



Life and Death, Demons and Devotion: the Medieval Graffiti of Surrey's Parish Churches



Abigail Coskun

BA Anthropology and Archaeology

University of Durham, Archaeology Department

2020

Dissertation Impact Sheet

Did Covid19 prevent you from completing part of your dissertation project?

Yes

If YES, please indicate what it prevented you from doing (100 words):

It disrupted access to sources, prevented me from revisiting sites (churches) which I had planned to do over Easter because of the results of my ongoing research. It also meant that I could not visit archives to view parish records (which are only held in physical copies/microfiche), which I had also been intending to carry out over the Easter holidays.

Please summarise the action taken in response (100 words):

I have included an indicative bibliography to show where sources were unavailable and used 'tbc' where it was not possible to revisit sources to check page numbers. I included a short paragraph in my methodology to explain how it was impacted and indicated in text in several specific instances where I would have otherwise included findings from archival documents or secondary church visits.

Acknowledgments

My sincerest thanks must go to all of the priests and parishioners who welcomed me so warmly into their churches, providing me both with invaluable information and plenty of biscuits. Also, to the Guild of Friends of St Lawrence and to all who allowed me access to their wonderful places of worship. In particular I would like to thank Rev Hugh Gear and Sue Mallinson who were so generous with their time and expertise.

My gratitude also goes to Richard Neville and the Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey, to Louise Rowland and to Dr Michael Stansfield, who has taught me so much and who always makes things seem clear. I would also like to thank my supervisor Dr Pamela Graves for all of her help, inspiration and enthusiasm.

To Hellie, Imo and Maisie, the dream team, I can't thank you enough.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Helen Kemp, who has been there every step of the way. To undertake this research without you would have been impossible and I am profoundly grateful for all your support.

Abstract

Medieval church graffiti has recently emerged as a growing area of study within archaeology, as new techniques have brought to light thousands of inscriptions in churches around the country. This study aimed to record the medieval graffiti found in parish churches in Surrey and use the results to explore the way that aspects of medieval society and belief manifested themselves in this medium. 51 churches were surveyed during this research and their graffiti was photographed and recorded. This data was analysed and compared to the results of other surveys nationwide. Knowledge, ideas and techniques from disciplines such as manuscript art, palaeography, architectural history and religion were drawn upon to supplement analyses. Through this, the study concluded that the graffiti in Surrey's churches has a great deal to add to understandings of the way that its medieval communities lived, died and interacted with their church and faith. Insights were provided into areas such as education, gender and life course, as well as about belief in purgatory, the impact of ritual and liminality and the way that Christianity interacted with traditional folk beliefs. Several individual graffiti inscriptions that were found were also judged to be of high significance nationally.

Word Count: 13102

Contents

Acknowledgments.....	2
Abstract.....	3
List of Tables and Figures.....	6
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	8
Academic Context.....	8
Research questions.....	10
Aims and Objectives.....	11
Methodology.....	11
Chapter 2: The Sites and the Data.....	14
Chapter 3: Analysis.....	29
Space and Location.....	29
Crosses and ‘VV’ Designs.....	30
Medieval Text Inscriptions.....	31
Flora and Fauna.....	32
Human Figures.....	34
Compass-Drawn Designs.....	36
Heraldic Graffiti.....	37
Mason’s and Carpenter’s Marks.....	38
Architectural Designs.....	40
Post-Medieval Graffiti.....	43
Unidentified Designs.....	44
Chapter 4: Discussion.....	48
Gender, Power and the Church.....	48
Education and Social Learning.....	52
Graffiti and the Life Course.....	56
Chapter 5: Discussion Continued.....	60
Dichotomy vs Integration: ‘Orthodox’ and Folk Belief.....	60
Liminality and Ritual: Graffiti and the Church Doorway.....	64
Purgatory and Intercession.....	65
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	69

Bibliography.....	71
Indicative Bibliography.....	75
Appendices.....	76
Appendix 1.....	76
Appendix 2.....	78

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Table of churches surveyed, with histories and overview of graffiti.....	14
Figure 1: Map of churches surveyed during the study.....	28
Figure 2: Examples of complex cross designs.....	30
Figure 3: ‘VV’ design, St Mary, Oxted.....	31
Figure 4: 16 th century text inscription, St James, Shere.....	32
Figure 5: Bird inscription, St Lawrence, Caterham.....	33
Figure 6: Horse and rider inscription, St Lawrence, Caterham.....	33
Figure 7: Human Figure, St Mary, Stoke D’Abernon.....	34
Figure 8: Hand inscription, St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon.....	35
Figure 9: Examples of compass-drawn designs.....	36
Figure 10: Heraldic shields, St James, Shere.....	37
Figure 11: de Warenne family shield.....	37
Figure 12: Heraldic shields, St James, Shere.....	38
Figure 13: de Clare family shield.....	38
Figure 14: Examples of masons’ marks.....	39
Figure 15: Carpenters’ marks, St Mary and All Saints, Dunsfold.....	40
Figure 16: Architectural design, St Michael, Betchworth.....	40
Figure 17: Architectural design, All Saints, Banstead.....	41
Figure 18: Window jamb moulding designs, St Nicholas, Pyrford.....	41
Figure 19: Architectural design, St Nicholas, Pyrford.....	42
Figure 20: Mullion profiles, Gloucester Cathedral.....	43
Figure 21: Inscription on window glass, All Saints, Ockham.....	44
Figure 22: Inscription of arrows, St Mary, Oxted.....	45
Figure 23: Arrow inscriptions, Wisley.....	46
Figure 24: Human figures wearing helmets, St Nicholas, Compton.....	49
Figure 25: Inscription of ballock knyves, St Peter, Woking.....	50
Figure 26: Heraldic shields, St Peter, Woking.....	51
Figure 27: Medieval text inscriptions, St James, Shere.....	52
Figure 28: The Dog’s Murdered Master, Bodley 764 (f.31v).....	54
Figure 29: Compass-drawn design and copies, St Nicholas, Great Bookham.....	55

Figure 30: Architectural design and copy, St Peter, Newdigate.....	55
Figure 31: Apotropaic designs on the font, St George, Crowhurst.....	56
Figure 32: Apotropaic designs on the font, St George, Crowhurst.....	57
Figure 33: House-shaped graffito, St Mary the Virgin, Bletchingley.....	58
Figure 34: Pentangle inscriptions, St Margaret, Chipstead.....	61
Figure 35: Inscription of star and demon, St Mary, Horne.....	62
Figure 36: Compass-drawn designs, St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon.....	62
Figure 37: Christogram, St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon.....	63
Figure 38: The Chaldon Mural, St Peter and St Paul, Chaldon.....	65
Figure 39: Ladder inscription, St Mary Magdalene, Reigate.....	66
Figure 40: Inscription of ladders and river, St Peter and St Paul, Lingfield	67

Chapter 1: Introduction

The research undertaken for this dissertation is a study of the medieval graffiti within parish churches in the county of Surrey, some of which have never been previously researched in the context of their graffiti. The aims of this project were to record, identify and analyse the graffiti in a number of churches to provide new insight into how the medieval population interacted with the church and expressed their beliefs. The methodology for the project is based upon that used by the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey, which has been adopted in many other areas to form a common research framework. There are a several reasons why this research is relevant, starting with its place within the study of medieval graffiti nationally. Whilst some research has taken place on this subject in Surrey, the project was never completed, and the results remain largely unanalysed and unpublished. This research, therefore, has the potential to contribute to the discourse on this topic, as well as filling a gap in the study of graffiti nationwide. The project may also be of considerable interest to the communities still using Surrey's medieval churches, providing a greater understanding of how people have been interacting with their place of worship over the centuries. This may also have an impact on the way that these communities care for and undertake restoration of the fabric of their churches. Finally, this research is relevant because graffiti is a subject very open to interpretation; it is extremely rare for anyone in the medieval period to have written down the meaning of the inscriptions they made in churches. For this reason, it could be argued that the greater the diversity of people who research and provide their own ideas on this subject, the closer we might come to an understanding of this enigmatic practice.

Academic Context

The body of previous academic literature on medieval graffiti, especially in an ecclesiastical context, is comparatively small, particularly in the United Kingdom. Most previously published studies on the subject tend to deal with only one or a very small number of churches, rather than examining this phenomenon on a broader scale (Peake, 2012; Williams, 2017). There are some papers of this type indicating that interest in medieval graffiti dates back to the early 20th century (Emden, 1922; Montague Benton, 1925). However, not only are these on very small scale, but also rely on limited technology. Until recently, surveys of medieval graffiti have relied on taking rubbings of each individual graffiti, meaning that more lightly inscribed examples, or those not drawn on smooth stone, were missed (Champion, 2015, 4). This is the biggest issue with one of the few wider scale studies, Pritchard's (1967) work *English Medieval Graffiti*, which documents graffiti from churches in the vicinity of Cambridge. Whilst Pritchard records examples of many of the principal types of graffiti

found in English churches, it is unlikely that her results are as complete as more modern surveys. That said, in a context where so few wide scale studies have been undertaken, it is a useful source, even though some of its conclusions may now be considered outdated (Champion, 2018).

The recent increase in surveys of medieval graffiti, spearheaded by Matthew Champion and the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey, has been driven by the availability of digital cameras, which allow much more comprehensive recording than previously possible. The results of this large-scale project are the focus of Champion's (2015) book *Medieval Graffiti: The Lost Voices of England's Churches*, which, whilst written to be accessible to a wide audience, is an extensive analysis of graffiti addressing many different examples. These include apotropaic graffiti such as compass-drawn designs, 'VV' inscriptions and pentangles, as well as crosses, ship graffiti, textual inscriptions, architectural designs, heraldic inscriptions, mason's and merchant's marks, musical inscriptions and images of people, objects and animals (Champion, 2015). However, the major failing with this work is that it does not cite its sources, making it challenging to corroborate some of its claims.

Both Champion and Pritchard emphasise that the creation of graffiti was unlikely to have had the negative connotations it has today, and that it was likely a widespread practice (Champion, 2015; Pritchard, 1967). The most widely studied of all of the forms of graffiti are undoubtedly the ship and text inscriptions (Champion, 2015; Dhoop et al. 2016; Fleming, 2001). However, most of this scholarship, especially on ship graffiti, concentrates on examples from Europe (Gomes et al. 2014; Westerdahl, 2013), although this provides useful insights into what was clearly an international phenomenon.

Theories about why graffiti was created in medieval churches have also advanced significantly since researchers first became interested in the subject in the early 20th century. An example of this is ship graffiti, which was for many years thought to be concentrated in churches on the coast, as Emden (1922) concluded. However, more recent wide scale recording of graffiti has found many examples as far inland as Leicestershire (Champion, 2015), which calls into question the traditional idea that ship graffiti was the work of sailors and their families. This is just one example of the way that the study of this subject has evolved; since the 1920s, interest has also progressed from simply what graffiti can tell us technically about its subject. The focus for research and analysis is now an understanding of why medieval people made these inscriptions and what they tell us about their wider societal connections.

It was in this context, and on the basis of the work of the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey, that a similar project was started in Surrey, the Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey (SMGS). This set out to record and create a database for the graffiti of churches in the county and undertook surveys of

many of them, but then came to a halt without being completed, leaving a significant number of churches unstudied (Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey, 2011). It also lacked the capability for full analysis of the material that was recorded, meaning that there is still much work to be undertaken to understand graffiti in medieval churches in Surrey.

Because of the absence of specific literature regarding medieval graffiti, another valuable source for providing context for this research is Nairn and Pevsner's guide to the buildings of Surrey. This is useful because it provides details about dates for different parts of each church and about which ones have been most heavily restored, as well as any noteworthy features they contain (Nairn et al. 1971). The same is true of the Surrey volumes of the Victoria County Histories (Malden, 1911; Malden 1912), which are particularly thorough and contain many helpful floorplans with chronologies. This information can potentially help with dating, although this is very difficult to do with much precision for medieval graffiti, as dates were very infrequently inscribed pre-Reformation (Champion, 2015). For textual inscriptions handwriting may be used to indicate a date, and sometimes human figures may be dated by their style of dress, although context within the fabric of the church building also has the potential to provide additional evidence (Champion, 2015).

As medieval graffiti is an underdeveloped area of study, sources from diverse subject areas must be drawn upon for comparisons, background and theory. In this dissertation, ideas are therefore borrowed from disciplines such as manuscript art, architectural history, religion, medieval literature, palaeography and studies of ritual and magic.

Research Questions

There were several broad questions which I wished to address through undertaking this dissertation. These were:

- Are there any recognisable trends in the forms and/or placement of medieval graffiti in churches in Surrey?
- How does medieval graffiti in churches in Surrey compare to other areas, and is this indicative of variations in local belief?
- How did the physicality of the medieval church impact on beliefs and the way that they were expressed among the laity during this period?
- Can graffiti be said to provide a medium through which traditionally underrepresented parts of medieval society may be studied?

Because of this, the main research question that I identified for the study is:

Through the study of the medieval graffiti in parish churches in Surrey, is it possible to identify any trends in belief, or in the way in which parishioners interacted with their church and with their faith?

Aims and Objectives

The aims of this research project are:

- To assess how the perceptions of religion among the laity of medieval England may have manifested themselves physically through graffiti.
- To assess the extent to which local variations in belief may have been expressed through this medium.
- To assess how the established doctrine of the medieval church interacted with the traditional folk beliefs of its laity and how this may be demonstrated through graffiti.

The objectives for this project are:

- To document examples of medieval graffiti in Surrey churches, an extensive survey of which has not yet been fully undertaken.
- To compare examples of graffiti from Surrey with those found elsewhere around England and Europe to identify similarities and differences.
- To identify any patterns in the form and placement of graffiti and possible factors that might explain these trends.

Methodology

The methodology used to complete the research for this dissertation was based on the model devised by the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey (2011). This is a framework that has been adopted for other regional surveys including the East Sussex Medieval Graffiti Survey (2015), as well as the Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey when it was still being undertaken. By employing this method, I hoped that my results would be highly comparable with data collected elsewhere, enabling analysis of potential similarities and differences with other counties to be more successful. Another benefit of this is that it will allow the research undertaken in this study to be fed back into the national body of knowledge on this subject.

After the literature review was undertaken, a list of potential churches to survey needed to be created; to do this, I consulted the list of medieval churches in Surrey compiled by the SGMS. To further assess the suitability of these churches, several factors were taken into account. That included the level of restoration the church was documented as having undergone, as well as the amount of whitewashing that had taken place in the interior. Approximately 20 churches that

appeared from online photos to contain very heavily whitewashed stonework were discarded, as the graffiti would then be obscured, potentially leading to incorrect assumptions about the relative presence of graffiti. Likewise, ten churches already surveyed by SMGS where no graffiti was found, or else with only isolated instances of poor-quality graffiti, were also discarded. Practical considerations also prevailed when decisions were being made about which churches to survey. Opening times for churches were compiled, and in the case of those not typically open to the public, there was a need to then identify and contact priests or members of the congregation who could provide access.

Before undertaking visits to the churches identified as suitable for survey, a methodology for recording the graffiti needed to be created. This was heavily influenced by the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey's recommendations and comprised a Site Record Sheet for each church and Photo Record Sheets, on which each photograph taken was listed and described. Digital photos were the primary way in which graffiti would be documented and this method required a digital camera, light source and photographic scale. After experimenting with a SLR camera I decided that the best results were produced using the camera in the Samsung Galaxy S8 phone, on which all the photographs in this survey were then taken. This was judged to be a high quality and simple way of recording data. At the beginning of fieldwork for this survey, multiple phone torches were used to light graffiti obliquely, after which a more suitable light source was identified in the form of the Skywatcher Spotlight (designed to be a light for astronomy). This produced much clearer results and facilitated wider photographs of graffiti. At the start of the survey period, it became obvious that recording graffiti was much easier and produced better results when one individual held the light source while another took photographs. For this reason, Helen Kemp must receive special thanks for all her help in the recording process.

The process of visiting and surveying churches took place in August and September of 2019. The order in which this occurred was influenced by when churches were open and which were near each other for ease of transport. When visiting each church, the Victoria County History (Malden, 1911; Malden, 1912) was used to assess in which parts of the church graffiti were likely to be located, but all accessible, appropriately aged, parts of the churches were surveyed. The plans of the churches were recorded on the Site Record Sheets, and all graffiti were photographed and their location documented. In total, 51 churches were surveyed during this research, with all but two containing recognisable graffiti.

After each church had been surveyed, the photographs were transferred onto a computer and saved with their unique code, signifying the site and the photo number, as recorded on the Photo Record

Sheets. These record sheets included this code, the location within the church and a description to allow for easy identification of particular graffiti forms during analysis. Both record sheets and photographs are retained in the author's archive (see Appendix 1 and 2). A master Excel spreadsheet was used to tabulate information on the churches and the graffiti recorded in them, as well as being used later on to catalogue occurrences of specific forms. With the data organised in this way, it was then possible to begin the process of analysing results, identifying patterns and determining areas for further research. Many of the photographs, particularly those containing complex graffiti forms were further processed using Adobe Photoshop, which was especially helpful when looking to understand medieval text inscriptions. The occurrence of certain forms of graffiti was also plotted onto diagrams of each church as an aid to understanding their spatiality.

However, in the final phase of undertaking this dissertation in March and April 2020, access both to materials and sites was disrupted by the onset of COVID-19 and the subsequent government-implemented social distancing rules. This made it impossible to revisit several churches for the purpose of re-evaluating their graffiti based on the results of the ongoing analysis. It also reduced access to resources for research, which is reflected in the indicative bibliography accompanying this study.

Chapter 2: The Sites and the Data

A total of 51 churches were surveyed in this study, which, with the exception of Coulsdon were all within the boundaries of the modern county of Surrey, belonging to either the diocese of Guildford or Southwark. A brief summary of the history of each church is presented in the table below, as well as a short review of the graffiti recorded at each site during this survey. A map (Figure 1) is also presented, showing the distribution of the churches surveyed throughout the county.

Table 1:

	Church Location & Dedication	Date of Survey	Architectural & Dating summary	Restoration dates & extents	Graffiti locations	Graffiti forms
1	Alfold, St Nicholas	19/09/19	Nave and chancel built c.1100, with the south aisle added in c.1190 and the north in 1290 (Malden, 1911, 79). The tower is timber and is dated to roughly 1500 (Malden, 1911, 79).	Underwent period of restoration in the 19th century (Malden, 1911, 79).	Found on pier of south aisle and on the jambs of the south door.	Graffiti found here includes at least six human faces and figures, crosses, stars and post medieval initials.
2	Ash, St Peter	25/09/19	The oldest part consists of an aisleless nave and chancel built in the 12 th century, with the addition of a 15 th century tower at its west end (Malden, 1911, 343).	Modern chancel and nave added to the north of the original structure, which is now the south aisle and Lady Chapel (Malden, 1911, 343).	On the tower piers and the south door jamb.	Includes a compass drawn circle, crosses and some post-medieval lettering.
3	Banstead, All Saints	16/09/19	Was brought into its present form between 1190 and 1220, although likely to have been based on the plan of an older, pre-Conquest church (Malden, 1911, 260). The north aisle was widened in the 15th century (Malden, 1911, 260).	The south aisle is modern, as is the south chapel which was rebuilt in 1837 (Malden, 1911, 260). It also underwent a series of restorations from the 18th century onwards (Malden, 1911, 260).	Most graffiti found on the tower arch and north door jambs.	Small in quantity, but includes a set of architectural designs, compass drawn circles, crosses and a heraldic shield.
4	Betchworth, St Michael	14/09/19	Mentioned in the Domesday book and	Very extensive rebuild and	Most of the graffiti were on	Includes a consecration

			there may have been a stone Anglo-Saxon church on this site before the present one was erected (Malden, 1911, 171). The chancel is 11th century, although the church was enlarged in the 13th century at the time when the south aisle was added, and the Lady Chapel built (Malden, 1911, 171).	restoration occurred in about 1850, which included moving the tower to its present position (Malden, 1911, 170).	piers of both north and south aisles as well as the chancel.	cross, a human figure seen in profile, compass drawn designs, crosses and architectural designs
5	Bletchingley, St Mary the Virgin	29/08/19	The tower is the earliest standing element being of early 12th century date, with a nave of c.1180 and chancel from the 13th century (Malden, 1912, 261).	North aisle added in 1845 when restoration works were carried out (Malden, 1912, 261).	Largest concentrations on chancel pier and doorjambs.	Includes compass drawn designs, crosses, post medieval initials and inscriptions and 'VV' designs.
6	Burstow, St Bartholomew	09/09/19	A date of c.1120 is given to the nave and the chancel, with most of the rest of the building, including the south aisle, dated to the 15th century (Malden, 1911, 180).	Underwent restoration works in 1884 (Malden, 1911, 180).	All of the graffiti found here were on the outer jamb of the south door.	Limited in quantity, but includes some medieval text, a star and the 'VV' design.
7	Caterham, St Lawrence	22/09/19	First period of building occurred around 1100 and this included part of the nave and the extant chancel, which was enlarged in c.1220, when the north aisle was also built (Malden, 1912, 268).	During the 19 th century, rather than undertake extensive remodelling or 'restoration' a new church was built across the road to house a larger congregation. Thus, this church escaped the destruction of many of its early features	Found throughout the church, particularly around the south door, on the chancel arch and north aisle pier.	Particularly interesting in content. Includes several human figures, a horse and rider, a bird, a dandelion flower, compass drawn designs and crosses.

				and has little whitewashing.		
8	Chaldon, St Peter and St Paul	28/08/19	Dated to the 11 th century. Nave and chancel retain its original plan, with the south aisle added in the late 12 th century and the north aisle added in the early 13 th century (Maldon, 1912, 191).	19 th Century: exposed the exceptional medieval wall painting on the west wall, which is of late 12 th /early 13 th century date and depicts the 'Ladder of Salvation of the Human Soul' and 'Purgatory and Hell' (Malden, 1912, 192).	One consecration cross in the bottom of the wall painting. Most graffiti on 13 th century font.	Includes crosses, a large amount of post-medieval lettering, 'VV' designs and a possible depiction of a tree. There were also two painted consecration crosses.
9	Charlwood, St Nicholas	09/09/19	The nave and tower date to c.1100, with a south aisle added in the 14th century (Malden, 1911, 187). The south chapel and porch are 15th century additions. The south wall of the south aisle retains some of its medieval wall painting, including scenes from the story of St Margaret, and possibly also of St Nicholas (although this is damaged) (Malden, 1911, 188).		On doorjamb, nave pier and pier in chancel.	Limited amount of graffiti recorded here, but includes some medieval text (which may be names), crosses, post-medieval initials and the 'VV' design.
10	Chiddingfold, St Mary	19/09/19	Nave is thought to date to before the Norman Conquest (Malden, 1911, 14). The present chancel dates to c.1230, and the aisles were added in the late 12th century, before being rebuilt in the 14th century (Malden, 1911, 14).	A destructive restoration and rebuild occurred in 1870 and so the north aisle and north chapel are almost entirely modern (Malden, 1911, 14).	Mostly on piers, with a few examples on doorjamb.	Little graffiti found here, consisted mostly of crosses and post-medieval initials.

11	Chipstead, St Margaret	16/09/19	West wall of the nave appears to be 12th century, but the majority of the church dates to the early 13th century (Malden, 1911, 193).	North aisle, south porch and south transept modern (Malden, 1911, 193). Has undergone a number of phases of restoration and rebuilding from the 17th- 20th centuries (Malden, 1911, 193).	Most graffiti found on piers, also some found on the font.	Includes five-pointed stars, compass drawn designs, crosses, 'VV' designs and post-medieval initials.
12	Chobham, St Lawrence	25/09/19	Nave is early 12 th century, although it was shorter than at present. The south aisle was added in c.1180. The nave was lengthened in the 13 th century and the tower built in c.1450 (Malden, 1911, 417).	Chancel completely rebuilt in 1898 and the north aisle added in 1866 (Malden, 1911, 416).	Found on doorjambs, tower arch and south aisle piers.	Little graffiti here, but includes the 'VV' design, a star and post-medieval initials and dates.
13	Cobham, St Andrew	11/09/19	Remains of the original medieval church are the 12th century tower and south doorway and the 13th century chancel and north chapel (Malden, 1911, 445).	Very large-scale series of restorations and enlargements carried out in the 19th and early 20th centuries. North and south aisles as well as their piers and the chancel arch are all modern (Malden, 1911, 445).	Found on nave pier and tower doorjamb.	Limited in quantity, but includes a 'mass dial', crosses and post-medieval initials and dates.
14	Compton, St Nicholas	12/09/19	Tower is of pre-Conquest date, the chancel dates to c.1080 and the north and south aisles, as well as the anchorite's cell, were 12th century additions (Malden,	Underwent periods of restoration in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Malden, 1911, 21).	High quantities found on piers, also on chancel arch and in the anchorite's cell. Some also found on window jambs.	Includes uncommon designs of human figures wearing helmets, as well as compass drawn

			1911, 22). Is unusual as it has a second storey chapel above the sanctuary, a feature rarely seen in Britain.			designs, medieval text inscriptions, a heraldic shield, 'VV' designs and crosses.
15	Coulsdon, St John the Evangelist	30/08/19	Chancel and north aisle date to around 1250 and the south aisle was also built around this time, probably c.1270 (Malden, 1912, 203). The piers between the aisles and the nave were replaced in the early 15th century (Malden, 1912, 203).	Large extension in the mid-20 th century and the wall of the south aisle was lost to the building of the New Church's nave (St John the Evangelist Old Coulsdon, 2020).	Particularly large quantities found on the aisle piers and tower arch.	Exceptional in quality and quantity and includes unusual compass drawn designs, lots of medieval text inscriptions, a consecration cross, stars, trees, Christograms and a traced hand.
16	Cranleigh, St Nicolas	18/09/19	Chancel built c.1300, as was the western tower and likely the north and south aisles (Malden, 1911, 89). The original nave was 12th-13th century, though little of this survives (Malden, 1911, 90).	Extremely extensive and damaging restoration makes dating some elements difficult (Malden, 1911, 89). Rebuilding and restoration occurred from 1845 onwards (Malden, 1911, 90).	Mostly on piers, but also some graffiti on font.	Little graffiti found, but those designs that were found include a ragged staff and crosses.
17	Crowhurst, St George	26/08/19	Nave built in the late 11 th century and chancel added in the early 13 th century, with thorough repairs carried out in the 15 th century (Malden, 1912, 279).	19 th Century was not dramatic and has not greatly affected the church (Malden, 1912, 279).	On the font in high quantities and on the jamb of the south door.	Includes compass drawn designs, crosses and 'VV' designs
18	Dunsfold, St Mary and All Saints	19/09/19	Almost entirely dates from between 1270 and 1290, with only a few minor additions, including the south doorway		Mostly found on surviving 13 th century pews, with a few examples on doorjambs	Carpenters marks on pews and some post medieval

			being replaced in the 16th century (Malden, 1911, 94). Original 13 th century pews still present (Malden, 1911, 96).		and sedilia in chancel.	letters on stonework.
19	Ewhurst, St Peter and St Paul	18/09/19	Some of the original 12th century nave still standing and the south door, with its Norman decoration, is also of this date (Malden, 1911, 100).	Much of the church is modern, having been largely replaced after a huge collapse during repairs in the 1830s (Malden, 1911, 100).	All graffiti found on jambs of south door.	Exceptional number of human figures and faces, including one depicted smoking a clay pipe, as well as post-medieval initials.
20	Fetcham, St Mary	18/09/19	Walls of the nave probably date to the early 11th century, to which a south aisle was added in 1150-60 (Malden, 1911, 288). Tower is also of 12th century date, and the present chancel and transept are 13th century (Malden, 1911, 288).	South aisle torn down and rebuilt in the 19 th century as part of extensive restorations which occurred in 18 th and 19 th centuries (Malden, 1911, 288).	On piers in the north aisle and chancel. Some found on doorjamb.	Includes a human figure, compass drawn circles, arrows, crosses and 'VV' designs.
21	Godalming, St Peter and St Paul	19/09/19	Grew up around a Saxon church, going through a long series of building projects to arrive at its present size and form (Malden, 1911, 38). The chancel, the piers of the crossing and the south chapel are all early work, from pre-Conquest through until the late 13th century (Malden, 1911, 37).	The north and south aisles, the west end of the nave, north chapel and north transept are all modern (Malden, 1911, 37). A series of destructive restorations occurred in the 19th century, including by Sir Gilbert Scott (Malden, 1911, 38).	All graffiti were found on piers, including in chancel and transepts.	Includes a depiction of a fish, crosses, a compass drawn circle, 'VV' designs and arrows.
22	Great Bookham, St Nicolas	14/09/19	The south aisle dates from 1140-50, with the north built in the late 12th century,	Underwent a period of restoration in the 19th	Found on piers as well as window and doorjambs.	Includes a consecration cross, compass

			both formed around what would have been an 11th century nave (Malden, 1911, 332). The tower was a late 12th century addition, the chancel was built in 1341, and the south porch and south chapel in the late 14th and 15th centuries (Malden, 1911, 332).	century (Malden, 1911, 332).		drawn designs, possible medieval text, crosses, post-medieval initials and the 'VV' design.
23	Horley, St Bartholomew	09/09/19	Dating is difficult, but it appears that much of the surviving fabric is of 1400-1500 date, with the north aisle and north porch dated to the early 14th century (Malden, 1911, 205).		High quantity in porch and on doorjambs, also found on the north aisle piers.	High quantity, including depictions of human figures, medieval textual inscriptions, human faces, crowns, compass drawn circles, stars and many post-medieval initials and dates.
24	Horne, St Mary	09/09/19	The dating is particularly difficult and the oldest feature that survives is the south doorway, which is of 13th century origin (Malden, 1912, 295).	Drastic restoration in 1880 (Malden, 1912, 295).	All graffiti found around doorjamb of south doorway, with the exception of a few examples on font.	Includes a depiction of the devil with a star, a medieval text inscription, 'VV' designs and post-medieval initials and dates. Some of this graffiti appears inverted.
25	Horsell, St Mary the Virgin	21/09/19	The north wall of the nave is the earliest extant feature, dating from c.1320, followed by the tower which was a	Much is now modern, with the entire east end being rebuilt in 1890, although the	Found on piers in south aisle and doorjambs.	Includes stars, crosses, compass drawn designs, 'VV' designs and

			15th century addition and the south aisle from the early 16th century (Malden, 1911, 429).	nave retains some of its original piers (Malden, 1911, 429).		post-medieval initials and dates.
26	Leigh, St Bartholomew	19/09/19	Originally built in the 15th century and much of what survives is of this date (Malden, 1911, 211).	Lengthened in 1890 and its original tower was also demolished (Malden, 1911, 211).	Mostly found on piers in the nave, with some on pier in chancel and jambs of the south door.	Includes compass drawn designs, medieval text, a human figure, a possible consecration cross, stars, crosses and post-medieval initials.
27	Limpsfield, St Peter	27/09/19	Originally built c.1180, of which the tower and parts of the nave still exist; chancel rebuilt in 1220 and later in the 13 th century the north chapel and south aisle were added (Malden, 1912, 300). The south door and porch are of 16 th century origin (Malden, 1912, 300).	North aisle is an addition from 1854 (Malden, 1912, 300).	On piers and jamb of south door; medieval text in tower (now vestry).	Relatively little found, but includes examples of crosses, the 'VV' design, a depiction of a rat wearing a bishop's mitre on a pier and medieval inscription in the tower.
28	Lingfield, St Peter and St Paul	29/08/19	Largely of 15th century date, with the exception of the tower from the 14th century, which rests on 12th century foundations (Malden, 1912, 308).		Found throughout whole church, including piers of the chancel.	Extensive graffiti including examples of medieval textual inscriptions, compass drawn designs, a 'Solomon's knot' design, crosses, ladders, and 'VV' designs.
29	Little Bookham, All Saints	18/09/19	The north and west walls of the nave date to the early	South porch is a modern addition.	All graffiti were on jambs of the north doorway.	Very little graffiti, but designs

			12th century and the extant chancel is of 13th century date (Malden, 1911, 337).			include compass-drawn circles and some post-medieval initials.
30	Merstham, St Katherine	29/08/19	The current church dated to the end of the 12th century, but went through a variety of alterations in the 14th and 15th centuries (Malden, 1911, 218).	Heavy restoration since 1840, some of which was quite destructive (Malden, 1911, 218). Interior is very heavily whitewashed.	Mostly on pier in north aisle.	Little graffiti recorded, however examples of 'VV' designs, concentric compass drawn circles and a consecration cross are present.
31	Mickleham, St Michael and All Angels	14/09/19	Tower from c.1140 is the oldest surviving feature, with the chancel built in c.1180 (Malden, 1911, 307). West porch and north chapel date to 15th and early 16th centuries (Malden, 1911, 307).	The rest of the church was subject to a modern rebuild in the 19 th century (Malden, 1911, 307).	The few examples were on interior doorjamb of tower.	Very little found, included only a partial compass drawn circle and some post-medieval initials and lettering.
32	Newdigate, St Peter	19/09/19	Chancel and nave date from the 13th century, with the south aisle added in the mid-late 14th century (Malden, 1911, 314).	Underwent restoration in 1877 and at this time the north aisle was built (Malden, 1911, 314).	All found on south door jambs and pier in north aisle.	Little graffiti found, but includes a hexagonal design (possibly architectural), a compass drawn design and a collection of crosses.
33	Nutfield, St Peter and St Paul	29/08/19	Plan of the nave is from the 12th century, with the current chancel replacing the original in the early 13th century (Maldon, 1911, 226). North aisle was added c.1230 and the south	Extensive recent restoration work undertaken (Malden, 1911, 226).	Large quantities found around doorways and in south porch.	Includes a heraldic shield, compass drawn circles, crosses, 'VV' designs and many post medieval initials.

			doorway dates to the 15th century (Malden, 1911, 226).			
34	Ockham, All Saints	19/09/19	Original plan is 12th century, although the extant building is mostly 13th century (Malden, 1911, 361). North aisle added in c.1220 and the west tower and north aisle were added and enlarged in the 15th century (Malden, 1911, 361).	North aisle has a large mausoleum attached to it built by Peter, Lord King, in the 18th century and work occurred to the church in the 19th century (Malden, 1911, 361).	Found throughout church, including on stairs inside bell tower, and on tower arch and doorway. Also high quantities found on piers, doorjambes and window sills in chancel.	High quantity, which includes compass-drawn designs, a depiction of a bell ringer and bell with its mechanism, 'VV' designs, stars, and many post-medieval text inscriptions and initials. A unique graffiti inscription on a pane of glass was also recorded and dates to 1776.
35	Ockley, St Margaret	18/09/19	The earliest extant features are of early 14th century date and both the nave and chancel belong to this period (Malden, 1911, 153).	In 1873 the church was restored and extended, with the addition of the north aisle and lengthening of the chancel (Malden, 1911, 153).	All graffiti found on jambs of the south door.	Very small amount of graffiti but includes crosses and post-medieval initials and dates.
36	Okewood (Wotton), St John the Baptist	19/09/19	Originally built in c.1220, as just a nave and chancel (Malden, 1911, 159).	Series of restorations and extensions in the 19th century (Malden, 1911, 159). North aisle was added at the expense of a series of wall paintings found on the north wall of the nave (Malden, 1911, 159).	All graffiti found on jamb of the north door.	Includes compass drawn circles, crosses and post-medieval initials and dates.

37	Oxted, St Mary	28/09/19	Church built in the mid-12 th century, with aisles and tower added in the later 12 th century and the chancel rebuilt circa 1250 (Malden, 1912, 318).	Complete renovation occurred in 1877, although it retains fragments of its medieval painted decorative scheme (Malden, 1912, 318).	High quantities recorded on piers and tower arch. Graffiti in interior of church preserved better than in porch.	A good quantity of graffiti was recorded here and includes compass drawn designs, depictions of arrows, mason's marks, crosses and 'VV' designs.
38	Pyrford, St Nicholas	11/09/19	Almost completely built in a single phase dating to 1140-50 (Malden, 1911, 434).	Only one single, sensitive, restoration carried out in the 19th century which revealed wall paintings (Malden, 1911, 434).	Many inscriptions on the chancel arch. Graffiti also found on window jambs in chancel and on doorjambs.	High quality and includes unusual forms such as flowers, birds, a ragged staff and medieval text inscriptions, as well as crosses, and the 'VV' design. Also retains three consecration crosses.
39	Reigate, St Mary Magdalene	10/09/19	One of Surrey's largest churches. Likely that the nave was constructed c.1180 (Malden, 1911, 239). The tower is dated to the 14th century, the north aisle to between c.1380 and c.1480 and the vestry to 1513 (Malden, 1911, 240).	The church was heavily restored by Sir Gilbert Scott in the 19th century (Malden, 1911, 239).	Much of the graffiti was found on piers, particularly in the chancel.	Large amount of graffiti recorded, although much of this is post-medieval. Includes post-medieval 'house' designs, some possible medieval text, a human face, crosses, 'VV' designs, compass drawn designs, ladders and a

						heraldic shield.
40	Shere, St James	12/09/19	The earliest date for this church is late 11th century for the north wall of the nave, to which a tower was added in c.1150 (Malden, 1911, 117). Transepts also built in the 12th century, although south was swallowed into the south aisle in c.1200 and the north was shortened to its present form in c.1300, which is also about the time that the chancel was rebuilt into its extant form (Malden, 1911, 117).	Survived the period of often quite destructive Victorian restoration better than many of the other churches in Surrey (Malden, 1911, 117).	Much of the graffiti found was on the piers of the crossing, but also on chancel pier and some on a window jamb in northern chapel.	Most extensive graffiti in this survey, with unique forms including a harp, an angel and a fleur de lis. Others include intricate borehole designs, compass drawn designs, heraldic shields, birds, stars, a large amount of medieval text (including several lengthy passages) and human figures.
41	Stoke D'Abernon, St Mary	14/09/19	Earliest dates are pre-Conquest, with the chancel and part of the nave surviving from this period, with the north aisle added in the late 12th century (Malden, 1911, 459). A new south door was added in the 13th century and in the late 15th century the north chapel, with its now blocked up fireplace, was built (Malden, 1911, 459). The church is renowned for several high-quality brasses.		Unusual Elizabethan figure found on lintel of fireplace in north chapel. Other graffiti on piers and on the font.	Contains some unique designs, including a human figure in Tudor-era dress appearing to hold his own decapitated head. Compass-drawn designs, medieval and post-medieval text, a bird, knot designs and crosses were also found.

42	Tatsfield, St Mary	28/09/19	Nave was built c.1075, although the chancel was rebuilt around 1220 (Malden, 1912, 328).	Entire building underwent restoration in the 19 th century (Malden, 1912, 328).		None found.
43	Thames Ditton, St Nicholas	21/09/19	North wall of the chancel and the tower are early 13 th century (Malden, 1911, 465). The north chapel was built in the 15 th century (Malden, 1911, 465).	The rest of the church is modern, having undergone an extension (Malden, 1911, 465).	Found on two piers in the nave.	Includes architectural designs, medieval text, compass drawn circles, a ragged staff, a ladder and crosses
44	Thorpe, St Mary	25/09/19	Oldest extant feature is the 12 th century chancel arch. The aisles and transepts are 13 th century additions, the present chancel a 14 th century rebuild and the tower dates to the 17 th century (Malden, 1911, 439).	Heavily and damagingly restored in the 19 th century (Malden, 1911, 439).	Found on chancel arch, doorjambs and on recess in south wall of chancel.	Small in quantity, but includes a heraldic shield, a compass drawn design, a five-pointed star, architectural markings and crosses.
45	Walton-on-Thames, St Mary	21/09/19	The earliest extant feature is the nave, which has a pre-1160 date, to which the north aisle was added in c.1160 (Malden, 1911, 474). The south aisle and the current chancel both date to the early 14 th century and the tower to the 15 th (Malden, 1911, 474).		Found on piers and tower arch, including at second storey level.	Includes a possible depiction of an elaborate building, compass drawn designs, crosses many post-medieval initials and dates.
46	Wanborough, St Bartholomew	25/09/19	Small church retains its original aisleless form which dates to the 13 th century. Disused from the late 17 th – late 19 th centuries (Malden, 1911, 375).	West wall is a modern rebuild (Malden, 1911, 375).		None found.

47	Warlingham, All Saints	22/09/19	Retained the same plan from when it was built in around 1240 until 1893 (Malden, 1912, 337).	Underwent a series of restorations throughout the 19th century (Malden, 1912, 337). These included an enlargement in which the west wall and much of the south wall were demolished (Malden, 1912, 337).	Mostly on font and jambs of south door.	Small in quantity. What was found included a compass drawn circle, a star, crosses and a 'VV' design.
48	Wisley, Dedication Unknown	11/09/19	Almost entirely dates to the late 12th century and retains its plan of just a nave and chancel, with a wooden porch added in the 17th century (Malden, 1911, 380).	Underwent restoration in 1872 (Malden, 1911, 380).	Mostly found on chancel arch, also some on doorjamb and in the porch.	Amount of graffiti recorded was small, but includes a consecration cross, compass drawn circles, crosses, the 'VV' design and post-medieval initials.
49	Witley, All Saints	19/09/19	The oldest part of the building is the nave, dating from the end of the 11th century. The central tower, chancel and transepts were built c.1190 (Malden, 1911, 67). The north chapel was added in the 14th century (Malden, 1911, 67).	Went through a particularly harsh 'restoration' in 1844 (Malden, 1911, 67).	On pier in chancel and on the font.	Very little graffiti found here, but did include a consecration cross, a compass drawn circle, an arrow and crosses.
50	Woking, St Peter	11/09/19	Earliest extant features date from the early 12th century, including the nave. The chancel was rebuilt in the 13th century at around the same time the tower was		Heraldic shields found on all window jambs of south aisle. Other graffiti on piers and doorway of tower. Some marks also on	Unusual in content; includes an exceptional number of heraldic shields, compass drawn

			added (Malden, 1911, 388). The south aisle was an early 15th century addition and the west gallery was put up in 1622 (Morton, 2012, 12).		wooden parish chest.	designs, a human face, a depiction of an animal (perhaps a rabbit) and depictions of daggers or ballock-knyves.
51	Worplesdon, St Mary	25/09/19	Chancel and north chapel are early 13 th century and the nave arcades and aisles date to a few decades later. The west tower was built in the mid-15 th century and the porch dates to 1591 (Malden, 1911, 394).	Over restoration makes dating parts of this church challenging. South chapel is a 17 th century addition (Malden, 1911, 394).	Most graffiti found on piers with a large 15 th century text inscription on the tower arch.	Graffiti found here include a large medieval text inscription from the 15 th century, as well as crosses and the 'VV' design.

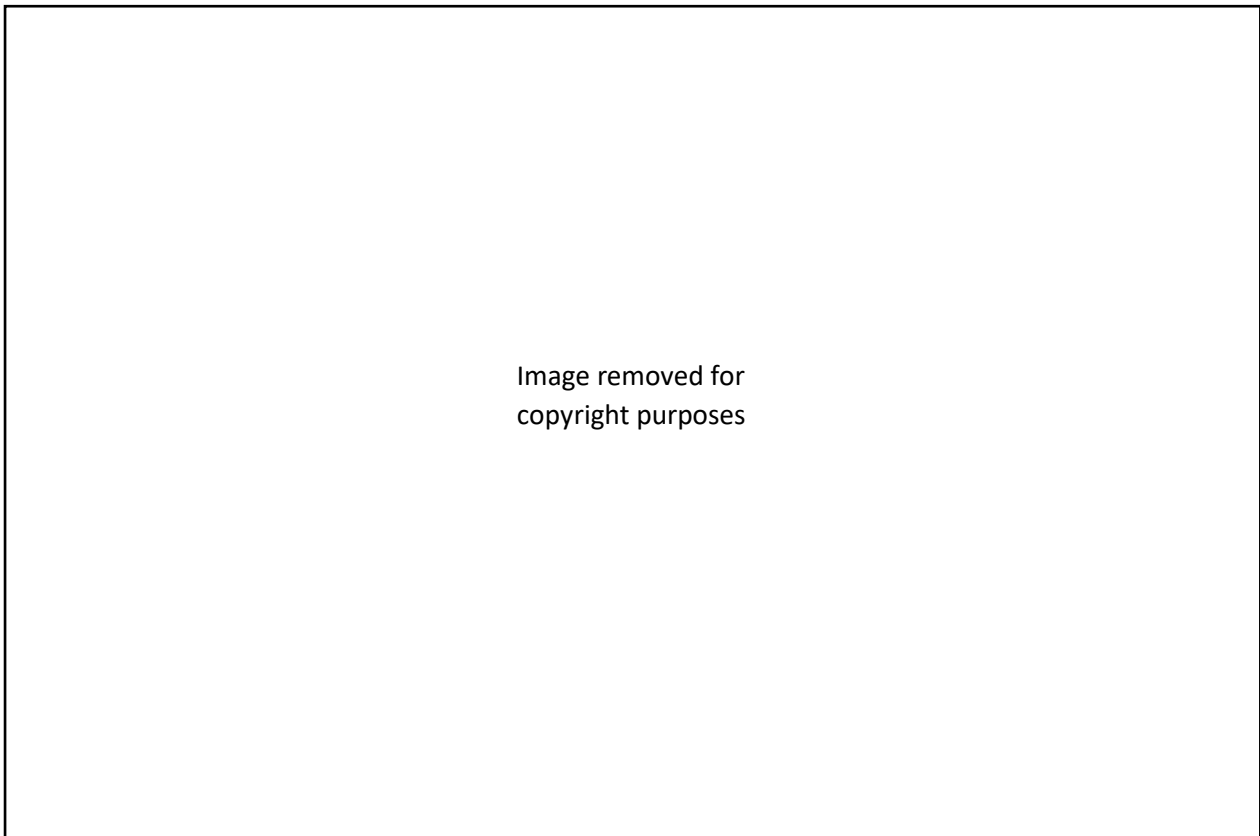


Figure 1: Map of churches included in this survey. Coulsdon was within Surrey until 1965, when it was incorporated into Greater London, but because it was part of the historic county, it has been included in this survey. Made by the author using Stepmap.com.

Chapter 3: Analysis

This chapter presents an analysis of the graffiti recorded in this survey, attempting to identify trends and highlighting inscriptions of particular note. Some of these will then be addressed in relation to identifiable themes in Chapters 4 and 5. Though it is impossible, given the volume of data, to provide a comprehensive analysis of every recorded graffito, the most significant findings are addressed. Comparisons are also drawn between graffiti found in this survey and others from around the country to allow identification of, or to dispute, the presence of nationwide trends. What is demonstrated through this analysis is that the churches which have been surveyed contain an enormous breadth of designs. These speak to the religious beliefs held by the medieval population and their post-medieval descendants, but also of great social complexity. The unique challenges of graffiti analysis are also illustrated, as is the vast potential for further work on this subject in the future.

Space and Location

Throughout this survey, trends appeared in relation to location of graffiti within churches. However, several factors must be considered when analysing them. The first is preservation; as discussed in the previous chapter, many of the churches have undergone extensive restoration which may affect the survival of graffiti in certain areas. Secondly, almost without exception, large areas in all of the churches were whitewashed. This may obscure graffiti in parts where it does survive and lead to complications in analysing distribution and patterns. Despite this, in areas where graffiti was visible, distinct patterns emerged.

Across the churches surveyed, the most common places in which graffiti was recorded were on doorjambs and nave piers. The piers of the tower, chancel arch, font and window frames were also frequently home to graffiti. There also appears to be a temporal element to where graffiti was created within the church. The majority of the post-medieval inscriptions were located on exterior doorjambs and in porches, whereas medieval graffiti were often spread more widely throughout the churches, although there are also detectable distribution patterns within this. For example, graffiti found within the chancel of identifiable forms were mostly types which were apotropaic or devotional. In many places this included well defined, deeply incised crosses, with more complex designs than those typically found in other areas (Figure 2). However, in general, more graffiti were recorded on features in the nave than in the chancel, which likely reflects the division of space within the church and areas where it was acceptable for the laity to enter.



Figure 2: Examples of complex cross designs from Caterham, Godalming, Ockham and Alfold. (Photographs: Author)

Crosses and ‘VV’ Designs

Two of the most common graffiti forms in this survey were the ‘VV’ design (Figure 3) and crosses. Thought to be an abbreviation of ‘*Virgo Virginum*’ (Virgin of Virgins), or ‘*Maria*’ when inverted (Champion, 2015, 55), the ‘VV’ design in medieval contexts is a reference to the Virgin Mary. Although there is some debate and it may have changed in meaning somewhat over the centuries, losing its Marian association, it is believed to have been a symbol that brought good luck and protected against misfortune (Champion, 2015, 56). Crosses have a clear origin in Christian contexts and were found in high concentrations both in the chancel and around doorways. Highly variable in their level of detail, these ranged from designs such as those in Figure 2, which sometimes include a mound, likely meant to represent Calvary, through to much simpler representations. These inscriptions have also been interpreted as a method of warding off evil, or for seeking divine

blessings (Champion, 2015, 68). It is interesting, therefore, that such quantities appear on doorjambs, which marked transition points from the secular world into the sacred.



Figure 3: Example of a 'VV' design, found at St Mary's, Oxted. (Photograph: Author)

Medieval Text Inscriptions

Medieval text inscriptions were found in many of the churches, and they often seem to have comprised of, or included, names. Text, the form of which seems to date from the medieval period, was recorded at 18 churches, with particularly notable examples at Shere, Horley and Coulsdon. They were most commonly found on piers or on tower arches, but, unlike many other graffiti forms, very rarely located on doorjambs. Whilst inscriptions comprising of text are often illegible, a great deal can nonetheless be learnt from them. At St Bartholomew, Horley, the medieval textual inscription is unusually clear and reads '*hic jacet Barthome Saleman*' which translates as 'Here lies Bartholomew Saleman' (Champion, 2015, 193). What is also rare about this inscription, is that the name can be linked to a family known to have lived in the area in the 14th century. It is the unfortunate reality that the names found inscribed on the walls of parish churches are often impossible to trace to individuals in the historical record, making this link still more significant. Despite their predominantly illegible nature, text inscriptions are one type of graffiti for which rough dates can be estimated, through the application of palaeography. For example, at Shere an inscription reading '*Casse was her*' (Figure 4) has been given a probable date of late 16th century

(M.Stansfield, pers. comm) using these methods. This contrasts with most other types of medieval inscriptions, for which accurate dating is notoriously difficult to achieve (Champion, 2015, 18). Therefore, this kind of graffiti is not only informative, but also conveys messages directly from the people who made them right through to the present day.



Figure 4: 16th century text inscription from St James, Shere.
(Photograph: Author)

Flora and Fauna

While undertaking this survey, 20 examples of graffiti that were recognisable as either flora or fauna were recorded. Of these just over half were animals, with birds by far the most common. Champion (2015, 164) recognises that there are many possible interpretations for the preponderance of birds found in medieval graffiti, suggesting that they could have links to the Holy Spirit (represented by a dove), the doves released by Noah or birds that were symbols of saints (Champion, 2015, 164). At Caterham, the depiction of a bird is very realistic, while somewhat faint (Figure 5), and could easily be interpreted as a dove, although in reality it would be possible to assign it to many different species, assuming its creator even had a specific one in mind.



Figure 5: Inscription of a bird from St Lawrence, Caterham.
(Photograph: Author)



Figure 6: Inscription of a horse and rider from St Lawrence, Caterham.
(Photograph: Author)

What is interesting is that it is located close to a graffito unique in this survey; that of a horse and rider (Figure 6). Despite their huge importance to the medieval world, horses are relatively rare in graffiti recorded so far in England, as are many other mammals. Alongside a probable rabbit from Woking and what has been traditionally interpreted as a rat wearing a bishop's mitre at Limpsfield, depictions of land animals are very infrequent in this survey. Though some researchers interpret such inscriptions merely as prosaic representations of the familiar environment (Owen, 2010, 39), this seems a very narrow understanding of this phenomenon. For example, a sheep from Tewkesbury Abbey (Owen, 2010, 39) is not just an everyday animal, but also has strong biblical connections with sheep equated with the recurring analogy of Jesus the shepherd.

Human Figures

Depictions of human figures or faces were recorded at fourteen churches and range from very crude depictions, to elaborate inscriptions complete with detailed garments. They also show a range in dates, from obviously medieval examples, to Elizabethan and post-medieval drawings.

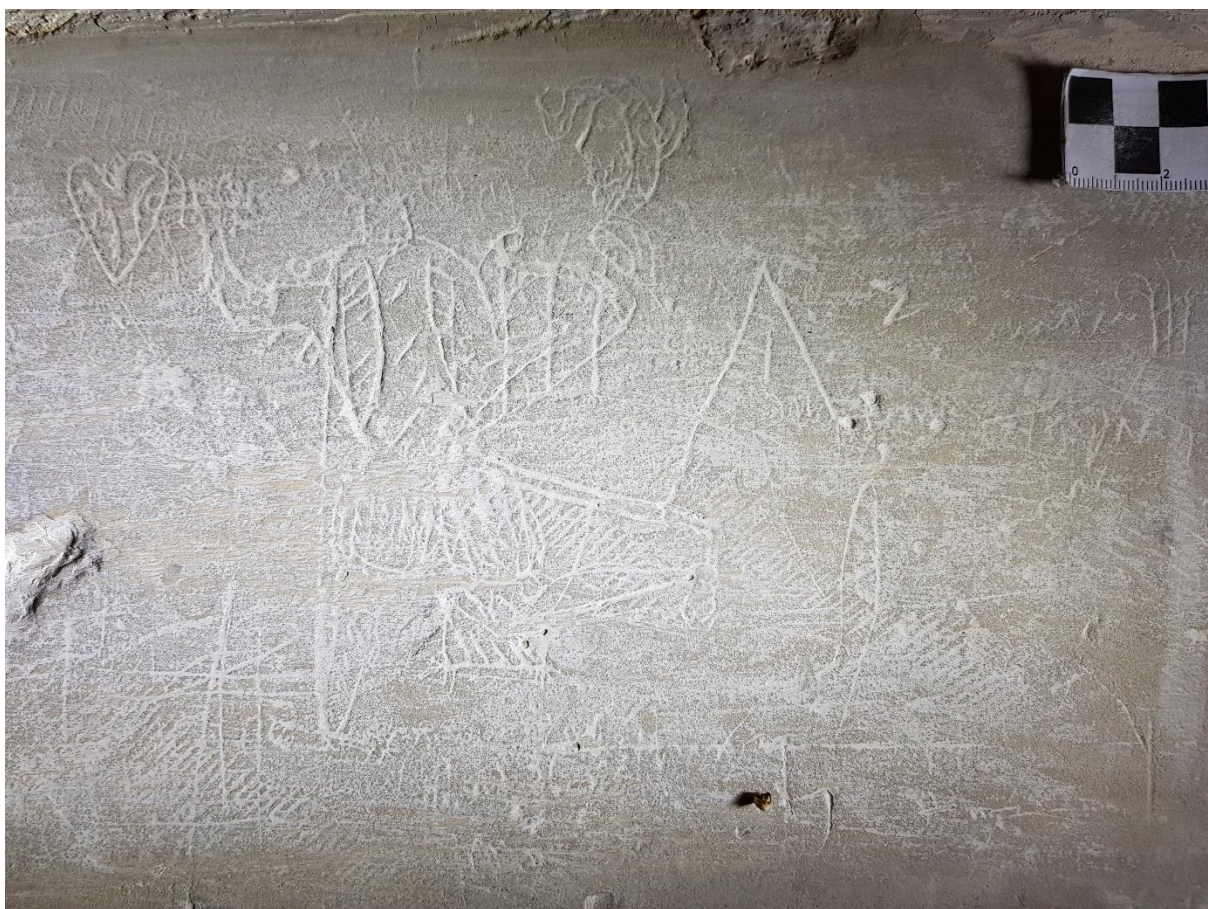


Figure 7: Human figure from St Mary's, Stoke D'Abernon, depicted holding his decapitated head and a sword through a heart. (Photograph: Author)

Some figures are especially noteworthy, in particular that from Stoke D’Abernon (Figure 7). The image appears to show a male figure in Elizabethan clothing holding in one hand a sword stabbing through a heart, and in the other his own decapitated head. The positioning of this graffito is especially intriguing as it is carved into the lintel of a fireplace, a feature rarely seen in churches. As well as its very unusual subject matter, it is anomalous in this survey for its high level of detail, particularly in the depiction of the clothing. Though the meaning behind this graffito is ultimately unknowable, it contains some interesting symbology; the pierced heart, for example, is Marian imagery. It relates to the New Testament prophecy of Simeon about the sorrows of Mary, “(Yea a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed” (Luke 2:35). In this context, the symbology could potentially mean that this is a representation of a Catholic martyr, but no definitive conclusions can be drawn. Who this graffito depicts and what it means remains mysterious, although if it does depict a Catholic martyr, this could be pictorial evidence of the Counter Reformation.

Though not strictly figural, another striking example of graffiti linked to the human form is a hand that was found at Coulsdon (Figure 8). This graffito was clearly created by tracing around a hand, and



Figure 8: Inscription created by tracing around a hand, recorded at St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon. (Photograph: Author)

whilst it is unique in this survey, it is not alone on a national scale. Champion (2015) describes these as inscriptions that are, “found everywhere from the lowliest parish church to the glory of Canterbury Cathedral” (Champion, 2015, 169), ranking them among the most common types of graffiti. Though this may be the case elsewhere (Easton, 2015, 576), it was not true in this study and there may be cause to challenge the assertion that they were commonplace around the country. Rather, they may have been a more localised phenomenon. However, the interpretation he draws about the tracing of hands is nonetheless an interesting one, linking them to ex-voto pilgrim offerings (Champion, 2015, 169). Though Coulsdon is not recorded as being a significant place of local pilgrimage, a local person, possibly in need of spiritual assistance with an ailment, may have created this familiar pattern.

Compass-Drawn Designs

Compass-drawn designs were one of the most common recurring designs found in this study (Figure 9). Of the 51 churches surveyed, 41 were found to contain full or partial compass-drawn circles and designs.



Figure 9: Examples of compass-drawn designs found in this survey from Ockham, Caterham and Oxted. (Photographs: Author)

They occurred most commonly on piers and doorjambs, although they were also one of the most common recognisable designs on fonts. This is a pattern seemingly found all over the country, including at churches such as Swannington, Norfolk and Great Tey, Essex (Champion, 2015, 40-41). There are also strong indications from previously conducted surveys that clusters of compass-drawn designs are found around the sites of medieval altars (Scott, 2018, 62) which disappeared after the Reformation. However, this graffiti design is not unique to the medieval period, as examples of

compass-drawn designs, including circles and hexfoils, have been found in roman contexts at Pompeii (Benefiel, 2011, 34). The implication is that these designs have changed in meaning, perhaps many times, over their hundreds of years of use. However, it is believed that, in the medieval period, these were symbols which protected against evil spirits bringing misfortune and they are commonly found with other apotropaic forms.

Heraldic Graffiti

Heraldic graffiti was recorded at ten churches in this survey in the form of heraldic shields. These were of varying quality and detail and, whilst some were certainly meant to portray the arms of a specific individual or family, a number may be more general representations. Particularly large concentrations were found at Woking and Shere, the latter displaying some complex designs. Of these heraldic images, several of those found at Shere can be identified as belonging to prominent local families. Figure 10 is undoubtedly a depiction of the heraldry of the de Warenne family (Figure 11), which held a manor in Shere, granted to them in c.1088 (Malden, 1911, 113).

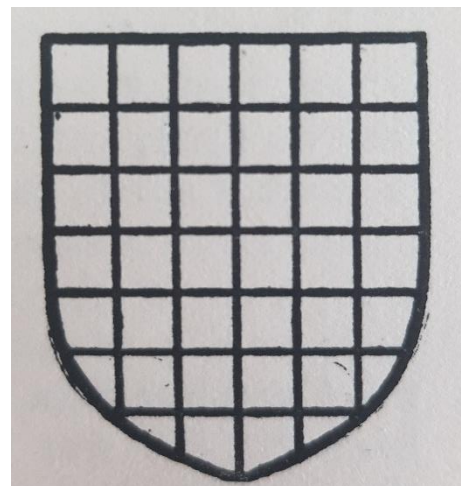


Figure 11: Heraldic shield of the de Warenne family (Malden, 1911, 113).

Figure 10: Inscriptions of heraldic shields at St James, Shere, including one belonging to the de Warenne family. (Photograph: Author)

Another example found at Shere (Figure 12) can be tentatively identified as relating to the de Clares (Figure 13), another Anglo-Norman family which held lands in Surrey (Malden, 1911, 360). It is also possible that other families such as the Butler Earls of Ormond, the Staffords or the D'Abernons may be represented. However, colour, which is one of the most important parts of heraldry from all periods, is missing from graffiti inscriptions (Champion, 2015, 114), which means that some heraldry, such as that of the Staffords and D'Abernons, are indistinguishable from each other in this medium. Even without the ability to discern the specific family in every case, the presence of heraldic graffiti could well express the loyalty members of the laity possessed towards individual powerful families. These symbols are therefore demonstrative of the influence that complex social hierarchies held over the church and its parishioners.

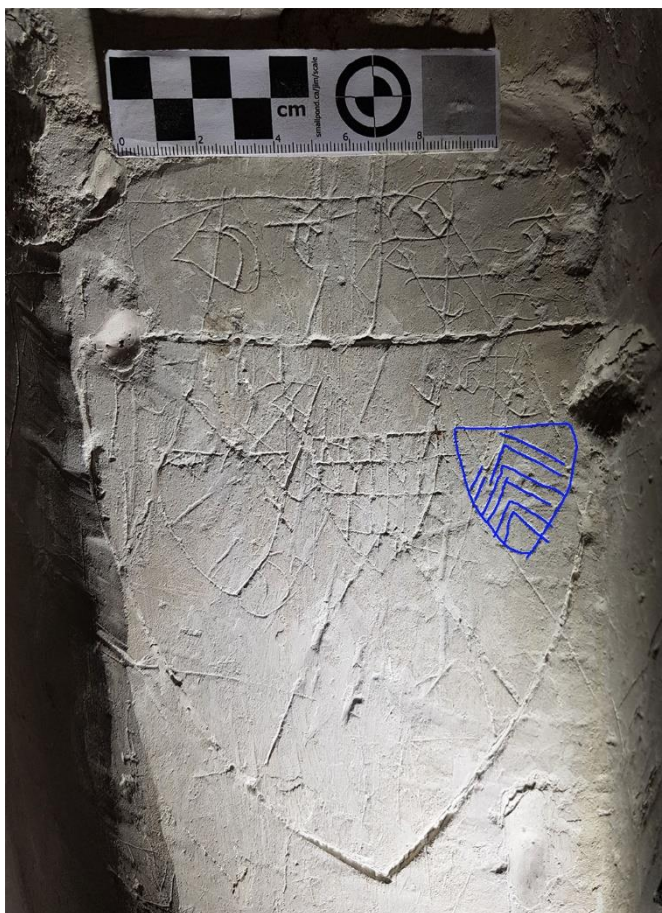


Figure 13: Heraldic shield of the de Clare family (Malden, 1911, 360)

Figure 12: Inscription of heraldic shield from St James, Shere thought to belong to the de Clare family. (Photograph: Author)

Masons' and Carpenters' Marks

As is the case with most medieval graffiti surveys nationwide, many mason's marks were recorded in this study (Figure 14). Diverse forms were found and some were present at multiple churches. The most common type are 'banker marks', which were used as identifiers by the stone masons working on individual blocks (Alexander, 2007, 64). However, though some marks were found repeated at

multiple sites, this is not conclusive evidence that the same masons were at work, as the use of simple designs would likely have created overlap between individuals (Alexander, 2007, 64).



Figure 14: Examples of mason's marks recorded in this survey from Cobham, Great Bookham, Lingfield, Oxted and Godalming. (Photographs: Author)

Evidence of carpenter's marks were also found, primarily at one church, Dunsfold. One of the outstanding features of Dunsfold is its 13th century pews, on which carpenters' assembly marks (Figure 15), likely used for reference during construction, were found. This was clearly a common practice for medieval carpenters, as examples of roman numerals have been found at Malmesbury Abbey (Wiltshire Medieval Graffiti Survey, n.d.), in the early 16th century roof timbers of Edinburgh Castle's Great Hall (Crone and Gallagher, 2008, 237) and in many other wooden structures surviving from the medieval period in England (James, 2018, 1). Examples such as this give an insight into the way that churches and their fittings were constructed, particularly at Dunsfold, as no references to carpenter's marks on pews were found in literature on the subject.



Figure 15: Examples of carpenter's marks found on 13th century pews at St Mary and All Saints, Dunsfold. (Photographs: Author)

Architectural Designs

Designs or markings of an architectural nature were recorded in six of the churches. These ranged from small scale outlines for window tracery (Figure 16), to larger, more complicated designs (Figure 17). Champion (2015) classifies these as one of the rarest forms found on a national level (Champion, 2015, 99) and these two examples are typical of this corpus of graffiti as they are related to windows (Champion, 2012, 39). What is clear from designs such as these is that they were created in situ, during the building of the church, or during later renovations.



Figure 16: Architectural design for window tracery from St Michael's, Betchworth. (Photograph: Author)

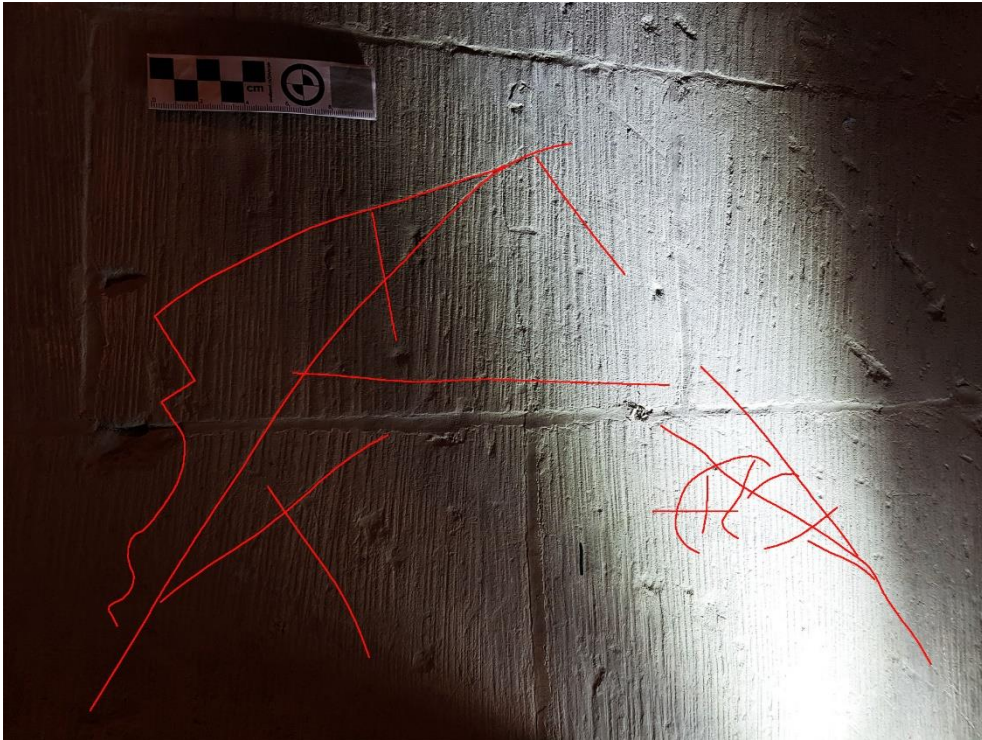


Figure 17: Architectural design for a window from All Saints, Banstead. (Photograph: Author)



Figure 18: Architectural designs of window jamb mouldings in profile from St Nicholas, Pyrford. (Photograph: Author)

This is certainly the case for two of the three architectural designs recorded at Pyrford (Figure 18), which are very unusual, both within this study and the corpus of architectural graffiti recorded nationally. Rather than showing the design for a whole window, they depict two window jamb mouldings in profile (P.Graves, pers. comm). These particular moulding designs were both common in the 14th- 15th centuries for window jambs and mullions (P.Graves, pers. comm) and are very rarely found drawn this way. The dating for these mouldings is noteworthy at Pyrford, since new windows were installed in the church between 1380 and 1500 (Malden, 1911, 434), meaning that the designs are likely related to these works. Additionally, above the moulding graffiti, sits what might be a design for the window that the moulding was intended to be used for (Figure 19). Of the extant windows in the church, this most closely resembles the east window of the chancel, perhaps explaining why these designs were found on the chancel arch. The use of the church in this way demonstrates that there may have been a more complex, interactive relationship between the physical building and its community than has been previously acknowledged. For craftsmen to sketch their designs on the walls of a church not just under construction, but already in use, adds to the impression that the parish church was a dynamic space, where this behaviour was acceptable.



Figure 19: Architectural design for window tracery from St Nicholas, Pyrford. (Photograph: Author)

The one example that could be identified which parallels the designs at Pyrford comes from Gloucester Cathedral, where at least three mullion profiles were recorded on a stone that was used extensively for architectural design work (Adamson, 2014, 266). One of these designs can be firmly

linked to a window in the cathedral which was constructed in 1337 (Adamson, 2014, 266), demonstrating that these techniques were in wide use during the period from which those at Pyrford date. Importantly, two of the profiles at Gloucester mirror the way in which those at Pyrford have been drawn; seemingly connected, but with a different design on each half (Figure 20; Adamson, 2014, 267). However, the examples from Gloucester were drawn when the stone was a horizontal surface, whereas the designs found in this survey are in situ and therefore were always vertical. This may be because in parish churches renovations which required architectural elements to be planned out would not have occurred with the same frequency or scale as at cathedrals, with the masons using available surfaces rather than designated areas for their drawings.



Figure 20: Example of two mullion profiles recorded at Gloucester Cathedral (Adamson, 2014, 267)

Post-Medieval Graffiti

It would be remiss not to include a brief analysis of the post-medieval graffiti that was recorded, especially given its large quantity. Graffiti from after the Reformation begins to have a distinctly different signature to its medieval predecessors, with the greater emergence of names and initials, but particularly of inscribed dates. In this study, the earliest dates identified are 1578 (from Horley) and 1595 (Reigate). However, the number of dates explodes in the 1600s and 1700s, before becoming less common into the 19th and 20th centuries. This pattern may trace a larger shift in practice and opinion around the creation of graffiti, serving as evidence that it was gradually becoming less acceptable (Champion, 2017, 25) in the 1800s and 1900s. Adding to this interpretation, the 20th century graffiti is often found in much less prominent locations than earlier examples. This is the case at Ockham, where inscriptions, dated to 1911, were found in the stairwell of the bell tower, and were related not to the general public, but to individuals who had been involved in repairs. However, this desire to leave a mark on something that you helped to create is far from a modern 20th century phenomenon. At Ockham there is a graffiti inscribed into a pane of window glass, which reads: *'W.Peters new leaded this in 1775 and never was paid for the same'*

(Figure 21). With the exception of examples like this, the most common area to find post-medieval graffiti in this study tended to be on doorjambs, particularly on the exterior, and in porches. Whilst this pattern is somewhat different to medieval graffiti, it nonetheless demonstrates a degree of continuity spatially, even if the motivation behind their creation was changing.



Figure 21: Post-medieval graffiti inscription on a pane of window glass at All Saints, Ockham. (Photograph: Author)

Unidentified Designs

Part of the challenge of interpreting medieval graffiti is that the meaning of some of the symbols repeatedly found will remain unclear. In this survey, there was one design that recurred frequently, but for which there is no simple explanation: a basic arrow shaped inscription. Whilst a small number of these were certainly meant to be literal representations of arrows as a weapon, for many

the meaning is not so clear. Champion notes that for such a common weapon, depictions of longbows or arrows occur surprisingly infrequently (Champion, 2015, p.148). Yet, this claim was based on research in Norfolk and the possibility of a more localised pattern must be considered. That said, according to Hardy there was no special association between longbowmen and Surrey (Hardy, 1997, tbc), and whilst this type of weapon was commonplace during the medieval period (Hardy, 1997, tbc), there must be a reason for it to be depicted more frequently in some areas than others. It may be, therefore, that whilst some of the inscriptions directly reference the weapon (Figure 22), there was different symbolism attached to others. It was briefly considered whether this form could be a type of mason's mark, although several examples were recorded where the design stretched across multiple blocks of stone and were clearly created in situ. Furthermore, these designs were often found in clusters, with multiple arrows on the same stone (Figure 23), which also indicates that they were not mason's marks. The true meaning behind this symbol remains something of a mystery, demonstrating one of the limitations of studying graffiti; sometimes the lack of supporting evidence leaves the significance of designs unclear.

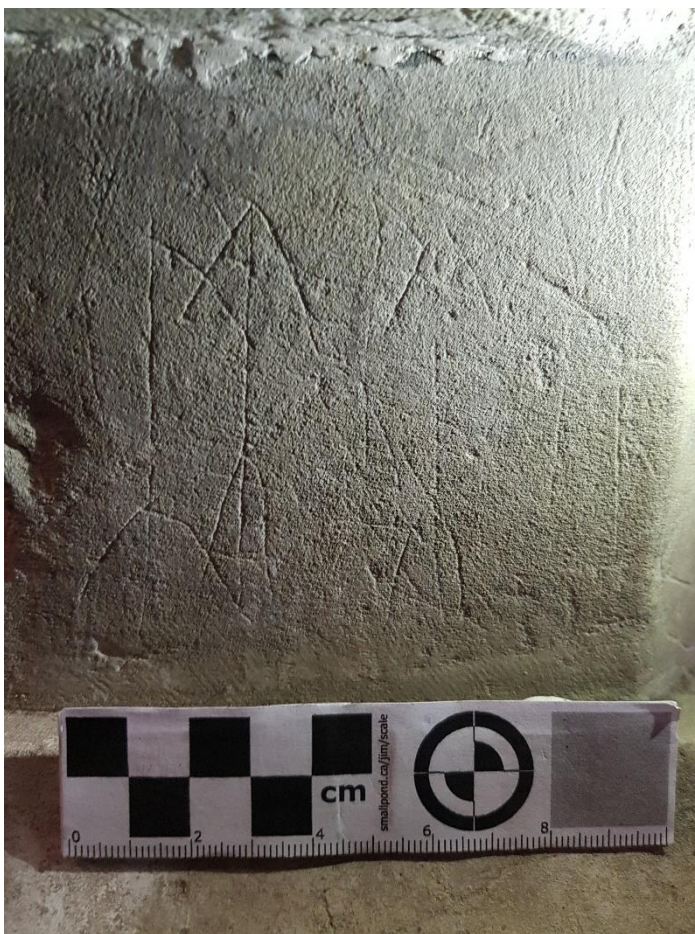


Figure 22: Graffiti inscription of arrows, recorded at St Mary's, Oxted. (Photograph: Author)



Figure 23: Examples of arrow inscriptions, recorded at Wisley. (Photograph: Author)

Whilst there were some inscriptions it was not possible to interpret adequately, there is another form of design on which there is a large body of research, yet which was not found in this survey. Ship graffiti is the best studied graffiti form and can be found all around the country both in ecclesiastical and domestic contexts (Dhoop et al. 2016, 296), as well as overseas (Walsh, 2008, 115; Westerdahl, 2013, 337). Rochester Cathedral, for example, boasts fifteen examples of this design (Scott, 2018, 58), which Champion describes as one of the most recognisable types of graffiti (Champion, 2015, 85). Reasons for their absence from this survey must, therefore, be considered. Part of the issue may be down to preservation, especially given the dramatic ‘restoration’ that many of the churches in this survey have undergone. Secondly, it might be that these designs are present, but are now hidden under whitewash, or are part of palimpsests of graffiti in which it is impossible to pick out the individual designs. The latter is the case for the possible example of a ship in this survey, at Coulsdon, although analysing the complicated mass of lines further would require revisiting the church and this has unfortunately not been possible. If the argument that these designs were only created by mariners in coastal or riverine areas (Champion, 2015, 85) were

accurate, this would explain the absence of these designs in much of the survey area. However, this theory has been discredited by examples of ship graffiti at great distances inland, in Leicestershire and Warwickshire for example (Champion, 2015, 86). Overall, what might explain the lack of ships in this survey is the possibility of a localised pattern; in other words, that this design was not as popular in Surrey as elsewhere, as well as some degree of preservation bias.

Chapter 4: Discussion

Interpretation of every individual piece of data collected in this study would require a far longer format, as both the breadth and depth of meaning that could be drawn from this corpus of graffiti is extensive. Graves writes that, “the material world can be imbued with many meanings, dependent on the various (intersecting) discourses into which they are drawn” (Graves, 1989, 299). This succinctly captures part of the challenge faced when interpreting medieval graffiti. Without any written record for what most of the symbols mean, understanding the beliefs and discourses that created them can be hard. This sentiment is echoed by Champion, who notes that we tend to lack interest in recording the very commonplace, or the reasons why we believe what we do (Champion, 2015, 12). The following discussion will therefore approach the task of interpreting the recorded graffiti by examining recurring thematic areas that have emerged. In this chapter, these include gender, education and life course. Through exploration of these themes what becomes apparent is that graffiti has huge potential to add to the body of knowledge about these facets of medieval communities and can give voice to those who normally lack it.

Gender, Power and the Church

One of the research questions identified for this dissertation was whether graffiti could provide insight into traditionally underrepresented parts of society. It is striking, therefore, that gender has emerged as a strong theme in the interpretation of a number of graffiti patterns. In a period where the written record was almost exclusively created by men, graffiti may help in uncovering complex gender relationships and female agency.

It is well recorded that, within medieval churches, there was physical division of male and female areas. This was often on a north-south axis (Schleif, 2005, 225), which tended to associate the north side of the church with females and the south with males (Aston, 1990, 238; Bond, 2018, 574). This was reflected in the seating arrangements in churches, once pews began to be introduced, and can be traced by records of who was buying pews where (French, 2005, 142). There is a clear pattern of women being seated on the north side of the nave which, it has been argued, had Marian associations (Gilchrist, 1994, tbc), although occasionally they were also relegated to the west end. What is clear is that there were distinct gendered divisions of space within medieval churches. The question of whether this is reflected in the archaeology is not simple to answer, as it falls prey to the recurring issue of preservation bias. Many churches had aisles added in different periods and have undergone often destructive restoration, in which it is possible that evidence of gendered differences in graffiti has been lost. A second issue is how these gender differences may have manifested themselves in graffiti and whether it is possible to associate certain forms with males or

females. When we are already so unsure about the meanings attached to graffiti, this is especially hard to say, particularly since they are likely to have meant different things to different people.

However, in this study one potential avenue for examining space and gender has arisen and this is through a small collection of specifically male-associated graffiti. The churches at Compton, Oxted and Woking have examples of graffiti that could be linked to the military or male rites of passage; two figures wearing helmets (Figure 24), depictions of arrows (Figure 22) and daggers or ballock knyves (Figure 25). Importantly for this analysis, all these examples were located on piers in the south aisle of their respective churches. This may be an indication that males were producing gendered graffiti within what was traditionally their space. There is not, however, evidence of particularly female-associated graffiti in north aisles in this survey, although this is likely influenced by the fact that forms specifically indicative of women have not been identified in this study. However, what can be learned from this is that the gendered element of church life had greater impacts on the experience of the laity, and on the fabric of the church, than previously recognised.



Figure 24: Inscriptions of figures wearing helmets from St Nicholas, Compton.
(Photograph: Author)



Figure 25: Inscriptions of daggers or ballock knyves from St Peter's, Woking. (Photograph: Author)

A second example of graffiti that may give insight into gender, in this case the role of women as patrons, is from Woking. On the jambs of all the windows in the south aisle are multiple graffiti inscriptions comprising of simple depictions of heraldic shields (Figure 26), each with the same design of a cross. Many of these shields appear inverted and are so high up on the jambs of the windows, that to record them (and thus also to inscribe them) required standing on the sill. This south aisle was added to the church in the 15th century (Morton, 2012, 12), with the arcade piers dated to 1420 (Parish of St Peter Woking, 2019). Since the shields are limited in distribution to this one architectural area, the implication is that they related to someone specifically linked to this aisle: perhaps the founder. Whilst specific clusters of graffiti are often found around sites of shrines or side altars within churches, the nature of the graffiti in those cases is more likely to be apotropaic (Champion, 2015, 42). As this graffiti is heraldic in nature, as well as appearing down the length of the aisle, it is more convincing to argue that the symbols are associated with a particular patron who allowed for the aisle to be added, perhaps as a show of loyalty towards them.



Figure 26: Example of simple heraldic shields from the south aisle at St Peter's Woking. (Photograph: Author)

This benefactor may have been linked to the manor associated with Old Woking, Woking Palace, a moated manor house that became a Tudor royal palace in the late 15th century (Poulton et al. 2017, 23). Before this it was in the hands of various great families (Poulton et al. 2017, 23), but at the time of the construction of the south aisle of the church, around 1420, it belonged to Margaret Holland, wife of the Duke of Clarence, the younger brother of Henry V (Poulton et al. 2017, 23). She came into possession of the manor in 1416 and there is documentation of extensive building works carried out on her behalf in 1420-1 (Poulton et al. 2017, 23). With this in mind, it is certainly conceivable that Margaret may have been a patron of St Peter's. The building of the south aisle occurring at around the time of her inheritance of the manor could arguably have been a way for her to demonstrate support for the local church community and to cement her claim to the inheritance (P. Graves, pers. comm.). It is certain that she and her husband had the resources necessary: her building work at Woking incurred a bill of nearly £250 (Poulton et al. 2017, 23). If the south aisle was indeed a building project initiated by Margaret, could the distinctive graffiti have been a tribute or demonstration of loyalty to her? What might support this is that in other churches, including the Prior's Chapel at Durham Cathedral, graffiti of heraldic shields and livery badges were used as marks of fealty to various powerful lords, including ones who were benefactors (Graves and Rollason, 2013,

languages. The first line of text appears to read '*help hath*' a phrase which reoccurs elsewhere on the same pier and may in this case be followed by '*a hert(e)*' (M. Stansfield, pers. comm.), although the final word is somewhat unclear. The second line of text, this in Latin and including abbreviations, may read '*reg.. .. d[omin]us regnabit*' (M. Stansfield, pers. comm). The names William and John (*Joh[ann]es*) also appear. The commonality of names as inscriptions from the medieval period suggests that carving graffiti was a highly personal form of devotion. The names also reflect the kinds of people in medieval society who were literate; though there are one or two possible female names, the vast majority are male. What we can learn overall, however, is that graffiti may well have been seen simply as another medium of writing; another surface upon which to form words and leave a mark of your passing through life.

Another avenue for exploring links to education is through connections to medieval manuscripts, particularly the Latin bestiaries. These were texts that combined biblical allegory with traditional folklore (Clark, 2006, 14) and observations about the natural world (Kordecki, 2000, 90) to provide a guide to flora and fauna, although the intended lessons were on faith and proper behaviour (Clark, 2006, 23). What is important about these manuscripts is that many are highly illustrated, especially the influential Second-Family type, of which examples survive from the 13th-16th centuries (Clark, 2006, 51). Additionally, it has been argued that bestiaries were likely intended for a lay audience (Clark, 2006, 91), and it is known that their progenitor text, the *Physiologus*, was used for teaching Latin to school children from the 11th century (Flores, 2000, tbc). This is of consequence, as it is clear, from the text at Shere, that at least some of the people creating graffiti during the medieval period were educated.

An argument that stems from this is that some of the animal forms these individuals were seeing in bestiaries were then influencing the faunal graffiti that they created. A possible example of this is two of the depictions at Caterham, of a horse and rider (Figure 6) and a bird (Figure 5). Whilst the horse and rider are basic in form and difficult to discern, there seem to be some similarities with depictions in bestiaries. These include the way that the knight's feet and stirrups sit, as well as the portrayal of the reigns and bridle, features that can be seen in bestiary examples such as the illustration of The Dog's Murdered Master in Bodley 764 (f.31v) (Figure 28). The bird at Caterham may be similarly inspired, as it has a high level of detail in its wings and feathers. Whilst it is impossible to assign a species to this graffito and compare it directly with those in the bestiaries, this is a trait that both forms of images share and these depictions imply that the crossover between manuscript art and graffiti may be significant. This argument is supported by evidence from elsewhere in the country. At Field Dalling, Norfolk, there is a graffiti inscription of the Peridexion (or Peridens) tree (Champion, 2015, 165), an allegorical image that occurs in bestiaries and symbolises

the church and its congregation (Clark, 2006, 193). If images that are as obscure and full of allegory as this example were created as graffiti during the medieval period, it indicates that this symbol may have been better known at that time than previously thought (Champion, 2015, 165). This suggests that the influence of bestiaries on graffiti could extend beyond these few examples and indicates that it is an area requiring further research. This is especially important because of its implications for the way that education amongst the laity is understood. Additionally, to have had access to a copy of one of these bestiaries implies a certain level of social status, an observation which may provide further insight into the identity of the people creating graffiti.



Figure 28: The Dog's Murdered Master in Bodley 764 f.31v, reproduced in Clark (2006).

As well as evidence of formal education and literacy, graffiti may also provide indications of another kind of learning. Throughout this survey, there were various places where it was clear that an individual or individuals were attempting to copy graffiti forms already present. These copies were much cruder in form, but nonetheless identifiable, and it could be argued that this imitation is evidence for social learning. The concept of social learning is that new behaviours can be learned through observation of others and attempting to mimic them (Edinyang, 2016, 40). This is one possible interpretation of a series of graffiti found at Great Bookham (Figure 29). In this case a compass-drawn design was accompanied by two cruder attempts below it on the same pier, made without the use of a compass type instrument, which appear to be imitations. This could simply represent an effort to create a familiar symbol of devotion without the shears that it is believed

were normally used to make them (Champion, 2012, 39). However, an example from Newdigate (Figure 30) demonstrates that it was not only compass drawn designs that were imitated in this way. Evidence of this kind of learning has also been found in other contexts, including in the making of pre-historic carved stone balls (Meirion Jones and Díaz-Guardamino, 2019, 120). The argument that the examples from this survey could be a result of social learning is reinforced by the use of compass-drawn designs as an apotropaic symbol. In a medieval context, creating these forms of graffiti would have been viewed as a beneficial behaviour, conveying some sort of spiritual protection and therefore an advantageous skill to learn. Additionally, that these crude attempts have been allowed to survive perhaps suggests that the process of creating the symbol was as important as the finished design. Therefore, the way that many graffiti forms were learnt clearly goes beyond formal education, occurring through processes of enculturation and social learning.



Figure 29: Compass-drawn design and copies, found at St Nicholas, Great Bookham. (Photograph: Author)

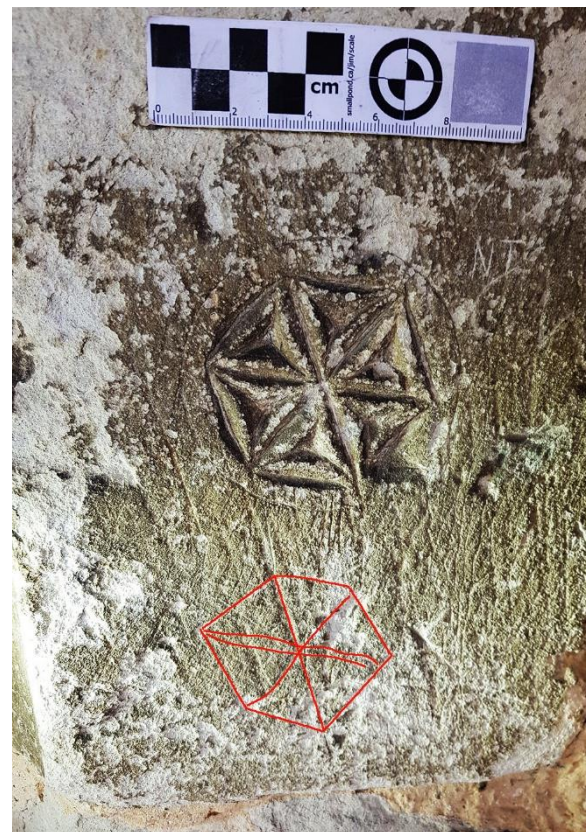


Figure 30: Graffiti copying architectural design, recorded at St Peter's, Newdigate. (Photograph: Author)

Graffiti and the Life Course

The uniqueness of graffiti as a medium created by ordinary people means that it could hold useful insights into the medieval and post-medieval life course. There are several instances of graffiti in this survey which may offer this, and from which inferences about baptism, coming of age and death can be drawn.

High importance was placed on baptism within the medieval life course and a child would have been baptised soon after birth (Orme, 1994, 563). Without this ritual they would not be cleansed of original sin, welcomed as a member of the church or eligible for burial in consecrated ground (Gilchrist, 2012, 185). The font, as one of the primary places where this occurred is, therefore, a feature of churches that may provide insight into this significant rite. Many churches in this survey did not retain their medieval fonts, and where they did, the graffiti was somewhat variable. However, by far the most common forms found on fonts were apotropaic, and generally consisted of crosses, 'VV' and compass-drawn designs. The font at St George, Crowhurst, is a clear example of this (Figures 31 and 32), as it is covered in apotropaic marks. The purpose of these was likely to provide protection for the infant, as baptism was primarily about purification and the expelling



Figure 31: Font at St George, Crowhurst showing apotropaic cross and 'VV' designs. (Photograph: Author)



Figure 32: Compass-drawn design and 'VV' design found on the font at St George, Crowhurst. (Photograph: Author)

of evil spirits (Gilchrist, 2012, 185). However, it is also possible that the apotropaic marks could have been created to confer protection to the font itself, as it contained consecrated water, which could not be allowed to be contaminated (Gilchrist, 2012, 186). What is clear is that the graffiti associated with this ritual demonstrates the degree to which infants were perceived as needing extra protection from evil, as well as underscoring the huge importance of the place of baptism within the life course.

Woking has a particularly interesting instance of graffiti which may tie into discussions of life course; depictions of daggers or ballock knyves (Figure 25). Characteristic for their resemblance to the male genitalia, these were essential items of men's dress from about 1300 onwards in England, Scandinavia and Germany (Gilchrist, 2012, 101). It is possible to interpret them as phallic symbols that represented gender roles, sexuality, violence and the values of manhood (Nøttveit, 2006, 138), both from their form and the way that they were worn, drawing attention to the genital area (Gilchrist, 2012, 101). That these items, which were worn by men of all classes (Gilchrist, 2012, 101) should be present in a graffiti assemblage is perhaps not surprising, given that everyday objects make an appearance in graffiti. However, in this particular context there is an added layer of interest, as on the same pier as the three ballock knyves, there is a graffito of an animal resembling a rabbit or hare. This may tie into Gilchrist's theory that the symbolism around knives and scabbards

may have been related to the threshold in the life course reached by a boy upon his first kill or hunt (Gilchrist, 2012, 101). If the depictions of ballock knyves at Woking are related to the rabbit to which they are in close proximity, this graffiti may have been created to mark such a rite of passage in the life of a young medieval man.

Inferences about life course can also be made from a form of post-medieval graffiti. This is a house shaped inscription containing initials and sometimes a date, which is presumed to be a type of memorial graffiti. Examples of this were found particularly at Reigate and Bletchingley (Figure 33), although they were not as widespread in this survey as Champion suggests (2015, 202). One interpretation of this form is that they mirror funerary monuments, and elsewhere they have been hard to link to named individuals from parish records, although COVID-19 made it impossible to investigate in this survey. Graham and Scott (2019) have developed an argument to explain this. They propose that the house-shaped inscriptions may be ways of commemorating people who died abroad, whose bodies had not made it home for burial (Graham and Scott, 2019, 192). This would explain the absence of people whose initials and dates match those in the burial records and is one convincing explanation for this enigmatic form of graffiti. Whether this can be connected to losses during war, or the dangers that still existed in foreign travel, this could indicate a familiar societal need to commemorate the dead, even when there is not a body.



Figure 33: Example of a house shaped post-medieval graffiti from St Mary the Virgin, Bletchingley. (Photograph: Author)

Conclusion

This discussion highlights the unique insight that graffiti, as a medium created by members of all levels of society, has to offer on this range of social themes. With regards to gender, it demonstrates both the inequalities that existed, as well as the agency and influence that could be possessed by powerful women. This directly addresses one of the research questions, which asks whether graffiti can be used to identify underrepresented parts of society; perhaps, in some cases, it can. The same is true of the theme of education, particularly of social learning via evidence provided for enculturation and learning beyond the formal education only available to a minority. Consideration of graffiti as evidence from which to discuss the life course also provides significant insights, as it illustrates some of the ways in which religion regulated it. Though male coming of age is not a strictly Christian rite, baptism and death (as well as marriage and the rest of the seven sacraments) were very important in the progression of the medieval life course, and this is demonstrated through the graffiti. Overall, the discussion so far has proven how much graffiti has to add to understandings of the social life of medieval communities and how this interacted with their religion.

Chapter 5: Discussion Continued

This chapter continues the discussion of themes that came to light during this survey, focusing particularly on those sacred in nature. That being said, it is impossible to divorce completely sacred from secular themes, since many argue that the church was as much a social as religious institution. The areas that will be discussed here include the interaction between orthodox and folk beliefs, the correlation between graffiti and religious ritual and the role of purgatory in the medieval mindset and in the creation of graffiti. Several conclusions become clear through the discussion of these themes. These include the argument that folk beliefs and Christianity had become intertwined, particularly through concerns about death, and the idea that the physicality of the church impacted significantly on both religious beliefs and social collective memory.

Dichotomy vs Integration: 'Orthodox' and Folk Belief

The interaction of orthodox church ideology and traditional folk beliefs is a theme arising through the graffiti in this survey. Their relationship is played out in this medium, as clearly Christian symbolism, including the cross and Christograms, sits alongside inscriptions that seem, to the modern viewer, reminiscent of folk beliefs or witchcraft. Examples of this will be assessed, showing that the distinction between the two during the medieval period was very blurred. It is also clear that the meaning of these symbols has altered over time and their connotations have changed since they were used as graffiti in churches.

Whilst some of the symbols found in church graffiti, such as crosses, are clearly linked to Christian beliefs, others have more ambiguous origins. Compass-drawn designs are a particular example of this, as it seems likely that they derive from traditional folk belief and were adopted into the vernacular of medieval Christian imagery. Evidence for this comes in the form of the many compass-drawn designs found around the country in domestic contexts. Examples are recorded both in stately homes (Meeson, 2005, 41; Cohen and Parton, 2019, 77) and also from other lower status domestic sites (Meeson, 2005, 42). The belief accompanying them also appears to have been taken to the American colonies when they were settled, given that post-medieval examples have been found in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island (Conary, n.d). Their presence in domestic contexts adds to overwhelming evidence that these signs were not created by the masons who built the buildings, as had previously been theorised (Champion, 2015, 34). Though the reasons for their incorporation into Christian symbology is unclear, from the locations in which they are found in churches, analysed in Chapter 3, and also in domestic buildings (Cohen and Parton, 2019, 76), it is unarguable that they were seen as protective marks in both contexts. With this in mind, if there was a boundary in terms of belief between their religious and secular uses, it may well have been a very

fluid one. It is clear that magic and Christianity were not mutually exclusive during this period (Arnold, 2010, 10; Gilchrist, 2008, 120), and Gilchrist (2008, 123) questions whether people would have seen any difference between miraculous occurrences that took place whether through magic or religion. The example of compass-drawn designs may, therefore, be evidence that medieval people would not have perceived a conflict between many of their traditional beliefs and Christianity, at least on a day-to-day basis. Rather, the two became intertwined and some folk practice was absorbed by the Church, shaping both the physical buildings through graffiti, and the lives of the laity.

The five-pointed star (Figure 34) is also regarded as an apotropaic mark, although it is found much more rarely than compass-drawn designs and 'VV's (Champion, 2015, p.47). Although embedded



Figure 34: Examples of pentangle inscriptions from St Margaret's, Chipstead. (Photograph: Author)

with many different meanings over its long history of use, during the medieval period this symbol was associated with Christianity, with none of the evil connotations it may have today (Champion, 2015, 47). In medieval contexts, this symbol is also inextricably linked with the poem of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in which Sir Gawain is described as having a gold pentangle on his shield (Freed, 1991, 125). This poem is probably of late 14th century date (Miller, 2015, 61). Its intended

audience was likely the court of the time (Miller, 2015, 62), but nonetheless there is a probable connection to graffiti in parish churches. This is through the symbology that the poem explains, which links the pentangle variously to the five wounds of Christ, the five senses, the five joys of Mary and the five virtues of knighthood (Freed 1991, 125-128). It is perhaps these symbolic links, alongside the fact that a star was seen as a 'pure' shape (Champion, 2015, 49) that gave it an apotropaic nature during the medieval period, especially when it came to protection against demons (Champion, 2015, 50). The demonic protection provided by stars is demonstrated in a graffito found in this study at Horne, where a star overlays a depiction of a horned face, assumed to represent a demon (Figure 35). There are many instances of pentangles in this survey, including a relatively large number at Coulsdon, where they are found in combination with compass drawn designs (Figure 36).

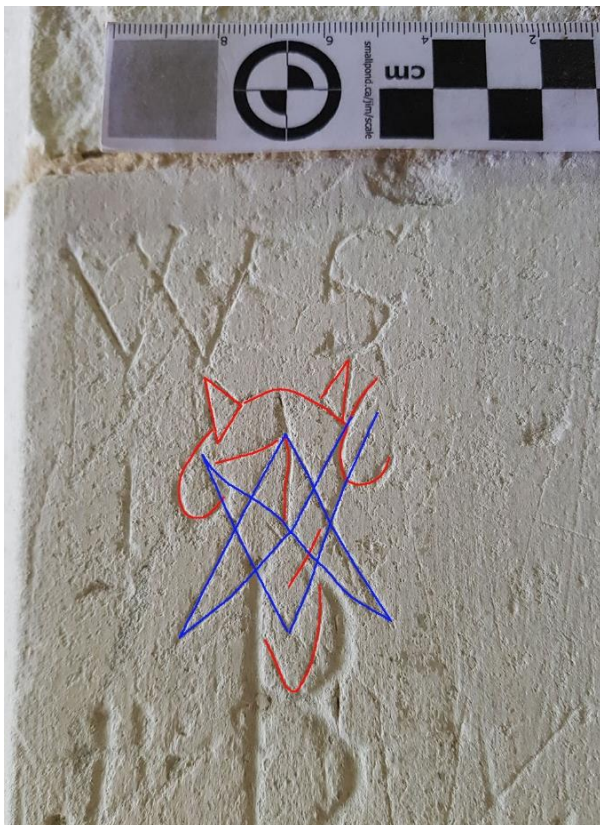


Figure 35: Graffito of a star overlaying a demon, found at St Mary, Horne. (Photograph: Author)

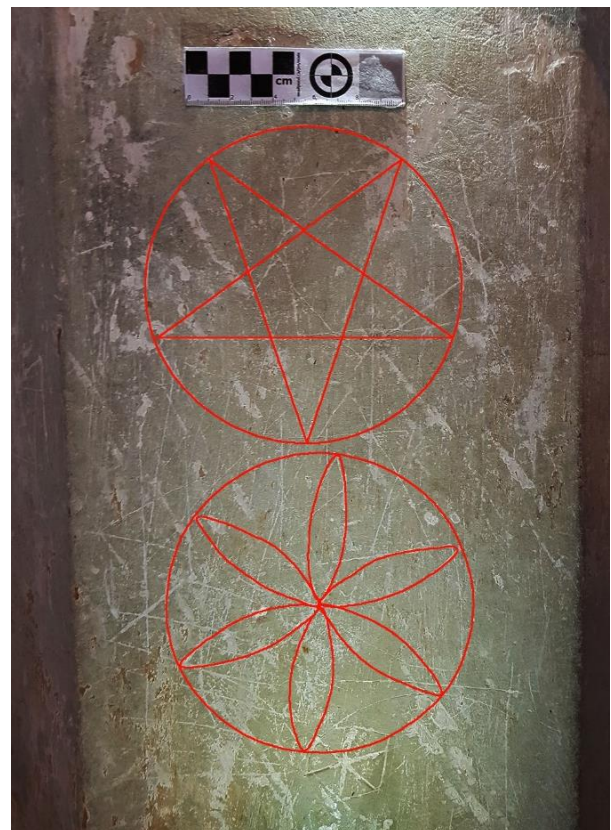


Figure 36: Compass-drawn designs from St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon, including one with a pentangle at its centre. (Photograph: Author)

This reaffirms their place as apotropaic symbols, particularly as it seems that the original positioning of the medieval font at Coulsdon was by the pier upon which these symbols were inscribed. If, at Horne, the star over the demon was for protection against demons, perhaps the pentangles by the

font at Coulsdon may have been protection for the babies being baptised there. What is also significant about this is that it forces a reevaluation of the meanings attached to such symbols today. While for us in the 21st century, pentangles might conjure images of 'black magic', in the medieval period their connotations were very different, which is important when discussing their significance in graffiti. That symbols can change so drastically in meaning over time may have implications about the adoption of such images, as well as serving as a reminder that what might be interpreted in the present day as Christian imagery, will not always have been the same in the past.

One of the overtly Christian symbols that was found in several churches, for which there is a very orthodox background, is that of the Christogram. At both Coulsdon and Horley the inscription IHS was found (Figure 37). This is derived from the Greek *IHCOCY* for Jesus and was used for apotropaic purposes from the late 1100s onwards, particularly as an engraving on portable material culture such as jewellery (Gilchrist, 2008, 126). During the medieval period, the protective power of



Figure 37: Christogram reading 'IHS' recorded at St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon.
(Photograph: Author)

the name of Jesus was particularly effective against ghosts and demons (Gilchrist, 2008, 126) and presumably this inscription complemented the apotropaic nature of some of the other designs it was found clustered with. At Coulsdon this included pentangles, crosses and 'VVs' and at Horley also compass-drawn designs. Consideration of this array of protective imagery illuminates the highly developed nature of the medieval symbology expressed in graffiti inscriptions. It is also further proof of the shared concerns of both traditional folk belief and Christianity, particularly when it came to protecting oneself and others from evil. It may be argued that it is such overlaps in thinking that allowed the two forms of belief to co-exist within the lives of the laity during the medieval period.

Liminality and Ritual: Graffiti and the Church Doorway

The doorway was a particularly significant area of the medieval parish church, the site of many of its rituals, including marriage, baptisms and funerals, as well as other religious celebrations (Pierre Louët and Geoffrion, 2016, 12). It is interesting to note, therefore, that in many churches the largest concentrations of graffiti were found on and around doorjambes. It may be that these spaces received such attention from the creators of graffiti because of their connection with memory and liminality. Douglas (2003) argues that one of the strongest forces operating on medieval communities was that of collective memory, which was deeply entwined with parish churches because of their durability and structural permanence (Douglas, 2003, 75). The way the community remembered its history and defined itself, creating traditions, social norms and identity can be explored through the church, which acted as a "repository" (Douglas, 2003, 57) for collective memory. Whilst this might seem to be more of a secular phenomenon than a sacred one, the rituals of the medieval church, many of which occurred at the doorway, were extremely important in the creation of this shared community memory (Douglas, 2003, 83). The ritual of baptism, one of the most important medieval rites of passage, involved the priest undertaking an exorcism before the child could cross into the sacred space of the church (Douglas, 2003, 87). This would have occurred at the doorway, and this may well be reflected in some of the graffiti which has been recorded. For example, the demon and star at Horne (discussed above), may have been placed in the doorway because of the evil spirits being banished from the child (Douglas, 2003, 88), against which protection was required. Another reason graffiti such as this and other apotropaic forms may have been created in doorways could be linked to their status as a liminal space. As the threshold between a space that was sacred and the outer world of the profane (Douglas, 2003, 42), this may have been an area that required particular protection. This could go some way towards explaining the clustering of compass-drawn designs, VV's and crosses that were found around the doorjambes of many of the churches in this survey. It appears that the physical and spiritual importance of the doorway as a transitional, liminal space, was reflected in the graffiti created around it.

Purgatory and Intercession

Although the medieval text in this survey is characteristic of that found nationwide, in that it is generally not very legible, one feature that stands out is that many of the inscriptions appear to be names. While this could be ascribed to people wishing to leave their mark in a place where it would endure into the future, there is another possible explanation. It could be argued that the commonality of names in medieval graffiti inscriptions is due to a potential role in intercession. The role that purgatory played in the Christian world view in the medieval period cannot be underestimated (Daniell, 1997, 10) and the mural at Chaldon (Figure 38) demonstrates the emphasis it received from the church. For the wealthy, the building of grand tombs, chantries

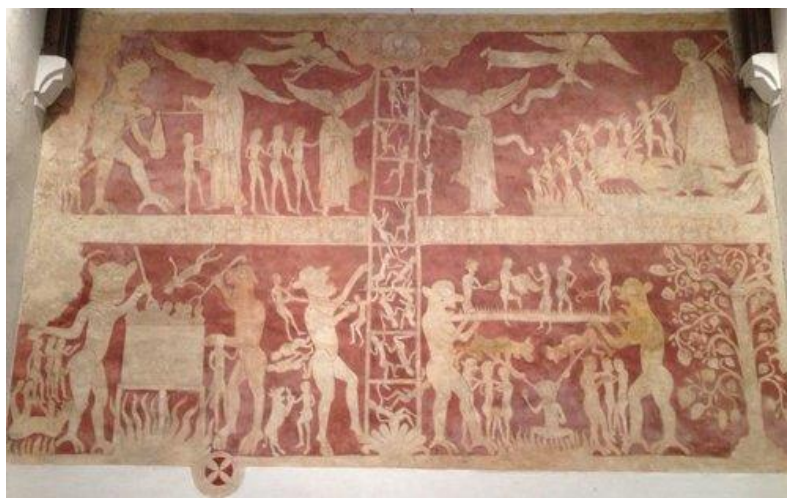


Figure 38: Photograph of the Chaldon Mural, dated to the late 12th century and depicting hell and purgatory. (St Peter and St Paul's Church, Chaldon, 2013)

and even the establishment of whole religious foundations were ways of ensuring that intercessory prayers were being said to help speed their way through purgatory (Atzbach, 2016, 31; Bossy, 1983, 40). However, for those who could not afford this kind of memorial, was the inscription of the names of the dead into the fabric of the church a different way of interceding on their behalf? At Harlton, Cambridgeshire, there is an example of a graffito which is specifically asking for these kinds of prayers; "*Orate pro anima Thoma Caius anime propicietur Deus amen*' (Pray for the soul of Thomas on whose soul God have mercy)" (Champion, 2015, 193-194). It is possible that the names in this survey could have had a similar function, perhaps as a way of making sure the person was remembered for prayers. This may be particularly relevant at churches including Lingfield, where the names were discovered on piers in the chancel. It is possible that just as burial close to relics or altars (Gilchrist, 2012, 192) was seen as beneficial, this would have been viewed as an ideal place to

inscribe the name of a dead relative, for whom there was a special obligation to pray (Bossy, 1983, 38), to bring them closer to God. Additional evidence supporting this is that, from the 13th century, formal inscriptions on tombs, designed to encourage prayers of intercession, became more commonplace (Gilchrist, 2012, 196). As well as being for the benefit of the dead, there is an added element to such intercessory prayers. In addition to helping those already dead to pass through purgatory, praying for the souls of others would have counted as a good work, shortening the time that the living would face there and creating a unique reciprocal relationship (Douglas, 2003, 102). It can therefore be argued that the medieval concern with the fate of the soul after death and beliefs around purgatory definitely made their way into graffiti. Whether this was more self-serving than altruistic is for debate, but this could be one explanation for some of the medieval inscriptions of names in churches.

A second way that medieval ideas about purgatory may be demonstrated through graffiti is by way of motifs that could be seen as linked to these beliefs. One of these designs recurring in this study is that of the ladder (Figure 39). This form is linked, as Mills (2003) argues, with the concept of temporality that was associated with purgatory. Traditional medieval ideas of time, particularly in rural areas, would have been “repetitive and circular” (Mills, 2003, 480), which contrasted with the way that the church saw time; as linear, with a distinct beginning and end (Le Goff, 1970, 155; Mills, 2003, 480). It has been suggested that the temporality of purgatory, which was moving



Figure 39: Graffiti in the form of a ladder, found at St Mary Magdalene, Reigate. (Photograph: Author)

towards redemption and directly influenced by works in life and intercession, brought the two concepts closer together, as well as being the basis of purgatory's depiction in medieval art (Mills, 2003, 486; Gilchrist, 2012, 178). The ladder, as a symbol of forward movement upwards towards heaven, as seen in the Chaldon Mural (Figure 38), is one of the motifs that Mills (2003, 497) suggests was sometimes used to reference purgatory. It is also a symbol recorded in multiple churches, where it seemed to appear most commonly on piers in the chancel. There was one particularly interesting occurrence of this design, recorded at Lingfield (Figure 40), which may be associated with a second motif for purgatory. This graffiti comprises of at least one ladder, with a second possible depiction next to it, and at their feet curved lines that could be representative of a river. This would be particularly significant as there are examples of manuscript art which use a river of souls

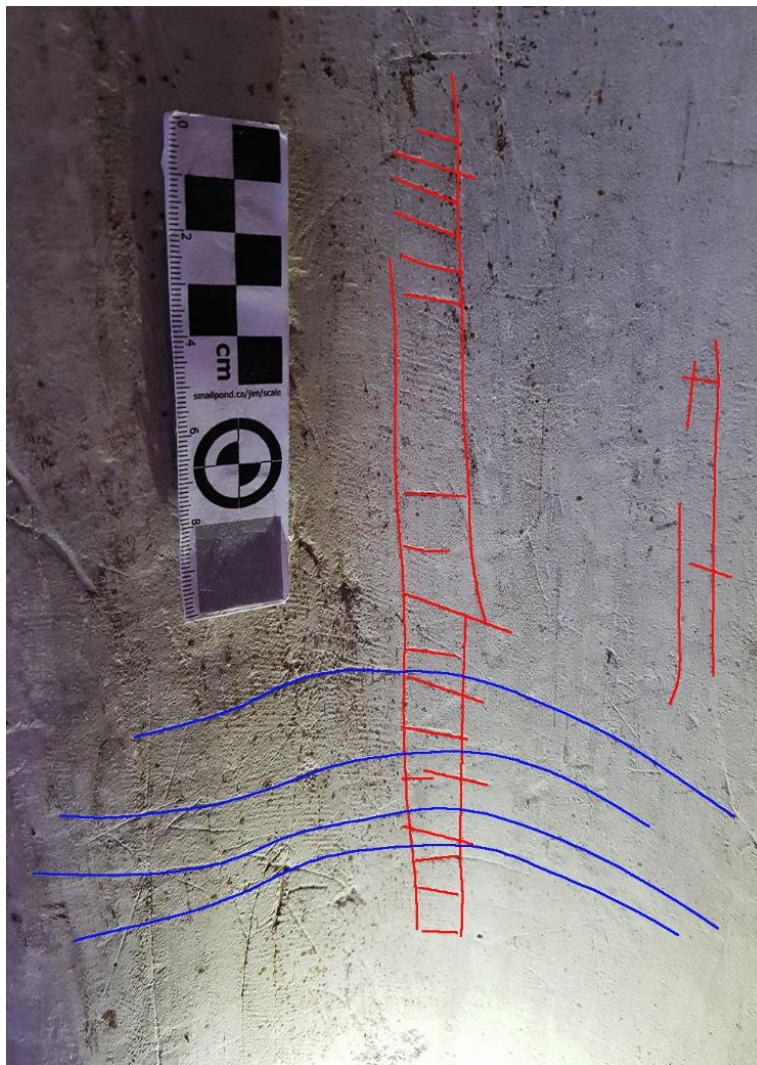


Figure 40: Graffiti inscription of two ladders and a river recorded at St Peter and St Paul's, Lingfield. (Photograph: Author)

to illustrate purgatory, possibly alluding to the ceaseless movement and flow of time (Mills, 2003, 486). The two motifs appearing together strengthens the argument that the medieval preoccupation with purgatory impacts on graffiti, just as it does on church art and manuscript illuminations. It is yet further demonstration of the powerful role that purgatory played in the worldview of medieval people.

Conclusion

The unique nature of graffiti allows it to provide extensive insight into the way the laity perceived their religion during the medieval period. The themes discussed here highlight that their beliefs were complex, tied up with the vestiges of folk traditions and driven by deep concern about the fate of their souls after death. It has also been shown that the physicality of the church building, and the way this was employed in ritual, impacted upon not only these beliefs but also the wider memory and identity of the community. Beyond this, the themes that have been discussed have wider implications for the study of medieval graffiti. The importance of drawing upon contemporary manuscript texts and art has been demonstrated, as well as the knowledge that symbols may have changed in meaning since they were created. Through the discussions of these themes, therefore, some of the central research questions of this study have been addressed. This includes the insights that have been gained about the way the church building, particularly the doorway, interacted with belief, as well as how the laity actively engaged in their religion through intercessory activities.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

At the outset of this study, aims and objectives as well as research questions were identified to drive the research, analysis and discussion which have since taken place. Through addressing these, a wide range of conclusions can be drawn from the medieval graffiti that was recorded, providing new insights and questioning previously developed theories.

The objectives for the study have almost entirely been met, as a wide scale survey was carried out across 51 churches, many of which had never undergone previous investigation into medieval graffiti. In consequence, many of the observations made are based on new material, increasing the significance of the findings of this study on a national level. Comparisons were also drawn extensively with the corpus of graffiti already known from England, which supported the presence of both nationwide and localised trends. Direct comparison with graffiti recorded in other European countries was harder to achieve, as the published body of literature on this subject is limited, although this international aspect was relevant in the discussion of the missing ship graffiti. On a smaller scale, comparisons between the graffiti recorded in individual churches in this survey and their locations was used to highlight a range of trends and patterns. These drew attention to the complex ways people and their beliefs interacted on a spatial and temporal level, such as the preponderance of apotropaic symbols in liminal areas.

The aims of this research focused on exploring how the medieval laity expressed their beliefs through graffiti, and this area was extensively addressed in the discussion chapters. Apotropaic marks and those associated with purgatory evidenced the way that belief was physically manifested, and local variations, such as the relative paucity of hand shapes, have also been discussed. The degree to which graffiti can shed light on the way that folk beliefs interacted with the church's established doctrine was also assessed, and it was concluded that this relationship was a complex and tightly woven-one. Some limitations to the use of graffiti to fulfil these aims were of course discovered, including those of differential preservation and breadth of possible interpretations.

The main research question, as well as the several broader questions which were posed, have been answered throughout the analysis and discussion chapters. Trends in belief were identified through discussions of concepts such as purgatory and graffiti symbols whose connotations changed over time. The way that the laity interacted with their church and faith is an underlying theme throughout the study and has been proved to be highly complex. The graffiti suggest that many social processes, which were secular as well as sacred, mediated their relationship with these institutions and shaped the inscriptions that they created on the fabric of their churches.

In addressing these questions, aims and objectives, through recording at sites, research, analysis and discussion of themes, it has become clear that the medieval graffiti of Surrey's churches can make a valuable contribution to knowledge about this subject more widely. For a field in which a great deal of surveying has occurred, the published record is still thin and mostly comprised of studies of single sites. This research has tried to balance specific examples with discussions of wider themes and trends and, in doing this, some significant results have been produced. These include observations that can be made about gender and the way that this played out within churches as evidenced by graffiti, an area that seems to have received little attention before now. Additionally, the identification of specific graffiti motifs referencing purgatory could be a significant avenue for research in the future and proves the importance of using manuscript art and texts to support graffiti research. The insights that have been produced into links between faunal motifs and bestiaries also highlight this point. Beyond this, using graffiti to explore areas such as social learning, heraldry, patronage and literacy, demonstrates the ability of graffiti to reflect deeply entrenched social norms and processes such as enculturation, which might not normally be visible in the archaeological record.

However, as well as larger themes that have provided compelling new observations, there have also been instances of specific graffiti inscriptions contributing valuable new conclusions. A significant example is the architectural inscriptions from Pyrford, which are not only very rare in form, but help to fill in gaps in the documentary record about the way that churches were designed and built. Additional instances include the Elizabethan figure from Stoke D'Abernon, which, if it is indeed a representation of a Catholic martyr, could be evidence of lingering Catholic sympathies remaining after the Reformation. Examples such as this, where there is still ambiguity of interpretation, serve as a reminder that there remains much more research to be done into medieval graffiti. This dissertation highlighted one repeated form that could not be easily explained, yet there are undoubtedly many more ripe for investigation. Likewise, whilst many regional surveys have been undertaken by volunteer groups, very few have been properly analysed or published, meaning that there is a wealth of data waiting to be incorporated into the national body of research.

Throughout this study, the church has largely been treated as a physical building. However, in reality it was as much the people who belonged to it as the stones onto which, over hundreds of years, graffiti has been carved. These inscriptions, ephemeral as they may be, capture centuries of devotion, connecting communities of the past with those of the present who still worship in the same place. In this the people who made their marks on the walls of their church, hoping it would carry their prayers into the future, have succeeded. All that is needed to uncover them today is a good eye and a little light.

Bibliography

- Adamson, R, H. 2014. Stonemasons' Drawings on Building Fabric: Diversity, Form and Function. *Archaeological Journal* 171: 258-288
- Alexander, J, S. 2007. The Introduction and Use of Masons' Marks in Romanesque Buildings in England. *Medieval Archaeology* 51: 63-81
- Arnold, J. 2010. *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic
- Aston, M. 1990. Segregation in Church. In Sheils, W. and Wood, D. (eds) *Studies in Church History, Volume 27: Women in the Church*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Atzbach, R. 2016. Between Representation and Eternity: The Archaeology of Praying in Late Medieval and Post-Medieval times. *European Journal of Archaeology* 19: 28-47
- Benefiel, R. 2011. Dialogues of Graffiti in the House of the Four Styles at Pompeii (Casa Dei Quattro Stili, I.8.17, 11). In Baird, J, A. and Taylor, C. (eds.) *Ancient Graffiti in Context*. New York: Routledge
- Bond, J. 2018. The Medieval Monastery and its Landscape. In Gerrard, C. and Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bossy, J. 1983. The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700. *Past & Present* 100: 29-61
- Champion, M. 2012. Architectural Inscriptions: New Discoveries in East Anglia. *Church Archaeology* 16: 37-52S
- Champion, M. 2015. *Medieval Graffiti: The Lost Voices of England's Churches*. United Kingdom: Ebury Press
- Champion, M. 2017. The Priest, the Prostitute and the Slander on the Walls: Shifting Perceptions Towards Historical Graffiti. *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 6: 5-37
- Champion, M. 2018. Medieval Graffiti Inscriptions. In Gerrard, C. and Gutiérrez, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Clark, W. 2006. *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press
- Cohen, N. and Parton, F. 2019. *Knole Revealed: Archaeology & Discovery at a Great Country House*. Kent: National Trust
- Conary, A, G. n.d. *Behind the Devil's Shield: Hexafoils as Ritual Protection Marks on the Vernacular Architecture of Colonial New England*. Conary, A, G. Available at: <https://salemstate.academia.edu/alyssagaconary> (Accessed: 20/04/20)
- Crone, A. and Gallagher, D. 2008. The Late-Medieval Roof over the Great Hall in Edinburgh Castle. *Medieval Archaeology* 52: 231-260
- Daniell, C. 1997. *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*. London: Routledge
- Dhoop, T., Cooper, C. and Copeland, P. 2016. Recording and Analysis of Ship Graffiti in St Thomas' Church and Blackfriars Barn Undercroft in Winchelsea, East Sussex, UK. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 45: 296-309

- Douglas, M. 2003. *The archaeology of memory: an investigation into the links between collective memory and the architecture of the parish church in late medieval Yorkshire*. Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1260/>
- Easton, T. 2015. Church Apotropaic Symbols and Marks of Piety. *Material Religion* 11: 575-577
- East Sussex Medieval Graffiti Survey. 2015. *About the Project*. East Sussex Medieval Graffiti Survey. Available at: <https://www.medievalgraffiti-eastsussex.org/about> (Accessed: 24/04/2020)
- Edinyang, S, D. 2016. The Significance of Social Learning Theories in the Teaching of Social Studies Education. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Research* 2: 40-45
- Emden, A. B. 1922. Graffiti of medieval ships from the Church of St Margaret at Cliffe, Kent. *The Mariners Mirror* 8: 167-73
- Fleming, J. 2001. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd
- Flores, N. 2000. Introduction. In Flores, N. (ed) *Animals in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge
- Freed, E. 1991. 'Quy the Pentangel Apendes . . .': The Pentangle in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight". *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 77: 125-141
- French, K. 2005. The Seat Under Our Lady: Gender and Seating in Late Medieval English Parish Churches. In Raguin, V, C. and Stanbury, S. (eds.) *Women's Space: Patronage, Place and Gender in the Medieval Church*. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Gilchrist, R. 1994. *Gender and Material Culture: The archaeology of religious women*. London: Routledge
- Gilchrist, R. 2008. Magic for the Dead? The Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials. *Medieval Archaeology* 52: 119-159
- Gilchrist, R. 2012. *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press
- Gomes, M, V., Casimiro, T. and Vieira, A, I. 2014. A Medieval Boat Graffito from Silves, Algarve, Portugal. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 43: 184-188
- Graham, D. and Scott, J. 2019. Alphanumeric graffiti at Rochester Cathedral. *Archaeologica Cantiana* 140: 181-199
- Graves, C, P. 1989. Social space in the English medieval parish church. *Economy and Society* 18: 297-322
- Graves, C, P. and Rollason, L. 2013. The Monastery of Durham and the Wider World: Medieval Graffiti in the Prior's Chapel. *Northern History* 50: 186-215
- Hardy, R. 1997. *Longbow: A social and military history*. Great Britain: Patrick Stephens Limited
- James, D. 2018. Carpenters Assembly Marks in Timber-Framed Buildings. *Vernacular Architecture* 49: 1-31
- Kordecki, L. 2000. Making Animals Mean: Speciest Hermeneutics in the Physiologus of Theobaldus. In Flores, N. (ed) *Animals in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge
- Luke 2:35, Holy Bible, King James Version.

- Le Goff, J. 1970. Church time and merchant time in the Middle Ages. *Social Science Information* 9: 151-167
- Malden, H, E. 1911. *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*. London: Constable and Company Limited
- Malden, H, E. 1912. *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey: Volume 4*. London: Constable and Company Limited
- Meeson, B. 2005. Ritual Marks and Graffiti: Curiosities or Meaningful Symbols? *Vernacular Architecture* 36: 41-48
- Meirion Jones, A. and Díaz-Guardamino, M. 2019. Artefacts in process: making carved stone balls. In Meirion Jones, A. and Díaz-Guardamino, M. (eds.) *Making a Mark: Image and process in Neolithic Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Miller, E. 2015. The Date and Occasion of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 28: 59-62
- Mills, R. 2003. God's Time? Purgatory and Temporality in Late Medieval Art. In Jaritz, G. and Moreno-Riano, G. (eds.) *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers
- Montague Benton, G. 1925. Medieval Graffiti in Steeple Bumstead and other Essex Churches. *Transactions of Essex Archaeology Society* 17: 1-8
- Morton, A. 2012. *St Peter's Church, Old Woking Guide Book*. Surrey: The Parish of St Peter, Woking
- Nairn, I., Pevsner, N and Cherry, B. 1971. *The Buildings of England: Surrey*. Middlesex: Penguin Books
- Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey. 2011. *Volunteer Handbook*. Unpublished
- Nøttveit, O. 2006. The Kidney Dagger as a Symbol of Masculine Identity – The Ballock Dagger in the Scandinavian Context. *Norwegian Archaeology Review* 39: 138-150
- Orme, N. 1994. Children and the Church in Medieval England. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45: 563-587
- Owen, K. 2010. Traces of Presence and Pleading: Approaches to the Study of Graffiti at Tewkesbury Abbey. In Oliver, J. and Neal, T. (eds) *Wild Signs: graffiti in archaeology and history*. Oxford: Archaeopress
- Parish of St Peter Woking. 2019. *Architectural Developments*. Parish of St Peter Woking. Available at: https://stpeterwoking.org/Articles/512802/Architectural_Developments.aspx (Accessed: 06/09/2019)
- Peake, J. 2012. Graffiti and Devotion in Three Maritime Churches. In Heslop, T., Mellings, E. and Thøfner, M. (eds.) *Art, faith and place in East Anglia: from prehistory to the present*. Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer
- Pierre Louët, A. and Geoffrion, J. 2016. Labyrinth Doorways: Crossing the Threshold. *Caerdroia* 45: 11-31

Poulton, R., Christophers, R., Savage, P. and Savage R. 2017. The Development of the Manor, Palace and Park. In Poulton, R. (ed.) *The Moated Medieval Manor and Royal Residence at Woking Palace: Excavations Between 2009 and 2015*. Surrey: Spoil Heap Publications

Pritchard, V. 1967. *English Medieval Graffiti*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Schleif, C. 2005. Men on the Right – Women on the Left: (A)symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places. In Raguin, V, C. and Stanbury, S. (eds.) *Women's Space: Patronage, Place and Gender in the Medieval Church*. Albany: State University of New York Press

Scott, J. 2018. Pictorial and Symbolic Graffiti at Rochester Cathedral. *Archaeologica Cantiana* 139: 47-74

St John the Evangelist - Old Coulsdon. 2020. *The Church Building*. St John the Evangelist – Old Coulsdon. Available at: <https://www.stjohns.coulsdon.net/the-church-building> (Accessed: 03/01/2020)

St Peter and St Paul's Church, Chaldon. 2013. *Chaldon Mural*. St Peter and St Paul's Church. Available at: <http://www.chaldonchurch.co.uk/chaldon-mural> (Accessed: 10/04/2020)

Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey. 2011. *Churches*. Surrey Medieval Graffiti Survey. Available at: <http://www.medievalgraffitisurrey.org/churches.html> (Accessed: 31/01/2019)

Walsh, M. 2008. 'On of the Princypalle Havenes of the See': The Port of Famagusta and the Ship Graffiti in the Church of St George of the Greeks, Cyprus. *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 37: 115-129

Westerdahl, C. 2013. Medieval Carved Ship Images Found in Nordic Churches: the poor man's votive ships? *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 42: 337-347

Williams, B. 2017. Monsters, Masons and Markers: An overview of the graffiti at All Saints Church, Leighton Buzzard. *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 6: 38-64

Wiltshire Medieval Graffiti Survey. n.d. Malmesbury Abbey. Wiltshire Medieval Graffiti Survey. Available at: <https://www.wiltshire-medieval-graffiti-survey.com/malmesbury-abbey.html> (Accessed: 29/02/20)

Indicative Bibliography

- Aston, M. 1988. *England's Iconoclasts. Vol.1, Laws against images*. Oxford: Clarendon
- Bandura, A. 1977. *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall
- Brooke, I. 1938. *English Costume in the Age of Elizabeth: The Sixteenth Century*. London: Adam & Charles Black.
- Girling, F. 1964. *English Merchants' Marks*. London. Oxford University Press
- Graves, C, P. 2000. *The Form and Fabric of Belief: An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon, BAR British Series 311*. United Kingdom: Archaeopress
- Le Goff, J. 1984. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Mee, A. 1950. *The King's England: Surrey*. London: Hodder and Stoughton
- Rees Jones, S. 2003. *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*. Turnhout: Brepols

Appendix 1

To record the graffiti from each of the 51 churches surveyed, digital photographs were taken and listed on Record Sheets. The following table is a full list of these churches and the number of photographs taken of graffiti at each. These are retained in the author's archive and are available upon request.

Church	No. photographs taken
Alfold, St Nicholas	23
Ash, St Peter	12
Banstead, All Saints	29
Betchworth, St Michael	41
Bletchingley, St Mary	86
Burstow, St Bartholomew	15
Caterham, St Lawrence	47
Chaldon, St Peter and St Paul	41
Charlwood, St Nicholas	22
Chiddingfold, St Mary	16
Chipstead, St Margaret	58
Chobham, St Lawrence	15
Cobham, St Andrew	23
Compton, St Nicholas	92
Coulsdon, St John the Evangelist	265
Cranleigh, St Nicolas	21
Crowhurst, St George	51
Dunsfold, St Mary and All Saints	21
Ewhurst, St Peter and St Paul	35
Fetcham, St Mary	56
Godalming, St Peter and St Paul	36
Great Bookham, St Nicholas	135
Horley, St Bartholomew	204
Horne, St Mary	49
Horsell, St Mary the Virgin	28
Leigh, St Bartholomew	46
Limpsfield, St Peter	18
Lingfield, St Peter and St Paul	111
Little Bookham, All Saints	11
Merstham, St Katherine	11
Mickleham, St Michael and All Angels	4
Newdigate, St Peter	7
Nutfield, St Peter and St Paul	83
Ockham, All Saints	89
Ockley, St Margaret	11
Okewood (Wotton), St John the Baptist	17
Oxted, St Mary	120
Pyrford, St Nicholas	87
Reigate, St Mary	222
Shere, St James	246
Stoke D'Abernon, St Mary	71

Tatsfield, St Mary	0
Thames Ditton, St Nicholas	57
Thorpe, St Mary	25
Walton-on-Thames, St Mary	45
Wanborough, St Bartholomew	0
Warlingham, All Saints	13
Wisley	27
Witley, All Saints	11
Woking, St Peter	123
Worplesdon, St Mary	29

Appendix 2

The following are two examples of the sets of record sheets used for each church during this survey. These were replicated for every church that was studied and are retained in the author's archive. However, to upload all of these would have been impossible due to their number, so representative examples have been selected.

SITE RECORDING SHEET

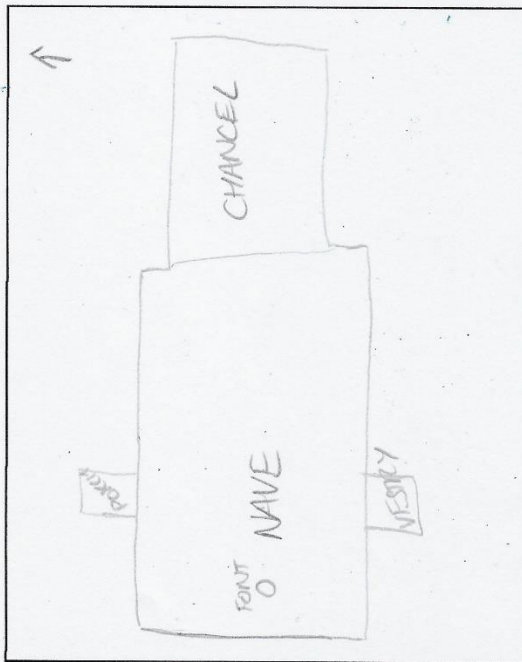
Parish: PYRFORD

Church Dedication: ST NICHOLAS

Survey Date: 11/09/2019

Photograph Record Sheet Number: 51, 52, 53

Sketch of Church Interior:



Wall Fabric Surface (notes):

Wallpaintings and whitewash

General Comments:

3x consecration crosses

Weather Conditions: Cloudy

Light Source(s): Spotlights + phone torches

Notes on Graffiti:

Quantity of Graffiti:

lots, particularly on chancel arch

Quality of Graffiti:

Mostly good quality, outside door jamb poor

Graffiti Forms Identified:

Flowers, birds, inscriptions (incl. names), ragged staff, crosses, 'VV's, lettering etc, architectural designs, consecration crosses

PHOTO RECORD SHEET

Sheet Number: 51

Site Name: PYRFORD, ST NICHOLAS (PFSN)

Date: 11/09/19

Number	Location	Description
PFSN1	Interior door jamb	rectangular design
2	"	Cross
3	"	linear designs
4	Wesby door jamb	Box with design inside
5	"	Cross and curved design
6	"	Star design
7	"	rectangle with star, cross, oval, triangle designs
8	"	box with design, initials
9	"	"
10	"	linear and geometric design
11	"	various diagonal lines
12	"	line with narrow stripes along
13	Chancel Arch	Bird design
14	"	"
15	"	initials with 'VV'
16	"	Partial compass drawn circle
17	"	'VV's
18	"	Figure (human), circles, crosses
19	"	"
20	"	"
21	"	"
22	"	Bird designs (x2)
23	"	"
24	"	"
25	"	"
26	"	Partial circles, cross
27	"	Architectural design
28	"	"
29	"	"
30	"	"
31	"	Architectural design, inscription
32	"	Medieval text inscription (name?)
33	"	"
34	"	"
35	"	Circle with cross inside, bore holes
36	"	Medieval text, architectural inscription

PHOTO RECORD SHEET

Sheet Number: 52

Site Name: PYRFORD, ST NICHOLAS (PFSYN)

Date: 1/09/19

Number	Location	Description
37	Chancel Arch	bore hole and various other lines
38	"	bore hole triangle and square
39	"	triangular design
40	Chancel Arch (S. side)	large partial oval
41	"	triangular inscription - name (Henry...) + date
42	"	inscription - name + 17 th c. date
43	"	various attempts at same name + date
44	"	"
45	"	"
46	"	various straight lines
47	"	cross and curve
48	"	cross, 'house' design
49	"	vertical line with diagonals through
50	"	triangular design
51	S-wall chancel	partially painted 'consecration cross'
52	"	"
53	Window surround	crosses and others
54	"	crosses with bore holes
55	"	crosses, triangles, others
56	"	cross
57	"	cross
58	Window N. chancel	cross with bore holes
59	"	flower design
60	"	"
61	"	"
62	"	bird/bird design?
63	"	various other designs
64	"	crosses and initials
65	Wall	'consecration cross'
66	"	"
67	West wall	partial consecration cross
68	"	"
69	Doorjamb	initials and cross
70	"	'VV'
71	"	box with initials, bore holes
72	"	"

SITE RECORDING SHEET

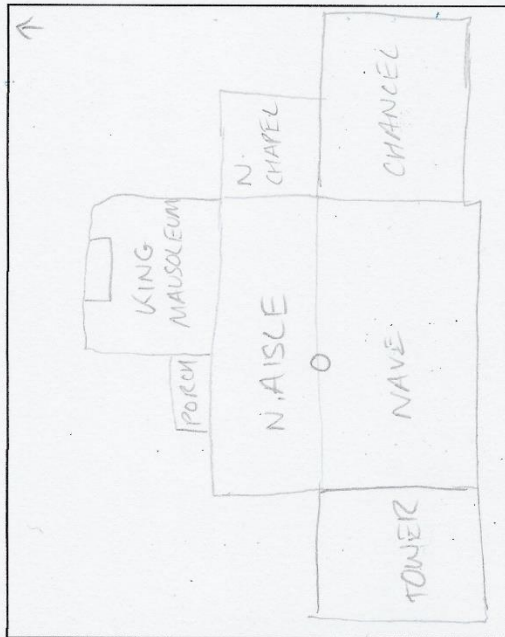
Parish: *OCKHAM*

Church Dedication: *ALL SAINTS*

Survey Date: *19/09/19*

Photograph Record Sheet Number: *83, 84, 85*

Sketch of Church Interior:



Wall Fabric Surface (notes):

*Bell tower interior (flint)
Unwhitewashed piers
Whitewashed exterior doorway*

General Comments:

*Access to int. bell tower
Graffiti on glass
Rev. Hugh Grear*

Weather Conditions: *Sunny*

Light Source(s):

Shyvanher sponger

Notes on Graffiti:

Quantity of Graffiti:

lots - especially lots of compass drawn designs

Quality of Graffiti:

Good quality (although exterior examples hard to see under whitewash)

Graffiti Forms Identified:

*Compass drawn circles + more complex designs, inscription on glass,
decorated crosses, names, 'VV's, bell + bell ringer depiction
etc.*

PHOTO RECORD SHEET

Sheet Number: 83

Site Name: OCKHAM, ALL SAINTS

(OHAS)

Date: 19/09/19

Number	Location	Description
OHAS 1	Interior bell tower	Text inscription - name - probably post med.
2	"	Star design made of square + triangles
3	"	Various triangular/star shaped designs
4	"	Various marks + lines (post med)
5	"	1400s inscriptions "these steps were... 1911
6	step on bell tower staircase	design of intersecting curves
7	"	Possible wide lettering in box
8	Central pier of bell tower stairs	arrow (possible lettering)
9	stair (bell tower staircase)	initials (T.C) - Christianogram?
10	Central pier bell tower stairs	'VV'
11	"	'VV's and other marginal designs
12	"	cross
13	"	initials (with 'VV') and decorated cross w. bareholes
14	"	cross
15	"	cross and lettering
16	interior bell tower	partial compass drawn circles
17	"	cross
18	interior doorjamb of tower door	'VV', names (post med)
19	"	Various initials, names, lines, 'VV', circle etc
20	"	Compass-drawn design - interlocking circles
21	"	Partial compass drawn designs, other lines
22	"	Compass-drawn designs, initials, 'VV'
23	"	initials, 'VV', circles, bareholes, others
24	"	initials with date, circles etc.
25	Chancel/Nave pier (N side)	Compass design - petals extend outside circle
26	"	"
27	"	diagonal rectangle with straight lines inside
28	"	"
29	"	"
30	"	Compass circle with various lines through
31	"	partial compass drawn circles
32	Blocked priest's doorway (Chancel)	cross
33	"	triangle with cross
34	"	cross and other lines
35	"	large cross
36	"	several crosses

PHOTO RECORD SHEET

Sheet Number: 84

Site Name: OCKHAM, ALL SAINTS

(OHAS)

Date: 19/09/19

Number	Location	Description
37	Window s. wall chancel	cross
38	"	Several small decorated crosses
39	"	faint cross
40	"	"VV"
41	"	two deep parallel lines
42	"	"VV", poss. star design, others
43	Pier(?)	heraldic shield with chevrons
44	"	"
45	lower pier(s) adjoining nave	name in box, initials, bell+mechanism+ringer
46	"	"
47	"	initials+ bell with mechanism+bellringer
48	"	"
49	"	Various names, initials and lines
50	"	names, initials, date, lines and boreholes
51	"	lettering with boreholes
52	lower pier(N.) joining nave	vertical lines, mangles, crosses, boreholes
53	"	vertical lines with horizontals crossing
54	"	Various incl. compass designs, stars, mangles etc.
55	"	"
56	"	mangles, rectangles, curves - design unclear
57	"	square with dividing line
58	"	initials and other lines
59	"	names, initials, date, crosshatching lines
60	"	initial+date LOTS OF CROSSHATCHING (mainly obscure)
61	"	lettering and initials in box
62	"	boreholes, lettering, square design
63	"	boreholes, lettering
64	"	several compass circles, initials, date, crosses etc
65	"	initials, date, boreholes, compass circles, partial circles etc.
66	"	initials, circles, crosses, light bulb shapes, squares etc.
67	Back wall nave tower	compass drawn curved lines
68	"	pattern of crosshatched lines
69	"	zigzag, partial circle, poss. partial shield? others
70	"	cross, mangle
71	"	initials, date, vertical lines, boreholes
72	"	inverted "VV"

