locale in which an sense of continuity with the past could be structured in traditional ways. Additional support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that craft mysteries also continued to perform the traditional Corpus Christi cycle in York (with the tactful exception of the Marian plays) right up to their suppression in the 1570s (Palliser 1979, 239, 280; Dickens 1944).

There are several explanations for this lack of a change in *habitus* in York in the immediate post-Reformation period. First, it must be related to a lack of an ideological shift in the minds of contemporaries who were reluctant to dismiss deeply-held and long-established spiritual beliefs about Purgatory and the intercessory power of prayer. Second, this must be related to the continuing importance of the reciprocal relationship between the communities of the living and the dead. There is considerable contemporary probate evidence to indicate that contemporaries were unwilling to dismiss the idea of Purgatory, or to relinquish the intercessory power of the saints (Scarbrick 1984, 136ff). Moreover, even those who were willing to accept the ideological implications of the Edwardian Injunctions, many have continued to feel a sense of obligation to their friends and relatives who had died believing in Purgatory. This highlights the importance of understanding the chronology of the Reformation in terms of the life-cycles of those who lived through it (Marsh 1998). Finally the desire to maintain a sense of continuity in *habitus* can be linked to the fact that the structuration of medieval social identities and political relations was embedded in, and underpinned by, Catholic ideology and practice. It was not only religious belief which contemporaries felt was threatened by the Reformation, but also their sense of parochial pride and communal identity which was symbolised by the material culture of the parish church (Duffy 1992; Morris 1996).

The first section of this chapter stressed the need to develop a more contextual understanding of the chronology of transition between the medieval and early modern communities of provincial urban England. This section has sought to argue that although the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations may have resulted in a weakening of a sense of religious community in the parish church, we need to be wary of assuming that this 'inevitably had an impact on social and civic values, and ...did much to lower the cohesion and morale of the whole nation' (Cunich 1988, 166-7). In the immediate post-Reformation period guildhalls and craft mysteries may have been an important mechanism through which a sense of communal identity, pride and a familiar sense of *habitus* could continue to be structured. The conclusions drawn in this section must remain conjectural until further research is carried out on guildhalls in other early modern towns and cities. However, it is an area of study which is of central importance because it refines our contextual and chronological understanding of the Reformation, and because it contrasts so vividly with the transformation of guildhalls which occurred in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is to this evidence that this chapter now turns.



### **7.3 The transformation of *habitus*. York's guildhalls in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries**

This section will focus on the increasingly complex and 'public' use of guildhalls during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It will examine the transformation of the visual cues through which their tripartite arrangement had traditionally been articulated, and the increasing 'regionalisation' of the guildhall itself. These changes were associated with the growing desire of craft mysteries to exercise control over access to and use of the guildhall, which was also realised through the creation and addition of more private spaces within the building. What follows will also focus on the ways in which the traditional relationship between guild hospitals and chapels was ruptured during this period. The suppression and secularisation of guild chapels will be argued to reflect a severance of the relationship between the fraternal community of the living and the dead, whilst the partitioning of guild hospitals will be interpreted as a mechanism through which they were converted from chantry communities into institutions with an almshouse function.

These structural and spatial alterations will be related to long-term processes of economic, political and ideological change, and to shifts in the nature of the *habitus* through which early modern social identities and social relations were structured. Particular emphasis will be placed on the fact that by the later sixteenth-century Catholicism had been replaced as the dominant discourse within society by a range of philosophical, ideological and political discourses, including Renaissance humanism and Protestantism. The fields within which these discourses operated shared an overwhelming concern with secular authority, moral order and social control. They had a profound impact on the ways in which individuals perceived their ontological status and their relationship to other members of society. As in the medieval period, guildhalls were used to reproduce the authority of master craftsmen over their families, households and workshops. But the spatial and structural changes made to guildhalls during this period appear to have deliberately reduced the material opportunities for women, apprentices, and those lower down the social scale, to negotiate or mediate these existing hierarchies of power. These shifts in discourse also transformed the relationship between secular governors and the civic community, particularly the poor. The latter were no longer perceived to have an important spiritual function within the community, but rather seen as a financial burden and social threat to the moral economy of civic society. The following argument will examine the ways in which guildhalls were used to structure changes in the discourses of poverty and charity, to categorise particular kinds of pauper, and to impose particular forms of discipline on the urban poor.

### **The economic and social context**

It is widely accepted that England experienced a period of increasing socio-economic fluidity and change during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Thirsk 1978; Wrightson 1982, 1986; Sharpe 1997). Any discussion of perceptions of status, standards of living and poverty in early modern York must therefore be considered in the context of the processes of economic decline and revival experienced by the city in the later fifteenth and later sixteenth centuries respectively. During the former period York suffered from an economic decline largely associated with the shift of cloth production out of the city and into west Yorkshire and a commercial decline in its long-distance trade (VCH 1961, 128; Palliser 1979, 201-225; Dobson 1973, 17). Although the scale and extent of this economic and demographic downturn is still the subject of some debate, the pleas of poverty made by the corporation in the early-mid sixteenth century were still sufficiently convincing to secure the remission of the fee farm (Palliser 1979, 215-8; Dyer 1991). As Chapter 6 has argued, the fact that it was York's craft and mercantile communities who felt the impact of economic decline most acutely lends weight to the hypothesis that they may have deliberately used guildhalls to boost their sense of communal pride during this difficult period.

However, some sections of York's craft and mercantile communities profited most markedly from the upturn in the city's economic fortunes in the 1560s and 1570s. This economic revival was partly the result of improvements in long-distance trade with the Baltic, and inland trade with other provincial centres (Ramsay 1957, 97; 1963; Palliser 1972b; 1973; Everitt 1968-9; 1973). Many of these groups also profited from the revival of the city's political role as the permanent headquarters of the Council of the North and the Northern Ecclesiastical Commission from 1561. Suitors to these courts created substantial business for the city's victualling, hostelry and legal trades, whilst many prominent craftsmen were actively involved in civic politics as well as trade (Palliser 1979, 53-4; 262). However the long-term economic confidence of the urban populace was shaken by these changes, and an atmosphere of uncertainty and caution continued to pervade York throughout the sixteenth century. This was exacerbated by the presence of large numbers of rural poor who had sought refuge and relief in the city during periods of economic decline and scarcity, particularly during the successive harvest failures of the early-mid sixteenth century. This influx prompted the development of particular policies which are further discussed below (see p.183-4). Moreover, since many of the traditional sources of institutional charity had disappeared from provincial towns such as York as a consequence of the Reformation, the problem of the poor was a burden which fell directly on the shoulders of civic authorities (Slack 1984; 1988; 1999; Pelling 1998; Walter & Schofield 1989).

Intrinsically related to these economic shifts was an increasing social fluidity and polarisation and the phenomenon of the rise of the 'middling sort' or early modern 'bourgeoisie' (Hexter 1950; Thompson 1968; Barry & Brooks 1994). A number of historians have linked this social group to the formation of political oligarchies, particularly in urban contexts (Clark 1984; 1986; Clark & Slack 1972; 1976; Neale 1981). Both have also been directly associated with the development of an ideology of individualism (Macfarlane 1978; Stone 1984; Clark 1986; Horwitz 1987).

However, we must be wary of appropriating this as a historical model and simply fitting it to the archaeological evidence of the use of guildhalls to structure particular kinds of identity. The nature of oligarchic rule and its relationship to the 'middling sort' requires much more careful consideration than many architectural historians and archaeologists have previously accorded it (Tittler 1991; Borsay 1989; Steane 1985). Moreover, historians such as Barry (1994, 91) have argued that rather than encouraging the development of individualism, the socio-economic fluidity of early modern towns actively encouraged the middling sort to seek to forge a sense of civic identity based on communal, or collective association. We must therefore guard against using guildhalls as a source of selective illustration for particular historical narratives, and rather engage with the material evidence in a critical way.

### **Guildhalls, social control and *habitus***

The archaeological evidence of York's guildhalls reveals evidence for two fundamental changes made to guildhalls during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. First, the visual cues encoded in the timber-framing and material culture of the hall itself were masked by architectural and decorative changes, and second, new spaces were created within, or adjacent to guildhalls. The visual cues encoded in the fixed and semi-fixed elements of guildhalls were subtly altered through the addition of features such as wainscot, which was added to Trinity hall in 1571-2 (YMAA Acc. Roll 100) and 1572-3 (YMAA Acc. Roll 102; see p. 71). In 1575-6 this was enhanced by the 'payntyng the marchantes Armes' on the walls (YMAA Acc. Roll 105). The 'diverse occupacons & companies' using St. Anthony's hall also 'bestowed cost in the wainscotting and seallinge of some partes in St. Anthonyes hall to the beutifyinge thereof' in 1611 (YCA B33 f.250r). In the same year the corporation ordered that 'the place wher my Lord Maior & Aldermen do use to sit in the same shalbe wainscotted and sealed with the Kinges armes and suche like work' (YCA B33 f.250r; see p. 110). The tailors may also have paid for the wainscotting of their hall and the painting of their arms and those of the drapers shortly after their formal amalgamation in 1552 (YCR 5, 57-62; see p. 91). These features were renewed in 1705 (MTA 2/2 f.121v) and 1660 (MTA 2/1 f.76r) respectively.

The traditional hierarchies of the open, tripartite hall were again disrupted at Trinity hall by the ceiling over of parts of the wall frames and roof trusses in 1584-5 (YMAA Acc. Roll 114; see p. 70-71) and the insertion of the four-fireplace complex in the south-west aisle in 1574-5. A new fireplace and windows with ovolo-moulded mullions were also inserted into the north-east wall of St. John the Baptist's hall in the early seventeenth century (RCHME 1981, 89). And a series of fireplaces was constructed in St. Anthony's hall in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when the aisles may also have been partitioned from the rest of the hall (see p. 111). All of these changes masked the visual cues through which the tripartite medieval division of the hall had been articulated, and created an emphasis on areas of the hall other than the dais end alone. This shift must have been enhanced by semi-fixed and moveable features such as the tables and chairs in St. Anthony's which the silkweavers ordered to be painted with their Arms in 1630 (Hogarth and Webb 1993, f.69/66r; f.108/92r), or the joiners' table which survives in the hall to this day.

These visual and structural changes require careful consideration. Rather than simply focussing attention on the tripartite arrangement, visual cues such as the coats of arms painted on the wainscot and furniture of the guildhalls articulated the 'regionalisation' of spaces within the guildhall (after Giddens 1985). This was related to their increasingly complex and 'public' use by a number of guilds or social groups rather than a single fraternity and its associated mystery. For example, from the later sixteenth century onwards St. John the Baptist's hall was used not only by the tailors, but also by the crafts of the drapers and hosiers, with whom they had amalgamated. St. Anthony's had been handed over to all those craft guilds without halls of their own in 1554, but was also used by the corporation for a triennial feast, held by the master of St. Anthony's guild. Rather than being used to structure the relative status of individual members within an individual craft mystery or guild, guildhalls such as St. Anthony's were now being used to articulate the relative status of all the city's crafts within a single locale. During the medieval period, and up to the 1570s, this was a function which had been served by the Mystery Plays (James 1983). After the disappearance of the plays, the use of St. Anthony's for communal civic gatherings must have become increasingly important; a hypothesis which is supported by the fact that even guilds such as the merchants and the tailors, who retained their own halls, were contributing to the upkeep of the hall in the early seventeenth century (Appendix 5, table 2 from Drake 1736, 224; Knight 1944, 445).

These structural changes to York's guildhalls also completely transformed the ways in which visual cues in the timber-framing of guildhalls had traditionally articulated their internal spatial arrangement and the form of *habitus* which operated within them. At Trinity, St. John the Baptist's and St. Anthony's halls, the plastering over and wainscoting of the walls concealed the bay rhythm and bracing through which the spatial hierarchy of the guildhall had traditionally been expressed (see p. 70-71; 90-91; 109-111). The ceiling over of roof trusses, as at Trinity hall, also masked their articulation of the medieval tripartite arrangement, and its emphasis on the paraliturgical dais end of the hall. The symbolism of the central hearths or brasiers may also have been swept away during this period through the addition of chimney stacks and fireplaces to walls, as at St. Anthony's and St. John the Baptist's, or occupying a whole bay of the hall, as at Trinity hall (see p. 71; 91; 111). These changes made it much more difficult to 'read' the guildhall, and therefore to achieve the sense of ontological security required actively to manipulate its internal spatial organisation. Moreover the articulation of the bay rhythm and tripartite arrangement by the external timber-framing of guildhalls was also masked by the addition of buildings such as the north-east range to Trinity hall and the re-facing in brick of St. Anthony's and St. John the Baptist's in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (fig. 82; see p. 72; 88-89; 112).

The second fundamental change which occurred within guildhalls in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the creation of new types of space for administrative or business functions within or adjacent to the guildhall. The north-east range at Trinity hall dates to the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and provided the guild with three additional rooms, two of which were known as the 'parlour' and 'sitting room' (see p. 72). In 1574-5 a room had already been constructed at the low end of the south-west aisle of Trinity hall for the storage of cloth (YMAA Acc. Roll 104). The 'Great Chamber' on the first floor of the 'counsel' or 'counting house' at St. John the Baptist's hall provided similar administrative space for the guilds of the tailors, drapers and hosiers at this date (MTA 2/1 f.131r; see p. 92). These changes suggest that rather than being discussed within the hall, many of the economic and political affairs of craft mysteries were being withdrawn to, and resolved within, private rooms. It is significant that at both St. John the Baptist's and Trinity halls these rooms had windows providing direct visual access - and thus control - over the entrances into the guildhall and hospital. Moreover, at Trinity hall the north-east range actually transformed the way in which people entered the building, creating a lobby where both visual and physical control could be exercised over those entering the hall (fig. 183).

At one level the use of these additional spaces might be argued simply to reflect an expansion in the administrative business of early modern craft guilds. This could be related to a rise in the estimation and value of written records in early modern society (Orlin 1994, 185-7; Jed 1989; Fox 1996), an interpretation which has certainly been used to explain the popularity of the study during this period (Schofield 1995, 81). However, these spaces might also be seen to reflect a concern of the guild elite to keep particular business matters private from the other social groups using the hall, including the other members of the mystery. It is therefore highly significant that a similar process has been identified in contemporary town halls. Tittler (1991, 98-128) argues that private rooms such as parlours and sitting rooms, along with other aspects of civic regalia including mayoral seats, aldermanic benches, maces and robes, were mechanisms through which the urban elite sought to distance themselves physically and politically from the wider commonalty. He interprets this process as the 'proliferation of oligarchic rule':

..the hall seems often have been regarded not only as a place of government but as a semiotic object. That is to say, in anthropological terms, that the hall appears to have functioned as the tangible formulation of the notion of civic authority. (Tittler 1991, 93 after Geertz 1973, 91)

Tittler's work is significant because it would be very easy to try and fit the archaeological evidence of York's guildhalls to a similar historical narrative, and to argue that guildhalls reflected the dominance of civic politics by a craft-based or mercantile elite. However, there are two problems with this interpretation. First, although the crafts inevitably played a prominent part in civic government, York's civic elite was drawn from the ranks of the gentry, the clergy and lesser freemen as well as the city's craft mysteries. Moreover the wealthy mercantile crafts did not monopolise civic government. From 1517 onwards, the Council of Twenty-Four provided political representation for the minor as well as the major craft groups within the city (Palliser 1979, 46; 106). Second, the changes made to guildhalls during this period are of considerable significance because they not only parallel those within town halls, but also those in contemporary domestic and ecclesiastical buildings. Since Chapter 6 has argued that a similar form of *habitus* operated within these buildings during the medieval period, the evidence of fundamental changes within all of them during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries must be understood as evidence of a wider and much more fundamental shift in the *habitus* of early modern society.

To say that early modern *habitus* was structured through a new range of political and social discourses is not the same as saying that it had been 'secularised' (see Somerville 1992). The changes in guildhalls during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries cannot simply be interpreted as the 'transfer of public buildings from the spiritual to the secular and civic domain in the Tudor town', as Tittler (1991, 95) has argued in relation to contemporary town halls. Chapter 6 has demonstrated that this is in many ways a false division, since secular and political identities were always embedded in and underpinned by, religious discourse and practice. The significance of the intersecting religious, political and philosophical discourses which underpinned early modern *habitus* was that all placed overwhelming emphasis on the importance of social order, civility and control, and on the power, authority and responsibility of social governors to impose order and control on the rest of society.

Several writers have drawn attention to this trend in early modern political and philosophical writing (Fletcher & Stevenson 1985; Underdown, Amussen & Kishlansky 1995) and to an obsession with its converse: disorder, social unrest and crime (Clark & Slack 1972; Sharpe 1984; 1986; Slack 1984). Of particular importance were the two inter-related ideas of the 'body politic' (Harris 1998) and the 'common weal' (Slack 1999, 5-28). Writing in 1530, for example, Thomas Starkey stressed that the latter 'rested in' a healthy 'political body...the multitude of people, the number of citizens' and that the heart and soul of such a body were 'civil order and politic law administered by officers and rulers' according to the 'governance of the comminalty and politic state.' (Mayer 1989a, 31-3; 1989b, 115). The common good and the body politic were therefore seen to be predicated on the proper functioning of government. Both humanist and other Renaissance discourses contrasted idealised images of the commonwealth which were modelled on the 'godly cities' of Europe, with the physical and moral decay of English urban communities (Todd 1987; Fidler 1992; Slack 1999, 10). They emphasised that the only mechanism of realising these ideals was personal and communal reform (Slack 1999, 8; Ingram 1996). That it was the duty of social governors to impose this on the rest of society, starting with the microcosm of the Commonwealth - the household unit - was emphasised by discourses associated with Protestant calls for the 'reformation of manners' as well as those associated with the humanist ideal of civility.

It is this shift in discourse which enables us to begin to make sense of the nature of the shift in early modern *habitus*, and the archaeological parallels between guildhalls and contemporary domestic buildings. As Johnson (1993a; 1996) has argued, the changes which occurred within late medieval and early modern vernacular housing were part of a much more fundamental shift in the ways in which people thought about themselves, their relationships with each other, and their role in society. Johnson focuses on a number of structural and spatial changes in domestic buildings, which closely parallel those identified in contemporary guildhalls above. These include the physical 'closure' of the timber frame, the ceiling over of the open hall and the shift of central fireplaces to wall stacks to create lobby entries and are described as a process of architectural 'closure'. These changes transformed the ways in which people moved around the house and therefore enabled the master of the house to gain visual and social control over the physical movement and moral behaviour of the family and other members of the household (Johnson 1993a, 171-3). Johnson (1993a, 108) relates the 'social and cultural closure that architectural closure is mapping out' to an emphasis on order and discipline in contemporary discourses such as Protestantism and Puritanism, and to a wider shift from the idea of the household-as-community to the idea of the household as a microcosm of society (Hill 1966). These are set within the context of the long-term structural shift from medieval to feudal society, a theme subsequently developed in *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Johnson 1996).

The contemporary changes made to guildhalls can therefore be understood to have structured and reflected a parallel shift in *habitus*. They were a mechanism which also reinforced patriarchal authority because they enabled master craftsmen and the guild elite to impose particular forms of social identity, social control and moral discipline on members of their households and workshops, (Amussen 1988; Breitenberg 1996), particularly women (Wittenburg 1982; Burt and Archer 1994), adolescents (Ben-Amos 1994; Sharpe 1996), and servants (Hill 1966, 475). The closing down or masking of the traditional visual cues through which the tripartite arrangement and medieval *habitus* of guildhalls had been articulated reduced the ability of others to 'read', recognise, and therefore manipulate its spatial arrangement. It was therefore much harder to achieve ontological security within the guildhall, or to use it to contest, negotiate or transform ascribed social identities and social relations. The meanings produced within it were therefore being more tightly controlled, and the opportunities for others to question or contest existing power relations deliberately reduced. Indeed at St. Anthony's hall in 1622, direct action was taken to exclude those whose status or behaviour was considered inappropriate and threatening to this ideal of order and obedience:



Nowe this Court takeinge into consideracon what great numbers of people have resorted unto the same feasts and verie manye not invited or bidden to the same feast which have taken upp in the said hall most of the Romes before such tyme as the bidden geistes do come to the same hall so as by suche disorder diverse of ther bidden geistes for want of placeinge do depart from the same feast, which if the same were upon a worken daie ther would not be suche great resort of unbidden geistes. It is therefore thought that good and ordered and agreed by this court that from hensforthe the same feast shall not hereafter be made upon a Sabath daie but upon mondaie anye custume usage or order to the contrarie in anye wise not withstanding. (YCA B33 f.250v)

These changes enabled the guild elite to secure control over both 'allocative' and 'authoritative' resources: not only the material culture of the guildhall itself, but also the kinds of identities which could be structured within it (after Giddens 1984, 33). Once again, power can be seen to have resided with those able to manipulate material culture to define their own bodies as being socially superior, or to impose particular kinds of bodily identity on others (Shilling 1993, 140).

So far this section has emphasised the parallels between guildhalls and domestic buildings in order to discuss the shift in *habitus* which occurred during this period. However, it is not the contention of this thesis that this reflected a shift from *Gemeinschaft* - an organic form of community characterised by intimacy, kinship networks and stability- to *Gesellschaft* - a society characterised by ego-focused, discontinuous relationships and social tension (Tonnie 1955; Johnson 1993a, 107-9). Neither can the shift in *habitus* observed archaeologically within the guildhall be seen to reflect the emergence of urban oligarchies, or an ideology of individualism. Guildhalls were being used to refashion both the social identities of the craft community through the discourses of social order, humanist civility and moral discipline, but the purpose of this was to distinguish these communities from those on the margins of urban society, particularly the poor. This interpretation supports Barry's (1994, 91) contention that rather than encouraging the development of individualism, the socio-economic fluidity of early modern towns and the fear of social disorder actively encouraged the middling sort to forge a sense of civic identity based on communal, or collective, association. It is significant that these shifts occurred precisely at the same time as the mercers and tailors re-fashioned their communal identities through charters of incorporation and amalgamation (see p. 72; 90). In the contemporary understanding of a humanist such as Starkey it might have seemed that the guildhall was being used to structure the ideal common weal:

the prosperous and most perfect state of a multitude assembled together in any country, city or town, governed virtuously in civil life. (Mayer 1989a, 38)

### **Guildhalls: framing the poor**

The use of guildhalls to impose particular kinds of identity and particular forms of control and discipline on the poor must be set within the wider socio-economic and political context of early modern society. As Slack (1988, 2) has emphasised, poverty is a relative rather than an absolute concept, and perceptions of poverty and economic decline are therefore contingent upon the expectation of particular standards of living as much as the reality of these conditions themselves. It has traditionally been argued that early modern society was characterised by increasing levels of poverty, and a fall in standards of living associated with the long-term impact of late medieval economic decline, demographic change, Tudor inflation (Ramsey 1963) and successive harvest failures in the sixteenth century (Hoskins 1964). Revisionist historians, however, have queried these interpretations and argued for a more optimistic view of the Tudor economy (Palliser 1978; Thirsk 1978). It is therefore important to acknowledge that there were multiple types of 'poor' in early modern society; those for whom poverty was a temporary state of welfare related to a specific crisis or dearth, and those who constituted the 'dependent poor', who were incapable, for various reasons, of escaping the trap of permanent poverty.

This understanding begins to make sense of the discourses of poverty and charity which emerged during the sixteenth century. Most historians agree that the 'problem of the poor' was one which concerned all levels of society and government during this period (Slack 1988; 1999; Himmelfarb 1984; Beier 1983; Williams 1979), and that the notion of poverty was intrinsically bound up with the threat of disorder and social unrest (Clark and Slack 1972; 1976; Juetten 1994). Part of the reason for the increasing visibility of the poor was undoubtedly the disappearance of particular forms of institutional charity from society during the Reformation. However, the system of sixteenth-century English poor relief cannot simply be understood as a Protestant reaction to an indiscriminate and salvation-orientated form of medieval Catholic charity (Jordan 1959; Hill 1966). The significance of the Reformation was that it changed the ways in which national and local authorities perceived themselves to be responsible for the relief of poverty:

The progress of Reformation by statute added extra weight to the argument that lay manipulation of charity was both intellectually defensible and socially necessary. (Slack 1998, 117)

The legislative and institutional 'framing' of the poor must therefore be set within the context of those discourses such as Renaissance humanism and treatises such as Juan Luis Vives' *De Subventionem Pauperum* which stressed the responsibility of governors for the social and moral welfare of their subjects.

The early Tudor Poor Laws adapted existing medieval legislation to deal with the social and political threat of vagabonds and wandering beggars. A statute of 1531 (22 Henry VIII, c. 12) attempted to ensure their licensing by justices of the peace by extending the London practice of giving badges to the licensed poor to the whole of the country. Although a subsequent statute of 1536 never passed the Commons, it greatly influenced the development of local legislation and policy throughout the 1540s (Slack 1988, 118). This Act made provisions for vagabonds and poor children to be put into service on public works or craft industries. It also centralised charity by legislating against indiscriminate almsgiving to individual paupers, and ordering regular collections of alms for the genuinely impotent poor. Another round of Poor Laws was passed during the 1550s-1570s. The Acts of 1552, 1555 and 1563 (5 and 6 Edward VI, c. 2) condemned begging and ordered weekly parochial collections for the poor, which were to be recorded. After the Northern Rising in 1569, which shook the propertied classes, an increasing concern to identify vagabonds and rogues prompted the introduction of penal measures against vagrants and a national compulsory poor rate in 1572 (14 Elizabeth I, c. 5). In 1576 this was followed by an Act (18 Elizabeth I, c. 3) ordering 'work-stocks' of wool, hemp and flax to be provided for the poor by the justices of the peace, as well as 'houses of correction' for those who refused to labour for their living.

During the 1590s successive harvest failures and the fear of social unrest resulted in over seventeen bills concerning the poor being presented to the Commons (Slack 1988, 126). In 1598 the final pieces of the Tudor Poor Law were put into place. The first act (39 Elizabeth I, c. 3) was concerned with the provision of work for the able-bodied, apprenticeship for poor children, and outdoor relief for the genuinely impotent, whilst the second (39 Elizabeth I, c. 4) focussed on the punishment of rogues and vagabonds. Both placed responsibility firmly on the shoulders of parochial authorities. A further act of 1598 (39 Elizabeth I, c. 5) permitted benefactors to found almshouses, houses of correction or hospitals without the need for a charter or letters patent. In many ways York anticipated national legislative responses to the problem of the poor. In 1515 a genuine pauper was ordered to wear 'a token upon his shoulder of his overmost garment that he may be knowen' (YCR 3, 46); a measure which was introduced by statute only in 1531 and 1536. The control and banning of begging was being implemented in York in 1518 (YCR 3, 46), well before the Vagrancy Act of 1547 and subsequent legislation of 1552, 1555 and 1563. York was also ahead of national policy in 1566 and 1567 when complete censuses of 'all impotent aged and poor folke' and all 'ydle and vagrant persons' in the city were carried out (YCR 7, 169; YCR 8, 115), and in 1569-70 when the first 'viewe' of the poor' was organised (YCA B24, f.38r).

Apart from these legislative mechanisms, York's civic community used a number of material mechanisms, including guildhalls, to impose social control and discipline over the poor. Guildhalls fulfilled this function in three ways. First, they were used for the mayor and aldermen's quarterly public 'viewe' of the poor. These were occasions in which the poor were classified as either genuinely impotent and deserving and therefore licensed to beg for alms, or idle 'rogues' who were perfectly capable of carrying out physical labour and contributing to the economy of the city. Second, following this classification, guildhalls were used to impose discipline on the indigent poor. Those willing to work were sent to guildhalls which had been set up with municipal stocks where discipline was imposed through a regime of work. Those who persisted in their idleness were sent to guildhalls which had been set up as houses of correction, where discipline was imposed through a regime of physical punishment. The third and final mechanism through which guildhalls were used to frame the poor was through the structural and spatial transformation of guild hospitals and chapels. These changes were designed to erase civic memories of their medieval chantry function, and replace it with a carefully manipulated image which reinforced the official policies and normative values of civic authority.

Guildhalls had always been spaces in which the identity and social role of the impoverished had been observed, manipulated and controlled. In the early modern period this function was extended to the whole community of the urban poor, who were ordered to present themselves to be 'viewed' quarterly by the mayor and aldermen, usually in Trinity or the Common hall. It was surely no coincidence that the corporation chose the city Guildhall, which was a powerful symbol of civic authority, and Trinity hall, which was associated with the most politically dominant craft in the city, for this purpose. The aim of the 'view' was to distinguish genuinely impotent and disabled paupers from those idle and 'rogueish vacabondes' who were able but unwilling to labour for their livings (YCA B28, f.130v). The genuine poor were given lead badges as symbols of their licence to beg, but those who failed to convince might be recalled for a repeat performance,

Also it is agreed that all those poore people upon whose heads especiall nootes were maide at the late viewe of the poore shalbe further viewed by My Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the Common hall on Wednesday next. And badges of Leade to be in the meane tyme maid and provided for such poore as shalbe allowed to go abroade. (YCA B28, f.132v)

It is unclear exactly how Trinity hall and the Common hall were used during these occasions, but it is likely that the mayor and aldermen exploited their familiarity with guildhalls to reinforce their own authority and intimidate the poor. The disappearance of visual parallels between

guildhalls and parish churches, moreover meant that there was no familiar *habitus* through which the poor could maintain ontological security within these buildings. The view replaced the medieval use of guild hospitals as chantries, by a ritual which classified and displayed a community of 'genuine' paupers to the rest of the civic community. These badged and betokened paupers were permitted to beg publicly for alms, whilst the unlicensed poor were shut away from the eyes of the civic community in houses of work or correction.

The introduction of national compulsory poor rates in 1572 and the Vagrancy Acts of 1598 further increased this concern with the visibility and classification of the urban poor (Slack 1988, 125-6). York's corporation became obsessed with identifying and expelling rural immigrants or 'undersettlers' who 'in the countries from whence they came might have bene employed in workes and laboures necessarie for the comon wealth' (YCA B33, f.173v; YCA B29, f.90v-91r). In 1596 watches were set at the Bars and in the streets of York (YCA Bf.252r) and in 1609 the corporation forbade the letting of tenements to 'enie person or persons cominge furthe of the countrie' (YCA B33, f.173v). Written mechanisms for identifying and controlling the poor were also developed, such as the 'bylles fayre wrytten' listing the impotent and vagrant in 1565/6 (YCA B24, f.38r), the 'books of the poor' produced in 1578 (YCA B27, 66v), and the 'calendars mayd for the poore people' in 1586 (YCA B29, f.103r). These reflect an increasing use of the administrative machinery of civic government and the authority of the written record to tackle the problem (Slack 1998, 139).

The second way in which York's guildhalls were used to frame the identity of the poor was through their conversion into houses of work where the poor laboured on municipal stocks, or houses of correction where those who refused to work were disciplined and punished. Once again York anticipated the official legislation of 1572 and 1576 by setting up St. Anthony's hall and St. George's chapel in 1567 and 1569 as weaving establishments for the poor (YCR 6, 129-30, 144-8; YCR 7, 3, 12, 18, 29, 32, 66-73). Proposals to modify the scheme were made in 1574 when St. Thomas' hospital, St. Anthony's, St. John the Baptist's and Trinity halls were viewed 'to see if the same places or how many of theym be mete places for settlyng of the said poore' (YCA B25, f.114v). It was ordered that

beddes shalbe prepared and made readye with all spead in Saynt Thomas howse  
Trenyties hall and Saynt Anthonyes hall for the placyng and lodging of the aged  
impotent poore and lame people within this city. (YCA B25, f.124r)

Stocks of hemp, linen and tow were to be provided for them to spin (YCR 7, 86, 90, 93).

However, it appears that either St. John the Baptist's was considered unsuitable for conversion in 1574, or that the tailors and drapers opposed the corporation's proposals. There are no references in the House Books to 'mylnes' or 'loomes' being purchased for St. John the Baptist's or indeed for Trinity hall, where the mystery of mercers may also have objected to the proposed establishment a house of work. This hypothesis is supported by a view of Trinity hall made in 1585 which noted that there were 'no poore never in yt' (YCA B29, f.18v).

York's municipal project to impose discipline on the poor through a regime of work therefore focussed on the institutions of St. Thomas' hospital and St. Anthony's hall, whilst discipline was imposed through a punitive regime in the house of correction at St. George's chapel. Previous scholars have suggested that this changed only in 1586, when part of St. Anthony's was also converted into a house of correction (YCA B29, f. 90v; Palliser 1979, 176). However references in 1577 to two 'mylnes' for the 'settyng of Rogisshe and idle persons on worke hable to labour' at St. Anthony's (YCA B27, f.16r) suggest that this distinction was not always quite so clear cut. It must certainly have played an important role before the refitting of the decayed St. George's in 1610-11 (YCA B33, f.203r, f.283r). In 1627 the House Books note that St. Anthony's hall was the official house of work for paupers from the east side of the Ouse, whilst St. Thomas' hospital catered for those on the west side of the river (YCA B35, f.37v).

The complete loss of both St. Thomas' hospital and St. George's chapel means that we are entirely reliant on the documentary evidence of the House Books and chamberlains' accounts, and the archaeological evidence of St. Anthony's hall, to inform us about the spatial framing of the poor in these institutions. Equipment may well have been set up in the aisles of St. Anthony's hall as well as some parts of the ground floor hospital (YCA B27, f.50v; f.57v). The aisles were certainly being used for weaving when Edward Whalley transferred the looms from St. George's chapel there in 1637-8 (YCA B35 f.331r). However evidence of the windows which were added to provide additional light for the looms in 1637-8 and the location of the two 'treasure howses' constructed in 1627 for the storage of the 'stufte' for setting of the poor on work (YCA B35 f.37v) has subsequently disappeared. The fact that a school was established in the chapel in 1569 (YCA B27, f.195r) and Peter Metcalf was appointed to teach poor children to knit 'in the lower howse in St. Anthony hall' in 1614 (YCA B34, f.37v) suggests that no substantial changes were made to the ground floor of St. Anthony's before 1622, when the hospital was partitioned (YCA B34, f. 246v).

It is difficult to underestimate the profound sense of contrast which must have been structured by the use of St. Anthony's hall during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This was a space in which unskilled paupers were forcibly coerced into labouring to the benefit of the civic economy, but it was also a space which symbolised the collective identities of York's industrial craft community and civic corporation. Perhaps it was this saturation of St. Anthony's with the idea of work which made it such an effective institution in which to frame and discipline the poor. It was a locale in which individual social identity could be defined in relation to the working community, and the moral and economic welfare of the city. This may well have influenced the corporation's decision to use St. Anthony's in 1593 for a 'viewe' of semi-skilled labourers, who usually assembled to seek work at the city staites (YCA B31, f.17v). It reflects an increasing pro-activeness on the part of municipal authorities to extend control over all sections of the potential labour market (Slack 1988, 72). The next entry in the House Books demonstrates the mechanisms through which this could be effectively applied:

Also it is agreed that if any Labourer be takne playnge at cardes or at any other unlawful game or drinking or siting or ideley loytering upon anye worke daye when anye work is at the staithe to be done, that the searchers shall make presentment thereof. (YCA B31, f.18r)

Apart from their use to 'view' and discipline paupers, there was a third way in which guildhalls structured shifts in attitudes towards the poor. The changes made to guild hospitals and chapels during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries swept away the structural and spatial mechanisms through which the chantry function of the poor had traditionally been structured. The visual and spatial links between the hospital and chapel could be severed through the construction of partitions, as at Trinity and possibly St. Anthony's halls. Alternatively, the religious function of the chapel could be completely suppressed, as at St. Anthony's in 1565/6 (YCA B24, f.38v) or masked or destroyed, as at St. John the Baptist's hall. Their religious spaces might be appropriated by secular authority, as at Trinity hall where a staircase was inserted providing direct access to the chapel from the dais end of the hall, or St. Anthony's, where the chapel became a school in 1579 (YCA B27, f.195r).

Guild hospitals were gradually transformed into institutions which were functionally and structurally similar to almshouses, where the open infirmary was replaced by separate cell-like accommodation for individual inmates. Similar changes had been made to medieval hospitals such as St. Mary Chichester and St. Mary Magdalene, Glastonbury during the fifteenth century (Orme and Webster 1995, 88-90), but appear in guild hospitals in York only during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A series of individual cells was created at Trinity hospital through the insertion of longitudinal and transverse partitions into the undercroft (figs. 64-65). The four-fireplace complex inserted into the sixth bay of the undercroft in 1574-1575 provided some of these with separate heating (YMAA Acc. Roll 104). Similar alterations may have been made to St. John the Baptist's hall, where the admission of inmates to 'bedrooms' within the *maison dieu* is recorded in the seventeenth-century Minute Books (MTA 2/1 f.116r). St. Anthony's hospital appears to have been converted into similar accommodation in 1622 when 'convenient places and Lodgeings' were created by the insertion of chimney stacks and partitions into the undercroft (YCA B34, f. 246v). A subsequent view of 1627 refers to 'roomes' within the hospital (YCA B35 f.52).

These structural changes were accompanied by an increasing degree of control which was exercised by the corporation over admission to these institutions. In 1576/7 (YCA B26, f.114r) and again in 1587/8 (YCA B30, f.8r) the Council Chamber ordered that 'none of the poore of this Citie shall from henseferthe be placed or settled in any of the hospitalles of this cittie onlesse they be first admytted and allowed by this hows' (YCA B26, f.114r). In 1586 all those 'aged persons' seeking admission to the city's 'three hospitalles' were ordered to appear before the mayor and aldermen (YCA B29, f.109r). The corporation clearly sought to ensure that only the genuine poor were admitted to their hospitals, but also appear to have been increasingly discriminatory on the grounds of the age of potential inmates. In 1622 at St. Anthony's it was ordered that

none of the poore people nowe being in the said hospitall be suffered to remaine ther, but such as be old and decayed people and to displace such as are younge hable persons to Laboure for their Liveinges. (YCA B34, f. 246v)

This may well reflect a desire to manipulate the image of the poor presented in the guild hospital. The corporation could be seen to be rewarding those who had contributed during their working lives to the economic welfare of the civic community, and it is significant that those subsequently admitted to St. Anthony's were often elderly tenants of the corporation, such as Lawrence Thorp and his wife Ann Easter (YCA B35, f.83v), who were admitted in 1630.



The structural and spatial transformation of York's guild hospitals and chapels during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries destroyed the material and ritual mechanisms through which a relationship between the fraternal communities of the living and the dead had traditionally been structured. Sociologists such as Berger have suggested that this severing of the links was a product of the development of capitalism (Appendix 7). However the hypothesis advanced within this chapter suggests that they are part of a wider shift in *habitus*, which was bound up with the disappearance of Catholicism as the dominant discourse in society, and with changes in the ways in which people thought about themselves and their social identity. Although in the immediate post-Reformation period people may have resisted change and sought a sense of continuity with the past (section 7.2 above), by the end of the sixteenth century there had been an important generational shift which meant that many people had no personal experience or memory of pre-Reformation Catholicism. Moreover even the memories of those who had may have been worn down by years of religious turmoil and ideological change. As Marsh (1998; see also Thomas 1984) has noted, the sheer passage of time may have resulted in the diminution of the sense of obligation felt by contemporaries for ancestors or relatives who had died in the faith. This was exacerbated in urban contexts such as York where there was a high level of demographic turnover and lack of dynastic continuity.

The long-term impact of the deliberately moderate policies of men such as Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII and Edward VI may help to explain why Protestantism began to take hold at grassroots level during the mid sixteenth century, and why Marian Catholicism was not received with the overwhelming rapture that historians such as Scarisbrick (1984) and Whiting (1989) might lead us to expect. Cranmer noted that the retention of certain ceremonies in the Prayer Book were necessary 'lest the people, not yet having learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion' (Marsh 1998, 206). The Elizabethan Settlement deliberately trod a flexible middle way. Although it was undoubtedly Protestant, it retained important aspects of doctrinal and liturgical continuity with the past which may have enabled many Catholics to participate in the new religion (Haigh 1987; 1993). The Elizabethan Settlement's emphasis on obedience to the spiritual and political authority of the Queen, through the Act of Supremacy and the Injunctions of 1559, was another reason why religious conformity appears to have characterised even reluctant late sixteenth-century communities such as that of York. As Brown (1995, 243) has argued, it enabled people to 'follow the ship of state without rocking the boat'.

It must also be emphasised that there were aspects of both Protestantism and Puritanism which appealed to specific levels and social groups within sixteenth-century society, particularly their emphasis on social authority and social control. A number of authors, including Cross (1976), Collinson (1988; 1997; 1998), Hill (1966; 1974), Spufford (1985) and even Duffy (1992) have explored this important link. Moreover this chapter has already stressed its importance in relation to a wider shift in early modern *habitus* which resulted in a transformation of the ways in which people thought about and structured their sense of identity. There was no longer a concern to ground this in a reciprocal relationship with the social memory of the dead. Sixteenth-century communities were concerned primarily with the community of the living, and with developing mechanisms whereby their social status could be differentiated from those lower down the social and economic scale of civic society.

The idea of work provided civic communities such as York with the common frame of reference they required, since everyone could be defined by their possession, or lack of possession, of the civic franchise. This was a field of discourse in which the ideals of social order, discipline and control could be reproduced, but it was also a mechanism through which those on the margins of society could be identified, stigmatised and disciplined. It can therefore be argued that the poor were still essential to the structuration of the social identity of craft mysteries in early modern York. However, rather than playing an important spiritual role as a chantry community to structure intercession between the living and the dead, they were being used as a yardstick against which new social norms and value systems could be measured out.

#### 7.4 A caveat: the craft tradition and civic space

Given the relationship between *habitus* and the craft tradition outlined in Chapter 6, it must follow that the structural changes made to guildhalls in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were associated with some form of shift within the building industry itself. Johnson (1993a, 108) suggests that three aspects of technical change are evident in contemporary domestic buildings. The first of these is a movement from a formal congruence between spatial form, the technical system and the social ideas embedded within a building, towards a divergence of these three and a severance of connections between them. The second is the shift in architectural form from 'open' to 'closed' houses, and the third, an associated transition from a unifying, centralising house to one which dispersed and segregated the movement of individuals. These amounted to

a closure of the links given by a common use of building material and craft tradition between social groups at the parish or community level.

(Johnson 1993a, 149)

There is a clear need for archaeologists to explore changes in, and the disappearance of, particular building traditions in relation to a range of building types, construction materials, and the craft industry itself.

One explanation of these changes is that changes in building techniques resulted from a national contraction of supplies of building timber (particularly oak) due to the depletion of woodlands for domestic and industrial fuel sources and the shipbuilding industry, and an associated decline in traditional woodland management practice. However, Rackham (1995, 90-1), Flinn (1959) and Hammersley (1975) have that this hypothesis does not fit the evidence. We must distinguish between building timber and the underwood used as a fuel source, whose availability and affordability fluctuated according to wider economic conditions, prompting comments such as that of the York corporation in 1597 that 'woodes are decayed and coles grown dear, turfe is now the greatest parte of our fewell' (YCA B31, f.275r). In fact there was a plentiful supply of Baltic timber in York during the early modern period (Palliser 1979, 273), and craftsmen also appear to have drawn upon a large quantity of re-used timber which had been systematically salvaged from demolished buildings from the mid 1550s onwards, and stored in a warehouse in Jubbergate (YCA, B23, f.108v). The most important issue in terms of changes in the craft tradition during this period was therefore not a decline in the sources of timber *per se*, but rather the willingness of carpenters to use recycled timber, not just for repairs, but in new buildings such as the north-east range of Trinity hall (fig. 95; Woodward 1985).

Contemporary commentators such as Harrison in 1587 attributed this use of re-used and waney timber to the skill and ingenuity of sixteenth-century craftsmen:

sith our workmen are grown generally to such an excellency of device in the frames now made that they far surpass the finest of the old. And such is their husbandry in dealing with their timber that the same stuff which in time past was rejected as crooked, unprofitable and to no use but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and best part of the work. (Harrison (1587) 1994, 276)

However, medieval craftsmen did not lack the technical competence or skill to build with re-used or waney timber. It was simply that such material was not considered suitable; a concern which had as much to do with the visual and symbolic function of the 'grammar of carpentry' as with structural concerns. There were, however, changes within the carpentry craft itself which might partly explain these shifts. In the later sixteenth century the carpenters were struggling to protect their monopoly from the tilers, who were engaging in all manner of construction work. In 1586 it was therefore ordered that 'no tyler...shall take anie bargain...for anye manner of buyldinge of timber worke' (YCA, B29, f.156r; Palliser 1979, 172-3). There is also evidence of internal tensions within the carpentry craft, as the carvers gained increasing precedence and power over the joiners and other timber-related trades (Swanson 1983, 17). Their ascendancy may have been related to the increasing emphasis on the decorative rather than structural aspects of buildings such as the elaborately carved bargeboards which are a prominent feature of the north-east range of Trinity hall, as well the Herbert house, Pavement, and Mulberry hall, Stonegate (fig. 184).

The fact that York's early modern buildings were not necessarily being built or repaired by carpenters may partly explain the disappearance of traditional carpentry techniques. However this is only a partial explanation. The real significance of the disappearance of the 'grammar of carpentry' was that the *habitus* which it structured was clearly also no longer meaningful for the patrons of these buildings. Indeed, the disappearance of a shared *habitus* may have fundamentally altered the relationship between these two groups. Johnson (1993a, 115; 1996, 188) has argued that the split between the 'functional' and decorative' aspects of carpentry shifted the balance of power to the consumer or patron, rather than the craft tradition. Clarke (1981; 1992, 3) has also suggested that the breakdown of the traditional subdivisions and specialisms of the craft industry under capitalism shifted power and emphasis to the sources of building capital rather than building construction. These arguments therefore bring us full circle to the issue of the relationship between the built environment and long-term historical processes of change such as capitalism, Renaissance and Reformation, discussed in 7.1, and to the conclusions already drawn in section 7.3.

## **Conclusion**

As the first section of this chapter has illustrated, the alterations made to individual buildings and the wider built environment of early modern towns have been argued by historians and geographers to reflect a number of long-term historical processes of change. It would therefore be relatively easy to fit the archaeological evidence of guildhalls to a wider spatial historiography of the built environment such as that outlined by Lefebvre (1994), Cosgrove (1985), Gregory (1994) or Borsay (1989). However, this would, once again, reduce archaeological evidence to a source of selective illustration for other disciplines' idea of the past. It would also fail to address problems with the ways in which historical and cultural processes such as the development of capitalism and the Renaissance, are elided in these studies, and with the over-simplistic characterisation of medieval architectural space on which they are often based. Moreover, it would reinforce the idea that archaeological interpretations using structuration theory tend to fall back on historical narratives to explain social and structural change (Samson 1990, 15). As this chapter has demonstrated, the significance of the processes of continuity and change identified in buildings such as guildhalls during the post-medieval period can only be appreciated in the light of an understanding of their medieval use and the *habitus* through which this meaning was structured over time. The processes by which the world familiar to the fraternities and mysteries of medieval York was transformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were much more messy and complex than those scholars seeking to fit the evidence to a neat and holistic narrative of change might like. However, I would argue that it is precisely this complexity and contextuality which makes the material culture of this period, particularly its architecture, such a fascinating and intriguing subject of study.

## **Epilogue. Guildhalls and Social Identity.**

This thesis has sought to demonstrate that a concern with the manipulation of architecture and architectural space was nothing new to the early modern period. The archaeological evidence suggests that there was a sophisticated understanding of the ways in which the physical form and spatial organisation of medieval buildings could be manipulated to structure particular levels of social identity and particular forms of social relationships and political power. It has been argued that this understanding operated across a range of building types and formed part of medieval *habitus*. This raises questions about Lefebvre's (1994, 41) assertion that the Renaissance was made distinct by the emergence of a 'code of space' which linked spatial practice with 'representational spaces' and 'representations of space.' In many ways Lefebvre's (1994, 47) understanding of a spatial code as 'not simply a means of reading or interpreting space: rather it is a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it...' parallels Bourdieu's idea of *habitus* and the fields of discourse through which it was produced. It cannot therefore be seen as a characteristic of modernity or of capitalism *per se*. What does appear distinctive about post-Renaissance spatial codes is that they were codified through particular forms of written discourse, such as planning treatises, birds' eye views, and plans (Lefebvre 1994, 263; Soderstrom 1996). This reflects a shift away from the structuring of *habitus* by practical forms of knowledge or 'mystery' passed orally through the craft tradition, towards the written discourses of a self-conscious and literate architectural profession.

The central problem with existing spatial historiographies of the medieval-early modern shift is that they are usually produced without reference to the specific contextual evidence of the buildings and built environment of early modern provincial towns. Because their authors tend to be historians and social geographers, unfamiliar with analysing material culture, they tend to look solely for evidence of large scale spatial reorganisation, morphological transformation, and the kind of Renaissance architectural revolution characterised by Lefebvre. Where evidence of this is lacking it is often concluded that the town in question was culturally backward or politically and economically regressive. Such an approach entirely ignores the wealth of archaeological evidence contained in individual buildings as well as street and townscapes. As this thesis has sought to demonstrate, the adaptation and alteration of existing medieval buildings can reveal profound shifts in the ways in which people thought about and used architectural space to structure social identities and relations. This highlights the further problem which this thesis, inspired by the work of archaeologists such as Johnson (1993a; 1996), has sought to counter. The real significance of the transformation of buildings and architectural space in the early modern period cannot be understood until we have

gained a true grasp of *medieval* architecture and its use to structure medieval *habitus*.

Several tentative conclusions and suggestions for future research can therefore be made in the light of the archaeological case studies presented within this thesis. There *is* evidence of a substantial change in the ordering and framing of architectural space in cities such as York during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, it is to be found in the adaptation and alteration of existing buildings rather than the morphological transformation of the built environment. The lack of more detailed archaeological studies of the late medieval - early modern transition in provincial towns also makes it problematic to seek to link these shifts to a single overarching historical process of change, such as the development of capitalism. What can be asserted is that it was associated with the structuration of particular forms of identity and the imposition of particular forms of social control and moral order on the civic community:

Order itself, conceived in no other terms than the order of what was orderless, the co-ordinator of what was discontinuous. (Mitchell 1989, 13-14)

Drawing this thesis to a conclusion therefore appears to open up a series of possibilities for future research. Although Borsay (1989, 47) failed to find the 'urban renaissance' in cities such as early modern York, the material evidence of its buildings can be set against contemporary civic records to reveal the ways in which the corporation deliberately manipulated the visual appearance of the city to fashion new forms of public image. For example, parallelling the visual emphasis placed on the facades of guildhalls and contemporary domestic buildings are the orders given to inhabitants during Royal visits to the city in 1575, when householders were ordered to 'repare, plaistir, trym and well decke decently their houses of the foresydes' (YCR 3, 119; YCR 4, 138; YCR 6, 8), and in 1603 when they were also ordered to 'painte the owteside of ther howses with some collars to the strete forwardes' (YCA B32, f.249v). The corporation was also keen to exploit the monumental qualities of medieval buildings, and the historic associations of space and place in 1622, when a complaint was entered in the York House Books against dyers and parchment makers who were 'makyng some of the fairest and cheifest stretes ther habitacons' and polluting them with the smells and wastes from their trades. The mayor and aldermen ordered that

no dyer, parchment maker, blacksmith or furrier shall inhabit and dwell in Spurriergate, Conistreet, Staingate or Blakestreet, Petergate, Ousegate, Pavement and the lower part of Mickelgate...places which are most frequented by straingers, and where in ther is the greatest concourse of people and where in men of the best sorte and rank do frequent and dwell. (YCA B33 f.33r)

This appropriation and exploitation of the existing townscape is eloquently articulated by the late sixteenth and seventeenth-century maps or 'iconographies' of York. It is highly significant that on these cartographic evocations of civic polity, emphasis was placed on the monumental qualities of the city's medieval buildings, including, of course, its surviving guildhalls (fig. 185).

The expansion of the detailed study of the processes outlined above to other forms of civic, ecclesiastical and domestic urban architecture lies beyond the scope of this thesis, as does a comparison of the York material with that of other provincial towns. It is clear, however, that we need to broaden our understanding of how social control and order was imposed on urban communities through the ordering of architectural space during the medieval and early modern periods. This is as true for the architectural space of the street and the marketplace as it is for features such as walls, bars, bridges and kidcotes. We need to examine how the changes made to buildings during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries placed emphasis on the eye and the 'gaze', rather than the body as the locus of human; what Gregory (1994, 392) has termed the 'victory of decorporealisation'. We also require a better understanding of the intersection of written and material discourses of civic politics during this period, and the ways in which they were used to regulate and control the physical movement of different kinds of people around the city, at particular times of the day, night or season. Related to this is the need to understand the material mechanisms through which different perceptions of time and the temporal cycles of work, worship and leisure, were structured (Palliser 1972a; and see Humphreys in progress). Once again, there is a wealth of historical debate on this subject with which archaeologists have yet to convincingly engage (see Weber 1958; Thompson 1967; Thrift 1981; Urry 1985; Ingold 1995, and in the context of York Rees Jones forthcoming and Hartshorne forthcoming).

This thesis has sought to emphasise the need for archaeologists to develop a more critical and contextual understanding of the processes of change which occurred in the later medieval and early modern period. It has not attempted to use buildings as the source of selective illustration for particular historical narratives and spatial historiographies. Rather it has focussed on the detailed archaeological interpretation of the use and meaning of a particular type of medieval building -the guildhall, in a specific context -the city of York, during a specific period -the fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries. It has explored the chronological sense of continuity maintained in these buildings from the pre-Reformation to the immediate post-Reformation period, and the disjuncture with the later sixteenth century when there is evidence of a profound transformation in the form of *habitus* structured within York's guildhalls. This change has been related to a wider shift in the fields



of discourse through which social structure and political power were reproduced, to the overwhelming emphasis placed by these discourses on moral order and social control, and to the material implications this had for the structuring of social identities and civic relations through *habitus*. Finally the thesis has sought to outline some of the ways in which this interpretation might inform future archaeological research agendas concerned with the medieval - early modern shift in English provincial towns. At the beginning of this study, considerable attention was paid to the problematic relationship between the sub-disciplines of medieval and post-medieval archaeology and to archaeology's broader relationship with the discipline of documentary history. It is hoped that the combination of empirical archaeological recording and theoretical interpretation presented within this study has made some small contribution to this debate, and thus to the wider development of British historical archaeology.

**Appendix 1. Guildhalls in Context: an Archaeological Agenda**

**Table 1. Rigold's typology of 'court halls'.**

from Rigold, S.E. 1968. 'Two types of Court Hall', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 79: 31-69.

Type 1 Med. house type	Form	Date	Comments
Leicester Guildhall (The Old Town Hall)	One storey hall (N range) E.end; mid C14th crucks, collars, arch braces with King posts W. end: C15th tie beams on arch braces	North range mid C14th (1347). East range C15th?	Founded 1347 by Guild of Corpus Christi. Town hall from 1495
St. Mary's hall, Coventry	Hall Tie beam roof	c.1400 (Rigold dates to C15th) but also fabric from c.1340-42 enlarged c.1460	1400 Merchant guild of St. Mary founded 1340; 1392 with three other guilds & forms Holy Trinity guild
Lavenham Guildhall, Suffolk	Two storeys	c.1529	Guild of Corpus Christi founded 1529
Type 2 Derivatives of First floor hall	Form	Date	Comments
Canterbury Guildhall, Kent	6 bays moulded tie beams with 2 later C17th bays	ordered 1438 but earlier hall on site known as the 'speech house'	see Salzman (1952, 510-12) for contract
Ipswich, Suffolk	Strong undercrofts and external staircase	-	-
Great Yarmouth toll house, Norfolk	Strong undercrofts and external staircase	-	-
Fordwich, Kent	Internal stair and ground floor partitions Crown post roof truss	C16th but earlier Guildhall in existence C13th	Prison cell
Milton Regis, Kent	Internal stair and ground floor partitioned Crown post roof truss	?C15th	-
Matching, Essex	Simple church house form	-	-
Ashdon, Essex	Simple church house form	-	-
Long Crendon, Bucks	Simple church house form	-	-
Dorchester, Oxon	Simple church house form	-	-
Thaxted, Essex	Town hall on pillars with internal stair	1390-1410 for guild of cutlers. (fabric mostly C15th-16th)	Original cellar survives. Open market space; lock-up
Wymondham, Norfolk	Town hall on pillars with internal stair -derived from butter cross		
Faversham Market House, Kent	Town hall on pillars with internal stair		

**Table 2. Brown's typology of Guildhalls.**

from Brown, R. J. 1986. *Timber-Framed Buildings in Britain*, Robert Hale (London).

<b>Type 1 Religious guildhalls</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Rural/urban location</b>
Hadleigh, Suffolk	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Eye, Suffolk	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Fressingfield, Suffolk	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Hawstead, Suffolk	3 bay open hall & service range	Rural - churchyard
Kelsale, Suffolk	-	Rural - churchyard
Fressingfield, Suffolk	-	Rural - churchyard
Laxfield, Suffolk	-	Rural - churchyard
Ashdon, Essex	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Felsted, Essex	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Clavering, Essex	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Finchingfield, Essex	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Knowle, W. Midlands	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Rickmansworth, Herts.	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Ashwell, Herts.	-	Rural - churchyard
Linton, Cambridgeshire	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Whittlesford, Cambridgeshire	-	Rural - churchyard
Dullingham, Cambridgeshire	-	Rural - churchyard
Henley-in-Arden, Warwicks.	Two storey	Rural - churchyard
Stratford-on-Avon, Warwicks.	Two storey	Urban
<b>Type 2. Craft guildhalls</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Urban location</b>
Lavenham, Suffolk (connection with C.Christi)	Two storey	Market place
Wool Hall, Lavenham, Suffolk	-	-
Thaxted, Essex	Two storey; open ground floor	-
Much Wenlock, Shropshire	Two storey; open ground floor	-
Merchant Adventurers' Hall, York	Two storey	-

**Appendix 2. Guildhalls in Context: a Recording Methodology.**

**Table 1. Recording methodology: Trinity hall (Merchant Adventurers'), Fossgate, York**

Area of building	Aim	Method	Level of record
Exterior elevations South-west elevation South-east elevation	To establish stratigraphic sequence within medieval and post-medieval masonry	Computer rectified photography	3-4
North-east elevation	To establish stratigraphic sequence within medieval and post-medieval masonry	Hand survey	3-4
North-west elevation	To emphasise replacement of timber with brickwork	Photographic record	2
Interior Ground floor	To establish original appearance and layout of medieval building(s)	Photographic record of internal timber and elevations	2-3
First floor	To establish original appearance and layout of medieval building(s)	Photographic record of internal timber and elevations	2-3
North east range	To establish re-use of timber	Photographic record	2

**Table 2. Documentary sources: Trinity hall, York**

Source	Location	Aim	Level of interpretation
Merchant Adventurers' archives	MA hall -printed in Surtees Soc.	To establish construction sequence and function of hall over time	Selective survey of un-published medieval records. Thorough survey of printed & C16th-C17th accounts
C15th probate bequests	BIHR	To establish pattern of bequests and construction sequence of hall	Eileen White's survey of bequests to guilds Raine/VCH
Civic records House Books	York City Archives	To establish civic use of hall in C16th/C17th	Thorough survey of House Books 1554-1630
Antiquarian sources	York City Archives	To examine evidence of C18th/C19th appearance	
Atkinson-Brierley collection	BIHR	To examine evidence of C20th alterations	Thorough survey and transcription
Chantry surveys	Printed by Surtees Society	To examine possible evidence of chapel at/after the Reformation	

**Table 3. Recording methodology: St. John the Baptist's hall (The Merchant Taylors'), Aldwark, York**

<b>Area of Building</b>	<b>Aim</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Level of record</b>
Exterior elevations	To emphasise phases of brickwork refacing	Photographic record	2
Interior Hall	To establish construction sequence of internal timber framing	Computer rectified photography Photographic record	3-4
Room above screens passage Little Hall	To establish evidence of original two storeyed nature and appearance	Photographic record	2

**Table 4. Documentary sources: St. John the Baptist's hall, York**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Aim</b>	<b>Level of interpretation</b>
Merchant Taylors' archives -including Minute Books and inventories	BIHR	To establish alterations to hall in C16th-C17th	Thorough survey and transcription
C15th probate bequests	BIHR	To establish pattern of bequests which may indicate construction sequence of hall	Eileen White's survey of bequests to guilds with additional information from Raine/VCH
Antiquarian sources -various	York City Archives	To examine evidence of C18th/C19th appearance	

**Table 5. Recording methodology: St. Anthony's hall, Peaseholme Green, York**

Area of Building	Aim	Method	Level of record
Exterior elevations South-west elevation South-east elevation	To establish stratigraphic sequence within medieval and post-medieval masonry	Computer rectified photography	3-4
North-east elevation	Identify extant medieval fabric	Hand survey of plinth	3
North-west elevation	Identify C17th fabric	Photographic record	2
Interior Ground floor	Identify medieval timbers and establish functional relationship between spaces, evidence for partitioning etc.	Photographic record	2
First floor	Establish construction sequence of the hall and aisles, reconstruct gable ends	Photographic record	2-3

**Table 6. Documentary sources: St. Anthony's hall, York**

Source	Location	Aim	Level of interpretation
C15th probate bequests	BIHR	To establish pattern of bequests which may indicate construction sequence of hall	Eileen White's survey of bequests to guilds with additional information from Raine/VCH
Surviving C16th /C17th accounts of St. Anthony's guild	York City Archives	To establish C16th/C17th form/use of building and alterations	Comprehensive survey and transcription of all records
City House Books Chamberlains' accounts	York City Archives	To establish use/alteration of hall by Corporation after 1554.	Comprehensive survey and transcription of entries c.1554-c.1630
Blue Coat records	BIHR	To establish alterations in post-medieval period	Survey of records
Antiquarian sources -various including Cossins sketchbook Evelyn collection	York City Archives	To examine evidence of C18th/C19th appearance	

**DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY BUILDING FABRIC CONTEXT RECORD  
FORM**

SITE CODE	SUB-DIVISION	FEATURE TYPE	GRID REF.	CONTEXT NO.

<b>DRAWING NOS.</b>	
<b>PHOTO NOS.</b>	
<b>RECORDED BY/ DATE</b>	

LENGTH	WIDTH	DIAMETER	HEIGHT
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<b>CONSTITUENTS</b>	
<b>MATERIAL: GEOLOGY/BRICK/TIMBER TYPE</b>	

<b>BONDING /MORTAR</b>	
<b>MUNSELL COLOUR</b>	
<b>COARSE COMPONENTS</b>	
<b>TEXTURE</b>	

DESCRIPTION OF FEATURE	

		STRATIGRAPHIC RELATIONSHIPS
<b>EARLIER THAN</b>	<b>FILLED BY</b>	
	<b>CUT BY</b>	
	<b>BUTTED BY (STRUC)</b>	
	<b>BELOW</b>	
	<b>WITHIN</b>	
	<b>CONTAINS</b>	
	<b>BONDED WITH (STRUC)</b>	
	<b>SAME AS</b>	
<b>LATER THAN</b>	<b>BUTTS (STRUC)</b>	
	<b>ABOVE</b>	
	<b>FILL OF</b>	

INTERPRETATIVE COMMENTS

**DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY TIMBER CONTEXT RECORD FORM**

SITE CODE	SUB-DIVISION	FEATURE TYPE	CONTEXT NO.

DRAWINGS NOS.	
PHOTO NOS.	
RECORDED BY/DATE	

CONSTITUENTS	TIMBER
TIMBER TYPE OAK, DEAL ETC.	OAK

LENGTH	WIDTH	DIAMETER	HEIGHT
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POSITION IN BUILDING	
JOINTS/PEG HOLES	
MORTISES (EMPTY/FILLED)	
CARPENTER'S MARKS	
SAW/PLUMB AND LEVELLING MARKS	
CHAMFERS/STOPS	
MOULDINGS (PROFILE SEE REVERSE OF FORM)	
ORIENTATION OF FAIR FACE	
OTHER	

	STRATIGRAPHIC RELS.	
EARLIER THAN	FILLED BY	
	CUT BY	
	BUTTED (STRUC)	
	CONTAINS	
SAME AS	JOINTED TO	
LATER THAN	FILL OF	
	CUTS	
	BUTTS (STRUC)	
OTHER		

INTERPRETATIVE COMMENTS	



**Appendix 3. Trinity Hall, Fossgate, York.**

**Table 1. Probate bequests to religious guilds including the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary (the 'Trinity' guild), York**

From BIHR *Probate bequests to Guilds* (compiled by E. White).

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Carpenters' fraternity	Trinity guild	Cordwainers' guild of St. Mary	Name, occupation & date of will
D/C 1 f.144r-144v	2s			Agnes, wife of William de Barneby, carpenter 9 November 1407
2A f.45v		8d to 'the Masendieux on the banks of the Fosse near Fishergate'		John Close, goldsmith 4 May 1442
2A f.93v-94v			3s 4d	John Marton, cordwainer 24 October 1444
2A f.127r-127v		various amounts to guilds including Holy Trinity, Fossgate		William Kyam, merchant 20 May 1446
2B f.375r-376r		3s 4d to Holy Trinity, Fossgate		Katerine Radclyff, widow of John Radclyff, mercer 19 July 1458
2B 396v-397v		12d to Holy Trinity, Fossgate		John Asseby, merchant 2 January 1458/9
5 f.259r-259v		3s 4d to Holy Trinity, Fossgate		Agnes Croft, widow 16 August 1484
5 f.237r-238r		3s 4d		John Giliot, senior, merchant 17 September 1484
5 f.268v		12d		John Lightlope, mercer 17 November 1485
5 f.311r-311v		20d		John Marshall, merchant & Alderman 28 May 1487
3 f.320r-321r		20d		Marion Kent, widow of John Kent 1 September 1488
5 f.417v-418v		20s		John Ferriby, merchant 21 March 1490/1

<b>Probate Reg. Vol. fol.</b>	<b>Carpenters' fraternity</b>	<b>Trinity guild</b>	<b>Cordwainers' guild of St. Mary</b>	<b>Name, occupation &amp; date of will</b>
3 f.307v-308v		6d to the poor of Trinity house		John Hag 20 July 1498
6 f.59r-59v		2d to everyone in Trinity masyndew in Fossegate		Sir William Tode 11 March 1502/3
7 f.60v-61r		10d for the torches of St. Trinity guild and the Bakers also CC guild torches		Agnes Polyngton, widow 14 April 1507
8 f.3r-3v		6s 8d for a ****		William Chymney, draper 20 September 1508
8 f.65v-66v		12d to the poor of the Merchants' fraternity		William Barker, baker 22 October 1510
9 f.26r		13s 4d for a vestment		John Shaw, alderman 11 January 1515/6

**Table 2. Comparative thirteenth century buildings for those on the site of Trinity hall, York**

Site	Date	Dimensions	No. of bays	Status
Warnford Manor House, Hants	early C13th	52' x 48'	3 (Two aisles)	Manorial
Fyfield Hall, Essex	c.1300	40' x 29'6"	2	Manorial
Ashby de la Zouch, Leics.	c.1200	c. 72' x 35'	? (?two aisles in later form)	Manorial
Helmsley castle, N.Yorks	late C13th-early C14th	c. 97' x 52'	3	Manorial
Bristol castle, Bristol	C13th	c. 125' x 70'	7 (two aisles)	Royal
Cheddar, Somerset	C13th	c. 70' x 50'	6 (two aisles)	Royal
Pevelevil castle, 'New hall', Derbyshire	C13th	c. 72' x 35'	- (?two aisles)	Manorial/royal
Pickering castle, N. Yorks.	1314?	c.75' x 48'	-	Royal
Winchester castle hall, Hants.	1222-35	111'3" x 55'9"	5 (two aisles)	Royal
Bishop's palace, Lincoln, Lincs.	c.1224	c. 84' x 58'	4 (two aisles)	Ecclesiastical
Bishop's palace, Exeter, Devon	c.1224-44	75' x 42'	3	Ecclesiastical
Archbishop's palace, Canterbury, Kent	before 1243	126' x 62'	6	Ecclesiastical
Bishop's palace, Wells, Somerset	1274-92	115' x 59'6"	5	Ecclesiastical

**Table 3. Comparative thirteenth century domestic chapels**

Site	Date	Ground floor hall type -aisled -not aisled	Rel. of chapel to hall -at right angles -parallel -nave-chancel rel.
Sutton-at-Hone, Kent	c.1234	-	Ground floor poss. at right angle to hall
Swingfield, Kent	c.1234	-	Ground floor poss. at right angle to hall
Petworth, Sussex	C13th	-	Ground floor
East Hendred house, Berks.	C13th	-	Ground floor
Tyting house, Chilworth, Surrey	C13th	-	Ground floor (dem.1951)
Rockbourne Manor, Hants	C13th	-	Ground floor but poss. 2 storey at E.end
Uploman Manor, Devon	C13th later	-	At right angles to solar block
Membury Court, Devon	c.1290-1300	-	Attached to solar
Bishop's Palace, Wells, Somerset	early C13th hall (c.1206-42) and chapel (c.1275-92)	Aisled	Attached to N.corner
Pickering castle, Yorks.	C13th	?Aisled	At right angles
St. Mary's Spital, London	c.1235-80	Aisled	At right angles
St. Mary's hospital Chichester, W. Sussex	C13th	Aisled	Chancel rel. to hospital

### Appendix 4. St. John the Baptist's Hall, Aldwark, York.

**Table 1. Probate bequests to guilds dedicated to St. John the Baptist**

From BIHR *Probate bequests to Guilds* (compiled by E. White)

*n.b.* White presumes that, if a testator is a tailor and leaves money to a guild/fraternity of St. John the Baptist, this means that it is the tailors' fraternity. This table has been revised to reflect the exact wording of the bequest rather than inferring a direct connection between the two.

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	St. John the Baptist <i>Unknown</i>	St. John the Baptist <i>Tailors</i>	St. John the Baptist <i>Parish Guild</i>	Name, occupation & date of will
D/C 1 f.84v-85r	10s			John de Sevenhaus, tailor 27 June 1386
1 f.6v	6s 8d to fraternity gilde of St. John the Baptist <i>in eadam parochia</i>			Cecilia wife of Richard Marshall 24 March 1389/90
1 f.17		3s 4d <i>et capellano gilde sed Johns Ebor fraternitatis meo 3s 4d -followed by bequest to canons, priors and convent of Bridlington no mention of tailors but ref. to house of Bridlington imp.</i>		Peter de Barleburgh, tailor 21 December 1390
3 f.244r- 245r	20s			Alan de Hamerton, merchant 16 February 1405/6
2 f.525r- 525v	6s 8d			William Newland, draper 20 September 1425
3 f.408- 409		3s 4d Item lego ffraternittati Sancti Johannis Baptiste per Scissores Ebor iijs iiijd also leaves to Pater Noster		William Barton, skinner 10 February 1434/5
3 f.503r- 504v	10s to St J the B/St. C			William Ormeshead 31 October 1435
2A f.79v- 80v	10s <i>no mention of tailors</i>			Thomas Carr, draper 28 April 1444

<b>Probate Reg. Vol. fol.</b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Unknown</i></b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Tailors</i></b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Parish Guild</i></b>	<b>Name, occupation &amp; date of will</b>
2A f.128v- 129r		3d Et pauperibus in le masyndewe Sancti Johannis Baptiste iuxta ecclesiam sancte Elene ad muros iiid		William Gyslay 1 June 1446
2A f.140r- 140v	6s 8d Et lego fraternittas Sancti Johannis in Ebor vjs viijd			John Loncaster, tailor 12 September 1446
2A f.192r- 193v		2s also to St. A/St.M Item lego Gilde Sancti Johne Baptiste per scissowe Ebor sustentate ijs		John Preston, ironmonger 18 March 1448/9
2B f.235r- 235v			12d Item lego fabrice ecclesia- St. Johannis Baptiste in Hundegate Ebor iijs iiijd Item Gilde in ecclesia Parochia xijd	John Witton, chaplain 20 October 1449
2B f.315v- 316r	12d			Robert Belton, apothecary 24 June 1452
2B f.402vr- 402v		6d Ite, lego gilde Sancti Johannis per scissores Ebor sustenant vjd		John Bell 18 January 1458/9
2C f.426v- 427r		20d Item lego Gildis corporis christi Sancti Christopher et Sancti Johannis Baptiste per Scissores civitatis Ebor sustentant omlit eaum xxd		Robert Ecop 27 February 1459/60
2C f.478r- 479r	2s Et lego fraternitati Sancti Johannis Baptiste in Ebor ijs			John Adamson, litster 1 February 1462/3

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	St. John the Baptist <i>Unknown</i>	St. John the Baptist <i>Tailors</i>	St. John the Baptist <i>Parish Guild</i>	Name, occupation & date of will
2C f.592v		6d Item lego gilde Sancti Johanni Baptiste per Scissores Ebor sustentat vjd		Thomas Hundmanby, spicer 8 October 1463
4 f.70r-71r	12d also to St. A and C.hall			William Croseby, dyer 29 September 1466
4 f.43r-44r	gift - j peliem also to St. A.			Alice Langwath 24 February 1466/7
4 f.153r	20d Item lego Gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste xxd			William Wybsay, gentleman 6 June 1468
4 f.149v-150r	12d Item lego Gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste Ebor xijd			Thomas Spawde, chaplain 1 December 1468
D/C 1 f.323v-324r	12d			Isabella Saxton, widow 12 March 1469/70
4 f.86r	12d Item lego Sancti Johannis Baptiste xijd			John Croft, pewterer 10 July 1472
5 f.91v-92v	12d Item lego gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste xijd			John Semper, dyer 17 December 1479
5 f.71v	6s 8d Item lego ffraternitati ffratrum et sororum Sancti Johnis Baptiste vjs viiid <i>this bequest amongst family friends/ bequests not among other guilds</i>			Thomas Thirske, tailor 12 August 1482
5 f.38v-39v	6d Et gilde Sancti Johnis Baptiste vjd			Johanna Gillyot, widow 22 November 1482
5 f.46r-46v	3s 4d Et lego gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste Ebor iijs iiijd			William Leteyn, tailor 26 March 1483
5 309v-310r	3s 4d Item lego Sancti Johannis Baptiste iijs iiijd also to St. A			John Cotes 15 May 1487

<b>Probate Reg. Vol. fol.</b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Unknown</i></b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Tailors</i></b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Parish Guild</i></b>	<b>Name, occupation &amp; date of will</b>
5 f.327v-329r	6s 8d Also I bewit to the gyld of St John the Baptiste in york vjs viijd torches, 2 to be on altar of BVM in front of his stall in parish church of St. Sampson's also to PN & St.A.			John Carre, sometime Mayor of York 6 November 1487
3 f.320r-321r	20d also to HT Fossgate and St. A.			Marion Kentwidow of John Kent 1 September 1488
5 f.372r-372v	3s 4d Item lego gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste tres solidos et quatuor denios			John Smerke, rector of Lewynfield n.d.
5 f.376r-376v	2s and 4d to poor carrying the guild's torches Sancti Johannis Baptiste			John Barker, tailor 20 March 1489/90
5 f.391r-392r	6s 8d Et lego gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste vjs viijd also to St. A			Richard Wakefeilde, chaplain 24 January 1490/1
5 f.438v	12d for the torches Also I wit to the gild of Seynt John Baptist for the torches xijd			William Akers 22 September 1493
5 f.463v-464r	lego Gilde Sancti Johannis Baptiste fundate in civitate Ebor unum tenementum cum Crofto in Mickleg in suburb Testenentum predicta sub haec condicone ..celebret Autumn und die placebo et dirige .			James Lonnerdale, tailor 15 June 1494
6 f.15v	3s 4d et lego fraternitati Sancti Johne Baptiste fundat in civitati predicti iijs iijjd			Edward Foster pannarius 16 December 1501
D/C 2 f.45v		2s and 12d to St. John masyndewe		William Beene, tailor 24 July 1505



<b>Probate Reg. Vol. fol.</b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Unknown</i></b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Tailors</i></b>	<b>St. John the Baptist <i>Parish Guild</i></b>	<b>Name, occupation &amp; date of will</b>
D/C f.206v- 207r	a gift			Emotte Storme, widow 18 September 1505
8 f.3r-3v		6s 8d for exequies also to St. A and HT Fossgate		William Chymney, draper 20 September 1508
8 f.32v- 34r	6s 8d			John Gilliot, knight 28 December 1509
9 f.195v	2s			Thomas Bankus, draper 2 July 1521
9 f.479r- 479v	torches at his burial			John Newbye, barber 17 January 1529/30
D/C 2 f.184v	3s 4d			William Thompson, glasier 11 April 1539
D/C 2 f.199r- 200r		20d a year from his wife and son for an obit		John Litster, draper 29 April 1541
D/C 3 f.16r-16v	20d their torches at her burial 1d to bearers			Agnes Thomson, widow 5 October 1546

**Appendix 5. St. Anthony's Hall, Peaseholme Green, York.**

**Table 1. Probate Bequests to the Pater Noster, St. Anthony's and St. Mary & St. Martin's Guilds - associated with St. Anthony's hall.**

from BIHR *Bequests to Guilds* (compiled by E. White).

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
1 f.88r	6s 8d			John de Chestre, tailor 1 January 1394/5
2A 3r-3v	6s 8d			William Lylly 28 May 1397
3 26r-26v	10s			Johanne, wife of John de Laton, butcher 28 August 1399
2 f.88r	gift at discretion of wife			Thomas Fox, draper 13 November 1302
D/C 1 136v-137r	3s 4d			John Wenselawe, skinner 22 January 1404/5
D/C 1 141v-142r	6s 8d and 12d to each chaplain attending			William Stokton, pynner 10 July 1406
D/C 1 166v-167r	12d to chaplain at funeral 2s to 4 clerks Cup to guild			Robert Popilton, merchant 16 March 1410/11
D/C 1 f.160r-160v	various gifts 4d to chaplains			John de Wilton, cutler 19 March 1410/11
D/C 1 f.200r-200v	3s 4d			Roger Burton, skinner 2 October 1420
D/C 1 f.200v-201v	6s 8d to have their torches at his burial			John Bouche, apothecary 2 November 1420
2C f.604	6d to chaplains at her funeral			Isabella de Langworth 16 December 1426
2 f.530v		12d to the gild of St Anthony & 4d to the hospital of St Anthony, Horsefair		John Arkenden, tiler 10 March 1427/8
2C f.537v-538r		6s 8d		John Stele, litster 8 October 1428

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
2C 546r		20d		Robert Mowbray 5 February 1428/9
2 f.566r		20d		Richard Dunsford, baker 30 September 1429
2 f.660v- 661r	3s 4d			Alice de Poumfreyt, wife of Roger Poumfreyt 29 November 1429
2 f.658v	6s 8d			John Walker 27 May 1431
2 f.656v		20d to the fabric of the fraternity of St. Anthony in Gillygate		Robert Maddeson, baker 5 November 1431
3 f.350v		20d to the fabric of the house of St. Anthony 8d to brethren and sisters 4d to the chaplain of the same 4d to beadle of the same fraternity		John Wyman, gentleman 2 February 1432/3
3 f.352v- 353r	3s 4d			Thomas Wederby 1 March 1342/3
3 f.358v		vestments and altar cloths (lignes) to chapel of St. Martin in Aldewerk if it remains for sacred use <i>si ad usum sacerdotalem steterit et duraverit</i>		Sir John Raventhorpe, priest of St. Martin's, Aldewerk 26 January 1432/3
3 f.370v	3s 4d			Marjorie Horneby 2 January 1433/4
3 f.408r- 409r	6s 8d chaplains Also to St. John's 3s 4d			William Barton, skinner 10 February 1434/5
3 f.473v- 474v D/C 1 241v- 242v	13s 4d			John de Carlton, canon 18 July 1436
3. 477v	20s			Thomas Bracebrigge, merchant 4 September 1436

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
3 f.493v-494r		3s 4d		Thomas de Alta Ripa, clerk (Thomas Dawtree) 7 May 1437
3 539r-539v		3s 4d		John Shirwodd 21 February 1437/8
3 f.515v		6d		Margaret Horneby 5 March 1437/8
3 f.575v-576r	3s 4d			Walter Buttirwych, chaplain 15 June 1439
3 f.591r-591v	20d			William de Hovyngham, butcher 2 November 1439
2A f.79v-80v	10s jointly to fraternity of Pater Noster and St. Anthony <i>indicates amalg.</i> also to St. J the B, and building of C.hall			Thomas Carr, draper 28 April 1444
2A f.138v-139v		3s 4d		Thomas Lyverton, draper 10 September 1444
2A f.154r-154v		3s 4d		John Sharpe, tilemaker 19 October 1444
2A f.121v		12d		William Leeston, skinner 2 February 1445/6
2A f.133v-134r		12d		Thomas Gyssyngham, litster 24 July 1446
2A 137v-138v		3s 4d to the fabric of the house also bequests to CC and St.C &c		William Revetor, chaplain 2 August 1446, coda 11 August 1446
2A 139v-140r		6s 8d		William Lydeyate, cooper 5 September 1446
2A f.153r-153v		3s 4d jointly to Pater Noster and St. Anthony		William Marshall, merchant 5 February 1446/7
D/C f.1 261v		20d		John Been, senior, capmaker 12 June 1447

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
2A f.167r-167v		3s 4d jointly to Pater Noster and St. Anthony		John Roger, glover 24 January 1447/8
2A 177r-177v		3s 4d		John Prynce, butcher 5 August 1448
2A f.192-193		3s 4d jointly to St Martin and St. Anthony also to St. J the B.		John Preston, ironmonger 18 March 1448/9
2B f.213v-214r		gift relating to 20s from William Ball		William Burgh 13 December 1450
2B f.230v-231r		a vessel		Isabella Burgh, widow of William 15 May 1451
2B f.236r-236v			12d	John Wery, skinner 12 November 1451
2B f.342			2s -St. Martin	Richard Wright, chapman 22 December 1451
2B f.314v			prece with silver	Johanna Ripon, widow 31 May 1452
2B f.315v-316r			12d also to St. J the B.	Robert Belton, apothecary 24 June 1452
2B f.251v-252r			20d	John Bernyngham 8 August 1452
2B f.256v			6s 8d	William Wryght, girdler 2 October 1452
2B f.272r-272v			12d	Richard Spencer 15 May 1453
2B f.351r-352r		13s 4d to St. Anthony work there <i>to saynt antoyne wark thare</i>		Alexander Neville, knight 29 September 1453
2B 290v-291r			6d	Johanna deTopclyff, widow 20 February 1453/4
2B 307v-308			12d	John Estrik, brasier 22 October 1454
2B 305Av-306r			3s 4d	John Huely?, clerk & Procurator General 26 October 1454

<b>Probate Reg. Vol. fol.</b>	<b>Pater Noster</b>	<b>St. Anthony's</b>	<b>St. Mary &amp; St. Martin</b>	<b>Name, occupation &amp; date of will</b>
2B f.312r-312v			20d	John Watton, weaver 23 February 1454/5
2B f.342v-343r		6d		Robert Lasynby, parish clerk 4 August 1455
2B f.328v			12d to the building of the house of St. Mary and St. Martin	Alice Claybruk, widow 1 March 1455/6
2B f.330v		20d		Thomas Sergeantson 14 April 1456
2B 343v-344r			3s 4d	Robert Helperby 20 November 1456
2B f.363v		8d		John Chaloner, chaplain 18 April 1458
2B f. 364r-364v		6s 8d to pray for his soul		Thomas Danby, alderman 29 April 1458
2B f.381r-381v			12d	William Rok, plumer 12 October 1458
2B f.396v-397v		12d		John Asseby, merchant 2 January 1458/9
2C f.595v-596v			3s 4d	Matilda Danby, wife of Thomas Danby, alderman 31 May 1459
2C f.417r		12d		Richard Wighton, litster 26 September 1459
2C f.438r			12d to Fraternity of Blessed Mary, St. Martin and St. Anthony	John Cawton, chaplain 10 August 1460
D/C 1 f.295v			3s 4d	John Worsell, founderer 17 November 1460
2C f.442r-442v			12d	John Gudale, mercer 27 November 1460
2C f.438v-439v			3s 4d	Thomas Curtas, mercer 12 December 1460

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
2C f.483r-483v		20d		Thomas Covell, vicar of Topclyffe 12 April 1463
2C f.485r-485v			3s 4d	William Touthorp, butcher 22 July 1463
2C f.487r-488r	to William Ball, all his books of Pater Noster play	20d		William Downham, chaplain 28 May 1464
4 f.264, 265v		3d		William Foxholes, sadler 30 July 1466
4 f.70r-71r		12d also for glass window at C.hall also to St. J the Baptist.		William Croseby, dyer 29 September 1466
4 f.43r-44r		gift		Alice Langwath 24 February 1466/7
4 f.28r-28v			20d to guild of Blessed Mary, St. Martin and St. A.	John York, chaplain 27 November 1467
4 f.141v			12d	Henry Mone/More, rector of St. Wilfrid 11 March 1468/9
D/C 1 f.323v-324r			12d also to St. J the B.	Isabella Saxton, widow 12 March 1469/70
4 f.86r <i>check</i>		16d also to St. J the B		John Croft, pewterer 10 July 1472
4 f.206v-207r		12d to guild of St. Mary and St. Anthony		Roger Wright, smith 22 April 1473
4 f.204r-204v		4d		William Rukshaw, apothecary 11 December 1473
D/C 1 f.337r		12d		Alice Freman, widow 11 february 1473/4
4 f.107v			3s 4d	William Duresby, brewer 4 March 1473/4
4 f.91r		6d		Robert Shirwyn, pewterer 24 July 1475
4 f.96		6d to guild of St. Martin and St. Anthony Abbot		William Jakeson, chaplain 9 November 1475

Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
5 f.21v-22r		20d		John Norton, baker 15 february 1475/6
5 f.189v-190r		12d		Richard Lewlyn, tanner 19 March 1476/7
D/C 1 f.338r-338v		12d		William Colyer, chaplain 26 February 1477/8
D/C 1 f.339r		8d		William Rasebek, stringer 10 March 1477/8
5 f.126v-127r		20d		Alice Haxby, widow 28 July 1478
5 f.177r		8d his subsidies		William Broune, cooper 6 April 1480
5 f.50-50v		2s		John Towthorp butcher 20 August 1481
5 f.72v		12d		John Bykas, vicar of Christ's parish 13 March 1481/2
5 f.68v		8d		William Rudby 27 June 1482
5 f.27v-28r		20d		Robert Thixendale, clerk 17 October 1482
5 f.45r-45v		12d		William Bukler, tapiter 20 March 1482/3
5 f.308r-308v		3s 4d		John Ince, merchant 2 May 1483
D/C 1 f.369r		2s		Roger Barton, parson in Minster 12 March 1485/6
5 f.309v-310r		3s 4d also St. J the B.		John Cotes 15 May 1487
5 f.327v-329		6s 8d to Pater Noster & St. A, also St. J the B.		John Carre, sometime mayor of York
3 f.320r-321r		12d, also to St. J the B & HT		Marion Kent widow 1 September 1488
5 f.398r-399r		20d		John Tonge, alderman 25 September 1488



Probate Reg. Vol. fol.	Pater Noster	St. Anthony's	St. Mary & St. Martin	Name, occupation & date of will
5 f.255v-356r		20d		Nicholas Vicars, grocer 21 January 1488/9
5 f.360v		3s 4d		Richard Croklyn, fletcher 17 August 1489
5 f.391r-392r		2s also to St. J the B.		Richard Wakefeilde, chaplain 24 January 1490/1
5 f.425r-425v		a great brass pot		John Broune, founderer 5 January 1492/3
5 f.510r-510v		12d		Richard Robynson, carnifex 26 October 1497
3 f.307v-308v		6d to the poor of St. A house <i>Funeral, master and keepers of CC guild; also to St C and St. G and poor of Trinity house. Torches of 4 guilds to be carried before his coffin</i>		John Hag 20 July 1498
6 f.100r		3s 4d for torches		Richard Wyghtman 15 March 1498/9 (Probate 1503/4)
6 f.56r		3s 4d		John Kirkby, vicar of St. G, Fishergate 3 March 1502/3
6 f.71r-71v		4d		Robert Preston, glasier 24 July 1503
D/C 2 f.43r-43v		3s 4d and to almshouse in Peaseholme 12d and Horsefair 12d		John Elwald, alderman 29 April 1505
D/C 2 f.68		priest and torches at his burial		Thomas Bateman 18 August 1506
6 f.170v-172r		3s 4d to Peaseholme masyndew; for clothing the poor 6s 8d; Horsefair masyndew 20d		Richard Thornton, alderman 10 December 1506
D/C 2 f.92v		6 torches at his burial (and 6 of St. C and St. G)		John Lame 29 September 1507

<b>Probate Reg. Vol. fol.</b>	<b>Pater Noster</b>	<b>St. Anthony's</b>	<b>St. Mary &amp; St. Martin</b>	<b>Name, occupation &amp; date of will</b>
8 f.3r-3v		for exequies 6s 8d also to St. J the B. and HT Fossgate		William Chymney, draper 20 September 1508
8 f.32v-34r		10s also to St. J the B.		John Gilliot, knight 28 December 1509
8 f.65v-66v		6d to the poor folks also to HT Fossgate		William Barker, baker 22 October 1510
9 f.158		2s		William Cooke, founderer 22 May 1521
D/C 2 f.151v-152r		torches at his burial		Thomas Mason, baker 2 March 1526/7
9 f.369v		torches at his burial		John Hall, alderman 30 March 1527
11 f.147v-148r		20d		John Bessby, alderman 23 July 1535
11B f.529r-529v		12d to beadfolkes of chapel		Rauf Pullay, alderman 11 February 1539/40

**Table 2. List of crafts contributing to the upkeep of St. Anthony's hall in 1632**

From Drake's *Eboracum* (1736, 224; no source cited).

Trades	<i>s. d.</i>	Trades	<i>s. d.</i>
Merchants and Mercers	5 0	Tanners	4 0
Drapers	4 0	Cordwainers	2 0
Goldsmiths	2 0	Fishmongers	1 0
Dyers	1 0	Carpenters	2 0
Haberdashers	1 0	Bladesmiths	1 8
Vintners	2 0	Pewterers	1 4
Sadlers	2 0	Glovers	1 6
Bakers	3 0	Armorers	1 0
Butchers	4 0	Inholders	4 0
Waxhandlers	0 8	Milners	3 4
Marriners	0 8	Coopers	1 4
Brasiers	1 0	Skinners	1 6
Barbers	0 8	Glasiers	1 0
Embroiderers	0 4	Shearmen	0 6
Girdlers	1 4	Spurriers	0 6
Blacksmiths	0 8	Locksmiths	0 4
Pannyer-men	1 4	Cookes	1 0
Bricklayers	1 4	Painters	0 8
Parchment-makers	2 0	Founderers	1 0
Linnen-weavers	1 2	Coverlet-weavers	1 8
Pinners	0 6	Ropers	1 0
Curriers	0 8	Porters	1 0
Coblers	1 0	Labourers	0 8
Silk-weavers	1 4	Musicians	1 0
Tallow-chandlers	0 8		

Appendix 6. Guildhalls As *Habitus*.

Table 1. Social identity: three modes of expression

Religious guild	Craft mystery	Devotional focus	Meeting place	Charitable focus
St. Christopher	-	Altar, south aisle of Minster until 1446 then chapel, Guildhall.	Before the altar, south aisle of Minster then Guildhall, Coney street	Maison dieu, Fishergate then <i>maison dieu</i> , Guildhall, Coney street
St. George	-	Chapel of St. George in Knights' Templars, Castlegate from 1395-1446 then chapel, Guildhall, Coney street	'Mansun house' -St. George's house Castlegate until 1446 then Guildhall	<i>Maison dieu</i> , Guildhall, Coney street from 1446
Corpus Christi	-	from 1478 Chapel, St. Thomas' hospital, Micklegate Bar	Trinity hall, Fossgate until 1478 then CC hall at St. Thomas' hospital	St. Thomas' hospital
Holy Trinity	-	Chapel, Friars' Preachers, Toft Green until 1418 then St. Anthony's, Aldwark from mid C15th	Room, Friars' Preachers then St. Anthony's hall, Aldwark from mid C15th	St. Anthony's hospital, Aldwark from mid C15th
Paternoster	-	?St. Helen's pre mid C15th, also light in Minster then St. Anthony's chapel	Room, Bridlington Priory townhouse, Aldwark until mid C15th then St. Anthony's hall, Aldwark	St. Anthony's hospital, Aldwark from mid C15th
St. Martin	-	Chapel, Aldwark then St. Anthony's, Aldwark from mid C15th	St. Anthony's hall, Aldwark from mid C15th	St. Anthony's hospital, Aldwark from mid C15th
St. Anne	-	Altar, St. Saviourgate	St. Saviourgate church	unknown
Our Lord Jesus Christ & Blessed Virgin Mary	Mercers/ Merchants -also some Drapers	St. Crux, Fossgate then Trinity Chapel, Fossgate from late C14th	Trinity hall, Fossgate from 1357	Trinity hospital, Fossgate from 1357
St. John the Baptist's	Tailors -also some Drapers	Trinity chapel, Fossgate late C14th, then St. John the Baptist's chapel, Aldwark from early C15th	St. John the Baptist's hall from early C15th	St. John the Baptist's <i>maison dieu</i> from early C15th
Butchers fraternity -poss. Crucifixion	Butchers	Chapel/lights in St. Crux, Fossgate	Butchers hall, the Shambles from C15th	<i>Maison dieu</i> , Little Shambles?
Blessed Virgin Mary	Cordwainers	Chapel to BVM, Carmelite Friary, Hungate	Cordwainers' Hall, Hungate	<i>Maison dieu</i> , Walmgate or Fishergate
Resurrection	Carpenters/ Joiners	Chapel, Austin Friars, Lendal	Room in Austin Friars	unknown
St. Catherine	Fishmongers	Altar to St. Catherine, St. Denys', Walmgate	unknown	unknown
Crucifixion	Piners	Light to the Crucifixion, St. Crux, Fossgate	unknown	unknown
St. Eloi	Smiths and Marshals	Lights/altar St. William's Chapel, Ousebridge	unknown	unknown
St. Giles	Skinners	Light before image of BVM, St. Giles, Gillygate, St. Helen's, Petergate	unknown	unknown
unknown	Tanners	All Saints', North street	<i>Maison dieu</i> , North street	
unknown	Glaziers	St. Helen's, Petergate	unknown? Stonegate	unknown
unknown	Weavers	Obit, All Saints', North street	from 1495 <i>Maison dieu</i> of Ysolda de Acaster	unknown

**Table 2. Occupational topography and the three modes of expression**

<b>Devotional focus</b>	<b>Associated craft mystery</b>	<b>1381 Poll Tax</b>	<b>C15th probate sources</b>	<b>Meeting places / foci</b>	<b>Guildhall</b>
Resurrection	Carpenters/ Joiners	general itinerancy	general itinerancy	Austin Friars, Lendal	-
St. Catherine	Fishmongers	Fossgate Ousegate	Fossgate Ousegate	St. Denys', Walmgate	-
Crucifixion	Piners	Pavement	-	St. Crux	-
St. Eloi	Smiths and Marshals	poss. connection with water for trades as Spurriers	- as 1381	St. William's chapel Ousebridge	-
unknown	Tanners	North street Layerthorpe	North street	All Saints', North street	-
unknown	Glaziers	Stonegate Blake street	Stonegate Blake street	St. Helen's, Blake street	-
unknown	Weavers	North street Blake street Mickelgate Stonegate Fossgate	North street Blake street	All Saints', North street	-
St. Giles	Skinner	-	-	St. Giles, Gillygate	-
Our Lord Jesus Christ and Blessed Virgin Mary	Mercers/ Merchants	Fossgate, Coney street, Petergate, North Street	Fossgate Castlegate	St. Crux, Fossgate	Trinity hall 1357-1367 -hospital -chapel
St. John the Baptist	Tailors	Castlegate, Coney Street, Stonegate, Ousegate, North Street, Walmgate	Fossgate, Ousegate, Stonegate	poss. Pear Tree Hall, Aldwark Trinity Chapel, St. Helen's, Aldwark	St. John the Baptist's c.1415
Blessed Virgin Mary	Cordwainers	Lendal, Pavement	Pavement, Jubbergate, Petergate	Carmelite Friary and chapel, Hungate	Cordwainers' Hall, Hungate C15th
unknown but poss. Crucifixion (Mystery play)	Butchers	Shambles, North Street	Shambles	St. Crux	Butchers Hall, St Crux ?m.dieu Little Shambles
Holy Trinity	-	-	-	Friars' Preachers, Toft Green	St. Anthony's hall, Peaseholme Green from mid C15th
Paternoster	-	-	-	Bridlington Priory townhouse, Aldwark	St. Anthony's, Peaseholme green from mid C15th
St. Martin	-	-	-	St. Martin's Chapel, Peaseholme Green	St. Anthony's Chapel, Peaseholme Green

<b>Devotional focus</b>	<b>Associated craft mystery</b>	<b>1381 Poll Tax</b>	<b>C15th probate sources</b>	<b>Meeting places / foci</b>	<b>Guildhall</b>
St. George	-	-	-	St. George's chapel and hall (Knights Templars)	The Guildhall from 1446
St. Christopher	-	-	-	Altar in south aisle, Minster	The Guildhall from 1446
Corpus Christi	-	-	-	Trinity hall/chapel	St. Thomas' hospital, chapel and hall from 1478

**Table 3. London's guildhalls: ground floor and first floor, aisled/non aisled halls**

Hall	Date	Form: -ground floor hall -first Floor Hall	No. of bays	Aisled or not aisled
Merchant Taylors' hall, Threadneedle Street	1347 onwards	First floor hall with chapel and crypt beneath, chapel later adjoins hall	6	Not aisled
Goldsmiths' hall, Foster Lane	Purchase site 1339 build hall 1362-3	-	-	-
Mercers' hall, Cheapside	1391 onwards in la salle of Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon with chapel in church of St. Thomas 1510-18 rebuilding of hall/chapel	Hall, parlour and kitchen on first floor, chapel on ground floor	-	-
Cordwainers' hall, Distaff Lane	1393 dwelling house granted 1559 hall rebuilt	-	-	-
Brewers' hall, Addle Street	After 1404 and by 1423	First floor hall	-	-
Skinners' hall, Dowgate	Poss. C13th and C14th connection but certainly from 1408	Courtyard form	-	-
Grocers' hall, Poultry	1411 chapel of the Friars of the Sack acquired 1427 new hall	First floor hall with chapel	-	-
Cutlers' hall, Cloak Lane	1428-9 bladers/haftmakers and sheathmakers join to form cutlers Hall built by 1440	Unknown but good detail of rooms 1460s	-	-
Girdlers' hall, Basinghall Street	1420 site acquired	-	-	-
Drapers' hall I, St. Swithin's Lane	1408 granted site work starts 1425	First floor hall	-	-
Carpenters' hall, London Wall	1429	Ground floor hall	-	Arch brace roof
Armourers' and Braziers hall, Coleman street	1428	-	-	-
Fishmongers' hall, Upper Thames Street	1433 acquire domestic building	First floor hall	-	Hammerbeam roof
Barber-Surgeons' hall	1440-5	-	-	-
Vintners' hall, Upper Thames St.	1446 bequeathed to Company	First floor hall	-	-

Hall	Date	Form: -ground floor hall -first floor Hall	No. of bays	Aisled or not aisled
Salters' hall, Bread Street	1454 site of hall bequeathed to fraternity of Corpus Christi burns down 1475	-	-	-
Shearmens' hall, Mincing Lane (unite with Fullers 1528 and become Clothworkers)	1456 -early hall townhouse 1528 rebuilding	First floor hall over undercroft vaults leased out	-	Not aisled
Ironmongers' hall, Fenchurch Street	1457 purchase site rebuilt 1578	-	-	-
Haberdashers' hall, Maiden Lane	1458	Probably ground floor hall	-	-
Tallow Chandlers' hall II	1475 purchase site but rebuild after fire	Probably courtyard arrangement	-	-
Bakers' hall	1475 (Harley MS 541) mentioned	-	-	-
Bowyers' hall	1475 (Harley MS 541) mentioned	-	-	-
Curriers' hall, 6 London Wall	1475 (Harley MS 541)	Now lost, but post fire L-shaped	-	Probably not aisled
Dyers' hall	1475 (Harley MS 541) mentioned	-	-	-
Old Fishmongers' hall, 9 Old Fish Street Hill	Mentioned 1475 & 1601 leased to glaziers from 1612	Ground floor hall	-	-
Fishmongers' halls II and III	1475 (Harley MS 541) mentioned	-	-	-
Fullers' hall	1475 (Harley MS 541) mentioned	-	-	-
Tilers' hall	1475 (Harley MS 541) mentioned	-	-	-
Pewterers hall, 15 Lime Street	pre 1475 meet in Austin Friars site & hall purchased 1475 rebuilt 1496	Probably first floor hall	-	-
Leathersellers' hall, London Wall	1477 possess hall but rebuild 1543 after acquisition of St. Helen's nunnery	Old hall possibly first floor hall	-	-
Pinners' hall	1480 (Schofield 1995, 47)	-	-	-
Coopers' Hall	1490 (Schofield 1995, 47)	-	-	-



Hall	Date	Form: -ground floor hall -first Floor hall	No. of bays	Aisled or not aisled
Blacksmiths hall, Lambeth Hill	Before 1494-5 in hospital of St. Thomas of Acon 1494-5 lease of site	Probably ground floor hall	-	-
Joiners' hall	1497 (Schofield 1995, 47)	-	-	-
Weavers' hall, 22 Basinghall Street	1498 site acquired between masons' and girdlers' halls (earlier hall mentioned 1456 but probably a hired room) repairs mid C16th	? Hall and parlour	-	-
Cooks' hall	1500 (Schofield 1995, 47)	-	-	-
Waxchandlers' hall, Maiden Lane	1501 acquire site originally owned by Knights Hospitallers	First floor	-	-
Bakers' hall II, Harp Lane	1506 purchase site	'Upper hall'	-	-
Curriers' hall, 6 London Wall	Hall bequeathed 1516 1598 Curriers' Row on south side of London Wall near carpenters' hall	-	-	-
Embroiderers' hall, 36 Gutter Lane	1519 donations for purchase of site	-	-	-
Innholders' hall, Elbow Lane	1522 -first hall mentioned	Courtyard form post-fire	-	-
Founders' hall	1531 (Schofield 1995, 47)	-	-	-
Fletchers' hall, St. Mary Axe	Before 1532 meet in carpenters' hall but from 1532 purchase Holy Trinity Priory site	-	-	-
Painter-Stainers' hall	1532 (Schofield 1995, 47)	-	-	-
Drapers' II hall	1542-3 buy Thomas Cromwell's house for hall II	First floor hall	-	-
Leathersellers' hall II, Bishposgate	1544 part of Great St. Helen's demised to Company, destroyed 1799	First floor dorter alterations 1566-7	At least 4	-

Hall	Date	Form: -ground floor hall -first Floor hall	No. of bays	Aisled or not aisled
Butchers' hall, Stinking Lane	Before 1474 butchers hire carpenters' hall 1544 lease hall of fraternity of St. Giles then lease parsonage of St. Nicholas, Shambles and rebuild	Ground floor hall with parlour on first floor?	-	-
Bricklayers' hall, 53 Leadenhall Street	1568 amalgamation of tilers and bricklayers previously tilers in Broad Street purchase inn site	-	-	-
Woodmongers' hall I, St. Peter's Hill and II, Aldgate	Before 1580 in St. Andre Castle Baynard parish; hall defunct 1581; from 1612 Duke's Hall 7-9 Aldersgate Street now lost	First floor hall	-	-
Stationers' hall II Ave Maria Lane	from 1611 in Brittany Inn/Pembroke's Inn/Bergavenny House on site of Earl of Richmond's C14th house	-	-	-

**Table 4. London's fraternity halls: ground floor and first floor, aisled/non aisled halls**

Hall	Date	Ground/ first floor hall	No. of bays	Aisled/ not aisled
Trinity hall, Aldersgate Street	1431 but hall rebuilt 1480-1500	First floor hall Query over fraternity using hall as a meeting place before 1456 but certainly after this date	At least 4, probably 5	Not aisled
Fraternity of parish clerks, Bishopsgate Street Within	1448	Ground floor	-	-

**Table 5. Comparative domestic buildings: scale and function**

Name & location	Date	Form: ground floor hall first floor hall	Aisled or not aisled	Bay rhythm	Roof truss
Kenilworth castle, Warwicks.	1390-3	First floor	-	6 90' x 45'	-
Portchester castle, Hants.	1396-9	First floor	-	52' x 24'	-
Hampton Court, Middlesex	1531-5	First floor	-	105' x 40'	-
Norrington Manor House, Alvediston, Wilts.	c.1377	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 38'6'' x 23'	-
Dartington hall, Devon	c.1388-1400	Ground floor	Not aisled	5 69'9'' x 37'6''	-
Westminster hall -remodelled	1394-1402	Ground floor	Not aisled	12 239'6'' x 67'6''	-
Bradley manor, Newton Abbot, Devon	c.1420	Ground floor	Not aisled	3.5 33' x 19'	-
Abbey farm, Preston Plunkett, Somerset	early C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 40' x 21'2''	-
Bowhill, Exeter, Devon	early C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 33' x 19'	-
Woodlands Manor, Mere, Wilts.	early C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	3 31' x 21'	-
Prebendal house, Thame, Oxon	early C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	3 39' x 24'	-
Court house, East Meon, Hants.	early C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	-	-
South Wraxall Manor House, Wilts.	c.1435	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 31'8'' x 19'9''	-
Minster Lovell Hall, Oxon	c.1431-2	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 50' x 26'	-
South Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire	c.1440-59	Ground floor	Not aisled	6 72' x 37'	-
Croydon Palace, Surrey	1443-52	Ground floor	Not aisled	56' x 37'9''	-
Wanswell Court, Gloucs.	1450-60	Ground floor	Not aisled	3 26' 23'	-
Ashleworth Court, Gloucs.	pre 1463	Ground floor	Not aisled	3 37' x 19'	-
Ockwells Manor, Berks.	c.1465	Ground floor	Not aisled	41' x 24'	-
Crosby Hall, London	1466	Ground floor	Not aisled	8 69' x 27'	-

Name & location	Date	Form: ground floor hall first floor hall	Aisled or not aisled	Bay rhythm	Roof truss
Church House, Salisbury, Wilts.	later C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	3+ 25'6'' x 20'9''	-
Eltham Place, Kent	c.1479-80	Ground floor	Not aisled	6 101'4'' x 36'	-
Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincs.	1470-1484	Ground floor	Not aisled	6 56' x 28'	-
Great Chalfield Manor, Wilts.	c.1480	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 40'2'' x 20'2''	-
Cotay Manor, Somerset	c.1480	Ground floor	Not aisled	2.5 36' x 21'	-
Little Sodbury Manor, Somers.	c.1485	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 42' x 23'	-
Wortham Manor, Lifton, Devon	later C15th	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 34' x 22'	-
Athelhampton Hall, Dorset	1495-1500	Ground floor	Not aisled	4 38' x 21' 6''	-
The Commandery, Worces.	c.1484- 1503	Ground floor	Not aisled	5.5 47' x 26'	-
Rufford Old Hall, Lancs.	c.1500	Ground floor	Not aisled	7 47' x 23'	-
Upton Court, Somerset	C14th early	-	Aisled (2)	-	Crown post
St. Clair's Hall, St.Osyth, Essex	C14th	Ground floor	Aisled	2	-
Abbey Street, Ickleton, Cambs.	late C14th	Ground Floor	Aisled	2	Crown post
3-5 Sladden St., Halifax, Yorks	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled	2	-
High Bentley, Halifax, Yorks	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled	2	-
Lower Bentley, Royd, Sowerby, Yorks	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled	-	-
47, 49, 51 Town Gate, Sowerby, Yorks	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled	2 32' wide	-
Scout Hall, Shibden Valley, Yorks	-	Ground floor	Aisled	2	-
Stanton's Manor, Black Notley, Essex	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Collar rafter
The Chaplaincy, Hornchurch, Essex	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Probably crown post
Tilbury Hall, Tilbury juxta Clare, Essex	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Probably crown post
Upton Cressett Hall, Shropshire	late C14th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Crown post

Name & location	Date	Form: ground floor hall first floor hall	Aisled or not aisled	Bay rhythm	Roof truss
55-60 High St., Wingham, Kent	c.1400	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Crown post
Fairfield Manor, Eastry, Kent	early C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Crown post
1 Beech Hyde, Redbourn, Herts.	early C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Possibly passing braces?
Apple Trees, Swaffam Bulbeck, Cambs.	early C15th	Ground floor	Aisled	-	Crown post
Old Manor House, Keymer, Sussex	early C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	Crown post
Lower Brockhampton House, Dorset	late C14th/earl y C15th	Ground floor	Quasi-aisled	2.5 29' x 21'6"	-
9 Lower Brockwell, Triangle, S.Yorks	early c15th	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Collar rafter ? Queen post
Moor End Road, Highburton, S.Yorks	early C15th dem.	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	Principal rafters
Great Tomkyns, Upminster, Essex	C15th	Ground floor	Aisled	-	-
Anne of Cleves House, Lewes, Sussex	C15th Wealden	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	Crown post
Church Farmhouse, Salehurst, Sussex	C15th Wealden	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	Crown post
Priory Cottage, Bramber, Sussex	C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	Crown post
Old Yew Tree Cooper Bridge, Mirfield, S.Yorks	1455 - dendro	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	Collar-rafter
Woodhouse Farm Woodhouse, S.Yorks	C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	King post
Chaffix Farm, Felsted, Essex	late C15th	Ground Floor	Aisled (2)	-	Crown post
Skinner's House Chiddingstone, Kent	late C15th	Gruond Floor	Aisled (1)	-	Crown post
Sawyers Farm, Little Cornard Suffolk	late C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	-
White Hall, Ovenden, Halifax	dem.	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	King post
Old Lindley Farm, Elland, S.Yorks	late C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	King post
Home Farm, Scriven, N.Yorks	late C15th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	Collar rafter

<b>Name &amp; location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Form: ground floor hall first floor hall</b>	<b>Aisled or not aisled</b>	<b>Bay rhythm</b>	<b>Roof truss</b>
Old Hall, Shelf, S.Yorks	c.1500	Ground floor	Aisled (2)	-	King post
St. John's House, Knaresborough, N.Yorks	early C16th	Ground floor	Aisled (1)	-	King post
Ordsall Hall, Lancs.	mid C15th	Ground floor	Quasi-aisled	7 42' x 25'	-
Denton Hall, Lancs.	C15th	Ground floor	Quasi-aisled	5	-
Samlesbury Hall, Lancs.	C15th	Ground floor	Quasi-aisled	4 36'6" x 26'6"	-

**Table 6. Comparative episcopal halls**

<b>Name &amp; location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Form: ground floor hall first floor hall</b>	<b>Aisled or not aisled</b>	<b>Bay rhythm</b>
Bishop's palace, Hereford, Hereford & Worcs.	c.1160	Ground floor	Aisled	69'x 48'
Bishop's palace, Lincoln, Lincs.	c.1224	Ground floor	Aisled	4 84'x 58'
Bishop's palace, Exeter, Devon	c.1224-44	Ground floor	Aisled	3 75'x 42'
Bishop Jocelyn's palace, Wells, Somerset	c.1230-50	First floor	-	68'x 28'
Bishop's palace, Canterbury, Kent	before 1243	Ground floor	Aisled	6 126'x 62'
The Old Deanery, Salisbury, Wilts	c.1258-74	Ground floor	-	4 50'x 31'6''
Bishop's palace, St. David's, Pembrokeshire	c.1280-93	First floor	-	60'x 24'
Bishop's palace, Burnell, Wells, Somerset	1274-92	Ground floor	Aisled	115'x 59'6''
Bishop Salmon's hall, Norwich, Norfolk	1318-25	Ground floor	Aisled	121'6''x 58'6''
Bishop's palace, St. David's, Pembrokeshire	c.1327-47	First floor	-	119'x 31'
Bishop Waltham's Palace, Hants.	early C15th	Ground floor	-	4 66'x 27'

**Table 7. Comparative monastic buildings**

Name & location	Date	Form	Aisled	Bay rhythm
Guest house, Fountains Abbey, Yorks	after 1147	First floor	-	48'x 23'3''
Abbot's house, Battle, Sussex	c.1235-61	First floor	-	-
Abbot's house, Netley, Hants.	c.1250-60	First floor	-	48'x 20'
Guest hall, Ely Cathedral Abbey, Cambs.	late C13th/C14th	First floor	-	78'x 33'5''
Abbot's grange, Broadway, Worcs.	c.1320	Ground floor	-	2.5 25'8''x 19'9''
Prior's Hall, Ely Cambs.	c.1321-41	First floor	-	62'x 24'
Abbot's Hall, Westminster	c.1375-6	First floor	-	4 52'6''x 27'

**Table 8. Comparative Collegiate Buildings**

Name & Location	Date	Form: ground or first floor	Aisled or not Aisled	Bay rhythm
New College, Oxford, Oxon	1380-6	First floor	-	4 79'x 32'
Winchester College, Hants.	1387-94	First floor	-	4 61'x 25'
Lincoln College, Oxford, Oxon	1436	Ground floor	-	4 49'9''x 25'9''
Brasenose College, Oxford, Oxon	1512	First floor	-	4 49'x 25'
Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Oxon	1512-17	Ground floor	-	6.5 53'x 24'
Christ Church, Oxford, Oxon	c.1525-9	First floor	-	8 114'6''x 39'9''



Table 9. The chronology and topography of York's late medieval hospitals

Name Foundation Date	Type of Hospital	Location	Association	Comments
St. Leonard's C11th foundation	general - cremnetts and corrodies	Bootham Bar-St. Leonard's landing	early associations with the Minster	central, highly visible from river and town
St. Nicholas' C12th?	General	outside Walmgate Bar, St. Lawrence street	Abbot of St. Mary's	suburbs/ beyond city boundary
St. Mary's hospital 1315	General	The Horsefair	Chantry of Dean of York, Robert Pickeryng	suburbs
St. Thomas' founded before 1391	General until 1478 then guild	Micklegate Bar	Corpus Christi after 1478	highly visible adjacent to M.Bar
St. Anthony's 1420	General	The Horsefair	-	suburbs
St. Mary Mag. pre 1481	General	East side of Bootham	-	suburbs/city boundary
St. Helen's pre 1444	General	Near St. Helen's Fishergate	church of St. Helen	suburbs
Layerthorpe hospital c.1407-16	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Layerthorpe bridge; just inside Layerthorpe gate	John de Craven	suburbs/inside city boundaries
Monkgate <i>maison dieu</i> 1396	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Monkbridge	Robert de Holme, merchant	suburbs
St. John's, North street	<i>Maison dieu</i>	North street	-	just outside city centre
All Saint' <i>maison dieu</i>	<i>Maison dieu</i>	North street	-	just outside city centre
Ouse bridge <i>maison dieu</i>	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Ouse bridge next to St. William's chapel	-	city centre
late C14th	<i>Maison dieu</i>	St. Andrewgate	John Bedford, gentleman	city centre - poor district
c.1389-1406	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Hertergate (Friargate)	Thomas de Holme	just outside city centre
c.1390-1402	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Peter Lane Little	John de Darthynton	city centre
-	<i>Maison dieu</i>	White Friar Lane	-	city centre
-	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Fetter Lane	-	city centre
-	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Stonebow Lane	-	city centre
-	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Little Shambles	? Butchers'	-
St. Christopher and St. George	<i>Maison dieu</i>	Coney street	St. Christopher and St. George's guild	Guildhall -city centre
Trinity hospital founded 1371-3	Guild	Fossgate	Fraternity of OLJC & BVM/mystery of merchants	centre of commercial district

<b>Name Foundation Date</b>	<b>Type of Hospital</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Association</b>	<b>Comments</b>
St. John the Baptist's <i>maison dieu</i> C15th	Guild	Aldwark	St. John the Baptist's/mystery of tailors	centre of city
St. Anthony's hospital 1446	Guild	Peaseholme Green	St. Anthony's	associated with prosperous street of Aldwark
Cordwainer's <i>maison dieu</i> founded 1436	Guild	Fishergate	Cordwainers	suburb
St. George's	Guild hospital	St. George's fields	-	near Castle suburb
St. Catherine's -in use 1333	Leper hospital	The Mount, beyond Mickelgate Bar	-	liminal position

**Twelve Theses on the economy of the living and the dead.**  
John Berger *Pages of the Wound* (1994).

1. The dead surround the living, the living are the core of the dead. In this core are the dimensions of time and space. What surrounds the core is timelessness.

2. Between the core and its surroundings there are exchanges, which are not usually clear. All religions have been concerned with making them clearer.

The credibility of religion depends upon the clarity of certain unusual exchanges. The mystifications of religion are the result of trying to systematically produce such exchanges.

3. The rarity of clear exchange is due to the rarity of what can cross intact the frontier between timelessness and time.

4. To see the dead as the individuals they once were tends to obscure their nature. Try to consider the living as we might assume the dead to do: collectively.

The collective would accrue not only across space but also throughout time. It would include all those who have ever lived. And so we would also be thinking of the dead. The living reduce the dead to those who have lived; yet the dead already include the living in their own great collective.

5. The dead inhabit a timeless moment of construction continually rebegun. The construction is the state of the universe at any instant.

6. According to their memory of life, the dead know the moment of construction as, also, a moment of collapse. Having lived, the dead can never be inert.

7. If the dead live in a timeless moment, how can they have a memory? They remember no more than being thrown into time, as does everything which existed or exists.

8. The difference between the dead and the unborn is that the dead have this memory. As the number of dead increases, the memory enlarges.

9. The memory of the dead existing in timelessness may be thought of as a form of imagination concerning the possible. This imagination is close to (resides in) God; but I do not know how.

10. In the world of the living there is an equivalent but contrary phenomenon. The living sometimes experience timelessness, as revealed in sleep, ecstasy, instants of extreme danger, orgasm, and perhaps in the experience of dying itself. During these instants the living imagination covers the entire field of experience and overruns the contours of the individual life or death. It touches the waiting imagination of the dead.

11. What is the relation of the dead to what has not yet happened, to the future? All the future *is* the construction in which their 'imagination' is engaged.

12. How do the living live with the dead?

Until the dehumanisation of society by capitalism, all the living awaited the experience of the dead. It was their ultimate future. By themselves the living were incomplete. Thus living and dead were inter-dependent. Always.

Only a uniquely modern form of egotism has broken this interdependence. With disastrous results for the living, who now think of the dead as *eliminated*.

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**BIHR Borthwick Institute of Historical Research**

**Arch. Reg.** - Archiepiscopal Registers.

**AB** - Atkinson-Brierley collection.

**Bequests to Guilds** - compiled by Eileen White.

**CP** - Cause Papers.

**D/C** -Records of the Dean and Chapter.

**MTA** - Merchant Taylors' Archives.

**Prob. Reg.** - Probate Registers.

**YCA York City Archives**

**102c** - Parish Constables' Register Rolls.

**B** - House Books.

**CB** - Chamberlains' Books of Accounts.

**C** - Chamberlains' Account Rolls.

**D&L** - Deeds & Leases.

**E** - Memorandum Books.

**YC/G** - St. Anthony's Hospital Accounts.

**5/10** -Cossins sketchbook.

Cossins new and exact plan of the city of York 1748.

**YCL York City Library**

**Yorks Gazette** - Yorkshire Gazette.

**Maps and plans** YM12; YM13

**YMAA - York Merchant Adventurers' Archives, The Merchant Adventurers' Hall, York.**

**Acc. Roll** - Account Rolls.

**Building Corr.** -Building correspondence.

**Minute Books**