

**LIVING WITH DURHAM CATHEDRAL:  
UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIPS  
BETWEEN A COMMUNITY AND THEIR CATHEDRAL**

**Arran James Calvert**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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# Living with Durham Cathedral: Understanding the Dynamic Relationships between a Community and their Cathedral

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University of  
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews

29 March 2017



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# **Living with Durham Cathedral**

Understanding the Dynamic Relationships between a  
Community and their Cathedral

Submitted by Arran James Calvert  
For the Degree of Ph.D. in Social Anthropology  
29 March 2017

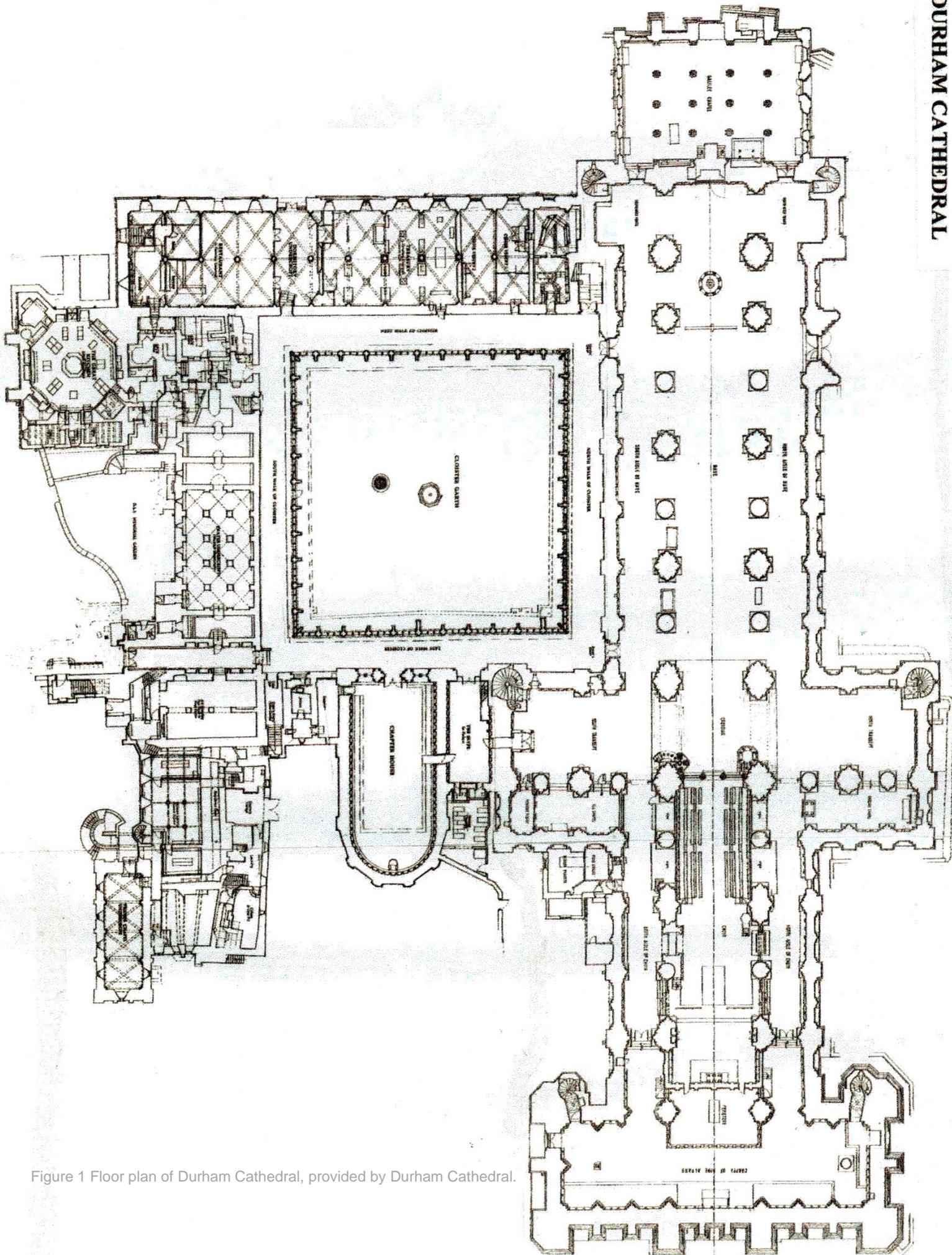


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# ABSTRACT

Cathedrals today are no longer sites of just religious worship, they must be many things to many people such as tourist attractions, heritage centres, and meeting places. Today, Durham Cathedral in the north-east of England is home to almost 900 people engaged on site, of which almost 700 are volunteers. Add to that number over 700,000 visitors and about 1,700 religious services annually, and a complex image of life within Durham Cathedral begins to take shape. Drawing on 14 months of ethnographic fieldwork between August 2013 and September 2014, this thesis takes a phenomenological approach in exploring the dynamic relationships that exist between a 900-year-old building and those who regularly come into contact with that building. It will consider the complex negotiations that take place between the many parts of the community and the building in a constantly changing environment, and will focus on the role sound, light, time, and space play in the constant challenge of change and negotiation. Finally, it will consider how buildings are not only constructed but are also cultivated through being built and rebuilt, spaces negotiated and improvised, as well as filled with stories and memories.

The importance of this research is not just in observing and understanding the types of change and negotiation that occur between a building and those who inhabit it, but also in understanding the altering roles of religious buildings as they cope with the changing demands of running a site of both historical and continuing social, religious, and financial pressures, Durham Cathedral is a place that gives space to differing communities, allowing people to find in the building what they need from the building and as a result of this, Durham Cathedral is not a place in which life happens, it is a place with which life happens.



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# GLOSSARY

Acolyte	An individual who assists a priest during a service.
Cantor	An individual who leads singing in services, often singing solo passages to which the choir would respond.
Capitulum	Latin for 'chapter' and was a short reading during the daily Offices of the monks. In Durham, the capitulum was often a chapter from the Rule of St Benedict.
Clergy	A body of ordained people who carry out the religious duties of a church.
Cloister Garth	A grass area in the centre of the cloister
Cloister	A covered walk in a monastery, often square in shape.
College of Canons	A body of people, both lay and ordained appointed by the bishop. In Durham Cathedral, the College of Canons are known as the Chapter and are the Cathedral's governing body.
Compline	A service for Night Prayer, it was a daily part of monastic services and is at times still observed today.
Crossing	The point in which the transepts, nave and quire meet in a cross shaped church.
Episcopal See	The area of the bishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction (his church leadership) covers, the word is synonymous with diocese.
Horarium	The daily schedule of work and prayer for monks and is Latin meaning 'The Hours'.
Nave	Central section of a church building to the west of the quire where the congregation assemble. In Durham Cathedral, the nave consists of one central aisle and two side aisles.
Offices	The daily services observed by the monks.
Priory	A monastery of men or women under led by a prior or prioress living under religious vow. In pre-reformation England, Abbey churches raised to cathedral status, became Cathedral Priory, with the bishop over the role of abbot, leaving the monastery to be led by a prior, such as in Durham.
Quire	The area of the church between the nave and the sanctuary which provides seating for the clergy and church choir. It is the place in which daily services take place.
Rule of St Benedict	A book of written by Benedict of Nursia (c.480-550) instructing the communal living of monks living under an Abbott.
The Dean	Senior clergy who is head of the Cathedral Chapter. The position is selected by the Crown.
Thurible	A metallic container suspended by a chain in which incense is burnt during religious ceremonies.
Transept	The two sides of a church forming the arm sections of the cross shape.
Triforium	Triforiums are arched galleries above the nave side aisles, visible from below through the arches that line the galleries.
Undercroft	A church crypt once used as a cellar or storage room for food and wine during monastic times.
Verger	A person who acts as general caretaker of the Cathedral assisting in the daily running of the building and services.



# **INTRODUCTION**

Buildings have lives in time, and those lives are intimately connected with the lives of the people who use them. Buildings come into being at particular moments and in particular circumstances. They change and perhaps grow as the lives of their users change. Eventually – when, for whatever reason, people no longer find them useful – they die (Waddy 1990:xi).

### I. Earliest Memories

‘Everybody remembers the first time they see Durham Cathedral’, explained a steward one quiet Sunday afternoon as we stood at the top of the nave, looking east towards the Rose Window. ‘I’m retired, and I remember the first time I came in here as a nipper with the school, and I bet you remember too’ (Fieldnotes, 6th February 2014). The steward was right; I do remember my first visit to Durham Cathedral. I remember that it was a day trip during primary school, I was seven, maybe even younger. I faintly remember the building looming into view through the fog and entering in twos through the North Door and being greeted by the familiar smell of an old church. I remember the smell reminding me of our village church, St Mary’s. I remember being told the story of the ‘Daily Bread Window’, just next to the North Door, a bird’s eye view of the Last Supper, with Jesus and his disciples all sat around the table, with just one head sitting out of line, the head of Judas Iscariot. I remember craning my neck up high to see the beautiful colours of purple, green, and blue, and thinking the heads looked like cabbages sitting in rows. I remember looking at the ‘Durham Miners’ Memorial Book’, a book of remembrance for all the miners who had died in accidents in the mines of County Durham. One of the people looking after us children that day was Isabel Roberts, who had the book turned to the page recording her father’s death in Horden Colliery, the mine in the village in which my classmates and I lived and went to school. I was struck by the fact that something, which had happened in our community, had been recorded within this building and was treated with such care that the names were locked in a glass case. Above all memories of that day is my personal sense of wonder, of standing between impossibly tall stone columns as they reached upwards to an incredibly high ceiling and feeling so small as I stood in the nave for the first time, hardly able to comprehend the building’s size in relation to my own.

Durham Cathedral has always been a place I have often visited, either with my family or with school. The members of my family are not religious people, and I never attended religious schools. Durham Cathedral, however, holds a prominent position in the minds of those who grow up and live in County Durham. The building is considered

'our cathedral' by many, regardless of religious outlook and is often a source of pride for the local people. Having been born and grown up in County Durham myself, this is how I view Durham Cathedral: a familiar friend who stands high upon its peninsula and welcomes you home as you return by train. During my fieldwork, I came across many others who viewed the Cathedral in this same way, as an entity who offered them something, whether that be a place to sit and think, a place to worship or meet with friends. One regular visitor to the Cathedral even had a favourite column in the nave, which they would hug every time they visited.

Through all of the years since that first impressionable visit, the building has continued to hold the wonder that first struck me. Therefore, in discussions of where my fieldwork would take place, Durham Cathedral was the obvious choice. I wanted to know more about the way people live with a building that is over 900 years old, a building that in its persistence has stood through so much change and has itself changed so much. One oft-used phrase that I heard during my fieldwork was that Durham Cathedral could be whatever you wanted it to be. This was, and still is, a phrase that has stuck with me. That a building so clearly devoted to Christian worship could be whatever you wanted it to be conjures up the image of a complex, multifaceted relationship that exists between the building and those who use it. Indeed, that is what I found and what, at its heart, this thesis explores. I want to show that Durham Cathedral is not a background to life. It is not something in which life happens, but it is something with which life happens. First, I want to address what a cathedral is.

## II. Cathedrals

In the English medieval world that gave birth to Durham Cathedral, religion was strongly intertwined with the state and state power (Brown 2003:24). At the same time, the Church's power spanned Europe, with the pope at its head. In England, the highest representative of the pope was the Archbishop of Canterbury, one of two archbishops as the country was divided into two provinces, which in turn were subdivided into dioceses (or sees). The northern province was governed by the Archbishop of York. Inside the provinces, dioceses were governed by bishops, while both archbishops also had their own diocese. English dioceses in Europe were among the richest, which led to the building of exceptional churches and cathedrals. The importance of cathedrals lay in them being the 'headquarters' of the bishops, who had both political and pastoral powers, with the name the cathedral coming from the 'cathedra', the throne of a bishop, which was housed inside cathedrals (Cannon 2007:20).

There were at this time two different ways of living within the Church. Firstly, there were the monks, 'who devoted themselves to a life of prayer, poverty, celibacy, and seclusion, living communally and in obedience to a written Rule'. Second, were the 'secular churchmen', such as most bishops and parish priests, who 'lived "in the world"', 'could live alone, and possess their own property'. Apart from being the headquarters of the bishops, cathedrals also had a religious community who could support the bishop in the running of his diocese (2007:21). Durham Cathedral, a monastic cathedral, called a cathedral priory, 'had a community of monks headed by a prior'. In this structure the bishop took on the role of the abbot, 'the title given to the prior's superior in most other monastic houses'. The monks were all members of the Chapter, the governing body of the cathedral, and 'were supported communally from the cathedral's lands' (2007:22). Ten English cathedrals, including Durham, were ran by this model. The other nine cathedrals, were secular ones, following the 'collegiate-church model', with a core community of senior priests, or canons, supported by a portion of church land. They formed a Chapter and were led by a dean, who was hierarchically the second in command under the bishop (2007:21-22).

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation, or dissolution of the monasteries, and Henry VIII's decision to break with Rome, most cathedral priories 'were turned into secular cathedrals in 1541' (2007:159). Henry VIII also shifted the power relation between the state and religion, secularising the state. At this time, many of the cathedrals' riches and relics were either seized by the Crown or taken away and destroyed. Such major destruction was later repeated during the English Civil War as Puritans destroyed religious images everywhere, while many cathedrals were abandoned and locked (2007:162-163). Such historical and social changes as well as various power shifts mean that today cathedrals are very different from what they looked like throughout their history. For example, 'most medieval glass and large-scale sculpture's have not survived (2007:25), while cathedrals have also gone through much architectural and building changes, as I will show throughout this thesis.

In the most basic terms, therefore, a cathedral is simply a church within which the bishop's 'cathedra' is housed. The Bishop of Durham's throne is situated within the quire, sat above the tomb of 14<sup>th</sup> century bishop, Bishop Hatfield. The cathedra is mounted high above all other seating and is ornately decorated but is only rarely used by the current bishops, viewing the cathedra's position as aloof. This shows that throughout its history the bishop's headquarters and throne have been part of political power. 'Bishop's as royal appointees, played their part in the running of a secular

government, attending royal councils and shire courts' (Brown 2003:28). The cathedrals were, and are, 'like corporate bodies' and institutions that 'aspired to greater wealth and independence' (Cannon 2007:22). Their power and embeddedness in the social order can be emphasised by the fact that city statuses were linked to cathedrals, 'As new dioceses were created in Anglo-Saxon England, the towns in which they were located enjoyed the status of cities', a practice continued by Henry VIII (Beckett 2001:1).

While the Church, during the Middle Ages, was widely integrated in society (Brown 2003:26), it could also be characterised by the diversity of its 'religious culture' (2003:4), 'containing an enormous variety of ideas, institutions and people' (Cannon 2007:23). The Chapter of Durham Cathedral today still tries to embed and open up the Cathedral for the wider Durham community, which again, leads to a variety of people and ideas being brought in and negotiated within the Cathedral walls. A cathedral has come to mean a lot more than a building which houses a bishop's throne for those who dwell in it. Danziger defines them as 'the most phenomenal expression of spirituality' (1989:8). For some, they represent a place in which one can 'belong, but in a rather "arms-length" manner' (Platten 2006:5). Similarly, they are often big enough to offer those unsure about worship a sense of anonymity if they wish. Further afield, cathedrals can be viewed as 'iconic buildings for many who rarely enter them' (James 2006:13). James goes on to suggest that, 'There are many communities competing for space in any cathedral' (2006:13), and Durham Cathedral is no different. A cathedral therefore is a building that offers place to many competing and negotiating spaces created by people through the building. Indeed, these negotiations will form the main argument of this thesis.

### III. Durham Cathedral

As this thesis will analyse some of the many ways people and Durham Cathedral relate to each other, it is important to summarise here the foundation and some of the historical movements Durham Cathedral, and the people associated with the Cathedral, have gone through, as they have left their marks on the fabric of the building, as well as on the stories people still tell about it, and the way they relate to the building. I will use more detailed accounts and examples on the history of living in Durham Cathedral throughout this thesis (see V. Historical Approach, in this chapter). The Bishop of Durham was described as having had control over the most independent (of the crown) territory during the middle ages, called the Palatine of Durham, some even choosing the term 'Prince Bishop' (not used during medieval times) to describe the Bishop of Durham.

The independence and privileges of Durham seem to have been tolerated by the crown, or else encouraged, as Durham had been in a strategically important position between Scotland and England (Liddy 2008:1-12).

Durham Cathedral sits high on a peninsula and is surrounded on three sides by the River Wear, giving it, strategically speaking, an excellent location. However, defence is not the reason local oral history provides as to why the Cathedral was founded on this site. According to the chronicler Symeon of Durham's *Libellus De Exordio* (Symeon 2000, written in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century and translated by Rollason), the monks from the See of Lindisfarne, established in 635 AD by St Aidan, had left the island of Lindisfarne in 875 AD through fear of Viking attack, carrying with them the incorrupt body of St Cuthbert on a cart. They eventually established an Episcopal See in Chester-le-Street from 882 AD until 995 AD when they left, again fearing further Viking attack. During their second period of wandering, the cart carrying St Cuthbert came to a halt in a place called *Wrdelau* and could not be moved. Taking the cart's lack of movement as a sign of St Cuthbert's unwillingness to return to Chester-le-Street, the monks began three days of fasting, prayers, and vigils in the hope of a heavenly sign. A sign did shortly arrive telling the monks to take St Cuthbert to a place called *Dunelm*, and prepare a resting place there.

Whilst the *Libellus De Exordio* does not tell of how the monks found *Dunelm*, school children from Durham (such as I), were told the story of the monks being lost and coming across a milkmaid looking for her *Dunn* cow. The monks followed the milkmaid and found her cow on the peninsular hill of *Dunelm* in 995 AD. It was upon this peninsula that the monks once again established the Episcopal See which had begun with St Aidan in Lindisfarne, building a small wooden church followed by a larger stone church which became known locally as the *White Church*. The construction of the current Cathedral started in 1093 AD with the appointment of William de St Calais.

The previous bishop, William Walcher<sup>1</sup>, a Lotharingian<sup>2</sup>, became the first Norman appointed bishop in 1071 AD to help subdue the local Anglo Saxon population during a tense period following the 1069-1070 AD 'Harrying of the North'. The religious community at Durham Cathedral were secular monks, as Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de Exordio* explains, when Walcher, 'found clerks in that place he taught them to observe the custom

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<sup>1</sup> Walcher also bought the position of Earl of Northumberland in 1076 after the rebellion of the previous Earl Waltheof.

<sup>2</sup> Lotharingia was a Kingdom which emerged from the Carolingian Empire located on what is today the northernmost border between France, Germany and western Switzerland.

of clerks in the day and night offices' (Symeon of Durham translated by Rollason 2000:106). It seems that Walcher also intended to replace the secular community with that of a fully monastic one, with Symeon also stating that Walcher began to build what he describes as a '*monachorum habitacula*' or monk dwellings to adjoin the existing cathedral at the time.

Following the murder of Walcher<sup>3</sup>, King William sent his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, with an army to harry the area once again, laying waste to much of the region between York and Durham. As a replacement for the murdered Walcher, the appointment of William de St Calais, a Norman and the first Norman Bishop of Durham, was a political decision rather than a religious one. The new bishop needed to be a robust and capable leader in the dangerous and unstable north. At this time, the position of Bishop of Durham 'cannot have been much coveted by any conventionally ambitious clergyman' (Matthew, 1994:6).

Liddy argues that the two events of Walcher inviting the monks to the cathedral and his murder, helped set clear boundaries 'between the bishopric of Durham and the earldom of Northumbria', the former being established between the rivers Tyne and Tees (2008:187). Together with the origin story of Durham Cathedral and several other mythical and miraculous stories, closely related to the Old Testaments 'chosen people', often described and perpetuated by Symeon, helped establish this territory as the rightful land of the people living there, 'the people of the saint', whose continuity was thus constructed from carrying Cuthbert's body onwards (2008:187-192): 'Whatever St Cuthbert's wider regional cult, it was at Durham that the body of Cuthbert came to rest and it was with the land between Tyne and Tees that he was most closely connected. It was here that the "people of the saint" lived' (2008:189). According to Liddy, it was this powerful sense of community as connected to St Cuthbert that allowed the bishopric of Durham to maintain a certain, powerful autonomy from the king: 'To successive bishops of Durham in the late middle ages, their self-professed position as trustees of St Cuthbert enabled them to lay claim to an ideological source of power independent of the crown and to affirm their autonomy from royal intervention in matters of finance and jurisdiction' (2008:197). Similarly, such a strong sense of community and identity allowed the people of Durham to hold some bishops accountable, and remind them that 'the land between Tyne and Tees was not a piece of private property with which he could do as he pleased. It was a territory which also belonged to his people' (2008:198).

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<sup>3</sup> The result of a feud between a local aristocrat and two of Walchers' henchmen.

The introduction of the Rule of St Benedict had a significant effect on the Cathedral's layout because not only was it to house the cathedra, but also a community of monastic monks who needed a place to sleep, eat, work, and pray separately from the public. Indeed, Irvine highlights 'the active role of buildings in Benedictine life' (2013:25, emphasis in the original). Due to Durham being a cathedral priory, it also needed to accommodate pilgrims and members of the public during particular services, which again influenced the buildings final shape, a matter I will return to in chapter 6.

Through its history, Durham Cathedral has been continuously inhabited and gone through a number periods of change in both its fabric and its community. For example, it ceased to act as a Benedictine priory on December 31st 1540 as a result of the 'Dissolution of the Monasteries', quickly becoming a place of Anglican worship with a college of canons in January 1541. Following the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, the Cathedral was used as a prison, housing an estimated 3000-5000 Scottish prisoners, many of who died daily from 'the flux' (Letter from Haselrigge to Parliament, October 1650 In: Bowles 1927:8-11). It was after this dark period that the Cathedral has been used continuously as a place of daily worship, with the building and community slowly modernising through changes such as adding heating systems in the 19th century and Wi-Fi routers in the 21st century. Amid such changes, however, continuity has been constantly established and re-established (see chapter 6).

#### IV. Theoretical Approach

The lasting impression left by my first visit to Durham Cathedral and my subsequent training as a musician, perhaps help account for my concern with bodily experience. My attentiveness to the sensorial scape of the Cathedral was drawn from phenomenological approaches to space, which allowed me to understand and analyse how the Cathedral was made liveable and engageable to its many communities.

According to Merleau-Ponty, phenomenology is 'the study of essences', suggesting the placing of essences 'back within existence', meaning that the only way to 'understand man and the world is by beginning from their "facticity"'. In short, it is the account of "'lived" space, "lived" time, and the "lived" world' (2014[1945]:lxx). As such, 'phenomenology involves describing' (2014[1945]:lxxi). However, as Bergson (1946) and Ingold both point out, life does not 'begin here or end there' (2000:172) rather it is in a state of constant motion. Though as Merleau-Ponty argues, because we are in every aspect so completely related to the world, 'The only way for us to catch sight of ourselves is by suspending this movement' (2014:lxxvii). This is done because presuppositions are

otherwise “taken for granted” and they pass by unnoticed’. However, as Merleau-Ponty goes on to point out, if we ‘rupture our familiarity with it ... this rupture can teach us nothing except the unmotivated springing forth of the world’ (2014:lxvii). Phenomenology offers a way of ‘thinking rigorously and of describing accurately the complex relation between person and world’ (Seamon and Mugerauer 1985:1).

Approaching fieldwork from such a standpoint allows for the use of the senses both in experience whilst in the field and as a part of one’s ethnography. According to Stoller, in Western academia, ‘Dry first principles are generally more important than mouth-watering aromas’ (Stoller 1989:7). However, Pink points out that, ‘A focus on the senses has become a key theme in contemporary anthropology’ (2010:331), with Howes suggesting that, ‘The emphasis in the anthropology of the senses, particularly in recent work, has rather been on the relationships among the senses’ (2010:334). Indeed Stoller (1997) offers the term ‘sensuous scholarship’ to draw attention to the embodied experience in ethnographic writings.

In discussing the use of the senses in the field, it is important to consider the concept of the ‘environment’. My own perspective on the environment is informed by Ingold’s description. He describes it as a ‘relative term – relative, that is, to the being whose environment it is ... Thus, *my* environment is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me, and in that sense it came into existence and undergoes development with me and around me’ (2000:20, emphasis in the original). Furthermore, as I mentioned above, environments are never complete. If, as Ingold’s suggestion implies, environments are created through the ‘activities of living beings, then so long as life goes on, they are continually under construction’ (2000:20). This is essential to the understanding of the relationship between Durham Cathedral and the people who have and continue to inhabit the building, since, as will become apparent throughout this thesis, the continuing ‘usefulness’ of the 900 plus-year-old building is dependent on an environment and its state of constant making.

In contrast to environment, Seamon uses the more phenomenological term *lifeworld*, describing this as the ‘everyday realm of experiences, actions, and meanings typically taken for granted’. He sets out buildings as both lifeworlds and places, suggesting that place is the ‘lived component of lifeworld that is most relevant for examining architectural experience and meaning’. Commenting that from a phenomenological standpoint ‘place can be defined as any environmental locus that draws human experiences, actions, and meanings together spatially and temporally’. In this sense, buildings such as Durham Cathedral become places that not only underpin

and help to maintain lifeworlds, but also maintains a 'lived relationship with other lifeworlds connected to that building spatially and environmentally'. As Seamon suggests, 'Buildings can be understood as a constellation of actions, events, situations, and experiences all associated with and activated by the individuals and groups that make use of that building' (2017:1).

How then might we go about practically experiencing a building? As Kearny outlines, Merleau-Ponty's consistent argument is that, 'It is through our bodies as living centres of intentionality ... that we choose our world and that our world chooses us' (1994:74). Pallasmaa similarly comments, 'I experience myself in the city, and the city exists through my embodied experience. The city and my body supplement and define each other. I dwell in the city and the city dwells in me'. Here Pallasmaa alludes to Ingold's statement that the environment is continually under construction through the process of day to day life when he suggests that, 'Our bodies and movements are in constant interaction with the environment, the world and the self inform and redefine each other constantly'. Furthermore, Pallasmaa's described mode of experience is one of unity in which 'the percept of the body and the image of the world turn into one single continuous existential experience'. As such Pallasmaa's concept of *how* we experience architecture is important in how I approached not only day to day life in the field, but particularly when trying to understand the relationship that exists between the people of Durham Cathedral and the building itself; 'Every touching experience of architecture is multi-sensory; qualities of space, matter and scale are measured equally by the eye, ear, nose, skin, tongue, skeleton and muscle' (2012:43).

Finally, I wish to highlight the role of negotiation in maintaining a relationship between the building and the people. As Hallam and Ingold point out, 'There is no script for social and cultural life'. Instead, life needs to be worked out as one goes along, 'In a word, they have to *improvise*' (emphasis in the original). Setting out its four important points, they suggest that improvisation is generative; 'It gives rise to the phenomenal forms of culture as experienced by those who live by them or in accord with them'. Relational; 'It is continually attuned and responsive to the performance of others'. Temporal; 'It cannot be collapsed into an instant, or even a series of instants, but embodies a certain duration'. Ultimately, it is, 'The *way we work*, not only in the ordinary conduct of our everyday lives, but also in our studied reflections on these lives in fields of art, literature and science' (2007:1, emphasis in the original). Indeed, according to Bruner, 'Improvisation is a cultural imperative' (1993:322). Furthermore, Hallam and Ingold point out that understanding improvisation as a creative process is to have a world

which is 'always in the making' (Jackson 1996:4) as opposed to a readymade one (Hallam and Ingold 2007:3).

Such negotiation and improvisation happen between groups of people that share a building, but do not necessarily share the same agenda. This thesis in part will be the examination of how these groups of people – that sometimes come together and other times disperse – collaborate or clash through negotiating and improvising their meeting in a shared building by carving out separate spaces. The concept of community therefore in this thesis will not be one of Turner's *communitas* (ex. 1975b:21-22), suggesting unity. Rather, it will be one demonstrated by Eade and Sallnow, in their analysis of the organisation of a pilgrimage shrine, a co-existence of numerous groups of people and agendas (2000:52), religious and otherwise. Eade and Sallnow advocate that places of pilgrimage should be seen as based on acts of contestation, contradiction, and opposition. Similarly, Durham Cathedral is a place that gives space to differing communities, whose relationship with the building are best described through the concepts of negotiation and improvisation of Hallam and Ingold (2007). In focusing on the practicalities and situatedness of such negotiations, I will not focus on concepts of Turner's symbols and symbolic actions either (1975a), especially as to do so would highlight the Cathedral's role as a sacred place. In contrast, I will present the Cathedral as a space that engulfs a large array of aspects of life, and space making, not just the sacred or religious.

I build my analysis, therefore, upon the assumption that the Cathedral as a building – its fabric, and its space – is always in motion; it is always in the making. Those who inhabit it and interact with it constantly negotiate its space between each other, and between the many possibilities of the buildings materiality. Thus, improvisation comes into play when space has to be divided between tourists and worshippers, or heating has to be managed in order to make the otherwise cold nave habitable and comfortable.

## V. Historical Approach

In understanding the relationship that exists between Durham Cathedral and those who inhabit the building, this thesis will at times explore historical aspects in order to gain further understanding of the deep-rooted relationships, and how these relationships formed each other over time. We live in a world of constant motion, a world which is 'always in the making' (Jackson 1996:4). However, the subtle fluidity of this change is not always apparent. To look at Durham Cathedral, unpractised eyes do not see the erosion of the stones or the change of usage in spaces. Searching the archives,

on the other hand, will quickly reveal that the Cathedral library was once the Monks' Refectory, and the restaurant was once simply storage space for food and drink. Although these spaces have not changed in my lifetime – the library has been such since the 17th century and restaurant since the 1970's – it is important to remember that they bare the marks of their past in many ways. Most obviously, they were built for these former uses and are now recommissioned and renegotiated spaces. In the Galilee Chapel, the columns show signs of significant erosion, speculated to have been the result of the removal of the roof in the 18th century and the burning of coke,<sup>4</sup> which release acidic gasses into the relatively small space of the chapel and reacted with the Purbeck marble, a polished limestone. Human practices, and needs (of staying warm in this case) do not always agree with the stones, the very fabric of the building, which push back in their attributes such as eroding if not treated adequately. If wanting to inhabit the spaces between the walls and roofs, present and future practices have to deal with the practices of those in the past.

As Hodder points out, we take things around us for granted, 'We fail to see that things are connected to and dependent on other things. We do not recognize that they are not inert. And we forget they have temporalities different from ours'. Hodder goes on to suggest that there is a 'spatial and temporal forgetting of the unstable connections of things'. Using a wrist watch as an example, he remarks that the materials of the watch have spatial connections in the sense of where they were made:

But the wrist watch is also the product of millennia of change in temporal schemes. My watch tells the date. The yearly calendar was first fixed by Julius Caesar – trying to wrest power from religious leaders who controlled a variable time. This Julian calendar was replaced by a Gregorian one – that established our current 12 months and the start of the year on January 1 ... I am linked to Julius Caesar directly through my watch. And yet for most of the time we ignore these histories (2012:6).

Relating Hodder's point back to Durham Cathedral and taking St Cuthbert as an example, because he was buried in the Cathedral, the community and the building are linked back to the island of Lindisfarne, an aspect that is often emphasised by the clergy. Furthermore, decisions made in relation to the building today also explore these connections to the past. An example of this would be the idea of charging an entrance

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<sup>4</sup> A fuel made from coal but burns at higher temperatures.

fee, something other cathedrals have already put in place. The decision not to do so was due, in part, to the core Benedictine value which is that all visitors should be welcomed as if welcoming Jesus.<sup>5</sup> Whilst the Cathedral is no longer a Benedictine priory, it is still partially informed by its temporal connections. Whilst these are but two examples of the buildings connections with the past, these connections are many and are evident in many areas of cathedral life.

The past is also inscribed on the fabric of the building, not only through past human activities, but past environmental changes. From the minor extinction event that formed the sandstone that the Cathedral is built from, to the wind and rain that are constantly eroding its walls. Life in Durham Cathedral depends on the negotiation of these temporal imprints on the building, both human and environmental. The running of the Cathedral costs more than one million pounds a year, funding, among other things, the changing of eroded stones – Durham sandstone is particularly porous and so erodes at a faster rate than other less porous sandstones – rotten wood, and heating, for visitors to feel comfortable, which are all processes of negotiation with the past. Similarly, finding alternative methods of funding, rather than charging at the entrance, is again informed by the Cathedral's past. It is because of these temporal connections evident in everyday life at Durham Cathedral that I have at particular times expanded on historical aspects in order to fully understand the relationship between the building and the community. It is important to remember that these connections to the past are both very practical negotiations of the past aiding the forming of the present, but also a constant referral back to the imagined past of the community of monks who once inhabited the building.

## VI. Methodology and Methods

In discussions with members of the Cathedral Chapter in the lead up to my fieldwork, one question came up several times, how was I going to conduct my research? It had been made explicit that I was not to approach people and begin to ask them questions or hand out questionnaires. I was told that when people come to Durham Cathedral, they have an experience, spiritual or otherwise, and I was not to encroach upon those experiences. Similarly, in asking to volunteer as a steward, I was told that the purpose of stewarding was to be available to visitors if they needed to ask questions, otherwise stewards were not to disrupt visitors and instead wander about the building waiting for people to ask questions. With this in mind, I approached my fieldwork with

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<sup>5</sup> This value is the first rule of chapter 53 in the Rule of St Benedict.

concerns as to how I might speak to members of the public without going against the Cathedral Chapter. However, on arriving in Durham for the beginning of my fieldwork and meeting with the volunteering coordinator, I was told that it would take a couple of weeks to organise a place with the stewards, though a new fund raising initiative had just begun and they were in need for volunteers to begin immediately.

In volunteering for the Durham Cathedral LEGO build I found that all the concerns I had in stewarding were no longer obstacles. As a 'LEGO Maker' my task was to engage visitors in conversation and ultimately persuade them to donate to the LEGO build. In doing so I was not only able to discuss their experiences of the building, I found that the sight of the LEGO Cathedral drew visitors into speaking about personal memories, a topic I explore in chapter 7.

In volunteering as a steward, I found that whilst I was not able to speak to people directly quite so often, I was instead able to observe the way in which people moved about the Cathedral, and to understand the rhythms of the day. In wearing a purple robe, I was often asked questions by visitors, thus I was able to distinguish what areas were they most interested in and what topics they wished to know more about. The questions asked mostly related to the building's architecture, its time as a Benedictine priory, and where the toilets were located. Furthermore, I also offered my services in the Cathedral office, doing data input tasks in the finance department. In doing so I was able observe the inner workings of the Cathedral as an organisation and ask questions on the way in which the Cathedral was run.

There were also days in which I did not have volunteering shifts. On these days, I would go to the Cathedral and sit in particular areas of the building and draw maps of the ways in which people moved around the building (see Appendices B-M for examples) as well as recording soundscapes in various locations. In doing this I was able to build a picture of the way in which usage and sound in the building changed over the 14-month period I was in Durham. Moreover, as my face became more recognisable with those working and volunteering in the Cathedral, I could sit and talk with them at length, whether it be sat in the nave or the restaurant. I found that these conversations worked much better than formal interviews in which people felt the need to put forward what they felt was important to my research, in sitting having a chat about various topics often not related to my research, people revealed much more interesting aspects of cathedral life. However, in the cases in which I wished to speak to members of the community who I was unlikely to 'bump into', such as members of the clergy, I was instead forced to arrange formal interviews in which to ask questions.

In becoming a known face in the community, I also made an effort to be as useful as possible to people, helping to carry heavy boxes for example. In doing this, people began to ask me if I can 'lend them a hand' in various tasks, the benefit of this being that I often found myself in parts of the building I would not have otherwise been able to see. After a while I could also ask to see other areas of the building, such as the Chapter House or the Chorister School, both areas I would have not been allowed to otherwise see.

Additionally, I would spend one day a week in the archives in order to explore particular aspects of what I was observing from a historical point of view. Archival work during my fieldwork proved to be immensely difficult as conservation work in the Cathedral meant that the archival holdings of the Cathedral were being moved for the first time since the 1680s. Thus, documents were often difficult to place between the Cathedral library in the cloister: 5, The College – a Special collections archive situated at the back of the Cathedral that holds Cathedral documents but is ran by the University – and Palace Green Library, another special collection's archive which holds the University's Cathedral archive. Establishing who owned particular Cathedral documents – the Cathedral itself or the University – was difficult, and the added complication of documents temporarily moving between these locations due to conservation only hindered my research further with some documents being impossible to look at.

In order to get a sense of the religious rhythms of the building, I also regularly attended services, both special occasions and daily services. In attending the daily services, I found that, as the Dean had suggested, they served as thresholds to the working day, with Morning Prayer separating the calm of the morning with the busyness of the day, both for myself personally and for the building; and Evensong (see for example Appendix M), separating the busy day from the calm evening. Similarly, the changing special services guided the mood of the congregation through the calendar, both aspects I explore in chapter 5.

At times this thesis deals with themes such as sound, light, time, and space, in which my own personal experiences have been key to my understanding of these aspects of relationship between the building and community. Taking a phenomenological approach to my research, I have at times chosen to approach these experiences auto-ethnographically. An example of my use of auto-ethnography is in describing my walk to Durham Cathedral from the room in which I was staying. In relating my personal experience, I hope to give the reader an understanding of the role sound took during my fieldwork. Hockey points out in his discussion of the 'routine activity' of training to be a

long-distance runner that, 'For the author and co-researcher who wished to portray the relationship between the distance running 'mind' (emotions, sensations, knowledge) and its embodied activity, it [auto-ethnography] constituted the best means of accessing and depicting that relationship' (2006, p.184). Similarly, in using auto-ethnography, exploring my own experiences of sound, light, time, and space gave me insight during my fieldwork and so relaying these experiences is essential in aiding the reader both to understand the personal relationship of the author with the building, and the authors process of realisation. However, whilst I have chosen to focus on these specific areas, this is not to suggest that I believe that our senses can operate independently of one another. Rather, I suggest that by focusing on these particular areas of the environment, one can learn something more about the relationship between the community and the building.

My methods of fieldwork in Durham Cathedral have been heavily informed by a methodology based on my phenomenological and relational theoretical approach. Therefore, I had to find ways of being attentive to the way space in Durham Cathedral was made and experienced. I had often helped myself make these spaces through volunteering, for instance, when as a steward I had to shepherd those who came into the Cathedral as tourists from those coming in to attend services. Attentiveness to the rhythms of the Cathedral and the way people and things moved around again informed a phenomenological and relational understanding of the world. Through formal interviews and informal chats with people from the Cathedral, I have again focused on questions about their experiential being in the Cathedral and about how they often negotiate space inside the building. These attentivenesses were again reliant on my sensorial understandings of the buildings, and therefore auto-ethnography was intrinsically part of the phenomenological and relational description of the Cathedral. Understanding these negotiations of space and the relationships between space and people, also help to understand historical change in the building, informed in part by my archival research.

## VII. The Anthropology of Britain and Fieldwork at Home

According to Rapport (2000, 2002), in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, an 'anthropology of Britain was either conducted by geographers or otherwise by British anthropologists turning their attentions towards home once they had 'fulfilled their desires' in far off countries. Thus leaving 'anthropology in Britain [to be] conducted in the shadow of a more proper anthropology elsewhere' (2002:4). Furthermore, whilst Cohen (1983) offered an extensive overview of anthropological studies in Britain, 'An uncertainty

concerning the legitimacy (even the possibility) of undertaking anthropology in Britain has continued to dog the British institutional scene almost up to the present day' (Rapport 2000:20). However, through the work of anthropologists such as Cohen and Rapport, the anthropology of Britain is now as legitimate as any other anthropological focus. As Cohen, himself states, 'The anthropology of Britain came of age when it ceased to be defensive, or sufficiently self-confident not to feel the need for self-justification' (Cohen 2002b:325). Therefore, whilst my concern in this thesis may not be with the anthropology of Britain per se, my thesis does examine a community of people in the north-east of England who inhabit a cathedral nestled in the heartland of what once was the Durham coalfield and is now a place of post-industrial ruins (Edensor 2005), negotiating not only the various parts of its own vast community but also the changing face of County Durham and Britain as a whole.

Anthropology 'at home', has come to be 'advocated on grounds of both ethics and expediency (cf. Jackson 1986)' (Rapport 2002:6). In 'British Subjects', Rapport sets out his vision of an anthropology ('at home') in Britain which can potentially offer the discipline of anthropology valuable insights, arguing that an anthropologist 'thoroughly at home in linguistic denotation, and familiar with behavioural form, is more able to appreciate the connotative: to pick up the niceties of interaction and ambivalences and ambiguities of exchange, where the most intricate (and interesting) aspects of sociocultural worlds are constructed, negotiated, contested and disseminated' (2002:7).

During the process of establishing contact with Durham Cathedral my status as 'local' aided me in getting the consent needed. I was even told about another researcher wishing to do research in the Cathedral but as 'they weren't local, it didn't work out'. Similarly, my accent and intimate knowledge of local dialect and humour aided me not only in gaining acceptance into various areas of the community but helped me understand when someone was surreptitiously criticising aspects of cathedral life through jokes and local slang, and to delve further into the issues. However, at times, my position as a student from a university helped me gain access to other areas in which my being 'local' would not have helped, such as accessing the archival materials and interviews with Chapter members.

Finally, in relation to conducting fieldwork so close to friends and family, I chose to live *in* the City of Durham, a five-minute walk from Durham Cathedral and a twenty-minute drive to my home village. In doing so, I was able to keep both areas of my life separate, helping me maintain the frame of mind of being an anthropologist in the field, questioning all aspects of daily life as opposed to becoming overly comfortable

surrounded by friends and family. While at the start of fieldwork my friends and family were keen to visit as often as they could, I quickly organised a weekly routine in which both aspects of life were kept separate. For example, I would meet friends to play football and go for drinks every Wednesday evening while on a Saturday morning my family could visit me and walk around the city and the weekend market. Both instances offered me a chance to routinely remove myself from my fieldwork and often came as a welcomed break from its intensities.

### VIII. Thesis Layout

This thesis is organised into three main parts. The first part, 'Life in Durham Cathedral', explores the community directly, through the narratives of members of varying parts of Durham Cathedral's communities. Here I discuss not only what 'community' is in the Cathedral but also the difficulties in negotiating the various parts of the community as well as dealing with both a changing building and dynamic and shifting identities. The second chapter examines the role that religion plays not in the day to day services of the congregation but in the wider context of life within Durham Cathedral. Religion is an intriguing aspect in a world and a building that are seemingly becoming increasingly secular and religion is seen to be less and less meaningful in life. Both chapters in this first section reveal the changing aspect of cathedral life. Indeed, one member of the volunteering community commented on the changing face of Durham Cathedral and its gradual acceptance of its World Heritage designation. In turn suggesting that the Cathedral had become much more commercialised and tourist friendly, whilst still attempting to negotiate its congregation and its religious purpose.

The second part, 'Experiencing Durham Cathedral' examines daily life in the building through sound, light, time, and space. The first chapter of part two considers the role of sound in several ways: for example, sound's role in religious services, looking towards how sound informs and reveals aspects of the relationship shared by the building and community. In the second chapter of this section, I turn my attention towards the role that light plays in this relationship, again exploring its role in religious services, but also in the way we explore the building and the architecture. I am concerned with the way in which light informs our experience. The final chapter of this section considers the role of both time and space in Durham Cathedral. I explore the way in which the community organises itself through time and ultimately the way in which the building helps to accommodate the various groups of people who use the building at the same

time for very different purposes. I pay close attention to the constant negotiation of space and time that occurs in the ever-changing environment.

The final section of this thesis is entitled 'The Living Cathedral' in which I shift focus towards the building itself and consider its continually changing body. I will also examine the diverse human perspectives towards change in ancient and culturally significant buildings as well as how that change is managed today. Furthermore, this chapter, following both Heidegger (1971) and Ingold (2000), will consider what it is to 'dwell in' and 'the dwelling relationship' with the building. The second and final chapter in this section will examine the role of the LEGO Cathedral, a fundraising initiative to raise funds for the conservation and further modifications to the building. In this chapter I will analyse the role improvisation plays in the construction process of a model as volunteers move away from the designs provided. This improvisation might reveal something of the actual building processes of such constructions as the Cathedral. Furthermore, this chapter examines how builders and visitors use the model to relate to the actual building, retelling stories, and memories of both the building and the material (LEGO), their 'rediscovery' of Durham Cathedral through helping to build the LEGO Cathedral and the dynamic connection that has emerged between Durham Cathedral and its LEGO replica.



# **PART 1: LIFE IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL**



# **CHAPTER 1: COMMUNITY?**

## I. Community/Cathedral

It had taken four long weeks of waiting for the meeting, but finally, I was sitting in the office of Philip Davies, the Cathedral's Chapter Clerk. According to Durham Cathedral's website, 'The Chapter Clerk is the senior administrator in the Cathedral and is responsible to Chapter for the administrative support and functionality and matters of legal and financial compliance across the Cathedral's operation' ('Governance' 2017). In non-cathedral terms, the position could be better understood as a Managing Director. Welcoming me at the small reception of the cathedral office, we made the short walk through the rabbit warren building to his own office. Pulling a seat in towards his desk for me and taking a seat at his desk he asked me to give him a sense of my research so that he might 'pitch accordingly', I told him, 'Basically, I'm looking at the relationship between the people of Durham Cathedral and the building, and the manner in which they change each other'. Nodding understandingly, he began:

That's interesting because I often say, to myself as well as to others, that what this is about is relationships. In terms of what makes us distinctive, is there anything other than the fact that we're congregated around this particular space, this architecture?... What is it that makes us distinctive? (Recording, 7 April 2014)

Philip's question is an important one, and one I have spent much time trying to answer, for my own piece of mind as much as for the purpose of this thesis. 'Community' was a much-used word during my fieldwork and often the same term was used to describe many different areas or groups of people within Durham Cathedral. Early on in my fieldwork, I would ask anyone who used the word, who they meant when they said 'community'. I would often get the same reply, 'Well, us of course', accompanied by a vague wave of the hand, leaving me unclear as to whether 'community' involved only those in the room, or everyone who wandered through the building, or even if it involved the building itself. This last point was often particularly confusing because people would refer to those who were employed at the Cathedral, either in the office or as a part of the Chapter, as 'the Cathedral'. For example, people would tell me news such as, 'The Cathedral is planning a charity event in the nave on Wednesday', or 'the Cathedral doesn't want to charge an entry fee'. Whilst I was always acutely aware that these people were referring to either the office workers' plans or the Chapter's plans, their referring to them through the Cathedral was often confusing when thinking about community. Indeed, on certain occasions, even those I spoke to from the office or the Chapter would

refer to a section of the community as 'the Cathedral', leaving me even more unsure as to who they were referring to. The volunteers? The worshippers? The people of County Durham? Or the building itself? All these seemed to be commonly referred to as parts of the 'community'.

Indeed, I discussed this very point with the Chapter Clerk when I asked what he thought 'Durham Cathedral' was: 'Is it the stones or is it the community of Durham Cathedral'? Giving a short laugh and commenting on the size of the question, he replied,

I think it's both actually, isn't it? Because if you say to people, 'What do you mean by Durham Cathedral?' which I do, I start off by saying, 'Do you mean that building on the hill or within it? Do you mean the school? Do you mean the shop? Do you mean the restaurant? Do you mean the library? Do you mean the office? Do you mean the riverbanks?' – which are effectively a public park – all of which belongs to the Cathedral. 'Do you mean Prebends Bridge? Do you mean the exhibitions and concerts and the sort of events that go on in the Cathedral? Or do you mean the services that go on in the Cathedral?' Because they are all Durham Cathedral in its different kinds of manifestations. And, depending on who you are talking to at any one time, it could be any one of those things, or it could be a combination of those things, but they're all Durham Cathedral. And when I say that, people usually go, 'Oh yeah, I see what you mean'. You see it's also the thing about how many people are employed voluntarily or paid staff, which is now nearly 900 people engaged on this site. That's mainly volunteers, 700 of them, but we have 150 staff, and then there are contractors as well, on top, who come in and do things like run the kitchens in the school, and whilst they're not a part of our staff they obviously have a strong connection to the place. In Durham terms, 900 people makes us a very major employer, even if you just count the paid staff. That's one of the largest employers in Durham, apart from the University, the County Council, and the prison. I think the Cathedral is perhaps the fourth biggest employer of paid staff in Durham (Recording, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2014).

In the Epilogue to Amit's edited work 'Realizing Community' (2002a), Cohen argues that the term 'community' has become a word used to describe that '*something* is shared among a group of people at a time when we no longer assume that *anything* is necessarily shared' (emphasis in the original). The use of the term has become so over generalised that Cohen, commenting on the vagueness of the term, suggests that

it has become 'virtually meaningless' (2002a:169). Despite this, the term has persisted, as Amit's opening page synopsis suggests. 'The persistence of the term itself shows that the idea continues to resonate powerfully in daily lives' (2002b:i). Therefore, in situations in which the term is 'deployed indigenously ... we have something to work on ethnographically and interpretively' (Cohen 2002a:169).

With this in mind, the structure of this chapter will not work towards any formative conclusions of community in Durham Cathedral. Rather, through the narratives of individuals who inhabit the building, this chapter aims to give the reader a sense of the difficulties which arise in the inhabitation of such a diverse, and historically and culturally significant building, and will present some of the people and the roles they can take up inside the Cathedral, to give a general sense of those who maintain, operate, and use the building. However, the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that the Cathedral is not a backdrop to people's lives, rather it is actively taking part in the lives of those inhabiting it. Therefore, it is important to mention Appadurai's (1995) concept of locality-production as opposed to a static idea of community. For Appadurai, local identity is a 'property of social life', which, nevertheless, is also 'materially produced'. Therefore, locality is constantly produced and reproduced both socially and materially, and the materiality of the actual Cathedral becomes an important part of social life. Degnen demonstrates that 'place works not just to tie people as individuals to places, but that it also works to tie individuals to each other' (2016:1650), and indeed, the Cathedral as a place is what ties together those working for and inhabiting its spaces.

Nevertheless, as the concept of community is often used by those inhabiting the Cathedral, I will use it myself. Somers suggests that by approaching concepts such as communities and identities through narratives, one can examine 'how individuals construct identities in concrete temporal, spatial and relational contexts, both as specific historical persons and as members of wider societal orders' (Somers 1994 cited in Fog Olwig 2002:127-128). Commenting on such an approach, Somers states that 'It matters not whether we are social scientists or subjects of historical research, but that all of us come to *be* who we *are* (however ephemeral, multiple, and changing) by being located or locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives *rarely of our own making*' (1994:606, emphasis in the original). In the following narratives of individuals from different areas of cathedral life, the issues of living in, around, and with a building such as Durham Cathedral begin to reveal themselves from differing angles and in doing so help to develop a complex picture of the community and the daily negotiations lived out by those who inhabit the Cathedral.

## II. The Employees

Returning to the office of Philip Davies, he continued to answer the question he had earlier posed,

My answer is, if people are unsure, that we are trying to be a community of people, who obviously have a particular relationship with this building, because of its history, its purpose, historic and religious and all the rest of it. But in terms of our day-to-day lives, people who work in and out of this office, and myself included, sometimes go for days and days without going in there [the Cathedral]. It can be quite detached, its own separate community (Recording, 7 April 2014).

As Philip's answer suggests, most of those who were employed and would call Durham Cathedral their workplace, were not actually situated within the Cathedral itself. They had their office out on the south side of the claustral buildings in what was known as the College. The 'office' was a veritable rabbit warren of small rooms, one leading into another, and in each room office-workers from 'departments' such as 'marketing', 'events', and 'finance'<sup>6</sup> sat at their desks making phone calls and sending emails. The Cathedral office was housed in an old building intended for other purposes and ill-suited to being such a busy office, as modern office desks awkwardly negotiated boarded up fireplaces and ill thought-out power points in the walls. The only hints to it having been the office of a cathedral was the odd picture of Durham Cathedral hanging here and there throughout the small rooms and tight corridors. To see the actual cathedral from the office was difficult through the small windows, and from some rooms it was impossible.

As our conversation progressed, the Chapter Clerk explained that his view of community was informed by his Christian faith and 'Gospel values'. Yet, as he also explained, 'A lot of staff here have no faith commitment as such and are not required to. We can't insist that everyone here has a faith. It would be illegal for one thing, but if we are not attempting to live as a community of generosity towards one another; compassion, honesty...'. He broke off and was suddenly focused on his computer, his face hidden by the screen. All I heard was the clicking of his mouse before he shortly resumed,

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<sup>6</sup> During my fieldwork I often spent Friday morning working my way through Gift Aid sheets in the finance department.

What we are doing at the moment: the Dean is working on the 'values statement'. It's all very well me, with individual members of staff, or even groups of staff, spouting away about values, but we ought to try to articulate that. A simple statement that actually came from Westminster Abbey. I'll show you it because I was very impressed with it, because of its simplicity, it's a very simple statement about values, and it can help us in terms of setting standards for ourselves and by means of which we can challenge ourselves. By saying we can achieve this.

The Chapter Clerk reached for the printer before handing me the statement from Westminster Abbey, which I began to scan through as Philip sat, waiting expectantly. The statement was indeed very simple, making a pledge towards six specific words – action, community, communication, opportunity, respect, and diversity. I nodded in agreement of the simplicity of the statement, 'You see' replied Philip as I looked up from the sheet of paper...

...very simple, and that could very well be written for Durham Cathedral. But I do find the question of community very interesting. There are different communities here with regards to volunteers, and the office, for instance. The staff in the library will perceive themselves as a different community to the staff in the office. But it's how we work together that is the challenge, and it occupies a lot of my thinking. We need to be like the old cliché 'singing from the same hymn sheet', but we often don't. But there are 140 staff here and 720 volunteers so that is a big community and the managing of it is quite challenging at times. (Recording, 7 April 2014)

In essence, Philip's issue here was one of both community values and, by extension, negotiation. According to Eiss and Pederson, the term 'value'<sup>7</sup> has come to have multiple meanings 'expressed in terms of dyadic distinctions: Value is about measure or meaning; it is material or symbolic, secular or sacred, abstract or concrete, individual or collective, qualitative or quantitative, global or local' (2002:283). The study of value in anthropology has taken a more central role since the turn of the century (Trosset and Caulkins 2002; Huntington and Harrison 2000; Inglehart 1997; and a

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<sup>7</sup> When I use the term 'value' in this chapter, I do not mean the more economical sense of valuation, or assessing the worth, often monetary, but not necessarily so, of commodities, and things (see for instance Doganova et al. 2014), but I use 'value' in the sense of a set of principles, a moral code, or ethical concerns.

special value theme issue of Cultural Anthropology, see Eiss and Pedersen 2002). Yet as Trosset and Caulkins point out, often anthropologists 'tacitly assume that individuals differ in their behaviours but not in their motivating concepts and values' (2002:239). However, as Philip's comments point out, whilst staff working in the office do not need to have 'faith commitments', his own values of what a good community is, are based upon his own Christian beliefs or as Philip puts it, the 'Gospel values', thus highlighting the potential differences in 'motivating concepts and values' (2002:239). As Tunstall points out, 'Value systems and cultures have to be accepted as dynamic, not static' (2013:240). Therefore, the role of negotiation is important as 'each group has within it the potential for value differences' (Hyde 1987:132). This point is even more pronounced in a building such as Durham Cathedral, in which religious and non-religious individuals work together for the benefit of a primarily religious building.

One other important element of Cathedral life that became evident during my conversation with Philip was the change which was occurring, a change which he has tried to instigate,

A lot has changed since I arrived here but I would still like to hear more laughter in the place, especially people coming in and enjoying and taking pride in the place that they work. And even silliness is okay, a place where we can play the odd practical joke, it's not that because of where it is it should be frowned on, it's a place where human beings can be human. It's not a place where they whisper, 'No, we can't do that, this is Durham Cathedral'; well actually it is a place where we can do that, it's a place of work and we can have a bit of a laugh. I don't mind if people go to lunch and come back half an hour late or even an hour, because I know, or would like to think, that these people would stay late or come in on a Saturday morning. We have a laid-back approach as long as the work is getting done, the culture is changing, has changed.

I think it's fair to say that my predecessor managed things very differently, I don't know if he would describe it as demand and control, but it was very hierarchical. The Chapter Clerk sat here and everything tended to be operated from here. He was also a member of the Chapter in his own right, so he had authority given to him as a member of the Chapter, of the governing body effectively. People have said to me that he managed things almost in silos, so there was a school over here, a shop over here, and a works department over here. None of them knew what was going on in any of the other silos, because

he managed them in such a way that they were not supposed to know. He had this phrase which is, 'It's a need to know basis, and you don't need to know', and I heard him say that during my two to three-week handover period. He also had a plaque nailed to his door, and it said, which I think is very significant in terms of style, 'I'm only seeing one person today, and that's not you'. My style has been very different, and it is to say firstly, my name is Philip, and we are a team and we work in a team, and the word team was not used at all around here. Also, I believe in flatter structures, so I have a job that is particular to me but just because you are the gardener or the cleaner or whatever, it doesn't mean that you are less important. I have a different job, with a different set of responsibilities, but we all rely on one another, so I have tried to change that culture, and I would like to believe that it has changed, but I think there is still some way to go.

Change in Durham Cathedral is a fundamental aspect of life, as I will show throughout this thesis. Whilst we may at first consider Durham Cathedral to be almost eternal and unchanging, it is at all times changing. Whilst at times this change can be difficult to accept or manage, as Ingold argues, 'Change is simply what we observe if we sample a continuous process at a number of fixed points' (2000:147). As Brand points out, our view of change can be paradoxical, both disliking change as it happens, and liking change that has occurred. "To change is to lose identity; yet to change is to be alive' (1994:167). As the next section will show, change can at times cause worry within certain parts of the Durham Cathedral community.

### III. The Volunteers

The largest and most significant body of people at Durham Cathedral was without a doubt the volunteers. The body of volunteers during my fieldwork was in excess of 700 people. This group came to be volunteers in many ways. Some examples from those I met ranged from using volunteering as a way to get out of the house and meet new people following the death of a husband, to a student looking to get involved in activities away from university life. Similarly, the backgrounds of volunteers were very diverse, ranging from retired physics professors to retired miners, and even my secondary school English teacher, Mrs Dean. The countless volunteers I met during my fieldwork all had different reasons to want to volunteer, and many had been volunteers for a number of decades. According to Wilson, volunteering, an act in which an individual freely gives their time to a particular area, can be seen as 'part of a general cluster of helping activities

... volunteerism is typically proactive rather than reactive and entails some commitment of time and effort' (2000:216). As sociological works on volunteering have highlighted, many volunteers consider 'working to improve their communities, aiding the less fortunate, and doing something for the country' (2000:219) of higher importance than non-volunteers (also see Flanagan et al. 1999:149).

The largest group of volunteers was that of the stewards who were very much the public face of the Cathedral. They welcomed visitors through the front doors, making sure to always be visible throughout the building should anybody have a question about the Cathedral, its history, or the city of Durham in general. Split into three, three-hour shifts throughout the day, the stewards divided themselves into smaller groups, usually that of the shift they volunteered for. The stewards themselves spanned a great age range, from students of the University in their early twenties, up to retirees. The rhythms in which people volunteered for their shifts also varied, with some volunteering for several shifts spanning a number of days throughout the week, to those who volunteered for one shift once a month. In addition to stewarding, a number of volunteers acted as tour guides, guiding groups around the Cathedral and detailing aspects of the history of Durham Cathedral.

As with the employees, there were again a vast number of different areas in which one could volunteer at Durham Cathedral, including bell ringing, looking after the Cathedral's colony of bats, embroidering, helping to maintain the clergy gowns, altar covers and other cloth around the building, and many more. During my fieldwork, I volunteered in as many of these different groups as I could, volunteering as a steward on Sunday afternoons and during special events. However, I spent most of my time volunteering as a 'LEGO Maker'. At the time, the newest group of volunteers<sup>8</sup> within the Cathedral, the LEGO Makers, spent their time within the undercroft where we would sell LEGO bricks to the public, which they could place onto a scale model of Durham Cathedral, raising money for the Cathedral. This group was very different from the stewards, with the age range being much reduced. It did, however, include individuals who also volunteered in other areas of Cathedral life. The reasons for volunteering were just as diverse as those of the stewards.

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<sup>8</sup> Since returning from fieldwork, the LEGO Cathedral has been completed and the Open Treasure exhibition space has been opened, thus creating a more recent group of volunteers. Of the LEGO volunteers, many have now left volunteering at the Cathedral and some have looked at entering into other parts of the Cathedral's volunteering groups.

It is also worth mentioning here the Friends of Durham Cathedral group, a group of both volunteers and other individuals worldwide, who organise events and projects aimed at raising money for the Cathedral. Although not a group visible in the everyday life of Durham Cathedral, they still formed an important part of the volunteering body. Often when I asked people why they volunteered, whilst the answers were of a wide variety, it was also often suffixed with, 'and it's just nice to be able to do something for this wonderful building'.

### III.i. Pat's View of Community

Originally from Scotland, Pat has volunteered at Durham Cathedral for many years. Her husband was a reverend and honorary Canon of the Cathedral, and her daughter, once an acolyte<sup>9</sup> at Durham Cathedral, was now Bishop of Waikato in New Zealand. During my fieldwork, Pat had been the driving force behind 'Read Bede', in which Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English people' was read aloud in the Galilee Chapel beside the tomb of the Venerable Bede. According to a report Pat compiled after the week-long event, 'the Read' consisted of '91 individuals, a choir of 11, a church group of 4, 4 pupils and 1 teacher from the Venerable Bede Academy in Sunderland, and 5 students and 1 teacher from St Bede Catholic school and 6 from Bede College, Lanchester'. From these individuals, one Durham University graduate from 1989, living in Seattle, USA, followed the progress through the Cathedral website. She had a chapter read on her behalf, and a short video of the reading sent to her. Another woman from Kansas City, USA, who was on a pilgrimage to Iona, Lindisfarne, and Durham 'pursuing her love of Bede', was overcome with emotion when invited to read a chapter, highlighting the outreach of the community.

I don't remember the first time I met Pat; she had been a friendly face since the start of my fieldwork. Sometimes we'd stop for a chat or say hello as we crossed paths, but finally I had asked if she would like to sit down for a coffee and a chat about life in the Cathedral, and so a week later we met in the restaurant.

'Greetings Norman'.

Just as we sat down an older man, whose face I recognised from stewarding, stopped to say hello and enquire as to how Pat's daughter was getting on in the first months of being bishop.

'Oh, she's doing great, thanks, Jim and I are so proud of her'. Norman nodded and smiled

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<sup>9</sup> An individual who assists a priest during a service.

before wandering out of the restaurant, his purple stewarding robe hanging over his arm. Soon our conversation turned to the community and the changes it was going through;

Well we've been here 38 years, and it was a very different place, and it's only in the last number of years that it has opened up. I mean the current Dean enables engagement, and I think it engages with people a lot more now than it did in the past. It would have been interesting to have had an anthropologist here maybe about 15 years ago; I think he or she would have found the Cathedral a very different place, very different. I think now, with the fact that the word 'community' is used for those who worship, and who are around the Cathedral stewarding or whatever as a part of the community, that word would not have been used 12, 13, 14 years ago, absolutely not. I think Rosalind<sup>10</sup> has been an influence there as well, and I think with Rosalind and Michael<sup>11</sup>, because of their strong Benedictine leanings, and wanting to bring in aspects of Benedictine ways into everyday life in the Cathedral, they have modernised it in a way, so that the community is now those of us who are around. Interpreting the Benedictine ways in a way which engages people.

Interested by Pat's suggestion of change in the Cathedral, I push her further on the matter, asking if life in the Cathedral has changed for the better,

Oh yes, it's a more accessible place, a lot more accessible and that's got to be good for everybody really. The Cathedral is definitely changing, and there is in that a lot of movement happening in the Cathedral, and that would not have happened in the past, absolutely not. I think before, it was holding on to the past, and there was a kind of barrier, you know, the Cathedral was there to do for you, and there was no sense of being in it, it's a whole liturgical thing as well, and it's not just confined to the Cathedral. I think the church in the past, the priest was there to lead the service. You didn't participate, you were there and you were a bit like fodder. Now there is a greater sense that we all contribute, it's not just the priest, so now you have lay people doing the prayers, and just overall greater participation.

'So how do you feel about the future of the Cathedral?' I asked.

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<sup>10</sup> Reverend Rosalind Brown, a Residentiary Canon of Durham Cathedral.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Sadgrove, the former Dean of Durham Cathedral, who retired just after my fieldwork. Whenever I talk about the Dean of Durham Cathedral, I refer to him.

Well sometimes one gets a bit concerned about the whole commercial development of the Cathedral, but I think so long as it retains a liturgical face and the worshipping face... but there is such a concentration just now on fundraising and the emergence of hundreds of staff working in the background, so it is becoming a different place. But every generation could say that it's becoming a different place. I mean you do get a lot of comments from people saying that they're concerned, and that there is a concern about the commercialisation of the Cathedral, but I think as long as you've got someone like the Dean and his successors, who actually will always recall what the purpose of the building really is, then it'll be ok. But you know, the development of this cathedral is not a democratic process. This community exists as long as it is allowed to, as long as it is given space to exist. I mean things like 'Read Bede', it would have got nowhere if it hadn't have been given permission to go ahead, which I suppose brings order to the place, so there is a need for that. But it isn't a democratic process, I mean look at the community meetings, you just get told what is happening in the community and then a few minutes of questions at the end.

My own experience of the community meetings was just as Pat had described. It was a gathering of people, mostly of an older generation and mainly from the body of stewards sat in the nave of the Cathedral and listened to work that was being done in the Open Treasure Project and how well the sales in the Cathedral shop were doing before the gathering of the well over 150 people was allowed to ask one or two questions.

But I think also that being a part of the community here, it is a huge privilege, I mean when Jim, my husband, received the letter from the bishop to say that he was going to be made an honorary canon of the Cathedral, he just sat silently at his desk before he called me and said 'Look what I've just received'. And it is that sense of 'what an honour, what an honour and a privilege', and I feel that it is a great honour and privilege to be a steward and to read, and to be a communion assistant, and I'm just so honoured to be able to make that contribution. And the great thing about the community is that it is very quick to embrace and for you to feel part of it all, I love it.

As with all individual members of the various groups that inhabit Durham Cathedral, they hold unique opinions which relate to their position within the community. For example, Pat, aside from being a volunteer steward is also involved in other areas

of life around the Cathedral, as well as being the wife of an honorary Canon. As such, Pat focuses on the religious aspects of life as well as expressing concern for the direction that is being taken. It must be made clear, however, that other people I interviewed from the volunteering body who occupied different, yet just as complex positions, between areas in the Cathedral, focused upon various areas of cathedral life. For example, some focused upon the organisation of the volunteers and some on the enjoyment of being able to come and meet with friends. Furthermore, some volunteers held no religious beliefs, and so interviews with these individuals revealed very little care or knowledge for this aspect of life in Durham Cathedral. My reason for highlighting Pat's views in this section are not only due to the longevity of her presence in the Cathedral, but also the degree to which Pat was involved in many different areas of cathedral volunteering and so gave, I feel, a rounded opinion of the direction of change which is and has occurred in Durham Cathedral.

Whilst Philip Davies set out a view of community in Durham Cathedral based around Christian values as well as Pat herself being a practising Christian, it is important to highlight that personally held, or even commonly held values do not always point to reasons why people volunteer. As Wilson points out, 'Volunteering takes many forms, each inspired by a different set of values', leading Wilson to remark on the low impact values have on volunteers (2000:219). Throughout my fieldwork, I continuously enquired as to why people volunteered at Durham Cathedral and the reasons were diverse.

The concern expressed here by Pat is one many cathedrals are aware of. The architect and surveyor of fabrics to Ely Cathedral, Kennedy J. addresses this concern when she asks, 'How can we develop our cathedrals for worship and mission and at the same time retain the sense of sacred space ... Successful "marketing" of our cathedrals can bring so many visitors that the sense of calm can be lost'. Similarly, Kennedy J. suggests that some cathedrals have begun charging an entrance fee 'in order to limit the number of visitors and "recover the calm"' (2006:115), highlighting the difficulty faced by cathedrals, to negotiate between different uses of their buildings. While Philip discusses change in a positive manner, hoping to improve people's experience, Pat discusses change in very different way, expressing her own and others' concerns with regard to the changes being implemented. Pat's comments highlight the issue of negotiation in the face of change, in particular the differing experiences of the various communities in Durham Cathedral.

#### IV. The Congregation

The congregation of worshippers at Durham were, of course, an integral part of life in the Cathedral. During my time volunteering, I was often able to speak to visitors who would frequently comment on their surprise that the Cathedral was a fully functioning church. In fact, Durham Cathedral was a busy place of daily worship with three regular services every day and four on Sundays. Additionally, services were added throughout the year for special occasions, for example, feast days or important days in the Christian calendar, such as those around the Easter period. With such a busy calendar of services, there was a strong community of worshippers, some of whom, over the course of my fieldwork, became familiar faces. As with the volunteering groups, the congregation could again be separated down into smaller groups, with some people sticking to particular services. As Canon Rosalind explained to me during one conversation:

Well, we talk about cathedral communities, but we also talk about cathedral congregations, plural, because there is more than one of them. I think some of them do have a very strong identity: the choir, the stewards on the days on which they steward, – they identify themselves very often as the Monday afternoon stewards for example, rather than simply a steward, which I suppose is a way of having an identity within a group of people... I think the Sunday school has its own identity, the chaplains to some extent, although they don't see each other because they're always on duty on their own, but they know they're a part of a bigger thing. So, I think yes, within the staff, there are different groups, which is partly to do with the buildings they work in or the teams they're in. So, yes there are a number of communities. If you talk about the congregations, we use the word plural, because very often they are, 'I am an 8 o'clocker', 'I come to Evensong during the week', 'I don't come at weekends because I go to my parish church', 'I am an 11:15 person'. There are a few who cross boundaries, you know, some of the 8 o'clockers come to Matins, some of the 11:15 people come to Evensong during the week, but they're also quite separate in some ways. So, yes, we say worshipping congregations, plural, but you'd get that in any church, we just have it on a slightly larger scale, and there is crossing of those boundaries, people going to more than one. But certainly, weekday Evensong congregations, a lot of them are not around at weekends because they are supporting their local parish churches, which is great (Recording, 4<sup>th</sup> April 2014).

#### IV.i. Ken and Durham Cathedral

Whilst Pat's comments earlier have given a rounded view of both volunteering and the concerns of the congregation of the Cathedral, I want to briefly turn to Ken, also a member of the congregation who volunteers. Ken offers a perspective of a member of the congregation who has moved away from his parish church towards the Cathedral.

It was the end of an evening service, and as was the case at the end of evening services, the clergy would stand in the transept crossing, bidding goodbye to the congregation, shaking hands and sharing a few words to those who stopped. At these times, people would also linger in the crossing to speak to other members of the congregation who had just attended the service and this particular time I had spotted Ken, a volunteer on the LEGO Cathedral. Ken and I would volunteer together for one morning a week and I often saw him at evening services at the Cathedral. Although I would have liked to have sat down for a long conversation with Ken, he was often very evasive, telling me that he never really had much to say, and laughing about ending up in my 'little black book'<sup>12</sup>. However, I found Ken a very interesting man, and was always keen to hear his opinion on happenings around the Cathedral. Seeing Ken standing in the crossing, I decided to steal a few moments of chat with him before leaving the Cathedral and heading home. Greeting him, we first discussed the service, before I turned the conversation towards why he attended services at the Cathedral,

Well, I've always been involved in the church you know, I mean I've done the whole Sunday school thing and whole Scouts when my kids were younger in our parish church. You just get more involved in stuff, especially when your kids are getting involved in the church, but they're all grown up now, and I think the parish church is more orientated towards younger families. I mean I'm too old to be doing Scouts and what have you now, so I prefer to come here. [...] and I just find that people here are more my age, so you just feel a bit more suited to it. I don't mind that my parish church is family orientated, that suited me at one point, but now I find that this place suits me more now, and it's a nice community to be involved with you know (Fieldnotes, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2014).

Ken's comments show another side of worshipping in Durham Cathedral. Pat's comments earlier highlighted a concern with the commercialisation of Durham Cathedral,

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<sup>12</sup> I always made a point that my fieldnotes in my 'little black book' were easily accessible to those who wished to see it, and as a result would always leave it on the LEGO building table. If ever it wasn't on the table people would always be quick to ask its whereabouts.

commenting on the need to maintain its liturgical and the worshipping face through the changes taking place in the Cathedral. However, Ken's comments show that whilst there is concern amongst those who inhabit Durham Cathedral on a daily basis, it is still a place in which people can find their place, and a place which, in Ken's case, suits them better than their parish church. As I shall elaborate on further in the next chapter, Ken's position as a member of the congregation informed his decision to volunteer and lead him to question why non-religious people would want to volunteer in Durham Cathedral.

## V. The Visitors

The visitors also formed an integral and diverse part of the community. As with the other areas of the community that I detailed above, the visiting community was wide-ranging, from those who came to the Cathedral to meet with friends for a coffee in the restaurant, to people travelling from all around the globe. Volunteering as a LEGO Maker proved useful in understanding just how vast and important this part of the community was. For example, I began to recognise and build a rapport with people who would visit on a weekly basis to meet up with friends as they returned to the LEGO Cathedral to examine the progress we'd made. Similarly, it had been decided that a map of the world be placed next to the LEGO model so that people could put pins in the locations from which they had travelled. After just a few weeks the board supported pins from all over the world (see *Figure 2*), each with different reasons for coming to Durham Cathedral. During one conversation, Deryck, a singer from the Cathedral's men's choir and LEGO volunteer, who had worked in a number of cathedrals in England, commented that the number of visitors who used the building was unusual in his experience, as many cathedrals remained largely quiet between services. However, Durham Cathedral remained busy whether services were taking place or not, with visitors coming to the Cathedral to simply meet for coffee or wander around the cloisters.



Figure 2 A map of the world with pins placed by visitors who have placed a LEGO brick upon the LEGO Cathedral.

### V.i. Talking with Rose

During my fieldwork and my duties volunteering as a LEGO maker, I was able to meet and speak to many visitors coming to the Cathedral. Many came from different places around the world, but some, more local people, would visit every week. One such weekly visitor was Rose, an elderly woman who would stop by the LEGO Cathedral and pay a couple of pounds and put her brick on the module we were building at the time. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I decided to ask her if I could sit down and have a quick chat with her and ask her about her visits to Durham Cathedral.

Well I should imagine I've been coming here on a Thursday since my husband died 12 years ago, because we used to come on a Tuesday, and we always used to go to the back of the Cathedral, sit down and look at the Rose Window, and we did that since he retired, maybe before that even, because we used to like walking along the river. It's very nice. And we'd have a meal in the restaurant, but since I've been on my own I just pop in, put a brick on the model and light a candle. I just love the place, my husband loved driving, and we travelled all over England, and we always visited the cathedrals we were near, and we always used to say, 'Well you've got a good cathedral here, but it's not as good as Durham'. I think it's lovely. Every time you come you can find something different about it. I'm not from Durham though, I'm from Hartlepool.

We all used to go to St Oswald's church, and we used to have a vicar who had a lady, they called her Miss Dove, and they brought us here when we were very young because we used to go to Eucharist on a Saturday morning. And when I was very young, they took us to the top of the tower, and I always remember, it was a lovely view but it was ever so windy. I was about 7 when I first came here. The thing I always remember about the church was the cloisters; I love the cloisters.

As a regular visitor to the Cathedral, I was not surprised that Rose quickly turned the conversation to the idea of charging an entrance fee at the door. Whilst it was a specific aim of the Cathedral Chapter to remain as free entry and so continue to follow the Benedictine ideal of hospitality and welcoming, it was common knowledge that the Cathedral had considered the pros and cons of such a proposal. It was a move which always seemed to linger just below the surface for many in Durham Cathedral.

I think it's a shame that you pay all that money to get into York Minster, and I didn't even know there was a cloister there until someone showed us around them, I mean it's lovely, but I don't think it's right that they should charge you ten pounds to go in. Mind, I've been to Westminster Abbey and they charged you 5 pounds for being a pensioner, but I thought that was better value because when you went in, they gave you a brochure which told you what everything was, which I thought was good value for money, but apparently, it's gone up since then, it was a few years ago, since I went. Mind you, if they did charge here, I suppose I would still come because I'm fond of the place, but I think it's better if you leave people to pay what they can afford. I think you'll get far more people in and probably get a bit more money from it too. I mean even if we go into a little village church we always used to put money in the box as we came out but, no I think it spoils it.

According to Badone and Roseman, 'rigid dichotomies between pilgrimage and tourism, or pilgrims and tourists, no longer seem tenable in the shifting world of postmodern travel' (2004:2). Similarly, Platten points out 'The "stakeholders" in cathedrals are many and various, from the local diocese, through numerous local voluntary groups to the city and county communities' (2006:7). It would, therefore, be a mistake to discount visitors as important members of the Cathedral community, no matter how regular or irregular their visits. As one member of the Cathedral Chapter emphasised, 'We see them as pilgrims, not visitors or tourists'. This sense of visitors and

tourists can be clearly understood in Rose's actions of travelling to the Cathedral every week, whilst her views on charging an entrance fee clearly show an invested concern for the building and its community. As Davie points out, cathedrals 'deal with diverse and not always compatible constituencies ... they are frequented by regular and irregular worshippers, pilgrims, visitors, and tourists, bearing in mind that the lines between these groups are frequently blurred' (2006:283).

#### V.ii. Negotiating Visitors and Services

During my discussion with the Chapter Clerk, Philip Davies, one point that he emphasised was the difficulty in negotiating between visitors and the religious services of the Cathedral,

When I came here I went down to the town in my first week. I didn't know Durham that well and went into the tourist information office, which doesn't exist now, and in there was this leaflet on Durham Cathedral, and I thought 'oh interesting'. And I still have that leaflet somewhere, but I was quite shocked when I read it because basically what it said was, 'Durham Cathedral is a place of worship, it is not a tourist attraction', and this is what this leaflet said in the tourist information office. And I thought 'Wow, how not to attract people to come and visit'. It then said, 'These are the times of the services', and nothing else. And I thought 'That's a massive over-simplification', because I know from other documents I was picking up at the same time that Durham Cathedral was the most visited tourist attraction in County Durham, with six hundred thousand visitors a year, and here is a document that obviously has the Chapter's seal of approval that it is not a tourist attraction. I think that was a reflection of my predecessor's way of thinking. For example, he would have nothing to do with the World Heritage Site, he kind of resisted it, and I was saying, 'But it is a World Heritage Site'. It's not something that you can choose for it not to be, you might as well embrace what it is all about, and that's what we try to do.

But how do you manage visitors and services? Well, every day has its tensions and every day they are reflected in the diary committee, the weekly meeting where things are programmed into the Cathedral. Like it's the services and special services plus a wedding or whatever, fine. However, and this is still an issue that we still haven't resolved, is if it's anything other than those I just mentioned, it could be a concert or an exhibition, it could be anything, even a

group of children that want to come and spend the day drawing, there could be tensions around all of that because of service times. In my time, it's been mostly manifest around when we were trying to organise the Lumière festival. There was very significant resistance from the Cathedral, because we were told it would be three days and up to 40,000 people coming through the building. In fact, we now know it was 120,000 people. At the time, they were saying, 'We can't do it!' because it would interfere with the service pattern. It was one of those moments when I said 'Well, either we are going to engage with the community in the way that they seem to want us to, or we are not. Now if we are not, then I have stumbled into the wrong place because I thought we were about mission and our reach and engagement in this, and if we cannot agree to this, then I'm sorry but it raises some very serious questions in my mind and therefore I really think we should be doing it'. As I said, we did it and we had 120,000 people, but the tensions surrounding it were huge, because there were people of the Chapter who didn't want this to happen. Anyway, we did it, and it was a great success. It was picked up in all the local media and we got a lot of very positive feedback. Then the next one came in 2011 and there was almost the same level of resistance on the basis of 'Well we knew what happened last time, it was great but it was also very disruptive, so we are not doing it'. And that's when I mobilised myself and others to make sure we would do it and we did do it, and then again in 2013 and the numbers went up to 140,000, and it keeps growing. And coincidentally we are having a meeting today about the Lumière of 2015 with the producers, so it is already agreed that we are doing it, the battles have been won and we are doing it.

Whilst the Chapter Clerk's words here were strong, what they did highlight was the tensions between the religious and non-religious aspects of life in Durham Cathedral, tensions to which Pat voiced her concerns. Similarly, the concerns voiced by Rose in the Cathedral charging an entrance fee were once again born out of these tensions. Durham Cathedral needed to raise funds for conservation work. However, the Cathedral's Benedictine leanings made such a situation problematic. These kinds of tensions and negotiations inside the building will be the topics and points of analysis of most of the following chapters and the thesis as a whole.

## VI. Extended Community

Beyond those who were often physically present at the building, there was a much larger community spread across the county. One of the oft-used phrases in Durham Cathedral was that it belonged to the people of County Durham, as such the people of County Durham must be considered full members of the Cathedral. The participation of the wider community of County Durham in the Cathedral was most evident at the Durham Miners' Gala. The Gala was a day in which the miners' and their families all travelled into the city on the second Saturday of July and enjoyed a carnival atmosphere, political speeches on the cricket field, and a service of remembrance at the Cathedral. During his welcoming of the people to the Miners' Gala service at his final Durham Miners' Gala before his retirement, the Dean, Michael Sadgrove, told a story of his first few months as Dean of Durham Cathedral, in which he was told he would never truly understand Durham until he had witnessed the Durham Miners' Gala, a piece of advice he held to be true in understanding both the county and the community of Durham Cathedral. Whilst this part of the extended community may not be physically present in the Cathedral, they still influenced decisions made. For example, it was often mentioned that the reason Durham Cathedral did not charge an entrance fee was because the people of County Durham would never allow it.

In trying to understand the relationship the Cathedral had with the county today, I decided to ask Ian Jagger, one of the diocese's Archdeacons, who, whilst being a residential Canon at the Cathedral, spent three-quarters of his time out in the diocese of Durham. During the interview, I asked him to comment on the way in which the Cathedral interacted with the wider community and the relationship that existed between the Cathedral and the diocese.

### VI.i. Archdeacon Ian Jagger

The diocese of Durham comprises of three archdeaconries, Ian Jagger is the Archdeacon of Durham Archdeaconry, which spans east to west across the centre of the diocese, through the City of Durham and containing many former pit communities ('Diocese of Durham' 2017). The Archdeacon started by describing how people from all around the diocese come to the Cathedral for the major services, such as those held by the bishop, often in order to 'spend time with the bishop'. He emphasised the importance of the Cathedral being free of entry, as many of the visitors come back frequently, and most people of the county feel that the Cathedral is 'our' place and enjoy frequent revisits:

I think people come back because you get a sense of grandeur, a sense of peace and history. I also think being quite practical about it, there's not an awful lot to do in Durham and the Cathedral is a free visit, you can come in and wander around and it's got enough about it that when you come in for a second or third time you feel that it's worth a visit, it makes you feel better about yourself. It's not one of those places where you say 'been there done that, no thank you', it has a certain kind of atmosphere, presence, it makes you feel better about yourself.

Turning the conversation, I asked the Archdeacon how the buildings' history relates to the present,

I do sometimes think that there is a bit of romanticism about the Benedictine heritage, I don't think we should play at being monks. However, on the other hand, we do emphasise as a virtue the concept of hospitality. There is some costing in that a lot of cathedrals are charging for entry but we try to resist that and at a great cost and hard work to us. We try to raise money in many other ways and that's partly to do with hospitality. We also try to resist seeing tourists as customers or as visitors, we want to see them as pilgrims and even friends, and as potentially Christian people, and so the welcome I think is slightly inspired by that Benedictine stuff, but I think that's about as far as it goes.

The buildings' main claim to history is not through the Benedictine's but through Cuthbert, and he is still very much known about and respected in north-east society, and the kids in school love Cuthbert's story because he is a local story, it is romanticised, but this is the shrine of Cuthbert because he is buried here and again it's slightly nostalgic and slightly romantic with regard to the Northern Celtic Saints in Durham Cathedral with Bede at one end and Cuthbert at the other. But it appeals, and I think that people feel they can get in touch with a lost golden age and a lost set of golden Christians that walked the streets. As far as the building goes it draws on religious roots and historical stuff, it draws on regional identity, and it draws on that kind of simple solidity, and there's a sort of solid form of simple chunkiness to the building, that drew the monks. There's that sort of simple harmony there. So, I think the building benefits from the Northern Saints, very much so.

Finally, I turned the conversation more directly to the Durham Cathedral's connection to County Durham as whole asking the Archdeacon what role he feels the Cathedral plays in the county today,

Clearly it does things like the Miners' Gala, which everybody knows about, it's a bit faded now compared to what it was but it is still powerful in the imagination, I mean when you look at the bands going through the streets, the numbers of people carrying banners through the streets, they're quite thin actually these days, but the event still lives on in a bigger scale in people's memories than it is on the ground, but that is something quite profound, and the great and the good come and... I noticed it also in December as Christmas approaches, just about every day there is a carol service of one kind or another, and we have rotas, and we welcome people and preside and so on. And people from the health service have their carol service and the scouts and guides and all sorts of regional organisations all pile in for their moment in Durham Cathedral, and so in that sense it's a shared space that people can use for celebration, and it has a religious overlay, but it's more.

Just as conversations with various people have repeatedly returned to the question of the entrance fee, so too did the Archdeacon of Durham find it important. While there are the large events, such as the major services, like Christmas or Easter, or the Miners' Gala, that bring many of the people from the surrounding areas to the Cathedral, it seems that the possibility of just being able to go inside the Cathedral, to visit or wander around, is an important connection point between building and people from around Durham. Following a strong Benedictine tradition of hospitality, as well as viewing people not as tourists but as pilgrims, helps to inform the discussion of whether to charge an entrance fee. As I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, there was a strong sense of identity that developed around St Cuthbert and the Cathedral from the people living between the rivers Tyne and Tees, it is a similar sense of this powerful community that makes people feel that Durham Cathedral is 'our' Cathedral, and just as people managed to defy bishops in the Middle Ages, through this sense of community around Cuthbert and the Cathedral, so too do they today manage to keep the doors free of entry fee.

## VII. Conclusion

What I have shown in this chapter, as Davie comments, is that cathedrals 'deal with diverse and not always compatible constituencies ... they are frequented by regular and irregular worshippers, pilgrims, visitors and tourists, bearing in mind that the lines between these groups are frequently blurred' (Davie 2006:283). The community of Durham Cathedral, is a diverse and complex entity made up of people from many walks of life, from office workers to librarians, and retired miners to university students.

There are several distinctive aspects about using these narratives from the six individuals, such as the fact that they each offer a unique perspective of their own personal relationship with Durham Cathedral. For example, whilst Philip Davies the Chapter Clerk approaches his relationship from a business angle, he is also concerned with creating a sense of community and well-being between the workers of Durham Cathedral. Basing his view of what a good community is on his Christian values. On the other hand, Pat offers the concerns of herself and others on the 'commercialisation' of the Cathedral. However, as Philip Davies' comments point to, cathedrals must make money in order to continue operating. Similarly, as Kennedy J. points out, 'Cathedrals are working in an increasingly competitive 'market' and compete with many other "heritage" attractions' (2006:116).

As the issue of whether to charge an entrance fee so prominently emphasised, Durham Cathedral itself was caught in this competitive 'market', with its need to sustain its maintenance and running costs. According to Gudeman (2010) 'markets are never autonomous but always draw on mutuality or social relationships for their construction, even if they also deny and debase that foundation'. In this sense, the Cathedral draws upon its different sources of community and their values (such as the Benedictine value of hospitality) to decide how to raise money. I believe, however, that the issue of the entrance fee draws upon another process as well. Gudeman continues to analyse the relationship between markets and their communities, and argues that, 'Market expansion can also lead to debasement of community in the sense that the common interests that link people are not only fractured but also transformed to calculated self-interest'. In this view, the opposition to charge an entrance fee can be seen as a way of trying to keep the community together, by literally keeping the doors open, trying to circumvent market processes and the 'increasing commoditization of life' (2010:5). It is probable that the large amount of volunteering work achieves a similar effect.

While the economical processes of the Cathedral could warrant a whole dissertation in itself, this is not the purpose of this work. It is necessary, however, to

emphasise another point that is visible through the entrance fee charges, and the interviews presented in this chapter that form a basis to a number of the following chapters. It is apparent from the above narratives that the Cathedral Chapter, led by the Dean and Chapter Clerk, were actively pursuing a spirit of generosity and hospitality in opening up to the Cathedral to a wide public, as well as trying to involve those interested in participating in the Cathedral's day to day life. As Pat described, 'This community exists as long as it is allowed to, as long as it is given space to exist'. Making space for the various groups of people will be one of the main aspects of this dissertation. Similarly, this kind of space-making negotiated between the particular groups of visitors, volunteers, employees, the congregation and indeed the Cathedral itself, was aided through the kinds of values and aims the Cathedral decision makers had, such as the Benedictine leanings of the members of the Cathedral Chapter helping to shape the vision and future of the building. Although this won't be an emphasis in later chapters, it will always loom in the background.

The individual narratives in this chapter come together to form a complex three-dimensional image of the multiple communities within Durham Cathedral, highlighting the difficulties that arise in the relationships between the communities and the building, thus, revealing the importance of negotiation in the communities in the face of constant change as the various parts of the community vie for space within the building. Whilst the main purpose of Durham Cathedral is being a place of worship, it must also support itself financially, which at times brings individuals who worship at Durham Cathedral into conflict with the future vision of the building. In pursuing these financial aims, the history of the building was often played upon emphasising its historical past and beauty as an architecturally important building to draw in individuals for purposes other than religious, an aspect most clearly born out in the Lumière festival, an event which caused disruption to the religious routines of the building. With both entrance fee and commercialisation being key concerns for many parts of the community, negotiation becomes a key aspect of life. In negotiation, these separate communities function together both *in* and *with* the building which is crucial, as the Chapter Clerk suggested, 'it's how we work together that is the challenge, and it occupies a lot of my thinking. We need to be like the old cliché "singing from the same hymn sheet", but we often don't'. As the rest of this thesis explores, this act of negotiation and improvisation takes place on a daily, and even hourly basis as groups of people negotiate not only each other but also the 900 plus year old building and the difficulties which arise in inhabiting such an old and significant building whilst accommodating modern life.



## **CHAPTER 2: 'I'M NOT RELIGIOUS BUT...'**

## I. Introduction

Religion during services in Durham Cathedral often took on a very different shape to the form it took outside of services, whether in places like the pews, or in the nave, or in the restaurant, or in daily conversations between volunteers, visitors, or members of the clergy. During services, such as Morning Prayer or Evensong, religion seemed to be consistent and well-structured. It had a rhythm to it and people knew what they had to do – they knew through past experience and because they had a booklet given to them which told them when to stand and when to sit, and what to say and when. This was not the case outside of services. For example, at the foot of the shrine of the Venerable Bede, is a prayer card and a place to kneel, I never saw anybody kneel. Instead, people would stand at an awkward distance and angle from the card as they read it, standing just close enough to read it but far enough away so as not to look like they were praying. Time and again, religion outside of services took a similar shape. It was awkward and often avoided as a topic. At those times when it was talked about, people would contradict themselves as they revealed their beliefs, and appeared to struggle to consolidate these beliefs. Outside of the assured shape of services, everyday religion was shapeless and unassured. This chapter aims to highlight this complex nature of religion and belief, not within the structured services of Durham Cathedral, but as it is negotiated in the day to day lives of those who interact with it inside the building.

## II. 'I'm not religious but...'

It was a cold, quiet Thursday morning and Jules and Les were standing around the LEGO Cathedral considering changes that needed to be made, whilst I was seated with Ken at the module building table.<sup>13</sup> Reclining in my chair, I listened as Ken browsed through his morning paper offering comments on particular stories. It was a slow morning, and eventually the Chaplain of the day strode through the doorway from the cloister, wearing a long black cassock and clutching a carrier bag.

'Morning', he said cheerfully as he placed his carrier bag on the table, 'It's awfully quiet today, isn't it?'

'I'd be careful what you say to him', came Ken's voice from behind his newspaper. 'He's an anthropologist, you'll end up in that little black book of his if you're not careful', he

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<sup>13</sup> Modules are the separate sections of the LEGO Cathedral, once completed, the individual modules were added to the model.

said, folding down one side of his newspaper to reveal a smile, before disappearing behind it once again.

Perching himself on the edge of the table, the Chaplain began to question me on my research. As I finished explaining what I was doing he looked up to the ceiling thoughtfully and began to share his views. 'Well, the Cathedral has really changed over the past 50 years you know. I mean I'm retired now, but when I was younger, during the 60's, the place was absolutely dead! The book-shop was out in the cloister, but that was mainly students and academics using that. There was never anything happening in here, no signs explaining what things were, no restaurant. But when I came back here 18 months ago, I was totally shocked. There is a buzzing community here now, and I couldn't believe how many volunteers this place has – there are hundreds!' (Fieldnotes, 13th February 2014)

As our conversation continued, I became aware of two women standing in the middle of the undercroft close to the module building table. After lingering for a while, one of the women stepped forward and shyly interjected, 'Erm, excuse me'. – I had thought she had wanted to buy a LEGO brick but she instead addressed the Chaplain. – 'Erm, I was wondering if you could help me?' The woman seemed nervous and uncomfortable and my curiosity was piqued.

'Oh yes, of course, I'll help if I can', smiled the Chaplain.

'Well, you see the thing is that, well... Well, I'm not religious but my Granny just died and, well, I wondered if you could bless her rings for me?' She was holding up her right hand and pointing to two rings on her ring finger.

'Well of course! Don't you worry. We'll get you sorted out no problem!' replied the Chaplain turning to pick up his carrier bag, 'Well, duty calls, I guess I'll see you around. Are you here all day?' Telling him that I was, he smiled and headed back out towards the cloister, talking with the two women (Fieldnotes, 13th February 2014).

### II.i. Believing but Not Belonging

In an article published in 'The Church Times', a newspaper styled as 'The World's Leading Anglican Newspaper' in 2014, it was reported that the average attendance at church has been in decline, with a report taken during my fieldwork setting average nationwide attendance numbers at 1,009,000 people in 2013, down from 1,050,000 people in 2012. In cathedrals, however, attendee numbers in midweek services have doubled in the ten years between 2003 and 2013, rising from 7,500 to 15,000, whilst weekend numbers have increased slightly from 15,600 to 15,900. Additionally, the

newspaper reported that visitor numbers in 2013 were 10.2 million, an increase from 9.2 million in 2010. However, this figure was down slightly on 2003's 10.8 million people visiting the nations cathedrals. When asked about this trend on a podcast (recorded by Anglican publishing company Church House), the Dean of York, the Very Reverend Vivienne Faull, suggested that cathedrals allowed

... people to come in from the edges. If I take a Eucharist at 12.30 in the middle of the week in the nave of York Minster, there will be a lot of people who just slide in from the sides. It's much more difficult to slide in in a parish church, because everyone in the village is watching. It's not so much about anonymity: it's about feeling there's a journey that you can travel on which doesn't require huge steps. It just requires one little step, and I think that's very important (Davies 2014).

Lois Lee's 2015 book, *Recognising the non-religious* begins with the line, 'So, after all, modernity may not be secular'. In beginning with this line Lee indicates that, with the emergence of 'modernisation',<sup>14</sup> religion has come to be seen as increasingly marginalised, a perception which might not be true (2015:1). Lee points out that 'being "secular" has become one of the most common things that a human being can be', suggesting that contemporary debates often 'treat religion as an unparalleled phenomena of a profoundly singular nature'. However, Lee argues that society is moving beyond secularism, whilst religion too is transforming. She proposes that we are in 'not a secular or post-religious age but a post-secular one' (2015:2). Davie also comments that 'unbelief can be as varied as belief' (2015:77). Indeed, sociologists such as Lee (2015), Davie (2015), and Day (2011), amongst others, draw attention to the complexity of the interrelationships that exist between the secular and the religious. In what Lee defines as 'classic secularisation' she argues that using 'adjectives such as "a-religious", "post-religious", or "indifferent to religion"' to explain ideas of secularism result in nothing being said about the secular except that 'it really only exists in proxy, indicating everything that religion is not' (Lee 2015:9). Yet the true nature of people's beliefs is far more complex, as the woman wishing to have her rings blessed inadvertently pointed to when she said to the Chaplain, 'I'm not religious but...'

In attempting to make sense of this statement, 'I'm not religious but...', I turn to the notion of 'believing without belonging' first put forward by Davie in an attempt to

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<sup>14</sup> Lee defines modernisation as 'the developing of advanced industrial economies, media technologies, and their social effects' (2015:1).

characterise British religion in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. She comments that, 'Believing, it seems, persists while belonging continues to decline' (1990:455). In short, Davie argues that whilst most people in Britain hold a belief in God, many maintain little to no involvement with a religious institution (Davie 1994). This suggests that it would be 'more accurate to describe late-twentieth-century Britain – together with most of Western Europe – as un-churched rather than simply secular' (1994:12-13). In a conversation with a member of the clergy, we began to discuss this occurrence, during which he alluded to the work of Davie, suggesting that when the woman stated that she was not religious, she was instead suggesting that she does not 'belong'. The clergyman then pointed to the view that religion is about being a part of a community.

But there is more to religion than just being a part of a community in the sense that Durkheim might suggest. So, when people suggest that they are not religious, but they wish to have rings blessed, perhaps what they are really saying is that they do not belong to a religious community (Fieldnotes, January 2014).

Whilst separating belief and belonging can help us to understand why the woman stated that she was not religious but wanted her rings blessed, it does not explain why she chose Durham Cathedral as the church in which to enter. Further developing the idea of 'believing without belonging', Davie develops the concept of 'vicarious religion'. Vicarious religion relies on the idea that the 'smaller group is doing something for the larger one, who are aware (if only implicitly) of this relationship' (Davie 2015:81). In short, the church maintains religion through its day to day worship on behalf of the wider society, performing religious duties for people defining themselves as otherwise 'not religious, but' only when needed. This notion of vicarious religion could explain numerous situations throughout my fieldwork, both in stories and events. For example, Canon Brown explained that during times of national distress, such as following the death of Princess Diana, the Cathedral witnessed a rise in visitors coming to the building. Similarly, when volunteering as a steward, I was told by visitors on several occasions that a loved one had passed away and that they had felt a need to come to the Cathedral, despite not being regular church goers. They would frequently tell these stories with a level of confusion as to why they felt the need to come to Durham Cathedral, often ending or beginning their sentences with 'I don't know...'.

However, if we take both 'believing without belonging' and 'vicarious religion', a picture begins to emerge in which individuals, whilst not 'belonging' to a church, still hold

a belief which, at times such as death, leads people back to places of worship. Yet, if the church refused to offer a funeral service it would no doubt, 'Violate deeply held assumptions'. As Davie points out, the church and clergy do more than simply carry out rituals. 'They believe on behalf of others in the sense that they "hold the faith" for society as a whole' (2015:82). In maintaining this position, they offer a space to go in times of need. As Platten confirms, cathedrals can act as a 'half-way house' in which 'people can belong, but in a rather more "arms-length manner"' (2006:5). As the Very Reverend Vivienne Faull, pointed out, cathedrals are large enough to allow for these people on the edges of religious belief to find space in them.

Therefore, in entering Durham Cathedral following the death of her grandmother, the woman was looking to those who maintained belief in order to have the rings blessed, whilst choosing to identify herself as 'not religious'. In doing so, it could be suggested that she was instead implying that she did not 'belong' to a place of worship, but that although she may not have regularly attended religious services she does however hold some kind of religious belief. It is important to stress that she viewed Durham Cathedral as a place, not only in which such beliefs are maintained, but a place in which she could, quite literally, wander in through the backdoor, and, discreetly and briefly, enter into an active relationship with both her religious beliefs and the building which helped to maintain it on her behalf.

### III. Finding a Common Ground

A second event in my fieldwork, during which two individuals from different areas of cathedral life began to question the reasons why they each volunteered and in doing so struggled to find common ground with each other, illustrates further contradictions.

It was on a quiet March morning of volunteering at the LEGO build that Les, Ken, and I had begun to talk about Lent and whether one observes Lent on Sundays.

'Well it's no good asking me...' came Les' input.

'You not religious, like, Les?' asked Ken, the surprise in his voice clear.

'Well of course I'm not', he replied.

'Really? Well why are you here doing this then, I thought it was for Christian charity?' asked Ken inquiringly.

'I'm here for this', he motioned his hand towards the model of the LEGO Cathedral, 'and to help the museum'.

'The Cathedral isn't a museum', replied Ken, affronted.

'Well they're going to be building one here', Les returned, referring to the 'Open Treasure'

project for which the LEGO Cathedral helped raise funds.<sup>15</sup>

'The Cathedral isn't a museum, if you want to go to a museum there are plenty around'. repeated Ken.

'And I'm here because I enjoy it', continued Les.

Ken then explained that although Durham Cathedral is a place people often visit, it is not a 'Visitor Attraction' but a place of worship. To which Les agreed, in as much as it is a place of worship but is also a 'Visitors Attraction' (Fieldnotes, 6th March 2014).

Having previously asked Les why he decided to volunteer at the Cathedral,<sup>16</sup> and sensing a stark contrast between Les and Ken, I later asked Ken why he chose to volunteer. He told me that he had been involved in his parish church for many years, but had decided to become more involved in Cathedral life because his children were now adults and his parish church was family orientated. The sense I had from Ken was that he saw volunteering as something that he had to do but did not necessarily enjoy.

The stark differences between Les, who viewed volunteering in Durham Cathedral as a non-religious activity, and Ken, who did view it as connected to his faith, were common during my fieldwork and, though never acknowledged by individuals, a few questions would soon reveal vast differences in the reasons why people volunteered. I will focus here on the way space is made in the Cathedral for both those who saw volunteering as a part of and commitment to their faith, and those who did not. Although it may at first seem like they shared very little common ground in both their view of Durham Cathedral and why they volunteered, I suggest that they did in fact share much in common in their motivations.

In order to highlight these shared aspects, I turn to David Morgan's discussion on belief. According to Morgan,

The academic study of religion in the modern West has been shaped by the idea that a religion is what someone believes, which consists of a discrete, subjective experience of assent to propositions concerning the origin of the cosmos, the nature of humanity, the existence of deities, or the purpose of life. When seeking to understand a religion, scholars have long tended to ask: what are its teachings? (2010:1)

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<sup>15</sup> As part of the project, upper rooms such as the Monk's Dormitory and the Great Kitchen were to be transformed into exhibition spaces, displaying historical items such as the relics of St Cuthbert.

<sup>16</sup> Les had explained to me that whilst he likes building things, he was sure his wife also wanted him out of the house.

This suggests that belief 'tends in the modern ear to invoke the avowal of doctrines or creeds', that is, as a set of instructions to follow. The problem with belief as a set of instructions to follow is that, 'It reduces religion to a body of assertions', something that religions are rarely described as (2010:2). 'Therefore, instead of asking, 'what does a religion teach?' we might focus on the social and interpersonal relations that characterise practitioners of a religion' (2010:6).

'Belief is perhaps best framed as a pervasive community of feeling because the holding that it involves is public and verifiable when it consists of holding to other people and the institutions they share'. In setting out the many ways in which belief can be understood Morgan suggests that belief is 'voluntaristic' as it is, 'the necessary or wilful performance of certain duties' (2010:7). Morgan pushes this idea forward in suggesting that 'religions may not always demand beliefs but they will always involve material forms' (2010:8). That is, religious knowledge and belief can be understood through their manifestation in 'the material, external and practical' (Collins 2012:247), part of these being religious buildings as the 'context in which faith and practice is generated and sustained' (Collins 2006:137).

I suggest therefore, that the common ground between volunteers such as Ken and Les can be found in the space of the Cathedral. In framing belief as a pervasive community of feeling through the institutions they share (Morgan 2010:7), it becomes clear that the common ground they share is not the institution of the Church of England but that of Durham Cathedral and elements of the many things the building makes space for, both religious and non-religious. This, then, turns on its head Collins' theory that religion manifests itself in materiality and examines how seemingly religious materiality encompasses both religious and non-religious practices. Whilst this might at first seem paradoxical, in as much as a cathedral stands for religion, in actuality Durham Cathedral stands for much more. Not only does it represent the religious leanings of many, it also represents the personal and regional heritage of the wider community, in, for example, aspects such as the Durham Miners' Gala service (see chapter 1) and the miners' memorial book, along with the Durham Light Infantry Chapel and their memorial books, listing those from the region who lost their lives fighting in both World Wars. The religious and secular through both individual and community/social activities therefore are present not only in narratives (Collins 2008:150), but in tangible practices in the Cathedral.

#### IV. Providing Space

Late one Sunday afternoon during a particularly quiet stewarding shift I decided to bring religion up with Tina, a fellow steward:

'It's funny that whilst this place is a place of religion, outside of services, people never really talk about it. I'm not sure what they'd say but I find it funny'.

'Hmmm, yes, I suppose it is really. I mean I myself am a practicing Buddhist...', surprised by her passing comment, I ask her why she decided to volunteer at the Cathedral,

I know several other people who steward and talking to them was what gave me the impetus to join up. I have always loved this building. The architecture is magnificent and the history is utterly fascinating and compelling. Whatever your religious affiliation if you have one, just to enter is awe-inspiring. It was wanting to share this beautiful cathedral with others that keeps me going as a steward. I have done a lot of reading and research as a result of my involvement, just for interest and enjoyment. As I said to you, there is a real sense in Durham that the cathedral belongs to the city and the residents, whether they actively worship here or not. I think this is coupled with a sense of history among the public and the huge commitment of the Dean and Chapter to connect with both town and gown (Fieldnotes, May 2014).

With Tina's comments stuck in my mind, I realised over the next few months that many of Tina's comments formed a recurring theme with many of the community's views towards their individual and communal relationship with Durham Cathedral. For example, during a tour that I took, led by a volunteer tour guide, upon reaching the tomb of St Bede, he turned to the group and said: 'Now here we are at my favourite bit. Before my retirement, I was a physicist and am not given over to the religious parts of this building, however, this man, St Bede, was not just a monk but a great mind of his time and I remain eternally in awe of him'.

Cannon Rosalind Brown, when asked what she felt the Cathedral meant not only to the community of Durham Cathedral, but also County Durham as a whole, said:

Well, it's a place of Christian worship to which all people are welcome no matter what their faith, but I think it also has a role in providing a focus for the region, and a sense of identity, which you can see through the Durham Miners' Gala. I think also that it gives a sense of hope, given that it's an area of economic deprivation and the fact that the Cathedral is still there is something to be proud

of. Also, this is a place of sanctuary, we know that from all of the stories we hear, but when Diana died, when the Queen does die, when the London bombings happened, Durham Cathedral is where people come and that's somehow instinctive, it feels like when there is a national tragedy like that, people want to be together and cathedrals offer a place in which to do it, and although we're a Christian building, Durham Cathedral also has the capacity to function as a neutral building (Recording, April 2014).

The Cathedral is also spread implicitly throughout the County. As one drives into County Durham, they are greeted with road side signs stating 'Welcome to County Durham, Land of the Prince Bishops'. Throughout the city of Durham, symbols of the Cathedral and in particular the Northern Saints of Cuthbert and Bede, are clear. The pectoral cross of St Cuthbert hangs above streets, emblazoned on bins and lamp posts. Schools, shopping centres, and even car parks carry the names of the Northern Saints or some other reference to Durham Cathedral. Indeed, Durham Cathedral is intimately and implicitly apart of the identity and ethos of County Durham, something which is instilled in children as they visit the Cathedral during school trips such as I did when I was a child. Almost every day during my fieldwork, I witnessed children drawing pictures, listening to guides, and eating their packed lunches in the cloisters, or visiting with family members – all activities helping to draw the community and Cathedral closer together.

When viewed in its totality, Durham Cathedral therefore stands for and is experienced as far more than just a place of worship. It is a building that provides space for both the individual and the community, for both secular and sacred, Anglican, and other, needs. And with the Chaplain's comments in mind, that the Cathedral had really changed in 50 years, from a dead space to a buzzing one, and following on from other comments from members of the Chapter, this provision of space for diversity is one that is actively cultivated in the Cathedral. As the Dean, Michael Sadgrove's, explanation of his experience of Durham Cathedral shows, the building can be a place of both the Spirit of God and the spirit of humanity, that is, in my understanding, it houses both religion – as a faith in God – and it creates space for connections between people:

I experience the building as responsive, which is to say ever changing. It's also catalytic, in that it inspires ideas, it's a workshop, it's an aircraft hangar from which machines start flying, it's a laboratory, where things can be tried out and tested. It's a concert hall, it's an arts centre, it's a temple, I could go on and on. It's a place that brings people together, so it's somewhere that things really

creative can happen ... And when you say the building loves Evensong, you're right, it does, and perhaps it loves the sound of Evensong more than we do. That would be difficult, but I think maybe it does, in a kind of mystical way, because it's not just a frame, or a matrix within which created activity happens, it's the place of the spirit, that bit that you can hardly put into words but you know it when you experience it. That's the gift that the building is, the organism is a spirit, whether it's a capital S, the Spirit of God, or a small s, the spirit of humanity, that's what it is (Fieldnotes, 25th February 2014).

Several times throughout my fieldwork the ability of Durham Cathedral to provide space for the many different needs of those who visit was made clear, and its importance to do so was stressed in conversations. The Chapter Clerk would emphasise that Durham Cathedral had a duty to be there for people regardless of whether they were religious or not. As Lefebvre sought to show in his work *The Production of Space*, '(Social) space is a (social) *product*' (emphasis in the original, 1991:26). This suggests that it could be possible to draw similarities between the cathedrals of the medieval period as strong anchoring points, to them playing such a role today, acting as an anchor, not just for the religious community who use the building, but for the wider county who relate to the building in diverse ways.

Thus, Durham Cathedral and its community are constantly creating and negotiating their own spaces, catering to varied individual and group needs, yet still able to cater for other broader needs which I have pointed to throughout this chapter. As the Dean's comments describe, cathedrals not only offer a space in which diverse communities can grow, they actively welcome them to do so, thus creating not just a 'laboratory for the soul', as Fletcher (2006:39) suggests of cathedrals, but laboratories for society as people both of faith and not-of-faith come and participate in cathedral life alongside one another. Finally, as Lefebvre comments, social space is 'at once result and cause, product, and producer; it is also a stake, a locus of projects and actions deployed as part of specific strategies' (1991:142-143). The relationship between Durham Cathedral and its community is one based upon a mutual need and creation, or as Lefebvre would suggest, 'production', with the building offering a space in which the community can establish themselves and giving them a place in which to memorialise aspects of their community.

## V. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that Durham Cathedral not only provides space for those who wish to worship, but also plays an important role in society through its continuing observation of religion. As Lee suggests, we live in a world which is becoming 'post-secular' (2015:2), where what we believe and don't believe come in many different forms. Whilst some individuals may not regularly attend church, this does not mean that they are not religious and when, at particular times in their lives, they wish to visit religious institutions they are able to do so because the religious institutions housed in buildings such as Durham Cathedral 'believe on behalf of others in the sense that they 'hold the faith' for society as a whole' (Davie 2015:82). Similarly, just as Durham Cathedral holds the faith for many, it also maintains space not just for those who wish to partake in religion but also for those who do not, an aspect of the building that people such as the Chapter Clerk see as the building's duty. Indeed, the actions of the Chaplain not to question the woman further on her religious outlook and instead announce that 'duty calls', also highlights this view of duty to a wider society. Therefore, whilst at times it may seem like distinctions such as those exhibited in the discussion between Ken and Les may cause issues in the coherence of the community, the common ground shared far outweighs their differences. Whilst Ken views his voluntary activities as a religious duty and Les does not, and at points the negotiation between them can be difficult, they both work hard towards the same end-point: the community and continuation of Durham Cathedral – the difference being that they view their approach from contrasting angles.

Furthermore, whilst Les came to volunteer in Durham Cathedral through the LEGO Cathedral, interested only in helping to build a large-scale LEGO model, it is telling that following the completion of the LEGO Cathedral, Les began to search for another area of Cathedral life in which to volunteer. Similarly, Ken's explanation of coming to the Cathedral over his family-orientated parish church indicated that Ken too is searching for a space more catered to his changing role from having a young family, to having grown up children, moved out from the family home.

In this negotiation of space inside the actual places of the Cathedral, Christian rituals need to have their space carved out, away from non-religious, or indeed less-religious activities if we think about the multiple ways of being and not being religious. Whilst I will write about this in more detail in the upcoming chapters, it is worth mentioning some examples here, such as the walls used to separate the nave from the quire, so that monks would not have to share a space with pilgrims as the monks performed their offices. Today, this translates to tourists being separated with a red velvet rope and a

verger standing guard, keeping non-worshippers away from services. While both for pilgrims and tourists, visiting the Cathedral might be a religious act, it is a different religious performance from the offices of the monks or the Christian services still taking place in the Cathedral. However, in this chapter I am highlighting that many of the activities happening inside the space of the Cathedral are not explicitly religious, nor always explicitly secular. Yet, even the multiplicity of the religiosity is often a practical and situated performance of negotiation rather than a more metaphysical ordering of the world. Moreover, in this thesis, as I am dealing with the practicality of negotiating space in a large building, I am myself focusing on this situatedness, rather than explaining all the religious worldviews that are hosted by the Cathedral.

Finally, it is important to stress that in the case of Durham Cathedral, the resulting '(social) product' differs from person to person and group to group within the Cathedral. As the Chapter Clerk told me during a conversation we had on a visit I made to the Cathedral after my fieldwork had ended, 'Durham Cathedral, we, and the building, have a duty to be there for people, not just up here on the peninsula in these beautiful surroundings but also out there in the city and county, we need to reach out to them' (Fieldnotes, August 2016).



## **PART 2: EXPERIENCING DURHAM CATHEDRAL**



## **CHAPTER 3: THE SOUND OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL**

## I. The Sound of Fieldwork

'We stroke the boundaries of the space with our ears' (Pallasmaa 2012:55).

During my short walks from the front door of my small room situated on the Market Place in the centre of the city up to the Cathedral, my mind often wandered to the sounds around me. Sound played a significant role in my life in the field. Living above a busy pub and market, I was often woken by the delivery of the fruit and vegetables, or the baker backing his van up as it beeped to warn those around him. As I lay in bed I could hear the salutations of the market workers as they jibed the baker for losing his parking spot to the butcher. It was a routine that I thought might have killed me during my first few days of living there, but I later left my window open to it when I became accustomed to the routine of the sound outside.

4:00 am, I almost always seemed to hear the Cathedral as its bells tolled across the silent streets, reminding me of its proximity; 4:30 am, the road sweeper swept through the marketplace clearing away the beer bottles from the night before (back to sleep); 5:30 am, the delivery of the morning papers (back to sleep); 6:00 am, the fruit and veg man, followed by the baker and the butcher, then I was awake. Slowly the city below my window came to life until eventually the individual sounds blended into a cacophony of noise. It was at this point that I rolled out of bed and went about my morning routine and, once dressed, headed out of the door and into the world of noise whose crescendo heralded the start of my day.

My walk to the Cathedral was short, five minutes at a stroll. I simply walked across the Market Place and up Saddlers Street, a tight medieval street which banked steeply toward the top of the peninsula. The Market Place was full of vans and lorries dropping off deliveries, with their drivers shouting to one another, 'Back it up a bit!' or 'Come on! You're blocking me in!' and 'How long are you going to be?' I'd say good morning to the pointers, a group of volunteers who stood and pointed out the way to one tourist attraction or another.

As I joined Saddlers Street I left the mechanical sounds of the lorries and vans behind and passed several shops, some of which were already busy. The restaurant, for instance, and shops whose attendants were carefully arranging the outside displays ready for the day ahead, were always open early. The further up Saddlers Street I went the quieter the city became until finally I reached the top of the hill and Palace Green, a small area of grass surrounded by ancient buildings on all sides. To the north was Durham Castle, once the home of the Prince Bishops of Durham, now student

accommodation. To the east were more university buildings and the Cafe on the Green. To the west was Palace Green Library, part of the university archive which also housed part of the Cathedral's archival material, and to the south, directly ahead of you as you reached the top of the hill, stood Durham Cathedral.

The world always seemed different from Palace Green, particularly at 8:30 in the morning. The hustle and bustle of the world below vanished, leaving the calm and serenity of the Green. I often made it across the Green without seeing or hearing a single person, hearing only the rhythmical tolling of the Cathedral bells alerting the city below that Morning Prayer was about to begin. Crossing the threshold of the great North Door, the bells outside became so muted that to hear them one would have had to have listened hard for the faintest of dings. Inside the Cathedral everything was quiet and still. A verger stood in the crossing, tolling the bells, the small metallic chinks of the bell rope playing on the still air. The sense of the Cathedral so early in the day was one of calmness and preparation for the day ahead. As I carefully took my seat for Morning Prayer, it was to the day ahead that my mind turned.

During my fieldwork, I would often spend time sitting in various areas of Durham Cathedral, listening to, and recording the sounds of the building. On an average day, one could hear many sounds, from the heating systems low rumbles in an empty nave on an early morning, to the low soothing voice of a clergy member delivering Morning Prayer to a handful of people in the quire, echoing gently through speakers in the nave. As the day moved on, the sounds of stewards conversing with one another and visitors wandering around speaking in hushed tones would begin to build up. Around noon, the voice of a verger would sound over the speaker system alerting everybody to Holy Communion, welcoming those who wished to join and informing them as to where it will take place. As the day went on, the sounds of the building would quieten as the number of people in the building would begin to thin out. As the end of the day came, the sounds of Evensong would fill the building, the chanting or Tudor church music, as the choir moved their way through the day's liturgy, as well as the voice of the Dean as he moved his way through a reading to an almost silent Cathedral. Finally, as the congregation noisily but largely without conversation exited the building and the doors were locked, the building would once again fall quiet to the sound of the heating systems rumbling.

As the above highlights, the structure of the day was accompanied by changes in the sound of life in the building. However, it wasn't only the day that drew structure through sound, but spaces within the Cathedral also did so. For example, whilst the nave was often home to the sounds of hushed whisperings, liturgical readings, and the full

voice of the choir as they moved through the daily psalms, the undercroft was often a much noisier place full of people in full conversation standing around the LEGO Cathedral or in the shop or restaurant. Conversely, in the Shrine of St Cuthbert even the whispered snippets of conversation heard in the nave disappeared as people stood in respectful silence within the shrine.

Through exploring both the sounds in Durham Cathedral today, particularly in religious services, and their historical contexts, I will shed light on the role of sound in the relationship between the community and the building, and the manner in which sound contributes to the creation of space and the experience of the environment in different spaces within the Cathedral. Furthermore, this chapter will also pay special attention to the influence of the Cathedral's time as a Benedictine monastery on the use of sound. In regard to the latter, not only does the building, by law, have to offer two Offices a day,<sup>17</sup> conducted largely as prescribed by the Church of England, it also offers – particularly at times such as Holy Week – Compline, which the Durham Cathedral website ('Special Service – Address and Compline' 2016) states is, 'An evening service of contemplation and prayer that has been offered since the days of monastic life'. Similarly, at particular times, the choir and clergy also use Plainsong, a type of chanting that developed in the early years of Christianity and would have been used extensively by the Benedictine monks of Durham Cathedral.

In parts II to IV of this chapter I have placed an emphasis on exploring the relationship between Benedictine monks and sound within Durham Cathedral, focusing on their use of the specific architecture of the building through Gregorian chant, the central role of sound in their daily routine, and finally the importance of the spoken and written word for the monks. Given the building's great age, to understand the way that sound was used in the past in this building helps illuminate the use of sound today, and also gives insight to the tremendous importance of sound in religion in the past. Parts V to VII of this chapter will centre on the role of sound I encountered during my fieldwork, to include, for example, its role in the Midnight Eucharist, as well as the manner in which sounds help dictate the mood of the congregation and Cathedral as a whole.

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<sup>17</sup> Morning Prayer and Evensong/Evening Prayer.

## II. Can you hear the Architecture?

'I call architecture frozen music' — Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (in Fuller and Goethe 1839:282)

Sound is physical, it is vibrations moving through the air in waves of pressure, transporting 'both sonic events and the attributes of an acoustic space to the listener, thereby connecting the external world to the listener's ear' (Blesser and Salter 2009:12). As Blesser and Salter point out, sound is complex and its movement from source to listener include processes such as 'reflection, dispersion, refraction, absorption, and so on' (2009:12). In short, the sound one hears is very much dependent on the environment in which one is stood. Sound therefore plays a significant role in our relationship with the environment. As Pallasmaa (2012:53) suggests, whereas one might look out towards an object, sound approaches. With our eyes, we reach towards the thing we are looking at; in Durham Cathedral for example, if I wish to inspect the stone vaulted arches as I often do in those few minutes before service begins, I must strain my eyes and reach up to the distant vaults of the building. With sound, I simply sit and listen and my ears receive the sound of the choir. However, as the choir sings out into the space, my ears and body receive not just the sound of the choir, but also of the building.

In Steen Eiler Rasmussen's book 'Experiencing Architecture', he asks the question, 'Can architecture be heard?' (1964:224). The answer, for Rasmussen, is a very obvious one: 'Yes'. In just the same way as one sees architecture through the reflection of light, explains Rasmussen, so too by the reflection of sound does one experience architecture. The aural relationship between buildings and the body is one we all experience but of which we seldom take note. As Pallasmaa explains, it is through our hearing that we come to structure and articulate our experience of the space in which we are (2012:53) and every space is different. Pallasmaa also draws attention towards the sense of connection hearing gives us to the space around us. Fortuitously using a cathedral as an example, he explains, 'Our look wanders lonesomely in the dark depths of a cathedral, but the sound of the organ makes us immediately experience our affinity with the space' (2012:54). To listen to sound within a cathedral does more than just excite our interest in the sounds heard. The arrival of the pressure wave to the ear brings not only the 'sonic event', but also attributes of the 'acoustic space', connecting the listener to the external world (Blesser and Salter 2007:12). Sound connects us both to the choir creating the sound and to the building, thus we become connected to the walls of the Cathedral as well as the source of song. We realise the Cathedral's shape as our ears

receive the sound that emerges, not from the voice of the choir, but from its interaction with the architecture. This sound meets us changed, it arrives to our ears with the characteristics of the space, adding its warmth and reverberation to the sound the choir has produced.

However, within the huge caves of stone that are Medieval cathedrals, the echoing acoustics inhibit even the simplest of activities, such as talking. Today Durham Cathedral is fitted with an expensive speaker system to overcome these problems. Even the quire, in which most of the services take place, is fitted with an understated system of microphones and speakers. Although the acoustics of the quire are quite manageable, with the abundance of wood soaking up the reverberation, the use of a microphone and speaker system is still used to overcome the problematic acoustics.

An elaborate system of speakers and microphones were not an option for the Benedictine monks of Durham Cathedral Priory, however. They needed another way in which to overcome the acoustics of such a cavernous building. During the building's time as a priory, the Daily Offices of the monks would have all taken place within the quire which would have had a wall at its west end, upon which would have stood the organ. At the same time, the east end on the nave would have been closed off by a wall named the Rood Screen,<sup>18</sup> thus separating the two areas of the Cathedral (see Figure 3). The removal of the wall in the nineteenth century was for aesthetic reasons, the result of which has given Durham Cathedral one of its most famous views straight through to the Rose Window. However, its removal also resulted in the sound created within the quire being able to spill out into the nave and thus reverberate around the huge space. Before the removal of the wall, the audible sound for the monks within the quire, then enclosed on all four sides, would have been a more manageable sound in which the overly reverberative nave would have had little effect upon the words of the speaker.<sup>19</sup> However, Durham had the slightly unusual task of being a cathedral priory, the result being that whilst housing a body of monks, it also had to accommodate the public during main services, such as the main Sunday service. The result of the congregation standing in the nave listening to the sound seeping over the top of the wall would have meant that they were hearing the entirety of the sound only once it had reverberated around the stone vaulted ceiling.

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<sup>18</sup> The rood screen was a large wall that separated the nave from the quire, in Durham Cathedral's case there also existed a choir screen behind the rood screen creating a small passage way.

<sup>19</sup> It should not be forgotten however, that the stone vaulted ceiling would still have had an effect upon the reverberation of the sound.

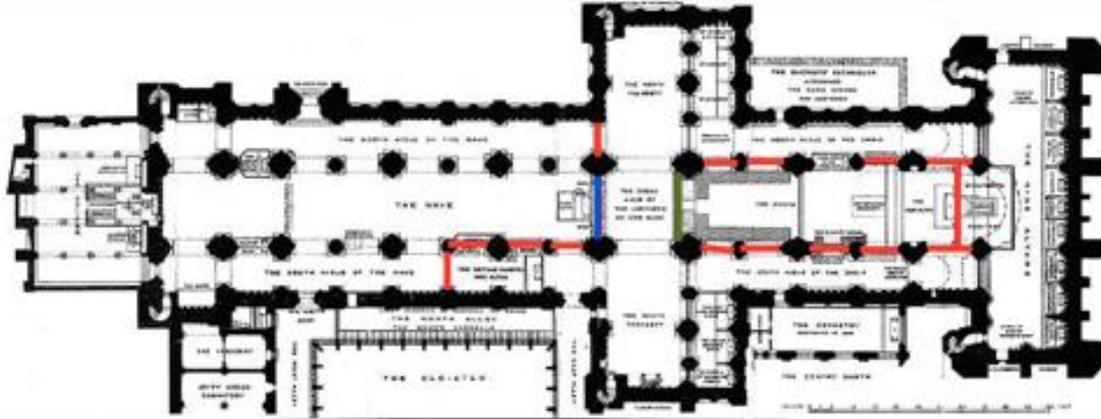


Figure 3 The red lines highlight the now removed main walls of the medieval period which would have separated the nave from the choir. The blue line depicts the rood screen and the green depicts the quire screen upon which the organ stood. Map from Greenwell n.d.[1879], public domain, with own wall drawing.

If a priest was to stand on the dividing wall and begin to read aloud (as is suggested in the Rites of Durham), in order to read the Bible from a position that allowed both monks and congregation to see, even if his voice were strong enough to reach the back of the nave, it would become a soup of indistinguishable syllables, each reverberating over the next (Bagenal and Wood 1931:226). The result of this would be that those at the back of the nave would never understand what they were actually listening to. It is also worth noting that for much of the Cathedral's history, the nave would have been standing room only, with no pews for the congregation. What today has the impression of a narrow tunnel focused towards the east was then a large open hall with nothing to help absorb the sound, bar the congregation themselves. In order for the voice to be heard at the back of the nave, a more rhythmic style of speech was required. The style which emerged was Gregorian chant, and its emergence was an important musical development in both church and cathedral worship. Whilst we cannot really know the origins of Gregorian chant, what is certain is the ideal nature of Gregorian chant in dealing with the difficult acoustics which had developed in the stone churches and cathedrals of Christendom.

Gregorian chant is, in its simplest form, a monophonic, unaccompanied vocal melody sung during services. According to the introduction of a 1934 book examining the grammar of Plainsong<sup>20</sup> written by an anonymous Benedictine monk of Stanbrook Abbey, 'The ancients indeed considered music, not as a mere pastime, but as the

<sup>20</sup> Gregorian chant in its simplest form is often referred to as plainsong in order to distinguish with more complex forms of chant, our interest here lies with simple plainsong although all styles of chant would have been in use at Durham over its long history.

necessary basis of civilisation and of all true education'. Alluding to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's<sup>21</sup> work 'Ecclesiastical Hierarchy', the monk suggests that the sacred chants prepare the soul for a celebration of the divine mysteries (Benedictines of Stanbrook Abbey 1934[1905]:1).

The typical style of the simple chanting also meant that it brought together the community of monks in a disciplined manner. The rhythmical undulations of the voices acting together gave the enhanced experience and expression of the community coming together, not for individual prayers, but as communal prayers, for everyone, by everyone. The experience of the listener/performer as the Psalms are recited in Plainsong is almost hypnotic as the singer moves slowly through the liturgy, his voice rising and falling rhythmically. As Hiley (2009:2) suggests, along with the ceremonial actions, the vestments of the participants, the architectural setting, and incense, music is but another aspect of worship essential to the experience. And as Pallasmaa rightfully argues, we experience the world around us not through separate sensory organs but with our bodies as a whole: 'Our contact with the world takes place at the boundary line of the self through specialised parts of our developing membrane' (2012:12). The effect of Gregorian chant then, is to create a sacred Christian sound within a sacred Christian space.

Whilst Gregorian chant is a method in which to convey the sacred texts, the manner in which it does this often makes the text seem secondary to the sound. 'The sacred sound is more important than the sense' (Hiley 2009:4). There is no doubt that Gregorian chant was, and still is, a hugely important part of the sound of religious worship. Its sound is so far removed from what one might hear in the normal day to day life, making it a memorable sound. Its slow rhythmical undulations stick in the mind. Liturgically speaking, the most symbolically significant parts of the services are set apart from the rest through chant, the effect is to send the voice out into the air and listen as it rises toward Heaven.

Whilst chanting was very much the sound of the Opus Dei for the monks, it is worth sparing a thought for those outside the order who would attend special services. The general visual and acoustic effect of the services must have been breath-taking. To climb the same steep street I did and catch your first glimpse of the imposing Palace Green, with the Bishop's Castle on one side and the Cathedral on the other, and enter into the cavernous nave, the strong smell of incense filling the air and the echoing reverberation, would have been something that had probably never been experienced

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<sup>21</sup> A late 5th – early 6th century Christian theologian and philosopher.

before by the lowly market worker entering the nave for the first time. The increased sound of their footsteps would have fused with the voices of the rest of the congregation, their first sight of the huge round columns reaching up towards the impressively high stone vaulted ceiling. Finally, as the service began and their minds were drawn away from the dominating impression of the space around them, attention would be drawn to the enchanting sounds rising from the building, out of sight behind the Rood Screen, the most holy of spaces, a space no commoner would ever have seen. As one stood in the nave listening to the beautiful, rhythmical undulations of the voices combined with the streams of incense and interacted with this unusual echo seemingly emanating from the walls, the experience must have been an impressive one. Even today, my own first encounters with Durham Cathedral as a child, in a time in which cathedrals were no longer the biggest buildings in the world, and vast expansive spaces with large amounts of reverberation were more common place, my experience was one of being awed by the sheer majestic dominance of the sound and space. As Pallasmaa (2012), Rasmussen (1964), and Hiley (2009) independently suggest, in varying ways our experiences of the world (and buildings) around us are bodily, and as such, our impressions are built up of a multitude of different aspects including sight, sound, and smell.

Whilst, as I suggested earlier, we cannot truly know the origins of Gregorian chant, we can say it would have been developed in resonance with the buildings in which they were performed, developing out of an oral/aural tradition, into musical notation. Although in a time before musical notation, the onus was simply on listening to others chant and repeating what was heard.

It has been suggested by Lubman and Kiser (2001), Bagenal and Wood (1934), and Devereux (2001) that the development of chant as the way in which to vocalise the Latin texts is a direct result and inevitable consequence of the high levels of reverberation caused within the cavernous space of cathedrals, and as such, they both developed in symbiosis. According to Burkholder, Grout, and Palisca (2014[1960]), before Gregorian chant, there existed more complex styles of liturgical vocalisation which did not fit well with the new stone cathedrals, and thus the slow rhythmical modulations of Gregorian chant came as a development which avoided exciting the lively acoustics of buildings such as Durham Cathedral to such an extent that the voice might become lost in an aural soup of noise.

Whether these above assertions are true or not is beside the point. However, what is important is the undeniable fact that Gregorian chant fits remarkably well with the

architecture of the building. As Choir Master Canon Lancelot, suggested during our interview,

It was built for chanting, that's the music that the people who built it and the monks who were there would have had in their ears and later that became more polyphonic with more than one part interweaving. Quite a lot of what we sing is Tudor church music, but that was really written for cathedrals with pointed arches<sup>22</sup> ... The people who built the Cathedral knew about acoustics, I don't know how they knew about it but they seemed to have a natural feel for it and, more than the spoken word, it carries sublimely beautifully in there, even a cough sounds quite nice. Then the composers of Tudor church music knew the buildings they were writing for, so there's a marriage of architecture and music (Recording, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2014).

However, it was not simply a case that through singing Gregorian chant within the walls of a cathedral one would instantly be able to achieve the hypnotic sounds. It was achieved through understanding the building's sonic potential and developing a relationship with it. As the priest took his place on the wall which closed off the quire upon which the organ stood and began to chant, his method was to allow his voice to slowly rise and fall away as he moved through the text 'so that the main syllables were distinctly heard and then died away while the others followed them as modulations' (Rasmussen 1964:228). Through the making of slight adjustments to one's voice in order to reduce, and hopefully eliminate the problematic overlapping of reverb, the voice became much more understandable, with considerably less strain upon the vocal chords. Through this active adjusting of the voice, one had to listen, understand, and then adjust oneself to the building, manipulating both the voice and the building for the benefit of the sound. By doing this, one was effectively using the architecture of the building as a powerful instrument, an instrument which needed to be learnt so that one could play the room to great effect (Rasmussen 1964:230).

With this relationship and understanding between the monks and the building, the monks could, and indeed the choir today are able, to create a sacred sound of worship which, as Rasmussen suggests of singing in larger spaces such as cathedrals, 'lived in the church, and in a soul-stirring manner turned the great edifice into a musical

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<sup>22</sup> Architecturally speaking, Durham Cathedral incorporates many advances and although the Cathedral was centuries old by the time Tudor music was being written for churches with pointed arches, Durham Cathedral's nave has pointed arches, whereas its transept and side aisles are rounded arches.

experience' (Rasmussen 1964:228-230). Rasmussen illustrates how it is important to have a relationship in which one works with the building and its aural characteristics rather than against it, working with the reverberation rather than trying to cancel it out. He suggests that if one was to play a studio recording of a passage of Gregorian chant with very little reverb, '[t]he music [would be] dull, flat and thoroughly uninspirational' (1964:230). Yet, play the recording in the environment it was intended for, and the sounds open up to the listener, vibrant and full of life, the rich tones of the music reverberating through the air. Indeed, when the Benedictine monks of Santo Domingo de Silos in Spain recorded an album of Gregorian chant during the 1970's which was later released in 1994, they chose to conduct the recordings within the monastic setting in which they sang the daily chants and in which chant had been sung since at least the tenth century. The resulting audio was one in which the powerful acoustics of the building were expertly used, fully involved, and easily audible. It was this relationship between the building and the collective voice of the choir that I experienced at Durham Cathedral.

### III. The Sound of Routine

Today, the Cathedral is still a fully functioning church, with the requirement of observing a minimum of two services per day;<sup>23</sup> these are Morning Prayer and Evensong, or Evening Prayer, when the choir are not in attendance. Of these daily services, Evensong – observed six days a week – are attended by either the Cathedral choir or a visiting choir. The Cathedral's male choir is employed by the Cathedral for the sole purpose of singing within the services. Additionally, the boys and girls choirs are two separate groups made up of choristers from the Cathedral's chorister school, situated in the grounds of the Cathedral. During Evensong, the choir sing their way through the prescribed psalms of the day, an anthem for the service, followed by Magnificat (The Song of Mary), and Nunc Dimittis (The Song of Simeon), as well as the Lord's Prayer and the responses. Essentially, the entire service is sung. Furthermore, whilst five of these days sees the psalms sung to more recent musical settings,<sup>24</sup> such as Tudor church music, one day is set aside purely for chanting the Psalms. Aside from singing

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<sup>23</sup> According to section B 10 of 'The Canons of the Church of England 7th Edition' (2012), which details the requirements of its churches and cathedrals, 'In every cathedral church the Common Prayer shall be said or sung, distinctly, reverently, and in an audible voice, every morning and evening, and the Litany on the appointed days, the officiating ministers and others of the clergy present in choir being duly habited'.

<sup>24</sup> A musical setting is a composition created specifically for a piece of literature, in this case the Psalms.

Evensong, the choir also sing the majority of the special services the Cathedral observes throughout the religious calendar.

The role of sound in the formation of the environment in Durham Cathedral is significant. Sound not only helps shape the routine of the daily services, but throughout the liturgical calendar changing the ambience of the building as it does so, an aspect I will return to later in this chapter. Furthermore, whilst, as I pointed to in the introduction to this chapter, sound helps structure and define both space and time, this is by no means a new or 'modern' aspect of life in the building. Indeed, the basis of this relationship emerges from the building's time as a Benedictine monastery, the very purpose for which the building was built.

### III.i. The Benedictine Routine

During the Cathedral's time as a Benedictine monastery, every service was sung by the monks. The ringing of a bell would have alerted the beginning of the service, much like today. These services would have centred upon the recitation, through chant, of the Psalms. Today, the Cathedral must make its way through all the 150 psalms each month. However, for the Benedictine monks, the requirement was to recite all 150 psalms each week, meaning that their *Opus Dei* (the work of God) was considerably longer than that which is observed today. The reciting of these psalms would take place within the Offices, which were what we would recognise today as regular services, such as Morning Prayer and Evensong. The monks would have observed a total of eight Offices throughout the day, during which they would make their way through the Psalms. Between these Offices, the monks would work or study but remain fairly silent. Chapter 6 of the Rule of St Benedict<sup>25</sup> suggests that silence was so important that permission had to be given to speak.

There exists no surviving *Horarium*<sup>26</sup> for Durham, though as Dobson states, 'Any attempt to compile a detailed timetable of the monastic day is fraught with difficulty because of the complicated variations caused by seasonal change and the different grading of feasts' (Dobson 1973:69). However, for the purposes of this chapter, the precise times are not of great importance, and I can take the necessary information

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<sup>25</sup> Written in the sixth century by St Benedict himself which sets out how a Benedictine monk should live within a monastery.

<sup>26</sup> *Horarium* is Latin, meaning 'The Hours' which details the precise times of the Offices of the monks.

needed from the Rule of St Benedict.<sup>27</sup> Below I have included the general number of psalms, and those traditionally connected to the specific services to give a flavour of the Offices.<sup>28</sup>

According to the Rule of St Benedict, the medieval Benedictine monk began his day at day-break with the Office of Lauds (Morning Prayer) in the quire<sup>29</sup> with two introductory psalms; 'Make your face shine upon us', Psalm 67<sup>30</sup> and 'Create in me a Clean Heart, O God' Psalm 51, followed by two additional psalms which would be traditionally linked with the Office of Lauds. Then they would recite the Psalms of Praise (known as the Laudate), which are Psalms 148-150. This would be followed by a short reading, which for Benedictine monks would often include a capitulum<sup>31</sup> of the Rule of St Benedict. Finally, they would sing the Benedictus (Song of Zechariah), a hymn and prayers, ending with the Lord's Prayer. All the psalms were performed through Gregorian chant, alongside the hymn, prayers, and the Benedictus, leaving only the short reading to be spoken.

The next four Offices of the day were named the 'Little Hours', beginning an hour after Lauds (zero hour), at approximately 7am. These were Prime (the first hour) and Terce (the third hour), both of which would include 3 psalms or four sections of Psalm 119 as well as a capitulum, a hymn, and a prayer. Next would be Sext (the sixth hour), and None (the ninth hour), which, in addition to a capitulum, a hymn, and a prayer, would include three psalms each or three sections of Psalm 119. The time between these Offices would be taken either by personal study time or manual work, depending upon the season. Two hours after None, the monks would again converge upon the quire of the Cathedral (the very space in which the congregation still gather today) to observe Vespers (Evening Prayer). This included four psalms, a capitulum, Magnificat (The Song of Mary), a hymn and prayer's ending with the Lord's Prayer. Following this would be a communal reading before the Office of Compline at dusk in which three psalms, a capitulum, Nunc dimittis (The Song of Simeon), a hymn and prayers would be observed. Finally, the monks would observe the 'Greater Silence', during which, in accordance with the Rule of St Benedict, whilst refraining from speaking throughout the day, they would

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<sup>27</sup> A detailed and specific to Durham Cathedral Priory routine can be found in Dobson (1973:69-71) and the Rites of Durham.

<sup>28</sup> The term 'Office' is used to refer to the daily services observed by monks, it is still used today when referring to services which take place every day, such as Morning Prayer and Evensong.

<sup>29</sup> In order to stop confusion between the choir as a space and the choir as a group of singers, I shall use the medieval spelling of quire when referring to the space within the Cathedral.

<sup>30</sup> All reference to psalm numbers come from the English Standard Version.

<sup>31</sup> Latin for chapter, a capitulum was a chapter of the Rule of St Benedict.

now also remain completely silent as they prepared for bed. The monks would then sleep for eight hours before silently rising in the darkness of their communal dormitory and move, without a word, through the darkness into the quire and begin what was essentially their first office of the day, the night office of Matins.

Matins was their longest Office, lasting so long that, especially during summer time, it would merge into Lauds which celebrated daybreak. The night office saw a total of fourteen psalms, beginning with the Invitatory Psalms 3 and 95 before moving in cycle through the week of Psalms 21 to 109. This was followed by three readings from scripture or scriptural commentaries, a hymn and prayers leading into Lauds and the rising sun. In addition to being by far the longest office of the day, Matins was also seen as being the most important.

The Offices as a whole were important along with the cyclical chanting of the Psalms; they were, and still are, to be seen as a conversation between God and his people. This conversation involves listening, responding, words and silence. As Canon Brown introduced Evensong to the congregation once: 'This service is our chance to dip into an ancient conversation with God, a conversation which has been happening within this space since the monks first began it in the eleventh century' (Fieldnotes, March 2014). Whilst today sees two opportunities for this conversation, in Morning Prayer and Evensong/Prayer, the Opus Dei of the monks would have promoted an even stronger sense of a continual conversation with their Lord. It is important to point out that the act of gathering together within the quire of the Cathedral was not a gathering of individual prayers, it was instead viewed as the church itself coming together as one, as a body in order to pray in unity for all.

#### IV. The Monks and the Written Word

If the chanting was a conversation and the monks would eventually memorise all 150 psalms, the daily structure of the Benedictine monastery – including the hours of private book study – shows that the relationship monks had with the written word was also intense. Although they would have memorised the Psalms and much of the scriptures for use within the Offices, much of their personal study time would be spent contemplating the written texts: 'When they had dined, they dyd resorte to that place of Cloister and there studyed upon there books, every one in his carrell, all the after nonne, unto evensong tyme' (Rites of Durham 1998[1593]:70). However, this study period would not have been a time of complete silence as we might expect study time to be today.

With this in mind, it is important to explore the relationship the monks had with written text.

As with the Offices of the monks promoting a sense of conversation involving listening, responding, words and silence, the same was very much true of their relationship with the written texts. Quite the opposite to the way we prioritise reading 'within our heads', the medieval monk would have read aloud (Treitler 1984:139), articulating the 'Word of God'. As Certeau points out, until the sixteenth or seventeenth century, it was considered that the Holy Scriptures literally 'spoke'. 'The sacred text is a voice, it teaches (the original sense of documentum), it is the advent of a "meaning" (un "vouloir-dire") on the part of a God who expects the reader (in reality, the listener) to have a "desire to hear and understand" (un "vouloir-entendre") on which access to truth depends' (Certeau translated by Randell 2011:137). Thus, according to Certeau, the medieval monks would have thought about the written word in an entirely different way to us. Whereas we see the written words and consider the meanings behind them, they would have 'listened' to the words they saw on the page. As Ingold also suggests, 'They were using their eyes to hear, modelling their perception of the written word upon their experience of the spoken one' (Ingold 2007:13).

This concept of the written word 'speaking' reaches back further than the medieval monks. As Howe shows, in the etymological origins of 'to read', he found that its origins were shared within the Gothic, Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Norse and Old Frisian languages, and shared the 'principal meanings of "to give advice or counsel", "to exercise control over something", and "to explain something obscure", such as a riddle (OED, s.v. *read*)' (1993:61). Howe explains that these actions 'could only have a spoken act in the cultures that used these various languages before the introduction of writing'. Therefore, during the introduction of writing into cultures unaccustomed to written texts, 'The act of reading would have seemed remarkably like solving a riddle' (1993:62). In short, the act of reading aloud was necessary for the understanding of the texts; their understanding lay in deciphering the mysterious sounds that lay on the page. As Howe eloquently puts it, 'The squiggles must be made to speak' (1993:63).

To the Benedictine monks of Durham Cathedral Priory, their relationship with the written word is likely to have taken on a higher importance than that which we have today. To the monk sitting alone in his carrel between offices, he was sitting down, not to read in silence, but to continue his conversation with the Lord as he listened to His

Word.<sup>32</sup> This conversation would have involved not only listening, to the words written on the page, but also taking part through the daily Offices, by way of hymns or Gregorian chant.

#### V. Modern Technology

In order for chant to be effective within Durham Cathedral, the community of singers needed to be aware and responsive to their sonic relationship with the building. This being particularly important as the music became more advanced and technically difficult, to the point in which composers have at times been commissioned to write music for specific buildings, such as Canon Lancelot's comments suggest of Tudor music. But what of the relationship between sound and the building today?

Looking around the nave of the Cathedral, it is easy to see that technology has incorporated itself into the ancient stonework of the building. Lights, wires, alarm systems, CCTV cameras, speaker systems, microphones, and even Wi-Fi transmitters are tucked into the corners of the building with wires running through holes in the walls. The use of microphones negates the need to work with the building in the same manner as the monks once did. With the installation of microphones in the stalls of the quire, and speakers discreetly hidden under the book rests of the quire stalls as well as in the nave and Galilee Chapel, there is no need to think about how one's voice will be heard throughout the building, one simply uses the Public Address system. In such an environment one could quite easily assume that the building is a place in which sound happens as opposed to with which sound happens.

The speaker system of the Cathedral is not garish or abrasive, but well refined and understated. One is largely unaware that the sound is coming from the speakers, which is how it is intended, in order to be as unobtrusive as possible. However, without them, one would not be able to hear nor understand what was being preached. The entire relationship between sound and the building is thus still reliant upon the sound being able to fully interact with the architecture, particularly the stone vaulted ceiling and the mixture of rounded and pointed arches. Each architectural element adds a different factor to the end result of the sound when it reaches the ear. However, with the microphones so close to the source of the sound, and the speakers so close to the listening congregation, the architecture has minimal opportunity to become involved. Of

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<sup>32</sup> Indeed, a number of documents used by the medieval monks of Durham Cathedral Priory show signs of 'added accents and marginal notes to facilitate reading aloud', namely The Durham Cantor's Book (DCL B.IV.24) (Piper 1994:85).

course, this is the desired effect, otherwise the speakers would serve no purpose and the building would reverberate the vocal sound waves to the point that they were once again indistinguishable to the listener.

During services in which there is a large amount of speaking and reading, the acoustic attributes of Durham Cathedral play only a minor role, and its once dominant role in the experience of sound is reduced. However, at times, the relationship between the sound of worship and the building remains as important as ever, as I found during the Christmas period, culminating in the Midnight Eucharist.

#### V.i. Singing *with* the Building

I arrived forty minutes early to find the Cathedral already full of people sat in rows and dressed in layers of thick jumpers, scarves, and coats. The babble of noise was lively within the nave and individual voices were indiscernible from one another. Pews creaked as people shuffled along them, and heels of shoes clacked noisily on the stone floor. The Cathedral was warm, brightly lit and cheerful-looking. Taking a service booklet from a smiling steward, I too slid into a creaking pew and awaited the start of the service, listening to the sounds of the building.

As the service began, my eyes and ears explored the building, and there could be no doubt that the Cathedral played a role in the experience of the Midnight Eucharist, the impressive stone vaulted ceiling looming high above us through the thick cloud of incense certainly added to the visual experience.

The service was conducted in the nave, and the choir were stood in the crossing. According to the Choir Master Canon Lancelot, it was the services when the choir were in the crossing where the voices of the choir needed to be managed most. Standing in the crossing of the Cathedral situates the choir beneath the lantern of the tower, a huge empty expanse above them: 'It can be a problem as the sound gets stuck up there and so doesn't propagate through the building in quite the same way' (Recording, 28th January 2014). For the clergy, however, the building did not really need to be thought about, due to the portable microphones which hung around their necks. The proximity of the speakers in the nave to the congregation almost completely eradicated the architecture's chance to engage with the sound.

It was not until the choir began to sing that the building was able to fully interact with the sound of the service. Guided by the Master of the Choir and their own knowledge of the building, the choir worked with the building in order to achieve their full potential full of rich tones, with rhythmically undulating syllables working the reverberation of the

architecture. The congregation, however, were neither trained nor guided, and as such the building reacted in a different way to their singing. Without the intricacies of the choir's singing, the result lacked the rich tones created by the choir and simply amplified the sound the congregation made so that the building's natural reverberation, the unity between choir and architecture, was missing.

Towards the end of the service the congregation turned to face the Nativity scene situated at the font at the back of the nave. At this point of the service, the choir had relocated and were now stood around the font with the full clergy. It was difficult to see where everybody was stood from my vantage point toward the middle of the nave. However, from somewhere to the south of the font came the sound of a single chanting voice which I immediately recognised as being that of the Vice Dean who was also wearing a microphone. What was significant here, was that the microphone was switched off. This act of switching the microphone off may at first be seen as a practicality for technical reasons. A microphone set up for the spoken voice would distort if one was to sing through it. Yet in this action I heard something more significant, I heard the building.

I had been hearing the building all throughout the service, as the choir stood or congregation stood to sing. Yet, the switching off the Vice Dean's microphone offered a distinction between the amplified and unamplified voice. At once the pure acoustics of the architecture played upon the Vice Dean's voice, lifting it high into the air, enriching every vibration of the chant. Furthermore, the impression of the single voice ringing through the air was one of complete unity between the voice and the building, one voice working with the building.

Through switching off the microphone and chanting out into the environment of Durham cathedral, the Vice Dean was singing with the building in the same manner as the Benedictine monks, embellishing the words chanted through a direct relationship with the building. However, this was not so much a re-enactment of what went before, but a continuation of the conversation with God in which the building played an integral part. By extension, we could view the singing of the choir and congregation in the same manner.

Such an awareness of the acoustic properties of the architecture result in a unity of community and building coming together to enhance the experience of the building and the sound produced in the Cathedral's ministerial mission of giving praise and conversing with God. From developing a relationship based on the necessity of dealing with acoustic difficulties born out of the architecture, the relationship between the sound

produced by the community and the building has developed into an understanding of what the architecture can offer the sound and experience, not by working against it, but by understanding it and working with it. Furthermore, whilst technology has made the relationship less crucial to everyday worship, it is nonetheless still an important relationship acknowledged and understood by the Choir Master and choristers of Durham Cathedral. As Deryck, a male chorister of the choir explained to me:

As I am singing, I have an eye on Canon Lancelot as he guides us [the choir], through the music, I'm listening to my colleagues beside me, constantly adjusting the level of my voice to fit with them, but I am also adjusting myself to the building too, I'm positioning my body in such a way as to project my voice out into the building at the correct angle. I am also listening to the building and my voice returning back to me, listening to its sound, and adjusting myself further to fit with what I am hearing come back to me from the walls as it's mixed with the other voices (Fieldnotes, February 2014).

## VI. The Mood of the Cathedral

On any given day, the sounds within the Cathedral were largely as one might expect, hushed voices, echoing footsteps, the occasional creak of wood from the pews and the sounds of the daily services moving their way through the Psalms. Whilst once a week the choir still performed the Office of Evensong in chant, generally speaking, the Psalms and Prayers were sung in a more ornate Tudor style 'setting'. The term 'setting' is used to describe a piece of music which has been written for a piece of literary work, in the case of church music, the literature is usually the Psalms. Therefore, whilst the musical style (the setting) may change, the words always remain the same.

As Master of the Choir, Canon James Lancelot explained, the Psalms were very important.

These are hymns that Jesus sang and take us right back to Hebrew worship in the temple. We think that some take us back to the temple of Jerusalem. Yes, even as old as that, and yes, for some people they are the highlight of the service ... and music takes the words to a new level, it enhances them, illustrates them, but also adds to them, and in that it speaks to believer and non-believer alike. I think it [music] is a way in for people, even if they can't assent necessarily, to the full meaning of the text (Recording, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2014).

It was during Lent that the full extent of the impact music has on the mood of the building became fully clear to me. Beginning with Ash Wednesday, Lent was a period of solemn reflection, contemplation, prayer, and self-denial that lasted until Easter Sunday. However, it also spanned a number of feast and celebratory days, namely the Feast of St Cuthbert (the most important saint of Durham Cathedral, see Appendices C and E), and the Annunciation of the birth of Jesus, nine months before Christmas Day. Both feasts were important for the community of Durham Cathedral and the Anglican Church, and both were causes for celebration.

I arrived early for the special service for the Feast of the Annunciation and took my seat in a rapidly filling quire. Carefully folding my coat and placing it under my seat, I sat back and stared up at the Cathedral. Although I spent most of my time at the Cathedral during my fieldwork, it was only in those few short moments before a service began that I had time to simply sit, stare and think.

‘Good evening everyone’, said the minister as his eyes surveyed the now packed quire stalls in the heart of the Cathedral,

Welcome to the Feast of the Annunciation of the Birth of Jesus Christ. We have gathered here this evening to celebrate this joyous occasion and, although we are in this Lenten period, we must not feel guilty about the sounds and words which we will hear this evening, for this is an occasion for celebration (Fieldnotes, 25th March 2014).

For the congregation to be told that they need not feel guilty for the words and sounds we were to hear, was not what I had been expecting. As the Minister’s words faded away, my mind began to open to the realisation that the music and settings, could be used to not only to enhance, but to affect the mood of the Cathedral and community. Indeed, as the choir rose from their stalls and began to sing, I began to fully understand what the minister had said during his introduction. As the ‘Alleluias’ soared through the air and the joyful tones of the evening’s music danced their way up the nave, I realised that whilst these were sounds that I was by now accustomed to hearing, particularly in the special services, they were sounds that I had not heard during the period of Lent. I was suddenly aware of the change in mood that had come about with the transition into the Lenten period, dictated by the settings used by the choir, who, whilst still singing the same 150 psalms, had done so with more morose, more reserved settings. As one member of the congregation explained to me, ‘If you listen, you can hear the change from one period to another’ (Fieldnotes, March 2014).

The change itself as we moved into Lent was subtle. The service of Ash Wednesday, 'The Imposition of Ashes' (see Appendix G), was solemn and serious, perhaps understandably as it was the service that ushered in the period of Lent. Whilst the daily offices of Morning Prayer and Evensong/Prayer had changed, with more solemn tones used and words such as Alleluia dropping out of use, the change was subtle, almost unnoticeable from one day to the next. However, when juxtaposed with the celebratory sounds of the Annunciation, it became apparent to me that sound played a major role in cathedral life by helping to guide the mood of the Cathedral and community as dictated by the religious calendar they followed.

Canon Lancelot alluded to the subtle changes in sound when he briefly explained some of the musical choices for the various services:

As to the music choices we make, the choir's job is to sing the daily Evensong and Sunday Matins and Communion, so to quite a big extent things are prescriptive. We have to sing the particular psalms that are set for that day of the month, so on February 5th, we sing the Psalms for the fifth evening. For example, we have to sing Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, and we may sing them in ancient settings, or fairly old settings, or modern settings, or very modern settings, even brand new settings, but you know, the texts are set so we have to have a set of those ready for each day that we sing. As regards to the anthem we sing in Evensong, there's a much wider choice, but you try to keep it – if there is a particular season such as the Epiphany or Lent – then that focuses the choice, and it may even be that the readings from the Bible on the day also suggests a particular angle, although they don't have to. Likewise, for the Sunday morning communion, you know, we have to sing a setting for the mass and we have to sing an anthem that is sacramental in character (Recording, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2014).

Canon Lancelot's comments reveal that the choices were very particular and were selected to relate to the particular season, readings or psalms, and that they often related to the implicit mood of these particular seasons, such as the sacramental character of Sunday services. Additionally, its changing nature pointed to an important and dynamic aspect of music in the life of Durham Cathedral and its community, as the resulting effect of the choice of musical settings used within services very much dictated the particular mood of the time of year or season.

Whilst this may seem obvious – you don't hear Christmas carols at Easter, for example – I am concerned with the finer nuances and delicate play with the tones of the settings. As Canon Lancelot stated, the words which are sung, are largely prescriptive, and all 150 psalms are recited once a month, the words of which never change. Due to the unchanging nature of the Psalms' words, it falls to the settings in which the Psalms are to be sung to help guide the mood of the building and community, subtly raising, and lowering the mood of the services, which, through the choir and organ rehearsals throughout the week, spills over into the daily communal life and into the stones of the building, which seem to retain the atmospheric mood set by the liturgy and guided by the choir.

## VII. The Unity of Sound

Over the course of this chapter, I have looked to understand the sonic relationship which exists between Durham Cathedral and its community, from the Benedictine monks of Durham Cathedral Priory to the present today. Whilst others have focused on the developing liturgy<sup>33</sup> and music,<sup>34</sup> and the use of sacred space within Durham Cathedral,<sup>35</sup> I have focused upon the direct aural link between community and architecture and the resulting relationship. In doing so, it is clear that the community has long maintained an understanding of the acoustic properties of the building in which they worship.

As I stated earlier, the true origins of Gregorian chant are unclear,<sup>36</sup> though its attributes allow the singer to work with the architecture that was emerging across Europe from the ninth century onwards. This was particularly important as technology advanced and the main building materials became stone, replacing wooden structures, the older wooden structures being both smaller and acoustically kinder, with the wood absorbing much of the sound. However, with the stone edifices, which were replacing them, having much longer reverberation lengths, the development of Gregorian chant emerged as a style to deal with this issue. As Bagenal and Wood (1931:226) suggest, the acoustic properties of such buildings create, through their nature, a particular kind of music. Such relationships have developed ever since, with the composers gaining an understanding of the architecture in which their compositions or 'settings' were to be set.

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<sup>33</sup> See Kennedy D. (2015)

<sup>34</sup> See Crosby (2015)

<sup>35</sup> See Doig with Sadgrove (2015)

<sup>36</sup> See Hiley (2009)

Today the use of technology within the building means that Gregorian chant is no longer necessary for the words to be carried to the back of the nave, with the Ministers simply using microphones. Yet whilst the use of new technology in the ancient building has reduced the need for chant, it has not ended the relationship. Through numerous conversations with members of the Cathedral choir, and visitors alike, it became apparent that even today the importance of the relationship was still fully understood and appreciated. This was echoed during an interview with Canon Lancelot when he explained that there is 'a marriage of architecture and music' (Recording, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2014). In recognition of this continuing and ever developing relationship, Canon Lancelot explained an important aspect of Durham Cathedral's recent history and the impact it has had on the sound of the Cathedral.

The Cathedral is very receptive. One of the things it has, as a building, taken to itself, into its stonework very happily and quite unusually, is brass band playing. The Cathedral is emblematic, it's an icon in the community, and this community for so long was about coal mining. In a sort of solidarity of relaxing together, they came up with this wonderful tradition of brass band playing, and it is only right that they did, and still do come along, and offer that into the Cathedral. It was a part of their life and vision, and so every year particularly at the Miners' Gala and at other times, you get these brass bands coming and playing at the Cathedral and they sound wonderful in there, and I just feel, in just the same way as the monks' plainsong has soaked into the stone, so too has brass band music soaked into the building (Recording, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2014).

What is clear is that both the monks and those who perform in the Cathedral today understand that the walls of the Cathedral have the potential to be powerful instruments (Rasmussen 1964:230) when fully utilised. It is not simply through standing in a particular space that one is able to achieve the full potential of both the building and one's voice, but through entering into a dynamic relationship with the architecture. As a result, the rich tones and ringing reverberation that add great strength and depth to the voice of the singer are not simply added to the sound, but are a part of the sound as a result of this relationship.

Returning to the Cathedral some months after the end of my fieldwork to give a seminar related to this chapter to students of the Durham University Anthropology department, I asked Deryck, a member of the Men's choir, to give a demonstration on the difference between the spoken voice, and singing within the quire. Listening to

Deryck as he read aloud a psalm, his voice ringing messily around the cavernous expanse before chanting the same psalm, the juxtaposition between the two and the relationship he maintained with the building became clear. Whilst the spoken psalm washed around, individual words indistinguishable from one another, his chanting became crisp and clearly understood. Sitting in the opposite quire stalls to Deryck, as he stood in his personal stall<sup>37</sup>, those attending the seminar smiled and nodded in agreement with regard to the clarity of Deryck's chanting, with one commenting, 'It's totally different, I couldn't understand a word he spoke, but when he sang it was really clear, but it was like the sound was only partly coming from him and the rest from the building' (Fieldnotes, February, 2015).

As Deryck's own comments suggest, following his demonstration, there are two important aspects of his relationship to consider. The first is that whilst the relationship between the singer and the building may not be apprehended on a fully conscious level, it is nonetheless still existent. Although he had not acknowledged the relationship on a conscious level, through the process of talking about his role as a singer, he became aware that he does in fact maintain a subconscious awareness and understanding of the building and his body's position within it. Secondly, as Pallasmaa (2012) argues, our experience of architecture is a bodily one, incorporating all of our senses at once, and not one sense and then another, so too is Deryck's performance within the Cathedral. As he sings, he maintains an awareness of his body's position in relation to the building as well as those around him, adjusting both his body and performance in response.

You know, it's a funny thing, as a singer I'm obviously consciously tied up with the egotistical parts of my performance, you know, how did I do, how did I sound. But actually, as I was giving my demonstration and through listening to you speak about sound and the architecture, I suddenly became aware that actually you're right. There are all manner of things that I am aware of. As I am singing, I have an eye on Canon Lancelot as he guides us [the choir] through the music, I'm listening to my colleagues beside me, constantly adjusting the level of my voice to fit with them, but I am also adjusting myself to the building too, I'm positioning my body in such a way as to project my voice out into the building at the correct angle. I'm also listening to the building and my voice returning back to me, listening to its sound, and adjusting myself further to fit

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<sup>37</sup> Each member of the choir maintains their own stall position which helps the sound of the choir to remain balanced.

with what I'm hearing come back to me from the walls as it's mixed with the other voices. It really is an odd thing, because I was never really aware of the fact that I was doing it, but now that you are talking about it and as I was singing, I was suddenly aware of myself doing all of these things, it's like I am suddenly more aware of my position within the Cathedral (Fieldnotes, February 2015).



## **CHAPTER 4: SHADOWS IN LIGHT**

## I. 'Free to Be' and the Darkness before Bell Ringing

'Were it not for shadows, there would be no beauty' (Tanizaki 2001:46).

Ordinarily, the interior of the main church of the Cathedral is lit with a large number of powerful lights, some pointing up towards the architecture and some pointing towards the floor. The lights themselves look like they would be more at home in a theatre, their warm glow revealing the forms of the architecture in the upper reaches of the vaulted ceiling, whilst creating a warm glow which complements the colours of the stone. On cold winter mornings, the glow itself was almost enough to warm you. However, during my fieldwork, I had noticed that as the lighting changed, so did my experience of the building.

It was a dark, brisk night as I stepped out onto the Market Place and began my familiar journey up to the Cathedral. Wrapped up against the winter chill, the streets, bathed in an eerie orange glow, were almost completely empty, as was usual for a Sunday evening. My journey was a quiet one, through the rhythmic pools of orange street lights and up on to Palace Green where the Castle and Cathedral both stood, regally illuminated. The lights, shining up from the ground caught the lumps and bumps of the Cathedral's exterior walls, extending them into long shadows creeping across its surface.

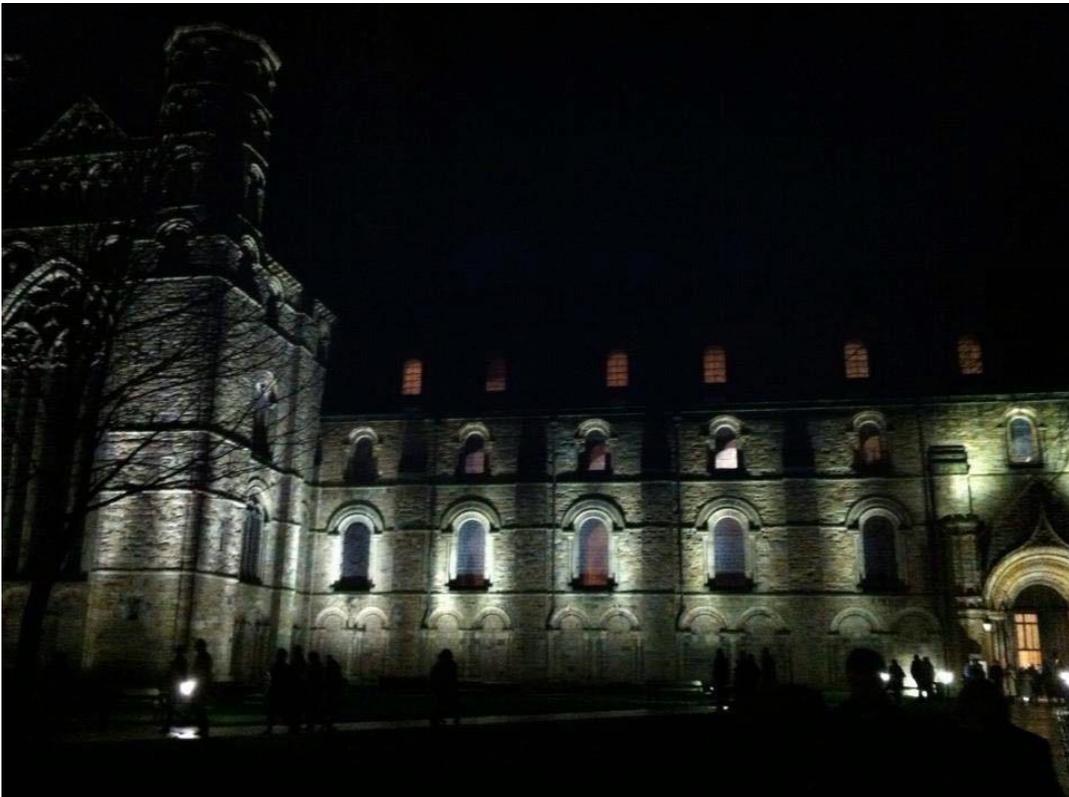


Figure 4 The north face of Durham Cathedral illuminated.

This particular evening I was to attend an event called '*Free To Be*' (see Appendix F), which allowed people to explore Durham Cathedral by candlelight and in quiet meditation. Entering, I found the Cathedral dimly lit, many of the buildings strong beaming lights having been switched off. 'Free to Be', read the leaflet I was handed as I stepped into the nave, 'aims to frame this sacred space in such a way that you might *encounter* God. You are free to explore the entire building. Walking, pausing, watching, and listening for God'. With the lighting dimmed, a number of tea candles had been set out around the place, many of them around the columns of the nave, their light dancing across the ancient stone. As I wandered around I came across three bare footed women leaning against the wall of the Gregory Chapel watching a video projected on the stone wall opposite them, others sat in silence in various areas, some on pews, some on the floor, and one on the stone base of a column.

Sitting in a pew in the dimly lit nave my mind wandered to a conversation I had had with Seif El-Rashidi, the World Heritage Site coordinator. During the conversation, we discussed the feeling of the Cathedral during the day with the stewards and its rules such as no pictures. Seif concluded that the Cathedral itself seems to maintain a welcoming, yet professional feeling, commenting that whilst you can enter the building and enjoy it, there exists a definite boundary, a line of propriety of which one is very aware and does not cross. However, in this environment with the subdued lighting, I felt that this line had diminished. Feeling a sense of warm comfort in the dim light I was immersed in, I decided to lay down in the pew. Feet up, legs crossed and shoes somewhere at the back of the Cathedral I mindlessly stared up at the ceiling of the nave cast in long sprawling shadows which quivered as the candlelight below flickered weakly against the ceiling. I felt that I was immersed in a freer, homelier atmosphere. It was a comforting, embracing light that played upon the surface of the building without truly illuminating it, instead encouraging the shivering shadows high above me.

In contrast to the warm welcoming light of the candle lit Cathedral, weeks later I stood in the centre of the transept crossing beneath the central tower late one night as I waited to climb the tower to watch the bell ringers practice. The Cathedral was in near darkness and the experience was very different. The warmth of the building was completely lost without a light. There were no candles to give a warm glow and just black shadows of near darkness for company. I suddenly felt very small standing within a very big building. The walls and ceiling lingered in the darkness, it seemed that in *this* light the size of the building around me had increased. The ceiling was higher and the nave and side aisles longer, stretching off into blackness. My mind wandered to the thought of

Benedictine monks walking down the nave and into the quire through this darkness, and imagined the quire being lit by the warm candlelight I had experienced during '*Free to Be*'; and what a dramatic experience that must have been.

## II. Objects and Atmospheres

In discussing both sight and sound, Stoller, building on Ong (2000), suggests that since the 'period of alphabetisation' which led to the sounds of words being spatialised, 'The eye and its "gaze" ... has had a lock hold on Western thought'. Stoller suggests that our sense of sight leads us only to sense 'things'; we see 'illuminated things, not colours or light' (1984:560). As Zuckerkandl argues, 'In seeing, touching, tasting, we reach through the sensation to an object, to a thing' (1956:70). In short, rather than seeing light when we look around us, we merely see the objects the light is reflecting off. As a result of Western thinking prioritising vision and the tendency to focus on the object rather than the relations between things and processes, 'We know what it means to hear sound but have effectively lost touch with the experience of *light*' (Ingold 2000:253, emphasis in the original).

The study of light in modern physics tells us that it is a type of electromagnetic radiation; thinking of light in this manner is understood as *lumen* (Ingold 2000:256; Jay 1993:29). Conversely, when thinking about light as that which illuminates the world we perceive, it is understood as *lux*, 'subjective, and interior; as sight and mental sensation' (Bille & Sorenson 2007:264). Ingold states that for those who can see, 'light is the *experience* of inhabiting the world of the visible, and that its qualities – of brilliance and shade, tint and colour, and the saturation – are variations upon this experience' (2000:264-265, emphasis in the original). However, whilst light is something which illuminates the objects as Zuckerkandl (1956) suggests, it also affects us and our experience of the world around us; for some darkness is to be feared, and for others it is calming. Light in our environment has an effect on us. It helps create an atmosphere in the space.

In this chapter, it is this experience of light that I am concerned with, not the illumination of objects, but the ambient light in which we are immersed. Whether it be the stark brightness of a dental surgery, or the relative darkness of a candle lit vigil, light forms much of our overall experience of the environment that surrounds us.

Firstly, what is atmosphere? According to McCormack, atmosphere is 'something distributed yet palpable, a quality of environmental immersion that registers in and through sensing bodies whilst also remaining diffuse, in the air, ethereal' (2008:413).

Similarly, Böhme suggests that atmospheres are ontologically indeterminate, 'We are not sure whether we should attribute them to the objects or environments from which they proceed or to the subjects who experience them. We are also unsure where they are. They seem to fill the space with a certain tone of feeling like a haze'. In discussing 'new aesthetics', Böhme states that its concern is in the relationship that exists between 'environmental qualities and human states' (1993:114), suggesting this 'between' is atmosphere, the experience of 'bodily presence in relation to persons and things or in spaces' (1993:119). In Edensor's analysis of Blackpool illuminations, whilst following Böhme's suggestion to 'explore the multiplicity of atmospheres and their melding of affect, emotion, and sensation' (Edensor 2012:1103), he highlights the power of lighting in contributing to the atmosphere, concluding that 'lighting is a crucial ingredient in the atmospheric qualities of nocturnal space' (2012:1119).

### II.i. Cast in Shadow

As Edensor states, 'The ways in which light transforms space is complex and multiple' (2012:1106), and at the core of this complexity is light's relationship with dark. Regarding this relationship, Tanizaki stated that, 'We find beauty not in the thing itself but in the patterns of the shadows, the light and darkness, that one thing against another creates' (2001:46). This relationship between the two contrasting natures of light and dark and the manner in which they create a multitude of shades, shapes, and colours 'can impact upon an individual's understanding of, and movement through, the landscape' (Morris 2011:334). Indeed, Morris suggests that there exists an 'instability between the two' (2011:316), with each state being 'vulnerable' (Sumartojo 2015:269) to the other. It is because of this 'vulnerable' relationship between light and dark that Gallan and Gibson (2011) highlight the impracticalities of thinking about the two as being in opposition. As my two experiences of 'Free to Be' and standing in the dark Cathedral highlight, the experience of light is not always the experience of strong, bright light, but of low light and at times almost no light at all. Even in the darkest occasions within the Cathedral, small hints of light would spill in through the stained-glass windows, from the streetlights outside. In these instances, in which light is introduced into darkness, the contrast is born out in the forming of shadows. Not only can the tones, colours and even textures of darkness be very different, but also the feelings that, when meshed with other actions, help to extenuate the experience. As Sumartojo argues, 'It is the blending of and contrast between light and dark that create both visual impact and affective charge' (2015:269).

An example of this would be during of the 'Lighting of the Christmas Tree' service (see Appendix H), when the dark Cathedral was lit only by the candles of the choir, casting long shadows over the darker shadows of the architecture high above our heads. The warmth of the candle light together with the cheerful singing of the choir and congregation brought with it a sense of intimacy, closeness and above all, spectacle.

Whilst Bille and Sorenson suggest that 'the appearance of the world is determined by the changing *lightscapes* cast by the shadows in the relationship between things, persons and light' (emphasis in the original), what I am referring to here is the atmosphere of the environment and experience of transformation in part due to the quality of light. Whilst one cannot 'touch, smell, hear, or taste a shadow' (2007:267), they still play an integral role in the way we experience the environment. The positioning and intensity of light as well as the shadows cast are all elements of the environment that we seldom truly appreciate.

As Tanizaki suggests, dimensions of materiality can be revealed through shadows (2001), discussing Tanazaki's work, Bille and Sorenson describe how objects such as toilets, food, and lacquerware, 'reiterate a distinct social identity through shadows, dim muddy light, brilliance and textures of light' (2007:267). Indeed, as I stood in the centre of the transept crossing waiting to climb the central tower to join the bell ringers, one of the ringers commented on the buildings' darkness: 'It's a totally different building in the dark. Whenever it's dark nights and we come into the dark, empty Cathedral, I'm also struck by just how big this place feels and how different it feels compared to having the lights on' (Fieldnotes, December 4<sup>th</sup> 2013). What Tanizaki's suggestion also points towards, is that through the relationship between light and dark, and the shadows created, we can experience the world around us very differently. When I think about the lighting of Durham Cathedral, both from the outside and its interior, it is the shadows which draw my attention, the rough marks on the stones from centuries of wear and tear and the stretching lines of the architecture. In a manner comparable to Tanizaki's (2001) argument, it is through shadow that the building reveals a different dimension of itself.



Figure 5 The north transept, note the variations between light and dark, and the shadows thus created.

## II.ii. Architecture and Light

Light, according to Bille and Sorensen, is 'regarded as a building material, like concrete, steel, glass and so on' (2007:270). On discussing the role of light, Sorrell suggests that it 'creates atmosphere, highlights and sculpts areas, and opens up spaces, influencing not just how you look at them but also how you feel about them. Light profoundly influences both ambience and mood' He continues that 'the better the light the better our sense and appreciation of a space' (2005:58). However, what Sorrell calls 'better' light is not necessarily brighter light, but a light which suits the intended ambience of a space.

Perhaps the best way in which to illustrate Sorrell's point and to highlight the manner in which light has an effect on the way we experience spaces, is in Tanizaki's comparisons between the 'old, dimly lit' toilets of a Nara or Kyoto temple, and the brightly lit Western toilets. 'The Japanese toilet', writes Tanizaki,

truly is a place of spiritual repose ... No words can describe that sensation as one sits in the dim light, basking in the faint glow reflected from the shoji,<sup>38</sup> lost in meditation or gazing out at the garden. The novelist Netsuke Soseki counted his morning trips to the toilet a great pleasure, 'a physiological delight' he called it (2001:9).

For Tanizaki, light played an important role in the *experience* of a Japanese toilet, commenting on 'the dim light, basking in the faint glow reflected from the shoji' (2001:9), as important aspects of an enjoyable atmosphere. In contrast, however, Tanizaki shows how light can ruin the same experience, stating that, such bright lights as 'Western' toilets have and the 'pure white' of the walls and fixings, 'hardly puts one in a mood to relish Soseki's "physiological delight"', suggesting that it is 'crude and tasteless to expose the toilet to such excessive illumination' (2001:11). Tanizaki's comments here highlight the importance of light not only in relation to revealing the architecture of a building or space, but also in the *experience* of a building or space, and thus reaffirming Sorrell's suggestion that 'light profoundly influences both ambience and mood' (2005:58).

Aligning himself with Tanizaki, Pallasmaa states that in architecture 'deep shadows and darkness are essential, because they dim the sharpness of vision, make depth and distance ambiguous, and invite unconscious peripheral vision and tactile

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<sup>38</sup> A shoji is a door, window or room divider of taut, translucent paper in a wooden frame and is a quintessential part of traditional Japanese architecture.

fantasy' (2012:50). In the strong glare of the expensive lighting system in Durham Cathedral or the natural light as it spills in through the large windows, it is not the light that draws in the imagination and leads us to admire the lines and curves of the building, but the interplay between light and dark, creating textures and colours, producing an atmosphere in the building. Just as Tanizaki suggests that the strong bright lights of the 'Western' toilet bring with it a sense of sterile cleanliness, intensely bright lights can also potentially steal away something of the atmosphere and experience. As Pallasmaa expresses, 'The shadow gives shape and life to the object in light' (2012:51).

As one moves around Durham Cathedral, the light is continuously changing, and thus gives a different feel to various parts of the building. For example, the light in the Galilee Chapel is often lit naturally by the large number of windows, giving the chapel a lighter, airier feeling, this being distinctly different to the light within the nave which is lit largely by artificial light.

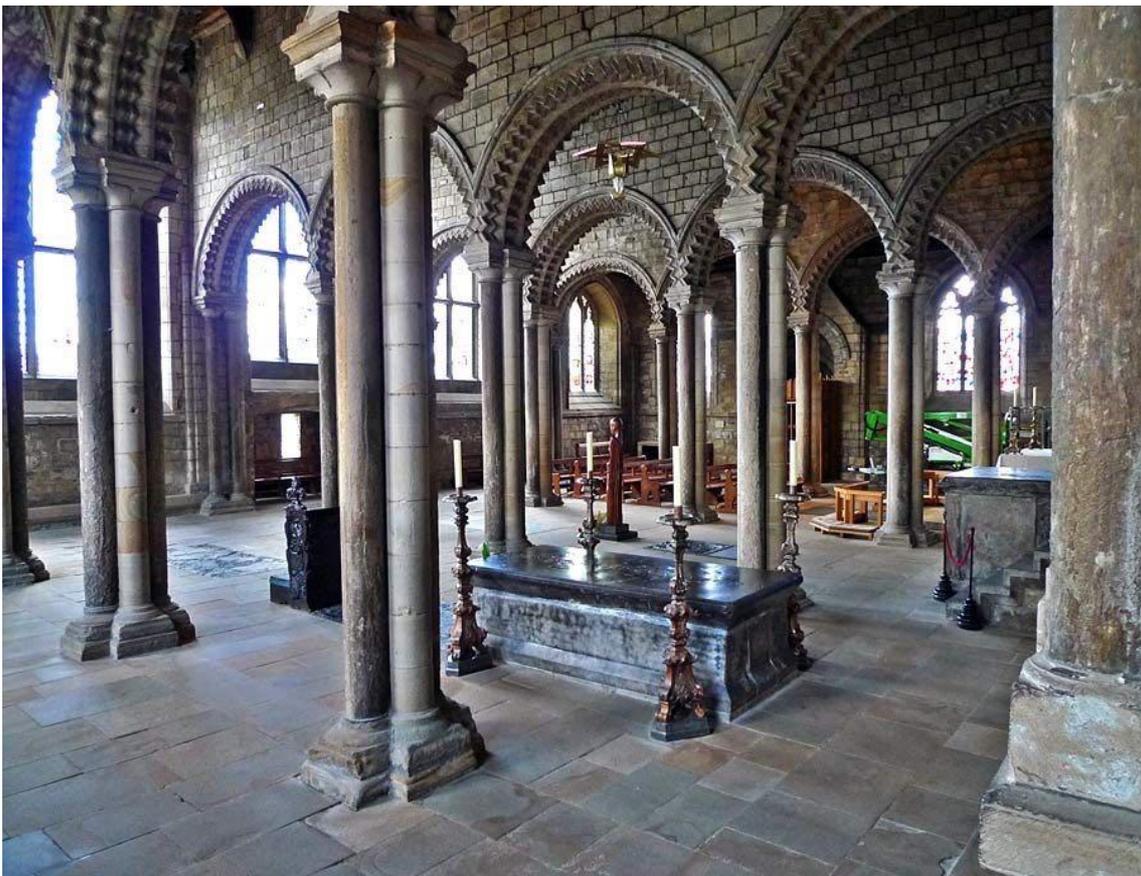


Figure 6 The natural light of the Galilee Chapel.



Figure 7 The nave of the Cathedral showing the contrast between the natural and artificial lighting on a November afternoon.

The natural light coming through both plain and stained glass windows can cast long colourful shades across the floor of the nave on late summer evenings, and, in the depths of winter, cast barely enough light to allow one to read their watch in the gloomy side aisles. On such days, the artificial light plays with the dark recesses of the building, shedding a warm glow over the middle aisle of the nave as well as up towards the architectural features of the ceiling, whilst the dark, unlit side aisles loom shadily in the dim shadows of the weak natural light creeping through the windows.

The importance of light in architecture and creating the right experience for the right space is also something that Cathedral architect Chris Cotton highlighted during a presentation regarding his work at Durham Cathedral. Commenting on the role of light in designing the newly refurbished Cathedral shop in the Undercroft he stated that:

The space previously was really quite a dark dismal space ... We devised, first of all a lighting scene which would illuminate the building itself so that you would always have the architecture on display, the concept being that Durham Cathedral's shop needs to feel like Durham Cathedral and it should be a space that you should just go to and see what you like, even if you don't want to buy something at the shop. The other aspect of that was the actual fittings themselves should be self-contained with all the display illuminations self-

contained, so that the display lights can be switched off at night but the architectural lights can be left on (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013).

The result of the architect's lighting design has become one of the key features of the shop with many visitors commenting not on the items for sale in the shop, but on the illumination of both the items for sale and the Cathedral itself. The architect also attributed the lighting system to part of the reason the Cathedral shop had seen a 59% increase in takings in the first year since the refurbishment. The above comments also show that the interplay between light and dark are an integral part of architecture both new and ancient, revealing new dimensions of the stone work through the shadows created by light. As Pallasmaa points out, in many ways the light we enjoy today has been reduced to its quantitative power (2012:51) using light simply to see, rather to experience.



Figure 8 The newly refurbished Cathedral shop with the illuminated shelves and separately lit architectural elements. Note the shadows created by the warmer architectural lighting.

### II.iii. Light as a Metaphor

As long as light has been understood as a means in which we see and partially experience the world around us, it has also been linked with ideas such as truth and righteousness, which can be seen as far back as Plato's *'Analogy of the Sun'*, in which

the Sun represents 'Goodness'. Similarly, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the period known as '*The Enlightenment*' was a period of increased questioning of the world around us, socially, religiously, and scientifically. The French term for this period, '*Le Siecle des Lumières*', translates literally as, 'The Century of Lights', tying the concept of light to increasing knowledge and understanding.

In Christianity, light is closely associated with concepts such as creation, as seen in the opening lines of Genesis, in which the earth is void, shapeless and under a shroud of darkness until light is created. Koslofsky's (2011) history of night in early modern Europe highlights negative associations with darkness throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century through ideas such as witchcraft and heresy. However, Edensor points out that 'darkness is profoundly ambivalent', it is not only seen as negative 'and antithetical to enlightenment and reason, but has also been positively valued'. For example, Edensor suggests that darkness is stimulating the rise of new forms of worship and piety, 'Metaphorically encapsulating the religious struggle towards the light and the path from earthly gloom to illuminated afterlife' (2015:428).

Indeed, in Durham Cathedral during two services in particular, light played an important role, as it was consciously used to create a connection between the people in the service and the associated biblical happenings. However, the services in question not only used light metaphorically, but also in order to create a specific atmosphere. These services took place over the Easter period, firstly during the 'Stripping of the Altar' service on Maundy Thursday and then during the 'Easter Dawn Liturgy' (see Appendix B) on the morning of Easter Sunday. I will first describe the key elements of these two services before moving on to analyse the role light played within them.

### III. The Stripping of the Altar

Sitting in the stalls of the quire, the 'Stripping of the Altar' service (see Appendix I) began and the clergy moved through the liturgy, acting out the events of the 'Last Supper'. Darkness fell outside. With all focus being within the quire, the lights of the nave had not been lit and so the quire sat in a pool of light within the darkness of the night. Soon the service arrived at the Rite of the Judas Cup, which according to my service booklet was a 'dramatic re-enactment' and attempt to 'translate that ritual into modern terms'. Playing the role of Jesus, the Dean poured wine into a mazer<sup>39</sup> before saying, 'Alas for that man by whom the son of man is betrayed'. Before the Chapter, each playing

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<sup>39</sup> A drinking bowl made of wood.

a disciple asked, 'Lord, is it I?'. The Dean then drank from the mazer, passing it around the table for the others to drink in the silence of the quire. As the performance went on, the disciples proclaimed, 'Even if I have to die with you, I will never disown you'. Finally, the Dean announced, 'It was night' and the lights of the Cathedral were lowered just as they might be if one were watching a theatre production.

Having been plunged into darkness, the Chapter of the Cathedral moved silently through the shadows of the quire removing the altar cloths, banners, and hangings as a low lamentation from the choir moved slowly through the dense air. Looking up the nave, the long shadows seemed to bring the focus down into the quire, which, as the ringing lamentation ended, was left bare. It was at this point that the clergy left the dark quire and processed up to the Galilee Chapel in silence, followed by the choir and congregation.

Having moved with the congregation through the darkened nave, I reached the Galilee Chapel and found that there too darkness prevailed. All around the edges of the chapel, dark figures stood silently, facing the direction of the central altar, their faces weakly illuminated by several small candles lit behind an altar screen. The weak light cast long quivering shadows on the walls and faces of the congregation. The candle lit experience was not too dissimilar to the lighting of the Christmas tree service, in which the candle light brought a sense warm togetherness. Through the darkness, the bishop's voice read from the final page of the service booklet: 'They went to a place called Gethsemane; and Jesus said to his disciples, "Sit here while I pray"', before finishing with the line, 'Get up, let us be going. See, my betrayer is at hand'. He left the congregation in silence in the candle lit Galilee Chapel.

This darkness had left me somewhat disorientated as I looked around for faces I recognised, yet I also felt that an odd togetherness in silent darkness, all weakly illuminated by the same candle light. For over twenty minutes, silent figures looked intently towards the light, shifting their weight from one foot to another, taking seats, some at the pews, some on the floor.

### III.i. The Easter Dawn Liturgy

'In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God swept over the face of the waters. Then God said, "Let there be light"'. Having woken well before dawn and made my well-worn, and this time darkened, journey up to Cathedral, I was standing in the cloister at 5am, three days on from the dark vigil in the Galilee

Chapel. Minutes before, the choir and clergy had entered into the cloister through the Chapter House and had floated silent and ghost-like, barely visible in their white garments through the darkness of the approaching dawn. Having read the opening lines of Genesis, and after many strikes of matches and flicks of an unseen lighter ringing through the silent, expectant air, a small bonfire began to smoke and the precentor was soon able to say, 'and there was light' to an amused chuckle that rippled around all sides of the full cloister walks.

As the bonfire started to burn brightly in the centre of the garth, the darkness of the night also began to noticeably lift and illuminate the people around me. With the lighting of the bonfire and the rising sun illuminating the cloister, the language of the service also began to lighten as the bishop proclaimed into the morning sky, 'This is the night in which our Lord Jesus Christ passed over from death to life ... We share in his victory over death'.

After a number of prayers and psalms, a flame torch was lit and a procession of Acolytes, Clergy, candidates for baptism and confirmation, and the choir left the now fully illuminated cloister garth and headed in to the still unlit Cathedral. Having moved through the Cathedral and said prayers at various points, during which the Paschal candle was lit, the Deacon led the procession through the Cathedral and down to the Scott Screen.<sup>40</sup> We, the congregation lit the candles given to us on entering the nave from a flame taken from the Paschal candle. Each person lighting another person's unlit candle, thus propagating the light.

Once everyone had lit their candles, had filtered into the pews of the nave and the Deacon had chanted from the pulpit, the bishop exclaimed from the top of his voice, 'Alleluia! Christ is Risen'. The service booklet told us to 'Reply with a great shout, He is risen indeed. Alleluia!' At this point the Cathedral burst into raucous noise, as people revealed hand drums, whistles, bells, clackers, and even huge flags which stretched high into the air and swooped side to side in huge arcs. Even the organ played loudly and was at first almost drowned out by the noise of the nave. At the same moment, the lights of the Cathedral which had been low since entering the cloister, were also raised to their full brightness.

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<sup>40</sup> The Scott Screen is named after the architect who installed it, Sir George Gilbert Scott, and stands at the threshold between the quire and the nave.

### III.ii. The Use of Light in Worship

As the two above examples highlight, whilst being a practical necessity, light is also used consciously by the clergy during particular services. The use of light in these situations helped to create a feeling, an affective sense in the environment. According to Jürgen Hasse, 'The experiencing of spatial environment is characterised by emotional participation' (2011:52-53), going on to identify atmosphere as 'spaces with vital qualities that can be felt sensitively, cannot be analysed gnostically, but are to be perceived in their instant totality as atmosphere' (2011:57). As Grant suggests building on this, 'Atmospheres are the articulation of the presence of the environment, sensed bodily'. It is in its essence, a 'relationship between bodies, things, and space' (2013:20).

As the Easter services showed, light plays a key role in helping to create the atmosphere of the services. As the lights were lowered during the Maundy Thursday service as the story reached night fall, and as the Chapter of the Cathedral removed the altar clothes, banners, and hangings, the atmosphere of both the service and building as a whole changed. As a low lamentation from the choir moved slowly through the now dense air, the darkened quire and sounds of the choir brought not only a sense of sadness but a sense of foreboding in what was a warm and genial atmosphere under the building's interior lights. This sense continued as we moved in to the Galilee Chapel with candles lit out of direct view behind an altar screen, representing the praying Jesus at the garden of Gethsemane. In this instance, we, the congregation, took the role of the waiting disciples. Yet, here too, the low light emitting from the small candles again brought a sense of expectation and quiet sadness.

It is important to remember that in discussing the atmosphere in these instances, that light does not play this role of guiding or altering the atmosphere alone, rather it is an aspect of the environment. Other aspects of this environment include the sounds produced by the choir, the actions of the clergy as they strip the quire of any decoration, and the language of the clergy throughout the services. However, I have chosen to discuss atmosphere within this chapter because it was in relation to light within the aforementioned services that atmosphere became apparent to me.

During the service of Easter Sunday, the metaphoric aspects of light became more pronounced, with the light of the bonfire piercing the darkness just as the first light did within Genesis 1:1, which was read aloud as the bonfire was lit. The timing of the lighting of the bonfire was also significant; as the words of Genesis 1:1 were being read aloud, and the lighting of the bonfire was taking place, daylight itself was breaking, as if the light of the bonfire was the light of creation. As well as creation, the light also is the

representation of Jesus and the beginning of something new. Three hugely significant aspects of Easter wrapped tightly within the use of light. Similarly, the act of sharing the flame from the Pascal candle between many other candles was a representation of the spreading of the Word of God, and in that, the sharing of knowledge and enlightenment as expressed through the candle light. This candle light had three days earlier represented the praying Jesus, just out of vision, only his faint glow of illumination visible in the darkened Galilee Chapel.

In examining the role of 'elements' in the production of atmospheres or as Böhme puts it, the means by which 'the character of locality is produced', he discusses the work of C. C. L. Hirschfield, a garden designer who uses elements such as water, light and shade, colour, trees, hills, stones, and rocks, and finally also buildings, in order to create a desired atmosphere in different spaces. In the case of Durham Cathedral, these elements include the sounds employed, the architecture of the building, the clothing worn by the clergy, the words spoken and the way in which lighting was used. Furthermore, these elements were brought together in order to also tell the story of Jesus' last supper and his rising again three days later. As Böhme suggests, atmospheres can also be produced, for example, through words: 'The particular quality of a story, whether read or heard, lies in the fact that it not only communicates to us that a certain atmosphere prevailed somewhere else but that it conjures up this atmosphere itself' (1993:124). In this sense, the space within the Cathedral, particularly during these services, constitutes 'an embodied performance of atmosphere for an anticipated audience' (Grant 2013:24). This embodied performance of atmosphere in Durham Cathedral was used to help further tell the story of the final days of Jesus' life as well as to bring the congregation closer into that experience. The central elements in the above examples are both light and the building. Though as Grant stresses, in the 'everyday experience, these elements are not perceived singly and subsequently added up to objectify or understand the atmosphere – they are simply lived. The apprehension of atmosphere is an immersion in a totality' (2013:24).

#### IV. The Illuminated Cathedral

As this chapter highlights, light plays many important roles in our experience of the environment around us, far beyond that of simply illuminating objects. During the introduction of this chapter I quoted Stoller's suggestions that our sense of sight lead us only to sense 'things', we see 'illuminated things, not colours or light' (1984:560), and as Zuckerkandl argues, 'In seeing, touching, tasting, we reach through the sensation to an

object, to a thing' (1956:70) As a result of this perceived dominance of the visual sense, and our Western tendency to fixate upon the 'object', Ingold argued that whilst 'we know what it means to hear sound [we] have effectively lost touch with the experience of *light*' (2000:253, emphasis in the original).

However, as this chapter has highlighted, it can be argued that we have not lost touch with the experience of light. Although our eyes may reach beyond any 'sensation' towards an object, this is not to say that we do not experience light. Whilst the light of the environments that surround us may be received visually, the experience is an embodied one. Furthermore, the embodied experience can be orchestrated in order to shape the experience through elements such as lighting. In the case of the services I experienced during Easter, the use of light helped framed the mood of the story the congregation were told; as the lights reduced their brightness the despair of Jesus grew closer, and it was not until his resurrection that light was to return to the congregation along with their joy for the risen Christ. Similarly, in the example of '*Free to Be*', light was again used to create an atmosphere, this time an atmosphere that allowed one to 'find God'.

Finally, Böhme states that the concern of 'new aesthetics' is in the relationship that exists between 'environmental qualities and human states' (1993:114), suggesting this 'between' is atmosphere, the experience of 'bodily presence in relation to persons and things or in spaces' (1993:119). In short, the atmosphere one experiences during their time in and around Durham Cathedral is not simply a result of Durham Cathedral impressing itself upon an individual, but a result of the interaction between an individual and Durham Cathedral, resulting in a highly personal experience. Additionally, because we, as humans, are *in the world*, it is an embodied experience made up not just of light, but of sounds, tastes, feelings, memories, smells, and touch, giving each individual a unique view and relationship with Durham Cathedral. As Edensor alludes to, through following Böhme's lead, atmospheres are multiple and cause 'affect, emotion, and sensation' (2012:1103) with lighting being a 'crucial ingredient in the atmospheric qualities' (2012:1119) of space.



## **CHAPTER 5: TIME AND SPACE IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL**

## I. Introduction

During my time in Durham Cathedral, it was clear that the diverse range of people who used the Cathedral daily for different reasons would often be negotiating their way around each other within the same space at the same time. For example, school children on trips would walk excitedly through the nave, past a group of people praying, whilst another group was busy rearranging the furniture for upcoming services. All groups used the same space at the same time and each had to negotiate time and space with the others.

According to Gell, 'There is no fairyland where people experience time in a way that is markedly unlike the way in which we do ourselves' (1992, p.315). Similarly, Henri Bergson's concept of 'duration' or *La durée*<sup>41</sup> suggests that there is only one time, though as James and Mills point out, 'We have an interesting habit of invoking shape, regularity, and rhythm as we speak of and enact, the "timings" of the actions and events we take part in, or learn from others' (2005, p.5).

I will begin this chapter by outlining past anthropological approaches toward time, to highlight the notion that time has the potential to be viewed differently around the world, before discussing the role of calendars in Durham Cathedral today, and the rhythms they endow upon time. Following this, I will discuss the qualitative aspects of time, before highlighting the tensions that arise between differing qualities of time in Durham Cathedral. I will explore the negotiation of space and time within the building and the manner in which the community creates both time and space as a result of this negotiation process. Whilst I agree with the views of both Bergson and Gell, in which there is only one time, I suggest that in fact there exist a multiplicity of time and emerging space-times all of which exist within the concept of *La durée*.

## II. The Multiplicity of Time

One of Leach's more celebrated citations is: 'In an English-French dictionary time has one the longest entries in the book' (1961:124), where he highlights the complexities of discussion regarding time. By pointing out the diversity of meanings held in the seemingly simple word 'time', Leach shows that the manner in which the term 'time' is

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<sup>41</sup> The word duration brings to mind ideas of length and measurement and thus not what Bergson meant by the term, it must be remembered that it is the translation from the french *La durée*. As such, scholars working with Bergson texts in English, such as Guerlac try to use the French term whenever possible (2006:xiii).

used creates an ambiguous and, at times, paradoxical reality, often with little or no acknowledgement from the user towards the word's multifaceted nature.

Thus, time can be both repetitive and non-repetitive. It can be a quantitative measurement and a qualitative experience. They all are familiar dimensions of time often used in the English language. For example, 'You only have 15 minutes' or 'I had a great time'; 'I'll never get that time back' and 'It's that time again'. All of them are phrases an English speaker would hear, use, and yet not question time's multiple meanings. In contrast, moving away from English uses of the word time, Leach comments upon the Kachin people of northern Burma, whose language does not contain a single word that would translate as an equivalent to the word time, instead having numerous examples of partial equivalents (1961:124).

The difficulty of the word becomes even greater when considering communities such as the Nuer, of whom Evans-Pritchard states, have no expression that equates to time and so cannot speak of time as we do in English. The Nuer cannot

... speak of time as though it were something actual, which passes, can be wasted, can be saved, and so forth. I do not think that they ever experience the same feeling of fighting against time or of having to co-ordinate activities with an abstract passage of time, because their points of reference are mainly the activities themselves (1940:103).

As a result of anthropologists attempting to make sense of time and its multifaceted nature in diverse cultures, what began to reveal itself was their own culture's limitations in the understanding of time. Adam states that, 'When anthropologists write about the times, for example, of Amerindians, South Asians, Africans and Australian Aborigines, they are not – as has been suggested in the past – merely confronting the difficulties of translation between cultures'. The problem lies within 'the unquestioned understanding of Western time' (2002:503).

Initially, when discussing time, early social scientists attempted to make a clear distinction between Western 'modern' societies and other 'traditional' societies. This led to theories of time for 'traditional' cultures being discussed in opposition to Western time. In short, these oppositions were: time for 'traditional' cultures being cyclical, qualitative, and organised by routine, whereas 'our' time was linear, quantitative, and organised by the clock. An example would be Geertz's analysis of Balinese time (1973:391-398). According to Geertz, the Balinese do not use time as a measurement, instead they use complex cyclical calendars, which come together and coincide to give their days a

quality, whether it be a good day to do this or a bad day to do that. Additionally, their calendars are full of festival days, and so days are also known as empty or full days. Another example would be Evans-Pritchard's analysis of time for the Nuer (1940:95-138), in which the seasons are determined by social activity rather than climactic changes. The Nuer's calendar is also cyclical but is again related to activities that are taking place, for example, they may know it is a particular month because people are moving from camp to village. Both examples highlight what was once thought of as a clear distinction between Western 'modern' understandings of time and other 'traditional' understandings.

However, such dichotomies between cultural understandings of time are too simplistic and have become dated. In this chapter, I will show that in the case of Durham Cathedral and its community, there exists no clear disjunction between time models such as cyclical and linear, quantitative, and qualitative, but are instead mutually existent within one time, *La durée*.

### III. Rhythms and Calendars

'Here, sort your robe out and give me a hand with these'. It was Sunday, and, as usual, I was stewarding and struggling to keep my purple robe, worn by the stewards, evenly on both shoulders as John, hands laden with a pile of A3 paper, shouted over to me to help him. 'I want you to take down the old fortnightlies while I put the new ones up, here take this one and put it behind the information desk'. He handed me a sheet of A3 and off I went to the information desk while taking down the old 'fortnightlies'.

#### III.i. Calendars

For thousands of years, cultures around the world have devised their time into systems, usually the systems involved a number of successive durations, sometimes divided into unequal groups, tabled out into dates. As time moves through these grouped durations and eventually reaches the end of the system, the system then reproduces itself and the cycle begins again. This system is the calendar.

Calendrical systems have been devised for all manner of purposes, for example, as Boone shows, Aztec Annals work retrospectively to 'track the passage of years and to locate specific years in relative time' (2012:218), doing so through illustrations that show the main community narrative of each given year. Geertz describes what he calls the 'permutational' calendar used by the Balinese, which is 'built around the interaction

of independent cycles of day-names' (1973:392), both examples highlighting the diverse nature of calendrical systems.

In Durham Cathedral, the 'fortnightly' is the used calendar. Based on the Georgian calendar of the West, it is a plan of events in the Cathedral for each consecutive two weeks, which is posted throughout the Cathedral and monastic buildings. It was often my job as a Sunday steward to retrieve the old 'fortnightlies' and replace them with the plan for the coming two weeks. As can be seen in Appendix A, a random two-week period from my time in the field, the 'fortnightly' is a complex incorporation of several different calendrical rhythms. Beginning at the top, the fortnightly describes our 'location' within the yearly cycle '17 February 2014 – 2 March 2014'. Down the two margins of the page we get the precise location within said cycle, as well as specific dates for remembrance. For example, Monday 17th marks the death of Janani Lwum, Archbishop of Uganda, who was murdered in 1977. In the Church of England, Lwum is considered a Martyr and the anniversary of his death is celebrated by the Anglican communion as a 'Lesser Festival' on this day. Although attached to a specific date within the calendar, the observation of a Lesser Festival is not compulsory. Similarly, on Saturday 22nd, William Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, 1836 (the year of his death) is named. Van Mildert is an important figure in the history of Durham Cathedral, having been the last Prince Bishop of Durham and the driving force behind the foundation of Durham University, his inclusion in the margin here is not for the benefit of the Anglican communion. Rather, it is relevant only to Durham Cathedral and would see prayers dedicated to him throughout the day's services.

Also shown in the margin are Sexagesima and Quinquagesima in small text below the bold titles of 'The Second Sunday Before Lent' and 'The Sunday Next Before Lent' respectively. Whilst both Sexagesima and Quinquagesima vary in use across Christian denominations, in the Church of England they were the titles used for these dates in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer calendar. The titles were changed on the publication of the Common Worship calendar in 2000 to 'The Second Sunday Before Lent' and 'The Sunday Next Before Lent', yet within the Cathedral 'fortnightly' both titles are given.

The margins of the fortnightlies also include significant international dates within the Anglican communion; national Church of England dates as well as regional dates. Whilst many of these dates are not large festivals, they do impact upon religious services of the Cathedral in some small way. Usually, this happens through a set of prayers being dedicated to the particular marker within the calendar on any given day. Even with such

a brief introduction to what is visible simply within the margins of one week in the fortnightlies, a clear picture begins to emerge of the complicated rhythms of liturgy and historical meaningfulness for the region, the Church of England, and Christianity, that become drawn together in the life of Durham Cathedral today.

The Benedictine community also had their own means of keeping record of important markers within these cycles of liturgy and historical meaningfulness, such as can be seen in 'The Durham Cantor's Book', held now in the Cathedral archives (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24). This collection of miscellaneous manuscripts relating to the life of the monastery includes a calendar and the 'Martyrology of Usuard'.

According to Piper (1994:85), the calendar had been intended to record important obituaries that needed to be observed. However, in practice it seems the Cantor<sup>42</sup> preferred to use the margins of the next main section of the Cantor's Book, the Martyrology – a calendar, which details the specific dates of church martyrs and saints, recording feasts or anniversaries – to record any new deaths.

However, the Martyrology does not seem to have been originally intended for Durham. The names of famous Northern Saints Cuthbert and Oswald, by my observation, whilst ornamentally written, are also quite clearly later additions to the manuscript, suggesting, following Piper (1994:83,) that the Martyrology was not created with Durham in mind. As such, its rhythms clash with that of Durham's and as a result, earlier entries on the feast days of important Northern Saints have been erased in order to make the Martyrology fit with the rhythm of Durham Cathedral Priory. Other entries in the Martyrology reveal possible clues as to its origins and journey northwards to Durham with references to the Loire Valley, France, the Benedictine house of Fleury and to the Fenland Monastery of Ramsey.

However, there are also striking resemblances in usage between the Durham Cantor's Book and the modern-day fortnightlies. Both the fortnightlies and the Cantor's Book are, at their very basis, calendars used in their respective contemporary settings. Each calendar sets the rhythm of the year through the division of days and months, and upon these basic calendars<sup>43</sup> are additional 'layers' of rhythm. These rhythms detail liturgy and historical meaningfulness for Durham Cathedral, the Church of England today, and Christianity as a whole, including all feasts, festivals, and Saint Days to name

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<sup>42</sup> The Cantor would have had the responsibility of organising the choir as well as preparing the divine services in terms of prayers and all other liturgical matters.

<sup>43</sup> Julian, in the case of the Cantor's book, and Georgian in the case of the fortnightlies.

but a few. The Martyrology of the Cantor's Book's alterations and additions from other monasteries further afield highlight the fact that each individual monastery had their own rhythms, incorporating layers which included important historical events relevant to their monasteries or regions. These 'layered' rhythms needed to be partially altered in order to make it fit a rhythm of Durham, which included large feasts for the Saints Cuthbert and Oswald.

### III.ii. Rhythms

Hubert argues that the role of the religious calendar 'is not to measure time, but to endow it with rhythm', meaning that the purpose of such calendars is, on the one hand, to place religious rites in a historical time, and on the other, to endow them with a rhythm through which these rites periodically pass through the same time (1999:49). He argues, therefore, that religious time differs from the 'common idea of time' frequently, but not always, and in a periodical manner. That is, critical dates 'break up particular durations', duration being the division of time as expressed in 'numbers of days, months or years' (1999:51). The religious time in Durham Cathedral, however, is guided through not one, but many calendars, as I have shown above, from the periodically returning feasts and Saints' days of the Christian Calendar, to the Anglican Calendar, and the important events of the local history calendar – for example the Durham Miner's Gala<sup>44</sup> on the second Saturday of every July, the daily rhythm of the Morning Prayers and Evensongs, or the rhythm of the 150 psalms that need to be observed every month. The fortnightly is a big A3 piece of paper that tries to anchor or to pull together the layers of these separate calendars to fit in with the duration of the 'common idea of time', in this case the Georgian Western calendar, regimenting time into roughly uniform measurements, for example 24 hours in a day, 14 days in a fortnight, or 12 months in a year. This pulling together, however, results in tensions, because the separate rhythms of the calendars have different qualities of time that have to be negotiated to fit one actual lived and performed calendar inside the Cathedral.

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<sup>44</sup> The Durham Miners' Gala is a one day event in which miners' from across the county would converge on the city to drink and display their village banners in a show of solidarity. During the day, the banners would be paraded behind brass bands, the miners would listen to political speeches and a special service is held in the Cathedral to remember the dead and to bless new banners. Whilst coal mining has long since stopped in County Durham, the Gala has remained an important date for the people of County Durham and the day regularly attracts upwards of 100,000 people into the narrow streets of Durham City.

#### IV. The Quality of Time

In Geertz's description, the Balinese permutational calendar does not express time as durational but as punctual, used to distinguish and classify 'discrete, self-subsisting particles of time', which bring with them qualitative aspects related to any given combination of day-names (1973:392-393), with Geertz likening it to Western society identifying Friday 13<sup>th</sup> as being unlucky. The cycles and super-cycles of the permutational calendar do not 'tell you what time it is; they tell you what kind of time it is' (1973:393). There is a similarity in the qualitative aspect of the permutational calendar's 'kind of time' and that of the days and durations (such as the Easter or Christmas period) of the calendars used in the Cathedral. As I have shown in the previous chapters, the atmospheres, in part enacted through light and shadow, and through space-making negotiations, are connected to this 'kind of time' of the specific days of the calendars as enunciated by the fortnightlies.

It is this periodically returning quality of time that makes calendars not 'measure time' but 'endow it with rhythm' (Hubert 1999:49), as 'the same dates bring back the same events' (1999:58) the atmosphere of the duration of the event is kept homogeneous. This 'sameness' is a homogeneity of 'active qualities'. As Hubert explains, 'If a certain quality enters into the representation of each section of time, this will naturally be conceived of as being equally distributed in all its parts; if one thinks of it solely in respect of this quality, each period will necessarily be homogeneous in relation to itself' (1999:61).

Through this, the rhythm of the calendar along with its quantitative elements also becomes intertwined with quality, whether we have a good time or a bad time, our expectations for the 'same' event in the future become linked to our experiences and their qualities. Furthermore, these qualities, by extension of our or a community's experience of them, filter through the multiple layers (Anglican, Benedictine, Local history etc.) of the calendar, resulting in a calendar endowed with a rhythm of both quantity and quality. With these multifarious, quality infused layers of rhythm, present within the fortnightlies of Durham Cathedral inevitable difficulties come. With layers of rhythm relating to liturgical and historical meaningfulness for the region, the Church of England, and Christianity being drawn together within the calendar of Durham Cathedral, collisions and tensions occur. This means, that as the "symbolic" theories of time's rhythms' play out in the 'actualities of human life' (James and Mills 2005:2), negotiation is necessary to navigate the differences in the qualities of days and durations as they are layered on top of each other.

An illustration of such collisions in time-quality came during the Lenten period of my fieldwork. Lent in Durham Cathedral, as within all churches, has a very distinctive quality. It is solemn and self-reflective. With the aid of the choir and the use of particular musical settings, the atmosphere of the building, community, and services flow naturally into the solemn and reflexive state, as discussed above. This particular season of Lent however, collided, not only with the Feast of the Annunciation of the Birth of Jesus Christ (see chapter 3), but also with Durham's calendar layer of the local, historically significant day of the Feast of St Cuthbert. St Cuthbert is the region's, and Durham Cathedral's, most important saint, the saint to which the Cathedral is dedicated and the entire reason it stands where it stands. The Feast of St Cuthbert is beyond any doubt, a celebration.

This particular Lenten period thus faced the clergy with a clash between two very differently perceived qualities of time, a clash which resulted in the clergy briefly telling the congregation what 'quality' of time this particular service was. Taking my seat within the quire for Evensong and Festal Procession, my service booklet in hand, the minister for the evening having just processed into the packed quire, turned to the gathered congregation dressed in fine robes, full of rich colours and said,

Good evening and welcome to this special Evensong and festal procession in celebration of the life of St Cuthbert. And whilst we are still in observation of Lent, this is a time for celebration, and we must therefore not feel guilty about the sounds and words which we will hear this evening, for, as I say, this is an occasion to celebrate a most miraculous life (Fieldnotes, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2014).

This action of telling the congregation not to feel guilty, for they were to hear sounds of celebration during the period of Lent, is an important one. The short explanation from the minister highlights the reality of these various rhythmical layers infused with quality, and how they can, at times, come into conflict, causing the need for negotiation from the community. In other words, these various layers of rhythm come into 'tension'.

## V. Tensions in Time

Continuing on with these collisions and tensions of rhythm between the layers of the calendar, James and Mills highlight Hubert's statement that multiple rhythms of time are also at play within an individual's mind and are often in tension with one another. In order to deal with this, the mind is continuously working to adjust the 'given conventions of calendrical period, duration, and date to a succession of new "representations"'. It is

what James and Mills call, 'The struggle to adjust between rhythmic expectation and actual event' (2005:8). For Hubert, the resolution of this matter is not down to the individual, instead it is the result of social activity.

In work, poetry and song, rhythm was the sign of collective activity, becoming more strongly marked as social collaboration spread and intensified ... [Therefore] it is legitimate to suppose that the rhythm of time does not necessarily model itself on the natural periodicities established by experience, but that societies contain within themselves the need and the means of instituting it (1999:71-72).

Whilst the collision of the Feast of St Cuthbert and Lent did not bring a collision of space, being a tension solely of the perceived quality of time<sup>45</sup>, the difficulty of space within these layers and within Durham Cathedral is a common and, as one might expect, multi-layered aspect of life within Durham Cathedral. Although the qualitative collision of Lent and the Feast of St Cuthbert was resolved by offering the simple solution of telling people not to feel guilty, dealing with the tension of space along with time, rhythm and quality within Durham Cathedral could cause even more difficulties and need for negotiation.

The temporal tensions of rhythm, quality, and space within the various layers of the fortnightly were a common aspect of my fieldwork. During my fieldwork, people would often tell me that what was so great about Durham Cathedral, was that it was whatever you wanted it to be, a place of worship, a place to meet with friends, a good book shop, a tourist attraction, or simply a place to sit and think. 'The Cathedral can be all of these things at the same time, which I think is very important, that it can be all of these things at the same time' (Fieldnotes, 12<sup>th</sup> January 2014), explained one member of the Cathedral community. At other times, however, the opposite was true, Durham Cathedral was a place only of worship. An example of this was Good Friday.

As I reached the Cathedral on Good Friday, I found the North Door (the main door in and out the Cathedral) closed, and instead, people were entering through the Galilee Chapel's north door. Approaching the Galilee door, I was greeted by a sign which read, 'Today is Good Friday, the most solemn day of the Christian year. You are welcome to any of our services **otherwise** access is very limited. The Tower, Restaurant and Shop are all *closed*'.

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<sup>45</sup> I.e Lent being 40 days and nights of solemn reflection and the Feast of St Cuthbert being a short period of celebration taking place within Lent.

However, it was during the Flower Festival at the very beginning of my fieldwork that I witnessed first-hand the many different layers of time that can, at times coincide and contradict each other in quality. As they are at play in the daily life within Durham Cathedral, the community has to negotiate their way through the tensions of rhythm and quality held within the layers of the fortnightly. This negotiation is often a negotiation of the time and space within the Cathedral.

#### V.i. The Flower Festival

The Flower Festival is an annual event which takes place in a different location every year. The last time it was held in Durham Cathedral was in 1997 and saw between 40-55,000 visitors. Entitled 'Jewels of the North', this year's (2013) theme took as its main focus, the Northern Saints, and the Lindisfarne Gospels, which had been on display within Palace Green Library, there, on a three-month loan from the British Library. Preparations for the festival had been going on for months prior to my arrival and would see the Cathedral divided into sections within which a variety of different flower arrangements were to be made. Those sections were: Ruby, which corresponded with the nave and font area; Amethyst, which linked to the north aisles and north transept; Sapphire, which denoted the Chapel of the Nine Altars; Amber, which highlighted the south aisles and transept; Garnet, which represented the Shrine of St Cuthbert; Diamond, which represented the high altar and quire; and finally, Emerald, which signified the Galilee Chapel. With the Cathedral expected to receive around six thousand visitors a day over the six-day festival, it was most certainly an important event for the Cathedral. 'It's important to remember', explained Anne Heywood, the Cathedral's visitor coordinator during a training session for the volunteer stewards, 'that the main task of this for us, is to raise money for the Open Treasure Project<sup>46</sup>, and although this is going to be disruptive to the day to day life of the Cathedral, it's happening and you've just got to be flexible and we have to get on with it' (Fieldnotes, August 2013). That is, as the periodical rhythm of the Flower Festival calendar reached Durham Cathedral, it entered into tension with the other layers of the Cathedral's calendar.

It wasn't until I walked into the Cathedral a few days before the start of the festival that I realised how true Anne's words were. The usually neat and tidy Cathedral had been replaced by countless stacks of buckets, pallets of flowers, tool boxes, cardboard

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<sup>46</sup> The Open Treasure Project is a major £10 million project to convert the Monks' Dormitory and the Great Kitchen into a visitor exhibition space as well as conservation work around the Cathedral.

boxes, black bin bags, rolls of red ribbon, mountains of green foam, discarded flower stems, scissors, and secateurs, while step ladders stood all around the nave. The usual hushed tones of people whispering had been taken over by a cherry picker being driven down the aisle to secure four huge banners, which had been hoisted between the massive columns of the north aisle. I sat and watched a group of flower arrangers huddled around a blank stretch of wall, examining it as if it was a piece of art, deliberating over how best to approach whatever task they had. Everywhere I looked, flower arrangers negotiated their way around the building and its furniture, climbing on the high altar, tying flowers to the walls with reams of ribbon, a beleaguered looking Porter declaring loudly that he just 'wants things left where they are', as another flower arranger moved a large decorative candle stick out of her way. Amongst the legions of flower arrangers, mingled visitors to the Cathedral, standing amid the black bags and discarded flower stems, leaning over cardboard boxes to read information signs, watching flower arrangers compose their artistic designs. Further down the nave, another group of arrangers considered another blank stretch, only here, one stood with his arm in the air pointing with a green laser pen at particular points of the wall explaining loudly how best to use it. As these calendrical temporal rhythms play out in the everyday, situated reality of the Cathedral's life, it can disrupt both the quality of time and of space. In the example of the Feast of St Cuthbert, it disrupted the quality of time, here however, it disrupted a space that needed to be negotiated.

As I sat in a pew writing my observations, an older gentleman with a child around the age of 8 or 9, slid along into the pew in front of me. Taking a seat, they leaned forward in silence. After a minute or so they leaned back and observed the busyness around them. 'Did you say your prayer?' asked the older man.

'Yeah', came the girl's reply. The man sat in silence, the noise of the Cathedral all around as the young girl fidgeted in her seat, distracted by the activity around her. 'Are you alright?' she asked the man.

'Yes, I'm just thinking'. The young girl nodded in understanding. A cathedral listener<sup>47</sup> approached. Spotting the approaching listener, the man stood up and stretched out his hand to greet the listener, before sitting and returning to his silent state once more. After a few moments silence the two men began to chat about the busy nature of the Cathedral, with the visitor explaining, 'The wife and daughter are down shopping so I've

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<sup>47</sup> Cathedral listeners are volunteers who are trained to listen to the problems of those who come to the church seeking advice, they can often be found wandering around the nave chatting to visitors.

brought my granddaughter here. I try to bring the young'uns here every couple of months so that they know the place'. The pair were interrupted by a loud voice, ringing over the speaker system, alerting everybody that Holy Communion was about to begin in the Galilee Chapel. A few minutes later within the noisy, busy, and untidy nave, a black robed Verger<sup>48</sup> strode silently up the nave, an ornate silver staff clutched in one hand followed by a member of the Chapter fully gowned, head bowed and hands clasped, together making their way in solemn silence through the hustle and bustle of the flower arrangers and tourists, up towards the Galilee Chapel.

Present here within Durham Cathedral at the same time, we see multiple, intersecting layers of differing time rhythms and qualities, as played out in space. Firstly, the flower arrangers rushing around in all the urgency of a group who are short of time interacting with a Porter whose daily rhythm of 'things being left where they are' is being disrupted, causing him a visible level of discomfort. Additionally, there is the grandfather and his granddaughter, who seem to be seeking a calmer, more reflective quality of time. Furthermore, whilst the qualitative atmosphere of the Cathedral is not what it usually is, the pair maintain their own quiet and relaxed quality of time within the noise, no doubt this subdued nature comes with their own rhythmical expectation of Durham Cathedral and thus highlight James' and Mills' comment on, 'The struggle to adjust between rhythmic expectation and actual event' (James and Mills 2005:8), the rhythmic occurrence of the Flower Festival here having a different quality expectation from the quality of waiting for Holy Communion, the periodical occurrence of which is a different cycle from the Flower Festival, yet the two, on this day, clashed. The rhythmical nature of the religious service of the Midday Eucharist, as regular as clockwork, had to fit into the midst of the Flower Festival, as the Verger and Clergyman made their way, again in their own solemn way, through the noise of the unusually busy Cathedral. Whilst all of these qualities were in tension with one another, being so contrasting, they seemed at first sight to still operate without any major difficulty.

It wasn't until the next day that a discussion occurred regarding the tensions of their rhythms and qualities of time being spatially so close.

'The Galilee is no good apparently'.

'What? Why?'

'It was too noisy for communion and people were walking around disrupting it all'.

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<sup>48</sup> The vergers are responsible for the day to day running of the Cathedral, ensuring that it is being ran according to its schedule and if anything goes wrong, it is to the vergers one turns.

I was sitting in the Cathedral office, waiting to do an interview, when two office workers who had just passed each other, stopped, and began the conversation as if it were one they had paused earlier, mid-sentence.

‘So where does he want to do it?’

‘I don’t know, but we’re going to have to get it sorted’.

‘Does he want us to kick everyone out of there for communion or summat like?’

‘I think so’.

They both heaved a sign and continued on in different directions (Fieldnotes, August 2013).

In the training manual, I had been given by Anne Heywood, it seemed that the necessity of having somewhere for those wishing to find a quiet spot, had been thought about. ‘Quiet prayer and thought are not going to be easy in the Cathedral. Access to the Gregory Chapel<sup>49</sup> will be possible but potentially difficult more on “Health and Safety” grounds than anything else’. It had been suggested, that the Chapel of the Holy Cross, situated out the back of the Cathedral beneath the Dean’s lodgings, would be an acceptable solution. However, it was due to have atmospheric bird noises played in the small space, as part of the festival. The tension here, then, was between the expectation of having a quiet space in which to conduct Holy Communion, and the actual event in which the Cathedral was simply too noisy to be able to conduct a quiet communion as was intended. In other words, there was a direct tension between two layers of the fortnightly calendar of Durham Cathedral.

This tension came to a visible head at every Evensong during the Flower Festival. In Durham Cathedral, Evensong took place every day at 5:15, except Sundays when it was at 3:30. During a conversation with the Dean of Durham Cathedral, he described the rhythm of both Evensong and Morning Prayer as important thresholds into and out of the day, and no matter what was happening at Durham Cathedral, nothing interrupted the rhythmic returning of these two key services. The Flower Festival was scheduled to run till 9pm every day. However, when it came to 4:45pm, half an hour before the start of Evensong, the stewards would begin to slowly mingle with the many visitors and alert them that Evensong was soon to begin, and that the Cathedral during this time would be closed to those who did not wish to attend. As time drew closer to the beginning of the service, stewards would begin to gently guide the visitors to the back of the nave and

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<sup>49</sup> A small chapel in the north transept.

behind the red velvet rope, which separated those not wishing to attend the service, and the Cathedral beyond.

During this time, I was often asked to stand at the rope and ask guests if they were here for the service and if not, then not allow them past the rope. The whole process was done skilfully, without much ado, and every day I found myself surprised that they had managed to silently usher so many people out of the Cathedral so efficiently. I would often sit at the rope during Evensong and observe the service being conducted within the quire, the sound of the choir spilling out into the nave. At the back, visitors would come into the Cathedral and stop to watch a few minutes of the service before asking me (I wore a purple vest to show that I was a volunteer for the Flower Festival) when they would be allowed back in to view the flowers, and then would disappear out into the cloisters before returning, once the service had ended, and the Cathedral was once again open to everybody. Spatial boundaries, and management of space and people through the work of the vergers were applied in order to negotiate the overlap of the calendar layers of the Flower Festival and the Evensong and Morning Prayer.

## VI. Making Time and Space

As the occurrences of the Flower Festival, and the Feast of St Cuthbert during Easter shows, the tensions that can occur between layers involving the rhythm and qualities of time and space, are a common part of life for the Cathedral community. However, the question remains of how the community deal with multifaceted collisions of multiple calendar layers, which involve tensions of space, rhythm, and quality. These aspects become important to understand, for, as Hubert implies, the resolution of such tensions lie with the community and social activity (1999:71).

In order to answer this question, I turn to the contrast between sacred time and profane time, which Hubert discusses as being a 'contradiction between the notion of the sacred and the notion of time' (1999:78). According to Hubert, the sacred brings with it notions of 'infinite' and 'immutability' (1999:43), and which Mircea Eliade (1959) suggests exists outside of time. However, these are grand ideas in which the sacred is grounded firmly within the collective society as a whole. Although this may indeed be the case for Durham Cathedral, particularly in connection to its calendar, upon which Hubert reminds us religion has presided over (1999:44), it is in the everyday playing out of the calendar rather than an abstract religious time that my attention is drawn here. Although Hubert's essay criticises Henri Bergson's more individualistic notions of time in which the individual takes centre stage, it is, I suggest, from a less abstract angle than Hubert

takes, that the understanding of how these tensions of rhythm, space, and time are negotiated, begin to make sense. Though a number of these tensions could be explained through an abstract concept of sacred and profane time, I use such words at an individual's level and situated enactment, as opposed to the grand concepts of 'maximum convention and the minimum of experience' (1999:70).

According to Munn, we humans and our productions are always in some way 'in' time, yet in the same moment, our actions make the time we are in. She further states that space and time are integral to one another, and so 'spatial and temporal dimensions cannot be disentangled, and the two commingle in various ways' (1992:94). This in turn leads Hodges to suggest that Munn characterises social life 'as comprising [of] a "lived space-time"' (2008:406). Munn herself articulates this view in an earlier piece in which she argues that, 'Sociocultural action systems (or the activities through which they become operative) do not simply go on in or through time and space, but they form (structure) and constitute (create) the "space-time" manifold in which they "go on"'. In extension to this, Munn suggests that it is down to the actors to create this 'manifold', and in doing so, 'Concretely producing their own space-time'. Using this approach then, one can suggest, as Munn does, that sociocultural 'space-time' is neither individualistic nor uniform, but rather through the actions of each system they create and possess their own 'space-time'. Therefore, 'Different action systems in the same society can construct different space-time formations' (1983:280).

Applying this to that busy day I spent in the Cathedral along with the flower arrangers and Porter, the tourists, the grandfather, granddaughter, and cathedral listener, as well as the Verger and clergy members; we can begin to view their disconnected activities as being different 'space-times' separately constructed by the actions of the different groups. Furthermore, by viewing time and space within the Cathedral in this manner, one can bring in different rhythms of layers and qualities into the one space of the Cathedral. Additionally, one can also avoid the over-generalisation of sacred/profane time, suggesting instead that both aspects can exist at the same time within the same space within the sub-groups of one community.

Indeed, through these multiple space-times, it is possible that simply partaking in a sacred act within the same building does not bring everybody into one sociocultural space-time because, just as there are a variety of 'profane' acts such as tourism or flower arranging, so too there are differing sacred acts, thus these differing actions create a different space-time. An example of differing sacred acts within the same time and space can be seen in the layout of Durham Cathedral whilst accommodating a monastic

community alongside the laity. At the east end of the nave stood two dividing walls: the quire screen which closed off the quire, and the Rood screen which closed off the entire east end of the Cathedral. Both walls served as a threshold between the secular area and the more ritualised 'sacred area'. In terms of practicalities the division allowed lay services to be conducted at the Jesus altar in the nave, whilst the monks performed the daily offices within the quire (Russo 1994:258). At such times, there existed within Durham Cathedral two different sacred times kept separate and operating completely independently of each other, and at such times it was left to the unattached action-systems to each create their own spatiotemporal sacrality independent of each other.

Through Munn's suggestion of multiple space-times, it is also possible to understand how Durham Cathedral can be whatever people need it to be, through a process of the community, in its various parts or 'action systems', creating their own space-time. It is through the actions of the groups of flower arrangers that the Cathedral becomes a messy hive of busyness, creativity, and temporary change of appearance through the exhibition of the flower arrangements. However, it is also important to remember that these actions do not constitute a totalising whole in which nothing but the arrangement of the Flower Festival can take place. It is instead simply one part of what is possible within the space of the Cathedral. An example of this was demonstrated by the young girl and her grandfather. Whilst his wife and daughter were down in the city shopping, he took the opportunity to acquaint his young granddaughter with the Cathedral. In doing so, through their actions of sitting in a pew and leaning forward in silence to pray, they created, for no matter how brief a time, their own space-time with a quality of calm and silence within the messy hustle and bustle of the flower arranging, a space-time which, through their actions and my proximity, drew me into a sense of obligation.

Sitting within the busy noise of the Cathedral was a novelty for me, being more accustomed to its hushed whispers that are to be most often heard within the nave. Yet, as the granddaughter and her grandfather took their seats and lent forward clasping their hands together, the young girl with her fingers outstretched straight and palms flat together, and her grandfather with one cupped hand clasping his other hand clenched into a fist, I immediately felt obliged to alter my own space-time in order to accommodate the close proximity of this newly created space-time. It was an impingement, in this case on my space-time generated here by their body movements which established their relationship to the divine, and through my understanding of them, caused me to alter my space-time, in feeling if not in action. So too the Verger, fully cloaked followed by a

minister in full robes, his hands clasped together and head bowed, moving slowly through the noisy cathedral, was walking through a not necessarily sacred space, but a vacillatingly sacred space, particularly on this day. It was through their actions that they begin to create the sacred space needed to carry out the intended communion. As Bourdieu points out, the body is constantly steeped in the cultural meanings of space, and vice versa (1977:90). Similarly, Munn commenting on her own studies suggests, 'They all view action as a symbolic (meaningful, and meaning-forming) process in which people ongoingly produce both themselves as spatio-temporal beings and the space-time of the wider world' (1992:107).

Similarly, one must not forget the actions of the Cathedral itself. Whilst the various groups of people go around creating various space-times, the Cathedral itself is effecting its own action, the action of sacrality. In just the same way as the various action groups create an effective space-time through the employment of recognised actions from which principles emerge, such as I experienced with the young girl and her grandfather, so too is the Cathedral itself creating a specific space-time through aspects such as light, sounds and the building itself, as I have shown in previous chapters, although it is of course a malleable space-time, and thus allows other space-times to emerge within it.

Additionally, the various action systems such as the clergy, the stewards, the worshippers, and the building itself can, at times, align to create a number of space-times, which have common goals, such as Evensong. As Evensong approaches, the stewards work to clear tourists out of the nave of the Cathedral. During Evensong, the clergy conduct the service, and the worshippers congregate at the prescribed time and worship. All of them have different actions and thus different action systems, but all have a common goal, a smooth Evensong service.

Through these various action systems and the created space-times, it becomes possible to understand the way in which the tensions of rhythm, quality and space held within the layers of the fortnightly calendar, become negotiated within Durham Cathedral. Whilst the exact negotiation is an ongoing process, with each collision being dealt with as it arises, the creation of various space-times helps to explain the manner in which, as Hubert commented, these adjustments are more a circumstance of social activity than that of the individuals' own mental processes. That is, space-time is not just something inside people's minds, but something that has to be created and enacted through the very practical means (action systems) such as, for instance, delineating space as with the case of Evensong in the midst of Lent, stating the shift of the quality of time into a microphone, and reassuring the congregation of its legitimacy. Similarly, in the case of

the Feast of St Cuthbert during the Easter period, or the taking up the specific position of prayer, of a more sacred space-time inside the more profane hustle and bustle of the Flower Festival.

Additionally, through these space-times, one sees that because of these sub-sets of the larger community, negotiation becomes a more manageable proposition, as opposed to a system in which every individual must be negotiated with, or indeed in which only one action system is given space at any one time. The result of having these smaller action systems allowing a more manageable negotiation, is a cathedral which can be 'whatever you need it to be' – a setting for a flower festival, a place of worship, a tourist attraction and many more besides. As Adam states, 'The multiple rhythms and social organisation are nestled inside one another, and new rhythms are not merely grafted onto existing ones, but change their nature in the process' (2002:515).

## VII. Changing Spaces and Experiencing Easter

Whilst, as I discussed above, it is through the actions of the various groups that numerous space-times are created, action, such as the giving of Holy Communion, brings with it an entirely different dimension of time, or rather the lack of it. As Hubert states,

Given that in fact religious acts take place in space and time, one of the enigmas of ritual is the reconciliation of these inescapable conditions with the infinite extent and the theoretical immutability of the sacred. Ritual must consequently bring into play representations and figurations of space and time necessary to resolve this antinomy (Isambert and Hubert 1999:18).

It is with this in mind, that I will explain here my experiences of time in relation to the Easter week services of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, beginning with the 'Stripping of the Altar' service of Maundy Thursday.

### VII.i. Maundy Thursday<sup>50</sup>

'This is the evening of the last supper', read my service notebook. It explained that on his last evening with his disciples, Jesus instituted the Eucharist and commanded

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<sup>50</sup> Here, I will return to the Stripping of the Altar service, which I touched on earlier (see chapter 4), analysing here not through light, but in relation to time.

his disciples to wash one another's feet (the Maundy), after which they headed to a garden where the disciples watched whilst Jesus prayed.

There had been a certain anticipation for this service. I had spoken about it with four separate people who worship at the Cathedral and all had said the same thing to me: 'It's the only time of the year that you get to see the altar without anything over it, you never see it otherwise'. One person had even mentioned a section of the service called 'the Judas Cup', a rite unique to Durham that had been performed by the monks of Durham Cathedral every Maundy Thursday, and mentioned in the Rites of Durham (1998[1593]). The rite of the Judas Cup had only recently been revived and placed back into the service, taking inspiration from the Rites of Durham manuscript in which the act is mentioned. It was made clear to me by various members of the community that this service was an important part of worship at Durham Cathedral and must not be missed, and so there I was, sat in the stalls of the quire, patiently awaiting the beginning of the service.

The service began with a hymn which opened with the line 'O thou, who at thy Eucharist didst pray', before quickly moving from the gathering to Prayers of Penitence. The members of the choir were in particularly good form this evening, their rich voices rising up in to the atmosphere like incense from a thurible<sup>51</sup>. The first reading was Exodus 12:1-4, 11-14 and spoke of God's message to Moses and Aaron regarding Passover – the Jewish festival, celebrated at this time of year – and how they should protect themselves from 'the Passover of the Lord'. 'This day shall be a day of remembrance for you. You shall celebrate it as a festival to the Lord; throughout your generations you shall observe it as a perpetual ordinance'. The second reading, John 13. 1-17, 31b-35, began with Jesus knowing before the Feast of the Passover that his time on earth was short and that he would ultimately be betrayed by Judas. The reading then went on to describe Jesus' act during their final supper together, of washing his disciples' feet, removing his outer robe, and tying a towel around himself.

After the readings, the Sermon was given by the Bishop of Durham, concluding his thoughts from his addresses throughout Holy Week. The service then entered a section called 'The Middle Voluntary'. During this section, the bishop seemed to recreate the second reading of the service, by taking off his outer robes, tying a towel around himself, and washing the feet of a select few of the Cathedral Boys' Choir sitting in a row in front of the quire stalls, waiting for the bishop with his large bowl and jug of water. With

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<sup>51</sup> A metallic incense burner hung on a metal chain and swung during services.

the washing of the feet concluded, the bishop once again read the section of the second reading in which Jesus says, 'Do you know what I have done to you?' before concluding with a prayer. Having moved through the 'Prayers of Intercession' and into 'The Liturgy of the Sacrament', the Cathedral now firmly held within the darkness of the night, the preparation of the table began, and with a liturgy describing the Eucharist's origins, the service arrived at the Eucharist itself.

Once everybody had taken bread and wine and returned to their seats, the service moved to the rite of 'The Judas Cup', the introduction of which I, not having been confirmed, had read whilst everybody was taking communion. The introduction spoke of the ambiguities of discipleship and the manner in which the ambiguities came to be recalled in the ceremony called simply, 'The Judas Cup'. It was described as a 'dramatic re-enactment' and was an attempt to 'translate that ritual into modern terms'. The table of the Last Supper was an intricately carved table which, when folded up, depicted items that may have been found upon the table, such as bowls and a wine vase, and when unfolded became an exquisite table. The table spent most of its time in a corner of the Galilee Chapel, but at the time of the Judas Cup ceremony it found itself set open in the centre of the quire.

After the almost haunting sounds of the choir chanting Psalm 54, a psalm of betrayal, had disappeared into the atmosphere, the Dean, leading the bishop and Chapter to the table, relayed the words of Jesus as He sat at the table. After reading the lines, the ceremony took on a full re-enactment of a segment of the Last Supper. Playing the role of Jesus, the Dean poured wine into a mazer before saying, 'Alas for that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed', before each member of the Chapter, each playing a disciple asked, 'Lord, is it I?' The Dean then drank from the mazer, passing it around the table for the others to drink in silence. As the performance went on, the disciples proclaimed that, 'Even if I have to die with you, I will never disown you', before the Dean announced, 'It was night', and the lights of the Cathedral were lowered.

Within the darkness of the Cathedral, The Stripping of the Altar began, as the Chapter removed the altar clothes, banners, and hangings amongst other things. As they moved in silence through the darkened quire, the lamentation from the choir moved slowly through the dense air. Looking up the nave the long shadows seemed to bring the focus down into the quire which, as the ringing lamentation ended, was left bare.

With the stripping of the altar concluded, the clergy turned and left the quire and processed up to the Galilee Chapel in silence, followed by the choir and congregation. I, too, made the journey to the west end of the Cathedral and filtered through the large

double doors and into the Galilee Chapel. The atmosphere was heavy and the place was completely dark save a few candles lit behind an altar screen in the central altar in front of what was the great west doors. Out of the silence the bishop's voice began to read from the final page of the service booklet, 'They went to a place called Gethsemane; and Jesus said to his disciples, "Sit here while I pray"'. His voice in this smaller chapel gave no echo of the grandeur of the main Cathedral. In comparison, it was small, dry, and distilled. The bishop went on reading through Jesus' distress and praying in the Garden of Gethsemane finishing with the sentence, 'Get up, let us be going. See, my betrayer is at hand', leaving us in silence.

In this silence, I could see the glow from the candle flames hidden from view, giving the impression that the light we were seeing was coming from over the brow of a hill. All around me stood darkened figures, some sitting, some standing, none of whom I could make out as someone I knew. At the front of the crowd that had silently gathered sporadically around the central altar and the eerily serene glow from over the brow, I could make out the tall frame of the Dean, head bowed, taking a step back and sitting in the first pew. Around me, silent figures looked intently toward the light, shifting their weight from one foot to another, taking seats, some at the pews which had been rearranged to face the central altar, some on the floor. I myself, standing at the very back of the crowd, stepped back and sat on the small ledge that juts out of the wall at a perfect sitting height. As the minutes went by my ears started to become more aware of the world around, I was drawn to the howling of the wind finding its way through small cracks in the windows, adding to a sense of being outdoors, yet weirdly being protected from the high winds inside the serenity of Galilee Chapel's atmosphere. Sitting silently, my mind was drawn to the nave, just on the other side of the three doors, yet it felt a world away from the Galilee Chapel.

### VII.ii. Sacred Time

According to Eliade's concept of sacred time, the sacred exists outside of time, that is to say it is 'an attempt to deny "the definitive character of historical event", and to return to a primeval state of being: the myth of the eternal return' (Brandon 1965:66). The myth of eternal return is, in part, the cyclical nature that we 'apply' to linear time. Thus, through this cyclical nature, the same dates come around again and again. As Stirrat argues, that which is seen as being most sacred, in religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Catholicism, 'that which is concerned with salvation, is that which is outside time'. Stirrat goes on to suggest that the concept of dogma in Catholicism,

'Consists of timeless truths whilst at another level, the sacrifice of the mass is not simply as reproduction or a representation of Christ's Crucifixion on Calvary but is co-temporal with that original sacrifice' (1984:202). In Stirrat's article, he points out that he does not take Eliade's concept of a 'return to the beginnings of time' to its full extent, choosing instead to stress that the major world religions, such as Christianity, 'involve an idea of the sacred which is conceived of as timeless and that this timelessness of necessity involves the beginnings of time' (1984:202-203).

Just as Eliade's concept of the sacred is outside of time, and thus denies time in which ever form it may exist, lineally or cyclically, so too suggests Stirrat (1984:203), does it deny space. Therefore, just as the mass and the crucifixion are co-temporal, meaning that the act of mass is not a re-enactment but is happening at the very time in which the original sacrifice occurred, so too is the mass co-spatial, and thus happening at the place of the original sacrifice, Golgotha. From this then, the sacred is not only outside of time, but also outside of space, creating a time and space separate from that in which we live. Eliade alludes to the idea of co-spatiality when he states that, 'The medieval cathedral, symbolically reproduces the Celestial Jerusalem', (1971[1954]:17). It is a theory not lost on Helms who suggests that the claustral buildings of the medieval monastery were also given the qualitative values 'necessary to define the monastery as a whole as a definitive ideological centre and a focal point in the broader territory beyond its walls' (2002:436) and by extension, to the centre of the Christian world, Jerusalem. Helms goes on to state that the repetitive nature of monastic life 'invoked the principle of ritual reputation by which hierophonies are sustained at sacred centres' (2002:441). Therefore, events such as Sunday processions express the basic belief that, 'in religion, as in magic, the periodic recurrence of anything signifies primarily that a mythical time is made present and then used indefinitely' (Eliade 1958:392).

In the evening service of Maundy Thursday, as I sat in the dark silence of what I thought was the Galilee Chapel and my mind was drawn to the nave at the other side of the chapel doors, it really did feel a world away from where I was sitting. 'This is the evening of the Last Supper'. This was the evening of the Last Supper, the washing of the feet, the Eucharist, the walking to a garden, the watching, and the praying. Following on from Eliade's ideas of co-spatiality and co-temporality with the original time, I had not sat and watched some re-enactment of the last supper as if I were sitting in a theatre as the last actions of Jesus were acted out in front of me, I was instead co-spatially and co-temporally present, along with the rest of the congregation, at the last supper. I had seen the washing of the feet; I had seen the disciples drink from the same cup as they ask

who the betrayer would be; I had walked not to the Galilee Chapel at the west end of Durham Cathedral, but into the Garden of Gethsemane and was now sat with Jesus' disciples, waiting as he prayed just out of view, over the brow. The final actions of the stripping of the altar in the quire also became clear, the dark, deserted and bare quire, the very soul of the Cathedral's religious worship, strangely symbolising what was to become of Jesus in the next few hours after leaving the Garden of Gethsemane. Abandoned and destitute.

It should be noted here that the rite of the Judas Cup, seemed to play a dual role within this service. Whilst it was, along with Eliade's concept of the sacred, both co-spatial and co-temporal with the Last Supper, my service book distinctly described it as a 'dramatic reenactment' of another time, stating that, 'In the Medieval monastery at Durham these ambiguities [of discipleship] were recalled in a ceremony called the Judas Cup'. The service booklet goes on to suggest that the dramatic reenactment is, 'an attempt to translate that ritual into modern times as a way of reminding us of the necessity for humility as we recall the ambiguities of our own discipleship'. Having spoken to Cannon Brown regarding the Judas Cup ceremony, she explained that it took its direction from the Rites of Durham, a manuscript written by an anonymous author in 1593 and contained a description of '*The Ancient Monuments, Rites, And Customes Belonginge, Or Beinge Within, The Monastical Church of Durham Before The Suppression*' as the full title suggested (Rites of Durham 1998[1593]).

The Rites of Durham itself says little of the ceremony, choosing instead to describe the Judas Cup and state that this rite occurred in the Frater House, the Monks' Refectory, used today as the Library. This part of the service therefore bears two differing aspects of importance: the co-spatial and co-temporal aspect, implied through its location within the narrative of the service, immediately after the giving of communion to the congregation. It also connects to the monks of Durham Cathedral Priory and their own unique way in which to enter into the co-spatial and co-temporal sacrality of the service. Of course, for the monks, the location would also have held hugely significant meaning; by conducting it within the refectory as opposed to the quire, they were emphasising the co-spatiality of the deed. The location of the refectory is no accident, being a large upstairs room such as the one in which Jesus and his disciples ate their Last Supper together described within the 'Acts of the Apostles' (20:8), and was the place in which the brotherhood continued to meet (Ferguson 1986:174). In essence, each meal-time of the monks was sacred, taking place not within the Frater House, but within the upstairs room of the last supper.

Returning to the vigil within the Galilee Chapel, as it came to an end, time and space seemed to return to normal as the congregation left the cathedral in silence through the North Door and back into the night of Durham City. However, this unusual aspect of time did not end with my exiting the Cathedral, indeed Good Friday also brought with it the same aspects of time as I had witnessed the previous night.

### VII.iii. Good Friday

As I reached the roped off area of the nave I stopped behind a disgruntled tourist annoyed that she could not wander around the Cathedral, 'It's a bank holiday, I can't believe we can't wander around'. After telling the woman that the nave is reserved for worshippers, the Steward turned to me and asked, 'Here for the service dear?' smiling at me, I smile with a nod and stepping aside she handed me the service booklet entitled, 'The Three Hours', and I entered the nave. Opening the booklet to read the introduction to the service, I read that at the centre of Good Friday is the Cross.

As the service began, I once again found that time and space changed as we continued through the final hours of Jesus' life. The readings from the Old Testament foretold the life of Jesus and Psalm 22.1-21, a psalm of pain, suffering, and abandonment as Jesus hung helplessly on the cross was exquisitely chanted by the choir. After a hymn was sung, the congregation were taken through the Passion according to John. After a solemn address and prayers, the same theme of pain, suffering and abandonment was continued. This was followed by a large wooden cross carried in procession through the congregation and placed in the crossing of the transept. As the first hour finished, I stayed sitting where I was as around me people continued to pray, some kneeling, staring at the cross that stood alone in the crossing of the transept waiting patiently for the second hour: a commemoration of the Passion of Jesus Christ beginning at 2pm.

The second hour began. 'Beloved, we come together on this day and at this hour to commemorate the passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that as we behold its terror and its shame, so we may be made partakers of its grace and glory'. Through this part of the service, the congregation was once again taken through the Passion, shifting into the co-spatial/co-temporal reality of sacred time, minute by minute, blow by blow. Beginning at the Priests' Plot and the Anointing, and ending with the Crucifixion, each section separated by a piece of music, whether it was a hymn or anthem or Organ solo. At the end of the hour and of the Blessing the clergy and choir again departed in silence. The congregation was once again left to their thoughts in the nave.

The third and final hour was held in the Chapel of the Nine Altars, around a modern sculpture of Mary looking down at her broken child laid out on the floor, a painful anguish etched in her face carved from drift wood. In this final hour, Jesus' body had been lowered from the cross and the congregation now stood around the sculpture, around the body of Jesus. My mind travelled back to the Last Supper, the washing of the feet, the Judas cup, the stripping of the altar, the procession to the Galilee Chapel and entering the Garden of Gethsemane, observing the three final hours of Jesus' ordeal as he hung on the cross stood in the crossing of the transept, and now gathered around his broken body, felt longer in time than reality. Through the services of the 'Stripping of the Altar' and 'The Three Hours', I and the rest of the congregation had lived through the experience of the final hours of Jesus in real time, in the sense that we were not 'watching' the happenings as if on a TV, it was not fast-forwarded, but the actual time of the service and the Biblical time merged. It was a real, palpable time, a time which Eliade would consider as sacred, a time and event which was not a reproduction of past events, but rather the actual event at the actual time, as though the words of the Bible spilled from the pages and mixed with our own space-time and thus creating a whole new space-time co-temporal and co-spatial to the original event.

These services had been mentally draining, and as a non-religious person, I could only imagine the experience of those 'true believers' as they too lived through the events. In this 'sacred time' the movement and protestations of those on the other side of the red velvet rope became lost and one was no longer aware of them as they went about their own daily actions within the limited space of the Cathedral, the two space-times although only separated by the stewards and a red velvet rope, felt worlds apart.

### VIII. Bringing Together Time

In concluding this chapter, I wish to return to Henri Bergson and his concept of 'duration' or 'La *durée*' in which he suggests that there is only one time. This may seem in contrast to what I have discussed over the course of this chapter, with the emerging multiples of space-time suggested by Munn (1992) and Eliade's concept of sacred time. However, when examining them carefully, the opposite can be suggested; that in fact the multiplicity of time, emerging space-times, and the sacred time which was apparent during the Easter services in Durham Cathedral in which time was co-spatial and co-temporal can exist within the concept of La *durée*.

In Eliade's work 'Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return', he makes the distinction between religious and non-religious peoples based on their perceptions

of time, the difference being heterogeneous time for religious people and homogeneous time for non-religious people (1971[1954]). Rennie points out that this division of time 'seems to derive, directly or indirectly' (1996:42) from the analysis of the division of time put forward by Bergson in 'Time and Free Will' in which he states that there are 'two possible conceptions of time, one free from all alloy, the other surreptitiously bringing in the idea of space' (2001[1913]:100). According to Hodges, Bergson had adapted this view from physicist and mathematician G. B. R. Riemann's theories between 'Quantitative, or discrete, and qualitative, or continuous, multiplicities'. Whereas quantitative multiplicities are naturally numerical 'and take the form of the one and the many', the differences between these multiplicities are 'homogeneous differences of *degree*' and therefore their dividing does not cause any changes in kind (quality). However, qualitative multiplicities create heterogeneous differences when divided. 'They comprise an interrelated (i.e. relational) infinite whole, where any multiple is fused with all other multiples, and any one cannot either be isolated or change without all others changing' (2008:409), as Deleuze states, they are of '*difference in kind* ... that cannot be reduced to numbers' (1991:38, emphasis in the original). According to Grosz,

[La durée] functions simultaneously as singular, unified, and whole, as well as in specific fragments and multiplicitous proliferation. There is one and only one time, but there are also numerous times: a duration for each thing or movement, which melds with a global or collective time. As a whole, time is braided, intertwined, a unity of strands layered over each other; unique, singular, and individual, it nevertheless partakes of a more generic and overarching time, which makes possible relations of earlier and later (1999:17).

The opposition to duration is time projected into space, laid out in a succession, one point after another. Bergson uses music as an example. When listening to a melody, we have the 'purest impression of succession we could possibly have', with one musical note (of numerical value) laid one after another. However, we do not *experience* these notes individually, but as a whole, not one note at a time but all of the notes together. 'In space, and only in space, is there a clear-cut distinction of parts external to one another'. Though Bergson did also acknowledge that it is in 'spatialized time that we ordinarily place ourselves' (1946:149).

With this clearer understanding of duration, it becomes apparent that the multiple space-times suggested by Munn (1992) emerge within duration; 'There is one and only one time, but there are also numerous times' (Grosz 1999:17). On the other hand, Eliade

is a little more difficult to align with duration due to sacred time being a 'mythical time, that is a primordial time, not to be found in the historical past' (1959:72). However, by understanding Eliade's sacred time *in relation* to duration, or more precisely to the manner in which sacred time is arrived at, a coherence between the two emerges. As Rennie states, 'Obviously the "primordial time" is not located in any long-gone historical era of our known world, but is notional, conceptual or imaginary' (1996:79). Whilst Eliade thought that man held a 'nostalgia for the lost paradise' (1971[1954]:91), this nostalgia is 'not for a chronological past, an actual event or historical condition, rather it is for an imaginary ideal which none the less functions as an exemplar' (1996:79).<sup>52</sup> As Stirrat points out,

Eliade's formulation of the sacred as existing outside of time is a fair characterization of much that is claimed within the religious discourses of most, if not all, the world religions. Thus, in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Catholicism, it can be argued that what is most sacred, that which is concerned with salvation, is that which is outside time (1984:202).

Gaining access to this alternative time can be achieved through the performance of religious observances such as I detailed above in regard to Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, of repeating or imitating an archetype, a divine or mythical model. In entering into such a repetition or imitation, the action becomes co-temporal to the original model on which the repetition is based, for example, 'The sacrifice of the mass is not simply as reproduction or a representation of Christ's Crucifixion on Calvary but is cotemporal with that original sacrifice' (1984:202). In short, through the performance of the mass, the actors enter into the sacred time that their actions created. However, whilst this act may indeed be co-temporal and as Stirrat argues co-spatial (1984:203), it cannot be denied that the action takes place in time and space. In the case of the washing of the feet at the last supper, that action was in the quire of Durham Cathedral on Maundy Thursday and experienced firmly within the boundaries of duration. Whilst the washing of the feet allowed for the transcendence into sacred time of those gathered, the action itself took place firmly within time and space. Therefore, those gathered in the quire on Maundy Thursday actively created, through their shared action systems (Munn, 1992),

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<sup>52</sup> It is important here to note that in writing 'The Myth of the Eternal Return' Eliade states that he set out to study 'conceptions of being and reality' (1971[1953]:3) in archaic ontology, that is, 'How things were thought to be, or, to be factually accurate; how things were said to be' (Rennie 1996:79).

a space-time which, whilst being inside duration, created a sacred time, made through the performance, and use of language, sound, space, and light within Durham Cathedral.

Although Eliade suggests sacred time exists outside of time, the performance required to achieve it must take place within time. Additionally, as suggested above, whilst there is only one time, many times – rhythms, and qualities can be experienced within it. Therefore, whilst the performance during the ‘Three Hours’ services of Good Friday created a sacred time, additional times were still able to emerge alongside the performance, such as that of the tourists stood behind the rope during the services wishing to explore the whole Cathedral. As I stated within the ethnography, in this ‘sacred time’ the movement and protestations of those on the other side of the red velvet rope became lost and I was no longer aware of them as they went about their own daily actions within the limited space of the Cathedral. The two space-times although only separated by the stewards and a red velvet rope, felt worlds apart.

Over the course of this chapter and my ethnographic accounts of time within Durham Cathedral, one stand-out feature has been the multiple nature of time and the manner in which the community negotiate it. From the multiple layers of the fortnightly calendars containing information of multiple rhythms of various cycles, including the Anglican Church, and local historically important points and the tensions involved in negotiating collisions in the contrasting rhythms and the qualities they bring; to the manner in which space and time can be made inside Durham Cathedral in order to accommodate the needs of individuals and groups alike. In doing so, ‘Durham Cathedral can be whatever you want it to be’. Additionally, as the religious congregation gathered for the final hours of Jesus’ life, the space of the Cathedral was once again used to create a particular space-time; a space-time which allowed for the transcendence into sacred time, that time which ‘appears under the paradoxical aspect of a circular time, reversible and recoverable, a sort of eternal mythical present that is periodically regenerated by means of rites’ (Eliade 1959:70). I also showed that whilst many times can exist, they do not exist separately, but within the one manifold that is duration. It is within duration that we experience life, and within which additional space-times emerge through the actions of the people, and whilst sacred time may indeed be a mythical time, outside of time, the actions of the people are too, performed within our experiential time of *la durée*.



## **PART 3: THE LIVING CATHEDRAL**



## **CHAPTER 6: CHANGING DURHAM CATHEDRAL**

## I. The Modern Mason

'I've worked here for 36 years and the first thing I want to say is that I love my job, you never know where you're going to be from one day to the next'. I was standing in the Chapel of the Nine Altars talking to Nigel, the Cathedral's mason, who was busy carving the name of the new bishop, Paul Butler, into a marble slab which listed all of the Bishops of Durham since the first, Aldhun, in 995. I would often pass Nigel at various times around the Cathedral and would say a passing 'hello', though he was often too busy to stop and chat. Today, however, as he stepped back to examine his work, he took a few minutes to chat to me.

When I finished school, I went to the careers office and they had this youth workers program. It was basically cheap labour because there was no job at the end of it. They said, 'There's a job at the butchers or at the Cathedral'. Well, I took the Cathedral. Well anyway, they'd already taken on two lots of three, and it was a year June to June, and by the end of it I was the only one they took on. After that the Cathedral ran a summer program for students which ran from June to September so I did that. Then I was on the dole for two weeks, then got taken on again. During my year I had shown interest see, I'd been picking up bits of stone around the yard and learning about how to work stone, and when I started on here permanent, it was as a labourer, and after a while one of the masons working here saw what I was doing and told the Clerk of the Works that I had potential and he called me into the office and said 'We're going to train you as a mason'. It wasn't an apprenticeship or anything<sup>53</sup>, I didn't do anything like that. The Clerk said, 'Mind, we aren't gonna send you to college or anything'. The nearest places to train as a mason were, I think, Bath and Edinburgh. Well they weren't going to pay for that. So, they put me on this 5-year thing and my wage would go up in increments each year. Well I finished it in 3, so they put me on a full mason's wage after 3 years (Recording, 21<sup>st</sup> February 2014).

Nigel leaned forward to closely examine his work as he continued to delicately knock small chips of marble from the list of bishops.

'Did you carve any other names on here?' I asked him.

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<sup>53</sup> See McDermott (1985), Finn (1982) and Holland (1981) for discussion regarding youth unemployment and governmental responses to it during the 1980's.

'No, this is my first, I know the lad who did the previous ones. But if you look closely, you can see there is a slight difference in our work, as you go up you can make them out'. He gently tapped away another few chips from the 'B' of the bishop's surname and again stepped back.

'So, you must have done a lot of work on the Cathedral over the years then?' I asked, as he took his pencil from behind his ear, made a small correction to his guide line on the marble before replacing the pencil behind his ear.

Oh loads, I've done work on the Rose Window, the tower pinnacles<sup>54</sup>. We came in one morning a good few years back and the verger came looking for us and said, 'There's been a huge bang up in the north triforium<sup>55</sup>, we don't know what it was but it was a massive bang'. Well, we went up there to have a look and it must have been one hell of a bang because one of the crockets<sup>56</sup> had fallen off the corner of the tower and crashed through the triforium roof, through the lead and everything. When the steeplejacks went up they said that they were all loose, so we had to repair them to make them safe and found that when they'd been put up, they used 2-inch stone dowels. Well, of course over the years<sup>57</sup> they'd gradually come loose, so we re-carved one crocket and repaired the others, putting 10 inch rods in them so that they wouldn't come loose again (Recording, 21<sup>st</sup> February 2014).

In our numerous brief chats throughout my fieldwork, Nigel would often tell me about the different jobs he was up to around the Cathedral, such as replacing the 17<sup>th</sup> century drainage pipes around the cloister garth. He would also show me other areas of the Cathedral which had been damaged or eroded and were in desperate need of conservation,

It all needs to be done, partly because it's not safe for visitors. They've shut off part of an area around the back. I mean visitors couldn't get round there anyway but we can't really go around there either in case bits of the Cathedral fall off. You can hardly keep up with the work, but then it's also the cost of repairing

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<sup>54</sup> Pinnacles are architectural ornaments which look like a small spire, and add height to the building, they were most commonly used in Gothic architecture.

<sup>55</sup> Triforiums are arched galleries above the nave side aisles, visible from below through the arches that line the galleries.

<sup>56</sup> Crockets are hook shaped decorations for the angles of pinnacles, usually taking the form of some kind of foliage.

<sup>57</sup> Many of the Cathedral's Gothic elements were added during the Gothic revival period of the 18th and 19th centuries.

everything and then conservation work. It's difficult for the Cathedral (Fieldnotes, 8<sup>th</sup> November 2013).

Nigel's comments were a constant reminder during my fieldwork that Durham Cathedral is over 900 years old and has been battered by the elements. Additionally, whilst the building is still standing, it is in a constant process of repair, and refurbishment, from changing weathered stones through painstaking conservation work to installing new heating systems, plumbing, sound systems, Wi-Fi and even making space for new amenities (a shop, a restaurant, a LEGO cathedral, an exhibition centre). As I have shown in the first chapter of this thesis, in order for the Cathedral to be able to bring in and host the many different groups of people with various agendas, they have to make space, an accommodating space, for them inside the building. Therefore, while the continued use and dwelling in the Cathedral brings in valuable income, aiding the process of repair, the building's continued use is also a contributing factor in its ageing. Without the community being around and using the building today, it would very likely slowly decay with nobody to care for it and no money to help repair it. The building has to be inhabitable. Indeed, the need of fixing, repairing, and replacing is a common part of working with a 900 plus year old building. As Nigel explained, today his contract includes him not just being a mason, but other things such as brick layer and joiner, 'Masonry work is actually only a small part of my job now, most of the time you're off doing other stuff, I mean it could be anything, that's why I love it, you could be doing anything from day to day' (Recording, 21<sup>st</sup> February 2014).

In Nigel's work, the themes of this chapter begin to reveal themselves. The changes the Cathedral has to go through, in order to simply not fall into ruination and stay constantly inhabitable are constant. This leads to tensions and negotiations between permanence and change in the fabric of the building as, paradoxically, it is through constant change that it can stay permanent. Change in the need to repair the triforium roof, for example, or to change the most weathered sandstone blocks in the wall. But change also in accommodating people, for the cathedral needs to stay relevant, and have purpose for its community, so that the community care enough to repair it. Pointing out the distinction between permanence and change, Brand suggests that, 'Whereas "architecture" may strive to be permanent, a "building" is always building and rebuilding'. Yet, he continues, 'Almost no building adapts well', this being because they were never designed to change. However, Brand observes that all buildings 'adapt anyway, however poorly, because the usages in and around them are changing constantly' (1994:2). In the case of Durham Cathedral, this would include huge changes

such as ending its status as a monastic cathedral during the Dissolution of the Monasteries; its use as barracks by Scottish soldiers during the 1640's; its use as a prison by Cromwell to house Scottish soldiers in 1650, alongside smaller changes such as the heating system. Over the course of the centuries and the varying manners in which people have inhabited Durham Cathedral, from monks, then collegiate cannons<sup>58</sup> to a tourist attraction and operating church the Cathedral is today, the building has changed considerably with many of these changes leaving their mark upon the building in various ways.

To observe the negotiation between the permanence of the Cathedral embedded in constant change, this chapter will first discuss the idea of buildings, and specifically Durham Cathedral, constantly changing and adapting to life inside itself, and will then follow the development of the heating system to observe through time how buildings, sometimes 'poorly' and reluctantly, adapt to inhabitation. Afterwards, I will consider heritage negotiations, and show that although care for the ancient fabric of the building is of major concern, authenticity at Durham Cathedral is found not in conservation efforts, but in change itself and in that, the challenges and negotiations of constant daily use, between many kinds of groups of people and activities, as shown in chapters 3 to 5.

## II. Building, Dwelling, Changing

Buildings have lives in time, and those lives are intimately connected with the lives of the people who use them. Buildings come into being at particular moments and in particular circumstances. They change and perhaps grow as the lives of their users change. Eventually — when, for whatever reason, people no longer find them useful — they die (Waddy 1990:xi).

Before continuing, I want to briefly discuss what dwelling in a cathedral entails. Dwelling in a cathedral is very different to dwelling in one's own home. Durham Cathedral aims at being accessible to the public and is a building with multiple purposes from being a space for Christian rituals, a space to commemorate the county's history, a tourist attraction, a public meeting place (the restaurant), a place to learn history (school children visits and guided tours), and the list could go on. As a result, many people dwell in the same building in different ways. Examples of this can be seen in the interviews I conducted whilst in the field. Sitting down to interviews I would always begin by asking

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<sup>58</sup> After the dissolution of Durham Cathedral Priory in 1540, a college of cannons were installed in 1541.

the person to tell me about their day-to-day lives within the Cathedral. Through this, I found that many of the interviews I conducted revealed much about the different ways in which people relate to the building, and something of the way in which they individually dwell in the Cathedral. For example, an interview with a retired widower revealed that she began volunteering as a way to escape her loneliness, and now sees volunteering as a way to spend time with her friends whilst meeting new ones. In contrast, a member of the choir sees the Cathedral, in part, as a stage on which they are to perform. Alternatively, members of the clergy talk of the 'mission' of the Cathedral and their role within it, while others talk of the building as a place to meet friends for a coffee, or as a quiet place to sit and relax. For all these people and groups of people to be hosted in the Cathedral, the building had to deal with constant changing. These changes make space for inhabitation.

Ingold suggests that environments are never complete, but are 'continually under construction' (2000:172), and archaeologist Roger Cribb illustrates this, suggesting that whilst nomadic pastoralist's tent dwellings and village houses in Turkey and Iran were almost identical in terms of their basic scheme, their enduring structures were not. When looked at in juxtaposition to one another, the village houses saw new alterations or additions built 'on a series of existing structures'. However, with the tents, each time they set up camp the occupation of the camp was 'a fresh event', meaning that the tents remain 'permanently retarded in the initial stages of the nomad developmental cycle' (1991:156). Whilst this may not be the case in other areas of the world, what Cribb's study highlights is that any additions made to existing buildings can be physically seen sitting in juxtaposition. This in turn reveals how over an extended period, buildings continue to change as a result of dwelling.<sup>59</sup>

According to Heidegger, 'Dwelling and building are related as ends and means'. We are not able to dwell by building, but 'to build is in itself already to dwell' (1971:144). Heidegger turns to etymology and the German word *bauen*, meaning 'to build', which comes from the Old English and High German word *buan*, meaning 'to dwell'. This word is still maintained in the German word '*Nachgebauer*' or the English '*neighbour*', meaning 'he who dwells nearby'. However, *buan* 'not only tells us that *bauen*, to build, is really to dwell; it also gives us a clue as to how we have to think about the dwelling it signifies'. Here, Heidegger is suggesting that the idea of dwelling is not only confined to one activity, that simply to dwell would be 'virtual inactivity', rather he proposes that dwelling

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<sup>59</sup> This is not to say that the same cannot be said for tents.

encompasses all of our activities. Therefore, whilst meaning to dwell, *bauen*, also asks 'how far the nature of dwelling reaches'. Consequently, 'I dwell, you dwell', equates to, 'I am, you are', in that dwelling is how we are at all times, 'The manner in which humans are on the earth, is *buan*, dwelling'. Additionally, *bauen* has other meanings, 'To cherish and protect, to preserve and care for, specifically to till the soil', essentially cultivating through preserving and nurturing; and to construct, to make something; 'Building as the raising up of edifices' (1971:145).<sup>60</sup> Heidegger's point here is that to be is to dwell, and to dwell is both to construct, as in erecting things, and to cultivate, as in growing things. This idea of cultivation, therefore, suggests a constant attentiveness to, and work on, the building by its inhabitants to adapt the building to new wants and needs. It is in this cultivation, the sustained attentiveness, care, and work on the building that growth emerges keeping the building alive and away from ruination.

This cultivation as caring, tending and being attentive is not always easy or straight forward. For instance, in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, repair on the stonework would often include the repointing of the stone with concrete, a much harder and therefore longer lasting material than the lime mortar used by the medieval builders. The lime mortar, however, being softer than the stone would absorb water away from the stone, slowing eroding in the process. Conversely, the harder, longer lasting concrete, was less porous than the sandstone and held the moisture in the stone, thus speeding up the erosion of the stone itself. Often the use of hard concretes result in a honeycomb effect on ancient walls where the sandstone has eroded away, leaving behind the hard concrete, an effect also seen in some areas of Durham Cathedral. In a sense, then, the use of lime mortar, which is today used once again in conservation work, is used because

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<sup>60</sup> For Heidegger words for both cultivation and construction come from *bauen*, therefore 'building as dwelling unfolds into the building that cultivates growing things and the building that erects buildings':

'The old word *bauen*, which says that man *is* insofar as he *dwells*, this word *bauen* however also means at the same time to cherish and protect, to preserve and care for, specifically to till the soil, to cultivate the vine. Such building only takes care – it tends the growth that ripens into its fruit of its own accord. Building in the sense of preserving and nurturing is not making anything. Shipbuilding and temple–building, on the other hand, do in a certain way make their own works. Here building, in contrast with cultivating, is a constructing. Both modes of building – building as cultivating, Latin *colere*, *cultura*, and building as the raising up of edifices, *aedificare* – are comprised within genuine building, that is, dwelling. Building as dwelling, that is, as being on the earth, however, remains for man's everyday experience that which is from the outset "habitual" – we inhabit it, as our language says so beautifully: it is the *Gewohnte*. For this reason it recedes behind the manifold ways in which dwelling is accomplished, the activities of cultivation and construction. These activities later claim the name of *bauen*, building, and with it the fact of building, exclusively for themselves. The real sense of *bauen*, namely dwelling, falls into oblivion' (1971:145-146, emphasis in the original).

it will erode and will need repointing, saving the sandstone in the process, this is building with a view to rebuilding, as caring and tending to. As the building becomes weathered and its stones, spaces, roofs changed, by thinking about Heidegger's concept of construction and cultivation, we can think about buildings never being finished, but in need of constant tending to, a constant process of both making and growing, as the building itself informs the changes it goes through (see Hallam and Ingold, 2014):

We really need a new word, something like 'anthropo-ontogenetic', to describe how form, rather than being applied to the material, is emergent within the field of human relations. This is neither making nor growing, but a kind of making-in-growing, or growing-in-making (2014:5).

Thus, there are two major points to take from the above; the first is that buildings, 'Do not get built overnight; they grow cumulatively in the course of a settlement's continuous occupation' (Ingold 2000:181), and the second is that to dwell is to construct and cultivate.

#### II.i. Buildings Grow Cumulatively through Construction and Cultivation

Buildings are not built overnight. This is the case for all buildings, big or small and this is especially the case for cathedrals which often had build-times lasting centuries. An excellent example is Durham Cathedral, of which volunteers and clergy are keen to emphasise, had a build-time of 'only' 40 years. Whilst this is an extraordinary achievement considering the tools available in the years between 1093 and 1133, one has to question what is meant by saying that Durham Cathedral was 'built' in just 40 years. Perhaps after 40 years it had four walls, a ceiling, and was generally usable, but it would not have looked like the Durham Cathedral we see today. For example, the Galilee Chapel at the west end of the Cathedral was not begun until 1170, and the Chapel of the Nine Altars at the east end was not built until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. Other, less obvious changes have also occurred over time; for instance, between 1360 and 1430 the monks had most of the claustral buildings replaced (Shelby 1976:92). As Shelby explains, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century cloister layout, the dormitory was in the eastern range as set out by the Rule of St Benedict. However due to the Chapter House also being on the eastern range there was no room for the expansion of the dormitory. Therefore, during the 12<sup>th</sup> century the monks moved the dormitory across to the western range of the cloister before, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, having the western range rebuilt, thus giving them a more spacious dormitory (1976). Images of Durham Cathedral drawn over time also

highlight the continuous building process (see Andrew 1993). Buildings develop over time as a result of the relationship shared between the community and the building, as Waddy's statement at the beginning of this section alludes to. They are cultivated by their inhabitants and as such constantly change.

What is more revealing than past drawings hidden away in archives, is the building itself imprinted with marks of constant change. For example, Figure 9, taken in the north triforium not only shows a once-open archway that has been subsequently closed leaving just a small doorway, it also shows that the angle of the triforium roof has changed as the roof itself has been changed.

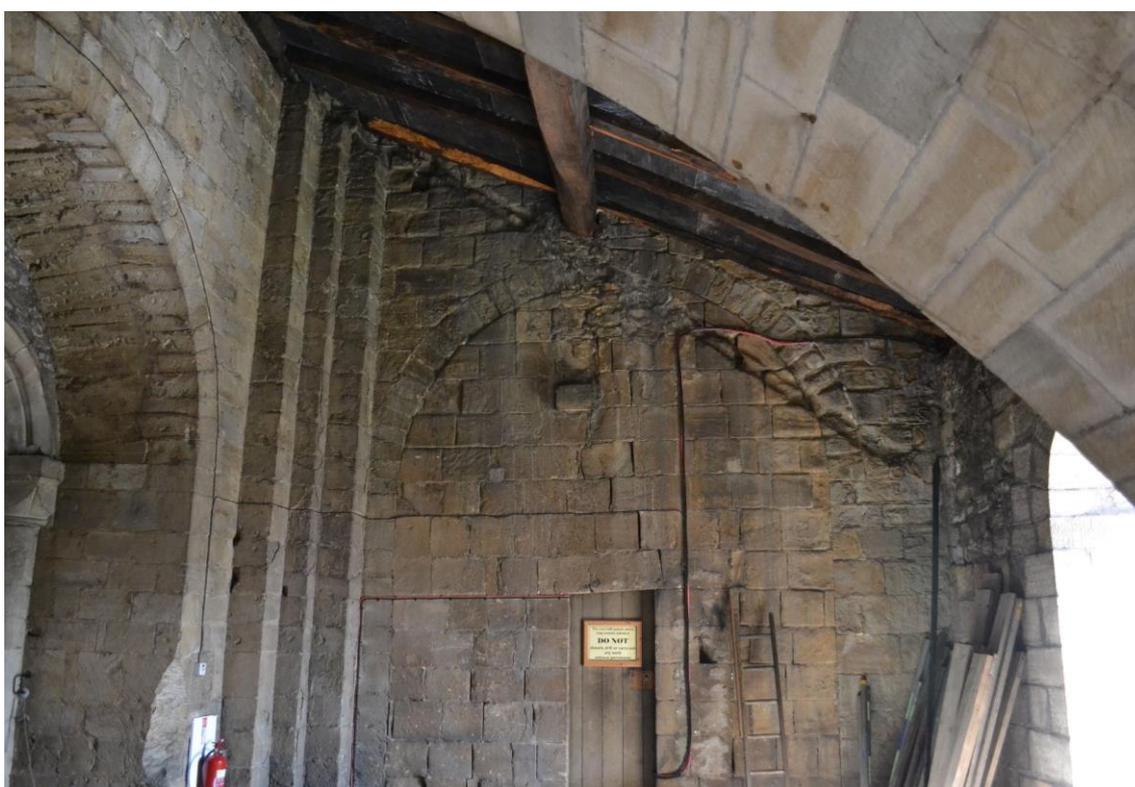


Figure 9 North triforium door showing a number of alterations.

Further examples of this change through dwelling are marked throughout the Cathedral and claustral buildings, from bricked up doorways once used by the monks, to holes in walls left by long gone partitions. Some areas of the building have become obsolete in relation to their original intentions, therefore, new 'tasks' must be found for them, such as the Monks' Refectory, once a place for the monks to eat meals, part of which today is used as the Cathedral library. Similarly, the undercroft, once used to store the provisions for the monks, is now home to the shop and restaurant. A quick glance through archival etchings and drawings of Durham Cathedral reveal a timeline of a building in a state of constant change; parts built and then removed, spires added then burnt down, changes in dwelling habits within the building, and constant stylistic changes

have left Durham Cathedral itself as a timeline and testament to its life and the life of those who have and still do work, pray, socialise, and live within its walls (see also Harvey 1974:32-33). Additionally, the building is slowly eroding away and is continuously changing as a result, having heavily weathered stones replaced with freshly cut stones, as well as having stone steps reshaped after centuries of use, as can be seen in Figure 10. The image of the repairs to the stairs also reaffirms the sense that Durham Cathedral is a living building in a state of constant change, not only through changing habits in dwelling, but also through the simple day to day life of its community. In just the same way as the north-east weather causes wear and tear to the outside of the building, so too does the community wear the stones from the inside.



Figure 10 Central tower steps showing repair to badly worn steps.

What these examples show is that although buildings such as Durham Cathedral may go through initial construction periods, the end of this period is not the end of building. Furthermore, they show that it is through construction and cultivation as dwelling that building continues, slowly and continuously changing the building. As the example of the Monks' Refectory shows, once its original purpose had passed and it was no longer needed as a place to eat, it was down to the community to cultivate the space to suit their needs once again. Known as the Petty Canons Hall, the old Refectory was rebuilt as a Library after, John Sudbury, who was Dean of the Cathedral between 1662-1684, arranged it to be built before his death, after the closing down of the Cathedral in

the aftermath of the Civil War (Curry 1985:6): 'The petty canons'-hall and the guest-hall, since the method of hospitality and diet were changed, were of long time useless and ruined in these last destructive times: But yet our design is, by some reparation of walls, to render the place of the petty canons'-hall more seemly' (Hutchinson 1787:131).

While not much has survived of the original Monks' Refectory, but the 'wall at the east end', while 'the long north and south walls are Sudbury's [and] the tall two-light windows (fn. 48) date only from 1858 and the embattled parapets are also modern' (Page 1928), this example highlights what happens when spaces fall into disuse. Repurposing therefore aids dwelling, while dwelling brings with it the tending to and care of spaces. Cultivation, and the growth of the building to find new usage for its spaces, is important here, because empty and unused spaces can easily fall into ruination. It is also worth noting that whilst to dwell may involve construction, this is not restricted to building new things. As Nigel, the Cathedral mason pointed out to me during our discussion, much of his daily work was given over to reconstruction, fixing and repairing parts of the building and in doing so cultivating it cumulatively.

## II.ii. Tracing Change through Heating

One of the best examples to highlight the way the Cathedral is constructed and cultivated for the purpose of inhabitation is through the heating system, which allows for a comfortable stay inside the building compared to the cutting cold of the unheated Galilee Chapel in winter. This aspect of change may at first be considered to be 'modern' and as such I initially did not stop to consider the heating system to be an example of change. My research led me to reconsider.

During the 'Free to be' event I accepted the offer to remove my shoes, and I set out to explore the building in a way I had never done before, in my socks. I was immediately surprised by the unevenness in the stone slabs beneath my feet, something I had not felt in my shoes. However, another new sensation almost instantly followed, one which made me stop walking and smile at such a pleasant feeling. The stones slabs beneath my feet were warm. I took a step to my left and it was as cold as you might expect a stone floor to be, stepping back to my right, my feet found the warm stone once more, and onward I went, tracing out an underground heating system with my feet, turning as it turned, exploring one heated stone slab at a time. A heated Cathedral was something that I had never considered, though looking back from my new discovery, it seemed mindless to have not considered it. The Cathedral is always a warm haven during the winter months, and whilst the nave of the Cathedral is warm, the Galilee

Chapel is always much colder. The reason, I discovered during my barefooted exploration was that the Galilee Chapel had no heating.

A heating system in any building is important because it shows that the building in question is not only inhabited, but inhabited to such an extent that it becomes necessary for those inhabiting the building to heat it so that they may dwell there in comfort, particularly through the winter months. A heating system also comes at great expense and is a difficult system to incorporate into such an old building, showing a great need to have the building heated and so showing a level of dwelling beyond simply passing through.

The underground heating system of today is not the first heating system, and the manner in which the Cathedral has been heated over the centuries reveals something of the way in which the building was inhabited, and the changing needs of those dwelling in Durham Cathedral.

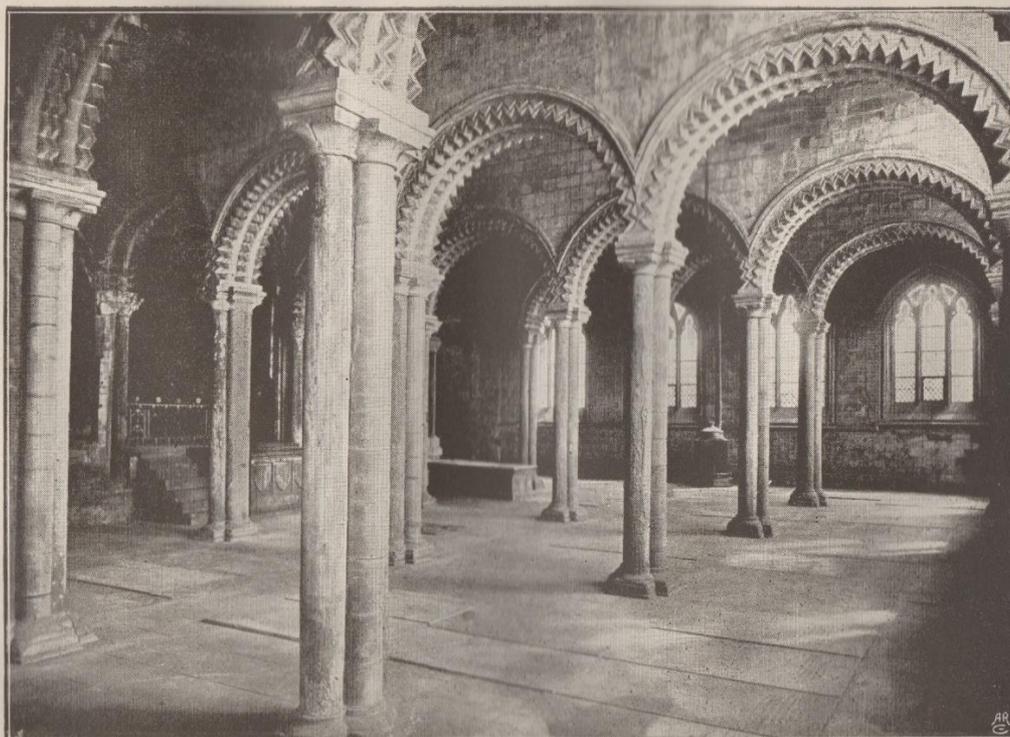
One of the earliest mentions of heating within the Cathedral comes from the Rites of Durham's description of the pre-reformation Cathedral, which states;

On the right hand, as yow goe out of the cloysters into the Fermery was the **COMMONE HOUSE**, and a Maister therof. The house being to this end, to have a fyre kept in yt all wynter, for the Monnckes to cume and warme them at, being allowed no fyre but that onely, except the Masters and Officers of the House, who had there severall fyres (Rites of Durham 1998[1593]:75).

According to Greenwell (n.d.[1879]:98) the Common House was at the southern end of the undercroft, where today the restaurant is situated. Additionally, there exists a small fireplace in the south transept of the Cathedral. However, Greenwell suggests that this fireplace, which was reopened and restored in 1901, burnt charcoal for the thuribles, and perhaps served to heat the altar breads (n.d.[1879]:49-50). Greenwell also points out a hole visible in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century through which the fire's chimney would have passed. Often in a monastery the Common house would be close to, or under the library in order to pass heat and reduce dampness in the books. However, in Durham they were at opposite corners of the cloister. It seems, therefore, that they diverted the chimney from the south transept, through the wall, up through the parlour and into the library for the same purpose. The heating system during the building's time as a priory for Benedictine monks reflects the manner in which the monks lived in the building, following the Rule of St Benedict. As such, heat was a luxury, and so restricted to the Common House. However, it seems that due to the building's layout, and the community's need

for a space in which to light the charcoal needed for the thuribles, coupled with the need to preserve the community's prized books, a small fireplace was placed in the south transept of the Cathedral; though this was a fireplace of necessity, not comfort.

In 1820 a heating system was clearly in the mind of the Cathedral Chapter. The Chapter minutes' show that a discussion took place on how best to heat the Cathedral itself, with the sub-dean later proposing a plan to line pot-bellied stoves along the walls of the Cathedral (see Figure 11). Although it is unclear when the stoves were installed, in 1847 several new stoves were ordered to go in the transepts and a Keeper of the Stoves was employed to keep the fires burning. This development in the heating system highlights the changing face of dwelling within the Cathedral, suggesting that more time was spent in the Cathedral compared to the monks, who would spend most of their time in the cloisters. The modern underfloor heating system with the underground trenches that I had traced out in my socks, was dug in the 1960's with the trench being three feet deep. Indeed, before the installation of this new system, it was reported in the 'Friends of Durham Cathedral Annual report (1965-6), that the previous heating system was so deficient, that in the January of 1966, the temperature did not rise above six degrees



The Galilee Chapel.

Figure 11 The Galilee Chapel (Greenwell n.d.[1879]), public domain. Against the south wall of the chapel a stove is visible between the columns to right of the centre of this image.

Celsius. However, following the installation of the new system, the 1967-8 annual report comments that, 'People attending the Carol services at Christmas were astonished to find that the rugs which they had brought with them were superfluous' (Friends of Durham Cathedral, 33<sup>rd</sup> and 35<sup>th</sup> Annual reports 1967-8).

Today the heating system is used throughout the winter months before being switched off in the spring, heating not just the main Cathedral, but also other areas in which the community and visitors may spend time. The heating of Durham Cathedral and the manner in which it has changed highlights that not only is this a building in which people dwell, but also the manner in which the building is used has changed over the centuries, from the monks' heating being one of both luxury and necessity, to a focus on the comfort of those using the Cathedral.

The heating system is only one example of the changes the Cathedral has gone through over the centuries linked to inhabitation. The process of building does not end when the last stone has been placed upon the highest point, the main focus of building has simply shifted from the construction of a building, to the cultivation and growth of the building, these aspects being acted upon through dwelling, through the relationship the dwellers maintain with the building. The change undergone, however, is not change for the sake of change, and thus perhaps change would be better substituted with a different word, such as building, or growing, or indeed living. The Cathedral was never completed but is in a constant state of building, growing, and living. With that, the heating system is a part of this process of cultivating, through people such as Nigel, maintaining and repairing the ancient building as it adjusts to the manner in which people use and relate to it. Changes are made both to care for the building, but also to care for those who inhabit the building, therefore assuring that the building is tended to through inhabitation.

As Ingold and Waddy (1990:xi) describe, buildings are living organisms, 'They have life-histories, which consist in the unfolding of their relations with both human and non-human components of their environments' (Ingold 2000:187). In this sense then building, as Heidegger's exploration of *bauen* shows, is a continuous process, it 'is continually going on, for as long as people dwell in an environment. It does not begin here, with a pre-formed plan, and end there, with a finished artefact'. As such, there exists no finished product, there is only a point in which it matches our own dwelling needs at that specific moment. Thus, we see a method of heating that adapts to the community's needs, we see doors bricked up as they fall from use, we see rows of chairs laid out on a Tuesday and stored away again on a Wednesday, and refectories used as

libraries. These are not changes for the sake of changing, these are instances of building through dwelling, 'For it is in the very process of dwelling that we build' (Ingold 2000:188).

### III. Negotiating Heritage

In particular areas of the community of Durham Cathedral, conservation and heritage were very much the 'buzz words' of my time in the field. The Dean and Chapter were only too happy to remind people that they were simply custodians of Durham Cathedral, caring for it and protecting it for future generations. Discussions regarding changes to the fabric of ancient buildings often focus on historic values and authenticity, both seen as key points in conservation.<sup>61</sup> As Jones and Yarrow point out, today 'even "minimum intervention" entails modification that potentially threatens authenticity and erases evidence' (2013:6). In 1986 Durham Castle and Cathedral were amongst the first sites in the United Kingdom to be designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site under criteria (II) 'To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design', (IV) 'To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history', and (VI) 'To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance'.<sup>62</sup>

'World Heritage status is just a badge, that's all it really is', I was sitting with Jules, a conservation and planning manager who also volunteered with the LEGO Cathedral. I would often question him on terms and phrases I had heard from others and ask how they might relate to the Cathedral. Today I had asked what World Heritage Site status really meant for the building.

But what comes along with that status is the management, through things like a management plan. So, for Stonehenge, a management plan would say you manage this site by doing nothing, because they conserve Stonehenge by letting it slowly decay. A management plan for Durham Cathedral would say you can change things, but in this particular way, ways which have to be agreed by different boards of experts (Recording, November 11th 2013).

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<sup>61</sup> Bell (2011:225); Brajer (2009:84); Jones (2010:184).

<sup>62</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Convention ('Durham Castle and Cathedral' 2017).

Durham University, who owns Durham Castle, employs a co-ordinator in partnership with Durham Cathedral to look after the World Heritage Site (WHS). Sitting in his office in the WHS visitors' centre at the end of a warm sunny day, the Cathedral's evensong bell slowly tolling from the far end of Palace Green, Seif, the WHS co-ordinator, reclined in his chair, and gazing out of the window explained that the WHS does have a management plan and that it is his job to 'basically make sure that the Cathedral and the University and everyone else are working together to preserve what is outstanding about the site'. Continuing on, he explains that sometimes his job 'can be a technical project and sometimes it can be something more about interpretation. I think it's basically about keeping a balance really, between preservation and use' (Recording, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2014).

Asking him how he went about such a task, he glanced at me from the corner of his eye and laughed wryly, 'It's not always easy' (Recording, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2014). Certainly, the stories that people liked to relay to me about the relationship between the Cathedral and University is one of disagreements. When Seif left his post at the end of my fieldwork, the local newspaper the 'Durham Times' dubbed Seif, 'The man who fixed Durham's 'difficult' cultural reputation' (Tallentire 2014). 'It's not easy. The thing is, I don't have authority over anyone, it's through negotiation, persuasion, and persistence' (Recording, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2014). He used an example of St John's College, a university college with a project to build a new library next to the church of St Mary the Less.

Basically, I had to lobby, so I managed to convince the Cathedral, or at least they were convinced of the idea. But the plan wasn't very good, and they owned the land, so we then approached St Johns College and said we had reservations about this building, so it's basically working with people to do it (Recording, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2014).

In essence, Seif's task was one of constant negotiation between the old and new, delicately treading the fine line that allows the building to continue on with its process of constant change in a manner that people find acceptable and is to the benefit of either the community or the building.

Whilst I had anticipated my conversation with Seif to be one of conservation in terms of caring for the bricks and mortar of both Durham Castle and Cathedral, the picture he painted was one very much rooted within the idea of community and the use of the Cathedral in particular. For example, discussing the arrangement of events and activities in the visitor's centre but also encouraging groups to use the Cathedral.

Additionally, he emphasised his role as an intermediary between both the Cathedral and University, encouraging them to work together.

As our conversation continued I asked how the WHS status had effected Durham Cathedral and he explained that initially, the Cathedral Chapter had been sceptical about it, 'Initially they thought that UNESCO would give them loads of money, which it doesn't'. In Seif's opinion, being a WHS is about prestige and being recognised as a place of importance. Seif also emphasised the opportunity the WHS gave in bringing the University and Cathedral together, 'It's a good vehicle for joint partnerships and projects and other things like this visitors' centre which reflects the interests of both institutions' (Recording, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2014).

Going further, Seif explained that the Cathedral Chapter had come around to the idea of being a WHS, stating that the Cathedral had once viewed its religious existence as the only thing of importance about it,

I think now they are more accepting of ideas, that religious importance and heritage aren't in conflict and that you can still have 1,700 services a year and still be a very important visitor attraction. I think that's the difference. The shifting of mind set in recognising that heritage and an appreciation of the site for heritage values is not in conflict with its religious significance (Recording, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2014).

This comment draws me back to the previous chapter, where tourism and religious worship came into the same space and as a result needed to be negotiated. Seif's comments highlight that getting the Cathedral Chapter into a situation in which negotiation between the two groups could naturally happen was not easy, though was becoming a more accepted part of life within Durham Cathedral as it came to terms with various groups of people and the kinds of negotiation it needed to cater for today.

Seif's comments, and the image they paint, called to mind the Cathedral's 'Events Diary'. The Events Diary is a free booklet for the public to pick up and take away with them. Produced every three months, I used the booklet during my fieldwork as a handy tool in helping me decide which events might be of interest to me, with it listing all events in and around Durham Cathedral. A copy dated February-April 2013, showed many examples of what Seif had told me regarding the relationship between the heritage of Durham Cathedral and its religious mission. For example, the first page read, 'Durham Cathedral forms part of a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is famous as the Shrine of St Cuthbert and the resting place of the Venerable Bede set in breath-taking Romanesque

architecture'. The first page also listed details for guided tours, school visits, spaces to hire within the Cathedral as well as an advertisement for the Cathedral shop. The next page listed all regular and special services over the next three-month period. The main body of the booklet listed, in chronological order, all the events, with a brief synopsis. Even within the events booklet, a fine balance was drawn between the use of the Cathedral as a 'living space' in which activities could take place, and a place of religion and worship. The events in the booklet ranged from a health walk around the Cathedral's woodlands and riverbanks, a performance of Romeo and Juliet set within the Cathedral, a ceremony for the switching on of the new Cathedral floodlights, and a Benedictine Day, a day to 'learn more about the Benedictine tradition, as lived in the Cathedral up to the Reformation and its relevance for non-monastic living in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century'. Whilst the events listed covered many areas of community life, events regarding the heritage of the building and area were common, and at times were the connecting factor between the use of the building as a place of worship and its position as a heritage site.

Conservationist Gamini Wijesuriya (2005) comments, regarding the caring for Buddhist heritage sites in Sri Lanka, that in Buddhist communities, the past plays an important role, and is 'inspired by the religion itself'. As such, Wijesuriya suggests that the past is 'living in the present', a principle just as key to heritage. Building on this, Wijesuriya suggests that this idea of the past living in the present, which is deep set in religious heritage is 'synonymous with continuity, which is also a fundamental premise of conservation' (2005:30). Applying this to Durham Cathedral, through ideas often conveyed by the clergy during services and through events such as the Benedictine day, which is aimed at helping one 'learn more about the Benedictine tradition, as lived in the Cathedral up to the Reformation and its relevance for non-monastic living in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', the connection of the past living in the present became clear as the community attempted to bring the Benedictine way of life into relevance with life in Durham Cathedral today. Perhaps one of the most important cornerstones of Benedictine life still followed was hospitality, shown in the painstaking negotiations undertaken to give space to both the congregation and lay visitors and tourists, as described in previous chapters.

This connection between religious heritage and continuity to conservation is an aspect of the community which is not only visible today, but has always played a key role in the community of Durham Cathedral. For example, as discussed previously, after the monks of Lindisfarne Priory left with the body of St Cuthbert and arrived some 150 years later at Durham, they established Durham Cathedral, housing St Cuthbert, one of the most important saints of medieval England, in 995 AD. However, in 1083 AD, the Norman

bishop William St Calais established a community of Benedictine monks at Durham. One of the main purposes of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio* was to emphasise the continuity of the community reaching back to Lindisfarne. In doing so, Symeon aimed to strengthen the community's claim to the shrine of St Cuthbert as well as helping to establish this Benedictine community in the heritage of the Northern Saint. This practice continues today, during the announcement of the new Bishop of Durham, the Dean explained that, 'The Bishops of Durham can draw a long and illustrious line all the way back to St Cuthbert and the priory at Lindisfarne' (Fieldnotes, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2013). Indeed, during my talk with Nigel the Cathedral mason, he was extending this long line by adding the new bishops name to the long list beginning with Aldhun who, in 995 AD became the last Bishop of Lindisfarne (based in Chester-le-Street) and the first Bishop of Durham (see *Figure 12*).

While the community of the Cathedral has gone through many changes, continuity is an important aspect for Durham Cathedral's history. It is a continuity that is continuously being made, just as Symeon of Durham did in the 11th century, and the *Open Treasure Project* aims to do for future members of the community.



Figure 12 Nigel carving the name of the latest Bishop of Durham during our conversation.

This idea of the past in the present is visible for instance in the *Open Treasure Project* that raises money not only for conservation work to be carried out, but to have areas of the monks' living spaces transformed into exhibition spaces, tying a tangible line through the community in their various forms, together, through religion and continuity, marking out the heritage of today's community through historical artefacts; at the same time opening up spaces for the public.

Seif's comments also alluded to strengthening a sense of community and thus maintaining a relationship between the building and the community. According to Lowenthal, heritage is the 'chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism', suggesting that whilst trying to hold off a scary future, 'People the world over revert to ancestral legacies (...) heritage consoles us with tradition' (2011:xiii). Similarly, Rapport describes the heritage industry of Britain as 'one of a set of cultural practices providing existential anchors in a time of social uncertainty'. Rapport further suggests that in the social life of post-war Britain, "'Heritage" affords continuing individuality and longevity on a variety of levels: individual, communitarian, regional and national' (2002:87). As Lowenthal points out, whilst history aims to reveal pasts which have 'grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes' (2011:xv).

At times heritage is linked to the artefacts that are contemporary to particular places and periods. Macdonald (2002) suggests that the importance placed upon everyday items from particular places and periods which have been placed in so called 'heritage museums' create a certain level of fetishisation regarding these artefacts. Although heritage is 'a prime lure of tourism' (Lowenthal 2011:xiii), it is more self-reflexive. As Macdonald points out, heritage museums in Britain often focus upon 'telling *local* stories and articulating local or regional identity' (2002:91). As I discussed earlier, through the *Open Treasure Project* and the proposed exhibiting of artefacts pertinent to the developing community at Durham and from Lindisfarne and St Cuthbert himself, the story is one of continuity.

Returning to the Events Diary and specific events such as the Benedictine Day, heritage is still played upon in relation to the everyday, developing narratives that connect today's community with those of the past. Throughout my fieldwork, I would attend these events and would find numerous people whom I knew from stewarding, or other parts of the community. Often the majority of people at these events were part of the local community as opposed to tourists and so whilst learning about the past community of Durham Cathedral, the events also worked to strengthen the community today. It could

be suggested therefore that in Durham Cathedral today, as in the past, with figures such as Symeon of Durham, heritage was not so much concerned with the exact happenings of the past, but infusing the past into present purposes (Lowenthal 2011:xv) and those purposes were in the strengthening of the community today.

Whilst continuity in the community is important, it also comes in the face of constant change, first in leaving Lindisfarne, and then in a building which has been through many changes. From the expulsion of the Benedictine community, the use of the building as a Scottish barrack and then prison for Scottish soldiers, to the constant change through dwelling, change has always been an aspect of life in Durham Cathedral. It is also important to remember that in order to maintain a continuous community or a continuous inhabitation, heritage has to leave space for change, and this is what leads to the essential nature of negotiation and improvisation.

#### IV. Conservation Through Change

‘The only constant in working with Durham Cathedral is that everything is forever changing and that conservation really is the process of managing that change’. I was sat at the back of Prior’s Hall located out the back of the claustral buildings of Durham Cathedral. Once part of the Prior’s lodgings, it is now used as a function room for events held by both the Cathedral and other groups. That day it was the annual general meeting of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation Northern Branch. Among the many speakers was Chris Cotton, the current architect of Durham Cathedral. During his talk, Chris discussed the many pressures of change such as environmental, financial, numbers of visitors, usage changes, and legislative changes. ‘The question is, how do we make these sites sustainable for the future, how do we preserve them and give them additional meaning so that we can pass them on to succeeding generations in good condition’ (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013).

Quite different to the architects of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, such as James Wyatt<sup>63</sup> whose mandate from the Cathedral Chapter was one aimed towards the beautification of the building, Chris Cotton was interested in emphasising what was historically important about the building, changing it, yet maintaining it, and making it *meaningful*, in order to make it *usable* and *liveable* for the future.

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<sup>63</sup> James Wyatt, as the ‘Gothic specialist of his day’, was hired by the Cathedral in 1794, and attempted to consolidated Durham Cathedral into a Gothic style. His designs, however had been criticised at the time as destroying buildings to conform with ‘false, modern ideas of beauty and elegance’ that went against the start of a widespread understanding of the ‘distinctive qualities of different periods of Gothic architecture’ (Sweet 2004:288).

As focus from the Cathedral Chapter and the architects employed have moved towards the buildings' conservation, attention was increasingly aimed at giving 'additional meaning' (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013). Such additional meanings come through the *Open Treasure Project*, and in doing so place emphasis on the heritage of the building and community, increasing the perception of a continuing community from Anglo-Saxon Britain through to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. This in turn places importance on both the continuation of the community, but perhaps more importantly, on keeping Durham Cathedral alive; moving, changing, and continuing on into the future.

As Jones and Yarrow point out in the process of the conservation of historical buildings and monuments,<sup>64</sup> unlike previous generations, today it is understood that, 'Ultimately what is at stake is the authenticity of the building and the evidence it embodies'. Sites of such importance have to 'safeguard monuments for future generations, preserving them as far as possible in their authentic form' (2013:4), yet as I have shown, negotiating heritage to allow change is a key part of dwelling.

Preserving authenticity and change as part of dwelling are not as conflicting as one may assume. According to Jones and Yarrow, 'Authenticity is neither a subjective, discursive construction nor a latent property of historic buildings and monuments waiting to be preserved. Rather, it is a distributed property that emerges through the interaction between people and things' (2013:24). What is key in Jones and Yarrow's description of authenticity in historic buildings and monuments, is that authenticity is reached and maintained through 'people and things', and by extension, negotiation. To simply stop life in Durham Cathedral and preserve it exactly as it stands today is to strip it of authenticity. Although Jones and Yarrow focus little upon community, instead focusing upon those who alter and make decisions regarding the alteration of the fabric of historic buildings, those inhabiting and using the building play a vital role in authenticity. Would a Durham Cathedral void of a community and thus void of change through the dwelling of the community result in an *authentic* Durham Cathedral, or an 'authentic' Durham Cathedral 'experience'?

#### IV.i. Authenticity in Change

During my fieldwork, I visited Stirling Castle and found it to be in stark contrast to Durham Cathedral. At Stirling Castle, I found entire rooms to be newly painted with brand new furniture, recreating how it might have looked like as far back as the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>64</sup> The article by Jones and Yarrow focuses on conservation work at Glasgow Cathedral.

Staff walked around in fine clothes representative of a similar time period. As Stirling Castle's website suggests, you 'enter the world of Scotland's Renaissance kings and queens and discover a world of colour, splendour and glorious craftsmanship' ('Discover Stirling Castle' 2017). Whilst the appearance may have been historically accurate, it was simply acting the past, offering an 'authentic experience' of a 16<sup>th</sup> century castle as it would have looked. In short, it was a different kind of authenticity to that of Durham Cathedral. While Stirling Castle offers an authentic glimpse of a time gone by, Durham Cathedral sees a building and community managing its past whilst still needing to accommodate the daily needs of its continuing present. The authenticity of Durham Cathedral *is* change and negotiation.

Whilst Chris Cotton suggests that change is an integral part of Durham Cathedral and so the management of such change is the manner in which the building is conserved, change to the fabric of the building is not easy. Cathedrals across England have external advisory committees, who scrutinise any work that is proposed. There are two advisory boards, the first is the nationwide Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England (CFCE) who, according to their website list amongst their responsibilities, 'Determining applications made to it by Cathedral Chapters for approval of works. Giving advice to Cathedral Chapters and others on the care, conservation, repair, or development of cathedrals, or on specific projects' ('Cathedrals Fabric Commission' 2017). Additionally, each cathedral is required to set up an independent Fabric Advisory Committee (FAC), whose tasks include,

Determining applications made to it by the Cathedral Chapter for approval of works under the Care of Cathedrals Measure.<sup>65</sup> Giving advice to the Cathedral Chapter on the care, conservation, repair or development of the Cathedral, or on specific projects. Overseeing the drawing up and maintenance of the Cathedral's inventory. Drawing up the list of objects on the inventory which, in the FAC's view, should be designated as being of outstanding interest ('Fabric Advisory Committees' 2017).

Conservation is negotiated not only through maintaining past and living present, but also through the negotiation between the two, as enacted by the different commissions and committees. Emphasising the difficulty in managing change, Dr. Alex

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<sup>65</sup> The Care of Cathedrals Measure is a piece of legislation regarding the care of the nation's cathedrals, it was first introduced in 1990. In essence, its introduction safeguards against cathedral Chapters making what could be damaging or ill-conceived alterations to cathedrals in England.

Holton, a heritage consultant at Purcell, the architect company for whom the Cathedral Architect, Chris Cotton works, stated that whilst the significance of Durham Cathedral is immovable as long as the building stands, 'Change is inevitable, and so it's essential that the process of change is carefully managed to protect, reveal, and enhance the significance of the World Heritage Site' (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013). Here Alex is referring back to the kind of authenticity discussed by Jones and Yarrow, an authenticity of the fabric of the building and its maintenance being managed through change. In concluding the article, Jones and Yarrow suggest that maintaining authenticity is not achieved through one particular person or by one particular means, rather it is a 'distributed practice', which is "crafted" through different forms of expert practice' (2013:22). Echoing further comments from Alex Holton, who suggested that the World Heritage Site can be understood in various ways, on various scales (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013).

As a result of this manifold approach to authenticity and change, varying relationships arise through the work that goes on to achieve this change, whether it be through the work of masons, architects, or carpenters. As Grasseni states, 'Skilled practices literally shape the way we look at the world' (2009:11). This in turn draws those of differing skills, into differing relationships with the building. As Jones and Yarrow comment, through following the conservation work at Glasgow Cathedral, not only did they observe these differing views of the building, they also observed 'different ways of *enacting* the Cathedral as an object of intervention' (2013:22, emphasis in the original). Although this suggestion remained untested during my fieldwork as conservation work did not begin until after I had left the field, it is still important that I include this discussion as those skilled workers are as much a part of change in Durham Cathedral as the rest of the community. However, those directly involved in deciding those changes (Dr. Alex Holton and Architect Chris Cotton), do offer tantalising insights into their approach to change, as well as echoing those suggestions given forward by Jones and Yarrow (2013).

#### IV.ii. An example of Change and Negotiation

Before my arrival, phase one of the *Open Treasure Project* had already been completed. Once known to be a dark and dingy place, phase one saw the redeveloping of the undercroft with the shop moving from the Great kitchen into the northern half of

the undercroft and the refurbishment of the restaurant. Additionally, the Choir Vestries,<sup>66</sup> situated in the Dean's Walk tunnel linking the cloister to the College was updated.

During his presentation, Chris Cotton stated that making changes was 'very much about care, creativity, and continuity', as well as the need to understand the building and its fabric, 'Very often the sustainability of these buildings does rely on being relatively creative in finding new uses that can actually help a building thrive into the future' (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013). Indeed, through collecting as much historical data as possible Chris Cotton's team were able to use past images to inform the changes to be made to the undercroft, 'We had various images from the archive that showed the cleared undercroft at various points in time that gave a hint towards the potential that the space might be if it were opened up' (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013). The building itself informed change.

Considering the changes to the undercroft, including the financial aspects of change regarding the shop, Cotton stated in moving the shop from the Great Kitchen increased revenue for the shop, revealing that in fact 'the new shop is a better location, better presentation and it's now up 59% in terms of takings and that's after just over a year' (Recording, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2013).

Finally, with Chris Cotton's suggestion that change is fuelled by various pressures, I return to my earlier discussion of authenticity. Just as authenticity is a distributed practice in cathedral conservation, so too is change a distributed practice, brought about through various causes from various parts of life in and with Durham Cathedral. Thus, further enhancing my earlier suggestion that for Durham Cathedral, authenticity is change.

## V. Conclusion

Over the course of this chapter, change and negotiation have emerged as key components of life in and with Durham Cathedral. Elements which are not only important in the conservation of Durham Cathedral, but also in maintaining the life of both Durham Cathedral and its community. As Brand (1994:2) suggests, large buildings do not adapt well to change, however change is an inevitable part of the continuing relationship between the community and the building; as the community continue to dwell, the building continues to change. Whilst the community of Durham Cathedral themselves

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<sup>66</sup> The place in which the choir dress for services.

are seldom involved in the decision making when it comes to the changes made today,<sup>67</sup> they nevertheless play a crucial part in both driving the change and the manner of any change, as those in control of the building reflect upon how it is or it could be used by the community. As my talk with Seif revealed, the continuation of a community is crucial to the continuation of Durham Cathedral. One of the major reasons County Durham still has such a cathedral is down to its community, with people like Nigel, the Cathedral stone mason, actively building and rebuilding day after day.

In contrast to Sterling Castle's reconstructed glimpse of a time gone by, Durham Cathedral's imperfections, walls covered in pot holes from old partitions, bricked up doorways, half painted walls, and defaced effigies, all tell a very real story of the life of a building and its community that has continued for the best part of a millennium. And whilst major changes such as those that will be the result of the *Open Treasure Project* are deeply researched and long considered changes, Durham Cathedral still goes through a plethora of small, daily changes. The holes in walls and bricked up doorways show a continuing improvised change in which the dwelling community negotiate their daily lives around the building, changing it in small ways as they go along. To restate Heidegger's (1971) point; to be is to dwell, and to dwell is to construct and cultivate. In Durham Cathedral, the process of continual construction and cultivation is palpable; in Sterling Castle, it is more recreate and reenact. Perhaps the main reason behind such a distinction is that Durham Cathedral is still very much an operating church and thus brings with it much that is needed to build a community around.

In attempting to understand the often complex changes to buildings that occur over time, British architect Frank Duffy, and later developed by Stewart Brand, came up with the concept of 'shearing layers'. The concept suggests that buildings are separated into various layers through which varying rates of change become visible. Brand identifies six layers and names them the 'Six S's' (Brand 1994). Moving from the slowest rate of change to the quickest, he gives; (1) Site – The location of the building; (2) Structure – The foundations and load bearing components of a building; (3) Skin – The exterior of the building (4) Services – These today would include things like electrical wiring, burglar or fire alarms, a pa system, lighting etc.; (5) Space Plan – The interior layout the building; (6) Stuff – This includes the furniture such as chairs and desks, in the case of a cathedral you may include, books, kneeling cushions or even exhibits. When applying this to the manner in which Durham Cathedral changes, one can clearly

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<sup>67</sup> The two advisory boards (the CFCE and the FAC) are made up of experts from around the country and as such can perhaps be better understood as 'absent' members of the community.

see that the building at some level is in a state of constant change, whether it be the changing of seating arrangements in accordance with a particular day's service, service booklets relating to the time of year, conservation work upon the exterior of the building, installing new heating systems or, as the Open Treasure Project aims to do, repurposing space.

Brand points out that, medieval builders would never remove scaffolding from a cathedral, because it would imply that the building was finished, thus implying that it was perfect, seen as an insult to God. Whilst buildings of such size and age promote permanence, a trait many would define as one of Durham Cathedral's strengths, the building itself, even without visible scaffolding, is in a state of constant change. As Waddy suggests, 'Buildings have lives in time' (1990:xi), and their lives are closely linked with the lives of those who live in and around the building. Today these links reveal themselves in many ways such as through the space-making for exhibitions, the shop, the restaurant, having under-floor heating, Wi-Fi, and a sound system. Yet this space-making covers a complex relationship between the Chapter of the Cathedral allowing or indeed advocating space-making (see also chapter 1), which is mirrored by those in charge of the heritage program; the building itself; and those inhabiting the Cathedral. Heritage is not something fixed in the past, but is also developing as part of the tending to, caring for and cultivating of a community in and around the Cathedral. Indeed, the anchors that Rapport (2002) suggests heritage offers 'in a time of social uncertainty', do so because people care about them. Furthermore, this possibility of continued inhabitation and use of the Cathedral's spaces is what halts the falling into ruins of the building.



## **CHAPTER 7: THE LEGO CATHEDRAL**

## I. The LEGO Makers

It was my first day of volunteering as a LEGO Maker at the Cathedral and what felt like my first real day of fieldwork. I had been in Durham for a little over a week and having met with the relevant people to arrange just how I was going to go about my research, I was now ready to begin. I pulled on my blue t-shirt given to me by Kat, an office intern, who was organising the volunteers of the LEGO Cathedral, with the Cathedral logo on the front and St Cuthbert's pectoral cross beside the words 'LEGO MAKER' on the back. Grabbing my fresh notebook and pen, I headed out of the door and nervously up to the Cathedral. Arriving at the Cathedral I passed through the North Door and walked silently across the back of the nave as Morning Prayer took place in the quire and out into the cloister before finally reaching the undercroft. A group of people in blue t-shirts were already busying themselves with various tasks as I descended the few steps into the undercroft.

'Hi, are you here for the LEGO?'

'Yes, I am, my name's Arran'.

'Nice to meet you Arran. My name's John. Have you been here before? – This is only my second time'.

'No, this is my first time'.

'Ah, well I'm not really sure what's going on at the minute, Les seems to know what he's doing'. John pointed over towards a group of two younger women and a tall older gentleman. John and I lingered around the model in silence whilst the tall gentleman with glasses seemed to coordinate everything that was going on around him. The model itself had been going for a couple of weeks and only a few small sections of wall had been built in what was going to be the nave, with the rest of the building's outline marked out in black LEGO bricks against the grey base boards. As we stood waiting, we were joined by Autumn, a student from the University who was also attending her first shift as a volunteer. After a few moments, John stepped forward to speak to Les,

'Les, we've got a couple of new volunteers this morning'. Les turned to face us before walking over hand outstretched,

'Have we now? Hello, I'm Les, who are you?'

I introduced myself and explained that I was at the Cathedral conducting research for my PhD. Les, showing no interest at all, swiftly moved on to more pressing matters,

'So, have either of you had any training?' Autumn and I looked at each other before shaking our heads in silence,

'Right, well, it looks like I'm going to have to show you around then'. Les then began to

explain just how the LEGO Cathedral build worked.

'Now obviously, we're raising money for the Cathedral so we need to try and sell the bricks to people as they walk through the undercroft, but once they decide they want a brick they come here to the first station'. Pointing to a desk nearest to the steps leading down into the undercroft, he explained that visitors paid £1 for one brick. 'Then you write down on this page how much money they've paid, then you give them a ticket on which you've written the amount of bricks they've bought. They then go to Station 2'. Stepping to his right he continued, 'This is Station 2, so the customer then hands the ticket over to whoever is on this station, who looks at the plans, picks out the next few bricks and then puts the amount of bricks into a plastic cup and then points them over to Station 3'. Station 3 was at the opposite end of the undercroft beside the door for the shop where a module was already under construction.

So, the person comes here, gives the builder their cup and then the builder shows the person where to put the next pieces. I know it seems a bit of a complicated system, but it's working at the minute so... Now as you can see we build it in modules, so when one module is finished it goes straight on to the model and the next module will usually be under the table<sup>68</sup> with the pieces already sorted.

He pulled out the plan for the module currently under construction, another piece of wall, 'So, you see here on the first page all of the pieces and how many of each piece you'll need, and they've already been sorted into bags, so all you need to do is then look for the correct piece for whatever stage it is we're up to'. Heading back across to Station 2, and pointing to a brown tray that looked as if it had been 'borrowed' from the Cathedral's restaurant he went on, 'You see here, what we tend to do is keep ahead of the game. So, if you sit here you might sort the next 20 or 30 pieces just so that you can cope with the rush, because someone might come along and want £10 worth, so you need to be ready' (Fieldnotes, July 11<sup>th</sup> 2013).

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<sup>68</sup> The table on which the LEGO Cathedral stands.

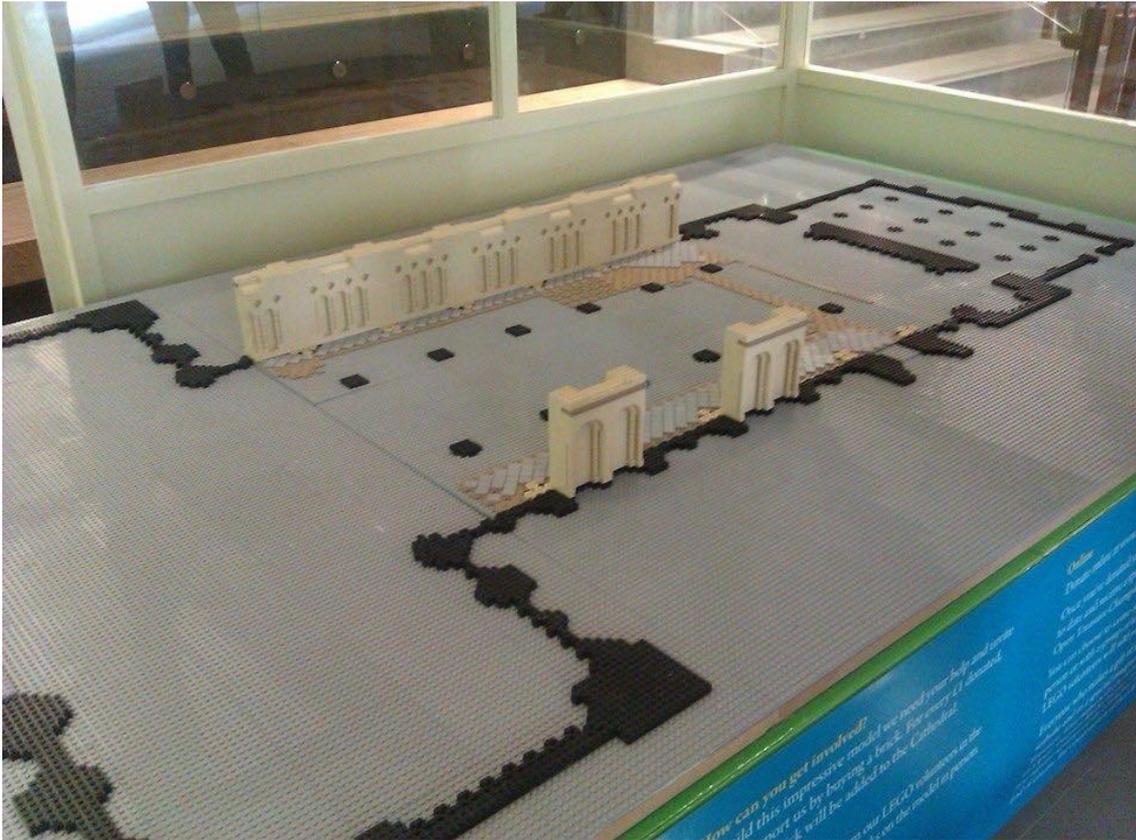


Figure 13 The Lego Cathedral a few days after I arrived for my first shift.

As it happened Les' suggestion of planning so far ahead would have been good advice, though unfortunately, having chosen to sit at the sorting station and Autumn at the building station, we were thrown into the deep end when our first customers of the day each donated £100 to the build. Having chosen to stand in the middle of the undercroft with another volunteer, Les swiftly came across, perhaps due to the look of desperation on my face.

'What's up?'

'Les, these two have just bought £100 worth of bricks each'. The couple were volunteer stewards at the Cathedral and felt this was a good way to donate money to the *Open Treasure Project*. After a few moments of mild panic, Les calmly took hold of the situation and decided it was best to give them an entire section to build for themselves, a side column which would sit between two sections of wall. With calm restored, we returned to work, each in our own section with Les floating about making sure everybody was coping and selling bricks to the public as they passed through the undercroft.

As the morning wore on I began to hear Les and Clair, another volunteer, repeat the same lines over and over to different people: 'It's £1 for a brick and you get to place your own brick'; 'A company have designed the plans'; 'All the bricks are standard LEGO bricks'; 'The central tower will be 5' 10" when finished and the whole model could have

anywhere upwards of 300,000 bricks in it, but that number could change because the design isn't finished yet'; and 'we're raising money for the *Open Treasure Project* which is a project to open up an exhibition space in the Cathedral'. These were all lines that I myself would repeat countless times over my 14 months at Durham Cathedral.

Soon the days turned into weeks, and I came to realise two factors that were of importance. The first was that the system through which the volunteers worked was an important part of the building process. Some volunteers were uncomfortable with being at the sorting station or the building station because, during busy periods it could become quite stressful, and so the stretched-out process seemed to stem the flow slightly. One common problem was missing pieces. Whenever a particular piece was missing, the volunteers would get edgy and begin trawling through boxes looking for the 'correct' piece. Alternatively, they would have to go out the back to a cupboard in the Great Kitchen where the LEGO bricks were stored, or even stop building the particular module and start laying floor tiles until the right piece was found. The second point of importance was the plans. The LEGO plans which had been provided by the company who had developed them, were so detailed that, just as one sees with shop-bought LEGO models, every single brick had been pre-decided, leaving the builder to simply point out the right position of a brick to those who had donated.

As the weeks went on, I also got to know more about Les, a retired office manager who, irrespective of my first impression, did not work at the Cathedral but was also a volunteer. When I questioned him on why he had decided to volunteer for this project he said, 'Well I think my wife just wanted me out of the house, but I like models and stuff you see, and when I came to the first meeting they said it would take six months to complete. But looking at this, I might not live to see the end'. Given Les' background, it seemed hardly surprising that he was often very vocal in terms of organisation. Indeed, he would often come in on a morning with a list of questions for Kat, or any other intern who was sent down from the office to make sure everything was well. These lists became affectionately known as 'LEGO Les' Lists'. Les' lists would include suggestions to improve the structure and organisation of the build, such as lever-arch files to correctly organise the plans. Similarly, they would include attempts to improve the system, such as a series of different coloured boxes which would be labelled as: 'Current build', 'Next stage' and 'Misc.', in order to help improve the organisation beneath the table on which the LEGO Cathedral stood, under which everything was stored. More often than not, Les' suggestions were accepted and greeted by the other volunteers as an improvement to the build project.

Soon the months began to roll past and further changes in how the systems worked began to emerge. By the time we reached November, many of the volunteers had bedded into the project and had become comfortable with handling the LEGO and working with the plans. For example, the three-station system changed, perhaps due to the summer holidays ending and the number of visitors diminishing. Nonetheless, the system had become more streamlined. Whereas once there had been three stations spread across both sides of the undercroft, it had now been reduced to just two stations situated in front of the Cathedral shop. Similarly, the habit of setting out the next twenty or so pieces had slowly fallen out of use, particularly with volunteers who now had a few months of experience behind them. Indeed, both Les and myself, amongst others, had begun to tip out all of the pieces for the module we were working on, onto a brown tray and simply searched for the piece as and when needed. At times, this more relaxed relationship with the bricks extended further as missing pieces, far from shutting down the current build, would be replaced with bricks that, whilst different from what was described in the plans, would still do the job needed from the original piece. The more comfortable and experienced the volunteers became with both the LEGO and the build, the less crucial it became to have the exact piece stipulated by the plans. An example of this came during the Lumière festival, a festival of light celebrated bi-annually throughout the city, with artistic light installations being installed around the whole of Durham City.

## II. Lumière

During Lumière, Durham Cathedral played host to a number of different installations. Outside, the entire surface of the building was used as a screen on which a piece inspired by the Lindisfarne Gospels was projected, accompanied by music and sound effects. Inside, the first installation was within the Galilee Chapel in which a large number of perspex boxes had been stacked to make a wall within which prisoners had designed scenes which depicted the things they missed whilst being in prison. The next was within the nave, which had been plunged into almost complete darkness. Projected upon the walls and ceiling were white circles which moved around as the sound of dripping water played loudly. The third design was in the cloister garth, which had ghostly looking dresses illuminated. Due to the high number of visitors expected within the Cathedral, visitors were guided through the building, by watching the projection show on Palace Green. They would queue up and enter through the North Door and go straight into the Galilee Chapel, they would then be guided into the nave, then out through the Monks' Door at the east end of the nave, through the cloister and make their exit through

the undercroft where, along with the restaurant and shop, we, the LEGO volunteers were waiting with purple buckets and blank tickets for the visitors. The system during the Lumière evenings had changed because of the expected crowds. There were to be two or three volunteers standing with buckets for donations who would also write out a ticket with the amount of donations and three volunteers sat at a table in front of the shop, each building a separate module. All modules incidentally were columns for the nave.



Figure 14 The exterior of Durham Cathedral during Lumière.

The numbers of visitors during the four-day festival were, as much, if not more than expected, and the LEGO Cathedral proved to be extremely popular with adults and children alike. As such, the volunteers were kept extremely busy. It was through the busy nature of the undercroft and the long queues of people waiting to help build the modules that I began to notice a change in the use of the plans. At the beginning of each night the builders would familiarise themselves with both the partially built modules and the plans, establishing how far through the plans they were as well as the next few steps of the plan. However, as the night and subsequent days passed by, their (and my own) intense study of the plans became more occasional glances to make sure that the plan was on the correct page in the event that a member of the public wanted to see the plans, or something went wrong with the build and a study of the plans was necessary. At the end of one shift a volunteer turned to me and said, 'You know, I've not looked at my plan once tonight', a statement I had realised at that point was also true for me. The building of

columns was by this point quite a simple procedure and because of the experience gained through building other columns, the plans became less imperative. It was nonetheless a significant step when considering the crucial role, the plans played at the beginning of the build, during which they were followed exactly, choosing to lay floor tiles whenever a piece could not be found rather than improvising upon the plan. That is not to say however, that the columns built were perfect without the plans; indeed, it was commented on more than once that, 'It's not perfect but it's going...'. The reduced concern for the exactness of the modules was not universal amongst the volunteers, though it seemed that in instances in which one was pushed to build fast due to the high number of people wanting bricks, those volunteers who had a level of experience in building the modules chose to improvise the build.

Pointing out the distinction between permanence and change, Brand suggests that 'whereas "architecture" may strive to be permanent, a 'building' is always building and rebuilding'. Continuing on, Brand suggests that whilst for some the purpose of architecture is 'permanence', there exists 'a fascinating kink' between the world in which we live, and the world in which we think we live. While 'the idea [of architecture] is crystalline, the fact is fluid'. We can adapt this idea of the 'kink' that exists 'between the world and our idea of the world' (1994:2) and in buildings between the architect's drawing of a building, and its final built outcome, to the building of the LEGO Cathedral. Exploring Brand's suggestion of the 'kink' further, Ingold states that what we find in this kink between the architect's drawing and the final built outcome, the builders, commenting that, 'Builders, in practice if not in principle, inhabit this kink' (2013:48). The reason builders inhabit this kink is because they are building in an environment which is constantly changing, one in which things rarely go to plan. As Hallam and Ingold suggest, 'There is no script for social and cultural life', instead the builders must continuously 'work it out' as they come across any issues, 'In a word, they have to improvise' (2007:1, emphasis in the original). The LEGO builders, under the busy pressure of Lumière, often with the correct pieces unavailable to them and being pushed by the amount of people wanting bricks, started to improvise more, as they continued with the building process in an environment where many changes and issues arose in a short span of time. As Ingold suggests, builders regularly have to 'improvise solutions to the problems that could not have been anticipated' (2013:74).

As with real builders, the LEGO builders also inhabit this kink; it is the role of experience (and therefore skill)<sup>69</sup> which plays an important role here. When a builder today, or in the case of building Durham Cathedral, a mason, sets to work on the building, he or she inevitably comes to the task with experience, working with templates<sup>70</sup> when needed and using their experience to improvise solutions when called for. As seen with the volunteers at the start of the build, they were often reticent to work away from the plan, and kept a close study of it as they built. Yet, as they began to build and develop experience of working with the LEGO and the plan, they became more relaxed about straying away from the plan and using their experience to improvise, beginning in small ways such as replacing missing bricks with similar shaped bricks. During Lumière, when the working environment became more pressurised, the builders were forced to move quickly through the modules, meaning that they could not closely study the plans. However, their previously gained experience allowed them to improvise in ways that, whilst not being what the plans called for, or indeed being perfect, the building of the module was nonetheless able to continue. Those who lacked experience of building were more unwilling to improvise and thus stray away from the build, whilst some, including Jules, a LEGO enthusiast, were able to revisit their improvisations during quieter periods to scrutinise their changes and at times alter their improvisations back to the planned design of the module. However, I often got the impression that such returns to the plans from the LEGO enthusiast volunteers had more to do with keeping to the spirit of LEGO, as opposed to the improvisation to 'just get the job done' that was exercised by non-enthusiast builders who had experience building the modules such as Les and myself.

Improvisation exists even when meticulous plans are drawn. Ewart's (2013:85-99) work on the building of two bridges by the Kelabit people in Borneo illustrates this same principle. When building a modern bridge, a concept of the bridge is drawn up and its plan much discussed. According to Ewart, the Kelabit men are experienced in building their houses as well as having an ability to improvise with whatever materials they have at hand within the forest. The building of a traditional style suspension bridge with

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<sup>69</sup> Arguably the development of skill in building with LEGO bricks through repetition (Sennett 2008:38) that volunteers gained through building up volunteering hours, played a crucial role in them gaining more and more confidence for improvisation. Indeed, through this possibility of improvisation, of this 'kink' between plan and execution, we can see that skill is needed, even when 'only' executing an already 'decided' plan. The analysis of this skill, could take up another chapter, however, and here I decided to explore more that ways improvisation and negotiation works in building a LEGO model of the Cathedral.

<sup>70</sup> As Turnbull's (1993) work on Chartres Cathedral points out, templates were an essential part of the cathedral building process.

relatively modern materials began according to the design that one of the men had drawn up. Yet soon the drawing 'was left crumpled and ignored as the group began to see how components and materials could be used and what problems needed to be resolved' (2013:92). In the case of the Kelabit suspension bridge one sees that having a plan does not always imply that the plan will be at all points useful or indeed followed. The changing environment requires that the men work on an *ad hoc* basis with the materials and components available, fitting them together through the negotiation between their experience of building houses and the practical differences of building a bridge. The experience of building houses providing the builders with the knowledge of materials and the way they behave, that they could use in the changed circumstances of building a bridge, resulting in sometimes precarious procedures. Similarly, the LEGO builders could apply their previous knowledge of building the modules, and indeed building columns, to the changing circumstances of Lumière, in this case a change in the pace of building. While the Kelabit had to negotiate the changed length and height of the bridge, as opposed to their houses, so the builders had to adapt to a quicker pace of building than they were used to.

The kink, of which Brand and Ingold speak, exists because of the uncertainty of the environment, unforeseen situations and other challenges that may arise while the building is being built. Therefore, the builders must rely upon their improvisational skills in order to overcome any issues. No matter how detailed the plan is, for example, the extremely detailed plans of a modern-day architect or indeed the LEGO Cathedral plan, improvisation is still a key element of building. This is not the result of any uncertainties in relation to the provided plans, but through the uncertainty of the environment – and by environment here I mean the dynamically shifting relationality between things and being – in which the plan is brought to fruition. In Cathedral building, it could be argued that the templates used by the masons, to ensure the stones are all carved in the same way, can be seen in a similar light to the plan for the LEGO Cathedral. However, between making the template, carving the stone, and installing the stone into the building, the environment in which the Master Mason created the template was in a state of continuous change. Therefore, between the carving of the stone and its installation into the building, the mason must improvise – using both his skills and experience – in order to make the stone fit its new surroundings, perhaps by simply smoothing off one side of the stone so that it slides neatly into place, or some larger improvisation.

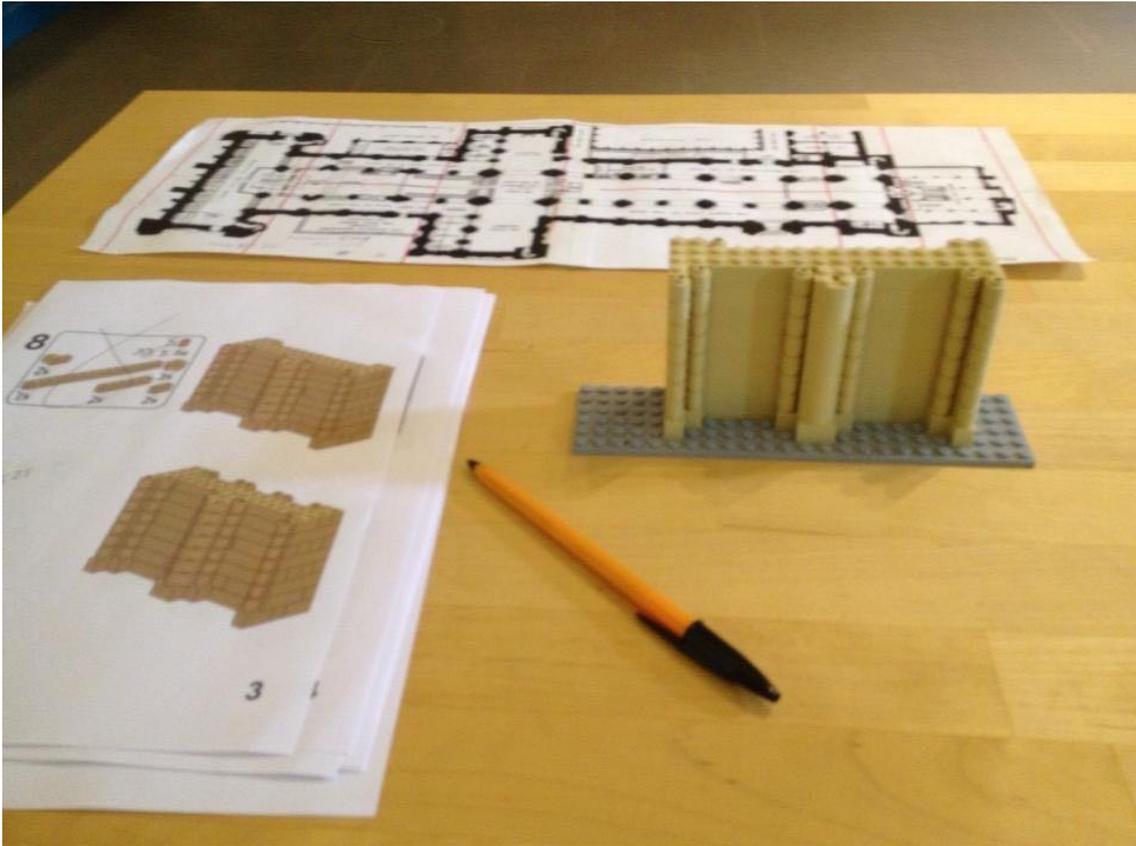


Figure 15 LEGO plans alongside a current build module.

The actions of the volunteers during Lumière shows that they were pushed towards improvisation as a result of the pressurised environment in which they were working at the time, one in which time to study the plans closely was limited. In the weeks and months following Lumière, the level of improvisation from the volunteers adjusting modules and the model itself began to reveal itself further as the LEGO builders began to stray away from the plans further, both adjusting the modules to their new surroundings and bringing the model to a closer representation of the Durham Cathedral. It is important to note here, that the volunteers' willingness to improvise was often different from one person to the other, as human differences in already acquired experience and skill with LEGO building, curiosity, perfectionism, tenacity, or confidence played their role as well. Indeed, people's confidence, skill and experience with LEGO building increased as they spent more time volunteering, resulting in their ability to improvise more, and often to the improvement of not only the pace but the quality of the building.

### III. Adapting the Model

It was a few weeks after Lumière, and the Cathedral was quiet. Les and I would often sit and chat about the weekend's football as well as the daily goings on regarding the Cathedral and the LEGO Cathedral. For example, after the success of Lumière had passed, Les had begun to voice his concerns on the lack of plans that were coming through from the company designing them. Often, we were only a busy weekend away from reaching the end of the plans we had. Every week Les' concerns regarding the plans would be at the top of his list things to ask Catherine – an intern who had taken over from Kat – who repeated every week that she had emailed the company and that they had promised the designs would be sent, and through they came, often at a slower rate than we were building. 'My wife thinks I get too involved, she says I invest too much into these things', Les would often say through his frustration.

It was during the quieter days after Lumière, that Les had time to sit and think about the LEGO Cathedral and its resemblance to the actual Cathedral. A few weeks after Lumière, he arrived for his shift with a puzzled look on his face, 'I think a column is wrong down at the Nine Altars<sup>71</sup> but I'm not sure, let's go along and see if we can figure it out'. Taking a detour from our usual morning walk to the Verger's office in the south transept to collect the cash box, we went to the column in question. Our detour did indeed reveal that the LEGO version was inaccurate.

'Well I suppose there is some license for slight differences between the Cathedral and the LEGO Cathedral', came Catherine's reply, when Les alerted her to the inaccuracy of the build, an answer that did not wash with Les.

One November morning during a shift with Les and Jules, a conversation had begun regarding a part of the Cathedral which had been left out of the LEGO Cathedral's designs, a part which Les and Jules felt was too important to be left out. This was a small set of steps which runs the entire length of the eastern wall upon which stand the nine altar tables. One particularly quiet morning, Les and Jules decided to walk to the Chapel of the Nine Altars to see the steps in question. Returning soon after with a picture Les had taken, we all began to discuss how the changes might be made without consulting the designers, the plans, or even Catherine. 'Come on Jules, you're the expert', said Les as we stood in silence contemplating the changes. Eventually, having verbally agreed on a course of action, they set about making the changes whilst I manned the current module build.

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<sup>71</sup> The Lego Nine Altars

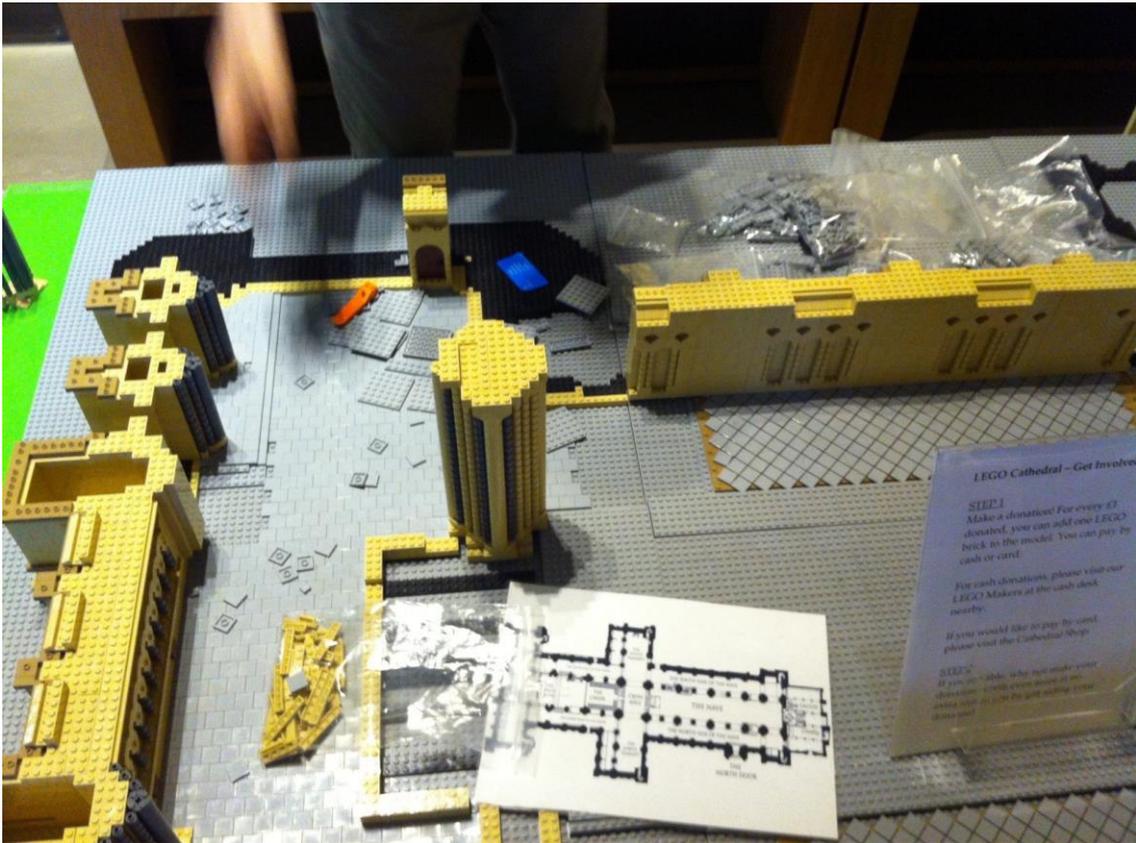


Figure 16 The changes being made to the steps of the Chapel of the Nine Altars. In the far-left corner the first steps have been made. The original floor without steps is visible as the wall moves to the bottom left of the picture. Also seen in this picture is the incorrect column that Les had been inspecting.

The installation of the steps in the Nine Altars was an important part of the chapel, being the place in which the altars themselves stand. Although adding the steps to the LEGO Cathedral was a deviation away from the plans supplied by the company, Les' rationalising was that it was done in order to bring the LEGO Cathedral more in line with the Cathedral itself, despite the changes being done without the full authorisation of Catherine. It was, after all, what the Cathedral looked like, and its addition to the LEGO Cathedral was a marked improvement, with Jules commenting on the sense of scale the steps gave to the chapel as a whole. Although shocked, Catherine was pleased with the change, as was Les. Whilst the building of the steps in the Chapel of the Nine Altars was simply to bring the model further in line with the building itself, it is also a clear departure from the provided plan from the designer of the LEGO Cathedral. The success of the steps also gave Les the confidence to start pushing forward with other improvements to the pre-designed LEGO Cathedral, drawing it more in line with the actual Cathedral. 'We also need to put in steps for the DLI Chapel<sup>72</sup> and the Vergers office in the north aisle

<sup>72</sup> The Durham Light Infantry Chapel

and the same for the south aisle', Les said, as he packed away the floor tiles once the steps had been completed in the Chapel of the Nine Altars.

His success in arranging and executing the changing of the steps of the Chapel of the Nine Altars also gave Les an increased confidence in stepping away from the plans in other areas too. This was expressed in his design and delegation of the building of the World War 1 memorial at the back of the Cathedral. 'Sorry I'm a bit late, I've just been around the back getting pictures of the war memorial, I think we can get Matt<sup>73</sup> to design something pretty good for it', he said entering the undercroft one morning. After a week of checking Matt's design with some pictures Les had taken and some minor alterations to Matt's design, on it went to the LEGO Cathedral. The model memorial came complete with a clear plastic design of the column carving that Les had designed at home and stuck on to the LEGO column. Just as with the steps in the Chapel of the Nine Altars, this change was hailed as an important part of the Cathedral which had not made it onto the plans of the LEGO Cathedral and again shows the volunteers deviating from the plans entirely. It is also important to understand that whilst Les was at the heart of the organisation of these changes, it was the effort of more than one person: first Les' instigation, then a design idea from Matt, followed by a week of volunteers from different shifts adapting the design, looking at the design and sharing their opinions of it until it was agreed to be added to the model. The management skills and the perfectionism of Les, the enthusiasm, LEGO building skill and experience of Matt, Jules, and other volunteers, allowed for improvisation between plans, model, and the actual Cathedral itself.

Whilst the addition of the steps and war memorial show a complete deviation from the plan, it is, in a sense no deviation at all. As Turnbull argues, medieval builders had no overall plan of the cathedral they were building, instead a template would be a key tool for the stonemasons, allowing them to cut the stones to the same regular shapes time and time again. The key strength of the template is not just in the fact that it allows a large number of workers to work from the same precise design, 'But also in the fact that simple geometric rules of thumb will often suffice for the template itself to be accurately reproduced as often as required' (1993:322). The same can be argued for the LEGO builders, having access only to plans for individual modules which act as templates of specific areas rather than an overall plan of the LEGO Cathedral. However, they did have access to the actual Cathedral. Between the building table where each

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<sup>73</sup> Matt was a volunteer who was also a LEGO enthusiast.

module was built, and the table on which the model itself stood, there emerged a kink in which the modules with their precise plans often needed adapting to best fit the model. Here improvisation was needed for two particular areas: firstly, to bring the model further in line with the actual building itself, of which I have given examples; and secondly in getting the individual modules to fit together. Several modules had the same plan, for example sections of wall, or columns. Whilst a number of wall sections were the same it was often found that they did not fit well next to previously made pieces, with spaces in between being too tight, or not sitting at the same height, both of which were an issue when adding modules to the upper levels of the LEGO Cathedral. This kink, in which improvisation was needed to resolve these issues, became even more pronounced by the lack of plans used, or indeed available to, the volunteers when relating to the model as a whole. This led the volunteers to improvise their way around the problems, through a mixture of using their experience with LEGO and reference to the actual Cathedral as well as their increased experience of the work. Of course, sometimes improvisation went wrong and required more improvisation to fix it, which ultimately had as much potential for going wrong.



Figure 17 Errors made earlier in the build meant that the entire south nave wall needed to be lifted, which resulted in its collapse.

It could be argued that because of this necessity for improvisation, the plans used for the individual modules became more akin to the templates used by the medieval

masons, useful only in building the individual sections. The placement of these modules into the model became a process in which the volunteers used their experience – including ‘rules of thumb’ that they had learned – of the material and the actual Cathedral as their guide in negotiating a close representation of the Cathedral itself. These ‘rules of thumb’ include the knowledge of what brick is replaceable by what other brick or bricks, such as three flat bricks making a full sized one, a 2x3 brick being replaceable by two 1x3 bricks, or that when building high modules one should overlap the layers of bricks in order to increase stability. As volunteers’ experience and confidence increased, replacements and improvisations were made more easily.

Whilst on the module table the plans were closely studied and adhered to with only minimum levels of improvisation, when the module was ‘finished’ in the sense that it had completed the final steps of the module build plan and was moved across to the actual model, the module continued to be built as the modules were re-shaped to fit the model. As Ewart states of the Kelabit bridge building, ‘The constant need for adjustments was driven by a nuanced understanding of the potentials of materials and environment’ (2013:95). This ‘nuanced understanding’ comes from experience. Additionally, akin to the designs drawn up in the building of the suspension bridge, the plans here acted more as a ‘resource rather than a blueprint for action (Suchman 1987), a point of departure rather than a final destination’ (Ewart 2013:95).

The more expert the volunteer LEGO builders were in their understanding of the material, in this case the LEGO bricks, the less they had to rely on the plans, and could improvise between the actual Cathedral as a departure point and the possibilities of the materials available. The properties and diversity of LEGO bricks allow for a certain range of building possibilities, yet expertise and knowledge of the available bricks allow for a wider range of modelling possibilities. As anyone who has ever played with LEGO can attest, it is not easy to simply build whatever you like with LEGO bricks. Round structures, for example, are possible, but difficult to achieve. Therefore, whilst the moving of modules from the build table to the LEGO model was a point of departure away from the plan, the module also continued to be built free from the plan, using the actual Cathedral as the volunteers’ point of departure from which to improvise their changes upon the individual modules and the LEGO Cathedral. In essence, because the volunteers regularly revert back to the actual Cathedral, taking pictures of particular areas and closely studying them before making the changes, the improvisation undertaken by the volunteers upon the modules and the LEGO Cathedral, are the meeting points of a

dialogue between the planned designs of the modules, the LEGO Cathedral, and the actual Cathedral, mediated by the increased range of expertise of the LEGO Makers

This constant dialogue brings the LEGO Cathedral and the actual Cathedral together in a manner in which it is not simply a Cathedral within a Cathedral. Rather, it is the result of a conversation between the pre-designed LEGO plans and the Cathedral itself. The result of this conversation is realised through the improvisation and negotiation of the material and environment by the volunteer LEGO builders inhabiting the kink which lies between the 'crystalline' idea of the LEGO model designer's plan (Ingold 2013:75), and the ever-changing reality in which we live. In short, the finished LEGO Cathedral is the embodiment of the knowledge, experience, and negotiation skills learned and then used by the LEGO builders, in much the same way as the Cathedral in which it stands was built.

#### IV. Revisiting the LEGO Cathedral

Over the course of my fieldwork, this progression of adding to the Cathedral continued, improving small elements of the pre-design as well as adding elements that were not in the original design. When I revisited the Cathedral the summer after my fieldwork ended I was greeted at the LEGO Cathedral by Les, his first words to me being, 'I'm going to start putting my name on little signs all around this model pointing out the bits that I've designed'. Laughing, he started to point out all of the changes he had instigated in order to pull it closer to what the actual building looked like. These changes included altering the stained-glass windows in a manner that would represent the design of the actual stained glass windows of the Cathedral. In the individual plans, the windows were to be clear, which Les had later changed to colour to represent some of the individual windows. 'Well they need to at least look like the windows that they're supposed to be, especially when people have paid hundreds of pounds for those particular windows', Les later explained to me.

The most significant of the changes Les described to me was the Rose Window, the round window at the east end of the Cathedral, a significant point of attraction within Durham Cathedral. The Rose Window had been designed and sent to be built by an individual who had donated to the building of the LEGO Cathedral for the very purpose of building the Rose Window. As is normal practice, a volunteer, in this instance Les, had counted out the correct pieces and gave it to the donor to take away and build. Unfortunately, when they returned it, they were unimpressed with the design and no

longer wished to make a donation. 'Mind, it was a mess Arran, it looked nothing like the Rose Window'. explained Les.

Having looked at the built module as the designer had intended it to be, Les had set about trying to build his own. 'Well I had to start from scratch, there wasn't much that could be saved from the other design. Mind, when they sent the original design they did call it a prototype, but it just didn't work'. Les explained that he had tried many different approaches, and had consulted many of the LEGO enthusiast volunteers, including Matt and Jules.

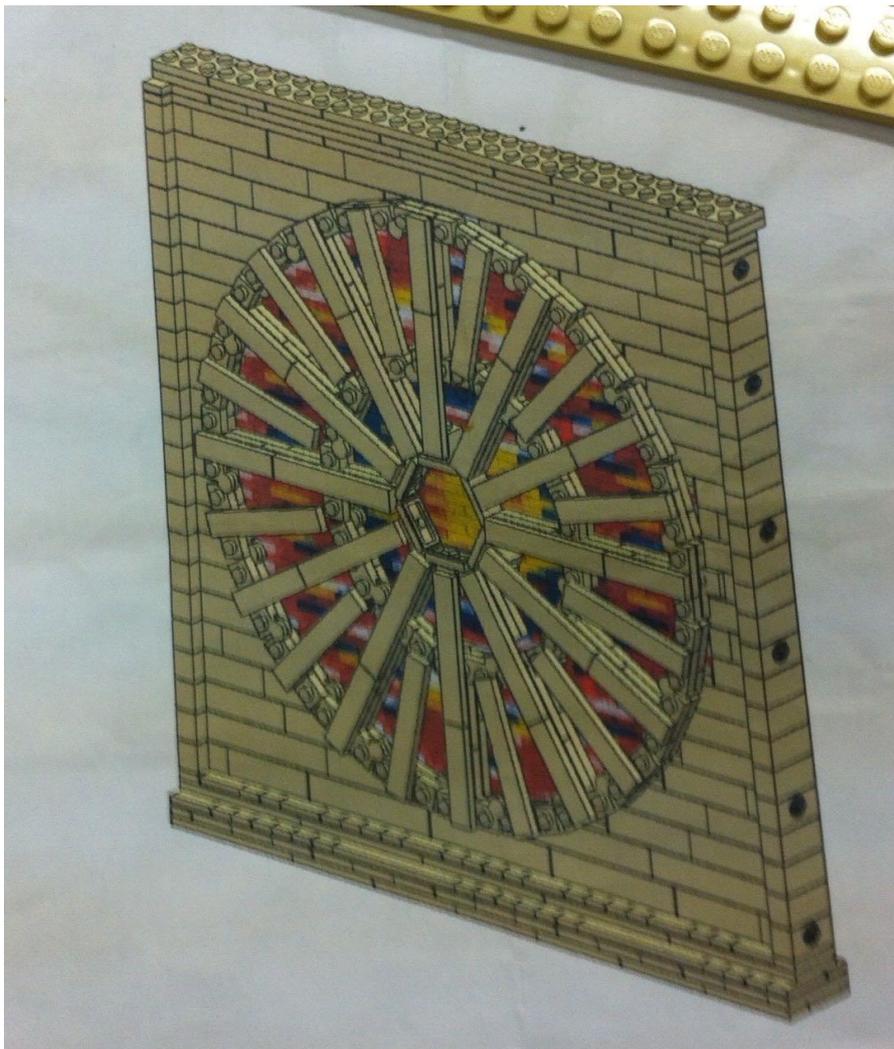


Figure 18 Original design of the prototype Rose Window sent by the designer.

The final design Les had arrived at, aside from being a clear improvement upon the prototype sent by the designer, was also a demonstration of the skills he had learnt from following plans from other modules such as the windows in the nave and Galilee Chapel, coupled with his gained improvisational techniques he had honed in the changing of windows to more closely resemble those of the actual Cathedral windows.

One issue Les had with the Rose Window was the stone tracery.<sup>74</sup> In the model's Galilee Chapel windows, the stone tracery was built into them. However, the delicacy of the tracery in the Rose Window would have proved difficult to emulate, as the prototype highlights, and so, building on his use of computer design and his experience of printing the carving patterns on the World War 1 memorial, which he had later extended on to the columns in the nave and quire, he created the tracery shapes on his computer at home and printed it on to sticky-backed plastic before applying it to the window he had built in LEGO.

Jules wasn't too happy with using the stickers. He thinks it's against the spirit of LEGO, but we couldn't figure any other way around it, to get such a good finish. Well anyway, I'm really pleased with the outcome. I think it really looks like the Rose Window, you know. I think with areas like the Rose Window, it needs to immediately say what it is, because it's such a recognisable part of the Cathedral.



Figure 19 Les' final design for the Rose Window.

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<sup>74</sup> Stonework, typically found in Gothic windows.

Indeed, the redesigned Rose Window is the module that has been placed into the model itself, with the volunteers' Facebook group page full of applause for its final outcome. As it is such a recognisable part of Durham Cathedral, it has been taken to various exhibits and displays to which the volunteers take various modules, including a partially built module so that others can donate and help build the modules.

The re-design of the Rose Window was of particular significance in the development of the volunteers' growing relationship with both the LEGO Cathedral and the actual Cathedral, as well as showing their experience and skill in negotiating with the model and the material in order to bring the model to as close a representation as possible. It signified a point in which the volunteers had not simply taken a designed module and slightly altered it to better fit the finer details of the Cathedral, but had completely gone against the 'prototype' design to create something they felt better matched Durham Cathedral and better suited the LEGO Cathedral. In doing so, the volunteers took control of the design of the Rose Window, completely disregarding the set module plans and, in engaging with the Cathedral and using it as their point of departure (Ewart 2013:95), came together to improvise their way through various solutions to improve upon the design.

The continued and increasing level of engagement with the modules before they were placed on the model, as seen with the Rose Window, also highlighted a developing timeline within this continued dialogue between the LEGO modules, the plans, and the Cathedral itself. Therefore, just as Hallam (2013:101-102) argues that anatomical models used by students to understand the human body develop over time through a 'collaborative making process' (2013:108), so too did the LEGO Cathedral develop over time as the volunteers developed both their knowledge and skill as a group thus strengthening the LEGO Cathedral as the embodiment of the knowledge, experience, and negotiation skills learned and then used by the LEGO builders. The building of the LEGO Cathedral echoes in many ways the process of building of the actual Cathedral, from the use of templates, to the building being a timeline of builders improvising between the templates, as well as the builders negotiating between the materials and environment, just as the volunteer LEGO builders did.

The negotiation aspect of building with LEGO was largely one of detail; how detailed can the model be made whilst only using readily available LEGO bricks. As seen in the case of the Rose Window, the stone tracery was impossible to build in LEGO bricks. Applying stickers, for Jules was a kind of 'cheating', but it allowed the extension of the possibilities of improvisation to achieve a greater detail. Another example of this

negotiation over details, was the Neville Screen which stood behind the high altar. The Neville Screen was an exquisite piece of 14<sup>th</sup> century stone carving with high levels of detail, as one might expect of any piece of Gothic carving. The intrinsic nature of the Neville screen made it difficult to replicate in LEGO and so its design needed to be quite ingenious in order to negotiate the balance of representation of Durham Cathedral with the use of LEGO. The solution of the LEGO Cathedral's designer was to build the Neville Screen from LEGO Lightsabers from the LEGO Star Wars collection, the result of which was one which represented the Neville Screen whilst not reaching its level of detail. Yet it was the knowledge of the LEGO material, and the ingenuity in improvising through the material that allowed both the Rose Window and the Neville Screen to be able to represent, if not in minute details, the actual parts of the Cathedral. The Neville Screen design was also an example of a module which was not altered by the volunteers before being placed on to the model. It is important to note that in many cases very little, if any changes were needed to be made, whilst some modules needed major changes. Indeed, sometimes the changes made by the volunteers to make the module fit were later found to still be incorrect and thus needed to be returned to, later in the build.

With regards to the dialogue between the LEGO Cathedral, the actual Cathedral and the LEGO builders, parallels can again be drawn to the medieval building process. As Turnbull points out, Shelby (1970) questions how 'the spiritual and intellectual values of the day [could] become incorporated in the structure' (Turnbull 2009:139) when the master mason could not read and the patron bishop could not build, Shelby's answer is that they simply 'talk'. Throughout the entire process, the patron and the master mason would be in constant conversation, creating a 'symbiotic relationship' (Shelby, 1970, p.18) from which the design of a cathedral emerged. Similarly, in the building of the LEGO Cathedral, Les and the intern Catherine were in constant conversation with the designer of the LEGO Cathedral plans, who in turn constantly asked volunteers for pictures of the Cathedral throughout the building, to adjust his plans. Negotiation and improvisation were therefore channelled through exchanges between the designer, the office, the volunteers, and the Cathedral itself. With the designer having the most skill and expertise in planning buildings from LEGO, and the volunteers having the hands-on experience and closeness of the actual building itself; communication, exchange, negotiation, and improvisation all aided the project.

## V. The Story Cathedral

Aside from the role of the LEGO builders and their continuing physical shaping of the LEGO Cathedral, those who visited and contributed to the build also had a hand in shaping the model. Yet, while they paid for and placed LEGO bricks upon the model, through discussing their memories, they also connected the plastic walls, aisles, and rooms of the model to the stone bricks, corridors, and spaces of the actual Cathedral.

Often when volunteering at the LEGO Cathedral, and particularly when it was quiet enough that one could stand around talking to visitors as they perused the model, they would begin to delve into a variety of memories.

'I hate LEGO. I absolutely cannot stand the stuff!'<sup>75</sup>

'Really! We love it in our house, not a single Christmas goes by in our house without everyone getting around the table and building something. It's part of our Christmas Day!'

'Oh no, it's absolutely lethal! You stand on one of those things and you're bed bound for a week!'

Two women, who had been inspecting the LEGO Cathedral, had wandered over to see what module we were currently building and had begun the conversation when they asked Les what we were building, to which Les replied, 'Durham Cathedral, of course'.

'So, if we pay £1 do we get to put our own brick on the model?' asked one of the ladies.

'You get to put it on the module that we're building at the minute'.

'Oh, this is a great idea! I'm going to have to get some aren't I. I'll have five bricks please. You know, my son absolutely loves LEGO, he's forever playing with the stuff, we still have all the LEGO models he's built in the house, you know they might be worth something, they'll be a canny age by now. Well I mean, our Jack's 38, so some of them are probably 30 years old!'

Having placed her bricks, Les led the two women back across to the model to show them where that particular module was going to be placed and having closely examined the next module location and taken pictures of the model, she began to talk of her last visit to the Cathedral. Pointing to an area at the east end of the nave, she explained that the last time she had visited was with her mother and having lit a prayer candle she traced out a line with her finger of where she and her mother had walked: 'I remember we stood here, the window is just incredible, with the sunlight shining through

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<sup>75</sup> Such a comment is clearly heavily burdened with memories of LEGO.

it, she really loved that'. Returning from her thoughts and taking more pictures of the model she disappeared into the restaurant with her friend.

The retelling of memories around the model was common during my time at Durham Cathedral. Memories could range from playing with LEGO to stories of the Cathedral. As the above examples show, these memories had the potential to be fond ones of either the building or the material, as demonstrated by the second woman's memories of her son playing with LEGO (relating to the material) and her previous visit to the Cathedral with her mother (relating to memories of the building). Conversely, memories had the potential to be less fondly remembered, for example, one cannot help but imagine that the first woman's dislike for LEGO had originated in her standing on a LEGO brick. At times the model served as a way for people to display their knowledge about either the Cathedral, LEGO, or architecture.



Figure 20 The south nave triforium to which the man was referring.

For example, a man examining the model turned to me and said, 'You know, looking at this model this corridor has brought back some long-lost memories of mine'. He was pointing to the triforium of the nave (see Figure 20), a corridor of the upper levels of the Cathedral, a place no tourist would ever get to see. 'I was in the choir here in my younger years, 1956 I started, and we once had to climb up here and sing, I can't remember what it was for but I haven't seen that corridor for a very long time, and just seeing it here, that day just popped into my mind'. Whilst not everyone shared their memories, many did, and I often overheard people discussing their memories to one another through the LEGO Cathedral. Indeed, my days volunteering at the LEGO Cathedral were filled with stories and memories of people relating to either LEGO or to Durham Cathedral, all telling their stories through the LEGO Cathedral.

According to Connerton, there are two types of place memories. The first type is 'memorial', which he suggests can be considered through place-names and pilgrimages, stating that place-names 'can be more than markers and delimiters of place, more than tokens used to mark out and negotiate positions in social interaction' (2009:10). This is illustrated at Durham, for example where according to the origin story of Durham Cathedral, the descendants of monks of Lindisfarne Priory, had been wandering the North for many years when they found that the cart carrying the coffin and body of St Cuthbert stopped and could not be moved. Having prayed and fasted for three days, a monk named Eadmer was given a vision from St Cuthbert to take his body to Dun Holm (in modern English – Hill [Dun] Island [Holm]). They met a milk maid in search of her cow which she had been told was on Dun Holm, and following her they eventually came across the cow on a hill surrounded on three sides by the River Wear. The cow, which is today known as the Dun Cow, was on Dun Holm, the place upon which Durham Cathedral now stands, high upon its peninsula surrounded on three sides by the River Wear. It is from Dun Holm that the name Durham is derived. Thus, contained within the name 'Durham' are a memorial place name, the entire origin story of the name of the county, the Cathedral, and its location. As Connerton suggests, such names are so effective as 'the mnemonics of a moral geography ... that the mere mention of a place-name encapsulates a well-known narrative' (2009:10).

The second aspect of place memory offered up by Connerton is that of the 'locus' which, 'We might consider [as] the house or street'. Although his notion of locus is far less explicit than his use of memorial, Connerton questions why locus is such an, 'Effective carrier of cultural memory'. Part of the answer for this lies in a name's origin in a world before 'mechanical reproduction', a world Connerton suggests is a 'handmade

world' (2009:30), where things come into being slowly. In such a world, large scale construction projects across Europe, such as the building of city walls or the building of cathedrals 'Were the main events in the city's history for generations. Just as a house is the biography of a family, so a great civic building project was part of the collective biography of the inhabitants of a city' (2009:10). He states that the extended build period of cathedrals meant that the building was also the 'focal point of activity for hundreds of masons, stonecutters and sculptors' (2009:30). For most of these craftsmen it would have been an entire career's worth of focus. Connerton thus proposes that 'in a handmade world the term 'building' would apply as much to the memory of the *continuing transitive activity* of the construction as to that of the eventual *product*' (2009:31, emphasis in the original).

It is in the return to that 'handmade world' present in the building of the LEGO Cathedral, in which the individuals become part of the building process. It is through the partially constructed model walls and aisles of the actual building that they have passed through, that leads people to share their memories of the building, and in doing so they lay these memories of the actual Cathedral upon the LEGO Cathedral in the same manner in which they lay their bricks, connecting the stone Cathedral together with the LEGO one. Degnen, shows how 'both knowledge about the past and the processes of recounting it are intimately connected with places' (2005:742). In the LEGO Cathedral one can examine how memories are recalled by walking through the model of the Cathedral, the opened up (until it was finished) representation of the Cathedral that one can almost see in one, from above.

Additionally, as Edensor suggests of involuntary memories, 'the sensual and often indefinable recollections of childhood, and the furtive memories of stories and fantasies can be involuntarily resurrected in the welter of movement, sights, sounds and smell'. Therefore, through the act of building the LEGO Cathedral and seeing the construction of the model, visitors and builders alike are drawn into the act of memory-building, the act of 'picking up and playing with an object – sensations delimited by adult custom – can catapult the individual back to childhood' (2005:144). Just as discussed above, this aspect of picking up an object such as LEGO, a familiar item which, to many is inherently an object of play, has much the same effect. Whilst for many older individuals, their actions of giving to charity which brought them into contact with LEGO brought back memories of childhood – often those of an even greater age would state loudly that they never had LEGO when they were young, but instead had Meccano. This then led into conversations of comparison between the two model building materials.

Thus, the material also brought to them memories between generations, of children, grandchildren, as well as other family and friends and even beyond.

As Edensor goes on to suggest, the 'power' of involuntary memories reaches beyond childhood, coming from all areas of life. 'These experiences, constituting a storehouse of mundane and extraordinary events, mix sensations – and hence bodily memories – together with the recall of overlapping geographies with their reference points, routes and networks' (2005:144-145). When individuals come into contact with the LEGO Cathedral and begin to tell their memories of Durham Cathedral, they too begin to overlap the geographies of the model with the actual building and thus begin to mark reference points out, tracing their memories around the model. As Hallam notes, in relation to medical students designing and building anatomical models, 'While aiding clarification in learning, models are crucial in mediating ... not only between expert and novice but also between the physical and the conceptual' (2013:104). The model becomes a way in which individuals can express their memories, connecting the relevance of the memories to the material used (LEGO) or the actual Cathedral, doing so through the model. The model in turn leads the individuals to build narratives of their memories around the familiar twists and turns of Durham Cathedral represented within the LEGO Cathedral, tracing their memories out as they retell their stories through the model. Finally, whilst Hallam also suggests that the 'primary aim' of the medical students designing and building anatomical models was not one of production, but of enabling knowledge, the opposite is true of the LEGO Cathedral which is one of production and by extension raising money. However, once the model began to take shape and the spaces inside became recognisable, the model became a depository of stories and memories of both LEGO and Durham Cathedral, and thus also enabling knowledge.

#### VI. Between the LEGO and Cathedral

'Oh cool! Son, come over here and have a look at this!' It was another slow Monday afternoon in the undercroft and my attention was drawn to a loud American voice calling from the foot of the steps into the undercroft towards the door and to an incredibly bored looking young child, 'Look they're building the Cathedral out of LEGO!' The young boy glanced over to the model, a smile illuminating his face as he ran to the model. As the young boy and his father began to explore the model, his father began to point out particular parts of the building they had seen, as well as explaining how the Cathedral stands. After a while they wandered over to the current module build table and placed several bricks, whilst the boy's father continued to explain more about what they had just

seen within the Cathedral itself and how that related to the module they were helping to build, 'You remember where all those candles were? Well that's where this column will stand'. To which the young boy asked if they could go back into the Cathedral and see all of the parts again. Laughing his father turned to me and explained that his son had been bored of the Cathedral and complaining about wanting to leave, and now he was wanting to return to the Cathedral to re-explore it.

As has been discussed during this chapter, Durham Cathedral and the LEGO Cathedral are at times drawn into contact through the words and actions of individuals looking at, talking about, and helping build the model. At the very start of my fieldwork the Cathedral Chapter had asked me not to approach visitors and begin asking them questions. Additionally, during my training as a volunteer Steward at the Cathedral, I was told that one must not approach visitors, instead waiting for them to approach. These insinuations had left me worried about being able to engage with visitors. However, the LEGO Cathedral helped mediate this worry by acting as a starting point for conversation. As shown through the memories revealed by visitors the starting points of conversation were not limited to the LEGO Cathedral but were often of the Cathedral itself. These connections made between the building and the model were often dynamic and ever changing, revealing something of the individual's relationship with either the material or the building itself, or indeed the building revealing something of itself to the individual.

The first of these connections is one based in both the visual and embodied, in the sense that you walk through and around the LEGO in your mind – enabled by this vision of the opened-up building, that you can look down upon – as you walk around the Cathedral. Young children bored by the stuffy old church suddenly discover the same building represented in something they can positively relate to in the LEGO. Placing bricks on the modules the families would often disappear back into the Cathedral to explore the ancient building through the enlightened view of LEGO, to find a column or section of wall which had at one time been nondescript and perhaps ignored, yet was now the wall or column they had built. Such examples highlight the role the model plays in bringing children into a sphere in which they both enjoy something they relate to, whilst also learning about a building which, because of its size, can become confusing and difficult to relate to. The young boy was not alone in wanting to re-explore the building once they had 'discovered' it through the LEGO Cathedral. Having laid a brick and heading into the shop, as people often did, some would often re-emerge with postcards and pictures of the interior of the Cathedral and ask if the picture was of the section they had just helped build, or after being shown where the module being built would go, they

would disappear back into the Cathedral to find a column or section of wall which had at one time been nondescript and completely normal and yet was now the wall or column they had built. As such, one began to sense that through building these often non-descript parts of the Cathedral, the building itself would slowly begin to reveal itself. As time went on, people would often return to the build, days, weeks or even months later and begin to point out particular parts of the Cathedral and tell volunteers that they had helped to build these particular parts of the building.

Similarly, for the volunteers working with the model on a regular basis, the relationship between the building and the model became important as they would abandon the LEGO plans to head into the building and begin to focus on areas of the Cathedral they had never looked at or thought to be particularly interesting. In this sense, then, Durham Cathedral began to reveal itself through the continuous dialogue between Durham Cathedral, the LEGO Cathedral, and the volunteers' practical endeavour to bring the model into as close a representation of the building as possible. In doing so Les would often return from his trips into the Cathedral having discovered new aspects that he had never noticed or acknowledged. Likewise, volunteers and visitors alike would see particular aspects of the model and question its likeness to the building, and after returning from that particular part of the building discover that it was indeed similar and thus the Cathedral would often reveal more of itself through the model.

Focusing on the individual revealing something of themselves, through their familiarity with the twists and turns of the building, individuals often became compelled to lay down their stories into the model, just as those stories and memories existed within the walls of the building itself. Whilst the memories within the building were made through time, as people used the building; the model was, at first, void of these stories and memories. However, through the public's involvement in building the model, putting one brick upon another, they helped to build (and rebuild) the stories and memories which related back to the actual building whilst in the same moment creating new memories which become contained within the LEGO Cathedral, forming a connection between Durham Cathedral and the LEGO Cathedral. The importance of building extended, therefore, beyond the laying down of bricks upon one another towards being a repository, or vessel in which the community of Durham Cathedral and its many visitors could build their stories and memories, and in doing so brought the LEGO Cathedral into an important position of representation beyond the visual.

Through its use by visitors and community alike, the Cathedral within a Cathedral became not just a new and novel way in which to raise funds for important conservation

work upon the Cathedral; rather it became bound to Durham Cathedral in much more than visual terms. A dynamic relationship emerged between the two in which memories and stories were built upon whilst new ones are made, and in which once blank stretches of wall, once seen as meaningless, become intrinsic parts of the building, built anew by individuals who returned to the building to rediscover the once ignored stretch of masonry. In doing so, just as Durham Cathedral was widely regarded in County Durham as 'our Cathedral', the community were once again claiming their stake upon a new Cathedral, the LEGO Cathedral, built not by experts, but by the community both physically with brick after brick, and the building and laying down of stories and memories.<sup>76</sup>



Figure 21 The Chapel of the Nine Altars of the LEGO Cathedral including the Rose Window as altered by Les (See Figure 18 for original design). Additionally, in the foreground is the World War 1 memorial with stickers to replicate the carved stone work.

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<sup>76</sup> After seeing the success of the Durham Cathedral LEGO build, other cathedrals in the UK, such as Exeter, Chester and Bury St Edmunds have since begun their own LEGO Cathedral, and thus allow their own community to become a part of building stories, memories, and LEGO Cathedrals.



# **CONCLUSION**

## I. Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis I set out to explore the way people live with a building that is over 900 years old and the relationships that exist between the Cathedral and its multifarious community. I wanted to show that Durham Cathedral is not a background to life, it is not something in which life happens, it is something with which life happens. What I found and what, at its heart, this thesis has been about, are constant processes of negotiation and change.

As Ingold states, environments are never complete, they are continuously created through the 'activities of living beings, [and] so long as life goes on, they are continually under construction' (2000:20). This is an essential element of the relationship between Durham Cathedral and the people who have and continue to inhabit the building. As has become apparent over the course of this thesis, the continuing 'usefulness' of the 900 plus-year-old building relies upon the constant state of environment making. As was highlighted throughout the individual chapters, it is a making, which is not only negotiated at every point, but is also manipulated in order to enhance the experience of the building and particular religious periods and services.

Through chapters 3 and 4, the manipulation of the environment using environmental elements such as sound and light revealed the relationship that existed between the building and the people. The use of particular musical settings during particular annual events such as Lent affirmed the mood of the time in subtle ways that only became clear through the juxtaposition of two opposing periods, one solemn the other joyous. Furthermore, through exploring the role of sound and light and the way they are used in Durham Cathedral, it became apparent that through the atmospheres created by the community, the direct relationship between the building and the people of Durham Cathedral was plain to see. For example, through the lighting used during '*Free to Be*', an atmosphere was created within the Cathedral, which, as the leaflet I was handed suggested, wanted to create a 'sacred space' where those who participated in the event, 'might encounter God'. The play between light and shadow, complete with the time of the event being during the hours of darkness, transformed the warm (underfloor heating) spaces of the Cathedral into a more intimate space than the busy daytime spaces, where those present could have had the possibility to '*encounter*' God (see chapter 4).

Through discussing Deryck's role as a singer within the Cathedral, he came to the realisation that he himself maintained a constant and direct relationship with the building while singing. He explained that he was aware of 'all manner of things' when

singing in the building, in response to which he constantly adjusted himself; from the choir master and his colleagues to positioning his body 'in such a way as to project [his] voice out into the building at the correct angle', while listening to the sound returning back to him from the surfaces of the building (see chapter 3). Just like people negotiate through 'delicate footwork', 'the minor hazards of textured ground' while walking (Ingold and Vergunst 2008:7).

In both of these examples the environment and atmosphere were of central importance in the relationship that existed between the people and the cathedral, using the environmental elements such as light and sound to create an atmosphere. The above examples also show an awareness of the building and how best to use particular elements of the environment to create an atmosphere. As Grant suggests, atmospheres are sensed through the body, as the 'articulation' of environmental elements, therefore atmospheres are made up of the 'relationship between bodies, things, and space' (2013:20). In the case of Deryck, this relationship took place in real time as he sang out into the building and adjusted himself to the sound coming back at him. Furthermore, as shown through services such as the 'Stripping of the Altar' and the following repose in the Galilee Chapel, the understanding of these elements and the ways in which they can be used to create atmospheres also allow the creation of space and time.

As highlighted in chapter 5, through the action systems of groups within the Cathedral multiple space-times emerge (Munn 1992). Whilst I did not elaborate upon the relationship between time and environmental elements such as light and sound, it should be noted that the atmospheres they create further enhance the creation of space-times. This is especially the case during services in which time was co-spatial and co-temporal to Biblical stories such as during the Easter services. During these services, light and sound were used to both direct the mood of the atmosphere but also create spaces with particular atmospheres pertinent to the co-spatial and co-temporal events of Easter, beginning with the 'Stripping of the Altar' on Maundy Thursday and ending with the rising of Christ during the 'Easter Dawn Liturgy'.

Whilst these chapters explore the impact upon the Cathedral of different elements (sound, light, and time), we do not experience the world one sense at a time. As Pallasmaa points out, our experience is 'multi-sensory; qualities of space, matter and scale are measured equally by the eye, ear, nose, skin, tongue, skeleton and muscle'. Therefore, through the interaction of 'bodies and movements' with the environment, 'the world and the self inform and redefine each other constantly' (2012:43). Through particular services the environment, the texture of the Cathedral, its sounds and lights

were actively worked, played with in order to create atmospheres which in turn suited these services and particular periods of the Cathedral's fortnightly calendar, emphasising the importance of the relationship between both individuals and groups, and the building.

While in chapters 3 to 5 working with the building to create atmospheres might have seemed often easy and straightforward, negotiating space and the fabric of the building could be riddled with difficult negotiations, as shown in chapters 1, 2 and 6. An example of this difficult change and negotiation (between both people and building) comes with the aims of the Chapter Clerk as he tried to bring a sense of community to the Cathedral whilst understanding that it was not just a place of worship but also a place of employment. Whilst the Chapter Clerk approached his relationship from a business angle, Pat, a member of another part of the community voiced her concerns about the commercialisation of the building, a concern many others I spoke to during my fieldwork also expressed. As Kennedy J. points out, 'Cathedrals are working in an increasingly competitive "market" and compete with many other "heritage" attractions' (2006:116). However, Pat revealed that whilst there were concerns over the commercialisation of the building, the use of the word community had only recently started to come into use, demonstrating a new sense of kinship between the different people in different roles affiliated with the Cathedral.

The negotiations between building a sense of community and pursuing the commercial aspects of running Durham Cathedral was displayed most clearly in the situation of charging an entrance fee. Whilst other cathedrals in the UK have taken the decision to charge a fee, the choice not to charge at Durham Cathedral was taken, informed in part, by historical factors, namely, the Benedictine community who were to welcome guests as if welcoming Jesus himself. Following Gudeman, I have argued that the decision, not to charge an entrance fee, can be seen as a way of trying to keep the community together, by circumventing market processes and the 'increasing commoditization of life'. By extension this could be seen as the Cathedral Chapter actively cultivating community, as opposed to 'calculated [monetary] self-interest' (2010:5).

As the various parts of the community vie for space within the building, tensions can sometimes arise while negotiating space within the Cathedral. Examples of this would be the visitors to Durham Cathedral during the 'Three Hours' services of Good Friday who wished to view the whole Cathedral, yet were unable to because of the day's services. Another example would be the discussion between Les and Ken regarding why they choose to volunteer in Durham Cathedral. Whilst Ken viewed his volunteering as a

duty to his faith and Les did not, their view of what the Cathedral was, was conflicting. It is important to understand however, that often tensions in space, such as seen with Ken and Les, were not simply negotiated once and rectified immediately, rather they were at all times negotiated with each other and the building.

Through the negotiation of space inside the actual places of the Cathedral, Christian rituals could carve out a space away from non-religious, or indeed less-religious activities as well as vice-versa, and they were able to do this through both utilising the environment and time within Durham Cathedral and negotiating the building and each other. Furthermore, change was important at all points here because it allowed the people and the building to continue on negotiating and space making and in that gave authenticity to the building. As discussed in chapter 6, change was a daily part of the fabric of the building's life, as parts fell off and other parts were restored. As part of this process rooms also fell out of use by the community, and eventually they had to be repurposed for other uses, for example the Monks' Refectory became the library.

Similarly, through the Open Treasure Project the necessary role of change in the life of Durham Cathedral was clear to see, in the repurposing of the undercroft. As the cathedral architect Chris Cotton commented in chapter 6, the undercroft used to be a dark unwelcoming space. However, with the Cathedral's need to make revenue, they created a light welcoming space in which people could shop or use the restaurant. Change was an essential part of life in Durham Cathedral, it was what made Durham Cathedral a living building, as Waddy states, their 'lives are intimately connected with the lives of the people who use them' (1990:xi). As pressure upon the finances of Durham Cathedral grew, the community had to adapt and change in order to react to this pressure, as a result, the building had to change in order to react to such pressure. As such, the relationship between the community and the building became symbiotic and interdependent, a relationship which was aided and encouraged by the Cathedral Chapter. As a result of this, the building had the potential to be experienced in different ways by different people as the Dean of Durham Michael Sadgrove suggested in chapter 2. The building, for him, was 'responsive', 'ever changing', and 'catalytic'. This continuous relation between building and its users was something that, shown in chapter 6, was taken into account in heritage conservation discussions. The building had to change whilst at the same time stay 'authentic', I suggested therefore, that perhaps 'authenticity' in the case of Durham Cathedral, could be found exactly in the changing nature of the building, doing so symbiotically with its inhabitants.

Just as I stated above, I wanted to show that Durham Cathedral is not a background to life. What I found was a community who, whilst not always sharing the same views, were able to negotiate each other and the building. There is no one way in which this constant negotiation takes place. As Hallam and Ingold suggest, 'They have to *improvise*' (emphasis in the original), it is an improvisation which is generative, relational, temporal, and ultimately, it is 'the *way we work*' (2007:1, emphasis in the original). This improvisation and negotiation of the fabric and the atmospheres of the building was visible, in the improvisations and negotiations of a smaller building, with smaller building blocks than the heavy sandstone of the Cathedral. Thus, in chapter 7 I demonstrated how such improvisations worked in the LEGO Cathedral through its building process. Similarly, I showed how improvisation takes hold no matter if a plan exists or not. Furthermore, chapter 7 illustrates the manner in which building is not just the laying of one brick upon another, but also involves the laying down and building up of stories and memories from those who helped build it.

Durham Cathedral, is a place that gives space to differing communities. It allows people to find in the building, what they need from the building and as a result of this, Durham Cathedral is not a place in which life happens, it is a place with which life happens.

## II. Further Research

There are of course important elements of life in Durham Cathedral that this thesis has not dealt with and warrant more space than was possible to give within this work, beginning with the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism. As the Archdeacon stated in chapter 1, the Cathedral Chapter did not recognise infrequent visitors as tourists, instead they were viewed as pilgrims. As Eade and Sallnow (2000) suggest, places of pilgrimage should be seen as based on acts of contestation, contradiction, and opposition. Similarly, Badone and Roseman state that, 'Rigid dichotomies between pilgrimage and tourism, or pilgrims and tourists, no longer seem tenable in the shifting world of postmodern travel' (2004:2). Whilst Eade and Sallnow offers an interesting view on the concept of negotiation that I have put forward throughout this thesis, Badone and Roseman's statement also offers appealing glimpses of the kind of negotiations when considered alongside the shifting ground of religion put forward in chapter 2 particularly in view of Davie's suggestion that buildings such as Durham Cathedral 'believe on behalf of others in the sense that they 'hold the faith' for society as a whole' (2015:82).

Finally, the position of Durham Cathedral in relation to the wider community of County Durham also warrants close attention. As I stated in the introduction of this thesis, growing up in County Durham, the Cathedral took a central role in my early life, often being the destination of school trips and being recognised as 'our Cathedral', a point the members of the Cathedral Chapter were keenly aware of and were quick to point out that they were simply the guardians of the building. According to Hodder, a number of aspects play important roles in things becoming 'ours', such as 'sensory relationship' and memories (2012:24). In chapters 3, 4, 5 I have demonstrated some examples of people entering into a 'sensory relationship' with the Cathedral, whereas in chapter 7 I have described the role and the retelling of stories and memories regarding the Cathedral. An in-depth examination of the role of the Cathedral in the wider community and the role the Cathedral plays in hosting the wider community, is warranted, especially in terms of pilgrimages, Christmas carol services and events such as the Durham Miner's Gala. Such endeavours would, I believe, reveal more about the position of the Cathedral in County Durham whilst further informing the changing face of religion, tourism/pilgrimage, and the ever-changing nature of 'community' within Durham Cathedral.



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# **APPENDICES**

# APPENDIX A

Durham Cathedral Fortnightly 17 February – 2 March 2014



# DURHAM CATHEDRAL

## 17 FEBRUARY - 2 MARCH 2014

### MONDAY 17

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Aidan Altar  
 President: The Bishop of Jarrow  
**5.15 Evensong** *sung by St Cuthbert's Society Choir*  
 Responses *Smith* Psalm 89 (vv 1 - 19)  
*Noble in B minor*  
 Anthem Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace *Wesley*

*Janani Luwum, Archbishop of Uganda, Martyr, 1977*

### TUESDAY 18

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Margaret Altar  
 President: Canon Rosalind Brown  
**5.15 Evensong** *sung by Grey College Choir*  
 Responses *Smith* Psalm 93  
*Purcell in G minor*  
 Anthem Abendlied *Rheinberger*

### WEDNESDAY 19

**7.30 Holy Communion** BCP DLI Chapel  
 President: The Dean  
**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Gregory Chapel  
 President: Canon Di Johnson  
**5.15 Evensong** *sung by University College Chapel Choir*  
 Responses *Leighton* Psalm 101  
*Leighton: The Magdalen Service*  
 Anthem Awake my glory *Leighton*

### THURSDAY 20

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.00 Prayers for Peace and Justice** Nave  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Gregory Chapel  
 President: Canon Granville Gibson  
**5.15 Evensong** *sung by the Choral Scholars*  
 Responses *Rose*  
*Sunston in G*  
 Anthem I will lift up mine eyes *Walker*

### FRIDAY 21

**8.45 Morning Prayer and Litany**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Feretory  
 President: The Reverend Rosemary Nixon  
**5.15 Evensong** *men's voices; unaccompanied*  
 Responses *Harris*  
*Wood in E*  
 Anthem Great Lord of lords *Wood*

*Verse: Cantoris Clerks*

### SATURDAY 22

**7.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Gregory Chapel  
 President: Canon Rosalind Brown  
**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**11.00 Enthronement of the Right Reverend Paul Butler as Bishop of Durham**  
**5.15 Evening Prayer**

*William Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, 1836*

### THE SECOND SUNDAY BEFORE LENT

SEXAGESIMA

**8.00 Holy Communion** BCP High Altar  
 President: Canon David Kennedy  
**10.00 Matins**  
 Hymns 240, 265 Psalm 148  
 Responses *Smith*  
*Stanford in C*  
 Anthem Great and marvellous are thy works *Boyce*  
 Preacher: Canon Rosalind Brown  
**11.15 Sung Eucharist** CW ORDER 1 Nave Altar  
 Hymns 397, 263 (omit vv 5 & 6), 437  
*Darke in F*  
 Gradual: Psalm 136 (omit vv 10 - 22)  
 Anthem O sacrum convivium *Viadana*  
 President: Canon Ian Jagger  
 Preacher: Canon Mark McIntosh  
**3.30 Evensong**  
 Hymns 366, 433 (descant v 6) Psalms 100, 150  
*Leighton: The Magdalen Service*  
 Anthem Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes *Schütz*  
 Voluntary Grand Choeur Dialogué *Gigout*  
**7.30 'Free to be': Exploring Sacred Space (with Eucharist)**

*Collections for the mission and ministry of the Cathedral*

### MONDAY 24

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Aidan Altar  
 President: Canon Mark McIntosh  
**5.15 Evensong** *sung by Josephine Butler College Choir*  
 Responses *Smith* Psalm 119 (vv 9 - 24)  
*Stanford in B flat*  
 Anthem Ubi caritas et amor *Gjeilo*

### TUESDAY 25

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Hild Altar  
 President: Canon David Couling  
**5.15 Evensong**  
 Responses *Jackson*  
*Wood in E flat (No 2)*  
 Anthem Christus factus est pro nobis obediens *Bruckner*

*Verse: Decani Scholars*

### WEDNESDAY 26

**7.30 Holy Communion** BCP DLI Chapel  
 President: The Reverend Christopher Cook  
**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Gregory Chapel  
 President: Canon Richard Davison  
**5.15 Evensong**  
*Howells in G*  
 Anthem Timor et tremor venerunt super me *Poulenc*

### THURSDAY 27

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**12.00 Prayers for Peace and Justice** Nave  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Gregory Chapel  
 President: Canon Sheila Bamber  
**5.15 Evensong** *men's voices*  
 Responses *Lloyd*  
*Jackson in D minor*  
 Anthem Love bade me welcome *Vaughan Williams*

*George Herbert, Priest, Poet, 1633*

### FRIDAY 28

**8.45 Morning Prayer and Litany**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Feretory  
 President: Canon Neville Baker  
**5.15 Evensong** *unaccompanied*  
*Lassus: tones ii and i with fauxbourdons*  
 Anthem When Mary through the garden went *Stanford*

### SATURDAY 1

**8.45 Morning Prayer**  
**10.30 St Chad's College Festival Service**  
**12.30 Holy Communion** CW ORDER 1 Gregory Chapel  
 President: Canon Mary Warner  
**5.15 Evensong** *sung by Durham Cathedral Consort of Singers*  
 Responses *Radcliffe*  
*Kelly in C*  
 Anthem I love the Lord *Harvey*  
 Hymn Who dreads, yet undismayed dares face his terror

*St David, Bishop of Menevia, Patron of Wales, c 601*

*The Cathedral Choristers sing at All Saints', Rothbury, Northumberland, 2.00 - 4.30*

### THE SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE LENT

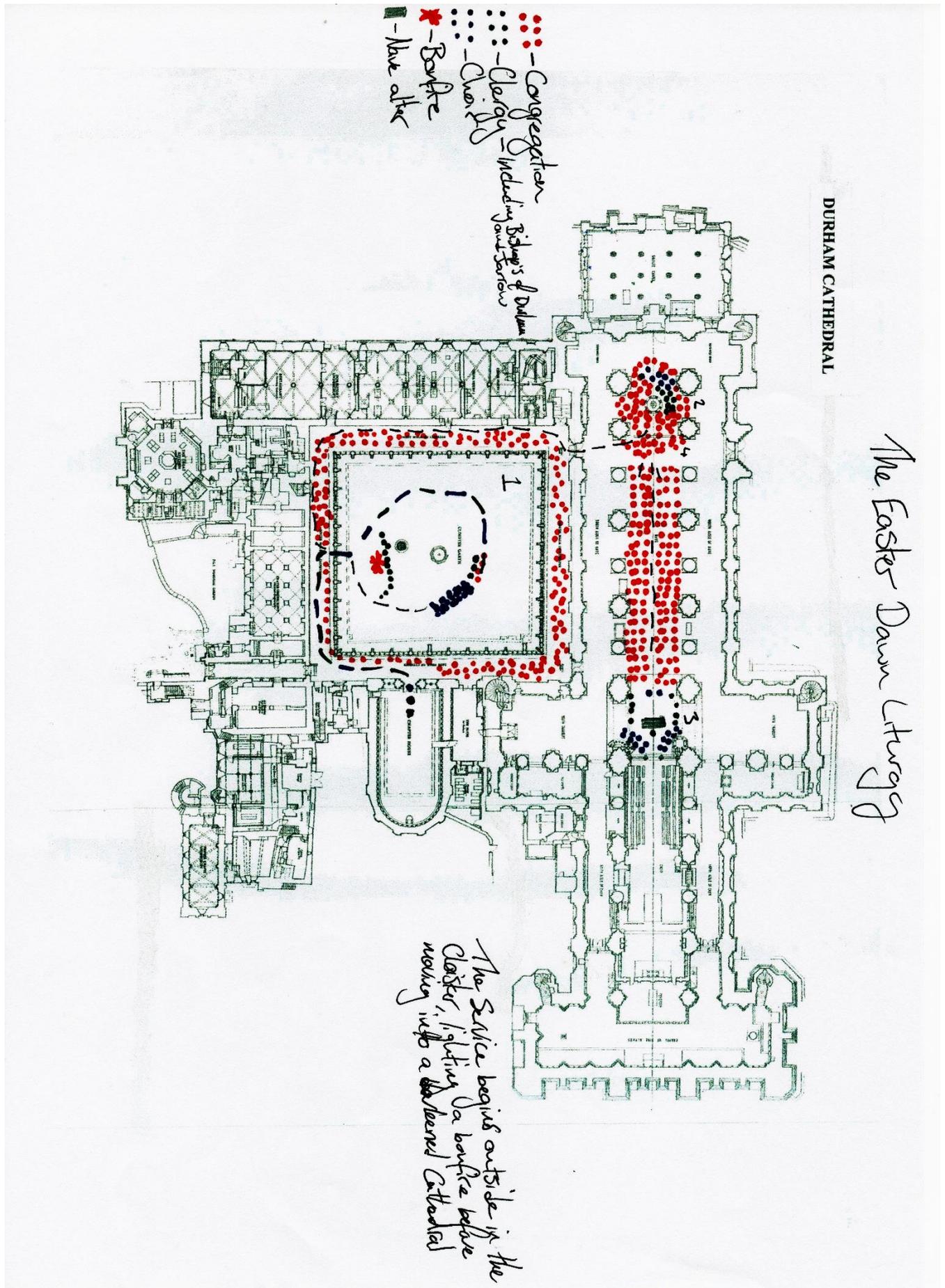
QUINQUAGESIMA

**8.00 Holy Communion** BCP High Altar  
 President: Canon Ian Jagger  
**10.00 Matins**  
 Hymns 391, 389 Psalm 84  
*Boyce in C*  
 Anthem Virtue *Lloyd*  
 Preacher: Canon David Kennedy  
**11.15 Sung Eucharist** CW ORDER 1 Nave Altar  
 Hymns 408<sup>th</sup>, 296<sup>th</sup>, 178  
*Stanford in B flat (Coronation Gloria)*  
 Gradual: Psalm 2  
 Anthem O salutaris hostia *Elgar*  
 President: Canon Mark McIntosh  
 Preacher: The Dean  
**3.30 Evensong and Admission of Chorister**  
 Hymns *Hail, gladdening light,*  
*Such wonder! Light from light shines out* Psalm 72  
*Such wonder! Light from light shines out*  
 Casken: *Magnificat and Nunc dimittis*  
 Anthem The Windows *Lloyd*  
 Voluntary Apparition de l'Église éternelle *Messiaen*

*Collections for the mission and ministry of the Cathedral*

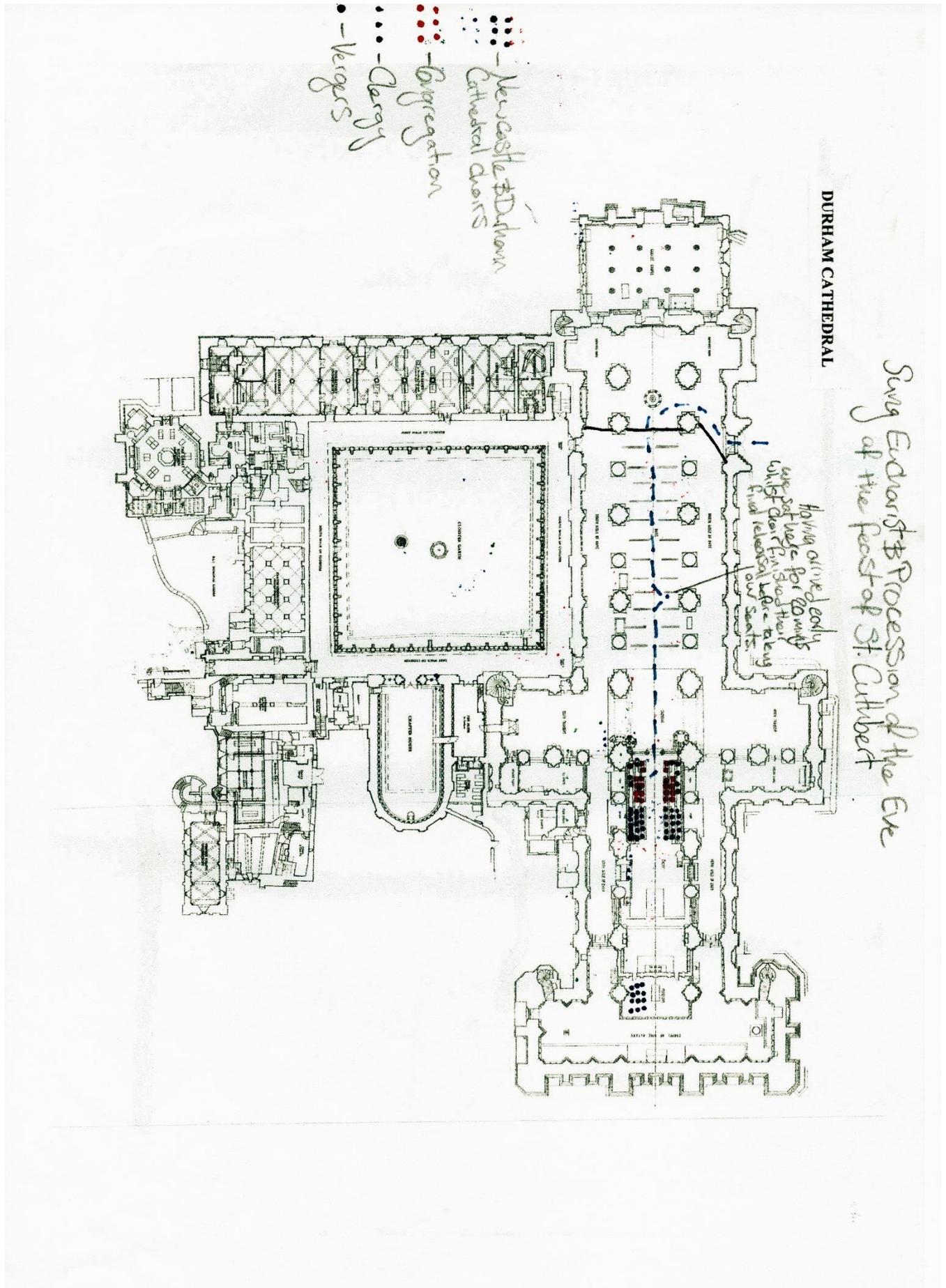
# APPENDIX B

## Easter Dawn Liturgy Map



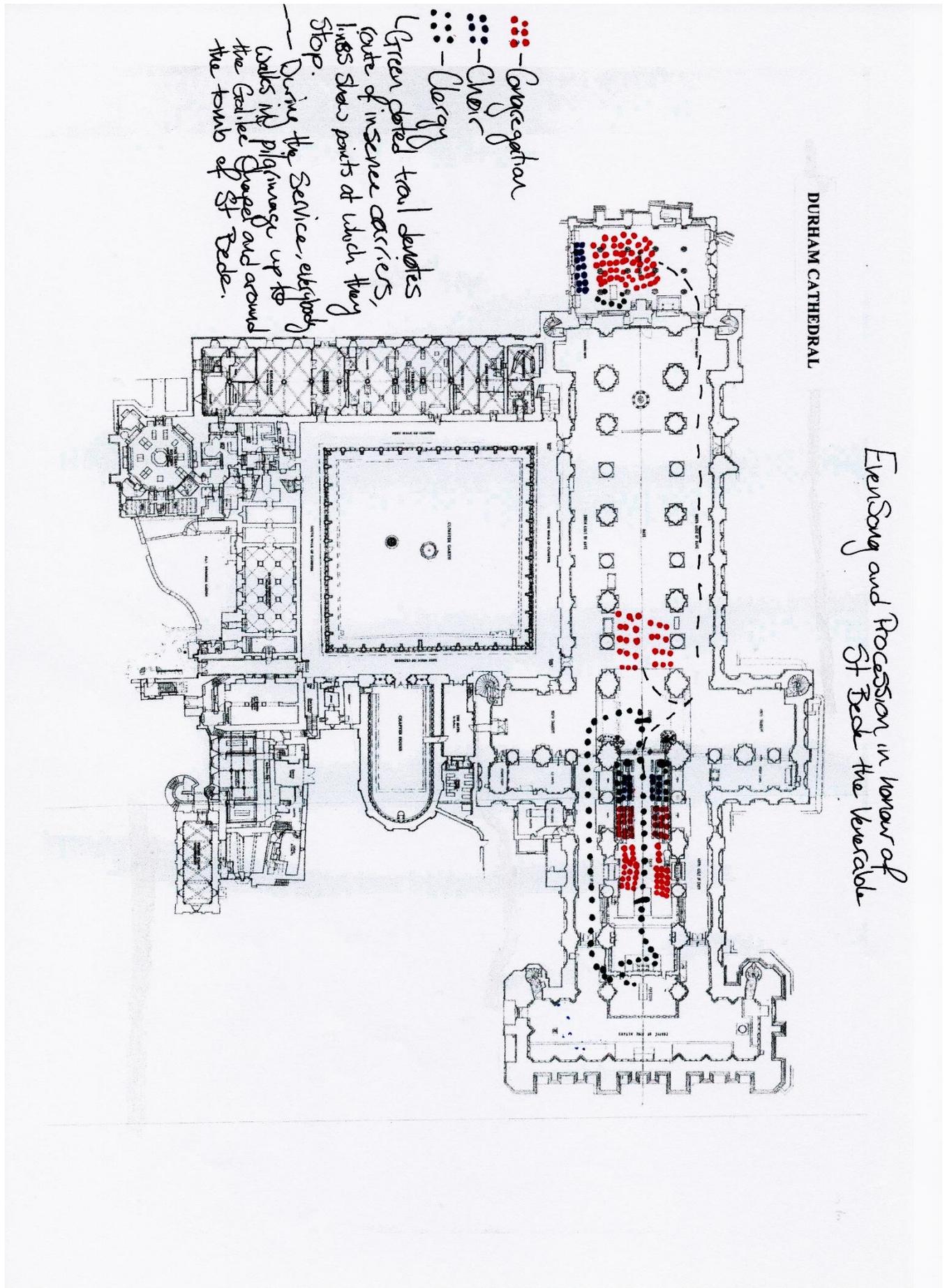
# APPENDIX C

## Eve of the Feast of St Cuthbert Map



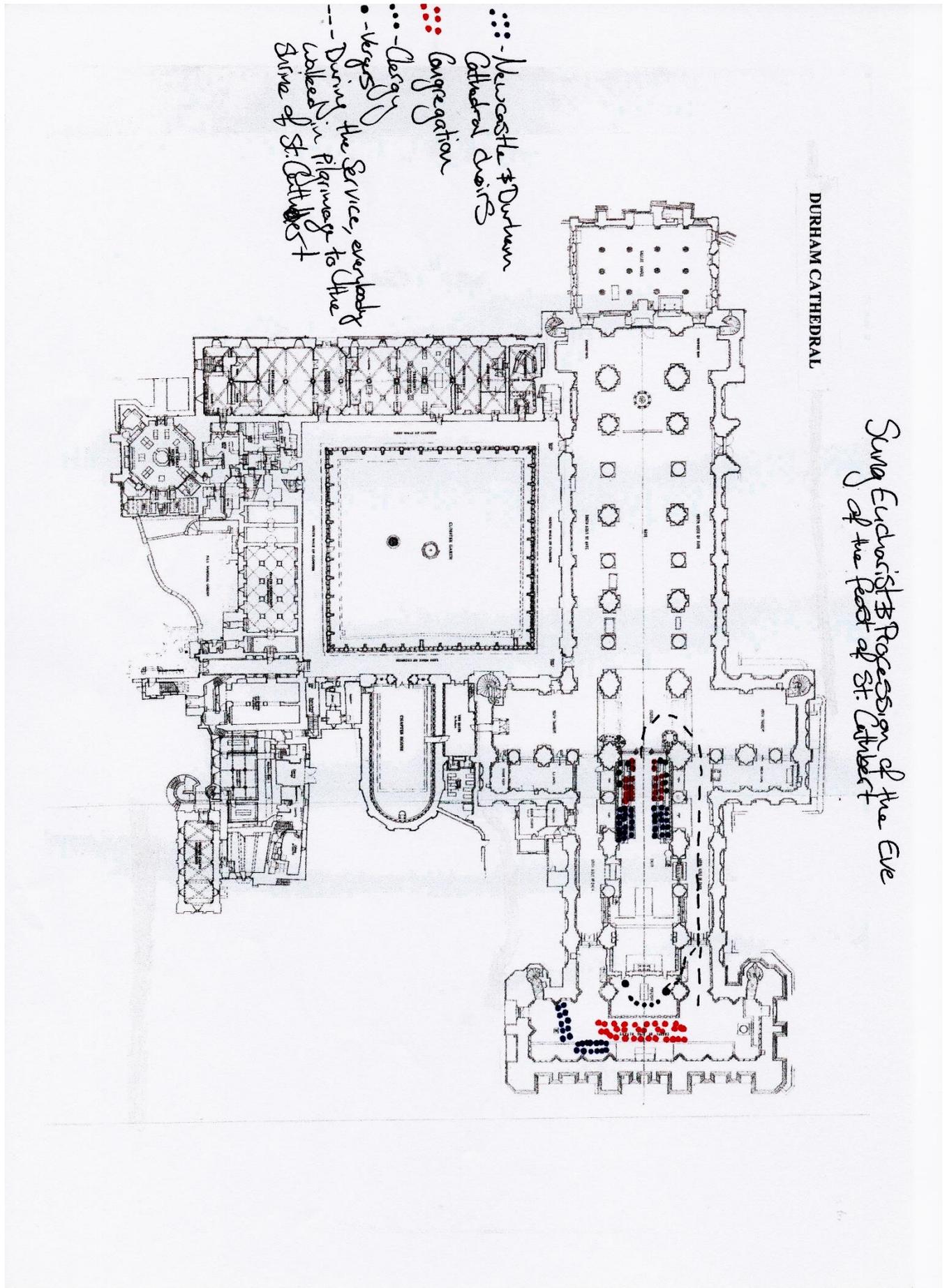
# APPENDIX D

## Feast of St Bede Map



# APPENDIX E

## Feast of St Cuthbert Map

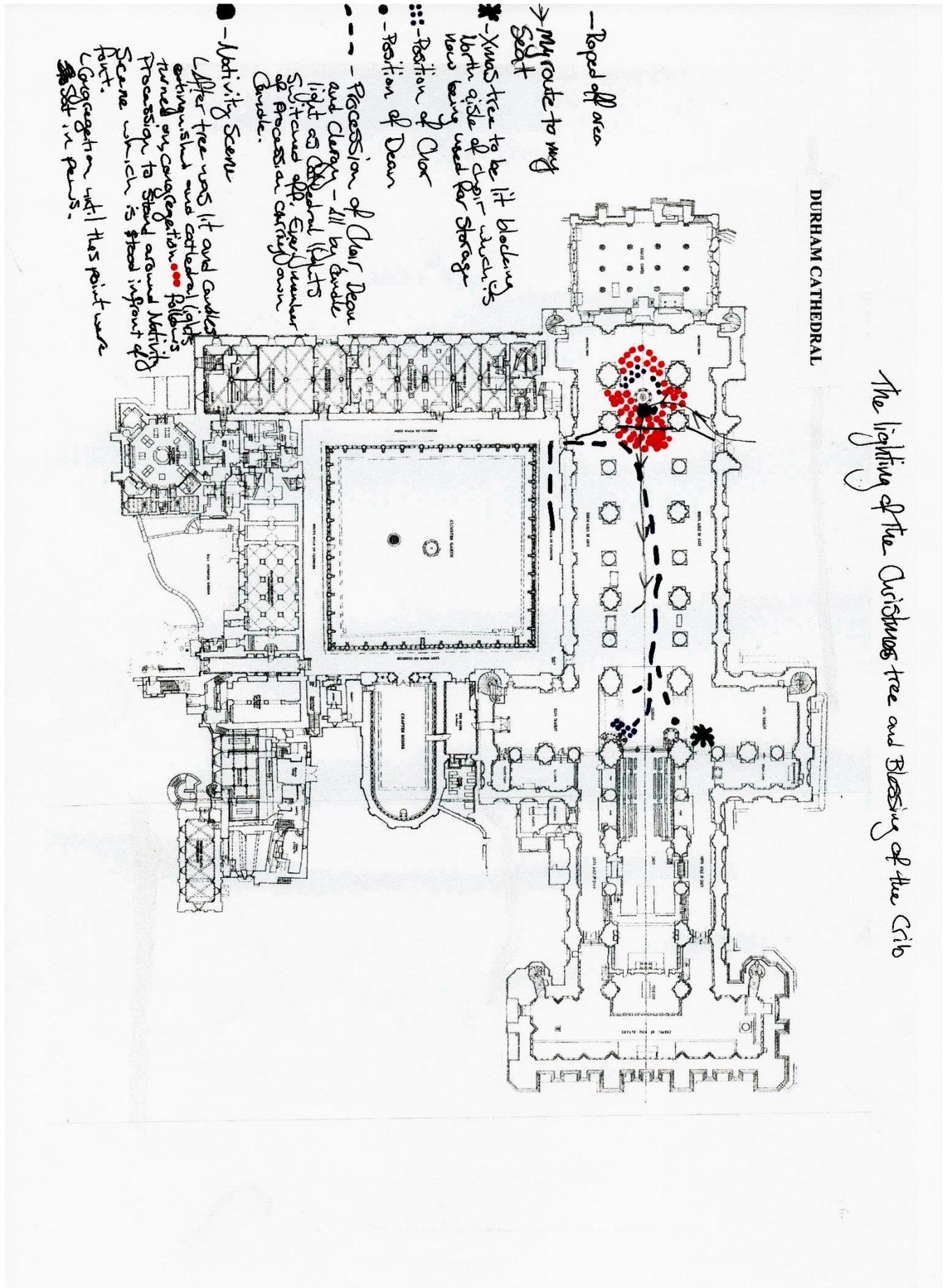






# APPENDIX H

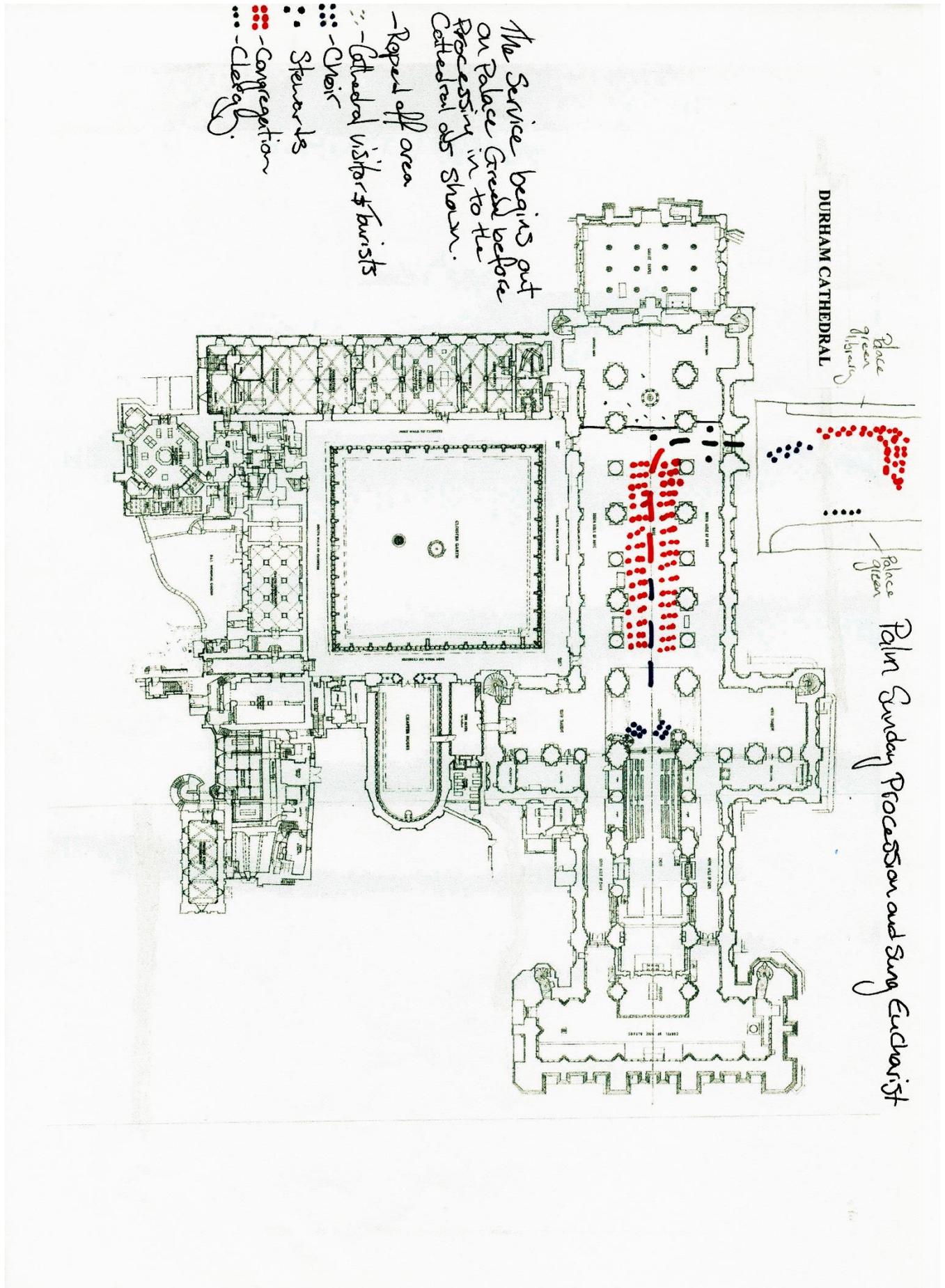
## Lighting of the Christmas Tree Map





# APPENDIX J

## Palm Sunday Procession Map

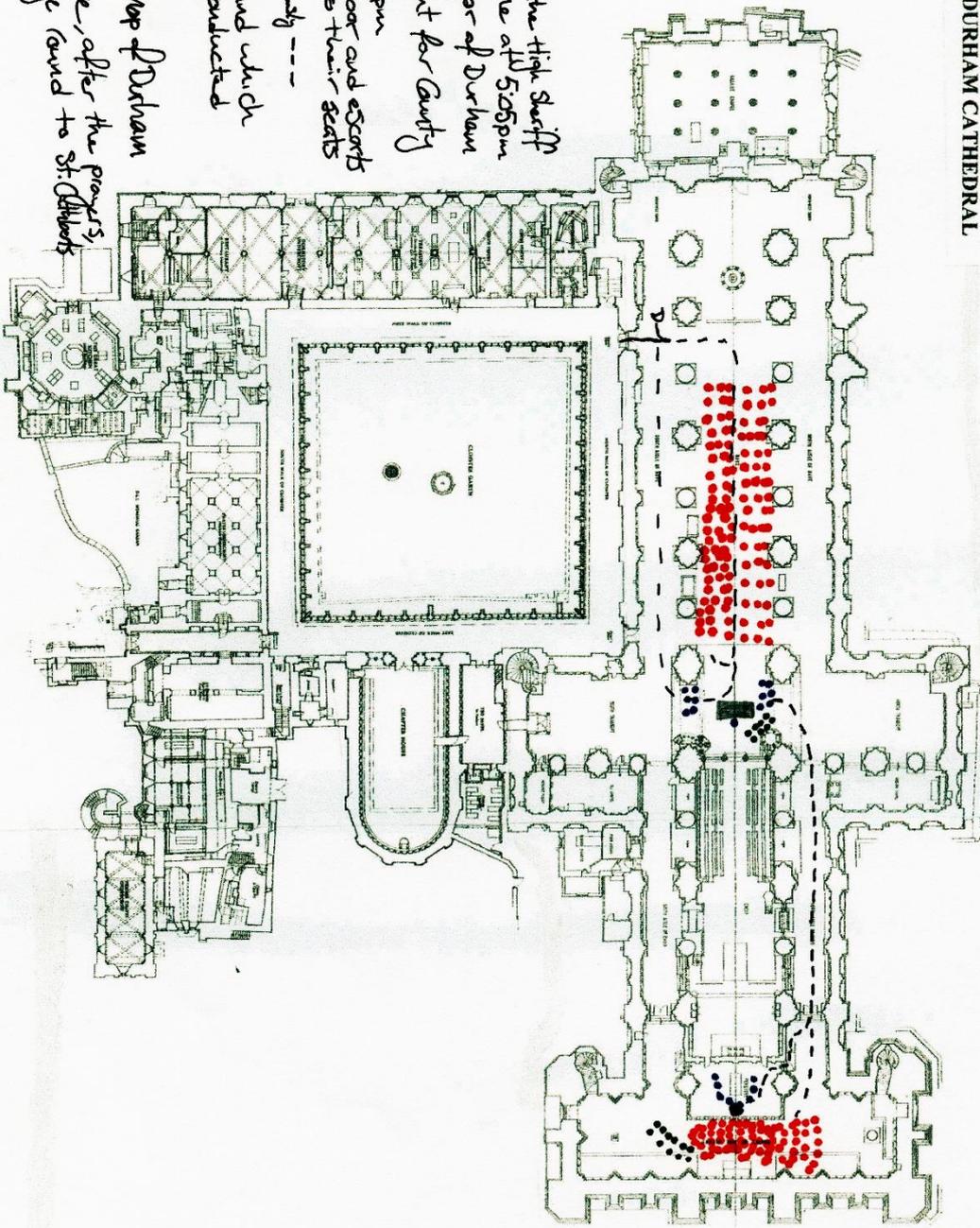


# APPENDIX K

## Procession on St Cuthbert's Day Map

### Festal Entrance Procession on St Cuthbert's Day

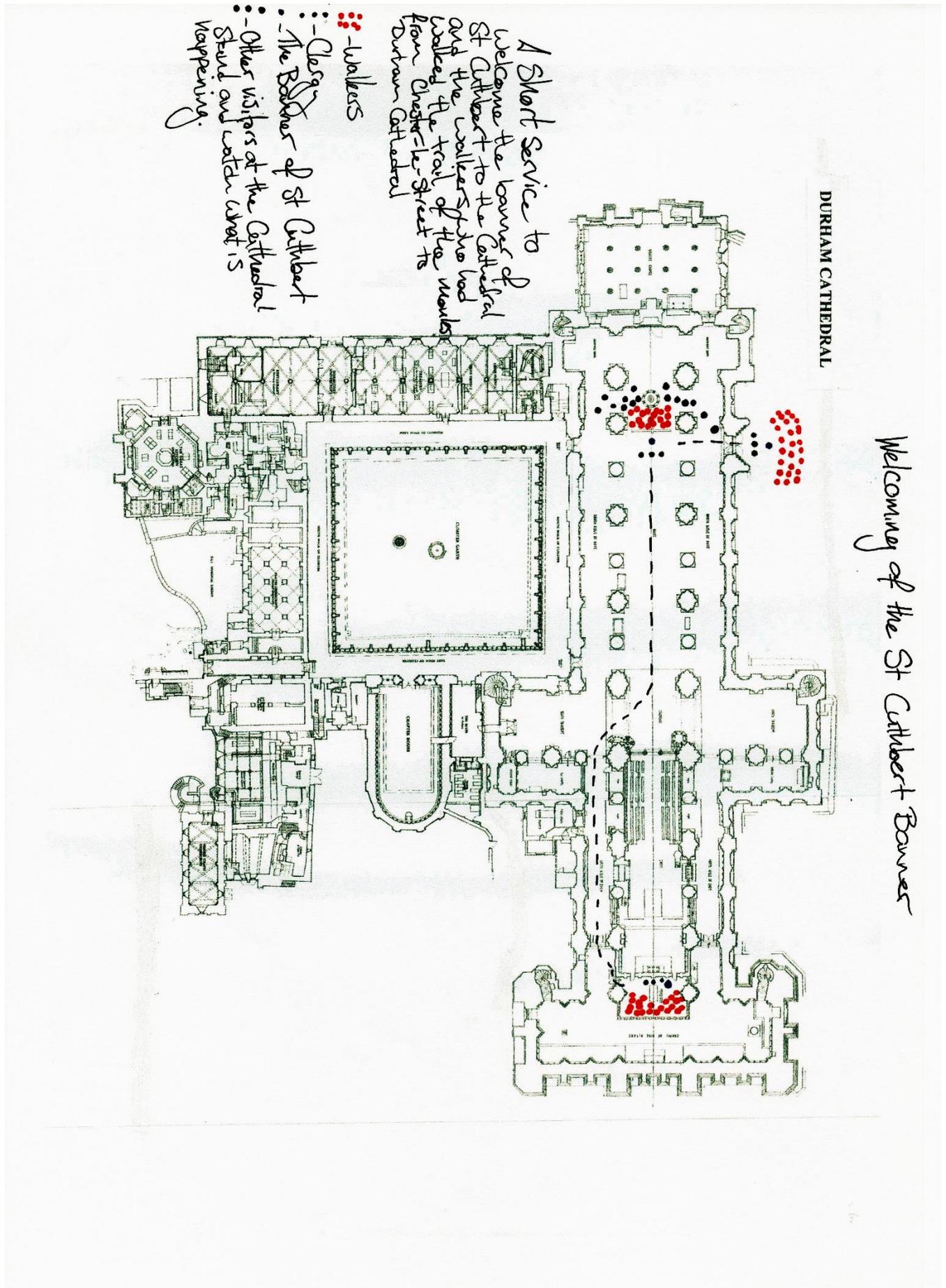
DURHAM CATHEDRAL



- D - The Dean greets the High Sheriff of the County Palatine at 5:05pm
- ↳ The Deputy Mayor of Durham at 5:05pm
- ↳ HM-Lieutenant for County Durham at 5:09pm
- All at the South Door and escort them individually to their seats
- ↳ Route shown finally ---
- Move after around which the service is conducted
- Choir
- Clergy inc. Bishop of Durham
- During the service, after the prayers, there is a pilgrimage round to St Cuthbert's shrine
- Bishop

# APPENDIX L

## Welcoming of St Cuthbert Banner



# APPENDIX M

Evensong 27 February 2014 Map

