

'REMEMBER WHERE YOU ARE!': THE USE OF ENGLISH CATHEDRALS AS SITES OF  
THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE, 1928-2015

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## Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which theatrical performances that take place within cathedrals are indelibly shaped by the space of the cathedral from the very beginning of the production process through to audience reception. Drawing on extensive archival research, the Records of Early English Drama, personal interviews, first hand experience as an audience member, and rehearsal observations, this work seeks to understand how these impacts are made and how best to understand the role of the cathedral in shaping such performances. Henri Lefebvre's theory of the monument will be presented as a way in which one may look at cathedral performance, helping to explain how and why the space acts upon the production. Lefebvre's theory also helps to situate the cathedral as a social identifier, showing how such performances can act to bring a community together, thereby further influencing the production. This thesis offers insights into how not only the tangible aspects of space affect performance (architecture, art, *et cetera*), but also how intangible qualities such as history, social identity, emotions, and spirituality/religion impact productions to the same, or similar, degree. Such performances leave indelible marks on the production including the shaping of texts, designs, staging, and the audience's reception of the final piece; all of which are discussed in detail, with particular attention to case studies. The research concludes by demonstrating that one must not view the cathedral as a neutral vessel, but one that acts upon all aspects of the production of theatre, and in so doing unavoidably alters the performance in a way not possible in other spaces.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archive, Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury.
LMPA	Lincoln Mystery Plays Archive, Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln.
<i>METH</i>	<i>Medieval English Theatre.</i>
REED: Bristol	Mark C. Pilkington, ed., <i>Bristol</i> , The Records of Early English Drama (London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire	Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield, eds., <i>Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire</i> , The Records of Early English Drama (London: University of Toronto Press, 1986).
REED: Ecclesiastical London	Mary C. Erler, ed., <i>Ecclesiastical London</i> , The Records of Early English Drama (London: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
REED: Herefordshire and Worcestershire	David L. Klausner, ed., <i>Herefordshire and Worcestershire</i> , The Records of Early English Drama (London: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
REED: Lincolnshire	James Stokes, ed., <i>Lincolnshire</i> , The Records of Early English Drama, 2 vol. (London: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
REED: Somerset	James Stokes, ed., <i>Somerset</i> , The Records of Early English Drama, 2 vol. (London: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
REED: York	Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds, <i>York</i> , The Records of Early English Drama, 2 vol. (London: Manchester University Press, 1979).
<i>ROMRD</i>	<i>Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama and Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama</i> <sup>1</sup>
YMMP	York Millennium Mystery Plays Archive, The National Centre for Early Music, York.

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<sup>1</sup> The title of *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama (RORD)* was changed to *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama (ROMRD)* in 2005. To avoid confusion I have chosen to use the abbreviation for the most current title.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis argues that the modern use of Church of England cathedrals as sites of theatrical performance brings with it complex issues involving architecture, history, theatrical logistics (i.e. how to stage a play), theology, and art that make such productions unique events that are rooted in and affected by their performance space. The focus of this thesis is from 1928 through 2015, but it will be argued that the historical practice was present in England in the medieval and early modern period to a higher degree than is commonly assumed. Such productions have formed an important part of theatre history beginning with the *Regularis concordia* and continue to the present day.

Cathedrals are unique institutions within the Church of England, being the seat of a Bishop and centre of his or her diocese, and under the control of an independent Dean who governs with the assent of their Chapter of clergy. The cathedral sits at the apex of the diocesan hierarchy that encompasses its parishes. The governance of the cathedral differs from the parish churches under its authority, having greater autonomy and power. As an institutional seat the cathedral becomes a symbol of its diocese, signifying diocesan unity and positioning it within the framework of the greater Church. Given its position within this stratified system, the cathedral is set apart from other churches both in terms of its autonomy and its place as a symbol of the diocese. In order to present a narrow, and therefore more in-depth study, the decision was made to include only cathedrals, excluding other ecclesiastical buildings or institutions. This decision is justified due to the autonomy of the building's management and its place at the apex of the diocesan hierarchy. A result of this decision is the exclusion of numerous, important non-cathedral buildings, many of which contain monastic wordings in their names (i.e. abbey, priory, monastery, *et cetera*). For the most part, these names are merely signifiers of a monastic past that do not affect the daily running of the buildings in

modern times, as they no longer operate as monastic institutions. Their monastic titles are vestigial remains rather than indications of active religious practice or management, and to include the few revived monastic communities would further widen the scope of research unnecessarily.

This thesis draws on the work of Henri Lefebvre and his theory of monumental space, exploring how the cathedral typifies the monument and how that can help to explain why and how cathedrals may be used as performance sites. The work of site-specific theatre practitioners is also considered in order to show how others have viewed space and its role in performance. After exploring the medieval and early modern cathedral performance tradition in England, this thesis goes on to catalogue modern productions beginning with *The Coming of Christ* (1928) at Canterbury. Important trends in national theatre and religious contexts will be explored in relation to the topic in order to position cathedral performance within a wider, national context.

Various reasons for choosing to perform in cathedral settings are examined throughout this thesis, and these can be divided accordingly into religious, historical, and monumental inspirations. This thesis will show that from early on the variety of motivations to produce cathedral plays were layered and far from straightforward. Lefebvre's theorisation of the monument as a lens through which one may better understand such desires is demonstrated in the complexity of these motivations. The rest of the thesis focuses on the theatrical work of producing plays in cathedrals. Due to the ecclesiastical nature of cathedrals, issues of censorship and appropriateness arise in the choice of performance texts. Many of the plays in consideration were written specifically for cathedral environments, and such knowledge has shaped them in ways that can be seen today. This will be shown to be the case in perhaps the most famous cathedral play: T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*.

Cathedrals are made up of various smaller places, each carrying with them

different histories, associations, and artistic qualities. This makes cathedral performance bound to its specific site, as places within the greater cathedral impart more specific meaning. As each space within the cathedral offers different choices and meanings for the production, it also uniquely affects the acoustics. Due to the nature of the building's design, sound must be carefully considered and controlled in the cathedral in order to be best utilised. This is in contrast to more traditional theatre spaces, where acoustics are often considered in the design of the space.

Once all of these areas have been considered one must look at how the chosen space is presented visually. Costume, scenic, and lighting design all must work within places that are perhaps the visual antithesis to traditional theatre environments. Rather than designing for an empty, neutral stage, designers must consider the architectural splendour of the cathedral. Should designers neglect the space they are likely to create visuals that clashes with it, making a design that conflicts with the performance site rather than working with it.

Cathedral performance is a highly complex process, beginning from the earliest stages of pre-production. Being far from a neutral space, the cathedral becomes an artistic component of every part of the production, influencing all areas from the decision to use the space, the text to perform, and visual context for the performance. From the very beginning one must consider all aspects of theatrical production and contemplate how the cathedral will interact with and affect the final product in performance. In the final act of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, Thomas Becket yells to his priests to 'Remember where you are!' as they, shouting, attempt to barricade the doors of Canterbury Cathedral to save the life of their Archbishop. Thomas's words are a command also to all those who seek to produce theatre in the cathedral. One must remember the space, its history, its meanings, its art, its monumental position, its religiosity, if one wishes to use it as an integral component of the theatrical production.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

As John M. Wasson demonstrates in 'The English Church as Theatrical Space' (1997), there exists a body of primary evidence pertaining to the historical use of churches as performance spaces either yet to be examined or largely dismissed.<sup>2</sup> Wasson examines the historical use of English churches and churchyards as areas of performance in the medieval and early modern periods, using as his source the volumes of the Records of Early English Drama (REED) published up to the date of publication. In the large corpus of works on medieval, religious and theatrical practices, very little time has been spent on a discussion of the role of church spaces in performance. As Wasson demonstrates, this is not for a lack of evidence for cathedral performance in the medieval period.

Virginia Schull's 'Clerical Drama in Lincoln Cathedral, 1318 – 1561' (1937) was the first published study showing the extent to which Lincoln's records reveal a long tradition of performance.<sup>3</sup> James Stoke, editor of the Lincolnshire volumes of REED, has also explored the records in 'The Lost Playing Places of Lincolnshire' (2003-4).<sup>4</sup> But once again, neither author looks to explore the ways in which the cathedral may have affected performance; their focus was documentation rather than analysis.

Both historical records (namely REED) and twentieth century works such as Kenneth Pickering's *Drama in the Cathedral* (2001) and Wasson's work have shed light on the presence of cathedral performances.<sup>5</sup> Dunbar H. Ogden's *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (2002) shows an interest in the topic on the international, European

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<sup>2</sup> John M. Wasson, 'The English Church as Theatrical Space', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, eds. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 25-38.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia Schull, 'Clerical Drama in Lincoln Cathedral, 1318-1561', in *PMLA* 52, no. 4 (December, 1937): 946-66.

<sup>4</sup> James Stokes, 'The Lost Playing Places of Lincolnshire', in *Comparative Drama* 37, no. 3/4 (Winter/Fall, 2003/4): 275-95.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral: A Twentieth Century Encounter of Church and Stage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J. Garnet Miller, 2001).

scale; but his focus on liturgical *Visitatio sepulchri* drama severely limits his scope.<sup>6</sup> Marvin Carlson's *Places of Performance* (1989) actually looks at cathedral performance in relative detail, but his analysis goes no further than the late sixteenth century, making no mention of the modern tradition.<sup>7</sup> Pickering's *Drama in the Cathedral* (2001) is the most detailed, complete, and comprehensive account of theatrical performance in English cathedrals, focusing on the plays of the Canterbury Festival. However, the cathedral play tradition is only partially put into a wider, national context with references to other productions, mostly those in which Pickering was involved. This thesis extends the scope of *Drama in the Cathedral*, spreading to all Church of England cathedrals and focusing on analysis of performance and production.

Understanding the medieval world that built many of the great cathedrals of England can help one to understand the context in which they were formed. Classic works on the cathedral in society such as Jean Gimpel's ground-breaking *The Cathedral Builders* (1983), Stanford Lehmborg's *English Cathedral: A History* (2005), and Jon Cannon's *Cathedral* (2011) reveal the social and cultural world in which medieval cathedrals were constructed.<sup>8</sup> The role of drama and theatre in medieval society is explored in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (2008), John R. Elliott's *Playing God* (1989), William Tydeman's *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (1978), Pamela M. King's *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (2006), and Meg Twycross's 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays' (2008).<sup>9</sup> These works span the

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<sup>6</sup> Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 14-17.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, trans. Teresa Waugh (London: Pimlico, 1983); Stanford Lehmborg, *English Cathedrals: A History* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005); Jon Cannon, *Cathedral: The Great English Cathedrals and the World that Made Them, 600 – 1540* (London: Constable, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); John R. Elliott Jr, *Playing God: Medieval Mysteries on the Modern Stage* (London: University of Toronto, 1989); William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800 – 1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Pamela M. King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006); Meg

history and modern practice of staging medieval drama, helping to show the conditions for which the drama of the medieval period was written and informed the ways in which theatre may have been staged then and can be staged now.

The bulk of published materials on the topic, aside from Pickering's, consist of reviews, surveys, and a few first-hand accounts by those directly involved in such productions. E. Martin Browne's autobiography *Two in One* (1981) is a valuable account of his decades of work on medieval drama and cathedral performance.<sup>10</sup> He provides much evidence for performances, but his discussion is mostly limited to title, date, and place. His earlier book *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays* (1970) is narrower in scope and more in-depth, analysing Eliot's creation of *Murder in the Cathedral* and his own role as the director of the first production.<sup>11</sup> While he documents the creation of the most famous cathedral play, his focus is more literary than theatrical. Keith Ramsey's autobiographical account of his time working with *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* is more tightly focused than Browne's work, focusing as he does on a specific period and play.<sup>12</sup> Ramsey provides a variety of detailed accounts of his work not only in English, but also Italian and French cathedrals, spanning twenty-two years of practice. The published letters of Dorothy L. Sayers offer a valuable insight into the process of the playwright as she worked on cathedral plays, providing information not available in the play texts themselves.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately the multi-volume work *The Letters of TS Eliot* has only published letters through 1933 at the time of writing, just shy of the time in which Eliot began work on *Murder in the Cathedral*.

The emerging area of Geographies of Theatre has brought new theoretical

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Twycross, 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Drama', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 26-74.

<sup>10</sup> E. Martin Browne with Henzie Browne, *Two in One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

<sup>11</sup> E. Martin Browne, *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

<sup>12</sup> Keith Ramsey, *The Lincoln Mystery Plays, 1978-2000: A Personal Odyssey* (Lincoln: Nerone Books, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, ed. Barbara Reynolds, 4 vol. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995-2000).

frameworks and methodologies to the study of theatre and performance 'in which space is increasingly replacing time as the significant category of analysis'.<sup>14</sup> The ways in which space affects performance and vice versa are becoming clearer with works like Una Chaudhuri's *Staging Space: The Geography of Modern Drama* (1995), which though focusing on drama and not theatre, offers useful parallels and applicable theory.<sup>15</sup> David Wiles makes extensive use of geographical theory in *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (2003), establishing a theoretical approach firmly grounded in western thoughts on space.<sup>16</sup> The theorisations on space presented here draw much from Wiles' introduction. Marvin Carlson's *The Haunted Stage* (2003) presented similar spatial theories but in the context of theatre practice.<sup>17</sup> At times it is uncertain whether he has intentionally chosen not to use the spatial vocabulary of geography or if his own positions happen to line up with such theories.

Even given this increased attention to the topic of space and place in relation to performance, very little qualitative research into the specific place of the church in performance has been carried out. While works on cathedral productions such as *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), *The York Millennium Mysteries* (2000), and *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012)\*, are present, very little attention is paid to the effect of the space on the performance. The focus is on the actions and the words, ignoring the spaces for which they were carefully chosen as the backdrop. This is also true of Browne's works, mentioned above.

Journals such as *Medieval English Theatre (METH)* and *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama (ROMRD)* carry reviews of cathedral productions, all of

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<sup>14</sup> Una Chaudhuri, *Staging Space: The Geography of Modern Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), xi.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

which focus on medieval and early modern texts; however, few of them pay significant attention to the cathedral as the performance space. The most extensive review for the largest ever cathedral performance in the United Kingdom, *The York Millennium Mysteries* (2000), in *ROMRD* briefly mentions the ‘*mysterium tremendum* – the fear and trembling one feels in the presence of God while in the majestic York Minster’, before almost entirely disregarding the role of the cathedral space for the following twelve pages.<sup>18</sup> A key element of the production, indeed one of its major selling points, was thus disregarded. Perhaps the reason for similar inattention to performance spaces in the journals mentioned above is the focus on drama rather than theatre.

Histories and approaches to site-specific performance can give valuable insight into how theatre practitioners have viewed and used space, but very little mention is given to ecclesiastical settings. Ric Knowles’ *Reading the Material Theatre* (2004), Gay McAuley’s *Space in Performance* (1999), and Iain MacKintosh’s *Architecture, Actor, Audience* (1993) provide detailed overviews of space’s function in the theatre as well as case studies of how theatre practitioners have come not only to view, but also use space’s role in performance.<sup>19</sup> In Mike Pearson’s *In comes I’: Performance, Memory and Landscape* (2006), *Site-Specific Performance* (2010), as well as his work with Michael Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology* (2001), he focuses on first hand accounts of working with and theorising space and its role in the creation of theatre/performance.<sup>20</sup> Pearson’s work focuses on his own practice, allowing the reader to explore his process in more detail than in works that explore the practice of others. In a similar fashion Tadeusz Kantor’s *A Journey Through Other Spaces: Essays and Manifestos, 1944-1990* (1993) offers a first hand account (if edited and translated) exploring how Kantor’s work was

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<sup>18</sup> Barbara I. Gusick, ‘A Review of the *York Millennium Mystery Plays*’, in *ROMRD* 40 (2001): 114

<sup>19</sup> Ric Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Gay McAuley, *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Iain MacKintosh, *Architecture, Actor, Audience* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>20</sup> Mike Pearson, *In comes I’: Performance, Landscape and Memory* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006); Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2001).

shaped by his ideas of theatrical space over more than four decades.<sup>21</sup> This offers a chance to see the evolution of space in performance over a period in which it came to challenge the primacy of the actor/audience relationship, and from the point of view of the man whom David Wiles credited with ‘the most powerful call for the primacy of space’ in performance theory.<sup>22</sup>

And finally, in order to understand the cathedral space as an artistic object the works of the architectural historian Sir Nikolaus Pevsner must be explored. The three-volume set *The Cathedrals of England* (2005) was posthumously assembled from Pevsner’s earlier series *The Buildings of England*.<sup>23</sup> These volumes represent the most complete architectural description of English cathedrals (both Church of England and Roman Catholic), providing invaluable insights into their history, meaning, and design. Robert A. Scott’s *The Gothic Enterprise* (2003) offers explanations on the meaning and history of cathedral spaces more generally, giving the reader a firm grounding in architectural theory and vocabulary.<sup>24</sup> Cathedral-specific publications offer more specialised information, and often provide the reader with more in-depth history and analysis concerning individual aspects of cathedrals. *Lincoln Cathedral: A Journey from Past to Present* (2011), and *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral* (2013) are some of the more in depth examples of such works.<sup>25</sup>

## TERMINOLOGY AND CONVENTIONS

Many of the terms used in this thesis have double or triple meanings that are not necessarily applicable to the topic. The most important of these is ‘cathedral’. While the

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<sup>21</sup> Tadeusz Kantor, *A Journey Through Other Spaces: Essays and Manifestos, 1944-1990*, ed. and trans. Michal Kobialka (London: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*, 3 vols. (London: the Folio Society, 2005).

<sup>24</sup> Robert A Scott, *The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral* (London: University of California Press, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> Philip Buckler, et al, *Lincoln Cathedral: A Journey from Past to Present* (London: Third Millennium Publishing, 2011); Jonathan Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2013).

term has different meanings in different Christian denominations, the meaning here is a church that serves as the seat for a Bishopric, containing the Bishop's throne, or *cathedra*. As this thesis is concerned only with Church of England cathedrals, such buildings of other Christian sects also called cathedrals are not included, and all references to cathedrals, unless otherwise stated, will refer to these Anglican buildings. As a cathedral is a type of church, both terms will be used when discussing such spaces. However, 'church' will be used to describe the sanctuary of the cathedral, and not the ancillary structures that make up the rest of the building.

It is common to label cathedrals as either 'monastic' or 'secular', referring to the way in which the institution was governed in the pre-Reformation period (after which point all Church of England cathedrals became secular with the dissolution of the monasteries). The monastic cathedral was governed by a chapter of monks headed by an Abbott or Prior, while a secular cathedral was administered by a chapter of secular (non-monastic) priests headed by a Dean. These terms will be used in this thesis, as the two types often contain differing architectural layouts and uses. While at first the term 'secular' may appear to be slightly odd, it is important to remember that the word means non-monastic, and referred to priests who did not live the cloistered life of monks.<sup>26</sup> In order to distinguish between religious and non-religious entities, the term 'profane' will be used. Although modern connotations have ascribed a more common meaning, 'profane' simply means that which is not religious.

Capitalisation of initial letters will be used throughout to distinguish between institutions and buildings. When capitalised the words 'Church' and 'Cathedral' refer to the institutions and governing bodies, while 'church' and 'cathedral' refer to the buildings.

Two key terms in this thesis are 'space' and 'place', the defining of which has

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<sup>26</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'secular', accessed 13 February 2014, <http://oed.com>.

preoccupied Human Geographers since the creation of the field in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup> These are not easily defined terms, appearing to defy universal definition and understanding.<sup>28</sup> 'Place' encompasses the physical, (usually) bounded area of the *locus*, and is often seen as an ever-evolving product of human interaction with the environment.<sup>29</sup> 'Space' is concerned with abstract ideas, adding meaning and experience to place by considering actions, affect, and social practices.<sup>30</sup> Spatial theorist Henri Lefebvre viewed the two terms as interconnected elements, in which one informs the other, eluding attempts at separating the two and thus making space 'fully saturated with place'.<sup>31</sup> Lefebvre created new terms that in his ideation supplant 'space' and 'place', using instead *physical space* (place) and *mental space* (space), as well as adding a third category called *social space* (the lived reality of *mental space* within *physical space*).<sup>32</sup> The use of 'space' throughout this new nomenclature demonstrates the interconnectedness with which he theorised the terms. As this thesis draws its understanding of space and place from Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991), the application of such terms will be upon these guidelines. A further discussion of space/place and its use by Lefebvre and in theatre criticism will be given in Chapter One.

Some authors have chosen to use the terms 'space' and 'place' interchangeably, and in doing so devalue the distinction. In *The Empty Space* (1968) Peter Brook's implied meaning of 'space' fits better the definition of 'place', while Bruce Bergner's *The Poetics of Stage Space* (2013) defines 'space' in such a way as to mean the *locus*, and thus

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<sup>27</sup> Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael Watts and Sarah Whatmore (eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), 350.

<sup>28</sup> See Gregory *et al*, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 539-40 and 707-10 for brief descriptions of how the terms have changed meaning though time in context of new theorisations in the field of Human Geography.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 539-40.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 707-10.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 540.

<sup>32</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 11-12 and 26-46.

'place'.<sup>33</sup> Bernard Beckerman uses 'space' to the near exclusion of 'place' in *Theatrical Presentation* (1990), referring instead to 'specific' or 'playing' space instead of 'place'.<sup>34</sup> In *Space in Performance* (1999) Gay McAuley points to the dual nature of theatre as both *physical* and *mental space*, stating that 'theatre is perhaps the only art form in which the name given to the place where the artistic event occurs [*physical space*] [...] is the same as that of the art form itself [*mental* and *social space*].<sup>35</sup> Such varied distinctions between the terms show their fluid nature, and require clear definitions to be employed in discussions.

Throughout the following chapters the terms 'drama' and 'theatre' will be used in specific ways that have been chosen in order to differentiate between distinct concepts. 'Drama' refers to the script/text; what Richard Schechner described as being able to be 'taken from place to place or time to time independent of the person who carries it'.<sup>36</sup> This includes the text and/or script as either a physical copy of instructions, or the non-tangible transmission of such instructions through teaching (such as is done in the training of young Noh actors).<sup>37</sup> 'Theatre' denotes the performance of drama, what Schechner called 'the event enacted by a specific group of performers; what actually occurs to the performers during a production'.<sup>38</sup> *Hamlet* as a printed text is drama, while the performance of that text is theatre. Cary M. Mazer makes the same distinction in 'New Theatres for a New Drama' (2004).<sup>39</sup> Tom Stoppard draws the same conclusions regularly in interviews, referencing the final scene in an outdoor production of *The*

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<sup>33</sup> Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (London: Penguin, 1968), 11; Bruce A Bergner, *The Poetics of Stage Space: The Theory and Process of Theatre Scene Design* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc.), 9.

<sup>34</sup> Bernard Beckerman, *Theatrical Presentation: Performer, Audience and Act*, eds. Gloria Brim Beckerman and William Coco (London: Routledge, 1990), see especially 17-19.

<sup>35</sup> Gay McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Schechner, 'Drama, Script, Theatre, and Performance', in *The Drama Review* 17, no. 3 (September, 1973): 8.

<sup>37</sup> See for example Umewaka Manzaburo and F.M. Kuramochi, 'Interview with the Noh Actor Umewaka Manzaburo', in *The World of Music* 17, no. 3 (1975): 19-25.

<sup>38</sup> Schechner, 'Drama, Script, Theatre, and Performance', 8.

<sup>39</sup> Cary M. Mazer, 'New Theatres for a New Drama', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian and Edwardian Theatre*, ed. Kerry Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 210.

*Tempest* in which the text (drama) said 'exit Ariel'; but this simple direction was actualised with the actor appearing to run away across the surface of a lake until out of sight (theatre).<sup>40</sup> Antonin Artaud (*The Theatre and its Double* [1958]), Jerzy Grotowski (*Towards a Poor Theatre* [1968]), and Hans-Thies Lehmann (*Postdramatic Theatre* [2006]) discuss this distinction as well, differentiating between the performativity of theatre and the literary focus of drama.<sup>41</sup>

Similar to the drama/theatre dichotomy is the link between theatre and liturgy, a complex spectrum on which distinctions often blur. Much work has been undertaken linking high and late medieval religious theatre and liturgy, often by seeing in medieval civic drama references to established liturgy. Pamela King and Penny Granger discuss the influence of liturgy on the York and N-Town plays respectively, but their work shows liturgical remnants in the texts rather than actual pieces of liturgy.<sup>42</sup> According to Alexandra F. Johnston, the creation of civic drama was (at least partially) instigated by the Church in conjunction with 'educated and devout' laity to be 'an effective way to bring believers to feel "þere present in þy mynde" the Incarnate Christ as he taught, suffered, died and rose again' in a form of affective piety.<sup>43</sup> Such a genesis shows the skeleton of liturgy on which the drama and theatre were built and explains the close connection between the two. As theatre split more with the church in the late medieval period, becoming largely the domain of the civic authorities, the vestiges of liturgy were maintained by tradition and piety and thus obscured a clear separation of the two.

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<sup>40</sup> William W. Demastes, *The Cambridge Introduction to Tom Stoppard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 25.

<sup>41</sup> Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and Its Double*, trans. Mary Caroline Richards (New York: Grove Press, 1958), 68; Jerzy Grotowski, *Towards a Poor Theatre*, ed. Eugenio Barba (London: Methuen and Co., 1969), 28-33; Hans-Thies-Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 30-1 and 46-50. Artaud sees theatre 'as a branch of literature', and thus subsumed under the greater heading of drama; but later in the same paragraph he refers to it as 'performed text', and therefore theatre.

<sup>42</sup> See Penny Granger, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009) and Pamela King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> Alexandra F. Johnston, 'An Introduction to Medieval English Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7. Johnston draws her quote from Nicholas Love's *The Mirrour of the Blessyd Lyf of Jesu Christ* (c. 1500).

As this thesis is not concerned with liturgical performance, a means to make a clear distinction between liturgy and non-liturgy is necessary. Richard Schechner provides a useful theory based on a continuum between entertainment (theatre) and efficacy (ritual).<sup>44</sup> These two categories are not separate but overlapping, so that ‘no performance is pure efficacy or pure entertainment.’<sup>45</sup> His table [**image I.1**] helps to clarify his meaning.

EFFICACY Ritual	ENTERTAINMENT Theater
results	fun
link to an absent Other	only for those here
symbolic time	emphasis now
performer possessed, in trance	performer knows what s/he’s doing
audience participates	audience watches
audience believes	audience appreciates
criticism discouraged	criticism flourishes
collective creativity	individual creativity

**Image I.1** Continuum between efficacy and entertainment. Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 130. Schechner’s spelling and capitalisation have been maintained.

The continuum allows for such shared qualities as ‘audience’ participation in entertainment, and ‘fun’ in efficacy. While this shows the difficulty in separating liturgy from theatre, it allows one to differentiate between performances as distinct as the Mass and medieval civic drama through the word ‘efficacy’. As liturgy is bound with spirituality, such efficacy must take that form; that is to say, in order to be liturgical, the act must be seen as a means to affect a spiritual result (i.e. transubstantiation, blessing of a marriage, baptism of a child, *et cetera*). David Bevington articulates this as ‘the distinction between liturgy and *imitatio*’, showing a clear line between ‘Real Presence’ and ‘metaphorical or historical remembrance’.<sup>46</sup> While many see the civic drama of medieval England as acts of worship/devotion, that does not make them liturgical.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory* (London: Routledge, 1988), 129-36.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>46</sup> David Bevington, ‘Staging Liturgy in *The Croxton Play of the Sacrament*’, in *Staging Scripture: Biblical Drama, 1350-1600*, eds. Peter Happé and Wim Hüsken (Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2016), 235.

Applying such a wide definition would mean that all religious devotions or acts of worship (including simple prayer) would then become liturgical.

As the central act of both the Roman Catholic Church (in which context the medieval plays were written) and the Church of England (with which context this thesis is concerned) the rite of the Eucharist affords a prime example to show the difference between liturgy and theatre. When Ranier Warning described York's *The Last Supper* as 'a celebration of the Mass in which Christ becomes the priest consecrating the host and the apostles become the faithful taking communion', he neglected to note that the profane actor playing Christ did not miraculously become an ordained priest during the performance.<sup>47</sup> Even if an ordained priest were to take on the part he would still not accomplish the theological requirements of the mass as he would be reciting lines of a profane play, and not the approved liturgy of the Church. Participants, both actors and audience, may see the performance as a form of worship, but that does not make it liturgical. Pamela King points out that the Christ in the plays was 'less theologically "real"' to the medieval audience than the Host in the Mass; this draws an important distinction between the acts in which one sees the real presence of Jesus in the Host, and the other sees merely a visual representation of him.<sup>48</sup> Glynne Wickham made the same distinction in *Early English Stages* (1981), saying that:

[W]e must admit the likelihood of two dramas of single Christian origin but of independent motivation: the drama of the Real Presence within the liturgy and the imitative drama of Christ's Humanity in the world outside. The one is a drama of adoration, praise and thanksgiving; the other is a drama of humour, suffering and violence, of laughter and sorrow.<sup>49</sup>

The play of *The Last Supper* does not become the Eucharistic rite simply for having structural or even textual similarities with the liturgy. The play may borrow from the

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<sup>47</sup> Ranier Warning, *The Ambivalences of Medieval Religious Drama*, trans. Steven Rendall (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 222.

<sup>48</sup> Pamela King, 'The York Plays and the Feast of Corpus Christi', in *METH* 22 (2000): 19-20.

<sup>49</sup> Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660*, 3 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1981), 1.314.

liturgy, but in doing so it does not become liturgy.

To denote productions which I have seen, and for which I am therefore citing my own experience, an asterisk (\*) will follow the names and dates of those productions that I personally attended (i.e. *The Massacre at Paris* [2014]\*). In cases where a production toured to multiple cathedrals the asterisk will follow after the name of the cathedral in which I saw the show (i.e. *Passion: A Contemporary Journey to the Cross* [2015] at Ely and Coventry\* Cathedrals). For revivals of productions the asterisk will follow the date of the performance I attended (i.e. *The Chester Mystery Plays* [2003, 2013\*]).

The Canterbury Festival changed names throughout the years, sometimes incorporating or dropping 'drama' or 'music' from the official title. In order to avoid possible confusion, I have normalised all references to 'the Canterbury Festival'. Similarly, the various individual plays that make up the passion sequence written for and performed in Liverpool Cathedral will be referred to generally as *The Liverpool Passion Plays* when discussed as a whole. However, when the particular plays themselves are the focus, then the individual names will be used. The same convention used for Liverpool will be used for the varied titles of the mystery plays at Lincoln, known collectively as *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*.

## **CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION**

The productions analysed in this thesis can be found in Appendix A. This list consists of those productions that have fulfilled the criteria for inclusion listed below:

- The production must have taken place in a current Church of England cathedral: this is both to narrow the scope of research geographically, while also limiting the religious influences on the productions to a single religious

denomination. Former cathedrals, such as St. John's, Chester, are excluded.

- The production must have been staged between 1928 and 2015. The beginning of this period has been chosen as it is the earliest documented play within a cathedral in England since the sixteenth century.
- The production must have a portion of the play staged within the walls of the cathedral. Plays staged entirely outside of the cathedral walls are excluded, including those performed on cathedral grounds (such as greens, closes, gardens, and against the exterior cathedral walls). This excludes productions that use the cathedral as a backdrop rather than a part of the play. While such productions as *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (1981) interacted with the space, placing actors on the west front that served as the backdrop, others have not had that effect. *The Chester Mystery Plays* (1967, 1973) used the cathedral green as a convenient location for logistical purposes. Evaluating each such production on a case-by-case basis could result in accusations of arbitrary selection, and so all such instances have been excluded from the scope of this thesis.
- The production must consist of a whole, acted, play. When a production is described as 'scenes from' a play it is not included in order to give more attention to full-length productions. Although edited plays can fall into this category, by not being referred to as 'scenes' they are deemed to be full-length productions.
- The production must be certified to have taken place through documentary evidence. Throughout the research for this thesis I have come across small pieces of information that allude to, but do not give details of, cathedral performances. For example, a Google search for 'Murder in the Cathedral 1970' reveals a picture that clearly shows the murder scene from the play

before the high altar of Liverpool Cathedral. However, no other information can be found through the linked site or in other sources. For this reason one may assume that the play was performed in the cathedral, but as no documented evidence clearly states this, it is not included in this study.

Certain productions were discovered in conversation with people involved. For example, Kenneth Pickering spoke to me of a production of *Everyman* he directed in Hereford's nave sometime in the 1970s. No further information could be found and so it is not included here.

- Plays that toured to multiple cathedrals are given a single entry for each cathedral in which they performed.
- In some instances multiple plays are performed as a single event. This includes nearly all productions of medieval drama. In this case the play is given a single entry in italics. Should smaller portions or scenes be discussed they will appear in single quotation marks (i.e. 'The Presentation in the Temple' from *The York Millennium Mystery Plays*).
- Many medieval plays have been presented over various nights, for example *The Chester Mystery Plays* (1951). *In the Beginning*, *The Nativity*, and *The Passion* were presented separately on different nights. As each play was presented as a discrete event they are treated as three separate plays rather than one.

## **METHODOLOGY**

It has been necessary to assemble the data presented in Appendix A and Appendix B, involving various methods of research. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the primary source for the medieval and early modern periods was the material contained in the Records of Early English Drama (REED) series. The information presented for these

periods is therefore constrained by the editorial standards and the inclusion criteria of REED as well as by the regions for which volumes had been published as of the Spring of 2016.

The materials related to performances since 1928 have been collected through a variety of means, including archival research, personal interviews, published first person accounts of reviewers and participants, internet searches, personal experiences of the author, and a single published monograph pertaining to performance in a specific cathedral. The scattered availability and varying degrees of coverage of the sources means that the research is limited to the documents and materials that could be identified and to which access could be gained. Productions that took place within the period of research were sometimes only discovered after closing. One reason for this is that outside companies that use the cathedral may not be advertised through the cathedral's normal modes of marketing and communication (i.e. internet, newsletter, *et cetera*), leaving only the company's own localised advertising, which may not be easily discoverable unless specifically looked for. Productions of this kind (i.e. produced by non-Cathedral groups) are more likely to be missing due to this error, and so such productions may be more common than is presented here. Under-publicised productions may have escaped notice and so are lacking from the chronology presented in Chapter Two. This was the case for the early productions of Worcester Repertory's 'Shakespeare at the Cathedral', which were advertised most vigorously at the local level in Worcester.

While the lack of a definitive list of all productions that fall within the scope of this thesis may imply that an incomplete picture of the field of research is presented here, it also points to the large and varied pool of materials available. This has inevitably led to the unintentional exclusion of certain cases. However, the large number of productions that are catalogued represent a significant sampling, and as such can form

the basis for the present study. The discovery of further productions will add to the study in the future, but their absence at this moment does not invalidate the overall argument.

The following chapters will demonstrate how all aspects of performance are encompassed by the spatial context of the event, from play selection through to design, and audience reception. The aim of this thesis is to answer how and why theatre produced within a cathedral is affected by the specific qualities and associations of that space. In doing so it shows the power of space to influence, and thus become a constituent part of, theatrical performance.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GEOGRAPHY AND CATHEDRAL PERFORMANCE

This chapter provides a general overview of spatial theory as it relates to site-specific performance, specifically that of Henri Lefebvre, and how certain spatial theories have been mirrored by theatre practitioners in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

These theories will serve a twofold purpose in the following work. First, they provide a point around which certain portions of the subsequent chapters will be framed in order to contextualise the meaning of cathedral space, which will then inform an analysis of its use. Secondly, the meaning of the cathedral space will be used as a means to explain certain aspects of theatrical performance in cathedrals as well as a method of understanding why certain choices may be made in productions. These spatial theories act as a means to understand the space beyond simple knowledge of the *physical space*, and as such are important factors when attempting to demonstrate the influence of the cathedral both as a building and a social institution on the plays performed within their confines.

Space is viewed both as a creation and creator of the society that uses it; this notion is a central tenet of cultural geography and helps to explain how and why people act (or, as geographers would put it, 'perform') in space, shaping their perceptions, motivations, and actions in differing environments. Discussions between geography and theatre have led to an interdisciplinary interplay between the fields, enriching both. This integrative approach helps the theatre practitioner to understand space in a way that interprets it as something other than an aesthetic, or a frame. This way of viewing space as an active participant in both the creation and reception of theatre has led to the questioning of previously held ideas regarding 'the empty space' and the primacy of the actor/audience relationship.

This chapter is divided into four parts, which provide a brief discussion of the

role of spatial theories on the field of theatre that forms the basis of analysis for this project. Part One is concerned with defining what is meant by space in the context of this thesis. Part Two looks at the spatial theorist Henri Lefebvre, concentrating on explaining his ideas of monumentalism before exploring his expansion of spatial theory from a previously held dichotomy (*physical* and *mental space*), and into a tripartite concept (to include *social space*). Part Three is a short review of spatial analysis in theatre practice and criticism, as well as the art world more generally.

### **WHAT IS SPACE?**

The idea that a neutral space exists is a fallacy, and is perhaps the most important geographical principal to understand when one looks at any study of site-specific performance. David Wiles describes space as:

[...] *social*, for each society produces its own space, a space simultaneously mental and physical. Space is always *produced*, in the sense that it is always a set of relationships, never a given, never inert or transparent, never in a state of nature untouched by culture. There is no such thing as an empty space.<sup>50</sup>

This is a concept adhered to not just by geographers, but also by a growing number of theatre makers and critics.<sup>51</sup> In the introduction to *Site-Specific Performance* (2010), Mike Pearson catalogues key works in site-specific performance theory and practice, tracing shifts in thought throughout the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup> The chronology makes it clear that as time has passed, the primacy of the actor/audience relationship has been questioned in relation to the spaces in which that duality interacts. Personal ideas of what the space is and what it represents to the individual influence that person's interpretation of and behaviour in that space. The human geographer Dominique Moran describes the idea of space, in its broadest context, as being:

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<sup>50</sup> David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10.

<sup>51</sup> Ric Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63.

<sup>52</sup> Mike Pearson, *Site-Specific Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 7-17.

[...] recognized by geographers as more than the surface where social practices take place [...] rather, it is produced by social practices - and is a social practice in itself [...] Space is simultaneously the medium and the outcome of these practices [...] constructed not only out of political [...] practices, but out of the multiplicity of everyday social relations across all spatial scales, and contributed to by feelings and emotions [...] <sup>53</sup>

While Moran does not mention culture, many geographers would add the concept of cultural practices to her list of influences from which space evolves.<sup>54</sup> Space both creates and is created by the culture it encompasses and by which it is encompassed. To see space as a static backdrop either framing or silhouetting action is to deny its power as an emotive, cultural, and creative force. The apparent paradox that space is both an outcome of social practices, and a social practice in itself, points its omnipresent nature. While this may seem self-evident, much writing on twentieth century western theatre seems to either neglect or take for granted this pivotal component of the theatrical process.<sup>55</sup> While all performance must take place within a space, the ubiquitous presence of space has been taken for granted as a 'given circumstance', an element of performance that can be treated with indifference.

Space should not be relegated to a role that Jerzy Grotowski called 'supplementary' to the primary act, that is, the relationship between actor and spectator.<sup>56</sup> The performance space is not a vestigial addendum to the theatrical experience, but a vital component of it. In *The Production of Space* (1991) Lefebvre notes that:

Vis-à-vis lived experience, space is neither a mere 'frame', after the fashion of the frame of a painting, nor a form or container of virtually neutral kind, designed simply to receive whatever is poured into it. Space is social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as

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<sup>53</sup> Dominique Moran, 'Carceral geography and the spatiality of prison visiting: visitation, recidivism, and hyperincarceration', in *Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space* 31 (2013): 180.

<sup>54</sup> See John Horton and Peter Kraftl, *Cultural Geographies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>55</sup> McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 1-3.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

intimately bound up with function and structure.<sup>57</sup>

Lefebvre, arguably one of the most influential spatial theorists of the twentieth century, conveys the idea of the primacy of space over actions and perceptions using wording directly analogous to stage performance. He condemns the perceived neutrality of the frame/proscenium arch as a collective delusion, with the admission that all space 'intimately' binds form and function, and thus shapes perception and behaviours. Space does not simply, passively, receive; rather, it changes that which is placed within its confines. To change the position of something in space (object, performance, person, *et cetera*) is to change its meaning; the space and its associations impinge on the performance.

I have chosen to focus on the theories not of theatre practitioners, but rather spatial theorists whose work is concerned with the power of space. This is not to say that the works of people such as Tadeusz Kantor, Richard Schechner, Peter Brook, or Anne Ubersfeld are of no use. Gay McAuley's work has shown that the work of such academics and practitioners generally places the central dynamic in performance on the actor/audience relationship, before then interrogating the role of space.<sup>58</sup> This thesis is centred on the place of the cathedral primarily, and it is not until that place exists that one can discuss any relationships that may occur within it. The key spatial theorists one comes across in many works on site-specific performance that consider the discipline of human geography are Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre.<sup>59</sup> Key theories associated with Lefebvre are his work on everyday life and social space, but these are grounded in abstract ideas of space rather than physical realities. It is his theory on the monument that fits best to explore the power of the cathedral on theatrical performance.

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<sup>57</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 93-4.

<sup>58</sup> McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 1-35.

<sup>59</sup> Carlson, *The Haunted Stage*, 133; Carlson, *Places of Performance*, 22; McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 6, 41, 52, 53, 57-8, 71, 281; Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, 9-13.

## HENRI LEFEBVRE: MONUMENTALISM AND THREE-TIERED SPACE

Henri Lefebvre (1901-91) was a Marxist social theorist and academic whose works have influenced not just the social sciences, but the humanities as well. In relation to performance studies Lefebvre offers two conceptualisations of space that are particularly relevant. Firstly, his extension of a binary analysis of space (*physical* and *mental space*) to a three-tiered one (to include the experience of the individual, known as *social space*) changed the way of looking at and studying space and its influences. Gay McAuley's thirty-five page introduction to *Space in Performance* (2000) offers perhaps the most comprehensive overview of different ideas and theorisations of 'space' and 'place' in the context of theatre criticism and practice.<sup>60</sup> In the end she provides her own five-part 'taxonomy of spatial function', which the author herself admits may not be entirely 'useful or useable by others'.<sup>61</sup> Many of the taxonomical forms created/adapted by those whom McAuley discusses can be simplified to Lefebvre's three tiers of spatiality. Anne Ubersfeld, who appears to have influenced McAuley's taxonomy most, sorts theatre space and place into five forms: stage space, theatre space, scenic place, dramatic space, and theatrical space.<sup>62</sup> The first two relate to Lefebvre's *physical space*, the second two to his *mental space*, and the final term to his *social space*. The lack of a consensus on the terminology of space and place in the theatre, as demonstrated by McAuley, and the ability of many of the forms which she presents to be reduced down to Lefebvre's conceptualisation, leads me to find Lefebvre's three-part analysis to be of most use due to it being simple and yet comprehensive. Philip Auslander focuses nearly exclusively on this conceptualisation in his chapter on Lefebvre in *Theory for Performance Studies* (2008), saying that it 'lends itself well' to the study of traditional

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<sup>60</sup> McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 1-35.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

and non-traditional performance sites.<sup>63</sup> This theory defines the nature of space and place both individually and in context of one another.

Secondly, Lefebvre's idea of the monument and its social function as a collective mirror help to situate performance spaces not as the functional locations for the staging of art, but rather as conscious or unconscious symbols connecting the performance to a wider community and identity. Monumentalism provides a lens through which one can see performance as an extension of the societal context from which it originates and in which it sits. Lefebvre's theory presents not an abstraction, but a materialist view of space. This is in opposition to others such as Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, and indeed Lefebvre's own theories on everyday life, which are influenced but not bounded by place. The monument is both place and space: it is bounded physically and yet draws its power through its *mental* and *social spaces*. Lefebvre's theory can be applied to performance analysis by taking into account the central role and importance of the bounded edifice, and thus he combines all three spaces (*physical, social* and *mental*). Unlike in more abstract ideas of space the monument is partially defined within the context of its physical structure/place. David Wiles refers to the space's architecture (i.e. *physical space*), saying 'In monumental space, architectural volumes generate rhythms, processional movements and musical resonances that allow bodies to find each other at the level of the "non-visible"'.<sup>64</sup> Because it is a total space (a concept to be discussed shortly) one must enter the bounded monument to experience its full power in the here and now.<sup>65</sup> David Wiles points to the strong connection between sacred space and total space, as articulated by Lefebvre, which helps to apply monumental

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<sup>63</sup> Philip Auslander, *Theory for Performance Studies* (London: Routledge, 2008), 126.

<sup>64</sup> Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, 12.

<sup>65</sup> Of course one may argue that the power of the visual exerts the space's influence from afar (i.e. seeing the cathedral as one climbs the medieval streets up the hill in Durham or Lincoln). Monumental space cannot be 'apprehended solely through looking (Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 225)'. But the totality of the space is not enacted on the individual until they enter and 'experience a total being in a total space (Ibid., 221)'. The ability to be physically present in the space is of utmost importance.

theory to the cathedral as a space of totality via spirituality. Lefebvre's focus on the simultaneously bounded and unbounded space, its ability to act as a collective mirror, and its connection with the sacred/religious all combine to make monumentalism a useful tool for exploring the cathedral as performance site beyond the aesthetic.

To Lefebvre the building is to the monument 'as everyday life is to a festival' and 'the prose of the world as opposed [...] to the poetry'.<sup>66</sup> He sees a clear distinction between the two spaces through a Marxist lens, relegating the building to the sphere of capitalist enterprise, and thus viewed as 'the object of control by power with the object of commercial exchange'.<sup>67</sup> The building 'effects a brutal condensation of social relationships', while the monument equalises, '[offering] each member of a society an image of that membership' in a space of which all partake equally.<sup>68</sup> The monument, though having the possibility of being a space of politics and representing a hierarchy, must be separate from the building in its ability not to stratify a community, but to equalise it. The economics associated with the building deconstruct social relationships, while the monument reinforces them.<sup>69</sup> Lefebvre implies an absence of economic practices in monumental space, though such practices are necessary for a building. This is not to say that economics play no role in the monument, but that it is not its purpose or function. It sits outside of economic practice in its meaning and symbolism, if not in practicality.<sup>70</sup> Lefebvre critiques economic practice in this way. He sees in the monument the social and political spheres in opposition to the economic influence and control of buildings. As Lefebvre's perspective was influenced by Marxism his economic

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<sup>66</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 223 and 227.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. To Lefebvre, economics is always associated with capitalism, so his use of the term must be considered in that context. In his gloss to *The Communist Manifesto*, J.P. Taylor identifies the bourgeoisie, as seen by Marx and Engels, as 'the class of modern Capitalist' (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. J.P. Taylor [London: Penguin, 1967], 79). It may be that Lefebvre's view would allow for non-capitalist economic practices to take place/be a function of the monument. See Alexander V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy*, eds. Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerblay and R.E.F. Smith (Homewood: The American Economic Association), 1-28.

<sup>68</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 227 and 220.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>70</sup> See Ibid., 220-8.

critique can also be seen as a critique of the political system than underpins the capitalist economy. In a sense, this perception shows society and politics functioning harmoniously while withdrawn from the capitalist practices of economics.

As the monument in question is defined by religion one must consider religious practices within this theorisation as well. One can conceptualise cathedral space in modern England in the fashion discussed above, where more secular ideas and practices have led to a State that no longer draws from or asserts its political and social power through the Church.<sup>71</sup> When speaking historically such a position is not possible. While still undoubtedly a monument, the medieval cathedral was a symbol of highly stratified religious and political systems that sought to use such spaces to assert control and power.<sup>72</sup> For this reason the medieval cathedral cannot be seen as an equaliser, but as a tool to reinforce the social order imposed by the Church and State. However, the medieval cathedral could still 'offer each member of a society an image of that membership', although within a strict hierarchical system.<sup>73</sup> Although the use of the cathedral space in these two distinct ways shows a drastic difference in their reflection of society, such a change is a component of the monument, as will be discussed shortly.

Monuments are an integral space, shaped by a society in order to establish/influence/manipulate that society by codifying a communally recognised power and a generally accepted wisdom into a space of social identity.<sup>74</sup> The monument creates an environment in which a society is reflected, giving that society a proprietary interest in the space. Lefebvre articulates the quasi-symbiotic relationship between society and monument:

Monumental space [offers] each member of a society an image of

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<sup>71</sup> I am of course speaking here within the parameters of the thesis, which is to say Church of England cathedrals and the British state.

<sup>72</sup> See for instance Cannon, *Cathedral*, 51-82, for a discussion of cathedral building and rebuilding as a means to assert control over the Anglo-Saxons by the conquering Normans.

<sup>73</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 220.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus [constitutes] a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one [...] of this social space [...] everyone [partakes], and [partakes] fully. The monument thus [effects] a consensus [...] rendering it practical and concrete.<sup>75</sup>

The symbolic nature of the monument is aligned with the self-image of the society.

While this self-image may shift over time, the identity of the monument as such helps to keep it a relevant spatial representation. If the passage of time or changes in society necessitate the transformation of the monument in order for it to maintain its position, the space must make this transformation in order to retain its monumental status. After the rise of the Soviet Union the meaning of the religious monuments of the Russian Orthodox Church needed to shift in order to remain part of an officially atheist society. St. Basil's Cathedral became a museum, while the original Cathedral of Christ the Saviour was destroyed. In order to continue as a monument, the space was required to transform into something else, something new.

The monuments this thesis is concerned with are the cathedrals of England, some of the oldest buildings in the country, many of which have served the same or similar purpose since their construction. While the role of the cathedral has changed from the centre of spiritual knowledge, to political power player, and now to a mixture of religion, and heritage/cultural tourism, it has remained throughout a central entity within society.<sup>76</sup> Lefebvre notes that this transitory aspect of the monument is one of its defining characteristics:

A monumental work [...] does not have a 'signified' [meaning]; rather, it has a *horizon of meaning*: a specific or indefinite multiplicity of meanings, a shifting hierarchy in which now one, now another meaning comes momentarily to the fore, by means of – and for the sake of – a particular action.<sup>77</sup>

This transient, impermanent quality of monumental space allows it to remain relevant

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> This list reflects only a small number of the associations, both historical and modern, attached to the cathedral and are given here as examples of only a few.

<sup>77</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 222.

to its society; it is not allowed to stagnate in meaning and therefore lose its importance. This symbiotic relationship between space and society was seen in 1928 when theatre first re-entered the English cathedral after a lapse of over three hundred years, coinciding with a change in attitudes towards the arts by the Church of England; by adjusting to changes in the Church's sentiments towards the cathedral, a new theatrical meaning could be attached to the space. Theatrical performances in cathedrals in the medieval and early modern period mean that it is not in itself a new invention; but the period of time between the pre-1928 performances and 1928 would suggest that attitudes had changed. For a society in which theatrical performance in cathedrals did not exist, the penetration of theatre into the cathedral would be a new, tangible, reality.

This thesis understands the cathedral as a monument, and thus a communal/ social identifier, and now must establish what that community or society is. In his book, *Imagined Communities* (2006), Benedict Anderson applies the term 'imagined' to communities in that they connect via a self-motivated mental image of what the community is, rather than being bounded by physical means.<sup>78</sup> This may seem to contradict the theory of the cathedral monument, as the physical building binds the cathedral society together. However, one must remember that the monumental space of the cathedral (i.e. the social construct of what that environment means and how one operates within it) is the actual signifier of the social group; this is *space* not *place*. The cathedral community can be defined as a group of individuals who see in the cathedral space a connection to a shared civic, religious, historical, cultural, and/or artistic identity, real or not.<sup>79</sup> This allows for Lefebvre's 'horizon of meanings', and in so doing means that no individual's interpretation of the cathedral's space can negate that of another. A

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<sup>78</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London: Verso, 2006), 6. Although Anderson is concerned with nations and nationalism, his understanding of self-identified communities is pertinent to this thesis' understanding of what makes a community. Although Anderson sees nations as imagined communities on a large scale, his understanding can be applied to non-national entities as well, such as the cathedral community.

<sup>79</sup> This list is by no means exhaustive.

devout believer who sees the cathedral as their connection to worldwide Christian fellowship is equal in their membership in the cathedral community as is an atheist who sees a connection through historical or artistic ties. On the larger scale the cathedral is a symbol of the diocese in which it sits.<sup>80</sup> Such a position is made clear in the Mission Statements of numerous cathedrals, where the Cathedral acts to influence and help its community.<sup>81</sup>

As the apex of the diocesan hierarchy the cathedral becomes the symbol of that community, but that does not imply that all who live in the diocese need to see themselves as members. Referring back to Anderson, the connection to the community must be conscious and is therefore not automatic: it must be self-identified. However, such self-identification can come via a person's geographically bounded circumstances: a person born in Stratford-upon-Avon is born within the diocese of Coventry, and their location can cause them to self-identify with that cathedral community in this way. Being born within the diocese does not presuppose admission into the cathedral community as defined in this thesis, but rather can lead to such self-identification; nor does being born outside of the diocese. The connection to the diocese may at times seem to be superseded by civic connections that can be strongly felt when the cathedral is historically connected to the city, as at York and St Paul's. The cathedral community is bounded by the borders of the diocese, but is also permeable, as such boundaries cannot exclude the imaged membership that Anderson speaks of. If one thinks of the diocese as the bounded state and the community as the unbounded, self-identified 'nation' the theory becomes clearer.

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<sup>80</sup> All English cathedrals can also be seen as an extension of the state shrines of St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, a theory from Dean Robert Jeffrey (Robert Jeffrey, 'Cathedral and Society: The Church's Relationship to the Nation', in *Cathedrals Now: Their Use and Place in Society*, ed. Iain M. MacKenzie [Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1996], 97).

<sup>81</sup> See for example Lincoln Cathedral, 'Mission, Structure, Annual Report, and Accounts', from <http://www.lincolncathedral.com>, accessed 22 Feb 2017 and Worcester Cathedral, 'The Cathedral's Mission', from <http://www.worcestercathedral.co.uk>, accessed 22 February 2017.

The performance of theatrical events in a monument such as a cathedral is a means by which a section of a society seeks to reassert and reflect itself, while also expressing social links with the past that offer a kind of continuation. The ideas of monumental spatiality help to situate the cathedral as a space of social reflection with which the mimetic nature of theatre may easily mix. The monument is a self-portrait of society, with certain sectors and elements of that social order represented more clearly than others, but still contained, somewhere, within the whole. The behavioural license linked to the sense of ownership of space was witnessed during a rehearsal for Liverpool Cathedral's *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2014)\*. The cast consisted almost entirely of current and former choristers and members of the Liverpool Cathedral community, aged between seven and thirty. Given their close connection to the space, the cast appeared to feel a sense of ownership over the building and the entitlement that comes with such a feeling. This was seen by observing the cast behaving in the space in ways that could be viewed as quite shocking to both the worshipper and the casual observer who understands the decorum expected within the space: boys stood on pews, climbed the pulpits, spoke into the live microphones, ran, played tag, and even sat in the Bishop's throne.<sup>82</sup> All of these acts would be enough to receive a reprimand, at the very least, had the boys been performing in such a way within the normal public open hours of the building. However, their behaviour was excused given their connection to the space and the private nature of the rehearsal, which itself was a product of their relationship to the cathedral.

The experience of these actors and their behaviour within the cathedral is markedly dissimilar from those of the common worshipper or tourist. The attitude of the worshipper could be described as a revered attachment, where ownership of the space is felt, but does not permit its use in an irreligious manner (a fluid idea in itself, as

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<sup>82</sup> Rehearsal observation, *The Liverpool Mystery Plays*, Liverpool Cathedral, 23 January 2014.

what one may view as irreligious another may not). Tourists, however, are by their nature not attached to the space in the same way as the worshipper, and may treat it as an unknown area in which actions need to be closely monitored in order not to offend the unknown codes of conduct; a kind of revered detachment. Even the tourist-worshippers, who may view the space as a part of their collective Christian identity, may also experience it with a combination of attachment and detachment: the space is part of their religious identity, but they have no authority in it, and as such must submit to the demands and restrictions placed on them by the its caretakers.

Whilst further developing his idea of monumental spatiality, Lefebvre uses the cathedral as his primary example of that category of space:

The use of the cathedral's monumental space necessarily entails its supplying answer to all the questions that assail anyone who crosses the threshold. For visitors are bound to become aware of their own footsteps, and listen to the noises, the singing; they must breath the incense-laden air, and plunge into a particular world, that of sin and redemption; they will partake of an ideology; they will contemplate and decipher the symbols around them; and they will thus, on the basis of their own bodies, experience a total being in a total space.<sup>83</sup>

While Lefebvre's statement is predicated on the assumption of a fore-knowledge of certain aspects of theological thought and semiotics (sin/redemption; the deciphering of symbols, *et cetera*), his proposal of the visitor in a cathedral as a 'total being in a total space' both explains the concept of spatial totality (wherein the space affects all of the senses of the individual) and situates the cathedral as a prime example of that thought. One can see in this passage a stronger conceptualisation of what Lefebvre presented in his earlier work *Critique of Everyday Life, vol. I* (1947), in which he says 'for me this space [i.e. the church] can never be just like any other space' being filled as it is with memories, emotions, and symbols.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, Lefebvre's concept of the total space has specific connections to certain modern theatre productions, where the audience's senses

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<sup>83</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 220-1.

<sup>84</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, 3 volumes, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), 1.214.

can be artfully controlled and manipulated by design, lighting, sound, action, and speech.

The cathedral as monument is given further meaning by its apparent ability to transcend death, an aspect of certain monuments but not a defining characteristic. 'The most beautiful monuments are imposing in their durability. [The monument's sense of durability] transmutes the fear of the passage of time, and anxiety about death, into splendour'.<sup>85</sup> The monument is a liminal space, in which the fear of death, and the passage of time, seem to be suspended; the metaphysical nature that this bestows on a space further sets it apart as different and special. The *memento mori* adorning a grave monument in a cathedral may remind one of the impermanence of life, but death is conquered by the remembrance of the dead as having once been alive. In this way the monument eclipses death by reaffirming life. One is a member of a society that is reflected in the monument, so as long as the monument and society exists, one does as well. The performance of historical drama in the monument further outstrips death by not only reminding, but also recreating the past. This can take the form of a Passion Play (where the action *crosses* time and space), or the performance of a play such as *The Zeal of Thy House* in the quire of Canterbury Cathedral, the site of the historical action that is represented in the play (where the action passes *through* time and space).<sup>86</sup>

The nature of Christian religious space is itself liminal, trans-temporal and trans-spatial: items and/or historical events of the past become instruments of focus and ritual in the present in hopes to effect future outcomes; past, present, and future become one in the space. This sense of timelessness helps to position the monument's society within a greater social framework, reminding it of a shared past while looking forward to the future. This idea is not restricted to religious spaces, and can be seen in traditional theatrical settings as well.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 221.

<sup>86</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers's *The Zeal of Thy House*, tells the story of William of Sens, who as master mason oversaw the rebuilding of the quire of Canterbury Cathedral in the twelfth century.

According to Philip Auslander in *Theory for Performance Studies* (2008), the Marxist views held by Lefebvre helped to influence his addition of *social space* to the previously adhered to binary of *physical* and *mental space*. The *physical space* is that which forms the physical structure of an environment (the stage, seating, walls, furnishings, lighting, temperature, smells, *et cetera*) and is related to the general idea of 'place', as noted earlier. *Mental space* is the idea that is present in the mind of the individual but is not at that moment physical (how might the space look once the theatre is filled with audience members, and different scenic, lighting, and costume designs are introduced?) and represents Lefebvre's new approach to 'space'. This second space also includes it as viewed from a distance, such as in a photograph or architectural drawing. The perception of the *physical space* by the individual experiencing it through *mental space* (laughter, fright, nostalgia, unease, physical sensations, thought shifts, *et cetera*) creates the space Lefebvre dubbed *social space*; this cannot exist without the previous two, and so must be reviewed in the context of those that came before.<sup>87</sup> Lefebvre actually used the term *lived space* instead of *social space*, indicating the importance of the lived experience to that interpretation of the environment, but the latter has come to supplant the former in the Anglophone world. *Social space* is comprised of mental and physical reaction to both *physical* and *mental space* and includes the field of affect studies, which is concerned with the ways in which emotions are created, shaped, and influenced.<sup>88</sup>

The value of this spatial triumvirate lies in both its use and ideation of the emotive power of space. The previous dichotomy of space into *physical* and *mental* presents an oversight, apparently treating with indifference the power of 'the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the

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<sup>87</sup> Auslander, *Theory for Performance Studies*, 124-5.

<sup>88</sup> Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael Watts and Sarah Whatmore, eds., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 8-9.

imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias'.<sup>89</sup> As Lefebvre's words indicate, sensorial awareness is a key element of the *social space*, and the change in these sensory reactions is its genesis. This third concept allows one to go beyond the investigation and explanation of space as a physical entity of the present (*physical space*) and its possible incarnation(s) (*mental space*) to explore how it is lived in and interacted with. When introducing this concept in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre called it a "unitary theory" [...] to discover or construct a theoretical unity between "fields" which are apprehended separately'.<sup>90</sup> Each space, then, is analogous to the theatrical production, where the work of the actors, designers, technicians, and others (each in their own field) come together to create a single piece comprised of smaller elements. *Social space* is a means to explore *physical* and *mental space*, not a way of supplanting them; the three work together in order to bolster the understanding of the group as a whole.

This method of spatial analysis with relation to theatre and performance is particularly pertinent as it is fluid enough to be applicable to all sites of performance, both traditional and non-traditional. Additionally, the acknowledgement of emotions as contributing factors in the perception of theatre/performance spaces renders the original duality of spatial analysis insufficient in its implications for performance. With the addition of this third space the individual is able to speak of emotions and reactions to the environment, rather than the specifics of its content and possibilities, allowing analysis to become less rigid and more human. The theatre becomes a lived experience echoing Lefebvre's words quoted earlier: 'it [the theatre] is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism'.<sup>91</sup> It is not possible to accurately evaluate performance space while simultaneously denying its lived experience; to do so would be

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<sup>89</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 11-12.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

akin to writing a review for a production prior to the first rehearsal.

Lefebvre helps to define and explain monumental spaces as reflections and creations of a society alongside the *social space* of his own construction. Both theories (the monument and *social space*) enable one to interpret and analyse space more deeply than would be possible without their contributions.

## **THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE THEATRE**

In the introduction to *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre* (2000), Gay McAuley notes that a number of influential theatre-makers and academics in the latter half of the twentieth century positioned the relationship between actor/audience as the central component of the theatre experience, commonly relegating other aspects to inferior roles of influence.<sup>92</sup> As noted earlier, Jerzy Grotowski went so far as to call all aspects of theatre outside of the actor/audience paradigm, no matter how necessary, as 'supplementary'.<sup>93</sup> The primacy of the actor/audience binary takes for granted the truth that that relationship cannot exist outside of space and place. A contemporary of Grotowski, the Polish director, Kazimierz Braun, stated that theatre is a process which 'occurs here and now, between people present in one space at the same time', and in so doing re-asserted the importance of space to the performance dynamic while also including human interactions.<sup>94</sup> It is Braun's interpretation that is better rounded, as it takes into account the space and putting it on the same level as the actor/audience duality. Actions must take place within space and, as identified by geographers such as Lefebvre and Moran earlier, space is neither neutral nor empty, and therefore impinges upon performance, affecting and enveloping the actor/audience relationship.

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<sup>92</sup> McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 3-5. Bertolt Brecht, Jerzy Grotowski, Peter Brook, and Richard Southern are those she explicitly cites.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>94</sup> Kazimierz Braun, 'On Theatre', in *Theatre Ireland* 4 (1983): 26.

Ric Knowles claims that it is space more than anything else that forms the audience into a single entity out of multiple individuals; further, the configuration of the audience in relation to the stage/actors 'tends to encode specific relationships between the spectator and the performer'.<sup>95</sup> If space is the element that unites the audience into one, then it follows that it is also the unifying element between actor and audience, mediating and perhaps defining that relationship. This may be as simple as the fourth wall delineation of the proscenium stage, dividing audience and actor (*physical space*); or as complicated as the ways in which close proximity to an actor in immersive theatre influences the actions and behaviours of the audience, who may be inadvertently brought into the action of the play (*social space*). Knowles's observation arranges space as a key, though unmentioned, ingredient that binds the actor and audience. If space is indeed the factor that makes the relationship between actor and audience possible, it is not feasible to discuss one without the other; doing so neglects an indispensable constituent part of the performance paradigm.

In *Postdramatic Theatre* (2006) Hans-Thies Lehmann divides performance space into two categories: *stage space* and *theatre space*.<sup>96</sup> *Stage space* is characterised by a conspicuous boundary separating actor and audience, where 'the stage functions like a mirror that ideally allows the homogenous world of the viewers to recognize itself in the equally coherent world of the [performance]'.<sup>97</sup> The *stage space* of performance is a world where the audience is seen, but where they are not, representing performance practice orthodoxy. In contrast to *stage space* Lehmann defines *theatre space* as the space occupied by actor and audience that lacks the boundary of the mirror, instead forcing the two to meld as one unit by occupying the same place. *Theatre space* 'dominates perception, runs counter to the distance and abstraction essential to [the

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<sup>95</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, 74.

<sup>96</sup> Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 150.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

stage]’, making it a distinct entity in contrast to *stage space*.<sup>98</sup> Theatre groups such as Punchdrunk are extreme examples of *theatre space*. Punchdrunk productions take place in large, converted buildings outfitted with extremely intricate scenery. The idea of the Punchdrunk installation performances is to drop audience members into the literal world of the play. Audience members choose between staying in one space to see what happens there and following certain characters in order to see their role in the overall plot. In *Sleep No More* (2011), an adaptation of *Macbeth*, audience members could spend hours playing cards with the murderers or even sleep in the same room as Duncan’s children, only to be woken by the murders to witness their bloody crime. No two audience members can see the same play, and each return visit will bring a different experience. Punchdrunk’s radical break with the traditional actor/audience relationship illustrates how space can play an integral role in the audience’s experience of performance.

Ric Knowles sees space as one of ‘The taken-for-granted of a culture, that don't need to be remarked upon but which are all the more powerful and pervasive for being invisible’.<sup>99</sup> Knowles’s idea of space in performance captures an outlook that may help to explain why it is often neglected. The absence of space in many discourses on performance may actually be a silent acknowledgment of its universal expectation, which therefore may consign it to the position of a nonessential discussion point due to its omnipresence. Arguably, Grotowski’s view of the actor/audience relationship acknowledges the space without commenting on it; assuming that its universal existence means that one need not speak of it for it to be understood to exist.

Knowles asserts that space is ‘full of histories, ghosts, pressures, opportunities, and constraints’, just some of its given circumstance, the unseen forces affecting action

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, 63.

and perception.<sup>100</sup> These 'ghosts' are not just inherent in the spaces themselves, but are also brought into the space by each person who experiences it. Marvin Carlson's *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (2003) is devoted to this idea of 'ghosting', or the ability of the past lives of objects, people, and places to '[bleed] through' from one time and place to another, affecting performance and reception, a kind of theatrical palimpsest.<sup>101</sup> The fifth chapter of his book is entirely devoted to 'The Haunted House', in which he analyses the role of 'ghosting' in performance spaces and how that affects the artistic process and audience reception.<sup>102</sup> The spectral imagery used by Knowles and Carlson points to the unseen-but-felt quality of space that connects the past to the present, and that is an important factor to consider when discussing theatrical space. Carlson expresses the same sentiments as the geographers already mentioned, but he does so in an expressly theatrical context.

McAuley points to the main problem with many texts that seek to highlight space and place in the theatre, saying that they are 'studies [that] are in fact concerned with the building as aesthetic object, rather than with its function in a complex social process', calling such works '*building centered*'.<sup>103</sup> While a building's aesthetics are an important factor, focusing on them as such to the exclusion of their social role is to put form over function, meaning, and position in society; such disregard for these important roles is neglectful. Both McAuley and Knowles criticise this dearth of work and seek to correct it in their books, acknowledging and drawing on geographical principles, especially those that are explained above, in order to argue their ideas of the central role of space in performance.

When Peter Brook famously wrote that he could 'take any empty space and call it

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 131-64.

<sup>103</sup> McAuley, *Space in Performance*, 9.

a bare stage', he neglected the impossibility of a truly empty space.<sup>104</sup> A space can (arguably) be physically empty, but it cannot be ideologically empty.<sup>105</sup> A bare black box theatre can be void of all objects but walls, ceiling, and floor, but the moment it is perceived by an individual it has been changed in the eyes of that person. The black box theatre is associated with a range of events (rehearsals, experimental staging, workshops, *et cetera*) that in the mind of the individual can change their behaviour, thought processes, and actions in that space. Knowles succinctly states that 'space itself exerts its influence, silently, inscribing or disrupting specific (and ideologically encoded) ways of working, for practitioners, and of seeing and understanding, for audiences'.<sup>106</sup> Even the audience member who has never been in or heard of a black box theatre will be affected by the size, colour, shape, and otherness of the space, viewing it through their personal conceptual lens. These will then affect their actions and perceptions of their experience. Whether it is acknowledged or not, space affects actions, and therefore cannot be called empty.

The ability of space to affect the perception and meaning of art is recognised beyond of the theatrical arena as well. In her article 'One Place After Another: Notes on Site Specificity' (1997), art historian Miwon Kwon rightly asserts that in site-specific art:

The art object or event in this context [is] to be singularly experienced in the here-and-now through the bodily presence of each viewing subject, in a sensorial immediacy of spatial extension and temporal duration (what Michael Fried derisively characterized as theatricality), rather than instantaneously 'perceived' in a visual epiphany by a disembodied eye.<sup>107</sup>

In site-specific work Kwon sees the space as an extension of the art, and not an auxiliary force of the primary object. By extending the piece to the space that surrounds it, the two become one, so that the separation of one from the other permanently changes the

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<sup>104</sup> Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 11.

<sup>105</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, 63.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-3.

<sup>107</sup> Miwon Kwon, 'One Place After Another: Notes on Site Specificity', in *October* 80 (1997): 86.

meaning of the object/performance. The space is a means for experiencing the art through 'spatial extension and temporal duration', or the manipulation of the extra-artistic elements that may reflect, comment on, or attempt to detract from the object. Kwon's concept is analogous to the total space of Lefebvre's cathedral, mentioned earlier: in both instances the supporting components of the space (incense, statuary, music, *et cetera*) affect perception. What Kwon refers to as 'a sensorial immediacy' Lefebvre calls the 'total space'. Kwon's work would then place the site-specific space in this latter category.<sup>108</sup> Kwon's goal is to get others to recognise the role space plays in the reception of the artistic piece, taking into consideration how it may be utilised best to present art to the audience. Kwon does not think of space as neutral, but rather as a pertinent addition to the art that must be worked with in order to best present the art and its meaning.

Lefebvre's three-tiered distinction of space, though not explicitly noted in *Reading the Material Theatre*, is nevertheless an important contributor to Knowles's discussion. The effect of *mental* and *physical space* on *social space* is evident when Knowles states: 'The geography of performance is both produced by and produces the cultural landscape and the social organization of the space in which it "takes place", and to shift physical and/or social space is to shift meanings'.<sup>109</sup> This is also an effect of Kwon's observation of the extension of the object's meaning into the space. This shift is felt when a performance leaves the rehearsal space, thereby changing the physical location with which the performers had been interacting. Such a move has a palpable effect on the actors and the production as a whole, and exhibits the effect of space on performance. Kwon briefly examines site-specific art that is reproduced (either in or outside the original space of production/performance /reception) and notes that 'the

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>109</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, 63.

efficacy of site-specific art from the past seems to weaken in its re-presentation'.<sup>110</sup>

What is important is that the transitional process (through space, but also through time) negatively affects the art in Kwon's estimation. Kwon goes on to list the new 'patterns' that such (re)creations can form, leaving open an argument between whether or not the original piece would have been truly remade, or if an altogether new piece would be created with a rhizomatic connection to the original. The space still plays a central role in the object/event, and its reception in the space reflects that importance.

In his work documenting the plays of the Canterbury Festival, Kenneth Pickering notes that the plays commissioned for the festival for performance in the cathedral (apart from T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*) failed 'to achieve a substantial run in the commercial theatre' due to their intimate connection to the space for which they were written (the cathedral's chapter house), further demonstrating the influence of space in the reception of the performance.<sup>111</sup> Once the plays transfer to other venues the meaning shifts or is lost, creating a different play. Another explanation for this lack of interest could be the performance site itself. Canterbury Cathedral could have been the draw for the audiences that were not attracted to the plays when they were performed outside of the building.

With relation to commissioned plays, space has the ability to shape the play from the beginnings of the artistic process. Shelly Frome, author of *Playwriting: A Complete Guide to Creating Theater* (2014), recommends that the playwright find a space to draw on for inspiration.<sup>112</sup> This method of drawing inspiration from spaces rather than events or people may seem peculiar to those who expect the inspiration for a play to be driven

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<sup>110</sup> Kwon, 'One Place After Another: Notes on Site-Specificity', 100.

<sup>111</sup> Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 2nd ed. (Malvern: J. Garnet Miller, 2001), xv. Sayers' biographer debates this, claiming the tour of *The Zeal of Thy House* was marred by bad timing and extreme weather, though he does not explain why the play failed to succeed after the tour. See David Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Carless Rage for Life* (Oxford: Lion, 1992), 132.

<sup>112</sup> Kenneth Pickering, discussant (symposium, 'Benson: the Sacred and the Stage', The Marlowe Studio, Canterbury. 20 May 2014).

by a foundational story or plot line. All the plays written for the Canterbury Festival were created with the space in mind. With the exception of John Masefield's *The Coming of Christ* (1928) and *Dr Faustus* (1929) every play put on by the festival through 1964 was produced in the rectangular chapter house. According to Pickering, all of these plays end with either the processional carrying out of a dead body or, in the case of *Cranmer of Canterbury* (1936), a man running towards his death, chased by his companions.<sup>113</sup> In either case the exit takes place through the aisle connecting the stage on the east end of the room and the door on the west end. The space not only shaped the performance, but its text as well. The Canterbury plays were plays of their environment, possibly detrimentally so in light of Pickering's earlier statement about their extra-cathedral lives.

The application of the theories mentioned above can be seen in the work of numerous theatre practitioners. The work of Polish director and artist Tadeusz Kantor and British theatre artist and performance studies scholar Mike Pearson are prime examples of the spanning of theory and practice. Kantor represents the earlier period in which space was being questioned, and his work shows a desire to break with convention. While not the first director to have explored space's relationship with performance, his work shows a wide range of approaches. Since the 1990s Pearson's theatre practice has questioned space's role in performance, drawing on his background in archaeology in helping to explore this relationship. He has published two books detailing his practice in order to create new ways of experiencing space/place through performance. This extends beyond the influence of space/place on his work, and is intended to affect the audience experience of the space/place as well.<sup>114</sup>

Kantor did not seek to unite the play with *stage space*, but rather to reject the

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2001); Mike Pearson, *In Comes I': Performance, Memory and Landscape* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006).

stage, leading to his rethinking of how the stage affected performance. Sometime around 1969 Kantor wrote that:

[...]  
until now, I had tried to  
conquer the stage,  
now, I decided to reject  
the stage altogether,  
that is,  
this space  
which remains in a particular  
relationship to the audience;  
a relationship which is not perturbed  
by any of life's activity.<sup>115</sup>

Next to this statement is the marginal notation: 'The rejection/ of/ the stage'.<sup>116</sup> Kantor's work at the time was focused on a touring company that performed different scenes from the play *The Country House* in a variety of non-theatrical locations across Eastern Europe and the Adriatic.<sup>117</sup> Scenes were produced with the spaces in mind, making it appear that the sites selected for performances were connected in some way to the scene(s) being performed.<sup>118</sup> In so doing Kantor was utilising the *theatre space*, drawing audience and actors together. Kantor recognised the power of space and strove to capture its ability to affect performance in a way not available in a traditional theatre. The writing from 1969 almost carries a sense of desperation for a change in practice, thereby creating a shift in the actor/audience/space paradigm which has the possibility to lead to the creation of new experiences in theatre. In 1986, as part of his collection of lectures now entitled *The Milano Lessons*, Kantor spoke passionately about the role of the space in which performance takes place.

Space is not a passive r e c e p t a c l e  
in which objects and forms are posited...  
SPACE itself is an OBJECT [of creation].

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<sup>115</sup> Michal Kobiialka, *Further On, Nothing: Tadeusz Kantor's Theatre* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 162. Kobiialka does not give a date for this, hence my use of the word 'around'.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>117</sup> Tadeusz Kantor, *A Journey Through Other Spaces: Essays and Manifestos, 1944-1990*, trans. and ed. Michal Kobiialka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 8.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

And the main one!  
SPACE is charged with E N E R G Y .  
Space shrinks and e x p a n d s .  
And these motions mould form and objects.  
It is space that G I V E S B I R T H to forms!  
It is space that positions the networks of relations and tensions  
between objects.<sup>119</sup>

The disparity between Kantor's 1986 lesson and Moran's explanation of the geographical idea of space, mentioned earlier, can be best described as a difference in style (academic writing versus artistic expression), rather than a discrepancy of thought. Both acknowledge the ability of space to create and be created; and both see the complexity of space as a key to understanding what it is.

Michal Kobialka, translator and editor of Kantor's work, describes Kantor's production of *Wielopole, Wielopole* (1980): a self-reflective piece about attempts to recreate his memories from childhood.<sup>120</sup> What makes this production of note is Kantor's use of space. He created two rooms on a stage, choosing to utilise the intimacy of the *theatre space* by rejecting *stage space*. In a play concerned with the re-enactment and analysis of personal memories, this staging option helped to immerse the audience in the story by having it occupy not the same room as the characters, but the space just outside that room. The audience was thus physically closer and connected to the action, but also removed from the play; they were neighbours looking in, rather than direct participants in the drama. The audience and the characters shared the same space, but not the same world. The first action onstage consisted of Kantor himself rearranging the space, perfecting it in order to make it comply with his memory of a certain time in his life, before calling the actors onstage. Once onstage the characters, representatives of Kantor's dead relatives, began to change the space again, conforming it to their recollections of the event they are to recreate. Though still technically within the confines of the theatre proper, the isolation of the action and the audience into a

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 217.

<sup>120</sup> Kantor, *A Journey Through Other Spaces*, 329-39.

separate place encompassed by and yet remote from the greater place of the theatre rejects the stage, as Kantor had previously written. Kantor created a new relationship between the audience, the actors, the play, and the space by making the space his, filling it with intimate details of his life and his thoughts of death, and even his family.

Slightly more than a decade after Kantor's *Milano Lessons*, Mike Pearson argued for a redefinition of performance relationships centred partially on the idea of space.

Pearson held little back from his 1998 provocation, starting with the title: 'My Balls/Your Chin'. Pearson complained that:

I can no longer sit passively in the dark watching a hole in the wall, pretending that the auditorium is a neutral vessel of representation. It is a spatial machine that distances us from the spectacle and that allies subsidy, theatre orthodoxy and political conservatism, under the disguise of the nobility of purpose, in a way that literally 'keeps us in our place'. I can no longer dutifully turn up to see the latest 'brilliant' product of such-and-such in the arts centre, where I saw the latest 'brilliant' product of others only yesterday, a field ploughed to exhaustion [...]. I want to find different arenas for performance – places of work, play and worship – where the laws and bye-laws, the decorum and learned contracts of theatre can be suspended. I want to make performance that folds together place, performance and public. I want to make 'hybrids' – of music, action, text, and site – that defy conventional labels.<sup>121</sup>

Pearson's generalisation of the 'arts centre' as a sterile backdrop onto which performance is painted, but with which it does not interact, may seem extreme, but his aspiration to transcend the 'decorum and learned contracts of theatre' (as exemplified in traditional theatre space) is one that has helped to characterise many twentieth century theatre practices. One can read a sense of loss of the meaning of theatre in Pearson's manifesto, and his excitement for change can come across almost as anger at what he sees as the neglect of Antonin Artaud's idea of '[working] in, and with, the moment', or, as Artaud said 'actors burning at the stakes, laughing at the flames'.<sup>122</sup> While Pearson does not focus on one aspect of theatre, the theme of space and its influence comes up

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<sup>121</sup> Mike Pearson, 'My Balls/Your Chin', in *Performance Research* 3, no. 2 (1998): 39-40.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

throughout the piece and carries with it a sense that space is a contributing factor to the theatrical experiences of the actors and audience.

Pearson's second book, *'In Comes I: Performance, Memory and Landscape* (2006) documents his practice of staging one-man, site-specific, devised performances that draw inspiration from the author's past in connection to certain locations. He placed the audience within the world of the performance, interacting with them and allowing them to become part of the storytelling that is the focus of his work. Being formed around first person storytelling, Pearson's performances take place in real time and do not seek to relive past experiences, but to simply relate them to the audience. In so doing Pearson reflects Kantor's practice in *Wielopole, Wielopole*. However, where this work differs from Kantor is that Pearson does not segregate the audience, othering them as neighbours passively looking in. Instead Pearson's performances sought to bring audience members into the same space he himself inhabited. By relating stories of his childhood within the *physical space* in which they took place, Pearson invited the audience into his *mental space*, explaining to them how and why the place was viewed from his perspective. In 'My Balls/Your Chin' Pearson also expressed a desire to create performances that 'fold together place, performance and public'.<sup>123</sup> He appears to have accomplished this in the work described in *'In Comes I'*, using his personal knowledge and connection to a place in order to bring the audience (the public) into the performance and connecting them to the location.

The works of both Kantor and Pearson show theatre practitioners at work not only to think about the role of space in performance, but also to explore it through working closely with it. Both men used space in order to tell stories, but in different ways. Kantor used the space to delve into and manipulate the actor/audience relationship. Pearson worked to share his childhood memories by connecting them to

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 40.

the places in which they happened, taking Kantor's work further. Kantor created a space to represent his past, so that audience and actors could experience his story not as removed observers, but as active (actor) and passive (audience) participants as family members and neighbours. But Pearson sought to bring the audience to the location of his memories, and in so doing changed the audience's relationship to the places as well.

## CONCLUSION

The theorisations of Lefebvre presented above help the theatre historian and critic to contextualise and better understand the role space can play in the production of theatre. The cathedral monument is a symbol of a community that self-identifies itself as such, connecting to the space via religious, civic, historical or artistic ties, to name but a few. Site specific performance involves the conscious, considered action of what space to use and how to use it. It becomes a vital aspect of the act, as central as the text and action, because of this specific placement and exploitation of certain environments. To neglect the space, then, is to disregard a substantial component of the production, and in doing so prevents one from attaining a full grasp of the performance.

Lefebvre's idea of the role of monuments in society helps to situate cathedral performance as an act in which it lays claim to the space as an extension of itself. The society both represents, and is represented by the space of the cathedral, and performance in that environment is thus an assertion of that group that also reaffirms the role of the cathedral. A symbiotic relationship between people and place is created, in which one gives meaning to the other in a cyclical fashion. His further expansion of space from consisting of just *physical* and *mental*, to include *social* allows the theatre critic to judge actions performed to be considered in the context of the lived environment, rather than the static frame. This also grants the performer, audience, critic, crew, *et cetera* to analyse the space for their personal connection to it. Doing so

gives a lived experience that otherwise disallows for such personal involvement.

Theatre criticism has acknowledged the role of space in performance, though such recognition is often at best superficial before attention is then focused on things taking place in that space: text, action, design, *et cetera*. Attention has shifted from the actor/audience relationship since the mid- to late-twentieth century to allow the role of space to be given more influence. However, such consideration has still only made a small impact on the prevailing academic field of theatre criticism. While this shift in thought has occurred, it can draw on geographical theory as a way to explore and understand the field better. By using the three theories presented above the theatre has the chance to understand better and speak about the role of space and its effect on the theatrical process.

## CHAPTER TWO:

### A TIMELINE OF ENGLISH CATHEDRAL PERFORMANCE TO 2015

The order for matins on Easter Sunday in the *Regularis concordia*, commonly attributed to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (963-984), is routinely pointed to as the first evidence of the resurgence of theatre in Europe after the fall of Rome.<sup>124</sup> While the dating of this piece, referred to variably as the *Quaem quaeritis* or the *Visitatio sepulchri*, to the end of the tenth century firmly places the beginnings of English theatre prior to the Norman Conquest, its date of original use is uncertain. The greater international history of this piece is outside the scope of this work, but its relevance to the study of theatre within cathedrals is self-evident. The re-birth of drama in Europe took place within the walls of religious houses. Cathedral performance played an important part in the theatrical history of medieval Europe and, since its revival in 1928 at Canterbury, continues as such a tradition in England.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Part One focuses on records pertaining to performance in English cathedrals up to the closing of the theatres by parliament in 1642; it uses as its source the Records of Early English Drama (REED) and as such is restricted to the documents its editors have chosen to include, as well as those regions whose documents have been published. The medieval historical context presented here forms the basis for an argument that the twentieth century resurgence of cathedrals as sites of performance is an under-valued tradition. Part Two is an examination from the first recorded instance of performance in an English Cathedral in 1928 through 2015, placing it into the context of twentieth century British theatre. Part Three discusses the roles played by community and professional theatres as a way to track changes in cathedral performance throughout the post-1928 period and give context to wider, national trends. This arrangement will serve to demonstrate the important place of

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<sup>124</sup> Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 19.

cathedral performance in theatre history that is widely overlooked by theatre historians.

### **THE *REGULARIS CONCORDIA* TO THE CLOSING OF THE THEATRES IN 1642**

Carol Symes notes that instructions and/or written documents featuring details of events are noted down in the medieval period as a response to outside forces creating a crisis for the society, necessitating the archiving of practices.<sup>125</sup> In Symes' view, the *Regularis concordia* is a response from its authors as a way to standardise existing religious practice rather than to create new traditions; it is evidence not only for prescription but also description of an existing theatrical practice. This indicates a performance tradition in existence prior to the time of authorship of the famous text. The language of the trope, as convincingly argued by Symes, is designed to restrict the actions of the priest-actors to a specific sphere of appropriateness. They are told to 'go stealthily', to 'sit there quietly', 'to sing softly and sweetly', to turn on a certain word and sing, among other commands.<sup>126</sup> The text gives all the clues and instructions for its performance, allowing the same event to be staged, nearly identically, by any group. The instructions for stealth and quiet possibly indicate a desired effect that would contradict earlier performance practices, thereby recording restrictions put in place to solemnise that which may have been viewed as too disrespectful by its editors. That term is perhaps the best word: they were not creating from nothing, but rather editing a pre-existing text.

Regardless of the pre-history of the manuscript's content, this is a record that places the earliest likely performance of the *Visitatio sepulchri* as it is recorded at Winchester's monastic cathedral in the latter half of the tenth century. However, the attribution of Archbishop St. Dunstan as one of the co-creators of the text could also

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<sup>125</sup> Carol Symes, 'Opening remarks' (conference, 'Liminal Time and Space in Medieval and Early Modern Performance', University of Kent, 5 September 2014).

<sup>126</sup> Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church*, 19.

point to a similar ceremony in existence at Canterbury, the seat of his Archbishopric. This hypothesis is given credence by the fact that as Benedictine monastic cathedrals, both Winchester and Canterbury followed the Rule of St. Benedict, a tradition that holds obedience in highest regard. As a regulatory instrument for the dissemination of standardised practices, the *Regularis concordia* would have likely been distributed throughout Dunstan's Archbishopric. Given this likelihood, then, it is not a document that gave birth to the theatrical tradition in Winchester, but an edict that may have spread a normalised version of an existing practice to the rest of the archiepiscopal province's Benedictine monasteries.

The dissemination of this text and the implementation of Easter performances, however sporadic, created a place for performance in the cathedral. The first reference to such comes from a York document dated between 1220 and 1225.

Item, one will contrive stars with all things pertaining to them except the rushes which the boy bishop of future (times will acquire): one on Christmas night for the shepherds and two on Epiphany night if the presentation of the three kings be done.<sup>127</sup>

The last phrase, 'if the presentation of the three kings be done' implies that the acts were not all annually performed, but variation took place from year to year. One can say that the presence here shows that they took place often enough to necessitate a mention, but that note also points to a sporadic, rather than a continual, tradition. The existence of theatrical liturgy does not necessarily indicate the existence of a theatrical tradition; but as the forerunner to the European theatrical tradition, the use of such liturgy is a valuable place from where to begin one's search. What is of particular note is the chronology of this document, existing as it does shortly before the beginning of other entries of its kind at various cathedrals across the country. The number of documented instances of performance begins to increase from this point.

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<sup>127</sup> REED: York 2.687. The rounded brackets here are a reflection of REED's editorial practice.

Of the 238 entries in Appendix A ('Database of Theatrical Performance in Cathedrals to 1642'), the great majority (232) refer to performances in Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>128</sup> Only two other cathedrals are represented: Wells (5), and York (2). Various forces influence these statistics and can change in time as more records are discovered, edited and published, possibly revealing a deeper history than is now shown. The clerical nature of many accounts means that the inflow and expenditure of money was a central issue for the majority of the pertinent documents consulted, and as such their non-financial content was of secondary importance to the scribe. This leads to ambiguity in many entries, making them less than ideal for extracting information. For example, a Worcester Cathedral inventory dated 1576/7 is more generous in its specificity than many entries; it briefly describes a collection of 'players gere' consisting mostly of mundane clothing, but ends with the tantalisingly vague 'devils apparell'.<sup>129</sup> There is no evidence that these costumes were used within the cathedral, and so they are not included in the database as examples of performance. Without more information little can be said with certainty about the items. The loss of significant amounts of records over the centuries is also an important issue. Such losses occurred at different times in history.

While the *Regularis concordia's* connection to an earlier cathedral performance tradition is implicit, other examples can be more explicit in what they reveal. The playing of theatre in religious houses was a wide spread practice, and it must not be forgotten that cathedrals are not the only sacred sites for which such records are shown. Fulk Basset, Bishop of London (1245-59), declared a general prohibition against all 'plays/pastimes', demanding that they be kept 'out of holy places entirely'.<sup>130</sup> The bishop was clearly reacting to a crisis of profane acts in sacred settings and was attempting to

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<sup>128</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>129</sup> REED: Herefordshire and Worcestershire, 447.

<sup>130</sup> REED: Ecclesiastical London, 321. The original Latin reads 'Omnes quoque ludi & placita secularia a locis sacris penitus arceantur'. REED: Ecclesiastical London, 3.

restore proper behaviour to its proper place. The broad nature of 'sacred settings' may include cathedrals, but could also be applied to churches, chapels, graveyards, or other areas of religious importance. The unspecified nature of the locations places a large swathe of London under this statute, potentially pointing to the omnipresence of the problem within the bishopric. John Trillek, Bishop of Hereford, was dismayed in 1348 when a parish in his diocese was known to host the performance of plays within the church building 'quite customarily'.<sup>131</sup> Bishop Trillek was more forceful in his wording than Bishop Basset, calling down the 'threat of anathema' on those responsible if his order to desist immediately from such activities was disobeyed.<sup>132</sup> This record is evidence of not only a theatrical performance in sacred space, but also a continuing tradition that was sufficiently strong and long lasting that the Bishop stepped in with the threat of excommunication. While such records do not incontrovertibly link a cathedral to a theatrical performance, their existence gives evidence of theatrical performance in sacred spaces. This leaves open the possibility that the extant records are as important for what they say as for what they do not say.

The evidence of episcopal disapproval of the performances in churches points to the likelihood they were non-liturgical in nature. Scholarship on medieval theatre and drama often divides the study between the liturgical and non-liturgical, creating a divide that is more porous than one might think. The distinction between these two categories has already been laid out in the Introduction and discussed by scholars such as Penny Granger and David Bevington.<sup>133</sup> Such works have shown that while the non-liturgical, civic drama of the medieval period was often produced and performed outside of the

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<sup>131</sup> REED: Herefordshire and Worcestershire, 204. The record describes the church only as 'the church of L. in the same our diocese', and no further information is given to aid in identification.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Penny Granger, *The N-Town Plays: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009); David Bevington, 'Staging the Liturgy in *The Croxton Play of the Sacrament*', in *Staging Scripture: Biblical Drama, 1350-1600*, eds. Peter Happé and Wim Hüsken (Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2016), 235-52.

purview of the established Church, it was nevertheless heavily influenced by the liturgy of the period. Although this work does not agree with Granger's view that the presence of liturgical elements necessitates the classification of plays such as N-Town's as liturgical, one must admit that a liturgical DNA can clearly be seen in the civic drama of the period. The records to be discussed are inconclusive in their categorisation of the performances they mention as either liturgical or not. One can argue, as this thesis does, that although the civic drama of England cannot be categorised as liturgical, it did come from that liturgical tradition of the Church.

The extant records are survivors; they do not represent a clear, uninterrupted narrative in any way and as such cannot be used to constitute a complete picture of what they list. Documents could be re-purposed, such as in the case of the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More*, a leaf of which was used to bind together Bernard of Pavia's *Compilatio prima*.<sup>134</sup> Documents might also be destroyed unintentionally, as occurred during the bombing of Bristol during World War II, in which six churches were completely destroyed before their records could be stored safely.<sup>135</sup> Even for cathedrals for which records are relatively abundant, such as at Lincoln, entire decades may be missing from an otherwise long-running set of accounts.<sup>136</sup> For these reasons it is vital to understand that the following analysis is based on the data collected by the author and presented in Appendix A, representing the most complete catalogue of references to cathedral performance in England up to and including 1642.

The disproportionately large quantity of records from Lincoln means that the following discussion will be weighted heavily towards that city and its secular cathedral. As such it is necessary to keep in mind the trends in religious movements throughout the period discussed, and to view the performances within a national context. This is

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<sup>134</sup>Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett (London: Arden, 2011), 344.

<sup>135</sup> REED: Bristol, xlv.

<sup>136</sup> For an example see REED: Lincolnshire, 2.493-97. The Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts of Lincoln details extant volumes covering 1304-1626, in which gaps of missing years can be easily discerned.

not to say that Lincoln's Assumption performance tradition, for example, was practiced across the country at the same time, but its greater significance and influences may indicate a now-lost tradition, or one-off performance, of some form existing in the period somewhere else in the country. The beginning of the records of the Assumption tradition (1458/9) coincide with the height in popularity of the Cult of the Virgin Mary across Europe, particularly in England.<sup>137</sup> The growth of the Assumption performance tradition can then be viewed in the context of the spread of the Cult across the country, which places Lincoln's performances as a constituent part of the greater movement in Marian devotion. This does not mean that such a performance tradition must have existed in other parts of England, but rather establishes a precedent that may allow the analysis and comparison of other Marian performances, both within and outside of sacred spaces. Karl Young points to an unexpected lack of plays (liturgical or otherwise) relating the Assumption across Europe in the medieval period, citing only two instances (in Germany and France), both of which he calls 'a sort of wanton observance' rather than 'true drama'.<sup>138</sup> Young does not appear to have had knowledge of the Lincoln events, which may suggest other sources are lacking from his work, and thus providing an incomplete picture. But perhaps, with the knowledge gained from the Lincoln records, this also points to the special place of Marian devotion in the religious life of England in the period.

The majority of the performances listed in Appendix A explicitly fell on or near a feast of the Church. These mostly include Christmas, Pentecost (Whitsunday), Easter, or the Feast of St. Anne. The Feast of St. Stephen, Epiphany, and Corpus Christi are also represented, though to lesser degrees.<sup>139</sup> Generally speaking, the performances appear to connect thematically with the feast celebrated on the date of performance. The

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<sup>137</sup> Ruben Espinosa, *Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Shakespeare's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 8.

<sup>138</sup> Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols. (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1967), 2.255-7.

<sup>139</sup> The feast of Pentecost is often referred to as Whitsunday in the English Church.

coupling of a feast with a play lends a specific didactic quality to the event, enabling the teaching of Church doctrine through live encounters with the story. The play would serve as a reminder of the meaning of the day and its importance to the audience's collective identity and history as Christians.

A key example of such educational performances is Lincoln Cathedral's five recorded plays of St. Thomas the Apostle, all performed during Holy Week between 1321/2 and 1368/9.<sup>140</sup> Given the time of year stated it is most likely that the story was that of Thomas' famous doubting of Christ's resurrection in John 20:24-9. David Hugh Farmer explains that this episode 'was the occasion for reassuring future generations of believers by [St. Thomas's] confession of Christ's Divinity'.<sup>141</sup> The evangelical and devotional possibilities of this episode in Thomas' life would make it a strong candidate for an instructive and evangelical performance for the congregation.<sup>142</sup> Such didactic possibilities could be enhanced through theatrical conventions in performance. The moment in which Thomas dips his fingers into Christ's wounds could be heightened, emotionally, should he withdraw his fingers covered in blood as Christ proclaims '[...] blest be he ever,/ That trust wholly in my rising light,/ Yet saw it never'.<sup>143</sup> The amount paid for the event (9s 9d), is roughly equivalent to fifty-four days' wages for a labourer in the early fourteenth century, and indicates the expense of the event covered by the Dean and Chapter.<sup>144</sup> No itemisation exists to account for the sum spent, but such a large amount could demonstrate a substantial investment in costumes and scenery.

The earliest record in the database dates from between 1220 and 1225 in a Book

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<sup>140</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.647-9.

<sup>141</sup> David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 407.

<sup>142</sup> For further possible options concerning the plot of the St. Thomas play, see Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 406-7; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1.29-35.

<sup>143</sup> These lines are taken from J.S. Purvis, *The York Cycle of Mystery Plays: A Complete Version* (London: S.P.C.K., 1957), 338.

<sup>144</sup> Sandy Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England', in *Past and Present* 165 (November, 1999): 25. This is calculated using pay rates for male workers on Ebury Manor from 1330-9, averaging 2.16d per work day over the period for an unskilled male labourer (117d divided by 54.167 days).

of Statutes of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.<sup>145</sup> As was shown previously, the entry specifies certain properties and the characters for two distinct performances.<sup>146</sup> This one record is proof of not just two separate plays in the Minster, but also a tradition for both. The purpose of the statute book is to set down traditions and practices; this would suggest that these plays represent a tradition of performance rather than singular events and signal not only acceptance, but also participation and organisation by the Dean and Chapter.<sup>147</sup> The wording also indicates that the Epiphany play was a traditional custom, though perhaps not annual, while the Christmas play appears to be performed annually.

The existence of the stars as properties does not in itself indicate theatrical performance, but the explicit mention of two shepherds and three kings may, given the circumstances. The star in question is clearly that mentioned in Matthew 2:2, guiding the three kings to the site of the Nativity of Jesus. The placement of the star in the Christmas play is not based in the biblical narrative, but rather the symbolic position of the star announcing the birth of Jesus. In *Symbols, Signs and Their Meaning and Uses in Design* (1971), Arnold Whittick explains that the star in the nativity is 'supposed to be the morning star, and as the morning star heralds the dawn, it symbolized Christ, as Christ's birth heralded the passing of the world from night to day-from darkness of sin to the light of salvation'.<sup>148</sup> This accounts for the presence of the star in the stories, but not the need for two in the Epiphany play.

The presence of two stars may indicate the use of processional movement: the

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<sup>145</sup> REED: York 2.687. The English translation and original Latin account in REED date it from between 1220-5, though the description of the larger manuscript from which the record (f 7v) is taken (York Minster Library, M1/1/b) gives a broad dating range for the whole document and its composite parts as 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century (REED: York, 1.xxxv). The discrepancy in dating is normalized here to 1220-5 as this dating appears twice within REED as opposed to the single entry in the document description attributing it to the 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'statute', from <http://www.oed.com>, accessed 27 April 2016.

<sup>148</sup> Arnold Whittick, *Symbols, Signs and Their Meaning and Uses in Design* (London: Leonard Hill, 1971), 320.

Magi could be positioned in one part of the cathedral when the first star appears, and as they travel from their initial position to the first star, the second appears, guiding their way. This, if done correctly, could give the image of the star leading the men to the site of the birth of Jesus, lending a more supernatural, even angelic quality than if it were simply placed over the position of the baby Jesus and the men merely walked toward the single, stationary star. The apparent moving of the star could suggest that it possessed agency, further bestowing miraculous power on its use. William Tydeman suggests such a staging in *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (1978), and posits the idea as a way to use the immense space of large cathedrals.<sup>149</sup>

The journey of the Magi shows great devotion (in the willingness to travel), miracles associated with the birth (a moving star that comes to rest), and faith that the star will guide them. In order to demonstrate best these aspects of the story, a sense of movement is necessary. This arrangement would align the performance with the story in Matthew 2:9 in which the star followed by the Magi is said to have gone ‘ahead of them until it stopped over the place where the child was’, noticeably making the star a moving object. Although there is no ‘hard evidence’ to support this hypothesis, it may account for the stars at Epiphany, as well as possible uses for them.

The records of Lincoln Cathedral, as stated earlier, contain the largest amount of records pertaining to performance of any English cathedral. An event depicting The Assumption of Mary is recorded on thirty-two occasions in the Lincoln records between 1458/9 and 1542/3.<sup>150</sup> The first record of the performance states that it ‘took place in the cathedral’ while in 1464/5 the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts places the

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<sup>149</sup> William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800 - 1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 55.

<sup>150</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.660-89. The records call this event both *The Assumption* and *The Coronation*. However, both stories are inextricably linked and most likely refer to the same play; *The Assumption* being the death and ascension of the Virgin Mary into Heaven, and *The Coronation* representing her crowning as Heaven’s Queen. For clarification I will be using the term ‘Assumption’ except for instances in which I am quoting directly from a source. For more information, see Addis and Arnold, *A Catholic Dictionary*, 54-5.

performance ‘in the nave of the church’.<sup>151</sup> In *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (1978) William Tydeman asserts that the Assumption play would have been performed in the Minster Yard, between the west end of the cathedral and Exchequer Gate.<sup>152</sup> Tydeman appears to base this theory in the belief that that location would be the likely place of performance for the N-Town cycle plays and would thus be a set playing place that could accommodate scaffolding as well as pageant wagons, making the performance of the Assumption in that location logical. As the N-Town plays have now been proven not to come from Lincoln, and the records explicitly give the location of performance as the cathedral nave, this theory is no longer supportable.<sup>153</sup> That same year the canons of Lincoln paid John Hanson 10s for his ‘labour carried out in the church about the “Ascension”’.<sup>154</sup> Further accounts of nave performances at Lincoln exist for 1468/9, 1482/3, 1489/90, 1506/7, and 1507/8 and all refer to the Assumption.<sup>155</sup>

With the knowledge that the Assumption took place in the nave of the cathedral in the years listed above, it can then be assumed that those were not deviations from the normal practice. From this information one can safely speculate that the Assumption took place within the nave for the years in which no location is given but for which records state that it occurred. Although there are years for which records do not exist due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving documents, one can confidently assign Assumption performances for years lacking an entry for the event. This is possible since in 1482/3 an account written in the Chapter Act Book indicated that the ‘show (*or* entertainment) or rite [...] of the “Assumption” or “Crowning of St Mary” should be played ‘as had been customary in the nave of the said church’.<sup>156</sup> The placement of the

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<sup>151</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.660, 2.662.

<sup>152</sup> Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages*, 136.

<sup>153</sup> Alan J. Fletcher, ‘The N-Town Plays’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Early English Theatre*, eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 185.

<sup>154</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.662.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.662, 2.666, 2.668, 2.671-2, 2.672. No other cathedral explicitly mentions the nave as the site of performance.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.666.

entry in the Chapter Act Book (which dealt with decrees and regulations of the Chapter), rather than the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts (which dealt with financial matters) implies not just a payment for works carried out, but the establishment that the work will be carried out for that year and for subsequent years.<sup>157</sup> Other accounts for the Assumption do not include specific dates detailing the point at which the named individual was paid for their work; however, the following account names not only the date when, but also the location where, the decision was made:

On the Saturday for chapter, that is, on 7 July AD 1483, in the high choir of the cathedral church of St Mary at Lincoln after that day's compline was finished, the lord dean with his brethren, that is, the precentor, the chancellor, the treasurer, and Alford, standing together before the west door of the choir next to their accustomed (places) and discussing the procession of St Anne that was to be made by the citizens of Lincoln on her next feast coming, decided together that they wanted to have that show [...] of the 'Assumption' or 'Crowning of St Mary' repaired and prepared anew and put on and shown in the aforesaid procession, as had been customary in the nave of the said church.<sup>158</sup>

As the Assumption took place on the feast of St. Anne (26 July), this decision was passed relatively close to the date on which the performance took place. The entry goes on to describe the way in which the event should be funded but records no payment.<sup>159</sup>

Later that same year the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts show payment to Sir Henry Botery: 'for the making (ie the completion (?)) of the half-done "Coronation of St Mary" in the cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln for the feast of St Anne, 47s'.<sup>160</sup> The accounts list Sir Henry Botery as a chaplain in one of the two entries in which he is named, following a tradition of chaplain involvement begun with the first record in which Sir John Hanson is named as the recipient of monies for his work on the

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<sup>157</sup> For a description and list of the manuscripts that make up the Chapter Act Book as well as information on its compilation, see REED: Lincolnshire, 2.497-8; for a description and list of the manuscripts that make up the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts as well as the information on its compilation, see REED: Lincolnshire, 2.493-7.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 2.666.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid. The final decision was that the money would come from private contributions, with the Dean and Chapter paying for the shortfall.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 2.665-6.

Assumption from 1458/9 to 1468/9.<sup>161</sup>

Between the account of 1482/3 and the previous one in 1468/9 no mention exists in the records of either the Chapter Act Book or the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts of the Assumption.<sup>162</sup> The Chapter Act Book survives for the intervening years, while the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts are mostly extant, though some of the manuscript's leaves are severely damaged and/or fragile.<sup>163</sup> The wording of the 1468/9 account suggests a longer than usual lapse in time between the decision to put on the event and the last performance. Given the use of the past perfect tense ('had been') as opposed to the use of the present perfect in the record, one may be able to assume that the tradition was being revived after a period of neglect.<sup>164</sup>

No explicit indication is made as to the content, or performance possibilities of the event. However, when compared with the 5s paid to Sir Henry in 1485/6 for simply 'showing of the "Coronation of St Mary"', the expense gone into its creation or repair becomes obvious in the 42s difference.<sup>165</sup> The large expenditure can indicate a visually impressive presentation, a supposition that can be supported by the acclaim given to the man in charge of the event in 1488, as being 'so clever in the showing and the entertainment' of the Assumption.<sup>166</sup> References are made to the Assumption as both an event and a physical item, a convention that shows the performance to be based around the structure. St. Anne's day was a civic celebration throughout Lincoln, involving trade and religious guilds processing to the cathedral, where the Assumption was performed

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<sup>161</sup> Sir Henry is also mentioned in 1485/6 in the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts (REED: Lincolnshire, 2.667). Sir John Hanson is recorded in the same accounts in 1458/9, 1459/60, 1461/2, 1462/3, 1463/4, 1464/5, and 1468/9 (REED: Lincolnshire, 2.660-2). The title 'Sir' is not to be confused with the knightly title, and was a term used in place of the title 'Father' when used in regards to priests. Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2003), xiii.

<sup>162</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.662.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 2.495-8. The Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts are missing for 1469 and 1472.

<sup>164</sup> Compare the transcription of the original Latin (REED: Lincolnshire, 1.120) to Abigail Ann Young's translation into English (REED: Lincolnshire, 2.662).

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 2.667.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 2.668.

as part of the celebration's climax.<sup>167</sup> In 1482/3 the Assumption was part of the procession that led to the cathedral in which the performance took place.<sup>168</sup> A pageant wagon-style presentation would then fit the needs of such a procession, allowing the Assumption to travel through the city before entering the cathedral and becoming the stage on which the performance could be conducted. Such a pageant wagon could provide machinery and set pieces to realise the possible effects mentioned in extant English Assumption plays, such as ascending and descending angels, sudden appearances of saints, a descending heavenly court, and the exit of Mary's soul from her body and into the bosom of God.<sup>169</sup>

It is interesting to note that the time period in which the Assumption records began coincides with the earliest dates for the extant manuscripts of Chester (late fifteenth century), Towneley (mid-fifteenth century), and N-Town (between 1468 and 1500), and with the extensive changes to York (compiled sometime between 1463 and 1477), as well as the lost plays of Norwich (likely late fifteenth century).<sup>170</sup> Lincoln has no recorded history of pageant plays, though if the speculation that the N-Town plays toured were true, they could have been played in Lincoln given that city's proximity to the plays' now widely accepted East Anglian provenance.<sup>171</sup> The role of the cathedral-sponsored Assumption in the Lincoln procession should be seen in light of this theatrical

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<sup>167</sup> James Stokes, 'The Lost Playing Places of Lincolnshire', in *Comparative Drama* 37, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter, 2003/4): 282.

<sup>168</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.666.

<sup>169</sup> See Stephen Spector (ed.), *The N-Town Play, Cotton MS Vespasian D. 8*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1.387-409.

<sup>170</sup> David Mills, 'The Chester Cycle', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 126; Martial Rose (ed.), *The Wakefield Mystery Plays* (London: Evans Brothers, Limited, 1961), 9; Alan J. Fletcher, 'The N-Town Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 184; Richard Beadle, 'The York Corpus Christi Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to medieval English Theatre*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 99. Joana Dutka, 'The Lost Dramatic Cycle of Norwich and the Grocers' Play of The Fall of Man', in *The Review of English Studies* 35 (1984): 2. Beadle points out that the earliest reference to the plays at York comes from 1377, but that 'the cycle changed in many ways' in the fifteenth century (pg. 99), with the texts being assembled sometime between 1463 and 1477 (pg. 104-5).

<sup>171</sup> Fletcher, 'The N-Town Plays', 185.

trend. Perhaps, as Alexandra F. Johnston indicates generally, the ecclesiastical authorities in Lincoln worked with the city's guilds (who organised the annual procession) to attempt to induce feelings of piety in the population via spectacular visual depictions. This may indicate that the ecclesiastical authorities of Lincoln used the play to exert power/authority over the civic celebration. In the absence of a profane tradition such as York or Chester's, Lincoln represents a way in which the Church was able to maintain its authority through non-liturgical performance.

The performances carry on in the records until 1542/3, marking the end of a tradition spanning over sixty years.<sup>172</sup> The Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts lack records for 1545-7 as well as 1550-1.<sup>173</sup> The Chapter Act Book is missing for the years 1514 through 1558.<sup>174</sup> There is no indication as to which was the last year to see the Assumption performed, but the years for which materials are missing may have included its performance. The overt Marian, and therefore Roman Catholic, nature as well as the extra-Biblical content appears to have been preserved under Henry VIII, before the more reformed Protestant reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I.<sup>175</sup> Whatever the reason for the cessation of the performance, the Assumption plays were a part of the annual calendar of the cathedral, outlasting Deans, Bishops, and monarchs alike.

Appendix A shows 112 instances of recorded performance in a cathedral for Christmas eve or day; of these, only one is not from Lincoln. This single anomaly is the entry from the York book of statutes, mentioned earlier. The remaining Christmas records show what may be best described as an evolving performance tradition detailing the 'angelic salutation' to Mary, a term used in the account marking the beginning of the tradition. The first account, dated 1390/1, is also one of the most

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 2.689.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 2.496.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 2.498.

<sup>175</sup> In Roman Catholic doctrine Revelations 12:1-6 is a clear indication of the Assumption of Mary, but this is contested and a matter of interpretation and theology.

specific:

Expenses incurred for the (angelic) salutation on Christmas Day and the play in Easter week...First to Sir John Louth for the expenses reckoned by him about the star and the dove, 2s 6d; likewise on expenses incurred by the sacrist at the same time for the (angelic) salutation, 6s 2 ½ d;<sup>176</sup>

There is no itemisation of the expenses, a detail that will change in later entries. What is mentioned is an allusion to an unspecified number of angels. An account from three years later, in 1393/4, gives more evidence for characters involved in the performance, which can then be used to decipher possible plots.

The second entry (1393/4) is a report of expenses paid for three pairs of gloves 'bought for Mary, Elisabeth, and the angel on Christmas Day at dawn at matins'.<sup>177</sup> The following years see a shift in named characters before settling in 1440/1.<sup>178</sup> In 1396/7 Elisabeth is excluded from the list after she is named in three consecutive entries.<sup>179</sup> It is at this point that a different character dynamic is introduced. The entry for 1396/7, the first not to include Elisabeth, includes two new character descriptions/names: 'Likewise on gloves bought for Mary and the angel on Christmas Day, 2d; likewise on two pairs of gloves bought for two prophets on the same day, 4d'.<sup>180</sup> Not only is Elisabeth no longer included, but the addition of 'two prophets' after the initial entry would seem to be an afterthought, as if the characters were a brand new addition and had not been at first remembered by the scribe. It is also possible that they are included separately as they represent a different performance event, but happening on the same day. In 1443/4, fifty years after the beginning of the records regarding these Christmas plays, a scribe added a clause in the notation of the records: the payment for gloves for the Christmas

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<sup>176</sup> REED: Lincolnshire, 2.651.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 2.651.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 2.655.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 2.651-2.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 2.652.

play is now done 'according to the church's custom'.<sup>181</sup> This suggests that from no later than this date until 1548/9 the tradition was carried out as an important part of the calendar of the cathedral, and perhaps the social calendar of the community.

The best clues as to the content of the performances are probably the roles of the characters played in the Biblical stories in which they all take part. Elisabeth is mentioned only in the Gospel of Luke, where she is named as the mother of John the Baptist, the cousin of the Virgin Mary, and the human who confirms to Mary the words of the angel Gabriel, announcing that she will give birth to the Son of God.<sup>182</sup> While the timing of the play at Christmas would seem to suggest a nativity story, as is implied at York, the list of characters would not support this conclusion. Elisabeth's only recorded interaction with Mary is the Visitation (Luke 1:39-56).<sup>183</sup> Nowhere in this is an angel present, however, prior to the Visitation Luke says that the angel Gabriel came to Elisabeth's husband, Zachariah, announcing her miraculous pregnancy. Later Gabriel appears to Mary, announcing her virginal conception of Jesus in the episode known as the Annunciation (Luke 1:26-38), which flows directly into the Visitation. If these two events were performed together, the list of characters in Luke would match those mentioned in the record. The extant medieval scripts of Towneley and York for 'The Visitation' also show only Mary, Elisabeth and the angel Gabriel indicating a conflation of the two events into one story, and giving precedence to such content.<sup>184</sup> The given evidence makes it clear that the event performed on Christmas day at matins (at least until 1396/7) told the stories of both the Annunciation and the Visitation.

Between 1396/7 and 1440/1 the Prophet characters phase in and out of the

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 2.656.

<sup>182</sup> Luke 1:5-45. See also William B. Barker, *Everyone in the Bible* (London: Oliphants, 1966), 88

<sup>183</sup> F.L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 1426.

<sup>184</sup> George England, ed., *The Towneley Plays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 97-100; Richard Beadle, ed., *The York Plays* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), 110-17. The York play contains a 'Doctour', but for palaeographic reason I believe this is a later addition to the script of a character who serves as expositor and has no interaction with the other characters in the play.

records, not making an appearance in four of the sixteen accounts in this period. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church's* (1958) definition of 'prophet' is 'the inspired deliverers of God's message not only about the future, but to their own contemporaries, to whom they declared His will, and whom they recalled to His righteousness;' a definition that would then encompass Elisabeth and Zachariah.<sup>185</sup> Given the characters and the previously established Annunciation/Visitation conflation, the modified subject matter in 1442/3 can be deduced as having told the story of the Annunciation. The symbolic, temporal position of this story 'on Christmas day at dawn at matins' places the announcement of Christ's birth just before the rising of the sun, and thus the beginning of the day of his nativity. As these stories form not just the events before the birth, but the first mention and confirmation of the coming of Jesus, they are thematically and chronologically the most appropriate story to act as a forerunner to the birth itself.

Were the performance carried out in the quire (the place of matins), the audience in the nave would have been able to see little or nothing of the act.<sup>186</sup> The alternative is a performance either in the nave itself or on the top of the pulpitum. The Sarum Use of 1210 indicates that this would fall within the usual use of the pulpitum.<sup>187</sup> The current organ that resides in the pulpitum of Lincoln Cathedral dates from 1898, and until this point the top of the structure would have been a suitable place from which to speak and be seen and heard.<sup>188</sup> If the performance were placed above the pulpitum or on the nave floor, the ability to view it would be markedly increased, making this a more logical location. This theory assumes an importance placed by the cathedral clergy on the viewing of the act by an audience, an assumption for which there is no evidence. The importance here is not to locate definitively the performance, but rather to posit

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<sup>185</sup> Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1113.

<sup>186</sup> The term 'audience' is, of course, variable; for the purposes of this discussion of the Christmas plays at Lincoln cathedral I use it to refer to those who may have witnessed the event but did not take part directly as performers.

<sup>187</sup> Lincoln Cathedral, 'Pulpitum', Lincoln Cathedral Information Card, Lincoln Cathedral.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

potential sites in order to expand the discussion of the event.

The end of known performances in English cathedrals comes in 1548/9, when the last entry for payment of gloves for a Christmas event is mentioned in the Dean and Chapter Common Fund Accounts.<sup>189</sup> Later accounts exist showing that a paradigm shift took place after this date. The Cathedral no longer appears to fund performances that are explicitly indicated as having taken place within the building. Records began to show what appear to be rewards paid for performance by various groups, starting with the local grammar school, and ‘the lady queen’s players’, in 1561.<sup>190</sup> The last record comes from 1592, paid to John Hilton for two comedies.<sup>191</sup> These final records, however, do not explicitly place the events within the cathedral, and so fall outside the parameters of this research. What would follow is a lapse of over three centuries before such events would take place again within an English cathedral.

### ***THE COMING OF CHRIST (1928) TO 2015***

The re-emergence of theatre within Anglican cathedrals began at Canterbury 1897, when Sir Henry Irving gave a one-man reading of Tennyson’s *Becket* in the chapter house.<sup>192</sup> The reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* commented that ‘Dramatically, nothing could be more appropriate’.<sup>193</sup> Aside from the connection to Becket, the historical aptness of this location is twofold: in post-Roman England, theatre re-emerged in the *Regularis concordia*, with its authorial connections to Canterbury Cathedral. Moreover, this location witnessed the rebirth of cathedrals as theatrical performance sites nearly a millennium after the practice first appeared in documentation in the *Regularis concordia*. This can be attributed to one man, the then Dean of Canterbury and

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<sup>189</sup> REED: Lincolnshire: 2.689.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 2.689.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 2.694.

<sup>192</sup> The *Illustrated London News*, ‘Sir Henry Irving at Canterbury’, in the *Illustrated London News* 3033 (5 June 1897): 763. From <http://www.gale.cengage.co.uk>, accessed 5 September 2014.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

future Bishop of Chichester, the Reverend George Kennedy Allen Bell (1883-1958).

However, Bell did not arrive at Canterbury in a vacuum, as decades of progress within the Church prior to his Deanship helped to shape an ecclesiastical culture that was more welcoming and less hostile to the theatre.

Clerical condemnation of the theatre was widespread throughout the Victorian era and before, with one Sheffield clergyman preaching a sermon against the immorality of theatrical entertainments annually from 1817 through 1864.<sup>194</sup> However, about halfway through the century the opinions of certain ecclesiastics began to change. Such adjustments coincided with the period in which the theatre was becoming more respectable, differentiating itself from the bawdiness of the music hall, now being both patronised and managed by individuals from the middle classes.<sup>195</sup> Queen Victoria made the manager of the Princess's Theatre, Charles Kean, head of theatrical entertainments at Windsor in 1848, before appointing him to the revived post of Master of the Revels that same year.<sup>196</sup> With these acts Victoria lent royal approval to the theatre, helping to change the social position of the art form. In 1874 Bishop Fraser of Manchester sought to purify the theatre from within, encouraging actors and actresses to improve the profession and leading to the creation of the Dramatic Reform Association in 1877.<sup>197</sup> Reverend Stuart Headlam was instrumental in changing the attitude of the Church, preaching about the moral value of theatre and ministering to actors and dancers directly, and in so doing he brought the wrath of the Bishop of London upon himself, losing his license to preach.<sup>198</sup> He founded the Church and Stage Guild in 1879, an organisation based in Christian socialism that actively tried to bring the two sides

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<sup>194</sup> Michael R. Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 22.

<sup>195</sup> Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 21-6; Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J. Garnet Miller, 2001), 3-29.

<sup>196</sup> James Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition, 1881-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 2.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>198</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 12-9.

together though events such as meetings in the foyer of the Drury Lane Theatre.<sup>199</sup> In *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (1991) Michael R. Booth sees a distinction between religious condemnation of the drama and the theatre, saying that while some would never enter theatre buildings, they would happily attend 'dramatic readings of plays anywhere else'.<sup>200</sup> Irving's reading of *Becket* in 1897 at Canterbury attests to Booth's assertion.

By 1895 attitudes had sufficiently shifted so that Wilson Barret's *The Sign of the Cross*, far from being condemned by the Church, was enthusiastically endorsed by much of the clergy, who encouraged their parishioners to attend the play due to its evangelical potential.<sup>201</sup> The play caused such a commotion that the *Church Times* had to officially end discussion of it within its pages after three months of publishing correspondence.<sup>202</sup> In the same year Queen Victoria knighted Henry Irving, the first time a member of the theatre was to receive such an honour, and marking a watershed moment in British theatrical history.<sup>203</sup> For the first time in England since the sixteenth century a play was written and performed in a church (*The Conversion of England* [1898], performed in St Peter's, Vauxhall), signalling a substantial change in relations between the Church and Theatre.<sup>204</sup> More church performances occurred in the opening decades of the twentieth century in Leeds, Covent Garden, and Chelsea, further normalising the act, and thereby paving the way for theatre in a cathedral setting.<sup>205</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century the "Church and Stage" entered upon an entirely new relationship' based on the work carried out in the previous decades.<sup>206</sup> In 1903 Randall Davidson was raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury from his post as Bishop of Winchester. Davidson was an infrequent, though unashamed, theatregoer

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 16-7.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 23-5; Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 22-3.

<sup>202</sup> Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 25.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>204</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 22.

<sup>205</sup> Ronald C.D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 41-2.

<sup>206</sup> Donald Hole, *The Church and the Stage: The Early History of the Actor's Church Union* (London: The Faith Press, 1934), 22.

who had known Headlam in the time in which he was forming the Church and Stage Guild.<sup>207</sup> While Bishop of Rochester he became acquainted with the theatrical family the Thorndikes, who lived in the cathedral precincts, a relationship he maintained until his death.<sup>208</sup> Despite his relatively liberal attitudes, Davidson was not in favour of Biblically-based plays, which were routinely rejected for performance by the Lord Chamberlain in consultation with the Archbishop.<sup>209</sup> But the weakening of the Lord Chamberlain's powers to censor theatre in 1909, the revival of medieval drama (much of which was Biblical in nature) at the turn of the century, and the showing of a the film *From the Manger to the Cross* in the Royal Albert Hall in 1912 began to eat away at the resolve to keep such plays down.<sup>210</sup> Officially approved, Biblically-based drama began to be performed by 1919, creating a base of plays that could be viewed as religiously appropriate for church performance. By 1922 a writer for *The Times* was explicitly calling for such plays to be performed more often.<sup>211</sup>

The turn of the twentieth century signalled a new era for English cathedrals. Twelve new English Bishoprics were created in the early years of the century, focusing mostly on recently emergent urban centres such as Birmingham and Sheffield.<sup>212</sup> Renewed interests in these buildings helped to drive funding efforts to stabilise, refurbish, and carry out needed structural repairs on older cathedral buildings, such as Winchester and St Alban's, which in turn helped to keep the public's attention on such edifices and their place in society.<sup>213</sup> These works brought attention to the artistry of the cathedrals, both on the macro-scale (i.e. architecture) and the micro-scale (i.e. statuary, vestments, and furnishings). The high church proclivities of the Oxford Movement

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<sup>207</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 26.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 27-8.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid. and Percy Dearmer, 'Religion and Drama', in *The Times* 43038 (23 May 1932): 16.

<sup>212</sup> Stanford Lehmborg, *English Cathedrals: A History* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 289.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 290.

(begun in 1833) had influenced much of the Church, allowing for the focus on art and the beauty of liturgy to impact the visual and performance culture of the cathedrals.<sup>214</sup> Archbishop Davidson lent tacit support to the movement, as did other bishops and politicians.<sup>215</sup> Many members of the Church and Stage Guild (comprised of clergy, laity, and theatre workers) tended to be high church in their liturgical tastes, and such leanings were common among those involved in the early Canterbury Festivals.<sup>216</sup> In *The Church and the Stage* (1934), Donald Hole boldly states that ‘the great change which has taken place in the attitude of the official Church towards the Stage, has been the result of the Oxford Movement’.<sup>217</sup> Hole saw the movement’s influence through its focus on the ‘spiritual meaning underlying the material expression of beauty and art’.<sup>218</sup> This focus on the art of devotion and ritual are clearly reflected in later programmes for the Canterbury Festival, referring to the plays as offerings to God.<sup>219</sup>

Connections between wider theatrical/artistic trends and cathedral performance are not explicitly mentioned by any of those involved in the early cathedral plays, but one can see influences that may give clues to unspoken inspiration. Perhaps the most likely candidate is Max Reinhardt’s *The Miracle*. It opened at Olympia in London in 1911 before subsequent tours across Europe (1912-7), and an eventual remounting in the United States from 1924-30, before coming back to London in 1932.<sup>220</sup> Reinhardt used the massive scale of the building as inspiration, turning its interior into a medieval cathedral within London’s largest covered space [**image 1.1**].<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> See Lawrence F. Barmann, ‘The Liturgical Dimension of the Oxford Tracts, 1833-1841’, in *Journal of British Studies* 7, no. 2 (May, 1968): 93-113; J.E.B. Munson, ‘The Oxford Movement by the End of the Nineteenth Century: The Anglo-Catholic Clergy’, in *Church History* 44, no. 3 (September, 1975): 382-95. The Oxford Movement is sometimes referred to as the Tractarian Movement, and its adherents Tractarians.

<sup>215</sup> Munson, ‘The Oxford Movement by the End of the Nineteenth Century’, 383-4.

<sup>216</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 16.

<sup>217</sup> Hole, *The Church and the Stage*, 11.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>220</sup> J.L. Styan, *Max Reinhardt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 93.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*



Image 1.1 Max Reinhardt's *The Miracle* (1911). From Getty Images, 'Stagings by Max Reinhardt in London', from <http://www.gettyimages.com>, accessed 6 March 2017.

The focus on the cathedral, the setting for the first and final scenes only, meant that the rest of the locations appeared to be within the ecclesiastical setting. 'Once a cathedral, always a cathedral' was *Punch's* comment, showing how Reinhardt inadvertently (or perhaps not) situated the entirety of the play within the cathedral.<sup>222</sup> It is likely that the early creators of the Canterbury Festival knew of *The Miracle*, though no mention is made in either published or unpublished sources consulted for this thesis.

Perhaps the largest discernable artistic influence on the early cathedral productions can be found in the revival of verse drama in the period. Irene Morra's *Verse Drama in England, 1900-2015* (2016) argues that the Canterbury Festival not only nurtured early religious verse drama in England, but that the genre's later success in the

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<sup>222</sup> Punch, 'At the Play: "The Miracle"', in *Punch Almanack* 142 (January – June 1912): 32.

1940s and 50s 'can be traced back to the energies of [Dean] Bell'.<sup>223</sup> Morra points out that the revived interest in medieval drama at the turn of the twentieth century helped shape the religious form verse drama would take under its chief playwrights Eliot and Fry, both of whom wrote for Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>224</sup>

A study of the work of those involved at Canterbury in the early years also reveals little or no clues that help to position their work as part of a wider trend that influenced the Festival. This is not to say that the plays of the Canterbury Festival sprang from nothing, but that explicit links between their earlier work and the Festival show little to no inclination towards the avant-garde. The Festival can, and should, be seen as an avant-garde movement in relation not only to its use of place, but also its encouragement of first or second-time playwrights, such as Eliot and Sayers. But if one takes the avant-garde as 'formally innovative or [...] somehow in opposition to mainstream theatre practice', then the connection must stop there.<sup>225</sup> As a movement that inspired such breaks with convention, the Festival's position as avant-garde does not need to have drawn such inspiration from concrete sources.<sup>226</sup> In terms of the design of the Canterbury plays, one cannot see a break with any orthodoxy; rather the work of the designers that can be seen in the Canterbury Cathedral Archive shows realism melding with the architecture as a focus of the visual. The realism used throughout the 1930s was far from an attempt to view the space in a new light, itself being only a mimic of the chapter house's architecture.

Greater connections to wider European trends in art and performance also do not appear to be significant. Gustav Holst (who had worked with church music since at least

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<sup>223</sup> Irene Morra, *Verse Drama in England, 1900-2015: Art, Modernity, and the National Stage* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 94.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-4.

<sup>225</sup> Dennis Kennedy, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 37.

<sup>226</sup> Here the term 'avant-garde' is taken to mean 'The pioneers or innovators of any art in a particular period', from *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. 'avant-garde', <http://oed.com>, accessed 2 January 2017.

1914) appears to have been waning in popularity by the time he took the commission for *The Coming of Christ*.<sup>227</sup> John Masefield had a well-documented interest in writing religious drama that helped to interest Bell, but does not appear to have had inclinations to avant-garde performance sites or themes.<sup>228</sup> Designer Charles Ricketts' earlier work shows heavy art nouveau influences that carried over into the production.<sup>229</sup> The only members involved in 1928 that appear to have had a connection to the idea of performance in the cathedral were Dean Bell and Laurence Irving. Irving's grandfather, Henry Irving, had given the reading of *Becket* in the chapter house in 1897, and he had a working relationship with John Masefield.<sup>230</sup> There does not appear to be a traceable inspiration or motivation from the world of art that can be indisputably pointed to as a motivation for the first Canterbury play. Kenneth Pickering makes no such claim in his work on the festival. Rather, he draws more on the Oxford Movement's focus on art as an offering to God aimed at viewing and using art in a non-conventional way (for the period).<sup>231</sup> It would seem that the only concrete evidence for artistic inspiration comes from verse drama (which according to Morra owes a deep debt to the festival) and from the Oxford Movement's revival of religious/devotional art.

Bell became Dean of Canterbury in 1924, a post that he held until his elevation to the Bishopric of Chichester in 1929.<sup>232</sup> A man concerned most with the way in which the Church interacted with the people of the world, Bell was instrumental in carrying out various and drastic changes to the running of Canterbury Cathedral. He famously allowed women to enter the cathedral without covering their heads, lengthened opening

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<sup>227</sup> John Warrack, 'Holst, Gustav Theodore (1874-1934), Composer and Teacher of Music', from <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 15 December 2016.

<sup>228</sup> David Gervais, 'Masefield, John Edward (1878-1967), Poet and Novelist', from <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 15 December 2016.

<sup>229</sup> Eric Binnie, *The Theatrical Designs of Charles Ricketts* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 57; Joseph Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), 165-95.

<sup>230</sup> John Masefield, *Philip the King* (New York: Macmillan, 1927).

<sup>231</sup> The Oxford Movement's focus on art is based in earlier, medieval ideas, and therefore is a reversion to the past rather than an entirely new mode of artistic appreciation and expression.

<sup>232</sup> Andrew Chandler, 'Bell, George Kennedy Allen (1883-1958), Bishop of Chichester', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, from <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 5 February 2016.

hours, abolished mandatory entry fees (opting instead for a donation system that actually increased revenues and would soon spread to other cathedrals), listened to choir boys' feelings on the length of services, encouraged regular broadcasting of services, and invited non-Anglican clergy to speak from the pulpit.<sup>233</sup> Aside from his stance against the fire bombing of German cities in the Second World War and his post-war work on reconciliation, any biographical work on him must focus on his relationship with the arts.<sup>234</sup> His involvement in this area centred on his role in not just supporting, but helping to create the Canterbury Festival. This festival would be the base of support for the drama that would flow from the cathedral in the coming decades. Subsequently, the work that would spring from this festival can be traced back to him and his time as Dean.

In 1925 Bell organised the first radio broadcast of a service from Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>235</sup> Whether the results of this broadcast influenced his decision to incorporate drama into the religious life of the cathedral is at best speculative. What can be said is that in that same year he had the first ideas that would lead to inviting the stage back into the Church. He wrote to the founder of the British Drama League, Geoffrey Whitworth, to enquire as to the best plays for performance in a church.<sup>236</sup> The result was the selection of John Masefield's *The Coming of Christ*, performed in the nave of Canterbury on Whit Monday, 1928. The production's importance in the histories of Anglicanism and British theatre is immense. The play's popularity is reflected in the apparent decision to remount the production the following year; this, however, was not to take place. A letter from Bell to the cast and crew of the play, written in 1929, explains that the planned production would not be carried out due to 'circumstances

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid; Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 35-9.

<sup>234</sup> Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 277-9.

<sup>235</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 86.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid, 86-7.

[that] have arisen which make an immediate repetition impossible'.<sup>237</sup> John Masefield was struck by the thought that without a play to follow immediately after *The Coming of Christ*, the tradition might wither before it had a chance to take root, writing that a revival should be done 'for the sake of not abandoning a position won with difficulty and important, as I do feel, to us all'.<sup>238</sup>

After the end of the play in 1928 Bell and his wife Henrietta travelled to Austria. It was here that they attended Max Reinhardt's production of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* (a German language translation of the medieval Dutch play *Elckerlijc*) at the Salzburg Festival, where it had been played annually since 1926 and would continue to do so until 1937.<sup>239</sup> The play was staged before the doors of Salzburg Cathedral as the audience sat in the adjoining square. Reinhardt, however, invaded other spaces of the city, having actors enter from the audience, the cathedral, other squares, and (vocally) from the surrounding church towers. Bell's reaction to the production must have been astonishment at the way in which Reinhardt blended the story with the natural setting of the city. Hofmannsthal recalled the effect that Bell would have experienced:

The cries uttered by invisible spirits to warn Everyman of this approaching death sounded not only from the church before whose façade the stage had been built, but from all the church-towers of the city, as twilight deepened about the five thousand spectators. One of these criers had been placed in the highest tower of the medieval castle, built far above the city, and his voice sounded, weird and ghostly, about five seconds after the others, just as the first rays of the rising moon fell cold and strange from the high heavens on the hearts of the audience.<sup>240</sup>

The Archbishop of Salzburg was so affected by the production that tears fell from his eyes throughout the night; he congratulated Reinhardt, saying that the play was worth more than a sermon.<sup>241</sup> The production would have stayed on Bell's mind throughout

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<sup>237</sup> George Bell, 'Letter', CCA-U167/55.

<sup>238</sup> As quoted in Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 44.

<sup>239</sup> Styan, *Max Reinhardt*, 87-9; Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 43.

<sup>240</sup> As quoted in Styan, *Max Reinhardt*, 91.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

the rest of the year and long after, coming to the forefront of his thoughts after he was forced to cancel the revival of *The Coming of Christ*.

*Everyman*, an early sixteenth century English version of the Dutch *Elckerlijc*, had enjoyed a revival in England starting in 1901 under William Poel, whose production toured the United Kingdom and America for nearly three decades.<sup>242</sup> Poel had petitioned both Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral for permission to perform the sixteenth century morality play in their locations, but had been refused on both occasions.<sup>243</sup> The desire not to allow the Canterbury Festival to lapse despite the difficulties seems to have drawn Bell to The Norwich Players and their director Nugent Monck, based at The Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich.<sup>244</sup> In 1929 Bell invited Monck to stage *Everyman* in front of the west doors of the cathedral, imitating the location used at Salzburg but in a much more confined space.<sup>245</sup> *Everyman* would be played in repertory with Monck's production of *Dr. Faustus*, staged in the chapter house as part of what would become the first Canterbury Festival. The use of various locations for performances throughout the festival led the reviewer for *The Times* to comment that 'One of the pleasant things of this festival is the variety of places in which the several performances were given'.<sup>246</sup> While the location of the 1929 *Everyman* excludes it from consideration in this thesis, its obvious connection to Bell's experiences in Salzburg cannot be neglected. It is impossible to say whether the Canterbury Festival would have included drama had Bell not visited Salzburg in the summer of 1928. However, the cancellation of the revival of Masefield's play, coupled with the attempt to replicate the success of Reinhardt's *Jedermann* as a cathedral play, may point to the debt owed by future festivals (as well as playwrights such as Dorothy L. Sayers and T.S. Eliot) to the

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<sup>242</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 36.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 and 89.

<sup>244</sup> Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 44.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> The Times, 'The Canterbury Festival', in *The Times* 45287 (21 Aug 1929): 10. From *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 4 December 2014.

Salzburg Festival's influence on Bell.

After a lapse in the festival for two years, drama was staged in the cathedral once again in 1932. Tennyson's *Becket* was staged in the chapter house, drawing inspiration not just on the story of the murdered Archbishop, but also the 1897 reading of the play by Sir Henry Irving in the same location. Bell left Canterbury in 1929 upon being raised to the Bishopric of Chichester, perhaps accounting for the lack of plays in the intervening years.<sup>247</sup> The former Dean's presence was still felt in the festival in the form of the foreword to the souvenir programme of 1932, in which he hoped all would 'gain fresh hope and inspiration in these new days in the cradle of Christianity in England'.<sup>248</sup> Margaret Babington, who in the coming years would become so identified with The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, the producers of the Canterbury Festival, that one can scarcely speak of one without the other, played Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>249</sup> The play was revived in its entirety the following year. In 1933 the first cathedral play outside of Canterbury took place at Exeter. Gordon Bottomely's *The Acts of St. Peter* was commissioned by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to celebrate the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the cathedral through retelling events from the life of its patron.<sup>250</sup> Laurence Binyon's *The Young King* continued the theme of 12<sup>th</sup> century religion and politics played out in the Canterbury chapter house in 1934.<sup>251</sup>

The following year would see the premiere of the most well known play written for an English cathedral: T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*. The festival had slowly saved money for the express purpose of commissioning a cathedral play, and Bell was convinced that the poet, who himself was new to playwriting, should be the first person

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<sup>247</sup> Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 70.

<sup>248</sup> George Kennedy Allen Bell, 'Forward', in *The Canterbury Festival of Music and Drama*, The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral (1932): 1. Souvenir Programme. CCA-Pamphlet 38/12.

<sup>249</sup> 'Photograph of Queen Eleanor by water tower', CCA-U167/75/19.

<sup>250</sup> E. Martin Browne with Henzie Brown, *Two in One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 76-7.

<sup>251</sup> The Times, 'Festival of Music and Drama', in *The Times* 46730 (17 April 1934): 12. From *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 December 2014.

to write specifically for the space.<sup>252</sup> The first reference to the play in the archives of Canterbury Cathedral is the simple notation 'Mr. T.S. Eliot was writing a Play for performance during the week'.<sup>253</sup> The play was directed by E. Martin Browne, the Director of Religious Drama for Chichester Diocese, the first post of its kind, created by Bell in 1930.<sup>254</sup> The production was a financial success, with a net income of £500 9s 5d.<sup>255</sup> According to Kenneth Pickering, the play owes its title to Henzie Browne, wife of the director, who jokingly suggested the name in imitation of the popular murder mystery novels of the period after Eliot had problems coming up with a suitable option.<sup>256</sup> The importance and impact of the play on British and Anglophone drama is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is important to note that the play's location indelibly shaped the well-known text, and this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

The remaining years before the closure of the festival as a consequence of the outbreak of World War Two continued the festival's tradition of new works. The following year (1936) Charles Williams's new play *Cranmer of Canterbury* was staged in the chapter house, receiving mixed reviews with regard to its dramaturgy and use of history.<sup>257</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Zeal of Thy House* premiered in 1937, dramatising the rebuilding of the cathedral nave in the twelfth century based around the idea of the artist as creator of objects as an offering to God. For 1938, Laurence Irving chose Christopher Hassall's *Christ's Comet*, a play that related a different story of the Magi from that as told in the bible.<sup>258</sup> The play had already been scheduled for performance in London, but the manager of the theatre agreed to postpone the production until the

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<sup>252</sup> E. Martin Browne, *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 34.

<sup>253</sup> 'Minute Book', CCA-U167/22, leaf 5.

<sup>254</sup> The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 'Festival of Music and Drama, June 15<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup>', The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 20 (April, 1935): 7.

<sup>255</sup> The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 'Statement of Accounts,' The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 21 (July, 1935): 20-1.

<sup>256</sup> Kenneth Pickering, personal interview, 3 May 2013.

<sup>257</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 197-218.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

Autumn of 1938 to allow the festival to produce it the previous June, perhaps showing the rising reputation of the festival as a base for new works.<sup>259</sup> Sayers's play for 1939, *The Devil to Pay*, is an adaptation of Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*. The production inspired the reviewer for *The Times* to proclaim that 'Once again the Canterbury Cathedral Festival has enriched the contemporary drama'.<sup>260</sup> 1940 marked the final year of the festival until after the war, with a revival of *The Zeal of Thy House*.

The productions at Canterbury in this period can be generalised as a base of professionals augmented by local amateurs, with the exception of the Maddermarket's work in 1929. The plays consistently claimed not just professional and well-known playwrights, but also directors, actors, and designers among their ranks. Programmes from various productions show that local companies handled the lighting, and the work of the costumers almost invariably referred to as being carried out by 'the ladies of Canterbury'. Such a combination of professionals and amateurs would suit the dual purpose of attracting audiences and providing a high standard (with the professionals), while also keeping the production rooted in the community and connected to the city (through the local amateurs). This practice would continue on after the war, as the spread of cathedral performance coincided with the growth of community-based theatre across England.

Canterbury suffered greatly during the war, with German bombing raids hitting the city, including the cathedral, throughout the period. Sayers expressed her relief to Babington that 'our Chapter House had not been demolished [...] that it was only a little cracked'.<sup>261</sup> While Babington, in letters to friends, mentioned the destruction and disruption to life these raids brought on the city (she was particularly distressed about

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<sup>259</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 5 February 1938, CCA-U167/23, leaf 6.

<sup>260</sup> The Times, 'The Canterbury Festival', in *The Times* 48329 (12 June 1939): 10. *The Times Digital Archive*, from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 December 2014.

<sup>261</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, letter to Margaret Babington, dated 27 April 1943, in 'Correspondence', CCA-U167/58.

the loss of her wireless).<sup>262</sup> A bomb struck the cathedral's library on 1 June 1942, destroying the building as well as the costumes, properties, and scenery amassed by the Friends and stored beneath it since 1928.<sup>263</sup> The rooms beneath the library, previously used as dressing rooms by the Friends, were also destroyed; the chapter house survived with no serious structural damage despite sharing a wall with the library.<sup>264</sup> All that remained was 'the Devil's tail [that] hung for many weeks from a broken window'.<sup>265</sup>

In the letter to Babington dated 27 April 1943, Sayers wrote that 'I do hope that as soon as the war is over we shall be able to do plays there [the chapter house] again, and I will try and think of a suitable subject for me – something combining a paen [sic] of victory, with an appeal for funds, suggest itself!'<sup>266</sup> This last letter demonstrates that as early as 1943 discussions of a post-war play were being had, even if only through the post. In a letter dated 6 October 1945 Babington approached Sayers about a possible festival the following summer in which she notes that the bomb damage to the King's School (which sits within the cathedral precincts) necessitated the school's use of the chapter house as a replacement to their damaged hall.<sup>267</sup> The letter implies that the festival, or at least its dramatic portion, would be dependant on the restoration of the King's School hall in order to free the rehearsal and performance space. One play did take place during the days of the war: E. Martin Browne directed *I Will Arise* within the rubble-strewn ruins of Coventry Cathedral.<sup>268</sup> The 1946 festival did not take place, and theatre did not return to Canterbury Cathedral until 1947. The post-war period

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<sup>262</sup> Margaret Babington, letter to Dorothy L. Sayers, dated 13 May 1943, in 'Correspondence', CCA-U167/58; Margaret Babington, Letter to Dorothy L. Sayers, dated 6 October 1945, in 'Correspondence', CCA-U167/58.

<sup>263</sup> Jonathan Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2013), 167.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, *Festival of Music and Drama* (1947): 3. Souvenir programme. CCA-Pamphlet 38/17.

<sup>266</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, Letter to Margaret Babington, dated 27 April 1943, in 'Correspondence', CCA-U167/58.

<sup>267</sup> Margaret Babington, Letter to Dorothy L. Sayers, dated 6 October 1945, in 'Correspondence', CCA-U167/58.

<sup>268</sup> Browne, *Two in One*, 231.

witnessed a growth in cathedral performance across England, but this was matched at Canterbury with a simultaneous, though slow, decline in productions.

In 1945 Sayers apologised to Babington for being unable to commit to writing a play for the festival at Canterbury, saying that she was working on *The Just Vengeance* for Lichfield Cathedral and that this was proving to be more arduous than initially anticipated, as her 'imagination seems to have gone on strike and I can only dig up ideas with appalling difficulty'.<sup>269</sup> Along with the Lichfield play, Sayers was engaged in what would become the continuing passion of her life, a verse translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Interestingly, Sayers unequivocally stated that her desire to begin this, arguably her most famous and lasting work with the exclusion of her Lord Peter Wimsey novels, was based on the fact that 'being a translation [the *Divine Comedy*] does not call for the same kind of creative effort as an original work'.<sup>270</sup> *The Just Vengeance*, performed in the west end of Lichfield's nave in 1946, was the first ever to be performed at Lichfield Cathedral.

After the war in Europe ended in 1945, cathedral performance spread throughout England. Lichfield's production in 1946 mirrored Canterbury's earlier emphasis on local history. The play takes place at the moment of an airman's death, in which he is transported to Lichfield, his native city, and learns the importance and meaning of sacrifice via a pageant connecting the histories of Christianity and the city. The play is awkward at times and is so focused on the city that one is not surprised that it has not been produced since. Perhaps this shows the difficulty Sayers spoke of in her letter to Babington and reflects the creative strain that she was under at the time she was writing. However, signs of Dante can also be identified in her play. The protagonist (The Airman) is ushered through successive episodes of biblical history and past events,

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<sup>269</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, letter to Margaret Babington, dated 8 October 1945, in 'Correspondence', CCA-U167/58.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

getting closer and closer to the Persona Dei at the play's climax. This creates an episodic, guided journey much like Dante's, a convention that is furthered by the chorus of Lichfield's dead citizenry who comment on the action.

The following year Canterbury revived its festival, presenting Laurie Lee's first stage play, *Peasant's Priest*, focusing on John Ball's role in the 1381 rebellion. Lee wrote the play at a time when he was recovering from an illness; a factor that one can see affected the script.<sup>271</sup> Lee himself was not happy with the final outcome, saying:

I chose the subject, and it was written under stress and with lack of conviction. It was sadly derivative of verse plays of that period [...] Quite rightly, it was not well-received. I do not include it in my lists of 'author's works'; I would not allow it to be revived: and I do my best to forget it. I hope you will oblige me by trying to forget it too.<sup>272</sup>

The production suffered from a loss of local actors experienced with the chapter house's setting, a situation that prompted Laurence Irving to address the impact it had on the production in a talk in the chapter house.<sup>273</sup>

The chapter house was used again in 1948 for Christopher Fry's new play *Thor, with Angels*, which continued his work in religious history by telling the story of a sixth century, pagan, Jutish village on the site of what would become Canterbury. The play is the shortest work commissioned by Canterbury, and lacks the conviction of the others. The review for *The Times* appears to struggle to say positive things about it, in the end suggesting that the drama could serve as a satirical comedy with only a slight adjustment to the plot.<sup>274</sup>

Although the immediate post-war period saw only a single cathedral production outside of Canterbury, 1951 marked the beginning of a spread of cathedrals used as

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<sup>271</sup> The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 'Designing and Painting Scenery for the Theatre,' in *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 42 (October, 1947): 14.

<sup>272</sup> Laurie Lee, Letter to Kenneth Pickering, dated 16 February 1976. As quoted in Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 260.

<sup>273</sup> Laurence Irving, 'The Address by Mr. Irving at the Gathering in the Chapter House, 28<sup>th</sup> June 1947', in *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 42 (October, 1947): 18.

<sup>274</sup> The Times, 'Canterbury Festival', in *The Times* 51103 (21 June 1948): 7. *The Time Digital Archive*, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 December 2014.

performance spaces, thanks to the Festival of Britain. The Festival was a turning point for cathedral performance as well as for the revival of medieval English drama, which, as will be shown, would become closely related. As Claire Cochrane describes it in *Twentieth Century British Theatre* (2011), the festival 'was a reminder of past greatness and a promise for an equally dynamic future [...] that would take place across Britain in numerous events and local festival'.<sup>275</sup> In that year the ruined nave of Coventry Cathedral was the site of two medieval plays, while Chester Cathedral's refectory hosted the first of what would become a decades-long tradition of that city's medieval cycle drama, and Canterbury offered Robert Gitting's new play *The Makers of Violence*.<sup>276</sup>

The close connection between medieval religious drama and the ecclesiastical settings with which they are often, though wrongly, associated explains why the two show similar growth in the period following the Festival of Britain. Both aspects are rooted in the past of the country, and the perceived shared history of the citizenry. Cochrane's explanation of the 1951 festival as a pan-British cultural event to explore the past in order to highlight a bright future makes the revival of medieval drama, and ecclesiastical performance settings, apt for such an occasion. As the century advanced, the impact of religious, often medieval, drama on cathedral performance became evident, highlighting the spiritual relationship between play and place that, though present at Canterbury from 1928, was often overshadowed by the historical connections presented in the plays.

Cathedrals would become a signifier of historical connections in the following decades, representing the kind of monumental space discussed by Lefebvre.<sup>277</sup> They

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<sup>275</sup> Claire Cochrane, *Twentieth Century British Theatre: Industry, Art and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 144-5.

<sup>276</sup> John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in *ROMRD* 13-14 (1970-1): 263; David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', in *METH* 15 (1993): 111-23; The Times, 'Canterbury and the 1951 Festival', in *The Times* 51659 (6 April 1950): 2. *The Times Digital Archive*, from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 4 December 2014.

<sup>277</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

became the physical rallying point, symbol, and even instigator of social identity that would be a major factor in the latter half of the twentieth century. The importance demonstrated by the cathedral space would mix with the civic drama of medieval England to create textual-spatial partnerships in many cities, eventually spilling over and inspiring other places without surviving historical traditions of religious drama to create, or appropriate, their own.

Coventry and Chester were the first cities to take advantage of their medieval dramas by placing them within the confines of their respective cathedrals. Chester's refectory is the largest covered space within the cathedral but outside of the church proper, making it an ideal location for performance of *The Chester Mystery Plays* while keeping to a minimum all interruptions to the religious life of the cathedral. In contrast, Coventry offered a very different kind of space. On the night of 14 November 1940, over 400 German aircraft firebombed the city, setting fire to the medieval cathedral and leaving only its shell and western tower standing.<sup>278</sup> The ruins, cleared in 1947, created a large space in which the 1951 productions of *The Shearman's and Taylors' Play* and *The Weavers' Play* could be staged.<sup>279</sup> In choosing these sites, the organisers of the Chester and Coventry plays consciously connected the cathedrals to their cities' dramatic heritage, using each to capitalise on the other and thereby lend more meaning to the productions. By focusing on the surviving medieval heritage, Coventry reiterated that they had survived and would continue to survive, just as their medieval plays. In this they differ from the plays at Canterbury that, though celebrating the history of the city, had no surviving literary tradition from which to draw directly for inspiration. That same year Canterbury continued its custom of sponsoring new writing with *The Makers of Violence*, once again staged in the chapter house.

*The Chester Mystery Plays* would be revived in 1952, restaging the text in the

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<sup>278</sup> Coventry Cathedral, *Coventry Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2012) 5.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

refectory once again.<sup>280</sup> A slightly altered version was presented in 1959 in the same location; this time divided over two, rather than three nights, as had been the custom in the previous years.<sup>281</sup> After this point Chester would produce its plays outside of the cathedral, though still situated near or on the green.<sup>282</sup> David Mills commented that for the 1992 production 'Almost symbolically, we sat with our backs to the cathedral, which had provided a referential backdrop for previous productions'.<sup>283</sup> Mills seems to be pointing to the proverbial 'elephant in the room', questioning why the cathedral was disregarded to such an extent. This tradition was broken in 2013\*, when the plays were brought back into the cathedral for the first time in fifty-four years, being performed in the crossing instead of the refectory. Audience members gave mixed reactions to this choice, some could be overheard saying that the threat of rain was part of the thrill of the previous productions.

The 1960s showed the largest increase in cathedral performance, the previous decade perhaps having shown the attraction and usefulness of the space. The first year of the decade opened with Canterbury breaking its tradition of new, modern works by staging Chester's *The Deluge*, and *Everyman* back to back in the chapter house.<sup>284</sup> It is at this point that Canterbury begins to reflect the contemporary fashion for plays from England's past. Interestingly, the same year The King's School at Ely staged Sayers' *The Zeal of Thy House* in the south transept of Ely Cathedral, marking the first time a Canterbury play would be produced in a cathedral other than the one for which it was written.<sup>285</sup> The medieval drama at Canterbury demonstrates the spread of that genre at

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<sup>280</sup> Elliott, 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', 261.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> See Ibid; Nan Justice, 'John "The Baptist"', in *ROMRD* 20 (1977): 98; David Mills, 'The Chester Mysteries: Cathedral Green, Chester', in *METH* 14 (1992): 120-3; David Mills, 'The Chester Cycle of Mystery Plays at Chester', in *METH* 9, no. 1 (1987): 69-76; David Mills, 'Chester Mystery Plays: Cathedral Green, Chester, 30 June-19 July 2003, Directed by Robin Goddard', in *METH* 24 (2002): 141-4.

<sup>283</sup> Mills, 'The Chester Mystery Plays: Cathedral Green, Chester', 120.

<sup>284</sup> Programme, CCA-Pamphlet 37/3.

<sup>285</sup> The Times, 'The Arts', in *The Times*, issue 54952 (12 Dec 1960): 6. *The Times Digital Archive*, from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 Dec 2014.

the time, but the performance at Ely also shows a desire to produce plays that tell a site-specific story in other spaces. Canterbury would revert to the older tradition in the remaining two plays it produced in the 60s: *A Durable Fire* (1962) and a revival of *Murder in the Cathedral* (1964).<sup>286</sup>

In 1962 *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*, based on the N-Town cycle, were performed in the ruins at Coventry to celebrate the consecration of the new cathedral.<sup>287</sup> The medieval cycle plays contained in the manuscript titled British Library Cotton Vespasian D. viii are known collectively, and variously, as either *The N-Town Plays*, or the *Ludus coventriae* (I will be using the former name as it does not try to specifically locate them).<sup>288</sup> The origin of the plays is unknown, making it the largest collection of medieval English cycle plays that cannot be definitively assigned to one place. Sixteenth century misattribution of the plays to Coventry was overshadowed in the nineteenth century, when their provenance was widely believed to be linked to Lincoln; an opinion that lasted through the 1960s.<sup>289</sup> Subsequent study of linguistic evidence has placed them in south-central Norfolk, though this has not prevented Lincoln from claiming them as their own, at least spiritually if not historically.<sup>290</sup> Lincoln could legitimately appropriate *The N-Town Plays* and their status for their own; since no place could categorically claim them, they belonged to everyone. It is for this reason that of the ten cathedral productions in the 1960s, half were billed as *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*, based on the N-Town text.

After 1962 Coventry produced the plays three more times before the decade was over (1964, 1967, and 1969). Derby Playhouse staged *The Wakefield Cycle* in their own

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<sup>286</sup> Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, *The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral Festival 1962*, souvenir programme (1962). CCA-Pamphlet 38/29; Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, *Festival Programme 1964*, souvenir programme (1964). CCA-Pamphlet. 38/27.

<sup>287</sup> Elliott, 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', 261.

<sup>288</sup> Alan J. Fletcher, 'The N-Town Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, eds. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 183-210.

<sup>289</sup> Fletcher, 'The N-Town Plays', 185; Keith Ramsey, *Lincoln Mystery Plays, 1978-2000: A Personal Odyssey* (Lincoln: Nerone Books, 2008), 6.

<sup>290</sup> Fletcher, 'The N-Town Plays', 185.

space in 1968; however, the production moved for a single performance on Good Friday into the cathedral.<sup>291</sup> Significantly for British theatre as a whole, and medieval drama in particular, the abolition of theatrical censorship in 1968 removed the fear of legal retribution, allowing greater freedom in what to produce, but also how it may be done; producers no longer had to fear that their artistic expressions of God and Christ could land them in court.<sup>292</sup> And perhaps most significantly, 1969 was the year that a theatrical production re-entered Lincoln Cathedral after a lapse of 420 years, in the form of *The Lincoln Cycle of Mystery Plays*.<sup>293</sup> The prevalence of medieval drama that originated in the 1960s would continue in the following decade, expanding beyond biblical cycle drama.

Canterbury opened the 1970s with two plays in the first year of the decade.<sup>294</sup> In June of 1970 E. Martin Browne directed the *Visitatio sepulchri* and *The Journey to Emmaus* as a single play set in the cathedral's quire. This represents the first instance of playing in the quire and the first since 1928 to take place outside of the chapter house.<sup>295</sup> The main event of the year, however, was the revival of *Murder in the Cathedral* to mark the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the murder of Thomas Becket.<sup>296</sup> In order to allow for the large audience expected, it was staged in the crossing of the church rather than the chapter house.<sup>297</sup> The audience total was expected to be 14,000 over the run of the show, with 685 seats per performance.<sup>298</sup> The play had auditory problems, and Henzie Browne, the leader of the Chorus, was at that time experiencing memory loss and

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<sup>291</sup> Elliott, 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', 265.

<sup>292</sup> Olga Horner, 'The Law That Never Was: A Review of Theatrical Censorship in Britain', in *METH* 23 (2001): 34-96.

<sup>293</sup> Lincoln Theatre Royal, *The Lincoln Cycle of Mystery Plays* (1969). Souvenir Programme. From Lincoln Mystery Plays, 'archives - 1969), from <http://www.lincolnmysteryplays.com>, accessed 4 November 2014.

<sup>294</sup> Canterbury Cathedral, *Canterbury 1970: Complete Programme of Events, June to October*, souvenir programme (1970): 7. CCA-Pamphlet 37/10.

<sup>295</sup> *Everyman* (1929) is not included here because, as already mentioned, it was played outside of the cathedral and is therefore beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>296</sup> Gerald Peacocke, 'The Becket Commemoration 1970', in *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 66 (1971): 4-7.  
<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>298</sup> The Kent Messenger, 'Cathedral Murder is a Four Night Sell-out', in *Kent Messenger* (28 August 1970). CCA-U167/35.

regularly forgot her lines; but the overall effect was well received by reviewers.<sup>299</sup>

In 1973 the crypt was used for the first time as a performance space, not just at Canterbury but also in any English cathedral, when a travelling company presented Christopher Fry's *A Sleep of Prisoners*.<sup>300</sup> The same year four companies from around Ely presented different portions of *The Wakefield Cycle* in Ely Cathedral, utilising the nave aisles as well as the stage built against the west door.<sup>301</sup> In 1975 the Canterbury-based Marlowe Theatre Company briefly toured *The Lincoln Cycle* to Canterbury's chapter house while their space was undergoing refurbishment.<sup>302</sup>

In December of 1976, Keith Ramsey directed Bishop Grosseteste College's English language production of *The Oberufer Christmas Plays* in the crossing of Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>303</sup> The medieval Austrian text was the first of non-Anglophone or Latin origin to be performed in an English cathedral. Ramsey would go on to direct the second production of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* in 1978 at the request of Canon Victor de Waal, Chancellor of the cathedral.<sup>304</sup> He would direct subsequent productions in the cathedral in 1981, 1985, and 1993.<sup>305</sup>

In the same year that Ramsey first directed *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*, a touring production of the medieval play *The Castle of Perseverance* played in St. Alban's and

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<sup>299</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 305-6.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 306.

<sup>301</sup> Stanley J. Kahrl, 'Medieval Drama in England, 1973: Chester and Ely', in *ROMRD* 15-16 (1972-3): 117-23.

<sup>302</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 306. A performance at Rochester is not considered in this thesis, as the chapter house is ruins outside of the cathedral.

<sup>303</sup> Ramsey, *Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 1-2.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 2. In *Medieval Plays at Lincoln* (1994), John Wesley Harris mentions a production of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* taking place, perhaps for the first time, in 1972. No evidence corroborates this, and the online archive of The Lincoln Mystery Plays lists no production between 1969 and 1978. For this reason the possible 1972 production will not be considered. See John Wesley Harris, *Medieval Plays at Lincoln* (Lincoln: The Honeywood Press, 1994), 7 and The Lincoln Mystery Plays, 'Archives', from <http://www.lincolnmysteries.co.uk>, accessed 12 February 2016.

<sup>305</sup> For the 1981 production see Ramsey, *Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 6-9 and Peter Happé, 'The "Lincoln" Cycle of Mystery Plays', in *ROMRD* 24 (1981): 198-9; for the 1985 production see Alan J. Fletcher, 'Lincoln Mystery Plays', in *ROMRD* 28 (1985): 207-9; for the 1993 production see Michael O'Connell, 'Extracts from the Lincoln Mystery Plays', in *ROMRD* 34 (1995): 183-6. The 1981 production was staged outside of the cathedral against the west front, and therefore lies outside the parameters of this thesis.

Southwark Cathedrals.<sup>306</sup> The 1970s closed with *The Coventry Mystery Plays* (1979) being performed in the ruined nave of Coventry Cathedral, produced by the local Belgrade Theatre Company and directed by Ed Thomas, who created a free-flowing space shared by both actors and audience.<sup>307</sup> This form of shared *theatre space* would become more prevalent in the following years.

In the 1980s an increase in the performance of medieval texts other than the cycle plays in cathedrals can be traced, as well as the use of processional productions that allowed the action of the play to be presented in various parts of the cathedral rather than being fixed to one spot. The Drama Department of King Alfred's College, Winchester began to see the value of performing these works in the medieval space of Winchester Cathedral early in this period. The first documented production since the fifteenth century of *Wisdom* was played in front of the quire screen in 1981, and the same space was reused for 1983's *The Killing of the Children*.<sup>308</sup> Between these productions, in 1982, the department produced *The Conversion of St. Paul* in a processional form using the north and south transepts, the nave, and the nave chantry of Bishop Edington.<sup>309</sup> Two more mystery plays were produced, in the cloisters of Lincoln in 1985 and then at Canterbury the following year.<sup>310</sup>

It was in this decade that theatre began to return to Canterbury. A touring company based in the city calling itself Group 81 began to tour east Kent, performing in religious buildings and attempting a form of revival of the spirit of the lost Canterbury Festival.<sup>311</sup> Victor de Waal, who had encouraged Keith Ramsey to stage *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* in 1978, was by this point the Dean of Canterbury, and had begun a project

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<sup>306</sup> Peter Happé, 'The Castle of Perseverance', in *ROMRD* 21 (1978): 100-2.

<sup>307</sup> Peter Happé, 'The Coventry Mystery Plays', in *ROMRD* 22 (1979): 139-41.

<sup>308</sup> Peter Happé, 'Wisdom', in *ROMRD* 24 (1981): 196-7; Peter Happé, 'The Killing of the Children', in *ROMRD* 26 (1983): 119-20.

<sup>309</sup> Peter Happé, 'The Conversion of St. Paul', in *ROMRD* 25 (1982): 145-6.

<sup>310</sup> Alan J. Fletcher, 'Lincoln Mystery Plays', 207-9; Kenneth Pickering, Kevin Wood and Philip Dart, *The Mysteries at Canterbury Cathedral* (Worthing: Churchman Publishing, 1986), introduction.

<sup>311</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 306.

to bring back Cathedral-produced drama in Canterbury with the help of like-minded individuals.<sup>312</sup> Inspired by the potential pointed to by the work of Dean de Waal, as well as the desire to create a play cycle for Canterbury, Kenneth Pickering approached Channel Theatre Company about producing such a play in 1986; the result was *The Canterbury Mystery Plays*, adapted from various cycle plays from all over England.<sup>313</sup> Though perhaps unaware of *The Conversion of St. Paul* at Winchester, *The Canterbury Mystery Plays* imitated its processional style, taking the audience through the nave, crypt, water garden, and chapter house.<sup>314</sup>

Pickering's *The Mysteries* was restaged in 1990 in the nave and grounds of Birmingham Cathedral in the second incarnation of what would become many versions of his script in the 1990s.<sup>315</sup> The plays were brought back to Canterbury in 1992, reflecting the same processional layout as the 1986 production.<sup>316</sup> Pickering's *The Mysteries* was performed in Birmingham again in 1994, before transferring to Tewkesbury Abbey for two performances.<sup>317</sup> This production would be the last to use the remaining costumes, scenery, and general production design from the 1986 premiere, and also included added material not present in the earlier versions.<sup>318</sup>

In 1993 Keith Ramsey directed *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* in the cloisters of Lincoln; focusing on a stripped-back production using existing costume and scene stock, along with a script reduced to two hours, in order to compensate for a lack of funds.<sup>319</sup> These 'Mini Mysteries' were the first cathedral production since the General Synod of

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 307-8.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., 308-9.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 316. From this point on this play will be referred to as *The Mysteries*. The reason for this is that Pickering and his fellow playwrights adapted the text, adding and removing parts for different productions and changing the name to reflect regional identities (i.e. *The Midlands Mysteries* at Birmingham in 1997).

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 319.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 319-20.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 319-20. Pickering mentions a production of his play *The Parting of Friends* in Birmingham Cathedral around 1994 (Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 322), though as no further mention is made of the play, and the fact itself is only hinted at, it is not included in this discussion.

<sup>319</sup> Ramsey, *Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 52-3.

the Church of England ratified the ordination of women in November of the previous year.<sup>320</sup> Despite this fact, the production does not appear to have made a political statement on either side of the debate. It would take until 2008 for Lincoln to cast the role of God as a woman (Ruth Andrews), describing her role in the programme as 'a miller playing God' rather than as God him/herself.<sup>321</sup> York would present the first of its plays with a female God in 1996, when Ruth Ford became the first recorded woman to ever play the role in a medieval English play.<sup>322</sup>

The year 1995 was yet another turning for the direction of cathedral theatre. In that year the Kent based Channel Theatre Company produced *Romeo and Juliet* at Canterbury, using the same peripatetic style and locations as *The Mysteries* (1986, 1992).<sup>323</sup> This was the first full-length Shakespearean play in any English cathedral, a convention that would increase after the turn of the millennium.<sup>324</sup> Pickering's *The Mysteries* was produced for a final time at Birmingham in 1997, drawing on the Victorian and Edwardian golden age of the city and attempting to recreate guilds from those periods in imitation of the medieval system.<sup>325</sup> The 1998 production of *Murder in the Cathedral* at Canterbury was the final play to be produced in an English cathedral in the second millennium. The play, produced seventy years after cathedral theatre re-emerged in Canterbury, was performed in the crypt as part of the Lambeth Conference, with a special performance for the Anglican Bishops present.<sup>326</sup>

The third millennium began with perhaps the largest scale cathedral production

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<sup>320</sup> The Church of England, 'The Women Priest Debate', from <http://www.churchofengland.org>, accessed 15 February 2016.

<sup>321</sup> The Lincoln Mystery Plays, 'Lincoln Mysteries 2008', from <http://www.lincolnmysteries.co.uk>, accessed 15 February 2016.

<sup>322</sup> The York Mystery Plays, 'The People', from <http://www.yorkmysteryplays.org>, access 15 February 2016.

<sup>323</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 321.

<sup>324</sup> Many other Shakespearean plays have been produced in cathedrals throughout England, but only in part, presenting only scenes rather than whole plot lines. These plays have been excluded from the current research, as has been explained in the Introduction.

<sup>325</sup> Victor I. Scherb, 'The Midlands' Mysteries', in *ROMRD* 37 (1998): 113-5.

<sup>326</sup> Bob Libby, 'Be Quick to Catch a Murderer', in *The Lambeth Daily* 4 (22 July 1998): 3.

ever to be undertaken.<sup>327</sup> *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000) was the first time the York plays are recorded to have ever occurred within the walls of York Minster. The production focused on amateur actors, but utilised a professional production crew, including director Gregory Doran, a then Associate Director of the Royal Shakespeare Company.<sup>328</sup> In the same year Derby Cathedral asked The Derby Shakespeare Theatre Company to produce a series of mystery plays for Easter weekend.<sup>329</sup> The *Death of Christ* from the York cycle was performed in the nave of Derby Cathedral as the climax of the event, with Jesus's crucifixion being realised as he was lashed to the wrought iron rood screen.<sup>330</sup>

Leicester Cathedral commemorated the life of King Richard III by commissioning Leicester University's production of Shakespeare's play of the king in the cathedral in 2004, staged as a game of chess.<sup>331</sup> In the same year Chichester Cathedral was used to stage the second half of Chichester Festival Theatre's production of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*.<sup>332</sup> *The Mysteries* was brought back to Coventry Cathedral in 2006, using the open space of the ruined nave for an attempted promenade performance, though reviewer Pamela King noted that the configuration and prevalence of seats meant she did not have to move throughout the event.<sup>333</sup> Two years later Canterbury Cathedral nave was used again, but this time for a fixed (rather than

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<sup>327</sup> The majority of the administrative records, as well as original designs and other works related to the production are held at the York Minster Archive, York. These have been sealed for 100 years. Access is only granted through special permission requested in writing and submitted to the Dean and Chapter of York. Despite numerous attempts to access these records I have been unsuccessful in gaining permission. However, given the vast scale of the production in relation to others, it can be assumed that the relative production costs for the play were considerable and would have been greater than others.

<sup>328</sup> Gusick, 'A Review of The York Millennium Mystery Plays', 114.

<sup>329</sup> Matthew Steggle, '*The Derby Medieval Mysteries*', in *ROMRD* 40 (2001): 202-3.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>331</sup> Leicester University Theatre, '2003/04 Production,' from <http://www.lutheatre3.blogspot.co.uk>, accessed 19 September 2014.

<sup>332</sup> 'Rob Conkie, 'Doctor Faustus', in *ROMRD* 44 (2005): 128-31.

<sup>333</sup> Alfred Hickling, 'The Mysteries', from the *Guardian* (26 July 2006). From <http://www.theguardian.com>, accessed 14 September 2015.

promenade) performance of *Dallas Sweetman*.<sup>334</sup> The play was the first commissioned since 1962's *A Durable Fire*, and marks an attempt to revive the tradition that as of yet has gone no further.

Exeter Cathedral saw the creation of their own amateur acting company called the Cathedral Players with the staging of *Simeon's Quest* (2008), a play by local writer David McWatters, in the nave.<sup>335</sup> The same playwright's *Cross Purposes: A Passion Story* was produced the following year around Easter, also set in the nave.<sup>336</sup> In 2012 Exeter staged the most recent production of *Murder in the Cathedral*, setting it in their quire.<sup>337</sup> A year later they staged their last play, *Ring Round the Moon* (2013).<sup>338</sup>

The last five years included in this thesis show an increase in both religious and early modern drama performed in cathedrals. Playbox Theatre's 2011 double bill of *The Mysteries\** and *The Passion\** was staged against the stone pulpitum of Gloucester Cathedral, using the pulpit and the full length of the aisle running down the nave.<sup>339</sup> The cloisters were used again at Lincoln in 2012 to present the second half ('The Passion') of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays\**; the first half being performed in the ruins of the nearby Bishop's Palace. Worcester Repertory Company began its 'Shakespeare at the Cathedral' tradition in 2012, staging *Macbeth* in the lady chapel of Worcester.<sup>340</sup> In the summer of 2013 *The Chester Mystery Plays\** entered Chester Cathedral for the first time, coming in from the rain that usually plagued the plays. Like Playbox's production, the plays were usually split over two nights, but instead were staged in a single performance each

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<sup>334</sup> Lyn Gardner, 'Dallas Sweetman', from <http://www.theguardian.com> (27 September 2008), accessed 19 May 2016.

<sup>335</sup> BBC Devon, 'Simeon's Quest', from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/devon> (7 January 2008), accessed 22 June 2016.

<sup>336</sup> This is Exeter, 'Original tale of death and resurrection', from <http://www.exeterexpressandecho.co.uk>, accessed 22 June 2009.

<sup>337</sup> Exeter Express and Echo, 'Get ready for a murder in the cathedral', from <http://www.exeterexpressandecho.co.uk>, accessed 22 June 2016.

<sup>338</sup> Cathedral Players, 'Ring Round The Moon', from <http://www.amdram.co.uk>, accessed 22 June 2016.

<sup>339</sup> The company usually presented the plays separately, but for the single performance at Gloucester Cathedral they were shown together with an interval in between. For this reason they are considered to be one production for the purposes of this thesis.

<sup>340</sup> Worcester Repertory Company, 'Macbeth at Worcester Cathedral', from <http://www.facebook.com/WorcesterRep>, accessed 3 February 2015.

evening. The same production moved to Liverpool Cathedral\* that autumn in a slightly pared-down version that was also played in the nave. Worcester Repertory Company made its second production at Worcester in 2013 with *The Merchant of Venice* played, once again, in the lady chapel.<sup>341</sup>

In 2013 Liverpool Cathedral began what has become an annual part of the Holy Week celebrations at their church with the creation of three plays collectively known as *The Liverpool Passion Plays* and presented consecutively over as many nights beginning on the Monday before Easter.<sup>342</sup> The play's attendance significantly exceeded the expectation of between thirty and forty, forcing the third evening's play to move from the lady chapel to the interior of the church to accommodate the hundreds of attendees.<sup>343</sup>

To commemorate the 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Canterbury playwright Christopher Marlowe, the Marlowe Theatre teamed up with Fourth Monkey Theatre Company to produce three of his works in 2014. One production, *The Massacre at Paris\**, was staged in the eastern crypt of the cathedral, drawing on the crypt's connection to the Huguenot and Walloon refugees who fled to the city in the sixteenth century, escaping the incidents portrayed in the play. Another production of Shakespeare, this time *Othello\**, was staged in Liverpool Cathedral the same year and using the lady chapel for the small production.

The Easter season of 2014 was a period of numerous cathedral productions. Claire Henderson Davies' *Passion: A Contemporary Journey to the Cross* premiered in Ely Cathedral, setting the groundwork for a cathedral tour the following spring.<sup>344</sup> The Overcrofters, Liverpool Cathedral's youth organisation, restaged their modern passion

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<sup>341</sup> Freya Leng, 'The Merchant of Venice/Worcester Cathedral', in the *Worcester News* 16 October 2013, from <http://www.worcesternews.co.uk>, accessed 18 February 2016.

<sup>342</sup> Nick Basson, personal interview, 30 January 2014.

<sup>343</sup> Catherine Jones, 'The Evening Read: Meet the Creators of Liverpool Cathedral's Easter Celebration', in the *Liverpool Echo*, 10 April 2014. From <http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk>, accessed 24 April 2014.

<sup>344</sup> 'In Brief', from <http://www.passiontour.org>, accessed 1 April 2015.

plays written and premiered the previous year (*The Liverpool Passion Plays\**), adding a fourth play on Easter Saturday.<sup>345</sup> The plays were peripatetic in nature, with each evening's play taking the audience to different parts of the cathedral that had been specifically picked for their appropriateness to the story being told. This made for a more dynamic production and allowed for the large audience that had required a last minute change in location the previous year. At the same time The Old Joint Stock Theatre Company and Birmingham Cathedral worked on *A Passion for Birmingham*, a modern retelling of the passion of Jesus transposed to the contemporary city and through the lens of the Occupy movement.

The University of Leicester revived their 2004 production of *Richard III* in 2014 to commemorate the discovery and re-interment of the king's bones in Leicester Cathedral.<sup>346</sup> Shakespeare at the Cathedral was expanded in 2014, when Worcester Repertory Company performed *Julius Caesar* not only at Worcester\*, but at Hereford\* Cathedral. Birmingham Cathedral and The Old Joint Stock Theatre revived *A Passion for Birmingham* in 2015 for performances over the Easter period.<sup>347</sup> Liverpool expanded the series yet again, adding a play portraying the 'The Miracles of Jesus' and 'The Ascension' for performance in Whitsun-tide.<sup>348</sup> Worcester Repertory Company staged *Romeo and Juliet* in the presbytery of Worcester Cathedral\*, but did not tour to Hereford as it had the year before. Salisbury Cathedral was used for a nave staging of *King John* in 2015 as well.<sup>349</sup> The Handlebards, a company focused on touring productions of Shakespeare's plays that travels exclusively on bicycles, performed four plays in the chapter house of Exeter in 2015: *The Comedy of Errors*, *Macbeth*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and

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<sup>345</sup> *The Liverpool Passion Plays* are a series of one-time performances, presenting a different play on consecutive nights. For this reason they are considered to be separate plays, and not one play.

<sup>346</sup> Leicester University Theatre, 'Richard III: The Revival – "Then he was urged to tell my tale again"', from <http://www.lutheatre3.blogspot.co.uk>, accessed 19 September 2014.

<sup>347</sup> UK Theatre Web, 'A Passion for Birmingham, T0662821979', from <http://www.uktw.co.uk>, accessed 28 February 2016.

<sup>348</sup> Passion Trust, 'Liverpool,' from <http://www.passion-plays.co.uk>, accessed 18 February 2016.

<sup>349</sup> Matthew Stadlen, 'Salisbury International Arts Festival 2015Diary: Day 4', in the *Telegraph*, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>, accessed 16 May 2016.

## AMATEUR/COMMUNITY AND PROFESSIONAL PRODUCTIONS<sup>351</sup>

The involvement of different producing and hosting entities in the production of cathedral plays varies considerably from instance to instance. The catalogue of performance since 1928 presented in Part Two reflects the large variety of amateur and professional conditions in which the plays were produced, exhibiting a broad range of theatre from amateur/community to professional. Some plays are entirely community-based events, such as the work of the Overcrofters at Liverpool Cathedral who, though led by a paid member of the cathedral staff, are exclusively amateur in the makeup of both cast and production team. Groups such as the Worcester Repertory Company, who employ wholly professional actors and crew, represent the opposite end of the spectrum. However, the more common situation tends to be a mix of both amateur and professional theatre makers. This is the case for every play of the Canterbury Festival, as well as such large productions as *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000) and nearly every other cathedral production of medieval cycle drama in the twentieth century.

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<sup>350</sup> The Handlebards, "For With Long Travel I Am Stiff and Weary", from <http://www.handlebards.com>, accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards, "By the pricking of my thumbs, something wicked this way comes", from <http://www.handlebards.com>, accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards, "I'll put a girdle around the world in forty minutes", from <http://www.handlebards.com>, accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards, "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't", from <http://www.handlebards.com>, accessed 22 June 2016.

<sup>351</sup> 'Amateur' and 'community' theatre will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis, as the companies taking part in cathedral performance often blur the distinction between the two. Determining the level of professionalism or amateurism of each production is arbitrary due to the mixed nature of the casting and the dual roles of professional and community outreach that are played by many theatres. For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'professional' will refer only to those productions that are believed to have been produced by companies using a full contingent of professional actors and crews. However, as this stipulation is infrequently, if ever, mentioned in archival or published material the decision to use the label is made only after researching a company's working practices. As many professional theatres include a community outreach programme, and most evidence relating to past productions rarely differentiates the company from such schemes, determining the professional or amateur nature of cathedral performance can be nearly impossible in some cases. For this reason, only productions produced solely by companies that do not appear to have an aspect of community involvement, and that refer to themselves as professional, will be labelled such in this thesis.

The presence of amateur performers in modern cathedral plays can be said to reflect the original guild practices of the medieval cycle plays that are often the focus of such productions. As has been seen in shows such as *The Midlands' Mysteries* (1997), the appropriation of guild practices can become a central theme of such performances.<sup>352</sup> The inclusion of the local community in such a way furthers the theoretical position of the Lefebvrian monument as social identifier. This is epitomised in the cathedral as social space as put forward in Chapter One. The cathedral as monument, and the community theatre are naturally linked by their shared status as instruments of societal cohesion and identity. Both are rooted in the community and rely on that group's involvement for their continued existence. In *All Together Now: An Alternative View of Theatre and the Community* (1984), Steven Gooch argued that the 'audience and the social context in which plays are produced have always been recognised as a significant, if at times obscure, element of theatre history'.<sup>353</sup> Eugene van Erven's introduction to *Community Theatre: Global Perspectives* (2001), describes community theatre as a 'cultural practice that operates on the cutting edge between performing arts and sociocultural intervention'.<sup>354</sup> Both authors focus on the social aspects of the genre, and such an emphasis becomes apparent throughout their works.

The term 'community theatre' first appeared in the late 1920s, the same time as *The Coming of Christ* was being premiered at Canterbury.<sup>355</sup> Aside from the Maddermarket Theatre's plays in 1929, Canterbury retained the mixed complement of amateurs and professionals that would continue into the post-war period. As the use of cathedrals for theatrical performance spread in the 1950s, spurred on by the Festival of Britain, the community aspect was an important part. In particular the close association

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<sup>352</sup> Scherb, 'The Midlands' Mysteries', 113-5.

<sup>353</sup> Steven Gooch, *All Together Now: An Alternative View of Theatre and the Community* (London: Methuen, 1984), 7.

<sup>354</sup> Eugene van Erven, ed., *Community Theatre: Global Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

between medieval cycle drama with the cities of their origin especially called for the use of local, and therefore mostly amateur involvement. E. Martin Browne let such considerations influence his casting decisions for the 1951 *York Mystery Plays*, saying 'These are York's own plays and I invite everyone in York and its district to audition for them'.<sup>356</sup> Professional involvement in cathedral productions was limited to producing, and the occasional casting of leading actors, for much of the twentieth century. Research indicates that the majority of those involved are not theatre professionals. The first fully professional production since 1929 may not have occurred until 2004, when Chichester Festival Theatre's *Dr. Faustus* played in the city's cathedral for a single performance.<sup>357</sup>

The high level of community involvement is a further reflection of Lefebvre's ideas of monumental space. This theory may also partially explain why medieval English drama's revival flourished almost exclusively in amateur performance for nearly three decades after the Festival of Britain until being produced by large, professional companies such as The Royal National Theatre in the late 1970s.<sup>358</sup> The plays have local interests inextricably linked to their provenance that have made local, amateur involvement an appropriate mode of production. In this way they have some similarities with the commissioned works of Canterbury, celebrating the localities' past but doing so with attempts to recreate medieval practices rather than retelling local histories.

Educational institutions first appear as producing bodies in 1960's *The Zeal of Thy House* at Ely, produced by the local King's School.<sup>359</sup> Subsequent cathedral productions by such groups tend to differ from the norm, focusing on lesser known, though usually still medieval, plays. Bishop Grosseteste's College's *Oberufur Christmas*

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<sup>356</sup> Browne, *Two in One*, 187.

<sup>357</sup> Ron Conkie, 'Dr. Faustus', 128-31. The uncertainty of the professional status of the production is caused by a number of factors.

<sup>358</sup> Michael Billington, *State of the Nation: British Theatre Since 1945* (London: Faber & Faber, 2007), 301.

<sup>359</sup> The Times, 'The Arts', in *The Times*, issue 54952 (12 Dec 1960): 6. *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 Dec 2014.

*Plays* (1976) presented the first English language version of the medieval Austrian play.<sup>360</sup> When the drama department of King Alfred's College used Winchester Cathedral to stage three of the medieval Digby plays they chose those not yet performed in cathedrals. Richard Happé, who notes that 1981's *Wisdom* may have been its first production since the fifteenth century, makes the rarity of these specific plays in performance clear.<sup>361</sup> Fourth Monkey's *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* is a further example of little-produced works revived by educational groups for cathedral performance. This is not to imply that these organisations exclusively produce such obscure works, and the University of Leicester's *Richard III* (2003, 2014) at Leicester Cathedral, and Playbox Theatre's *The Mysteries* (2012) at Gloucester\* prevent such generalisations. What can be shown from this is the connection of most of these companies to the cathedral as members of the same community. These educational institutions' productions were community-based, just as were many others, and may be seen as cooperative projects within the community, linking them to the cathedral in a way that others do not. A more in-depth discussion of why such institutions may team up to work on a production will be offered in Chapter Three.

## CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the Introduction, the methods used to assemble the database leave room for the unintentional exclusion of certain productions that were not discovered during research. The database is the result of four years of extensive research into a mostly untouched subject, and the data presented here should be seen as revealing a significant portion of the relevant productions. It is unlikely that the exclusion of undocumented productions will have affected the research as a whole as the data presented represents what must be considered to be the vast majority of productions,

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<sup>360</sup> Ramsey, *Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 1-2.

<sup>361</sup> Happé, 'Wisdom', 196-7.

given the scope and breadth of research carried out.

Far from being a modern, twentieth century invention, the use of cathedrals as theatrical performance spaces has roots at least as far back as the tenth century with the *Regularis concordia*. The spread of the practice may have been limited given the sparse extant documents from the period, but the case of Lincoln Cathedral is definitive. It makes clear that some form of theatrical entertainment was not only a part of the annual life of the city, but that it can be placed, with certainty, within the cathedral church itself. The performances at Lincoln encompassed more than a single tradition, but a multitude of events spanning hundreds of years, only ending with the onset of the Reformation. Cathedral performance remained dormant in the following two centuries as animosity grew between Church and theatre.

The coming of Dean George Bell to Canterbury Cathedral in 1924 marked a change in the relationship between Anglicanism and theatre. From this period until the years immediately after the Second World War, Canterbury was the most prolific of a very small number of Cathedrals to allow plays in their churches. The post-war period was marked by a massive spread of cathedral performance across Britain, coinciding with the growth of medieval English drama that was ignited by the 1951 Festival of Britain. A change began at the turn of the twenty-first century, when medieval drama, though still a vital component of cathedral performance, began to give way to different genre. Works by early modern dramatists, modern mystery plays, and (in replication of the early Canterbury plays) stories of local and national history were performed in cathedral settings on a more regular basis.

The majority of modern cathedral performances can be seen as community based projects that link the building to the society in which it sits, acting as a way to connect the symbol of the people with the people themselves, showing Lefebvre's theory of the monument at work. The growth of the production of medieval plays in the post-war

period coincided with the spread of cathedral performance, not only as a place to site the production, but also as a community involvement initiative. While it is incorrect, or unfounded, to say that certain extant medieval plays were performed in cathedrals in the medieval and early modern periods, perhaps the connection between these early plays and their modern counterparts is in this communal aspect: English cathedral performance throughout history is rooted in the society in which it took place, and from which it often drew its influence. The reasons for such use will be explored in fuller detail in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE:

### THE CHOICE OF THE CATHEDRAL AS PERFORMANCE SPACE

This chapter focuses on the reasons for which cathedrals are chosen as sites of theatrical performance. These will vary on a case-by-case basis, but in general they can be divided into three categories: religious, historical, and monumental. Religious incentives are perhaps the most obvious in this context, and will be shown to be the most numerous. Historical connections are a common point of interest in cathedral plays and often serve as overt inspiration for many, as exemplified in the plays of the Canterbury Festival. These historical themes are often subsumed by religious motivations, creating a hybrid play that is both historically and religiously appropriate for cathedrals, such as *Murder in the Cathedral*. Monumental inspiration alone, as outlined in the theory of Lefebvre, is perhaps the least common of the three. This last motivation is characterised by the desire to use the space of the cathedral due to its place as a symbol of the society. This chapter does not seek to establish definitive reasons for individual productions' choices, but rather to explore these three aspects as a means to help understand cathedral performance. For this reason, unless otherwise stated, the division of the productions into these categories is based on their plot and (when available) the opinions of those involved, as well as the context in which the plays were produced.

The division of these motivations into three categories is by no means an attempt to present the differences as distinct, with clearly defined limits. Rather, they represent categories that interweave with one another and share qualities. For example, *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000) represent the first staging of the York plays within the Minster since the plays were revived in the city in 1951.<sup>362</sup> No marketing materials from

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<sup>362</sup> It must also be noted that there exists no evidence that the plays were ever performed in the Minster prior to 1951. Reviews and newspaper articles related to the production refer to the draw that the minster could provide, and this appears to have been a reason perceived by various writers. See Charles Hutchinson, 'Drama's crowning moment', in *Yorkshire Evening Press* (23 June 2000); David Hughes, 'Minster is ideal venue for millennium festival', in *Yorkshire Evening Press* (31 July 1998). Both sources

the production explicitly state the reason for transferring the plays, which were usually staged in the nearby Abbey Gardens. However, given the nature of the plays the motivation was likely threefold. The plays' civic heritage connects them to the collective identity of the city, making their placement within the Minster, as a monument of the city, a logical step in localising the ephemeral within the physical (monumental). The obvious relationship between the content of the plays and the sacred role of the Minster gives clear spiritual motivations (religious). And the connection of over 500 years between the plays and the history of the city lends motivation as well (historical). Thus, it is a monumentally inspired play with historically and religiously informed components. One cannot point to a single motivation, but rather a complex interplay between the three. Such interconnected relationships are universally present in the plays discussed, but the goal here is to find the one that informed the production the most, forming its foundational motivation.

Discerning these motivations is itself not a clear task as officially stated intent may not be true. Such clearly stated intentions are rarely publicised, but one of note was for *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\*, which was widely discussed as being performed in a location with a direct historical connection to the play (Canterbury crypt). There is no reason to question the genuine intentions of the producers in this case. It is very difficult to make contradictory judgment calls on such stated intentions as doing so would in most cases be based on opinion, rather than fact. Secondary motivations need to be considered as well. When a Cathedral promotes a primarily historical play, it is likely also seeing the opportunity to proselytize those coming into the building, adding religious motivation on the part of the Cathedral. A critic may see something disingenuous in official statements of intent, but proving them as such may be impossible. For this reason the stated motivation (where discernable) will be taken as

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are taken from 'York Millennium Mystery Plays Media Coverage, Compiled by Melanie Paris, July 2000', YMMP F/17/1, which makes no notation of original page numbering.

genuine.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first three will explore, in turn, the three motivations outlined above. The chapter will conclude with a case study of *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* at Canterbury Cathedral, a production that combined religious, historical, and monumental inspirations. As the case study shows, different productions may be inspired by one or more of the aspects discussed above. However, it can be possible to ascertain the motivation that is most at play based on research into the productions.

## **RELIGIOUS MOTIVATIONS**

Discussing religious motivations for cathedral performance is immediately hampered by the personal nature of religion and spirituality. It is not possible to state categorically that each play perceived as religious in nature was conceived and produced as such. A production deemed to be religious may not have been such for those involved, and a production deemed secular might have had a now-hidden religious catalyst. For this reason, the present discussion focuses on those plays that have overtly religious messages at their core. While this may at first appear to be a simple task, the division of cathedral plays into religious and non-religious is far from straightforward. This is seen in plays such as *The Zeal of Thy House*, which presents a religious message through a narrative of historical events. Similarly, the plot may not be a guide to deciding the religious nature of a play. Both *Becket* and *Murder in the Cathedral* present the story of the murdered Archbishop, but the former's focus is historical, while the latter's is theological/religious.

For the purposes of this thesis cathedral plays will be divided into three categories: (pseudo)-biblical, religious, and profane. The individual attribution of each play into these categories can be seen in Appendix B. The first of these consists of plays

presenting religious themes found in religious texts or early religious writings. The prefix 'pseudo' is added in this tier so as to include the numerous extra-Biblical stories presented in medieval drama that embellish the Biblical texts (such as the Marian plays). Dramatic pieces which present religious themes, but which do not draw their plot from those sources covered in the previous level, are labelled 'religious'. This category includes plays such as *The Devil to Pay* and *Wisdom*, which while presenting religious themes do not directly draw their plots from Biblical material. Plays that do not present obvious religious messages are considered to be 'profane'. While many of the plays that fall into this last category can be argued to contain religious elements, these are ancillary rather than fundamental to the primary plot. For example, the interdict placed on King John in Shakespeare's play functions as a historical plot point, rather than a reflection on the religious authority of the Pope and its theological and Biblical underpinnings.

With Profane plays making up 25, religious plays 23, and (pseudo)-Biblical plays 63, the high proportion of plays presenting (pseudo)-Biblical or religious messages becomes clear. If one were to group these categories together (86), the profane plays would be dwarfed by the new ratio. The data show a clear preference for these texts in the cathedral context, and when explored further also reveal a preference for medieval works within this genre. The religious nature of cathedrals makes the selection of religiously orientated plays obvious and appropriate choices for performance. Medieval drama plays a significant, if not the most significant, role in the religious/(pseudo)-Biblical drama presented in cathedrals. The (pseudo)-Biblical or religious categories encompass all the medieval drama presented in Appendix B, which shows the prevalence of these genres over time. The post-War surge in medieval drama dominates the six decades beginning with the 1950s, diminishing in number until it is surpassed in the 2010s. This abrupt change is a result of modern Passion play traditions at Birmingham and Liverpool Cathedrals that appear to be taking over from the declining

number of medieval drama productions. Despite their drop in number, medieval productions can be viewed as the inspiration for the modern versions, and are still within the tradition of religious/(pseudo)-Biblical drama. A desire for new interpretations and presentational forms of the stories is seen here, and the cathedral acts as the setting for the creation of these new texts.

Plays performed in cathedrals serve a purpose that has become more important in the modern period: proselytisation. Self-identifying Christians saw a decrease of twelve percentage points in the 2011 census of England and Wales, from 72% (2001) to 59% (2011) of the overall population.<sup>363</sup> Those reporting to have no religious affiliation nearly doubled their total numbers (7.7 million in 2001 to 14.1 million in 2011), rising ten percentage points and now representing one quarter of the population of England and Wales.<sup>364</sup> This number covers Christians of all denominations, both regular and occasional attendees. However, the number of attendees at weekly services in Church of England parishes has fallen steadily since the 1960s.<sup>365</sup> Only about 2% of the population, or 760,000 people, attended per week in 2016 (a number that includes those counted more than once, and so is likely inflated).<sup>366</sup> In November of 2013 the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Carey, warned that the Church of England was nearing extinction due to secularisation.<sup>367</sup> If the Church wishes to reverse this trend then it needs innovative ideas to bring people into the churches. The theatre has the potential to bring in thousands of individuals, perhaps helping the Church with its demographic problems in the process. By incorporating religion/theology into their plots, the plays can help to send a message once the people have entered the building, serving didactic

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<sup>363</sup> Office for National Statistics, 'What does the 2011 census tell us about religion in England and Wales?', from <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.co.uk>, accessed 8 June 2016.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> Harriet Sherwood, 'Church of England Falls Below 1m for First Time', from <http://www.theguardian.com> (12 January 2016), accessed 8 June 2016.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Linda Woodhead, 'Time to Get Serious', from <http://www.thechurchtimes.co.uk> (31 January 2014), accessed 8 June 2016.

and ministerial purposes.

While serving as Dean of Worcester, Robert Jeffrey wrote that the Church no longer missioned as it once had, with priests going from place to place, ministering to the faithful and unfaithful in an itinerant or semi-itinerant fashion; rather, the modern mission is done 'in reverse': 'Since the advent of Tourism cathedrals do not have to go out; people pour into them. Thus the mission is to those who come in rather than those to whom we are sent out'.<sup>368</sup> The evangelical potential presented by this paradigm is extensive, perhaps even more than active proselytising. The Dean of Wells sees the tourist interest in cathedrals in a similar light, stating that 'cathedrals are a vital ingredient in any strategy for mission, witness and evangelism by the church'.<sup>369</sup> The large and varied groups of people brought into them for performance includes not only the audience, but also the cast and crew. And while a tourist may view a cathedral through an architectural or historical lens, experiencing religious drama forces one to connect to the spiritual elements of the space as well. Some productions might be small or very large but as long as people are entering the church that may not have otherwise done so, they have accomplished something for the Church that it had not done itself.<sup>370</sup>

The religious nature of the plays and their connection to the religious life of the cathedrals in which they are performed can vary greatly. *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2013, 2014\*, 2015, 2016) are billed as liturgical acts performed in Holy Week. Liverpool is the only example of theatre billed as liturgy, but the use of such a term (i.e. 'liturgy') to describe the plays is more important as a marketing tool than as an accurate description of the event. With reference back to Schechner's continuum between efficacy and entertainment one can see that the Liverpool plays do not fit the remit to be

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<sup>368</sup> Robert Jeffrey, 'Cathedrals - Mission in Reverse', in *Cathedrals Now: Their Use and Place in Society*, ed. Iain M. MacKenzie (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1996), 1-8.

<sup>369</sup> Richard Lewis, 'Cathedrals and Tourism', in *Cathedrals Now: Their Use and Place in Society*, ed. Iain M. MacKenzie (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1996), 25-42.

<sup>370</sup> Ronald J.C. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 42.

considered liturgical within the guidelines set forth in this thesis. Although construed as liturgy, the actual event was theatrical entertainment, leading to its inclusion in this study. The plays of the Canterbury Festival uniformly described their productions as offerings to God, but did not go so far as to claim liturgical significance even when performed during the liturgical festival of Whitsuntide. The plays can be viewed as discrete acts separate from the liturgy that may instil reverence in some, while not requiring such a position in its observers.

The plays act as a subtle force for mission work on two levels. The plot and messages in many of the plays act as tools of dialogue, initiating a conversation about the ideas presented. This may end with the audience member leaving the cathedral, not to return to the subject again, or with the development of a spiritual/religious discourse leading to a renewal or conversion to the Christian religion. Affective piety, or a deep, emotional reverence for and obedience to God, can play a significant role in religious life and conversion, perhaps most famously in the English context in the life of fifteenth century mystic Margery Kempe.<sup>371</sup> However, modern evangelicals have seen its value and power, with ministers such as Aimee Semple McPherson, whose 'illustrated sermons' helped to make her one of the most influential church people of twentieth century America.<sup>372</sup> The cathartic nature of theatre can lead to affective expressions, even if these are not overtly pious. One does not need to believe in the godhead of Jesus in order to feel moved by an actress playing Mary as she mourns her dead son; one only needs to see and feel the emotion of a grieving mother. Religion need not play a role. But such connection to the story has the ability to lead to conversion or reaffirming of faith.

On a less emotional level, the mere fact of being in a cathedral may act as a more

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<sup>371</sup> Felicity Riddy, 'Kempe [née Brunham], Margery (b. c. 1373, d. in or after 1438), visionary', from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 4 July 2016.

<sup>372</sup> Chas H. Barfoot, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Making of Modern Pentecostalism, 1890-1926* (London: Equinox, 2011), 434-5.

subdued form of inspiration for evangelism. This can extend to experiencing the cathedral in different contexts. While Vice Dean of Ely, Bishop John Inge led night time 'pilgrimages' around the cathedral to which people 'on the edges of the Church' had been invited in hopes of re-kindling a spiritual fire.<sup>373</sup> Experiencing the space in new forms (i.e. at night) was done to inspire awe as 'a very powerful evangelical tool'.<sup>374</sup> By changing the paradigm in which the visitor views the space their affective experience changes as well. Just as the Dean of Wells notes the opportunity tourism provides by bringing people into churches, plays present an attraction that may bring into the building people that would otherwise be unlikely to cross the threshold. This was a common sentiment to be heard in the cloister of Chester Cathedral in the pre-show period during *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013\*). While informally speaking with a Canon of the cathedral, he mentioned the great opportunity the play provides as a source not only of teaching the gospel of Jesus, but of doing so to those who are not church-goers, a sort of voluntarily captive audience.

## **HISTORICAL MOTIVATIONS**

As sites of historical importance the cathedrals of England connect the past and present, allowing modern individuals to experience the places in which significant events of the past were acted out. The role played by historically apt plays is significant, second only to those of a religious nature. If one was to consider biblical themes as historical, then history plays would far out number all other contenders. Of the 113 plays present in Appendix B, thirty-one are on historical themes, with the majority focusing on connections to the cathedral or its city. From the early years of the cathedral performance tradition, historical ties were a significant role shaping the selection of

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<sup>373</sup> John Inge, 'Cathedrals, Outreach, and Education', in *Dreaming Spires: Cathedrals in a New Age*, eds. Stephen Platten and Christopher Lewis (London: SPCK, 2006), 29.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

plays, although this is seen most acutely in one cathedral in particular.

The plays of the Canterbury Festival show a focus on the historical events related to the building and its environs. Voluntary donations taken at the door during *The Coming of Christ* (the play was presented free of charge) amounted to £800, all of which was put aside for the funding of a new play: *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935).<sup>375</sup> Back to back productions of *Becket* (1930, 1931) marked the beginning of historically appropriate plays not only in Canterbury, but in English cathedrals as a whole. Between 1928 and 1940, Canterbury produced eleven productions of nine separate plays (*The Zeal of Thy House* and *Becket* were performed twice). Only three of these (*The Coming of Christ*, *Christ's Comet*, and *The Devil to Pay*) did not connect historically to the building in which they were performed. Post-war plays continued to exploit local history through retelling and re-enactment. However, this tradition was to lose its primacy with the rise of medieval drama that began with the Festival of Britain. As the purpose-written history play slowly gave way to existing texts one can posit that the money to fund such playwrighting exercises was depleted or used elsewhere.

What stands out most about cathedral plays focusing on historical themes is the local connection the plots have to the cathedral or the community in which it sits. Thirty-one productions of historical plays are recorded in Appendix B, of which only five are not connected with the local history of the cathedral or its environs. Two of these can be connected to their playing place in vague terms of religion, but not of the history acted out in the text. This high proportion demonstrates the cathedral's connection to history and its role in preserving knowledge of the past. Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks call this 'theatre/archaeology', which they describe as 'an integrated approach to recording, writing and illustrating the material past [...] making creative use out of its

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<sup>375</sup> Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, 43.

various fragments in forging cultural memory out of varied interests and remains'.<sup>376</sup> This theorisation of such performances focuses on the new creation of modes to explore 'cultural memory', rather than the simple re-enactment of history. In this way the past is refreshed by giving it new contexts through which it can be viewed, and from which it can be analysed and even experienced. These performances are not merely a way to commemorate and retell the past, but to connect them to the cathedral space. In so doing the play/history is viewed from a spatial rather than a linear context: Becket was not killed on a timeline stretching back nearly a millennium and therefore far removed temporally from the modern world, but rather he was murdered on the same spot on which the actors now stand; a tangible locus fixed in place *and* time.

Even when acts portrayed in the plays did not occur in the spaces in which they are performed, powerful connections can create bonds between the spaces and plot. *King John* at Salisbury Cathedral (2015) was remarkable in this regard because of the production's treatment of proto-Reformation history. The production drew attention to the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the *Magna carta*, a copy of which resides in the cathedral's chapter house. However the site also highlighted a deeper connection between monarch and Church. This comes through the oft forgotten role of John as a proto-Protestant hero in the early Tudor period.<sup>377</sup> The medieval monarch is viewed as a symbol of English obstinacy towards the meddling ways of the Roman Catholic Pope, and gave historical precedence to the idea of an English Church headed by the sovereign. John calls himself 'supreme head' of the Church in England (3.1.158), and the Pope 'So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous (3.1.153)'. He further rages to the King of France:

Though you and all the kings of Christendom  
Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,  
Dreading the curse that money may buy out,  
And by the merit of vild gold, dross, dust,

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<sup>376</sup> Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2001), 131.

<sup>377</sup> Carole Levin, 'A Good Prince: King John and Early Tudor Propaganda', in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, no. 4 (Winter, 1980): 23-32.

Purchase corrupted pardon of a man  
Who in that sale sells pardon from himself;  
Though you, and all the rest so grossly led,  
This juggling witchcraft with revenue cherish,  
Yet I alone, alone do me oppose  
Against the Pope, and count his friends my foes. (3.1.163-72)

The anti-Roman Catholic points enumerated in this speech are given power by their reverberation off walls of a building built for Roman Catholic religious practices that now serves as a Protestant site of worship.

The case of *King John* may speak to cathedrals generally, but the role connecting the play and place goes beyond the *Magna carta*. John was excommunicated and his lands placed under interdict from 1208-14 for refusing to allow Stephen Langton into England, Pope Innocent III's choice for Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>378</sup> Nevertheless, the Archbishop (who had been consecrated in 1207 but resided in France) arrived in Canterbury in 1213, signaling victory over John.<sup>379</sup> In 1220 (four years after the king's death) a foundation stone was laid at Salisbury Cathedral in the Archbishop's name, marking the official beginning of building works and literally placing the name of the Archbishop at the base of the building.<sup>380</sup> By this point John had lost his life and the fight with the Pope and Langton, making the former appear to be the ultimate champion. However, if one is to look at John as the proto-Protestant hero and Langton as the Roman Church, the almost triumphal quality that occurs when the former's lines are delivered in the space that rests upon Langton's name is immense. The immediate result of the friction between the men was Langton's victory, but the words given to John by Shakespeare, when delivered in Salisbury Cathedral, become a victor's speech punctuating the end result: a Church headed by the sovereign and answering to no Pope. Because of the Archbishop's connection to Salisbury, this reading of the play becomes

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<sup>378</sup> Maurice Ashley, *The Life and Times of King John* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 81-2.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>380</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands* (London: The Folio Society, 2005), 193.

appropriate.

### **MONUMENTAL MOTIVATIONS**

The third category of motivation can almost be considered to incorporate the previous two. The vast majority of productions in cathedrals can be considered to be monumental events, in terms of Lefebvre's theorisation of the monument as a social identifier. These productions use that power of the building, drawing together the society in a site that is self-reflective, asserting the power of the community in a symbiotic relationship of give and take. Such productions use the cathedral not for its religious or historical significance (primarily), but rather for its position as a space of social identity. They are not motivated, necessarily, by the artistic value of the building (though this may be a secondary concern), but by the space as a monument in and of itself. *Othello* (2014)\*, in Liverpool Cathedral, had no historical or religious links to the space, but, rather, the cathedral was chosen as a space of importance and as a recognisable performance site. By lacking the historical and religious connections to the cathedral the production capitalised on the building's monumentality. This primarily monumental use is most evident in medieval drama and its social aspect linking civic history and participation in modern productions. However, where such productions capitalise on the city in general, cathedral productions go further by situating the event in a space in the city that has traditionally defined it as such: the cathedral.

All productions in cathedrals are motivated by monumentality and can be viewed as such. The desire to use spaces that are often not well suited to performance, are expensive, and logistically unwieldy can be best explained as attempts to use the space for the purposes outlined by Lefebvre. By drawing on the history of the building the production also makes use of the temporal overlap within the space that is partially a result of its monumentality. *The Zeal of Thy House* (1937, 1940, 1949, 1987) is

intimately involved in this, as it both retells the story of the building of Canterbury Cathedral and explicitly speaks of its importance as a monument and gift to God. The play and the playing place both focus on the monumental building and its meaning in society, offering a meta-theatrical experience in which the idea of the monument is both physical and mental.

The plays that show the monumentality of the cathedral best are those that are neither religiously nor historically appropriate or connected to their cathedral settings. By removing these other motivations the production is seen to have chosen a play that has no obvious reason for production in that space other than its status as a monument. Once these parameters are applied, fourteen productions are seen to fall into this category, with the first not occurring until 1995.<sup>381</sup> Monumentality for its own sake appears to be a later motivation in the timeline.

What is most striking about these fourteen productions is nine are works by William Shakespeare. The reason for this could be the assumption that Shakespeare might be appropriate for performance in such ancient settings (all but one of the cathedrals is medieval in construction); however, Shakespeare's role as a cultural monument must not be overlooked in this regard. Associations between Shakespeare and cathedrals, while not common, are not unknown. In the 1920s an annual commemorative 'pilgrimage' to sites important in his life began at his brother's grave in Southwark Cathedral.<sup>382</sup> Scenes from *Henry V* and *2 Henry VI* were performed in Canterbury's chapter house in 1930.<sup>383</sup> And Leicester Cathedral has twice seen

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<sup>381</sup> *Romeo and Juliet* (1995) at Canterbury, *Dallas Sweetman* (2008) at Canterbury, *Macbeth* (2012) at Worcester, *The Merchant of Venice* (2012) at Worcester, *Othello* (2014) at Liverpool, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2104) at Hereford, *Julius Caesar* (2014) at Worcester and Hereford, and *Romeo and Juliet* (2015) at Worcester.

<sup>382</sup> M. Channing Linthicum, 'A Shakespeare Pilgrimage in Southwark', in *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 3, no. 3 (October, 1928): 8-11.

<sup>383</sup> Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral: A Twentieth Century Encounter of Church and Stage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J. Garnet Miller), 97. These are not included as they were only selected scenes rather than complete plays.

commemorative productions of *Richard III* produced in its nave.<sup>384</sup> In 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism' (1998), Dennis Kennedy refers to Shakespeare as 'an acknowledged universal monument', whose festivals '[encourage] a sense of pilgrimage to a sacred locale'.<sup>385</sup> Shakespeare has become a monument in modern culture, with Werner Habicht going so far as to describe his 'apotheosis', surpassing the monument and becoming the Divine.<sup>386</sup> 'Apotheosis' and 'pilgrimage' draw unambiguous lines connecting the playwright to the sacred. One can see in this the sacralising of Shakespeare, and in turn sanctifying his works.

By connecting the man to these spaces in this way the role of the supernatural (i.e. God) comes into question. Does the art of Shakespeare replace the religion/spirituality of the cathedral, or does the cathedral adapt to new ideas concerning art? If one considers the role of art as an offering to the Divine (as at the early Canterbury Festival and in the Oxford Movement), then the deep connection between religion and art can be clearly seen. Speaking on the occasion of Shakespeare's tercentenary, Archbishop Trench gave a speech in Stratford-upon-Avon before bishops and ministers, emphasizing this 'most intimate connection between all true art - and therefore [...] the art of Shakespeare - and that Christian faith whereof we are ministers'.<sup>387</sup> The sacred role of all forms of art, not just the literary, may offer answers and pathways to 'greater understanding, peace, and harmony', that as of yet religion has not been able to accomplish.<sup>388</sup> Although such an attitude may speak of art as a substitute for, or a form of, religion, the role of Shakespeare in cathedral contexts is not about replacing the Divine, but rather seeing it in the work of artists. In my view,

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<sup>384</sup> Leicester University Theatre, '2003/04 Production', from <http://lutheatrer3.blogspot.co.uk>, accessed 19 September 2014. These productions are not considered in this section as they connect historically to the building.

<sup>385</sup> Dennis Kennedy, 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism', in *Theatre Journal* 50, no. 2 (May, 1998): 176-7.

<sup>386</sup> Werner Habicht, 'Shakespeare Celebrations in Times of War', in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (Winter, 2001): 441.

<sup>387</sup> As quoted in Richard Foulkes, "'Every good gift from above": Archbishop Trench's Tercentenary Sermon', in *Shakespeare Survey* 54 (2001): 83.

<sup>388</sup> Richard Shusterman, 'Art and Religion', in *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 42, no. 3 (Fall, 2008): 2.

Shakespearean connections to these sacred sites are about monumentalism, attaching the ephemeral to the physical in order to give greater meaning. Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey is a prime example: a national shrine containing monuments to national artists, aligning the poets with collective identity in a sacred space. In so doing the work of the artist helps the monument to adapt to changing periods and ideas. Shakespeare can be seen as a means to adapt certain Christian spaces to a more profane society, in accordance with Lefebvre's idea of the changing nature of monuments.

With these interpretations of Shakespeare situating him as a monument, perhaps it is best to see these productions not as merely using the monument of the cathedral, but rather as combining that quality of the space and man: performing the ephemeral monument (Shakespeare) in the enduring physical monument (the cathedral), thus reinforcing both. The importance attached to the words of Shakespeare resonates and interacts with that which is also attached to the space, illustrating Lefebvre's idea that whilst in a monument the aural landscape contributes to feelings of place.<sup>389</sup> The words of King John, quoted above, show this confluence of Monumentalism in the space and the playwright. The one gives to the other, placing both within a context that highlights and capitalises on their shared monumentality.

### **CASE STUDY: THIRD MONKEY'S *THE MASSACRE AT PARIS* (2014) IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CRYPT**

In 2014 the Canterbury-based Marlowe Theatre commemorated the 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Christopher Marlowe in that city. Three plays were produced: *Dr. Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta* in the Marlowe Theatre, and *The Massacre at Paris* in the eastern crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. The choice of location for the latter play took advantage of the historical relationship between the play's plot and the space of performance.

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<sup>389</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 93-221.

Francophone Protestants (known collectively as 'Strangers') began arriving in England in hopes of escaping persecution on the continent since the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>390</sup> Under Elizabeth I the Strangers' churches grew following yet more persecution of the Huguenots in France and the Walloons in the Spanish Low Countries, causing a shortage of worship spaces.<sup>391</sup> By the end of 1576 the Strangers were given the crypt of Canterbury cathedral for their congregation, by which time it is believed to have numbered somewhere between 2-3,000 in Canterbury.<sup>392</sup>

The crypt is divided between the western and eastern portions and is one of the largest cathedral crypts in the United Kingdom. The Strangers were given the western crypt consisting of 'seven bays, across the entire width, [extending] from the west wall to the Lady Chapel'.<sup>393</sup> The congregation grew throughout the seventeenth century before starting its decline until 1824, when the Dean and Chapter asked the dwindling group to give over the majority of the crypt to the Cathedral, relegating the French Church to the south aisle and Black Prince's Chantry, separated from the rest of the crypt by a wall erected in the aisle's pier arches.<sup>394</sup> Soon after 1892 the size of the French Church would be further reduced, only having control of the Black Prince's Chantry, an arrangement that is in practice to the present day.<sup>395</sup>

The play was staged in traverse in the eastern crypt, an area accessed by crossing through the western crypt and passing by the French Church. As the audience entered the western crypt they were asked to wait in the south aisle until invited to walk to the eastern end and take their seat. With doors opening to the crypt half an hour before the beginning of the play, the waiting audience had plenty of time to explore the space. The

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<sup>390</sup> Cross, *History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury* (Canterbury: Cross and Jackman, 1898), 2.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 42.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-1.

French Church had been opened for this time, with a member of the congregation present at each performance to give short informal tours while talking to members of the public. A French service is held every Sunday in the chapel, but otherwise is rarely open to allow visitors access to the unique area. In this way the chapel became a tool serving to educate the audience about the existence of the Church as an active part of modern life in Canterbury, while simultaneously providing a tangible connection between the history about to be played out onstage.

*The Massacre at Paris* relates the story of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris with a decidedly anti-Catholic/pro-Protestant bias.<sup>396</sup> Marlowe was born in Canterbury in 1564, just as the Francophone refugees were beginning to come to the city.<sup>397</sup> He would have been nine in the year 100 Stranger families arrived from Sandwich; certainly old enough to understand what was happening, if not the meaning behind it. Paul Allain, co-director of the production, described the play as 'unchartered, in terms of performances', and highlighted the role of the play/place connection in the decision to produce the play in the crypt, saying 'that's such an appropriate place for it'.<sup>398</sup> Allain reiterated this sentiment throughout our numerous conversations, admitting that: 'I've not done anything like this, where the material so closely aligns to the space, to the fact that this was Marlowe's birthplace, and the fact that when he was young all of these refugees were flooding into his city and the crypt was given up as their place of worship'.<sup>399</sup>

I was told by one of the members of the French congregation that most, if not all, of the congregants had tickets to see *The Massacre at Paris* during its very brief performance run, revealing the significance attached to the play and the place by the

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<sup>396</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *Dido Queen of Carthage and The Massacre at Paris*, ed. H.J. Oliver (London: Methuen and Co Ltd., 1968), xlix, lix.

<sup>397</sup> David Riggs, 'Marlowe's Life', in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 25-6.

<sup>398</sup> Paul Allain, personal interview, 19 February 2014.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid.

group. After a performance I spoke with a couple who are members of the French Church. When asked why they had come to the performance they said that it was a part of their family's history, making their appearance at the play a way for them to play witness to their ancestors' struggle. I spoke briefly with an elderly woman who told me that she was the oldest member of the French Church, having lived her entire life in Canterbury. 'This', she said, indicating the stage and by extension the play 'is the reason why I am here, why my ancestors came here'.<sup>400</sup> The presence of these descendants gave a personal connection to the play that is perhaps unique for contemporary productions of early modern drama.

Given the large proportion of Walloons that made up the refugees coming to Canterbury in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it seems unlikely that the current descendants are directly related to the Huguenot victims and survivors of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, but that is not important. What is important is the collective memory. Through time individual family stories may be lost, while others become part of the collective memory of a society. This collective history of conflict is shared by the members of the French Church, and binds the group together as much as their common language and site of worship. This amalgamation helps to give meaning to what it means to be a member of the French Church, a meaning that is brought to life in the recreation of historical events only a few metres from the community's place of worship.

## **CONCLUSION**

Religious, historical, and monumental motivations all act upon the decision to perform plays in cathedrals. Quite often these overlap, with religiously apt plays performed in historically appropriate settings, and therefore drawing on monumental ideas of the

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<sup>400</sup> Paraphrased.

space in order to lend further dimension to the text. Religious motivations are the most common and show a desire to connect to the space in a way that fits with the spiritual message of the building. Historical plays capitalise on local connections and in so doing show a more profane usage of the space, even when such texts have religion at their core. Monumental motivations may be the most important of these. Drawing on Lefebvre, one can see every production as a result of monumental motivations. Religion and history play significant roles, with the former constituting the most widely used overt motivation. But Monumentalism in the form of the desire to use the cathedral space is present, even when it is not the primary.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CATHEDRAL'S THEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON THE TEXT

The texts around which a play is structured, or from which a play is born, form a major component of the final piece of theatre that is produced. For the purposes of this chapter these texts will be divided into two categories: existing and created. Created texts are those that are written for a specific space in mind, covering commissioned works for cathedrals such as Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Zeal of Thy House* (1937) and T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), both written for performance in Canterbury Cathedral chapter house. The former term covers all other plays: examples of which include *Wisdom* and *Mankind*, neither of which were written for performance in Winchester Cathedral, but, were nonetheless performed there in the 1980s. This somewhat arbitrary distinction is employed in order to evenly distinguish between the texts that have been specifically written for performance in cathedral spaces and those that were not.

Created texts have the distinct advantage over found texts in that they can be easily moulded around not only the *physical space* in which they are to be performed, but can also be shaped by the non-physical influences of the space as well, the *social space*. This chapter focuses on two of these influences: theology and history. In Part One the theological implications of the created texts will be explored, looking at how the religious influence exerted by the building is seen in the texts written for the space. This section will conclude with a case study of *The Zeal of Thy House*, looking at the ways in which theologies of the Church of England and of Sayers may have worked to remove overtly Roman Catholic influences from the created text as performed in Canterbury Cathedral chapter house; deletions subsequently reinstated in performances in secular buildings. Part Two is concerned with the influence of historical associations between the cathedral and the created texts, how the history of the buildings (including the

surrounding area) has inspired play texts written for performance in their walls. These texts are monumental in their creation, being formed in order to take advantage of the role of the building in the society. A case study of *Murder in the Cathedral* will show that Eliot's play was a created text that not only drew on the history of the building, but that the play focuses on the performance space, creating a place-based text that would not have been possible to create anywhere else.

While the cases at Canterbury are in many ways the best documented, such concerns can be found, whether explicitly or implicitly, in other cathedrals where such performances have taken place. The case studies employed here are a tool to speak less about generalities and more about specific concerns over individual cases. The plays of Canterbury Cathedral will play a disproportionately large role in the current chapter. This is due to multiple factors including the large percentage of plays commissioned for the space, the relatively well-documented, relevant archival materials, and the apparently closer relationship of the Dean and Chapter with the plays' producers than at other cathedrals.

## **THEOLOGY AND THE CATHEDRAL STAGE**

Theology has played a role in the performance of theatrical works in cathedrals since at least the time of the *Regularis concordia*. While it may be possible to view the issue of censorship separately from theology, the two are deeply interconnected. Some may argue that such concerns are no longer as prevalent an issue in a relatively more secular, liberal, ecumenical twenty-first century England; but the issues of theology and censorship on the cathedral stage are still felt, leaving tangible marks not only on productions, but on play texts as well. These concerns can be considered not only as a function of control exerted by cathedral governing bodies, but as a form of pressure from outside sources as well. Theology, though a branch of the Church, is not the sole

domain of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and can affect the thoughts and actions of lay individuals as well.

The history of modern cathedral performance can be traced to a single piece of archived paper, a telegram sent from Dean Bell of Canterbury to John Masefield, Poet Laureate [image 4.1].

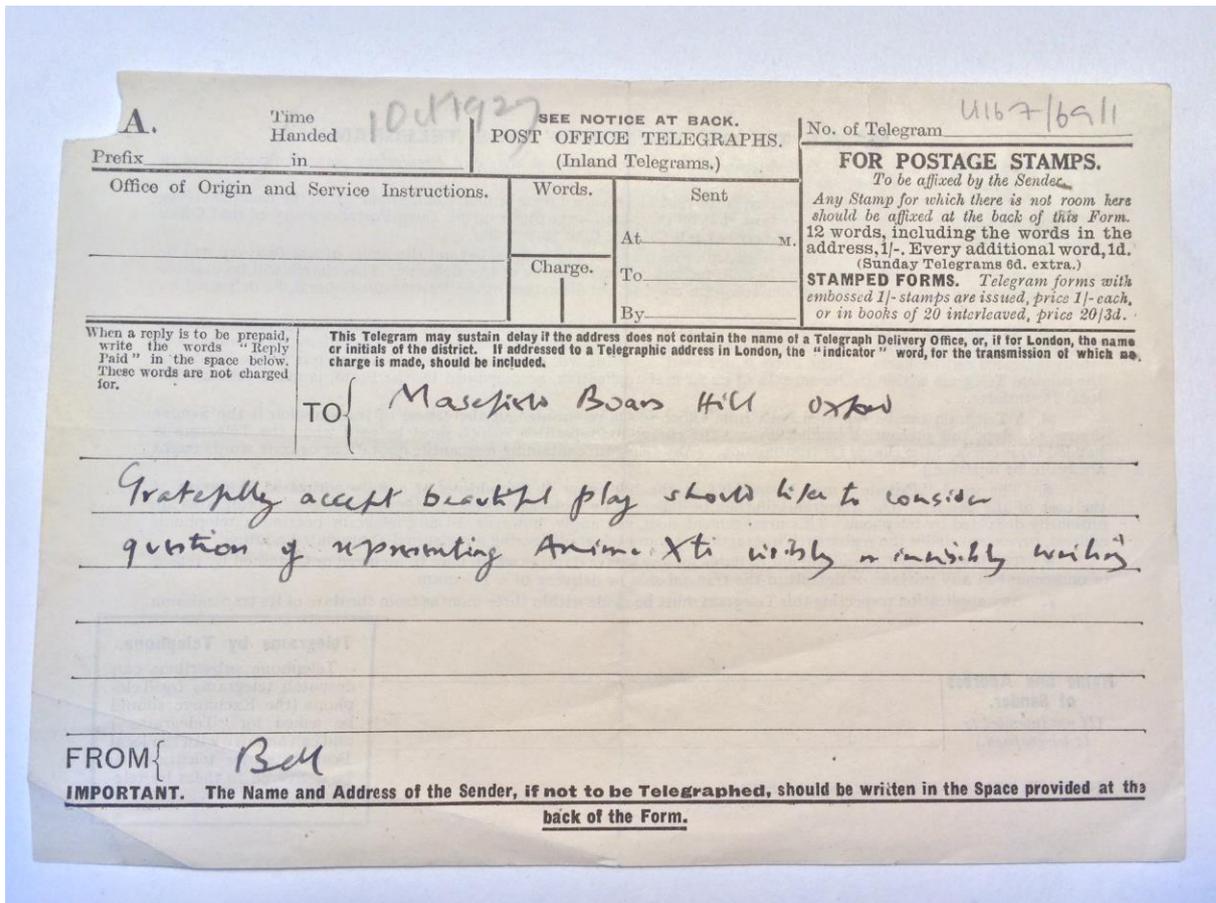


Image 4.1 Telegram from Dean Bell to John Masefield, accepting *The Coming of Christ* for performance. 1928. From CCA-U167/69/1.

The Dean's message is simply put in a few words, but offers an insight into the thinking behind the acceptance, as well as a theological concern that could potentially shape the text and production. Bell's message reads: 'Gratefully accept beautiful play should like to consider question of representing Anima Xti [Christi] visibly or invisibly [waiting?]'.<sup>401</sup> With these few words, Bell began what would become the longest running tradition of theatrical cathedral performances in modern English history. His

<sup>401</sup> George Kennedy Allen Bell, 'telegram', dated 1 October 1927. CCA-U/167/69/1, recto.

acceptance of the play came with the caveat of discussion, and perhaps compromise, on the issue of portraying Christ onstage. This issue may at first seem to be both theological and legal, but the former likely played a larger role than the latter.

While commonly believed to have been an expressly forbidden practice, Olga Horner's article 'The Law That Never Was: A Review of Theatrical Censorship in Britain' (2001) has shown that the portrayal of God onstage was never illegal in the United Kingdom.<sup>402</sup> Rather, Horner shows that the practice was taboo, and no legal statute can be found to support the contrary hypothesis. Instead, the unofficial banning seems to have its source in the role of the Master of the Revels as theatre censor. In none of the laws concerning theatre censorship, or the various addenda added to them throughout the years, was the playing of God or Christ banned; that decision was left to the individual tastes and theological bent of the men given the power to censor.

It can be argued, based on the history of theatrical censorship in the period, that Bell's hesitation could well have been based in legal matters combined with theology, but the truth is unclear. What is clear is that the concern, whether theological or legal, was a factor evident in the production's final form. The play is divided into two halves, the first being the time before The Anima Christi entered the world as he waits in Heaven. His words are full of concern over what will happen once he enters the world of men. The angels speak with him before he leaves Heaven, entering the world fully aware of what fate will befall him. The second half shows the journey of the Magi on their mission to find Jesus, coming across three shepherds on their way and eventually finding the Virgin and child at the play's end. It appears then that Masefield had his way, as Jesus, although not given his name, was in fact shown in corporeal form in the play as The Anima Christi. Designer Charles Ricketts recounted that he 'dressed Christ entirely in white, and red and white jewels', giving the only description of the character's

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<sup>402</sup> Olga Horner, 'The Law That Never Was: A Review of Theatrical Censorship in Britain', in *METH* 23 (2001): 34-96.

costume, demonstrating that Jesus was shown onstage.<sup>403</sup> There is no reason to assume that the character wore a mask, in the medieval convention common for God, which may have provided a modicum of pious modesty.<sup>404</sup> While some may argue that showing The Anima Christi was in poor taste, it can be juxtaposed with the humanity, and very real emotions of the character in Masefield's work. Jesus was shown onstage, but in a way that made the character both human and divine. One cannot mistake the human nature of Christ in this play, a theological leaning that is prevalent in the personality of Dean Bell throughout Ronald Jasper's biography *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester* (1967).

Publicity for *The Coming of Christ* was circumspect. The *Illustrated London News* on 2 June contained a description of the play, focusing a great deal of its space to descriptions of the costume designs.<sup>405</sup> The article contains eight images of staged scenes and costume renderings, but in none of the accompanying captions or in the body of the article is The Anima Christi mentioned. Rather, one image shows a doll labelled 'The Holy Child', and two more, one of the angels in adoration of the child and another showing the Magi and Mary in a similar pose.<sup>406</sup> At no point in either *The Times* or the *Illustrated London News* is mention made, before or after the production's opening, of any representation of Christ or God onstage in any form other than as a doll. It hardly seems likely that the act of corporeal representation of Christ onstage would have gone unnoticed, so the absence of such acknowledgements may point to conscious censorship on the part of the articles' authors. It cannot be said for certain whether such self-censorship was intended, but the lack of comment on such a controversial act is strange.

The important issue with the case of *The Coming of Christ* is not the final outcome

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<sup>403</sup> As quoted in Joseph Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), 178.

<sup>404</sup> For medieval masking of God and Jesus see Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 220-32.

<sup>405</sup> J.T. Grein, 'The World of the Theatre', in the *Illustrated London News*, issue 4650 (2 June 1928): 996-7. From <http://gale.cengage.co.uk>, accessed 15 September 2014.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*

of the production, whether it was censored or shaped by theology, but rather that such a discussion needed to take place at all. Bell was clearly concerned with the impact of such a play on the public and made it clear that his intentions were true and theologically sound. In an article in *The Times* about the upcoming production, the anonymous reporter wrote:

The Dean wishes to make it clear that the action has not been taken without much thought, or without consultation with others equally concerned with the true and worthy presentation of the Christian religion. He looks upon the whole presentation, poetry, music, and beauty of colour and design, as a religious offering, and it is in this spirit that all who are taking part have been asked to regard it.<sup>407</sup>

Bell was clearly aware of the potential uproar his idea could cause, and seems to have been prepared, defending his position before opposition could be vocalised in hopes of neutralising the controversy. Although he was the Poet Laureate, Masefield was not without controversy in the matter of religious topics onstage. Prior to his being commissioned by Canterbury, several works by Masefield on Biblical themes had been refused the right to be performed publicly, and *The Coming of Christ* could have followed suit.<sup>408</sup> It would appear, then, that both Bell and Masefield worked well, manoeuvring through potential controversy and ending with a play much celebrated at its premiere. However, the play's success does not mean that subsequent productions at Canterbury would now be given *carte blanche* in matters of content and presentation.

The minutes of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral's meetings record four instances in which the Church exerted control over the content of the plays to be performed as part of the Festival. The earliest dates from 7 November 1936: 'In response to a question from Mrs. Ramsay the Dean said that he was the person that

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<sup>407</sup> The Times, 'Play In Cathedral Nave: Mr. Masefield's "The Coming of Christ"', in *The Times* (11 April 1928): 15. From <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 14 December 2014. Web.

<sup>408</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 122.

would read the Play and be responsible for permission to perform'.<sup>409</sup> The Dean in question was Hewlett Johnson (served 1931-63), a controversial figure immortalised as 'The Red Dean' in a biography of the same title.<sup>410</sup> Johnson's deanship was to cover the golden age of the cathedral's involvement with producing theatre before and after the Second World War. Butler's book succinctly describes Johnson as 'An avowed Christian Marxist and promulgator of pro-soviet views [and] globetrotting peace campaigner [who] was tracked by MI-5 for thirty-five years'.<sup>411</sup> Given the power he had over the selection and censorship of works to be performed in the cathedral, he cannot be overlooked, and one may be able to read his influence in such play selections as *The Zeal of Thy House* (commissioned for 1937, and restaged in 1940 and 1949) and *Peasant's Priest* (1947), the former demonstrating, as it does, the humanity, commonness, and even sinful nature of the builders of the cathedral, and the latter's focus on a just proletariat uprising against the bourgeoisie. Johnson can be seen as the Festival's own censor, giving and blocking permission for performance when desired.

The notation from the meeting in 1936 shows Johnson's potential power, but does not demonstrate any action wielded by the Dean; however, the next relevant account differs in this regard. In minutes dated 5 February 1938, it is indicated that the play for that year's festival had yet to be chosen, and 'that the Play had not yet been accepted by the Dean and Chapter'.<sup>412</sup> No mention of consternation or exasperation on the part of those present is found in the account, nor is there mention of what play(s) were found to be unfit. Instead it is announced that arrangement for Christopher Hassall's *Christ's Comet* had been agreed upon, following approval by 'the Chairman and

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<sup>409</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 2 November 1936, leaf 7, verso. CCA-U/167/23.

<sup>410</sup> John Butler, *The Red Dean of Canterbury: The Public and Private Faces of Hewlett Johnson* (London: Scala, 2011).

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, dust jacket.

<sup>412</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 5 February 1938, leaf 6, verso. CCA-U/167/23.

Vice-Chairman' of the Friends.<sup>413</sup> It is unclear whether this means the play had been pre-approved by the Dean, or that the Chairman and Vice-Chairman had approved it for presentation to him. When read in the context of the previous statement concerning the Dean and Chapter, the wording of the document may portray a last minute, cobbled-together nature of the play's selection. The minutes do not state that no play has been presented to the Dean, but that he has approved none, indicating that the withholding of permission is not based on the absence of a play, but on the lack of an appropriate text. A chain of command can therefore be discerned, whereby the Friends approve the plays which are then passed on to the Dean and Chapter for their approval.

One of the most important pieces in this passage is the simple addendum 'and Chapter' after 'Dean'. The Dean was a member of the Friends, so his position as internal censor could be viewed as part of his duties on the Friends committee, working as the man in control of the cathedral but from within the circle of Friends. However, the inclusion of 'and Chapter' reveals that the Dean acted outside his position on the Friends committee, and rather as censor within his duties as Dean, part of the governing body of the Church. Johnson acted in tandem with the Chapter as an outside body. If he were acting as censor within his position with the Friends, the exertion of his will could be seen as soft power, and could have allowed for discussion of his decision as an equal member on the committee. However, as a part of an outside body applying such control he can be viewed as a wielder of hard power, which is shared with others not on the committee and therefore not answerable to them.

The meeting of 5 November 1938 may have been the first time that such control resulted in a deep discussion of the role of the Church in determining the appropriateness of the plays. The entry comes under the heading 'DRAMA', and reads:

Miss Dorothy L. Sayers had been approached in regard to a

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<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

play on the subject of John Hall, Wat Tyler and Archbishop Sudbury. The Dean had, however, considered that such a subject was inadvisable at the time.

very considerable discussion resulted; Mr. [Laurence] Irving enquiring of the Chairman how far the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral were able to be responsible for the festival Play as part of their own Festival organisation, always, of course, excluding matters involving heresy and dogma.

[...]

The Friends, while agreeing with the opinion expressed by Members of the Council, said he<sup>414</sup> felt it difficult to answer these questions in the absence of the Dean.

Mr. Lefevre voiced the feelings of the Council in saying that the matter could not wait over until the February Meeting and that it might be well to form a small sub-committee to sonder [sic] the matter.<sup>415</sup>

The theme of the play by Sayers would appear to be the 1381 Peasant's Revolt, the subject of Laurie Lee's *Peasant's Priest* (1947) later commissioned by the Friends. The document explicitly states that it is the content that is questioned, not Sayers' role. The reason for the Dean's conclusion that it would be 'inadvisable' can only be guessed at. Perhaps it was the war with Germany, looming on the horizon, that Johnson saw an objection to plots about national rebellion, when he foresaw a time in the very near future when the country would need to come together. The words that record the meeting are dry and concerned with relaying facts, and so the emotions that may have made themselves known on the part of Irving can only be guessed at. Irving openly questions how much freedom the Friends actually possess over their festival if the Dean can simply dismiss a play out of hand. The entry indicates that this was not a mere point of conversation, but one of contention. The Friends cannot be said to be in control of their festival if Johnson (apparently acting in his official capacity as Dean) had the power to dictate what they can and cannot present. The query shows exasperation on the part

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<sup>414</sup> It is uncertain from the manuscript as to whom 'he' refers to in this case.

<sup>415</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 5 November 1938, leaf 14, verso. CCA-U/167/23.

of Irving, if not of the council as a whole. If the Friends are an independent body working *with* the Church, rather than *for* the Church, how can they be dictated to in such a manner? Irving's objection calls into question the meaning and place of the Friends, and its autonomy as an organisation. Larger questions are being asked than simply what can be performed.

This would appear to be the first time in which the archives reveal dissatisfaction with the Dean on the part of the Friends. The decision to form a sub-committee to explore the topic further shows the seriousness of the debate. If the matter could have been solved before the closing of the meeting such a sub-committee would have been unnecessary. Dean Johnson was not present, and it is possible that had he been, such a move would not have been needed, as no mention is made of the sub-committee in subsequent minutes. The Friends and the Cathedral had a symbiotic relationship, in which they required the cooperation of the Cathedral in order to do their work of raising funds and awareness, which were themselves for the benefit of the Cathedral. The absence of further friction in the minutes may expose this revelation to the Dean: if he wanted to benefit from the Friends (of which he was a part), he needed to work in tandem with them, not against them. This is shown later, in 1955, in the last relevant instance in the minutes.

The minutes of 18 November 1955 record a discussion involving the desire to adopt *The Coming of Christ* as the Canterbury Mystery Play for regular performance. Mention is made that Bishop Alfred Rose of Dover 'spoke of some faulty theology in the Play', to which the minutes state 'The Dean replied: "That does not worry me." He thought that the beauty of its conception and its production in the Cathedral would be an inspiration to many'.<sup>416</sup> The Dean acknowledges the problems of the theology in the play but does not appear to care to address them. As no discussion is recorded, it may even

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<sup>416</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 18 November 1955, leaf 8, verso. CCA-U/167/26.

be assumed that the theological problems were obvious. The play, nearing thirty years since its first performance, had become a symbol of the festival, despite not being produced in the cathedral since 1928. Masefield was still alive and theoretically could have affected the changes needed in order to bring the text more in-line with the prevalent theology of the day, but Johnson is explicitly not interested in that matter. He does not state that it is a trifling matter to be dealt with at a later time. Instead he sweeps the issue aside, focusing instead on the positive aspects of the performance, none of which deal with theological issues. The Friends had already stated, seventeen years earlier in 1938, that they would bow to the Dean in 'matters involving heresy and dogma'.<sup>417</sup> It is not known if Johnson invoked this right in this instance as the idea came to nothing, the play not being adopted, and not having been performed at Canterbury since its 1928 premier.

Specific theological issues have also affected the choice of performance location in various other productions. *A Passion for Birmingham* (2014, 2015, 2016) is a collaboration between Birmingham Cathedral and The Old Joint Stock Theatre, located in the attic of a Victorian bank turned pub located directly off Cathedral Square in Birmingham city centre. The play was revived in 2015 and 2016, and possibly for performance for every Holy Week thereafter. The play was presented in a peripatetic style, with the audience being ushered throughout The Old Joint Stock building and the adjoining streets in which the play was performed, before finishing in the cathedral grounds and the nave of the cathedral itself. It opens with the story of Jesus' disruption of the market in the Temple, as related in Mark 11:15-18 and Matthew 21:12-16. In discussing this scene, Tracy Street, the director of the play, mentioned that the original intention was to play the scene in the nave of the cathedral. The space is well suited for the story. The nave would also serve as an easy point for the audience to assemble and

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<sup>417</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 5 November 1938, leaf 14, verso. CCA-U/167/23.

begin the play. However, upon talking with The Very Reverend Dean Catherine Ogle, Dean of Birmingham Cathedral, it was made clear to Street that doing so would not be permitted, as it was not theologically in line with the views of the Dean, and thus the Cathedral. The reasoning was that in the time of Jesus the Temple was not a good place, rather it was a symbol of the corrupt religious authority that served as his antithesis. Connecting the cathedral with the Temple was not acceptable, and the scene would need to be moved elsewhere; in the end it was performed in the alley behind the pub. This was, however, the only time when such issues necessitated a change in the spatial plan of the production.

This view cannot be considered as a dominant one in the Church of England, as other plays have performed the same scene within the walls of cathedrals. This can be seen in various medieval mystery play cycles, and *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2013, 2014\*, 2015). This is not to say that Dean Ogle's view is out of line with the general feeling of the Church; rather it shows that the varying, personal theological views held by those in power cannot be seen as insignificant. The views of one Churchman/woman cannot be considered to be the views of all, but must still be seen as being part of a wider, collective theology. While discussing the script for the play, Dean Ogle said:

I had some questions in the script about, for example the attitude towards the cathedral, which I felt that simply aligning the cathedral with the Temple that Jesus was talking about wasn't really [appropriate]. I know that's obvious in some ways, but theologically that didn't make a lot of sense to me because the cathedral is *not* the Hebrew Temple. They are different things.<sup>418</sup>

These words show that the Dean does not view the cathedral as merely a performance site for the play, but rather as an active participant in the story, lending its own meanings to the script and aligning the two as one. As Carlson might put it: the cathedral's ghosts would affect the play's meaning. The objection can now be seen more

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<sup>418</sup> The Very Reverend Dean Catherine Ogle, personal interview, 18 February 2014.

as a practical, rather than a hypothetical, theological issue. The fear is not that the audience will come to see the cathedral as a reflection of the corrupt Temple, but rather that the cathedral simply will not resonate with the audience in the way the Temple should; the affective quality of the space is not in line with the theological view of the Temple. With this in mind, locating the Temple in the alley may be seen as a logical choice, bringing the scene into a space that resonates more pertinently to the Dean's theological view. This change in location is clearly not practically appropriate for the story as in no way does an alley behind a pub fit the description or role of the Temple. However, this move to the alley shows that it is the quality of the space and its meaning in the story (i.e. corrupt, un-godly, sinful) that was important. This then lends special significance to the nave of the cathedral when it is used as the space of Jesus' resurrection at the play's finale. Reserving the cathedral's interior for this scene makes the space that much more special; it becomes a unique environment.

When asked about her role in the production, Dean Ogle made her feelings clear: 'I can make my comments, and I have, but it's their piece of work, so it's not really appropriate for me to try to intervene'.<sup>419</sup> Arguably she did intervene by asking for the Temple scene to be moved, but she also maintained a distance from the production, allowing the theatre to create its own work with minimal outside input. She wanted to see the script before the production, 'but only because I didn't want any unpleasant surprises [...] The thing about risk is you want a little bit of risk because [laughs] this is art, this is helping us to see things differently'.<sup>420</sup> Indeed, the Dean made no more objections to the play or the script, though she did feel that by having Jesus shot instead of crucified the play lacked the essential element of suffering that is central to the Passion narrative.

While the textual content of plays can come under some scrutiny, the actions

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<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

onstage can also be viewed askance by some. In Victoria Field's play *Benson*, recounting the first Bishop of Truro's mission to build himself a cathedral, the Bishop administers the final communion to his dying son. When this play was presented as a staged reading in Truro Cathedral's chapter house as part of the playwright's workshop process, audience reaction to the act was mixed. Some felt the scene inappropriate, the actor being a layperson and in acting out the rite of communion he was not treating it with the due respect it deserved. When this was mentioned at a one-day conference on, and reading of, the play hosted by The Marlowe Theatre in Canterbury, the audience seemed universally surprised at this particular objection. Interestingly, the play's sub-plot involving a lesbian affair between the Bishop's wife and their maid drew no objections by those in the chapter house. Similar objections were heard and seen when *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* was performed in Canterbury Cathedral crypt. In the first massacre scene a couple sitting behind me could be heard saying 'I do not want to see this in a church', before leaving the play and not returning.

#### **CASE STUDY: DOROTHY L. SAYERS' *THE ZEAL OF THY HOUSE* (1937)**

Sayers' second foray into writing for the stage was at the behest of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, who commissioned *The Zeal of Thy House*. Margaret Babington sent Sayers a copy of the monk Gervase's chronicle of medieval Canterbury sometime between 7 and 18 October, 1936, as a source of inspiration for her play.<sup>421</sup> Sayers was already a well-known novelist, having introduced the gentleman detective Lord Peter Wimsey to the reading public in 1923 with *Whose Body?*, and at the time her first play, *Busman's Honeymoon*, was in rehearsals before its London opening.<sup>422</sup> *The Zeal of Thy House* was to mark the beginning of her public, literary career on the subject of

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<sup>421</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, ed. Barbara Reynolds (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995), 1.401-2.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

religion.<sup>423</sup> This public engagement can be seen to shape the text of *The Zeal of Thy House*, and would lead to a great controversy played out on the national stage in the early 1940s with her serialised radio play *The Man Born to be King*.<sup>424</sup> The prompt book from the premiere production shows that extensive cuts were made to the text for performance in the chapter house. Such cuts reveal a bias against high church or Roman Catholic theology that shaped the play as it was presented in the Canterbury production, but which does not appear in the later productions immediately following the play's transition to London.

*The Zeal of Thy House* took its name from Psalms 69:9 'For zeal for thy house has consumed me, and the insults of those who insult thee have fallen on me'. The theme of the play can be read in the scriptural inspiration of the title; the play focuses on the meaning of creation, both in the macro world of the Creator (God), and in the micro world of the created (humans). The play opens with the Chapter of Canterbury's monastic cathedral meeting to discuss the rebuilding of the quire following the disastrous fire of 1178, and ultimately choosing a Frenchman, William of Sens, as their master builder for the project. The meeting is watched over by the angels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Cassiel, who are present throughout the rest of the play, acting as commentators, while Michael also acts as the hand of God in the play's climax. The plot commences as the cathedral begins to be rebuilt and a wealthy benefactor, the widowed Lady Ursula de Warbois, arrives to offer financial assistance. William and Lady Ursula become embroiled in a relationship; an open secret known by all, but to which the Prior turns a blind eye. God's judgement on the sins of William (which go beyond that of his affair with Lady Ursula) is meted out when William falls from a great height as he is finishing the great arch of the quire. He is paralysed and in great pain, but refuses to leave his work to another man. In order to concentrate on his greatest work (the

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<sup>423</sup> David Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1992), 128.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-25.

cathedral), William sends Lady Ursula away to live in a convent. As he lies on his deathbed the angels surround William, who is defiant, and says that he has created something that even God cannot, blaspheming the work of the Lord. The angels challenge him and he repents. His life is spared for the moment, and William tells the Prior that he must return to France, and recommends another master builder to take his place.

The play's focus is the craft of the artist, and how to reconcile that craft with the spiritual in a way that is right with God; or, as Sayers herself put it, 'the "proper truth" of the artist'.<sup>425</sup> The connection between the craft of the artist and God was reinforced a few hours after the play premiered, when Sayers took part in a service of thanksgiving for the arts in the cathedral nave.<sup>426</sup> The play asks theological questions throughout, sometimes directly in the mouths of characters and other times implying them through dialogue and action. These queries are so numerous once one looks for them, that they can be read as a theological tract disguised as play. The theological leaning of Sayers is revealed in these questions, becoming the backbone of the text both around which the plot is structured and on which it is supported. Sayers, who grew up in vicarages across England as the daughter of a Church of England vicar, was a theologian as well as an author of fiction, a vocation she demonstrated in numerous essays later in her life.<sup>427</sup> *The Zeal of Thy House* was not begun to be a theological examination of Sayers' own religious beliefs, Sayers having once proclaimed after the play's premiere that 'I never, so help me God, wanted to get entangled in religious apologetic, or to bear witness for Christ, or to proclaim my faith to the world'.<sup>428</sup> If Sayers' own words are to be believed, then she did not do a very masterful job in concealing these personal religious feelings in the text.

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<sup>425</sup> Ibid.,128.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.,126.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>428</sup> As quoted in Catherine Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers* (London: The Kent State University Press, 1990), 220.

While *The Zeal of Thy House* can be read as theology presented in an almost Socratic manner, the views presented cannot be seen as expressions of Sayers' most personally held, private feelings. Sayers' biographer, James Brabazon, wrote in *Dorothy L. Sayers: The Life of a Courageous Woman* (1981), that her mode of public expression regarding her personal theology was to '[do] her best to depersonalise the whole thing by scrupulously sticking to a restatement of Church doctrine, and refusing to be drawn at any time into "what Christ means to me" or any other form of personal avowal'.<sup>429</sup> By following this safe road, Sayers both prevents herself from being questioned by the functionaries of the State Church (she is, after all, parroting their own theology) and simultaneously making her work acceptable to the general public who have also accepted the theology of the dominate religious authority. This can also be seen in her play *The Just Vengeance* (1946) written for Lichfield Cathedral. She is not an innovator of theological thought in these cathedral plays, but rather an expounder of the doctrinal theology of the Church of England.

The published script used by the electrician for the 1937 production of *The Zeal of Thy House* is in the possession of Professor Kenneth Pickering, and shows the cuts made at various times throughout the rehearsal process. Based on the ways in which cuts are marked and the notations in the margins, the prompt book's deletions can be assumed to have been made at various times. Notations exist for large sections of deleted text that appear to have been cut before and after technical rehearsals, given the inclusion of lighting cues next to subsequently deleted text. This shows that text was cut at more than one time, revealing updated edits at various points after the electrician began working. It is not the goal of this case study to attempt to reconstruct the thoughts of those who chose to cut the text, nor to assign such cuts meaning beyond what can be ascertained from the prompt book. Instead the goal is to look at the content of the cuts

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<sup>429</sup> Quoted in Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life*, 27.

and analyse what they can say about the theological slant they brought to the production. The only source for the cuts is the prompt book itself, as no letters, notes, or published texts reveal the reason for their existence. However, the extent of many of the cuts seems to show that a great concern was the length of the production. In a letter to Laurence Irving, Sayers says that she was endeavouring 'to have five sections of about a quarter of an hour each, bringing the thing to an hour and a quarter, which is about the length you asked for'.<sup>430</sup> In the end, the final version as printed would run somewhere around one hour, containing four, rather than five, sections.

At times whole pages and exchanges are marked for cutting in the prompt book; at others only a few words are cut. Some cuts are marked in different style or using clearly different writing implements, even within larger cuts. The latter may well indicate revisions to the script in order to streamline dialogue or cut repetitive phrases, perhaps indicating Sayers' own hand in the matter. This would also indicate that these cuts were made at different times, a not uncommon practice. Marginal notations to the side of cut blocks of text would indicate that the large cutting was subsequent to the use of the prompt book, perhaps revealing cuts made during the technical and dress rehearsals. When one looks at the deletions as a whole and takes them into the context of a desire to shorten the play, it appears that the overtly Roman Catholic orientated text bears a large proportion of such removals.

This could, and perhaps should, be expected of a play written by an Anglican to be performed in the mother church of the Anglican Communion, with the permission and oversight of the Anglican Church. Similar censorship of Roman Catholic theology can be seen in Mystery Plays produced in Protestant churches and is especially evident in J.S. Purvis's modernised, edited script for *The York Mystery Plays* in 1951.<sup>431</sup> This can be viewed as a thoroughly Protestant text expunged of all Roman Catholic material. When

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<sup>430</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1.412.

<sup>431</sup> J.S. Purvis, *The York Cycle of Mystery Plays: A Complete Version* (London: S.P.C.Q., 1962).

the cuts to *The Zeal of Thy House* are taken into consideration with the understanding that the text still needed to portray Roman Catholic characters with a Roman Catholic worldview (in order to not come across as grossly anachronistic), those items left and those deleted can be seen as either theologically or culturally Roman Catholic. If a monk were to pray a litany, they would do so in a recognisably Roman Catholic fashion, but if a layman were praying extemporaneously he need not specifically mention the Virgin Mary to be believable within his historical context.

There is no indication that the play was presented in the abbreviated form acted at Canterbury when it eventually transferred to London. Indeed, the introduction to the sixth impression of the text expressly states that the play is presented in the form played at the Westminster and Garrick Theatres.<sup>432</sup> If one takes the general rule of one page of text equating to one minute of performance time (as Sayers did in her letter to Irving), then *The Zeal of Thy House* should have been roughly one hour in length, making the cuts appear to be unnecessary to bring the performance down to the hour and a quarter Irving suggested.<sup>433</sup> If this is true, that the script as rehearsed originally fulfilled the parameters set by Irving for its running time, then the ensuing cuts may not have been made for the purely economical use of time. This makes for the hypothesis that theology played a greater role in the cuts than initially suggested; and specifically, the theology imposed on the play by the space in which it was performed, since the same deletions do not appear to have been carried over into the successive performance spaces in profane theatres. Looking at the sections of text marked as deleted from the premiere production, the theological intention possibly present behind them becomes clearer.

As William and Lady Ursula's relationship becomes known, Theodatus, a monk, complains to the Prior about the folly of letting a man who is known to be a sinner build a cathedral to the glory of God. The Prior's response is as follows, including the cuts

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<sup>432</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Zeal of Thy House*, 6<sup>th</sup> printing (London: Victor Gollanzc, Ltd, 1939), 7.

<sup>433</sup> Sayers, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 1.412.

indicated by struck-through markings:

*Prior* *My son,*  
Will you not let God manage His own business?  
He was a carpenter, and knows His trade  
Better, perhaps, than we do, having had  
Some centuries of experience; nor will He,  
Like a bad workman, blame the tools wherewith  
He builds his City of Zion here on earth.  
For God founded His Church, not upon John,  
The loved disciple, that lay so close to His heart  
And knew his mind – not upon John, but Peter;  
Peter the liar, Peter the coward, Peter  
The rock, the common man. ~~John was gold,~~  
And gold is rare; ~~the work might wait while God~~  
**Ransacked the corners of the earth to find**  
**Another John;** but Peter is the stone  
~~Whereof the world is made. So stands the Church,~~  
~~Stone upon stone, and Christ the corner stone~~  
~~Carved of the same stuff, common flesh and blood,~~  
~~With you, and me, and Peter; and He can~~  
~~Being the alchemist's stone. The stone of Solomon,~~  
~~Turn stone to gold, and purge the gold itself~~  
~~From Dross, till all is gold.~~<sup>434</sup>

The dialogue is easily divided into two sections, which coincide with the given cuts. In the first the Prior censures Theodatus for presuming to know the will of God and for urging that the Prior act on that presumption. The second half is the justification of the first: God picks the person for the job based on His omnipotence, despite how that decision may look to mortals, it is God's and therefore infallible. For this reason alone the cut makes sense if one is looking to shorten the text: the point has been made and any further dialogue is an extravagance. However, the bolded section of struck-through text indicates a difference in the pencil line used to cut the words. The bolded lines are crossed out with a thicker and darker lead than the rest of the text, and match those that indicate line cuts further down the page. This difference of lines shows that the cuts were not made at one time, but likely two or three time unless the person marking the cuts started with one pencil, changed for three lines, then picked up the original pencil in

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<sup>434</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Zeal of Thy House* (Canterbury: H.J. Goulden Ltd, 1937), 30-1. Unpublished promptbook in the private collection of Professor Kenneth Pickering.

the middle of a verse line and continued their work with the original pencil. This would mean that the original cut left the majority of the text intact, and a subsequent cut removed the remaining lines of the second half of the speech.

The Roman Catholic message of the second section is clear; the Prior's speech is based in Christ's words before his disciples in Matthew 16:18-19:

And I say unto thee, That [sic] thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth thou shalt be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

These are the words of Jesus that can be best used to justify papal authority. If Jesus explicitly said 'upon this rock [Peter, a play on the Latin and Greek for rock, *petra*] I will build my church', then the true Church of Jesus must get its authority from Peter, the first Bishop of Rome; to lack such a lineage is to lack authority and legitimacy. This point of view is not implied, but rather explicitly stated in this passage, albeit in a symbolic form. As a denomination that split with the Papal Church, the Church of England lacks this lineage. With this in mind, the Prior's words can be read as a reaffirmation of the legitimacy of the Roman Catholic Church by invoking the words, and therefore the authority, of Jesus. In doing so they also call into question the stance of the Church of England as a schismatic branch removed from that central authority. The cut can therefore be seen as a way to reduce the length of the play by removing theologically sensitive/controversial material. If the purpose was to shorten the play, then the practice also removed the Roman Catholic-leaning text.

Such cuts are seen later in the play's third part. Theodatus, along with a lay worker named Simon, is given the job of inspecting the rope with which William will be hoisted to the apex of the quire's arch. William speaks with Lady Ursula as the rope is checked upstage for imperfections that could be dangerous. Theodatus averts his eyes

as William and Lady Ursula speak, apparently trying to avoid both William's vanity and the couple's behaviour. The moment commences in the printed script for three pages, with Theodatus fervently saying his litanies as a means to distract himself from William and Lady Ursula.<sup>435</sup> In total Theodatus has eighteen lines of Latin litanies on the printed page, but the prompt book shows that half are cut.<sup>436</sup> These cuts are not the only ones in the scene, but they are the most striking in their content and the most obvious. The other struck-through lines can be seen as a means to streamline the text as they serve no purpose later on in the scene; the lines cut are either superfluous to the plot or are redundancies. However, Theodatus' litanies are integral to the following moment in the play. After William's fall, Theodatus admits that he was concentrating on his prayers so much so that his attention fell from his task and he missed the flaw in the rope that caused William to crash to the ground. Theodatus' prayers, then, cannot be removed wholesale from the text without the addition of another excuse for his lapsed judgement. For the play to continue the course on which it set out to follow, prayer must distract Theodatus. While the production maintained the litany prayers, a distinctly non-Protestant form of worship, they are shortened to their most basic form in order to serve the plot.

As William lies dying, in part four, the Prior comes at his request and speaks to him as he begins to make confession of his sins. His opening words follow a generic form:

*William*                    I do confess to God  
The Father and the Son and Holy Ghost  
~~To Mary Mother of God the ever virgin,~~  
~~To the most holy Apostles Peter and Paul,~~  
~~To Blessed Michael and all his angels~~  
And the whole company of Heaven, and thee,  
~~Father, that I have sinned exceedingly,~~  
~~In thought, in word, in action, by my fault,~~  
By my own fault, my own grievous fault.

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<sup>435</sup> Ibid., 34-6.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid., 34-5.

~~I have lusted as men lust; I have eaten and drunk  
With the drunken; I have given way to wrath~~  
[...]  
I have sinned deep. Of the means, not of the end,  
I heartily repent.<sup>437</sup>

The deleted phrases of the prayer dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Archangel Michael are clear references to various elements of Roman Catholic theology, as is the act of sacerdotal confession itself. Their deletion, like that discussed previously, is a means to satisfy the desire of a shorter text, as can be seen with the deletion of non-theological material in the line as well. The scene, which is spread over two and a half pages, is substantially cut, leaving almost half of the lines out of the production.<sup>438</sup>

It is not the simple erasure of these lines from the production that betrays a possibly Protestant theological slant. Though it is not explicitly stated within the scene, it is clear that William is lying in his deathbed and is not expected to outlive the night, and as such his confession at this moment makes cultural sense. Rather than being something removed from the original text, it is the non-existence of an important part of Roman Catholic sacramental life that is of interest: the Prior does not administer the sacrament of extreme unction within the scene, or at any other time. A deletion of this final sacrament would not be surprising given the nature of other cuts present in the prompt book if it existed in Sayers' text, but the complete absence of the act in the published book is odd. Such an important element of Roman Catholic theology would surely be a key action of the Prior given the circumstances in the world of the play at the moment, but no indication that such an action is carried out exists. The real answer is unknowable, but its omission is telling, whether it was intentional or accidental.

*The Zeal of Thy House* is a theological work in the guise of a play, for which Sayers

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<sup>437</sup> Ibid., 50-1. The text indicated as omitted by the ellipse consists of sixteen verse lines in which William details his sins in greater detail to the Prior; all of which is marked as cut in the prompt book.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., 50-2.

worked to create a world in which the characters lived spiritual lives similar to those of the historical people they represented. The presence of extensive cuts in the prompt book of 1937 is not in and of itself an oddity, but rather it is the content of the cuts that reveals the theology presented within the production. The largely theological material excised from the text goes beyond the need to shorten or streamline the play, and actually removed material that does neither. Largely Roman Catholic subject matter was removed for performance in Canterbury Cathedral, but its presence in the immediately succeeding productions in profane theatre spaces acknowledges the role the space played in shaping the theology, and thus the text, of the play as presented at its premiere in 1937.

### **HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON TEXT**

The historical inspirations for the performance of certain plays in cathedrals have been discussed previously in Chapter Three but the impact of those spaces on plays written specifically for certain cathedrals is the focus of this section. Such historical connections are relatively obvious. The plays of the Canterbury Festival are largely rooted in historical connections between play and place, many focusing on the building's biography. If one considers Biblically based drama as having a historical foundation, then historically connected plays are heavily weighted by medieval cycle drama. In a broad sense, the very existence of the texts of many of the Canterbury Festival plays is dependant on the historical connections between the cathedral and its history.

As the present section is concerned with created texts rather than found texts focus is given mostly to the most well-documented play ever written for a cathedral setting: *Murder in the Cathedral*. However, another key example is Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Just Vengeance* (1946) written for Lichfield Cathedral. Sayers' play is deeply rooted in the city, and can be seen as an exploration of its past through a plot that draws heavily

from Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which Sayers was translating at the time. Aside from the Biblical characters, every individual in the play is connected to Lichfield, and is identified as part of the socio-historical framework that makes the city what it is today. However, Sayers' play is too aligned with the cathedral, and its identification as the symbol of the city (showing Lefebvre's theorisation in practice). It is too much of its time and location, a fact illustrated by it never having been revived.

The reliance on local history may be a deciding factor in the failure of many specially created texts to flourish outside of their intended setting, however a more ephemeral connection to history may be at work as well. The rise of English verse drama in the early twentieth century was typified by *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), beginning the association of the genre with Canterbury. Every play at Canterbury from 1935 through 1970 was written either entirely or mostly in verse, showing a modern connection between the place and genre that has come to be a part of the building's history. By the post-war period, as William G. McCollom argues, verse drama's 'declining visibility' was obvious not only in produced plays, but also by the genre's absence in drama anthologies, generally falling from favour in the 1960s.<sup>439</sup> Verse drama at Canterbury is an expression of the cathedral's history, new as it may be, and therefore the later verse plays such as *A Durable Fire* (1962) were shaped by the building's past association with the form. Some texts may have been affected by the *physical space* of the building, others by the *social* and *mental space*, especially in the case of Canterbury's verse drama.

The deep connections between (created) play and place may have proven to be detrimental to the afterlife of these created texts. Kenneth Pickering asserts that, aside from *Murder in the Cathedral*, all the plays written for the Canterbury Festival have since failed to achieve significant runs once transferred out of the cathedral for which they

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<sup>439</sup> William G. McCollom, 'Verse Drama: A Reconsideration', in *Comparative Drama* 14, no. 2 (Summer, 1980): 99.

were written.<sup>440</sup>

### **CASE STUDY: T.S. ELIOT'S *MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL* AND ITS HISTORICAL-SPATIAL SOURCE**

*Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) is perhaps the best known of the Canterbury Festival's commissioned works, and arguably the best known of Eliot's plays. Eliot was approached by George Bell (by then Bishop of Chichester) soon after the premiere of *The Rock* (1934), and was encouraged by him to write a play for Canterbury.<sup>441</sup> Bell had met Eliot in 1930 and it was he who encouraged the poet to write for the stage.<sup>442</sup> The play was to be paid for from the income generated by *The Coming of Christ* (1928), money that had been specifically set aside for the commissioning of new works to be performed in the cathedral.<sup>443</sup> As such, this was the first piece of drama to be specifically written for a cathedral since the medieval period. Eliot's only remit was that the play was to deal with Canterbury, and he need not focus on the life of St. Thomas.<sup>444</sup> E. Martin Browne, friend to both Bell and Eliot and the first director of *Murder in the Cathedral*, said that Eliot had no hesitation in deciding on the topic of Becket's murder for the play; he was inspired by the history that irrevocably permeated and shaped the space for which he was to write.<sup>445</sup>

The cathedral is now closely identified with St. Thomas Becket, a connection which helped in the creation of Eliot's play. Eliot's was not the first play at Canterbury to deal with some aspect of the life of the murdered Archbishop. In order to best appreciate this, it is important to understand the previous plays at Canterbury that came

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<sup>440</sup> Kenneth Pickering, discussant (symposium, 'Benson: the Sacred and the Stage', The Marlowe Studio, Canterbury. 20 May 2014).

<sup>441</sup> E. Martin Browne, *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 34.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid., 34-6.

immediately before Eliot's. Alfred, Lord Tennyson wrote *Becket* in 1879 after having visited Canterbury Cathedral with his son two years previously; the play was not produced until 1893, shortly after the death of Tennyson, by Sir Henry Irving, who became widely associated with the play's titular role.<sup>446</sup> In the spring of 1897 Irving was invited by the Dean of the cathedral to give a reading of the play in the chapter house, raising £250 in aid of the cathedral's restoration fund.<sup>447</sup> With the creation of a dramatic tradition associated with the Canterbury Festival in 1928 Tennyson's play was naturally considered appropriate for performance. The play was produced in 1932 and then revived in 1933, and was then followed by a production expanding on the story with Laurence Binyon's *The Young King* in 1934.<sup>448</sup> Neither of these plays was written with the cathedral in mind as the performance site, and neither would be produced in the cathedral again. Both were already extant texts that found life in the cathedral, rather than being created for the building.

Unlike Tennyson and Binyon, Eliot used the monumental power of the cathedral to shape his text, which in turn helped to mould the production to the specific site of both its performance and inspiration. *Murder in the Cathedral* offered Eliot the decision to either continue the Becket play tradition or create a new one.<sup>449</sup> The play generally followed in the same path as his predecessors, but quickly diverged in a significant manner. Eliot's plot contrasts with Tennyson's, which focuses on the murder of Becket by placing it in the context of his relationship with King Henry, and with Binyon's, more concerned as it is with Henry II's son, also called Henry. Instead, the new play tells the story of the last days of Becket's life, mostly removing the personal stories of the people involved and focusing on actions in the present time of the play's scenes. The title itself

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<sup>446</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 53-5.

<sup>447</sup> The Times, 'Court Circular', from *The Times* (1 June 1897), from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 15 September 2014.

<sup>448</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 101.

<sup>449</sup> Browne, *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays*, 34.

places the cathedral as the centre of the play's world, giving the space principal billing over a person. Tennyson and Binyon had titled their plays to focus on the individual concerned most in their texts, rather than any element of the plot. Eliot's title shows that while the murder is the central act of the story, it is given meaning by the location of that act, becoming a space-based narrative. The result was a production whose transfer to other sites of performance would mean a loss of an affective quality only resonant in the original environment.

On the evening of 29 December 1170, Archbishop Thomas Becket was brutally murdered in his cathedral at Canterbury.<sup>450</sup> The murderers, four knights believing themselves to be carrying out the will of King Henry II, had broken their way into the cathedral with axes and swords as monks and townspeople made their way into the building for the evening service of vespers. The men approached the Archbishop as he stood in what is now the north transept of the cathedral flanked by a monk, known as Grim, bearing the archiepiscopal cross.<sup>451</sup> The knights attempted in vain to arrest Becket.<sup>452</sup> Finally, in a fit of anger, the knights struck with their swords: the first blow hit Becket in the head, slicing off the top of his scalp and cutting into his right shoulder; the second strike was also to the bishop's head, felling him to the floor.<sup>453</sup> The final swing was delivered, slicing off the top of Becket's skull with such force that the sword broke in two as it hit the pavement.<sup>454</sup> The final insult came as a knight, stepping on the corpse's neck, stuck his sword into the open skull and smeared the brains of the archbishop on the pavement, reportedly saying 'This traitor will not rise again'.<sup>455</sup>

The men involved in the killing were seeking the favour of King Henry, believing the archbishop, only recently reconciled with the king after six years in exile in France,

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<sup>450</sup> David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London: A. and C. Black Ltd, 1970), 141-8.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>453</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

to be a traitor to the crown.<sup>456</sup> This view was partially based in his refusal to hand what he saw as the Church's rights to the Crown.<sup>457</sup> Thomas further infuriated the king by attempting to restore to the Church former archiepiscopal lands claimed by others, including those then under Henry's control.<sup>458</sup> In a move that ultimately alienated Thomas from many, he excommunicated numerous individuals, including the Bishops of London and Salisbury, for a variety of offenses.<sup>459</sup> However, the result of the knights' actions was not to be what they had expected. Pope Alexander III placed the king's continental lands under interdict, forbade him from stepping inside a church, and eventually (in 1172) forced him to concede to a myriad of demands, many of which were key issues in the rift between himself and the late archbishop.<sup>460</sup> Thomas Becket was canonised on 21 February 1173; a year later Henry crossed from his lands in France to do public penance at the new shrine of the martyr in Canterbury.<sup>461</sup> Far from being a victory over his former friend turned rival, the death of Becket can better be seen as the climax of the king's fruitless battle with the Church.

In *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays* (1969) E. Martin Browne wrote that the title fulfilled Eliot's desire to balance the homicidal (murder) with the ritual (cathedral) elements in the text.<sup>462</sup> The ritual of which Browne speaks is an element of the play portrayed not solely in the verse of the text, but also in the chorus of the women of Canterbury. According to Browne, Eliot felt this was needed in order to connect the building to its history and use as a centre of religious worship; the building's past 'strengthened the author's inclination' to build on the cathedral's history to create a quasi-liturgical play in order 'to celebrate the cult associated with a sacred spot by

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<sup>456</sup> Ibid., 148-9.

<sup>457</sup> Frank Barlow, 'Becket, Thomas (1120?-1170)', from *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, from <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 16 May 2015.

<sup>458</sup> Thomas K. Keefe, 'Henry II (1133-1189)', from *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 16 May 2015

<sup>459</sup> Barlow, 'Becket, Thomas (1120?-1170)'.

<sup>460</sup> Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 152-3.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>462</sup> Browne, *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays*, 55-6.

displaying the story of its origin'.<sup>463</sup> Eliot's verse, as well as his plot structure, was influenced by the space in this way. The play was not designed to contextualise the greater story of what brought Becket to Canterbury in December 1170 (as *Becket* had done), but rather to explore the man in that space at that time. In a specifically geographical sense it is a play about a man and his place in the world, both physically and spiritually.

The play, in the context of the space for which it was written, seeks to remind audiences of the place in which they would be sitting. The first of the two parts takes place in the archbishop's hall shortly after the return of Becket to Canterbury in December 1170. The second takes place in the cathedral on Christmas Day and the day of the martyrdom, 29 December 1170. E. Martin Browne wrote that the 'sense of proximity to the actual event affected the author at least as much as the audience'.<sup>464</sup> When the priests are attempting to convince the Archbishop to flee the hall and hide in the cathedral, they invoke locations through which the audience themselves would have only recently passed in order to take their seats: 'My lord, you must not stop here. To the minster. Through the cloister [...] To the altar, to the altar [...] To the sanctuary'.<sup>465</sup> When the play was performed in 1970 in the nave, the actor saying these lines could have even pointed to the high altar of the cathedral, potentially just visible through the archway into the quire. Becket responds to these demands, commanding the priests to 'remember where you are!'.<sup>466</sup> The archbishop's words remind both the characters and the audience that they are sitting in a historical space; the martyrdom, the place of Becket's murder, lies only a few dozen feet from the stage on which Becket-the-character is re-enacting the last moments of Becket-the-man's life.

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<sup>463</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>465</sup> T.S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral* (Canterbury: H.J. Goulding, Ltd., 1935), 29.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid.

## CONCLUSION

Plays composed for cathedral spaces are undertaken with the ramifications of the performance space in mind. The theology of the space and its impact on created play texts is intangible at first appearance, but will ultimately have repercussions on the play as it is presented. The Minute Books of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral show that the cathedral's Dean, who expressly made his role as censor clear in a meeting in 1936, imposed the theological leaning of the Cathedral's governing body on the group.<sup>467</sup> As has been shown, the prompt book of 1937's *The Zeal of Thy House* reveals that the playwright's text was edited in rehearsals, for either timing or theological issues. While it is not possible, given the material available, to state which of these affected the cuts most, what can be said is that such deletions focus mostly on expunging overtly Roman Catholic doctrinal elements. The subsequent, non-cathedral, performance run reinstated these lines, supporting that theology played a part in their earlier exclusion in the original production.

The overt historical influences of the environment have often led to inspiration being drawn from the building's past. This includes requirements that playwrights focus on elements of local history as at Canterbury and Lichfield. The performance history of Canterbury Cathedral prior to 1935 makes clear the concentration on St. Thomas Becket. But what might not be clear is the influence of that tradition on Eliot. The pre-1935 found texts and their focus on the individuals was cast aside by Eliot, who instead of writing a play whose focal point was a person, composed a script centred on a person's relationship with the building that in many ways defined who he was and in whose precincts he was martyred. The very name of the play shows the central role of the space.

The theological and historical influences on created texts show a deep connection

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<sup>467</sup> 'Minute Book', dated 2 November 1936, leaf 7, verso. CCA-U/167/23.

between the cathedral space and the plays written for performance within their walls. The impact of the space on the text is evident on the plays discussed, and shows that the cathedral not only affects individual productions, but texts that then go on to be performed in other locations, bringing with them the consequences generated by the conditions for which they were originally written.

## CHAPTER FIVE:

### SITES OF PERFORMANCE IN CATHEDRALS

The religious spaces of Christianity have morphed significantly since it slowly split from the Jewish tradition in the first centuries of the new religion. Early Christianity was so connected with the faith from which it sprang that James, the brother of Jesus and first Bishop of Jerusalem, was recorded by Eusebius as being 'in the habit of entering alone into the temple' for worship, indicating that the early Church was more of a sect of Judaism than a separate religion.<sup>468</sup> Writing in the mid-second century, Justin Martyr noted that worship in the Christian community was communal and carried out in domestic settings.<sup>469</sup> Such a practice is mentioned in Acts 12:12 and Philemon 1:2 among other biblical passages. This slow transition concerning Christian sites of worship has helped lead to the multiplicity of such spaces in the modern era.

As schism followed schism throughout the centuries, liturgy and the space in which it was performed changed, accommodating a plethora of practices, customs, and ideologies. These changes were not simply adjustments for artistic tastes valued by the periods, but in many cases represent theological shifts in the Church and society. One only needs compare a Quaker meeting house to an Orthodox cathedral in order to understand, however superficially, the ways in which belief affects change in architecture and architectural use. Tracking these changes and exploring the details of their symbolism and history is far beyond the scope of this work. For this reason the discussion is limited to the spaces used in cathedral performance as well as the theological significance of the spaces when used in such a way.<sup>470</sup>

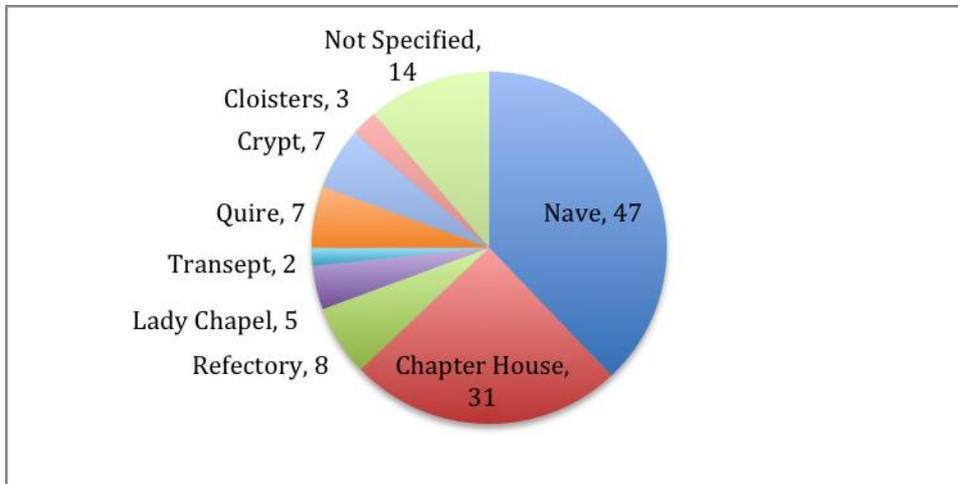
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<sup>468</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church History* 2:23:4-6, from Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church History*, 10 vol., trans. Anonymous (from <http://www.documentacatolicaomnia.com>, circa 340), unpaginated. Accessed 18 May 2016. 'Bishop' is an anachronism, but one that is found in references talking of James

<sup>469</sup> Justin Martyr, 1 Apology 67, from Justin Martyr, *The First Apology of Justin Martyr*, trans. Anonymous (from <http://www.basilica.org>, circa 155), unpaginated. Accessed 18 May 2016

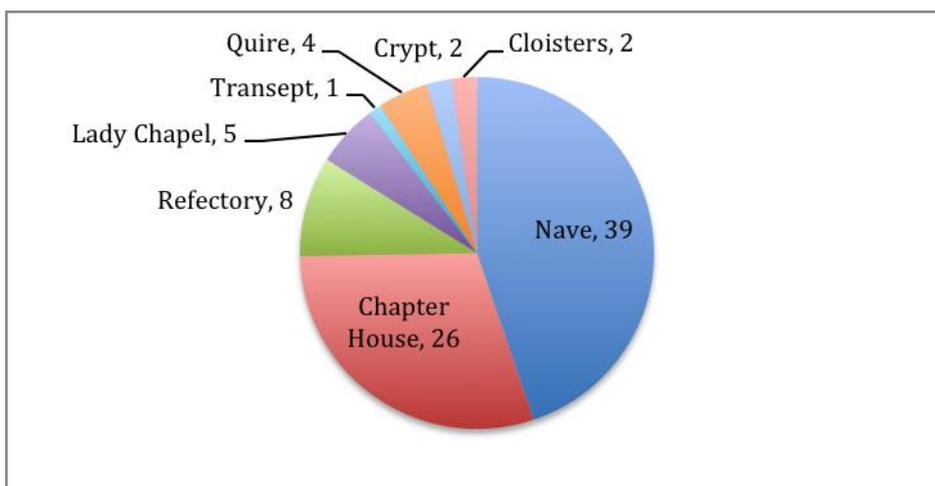
<sup>470</sup> For works on changes physical, liturgical, and spiritual in religious spaces see Allan Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Victor Fiddes, *The Architectural Requirements of Protestant Worship* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961); Jeanne Halgren

**Image 5.1** shows the proportion of spaces used in cathedral performance since 1928 as presented in Appendix B, and includes spaces used in both fixed-site and promenade productions.



**Image 5.1 Combined Fixed-Site and Promenade Performance Spaces, 1928-2015**

These productions fall into two categories that affect their spatial considerations: fixed-site and promenade. For the purposes of this thesis the designation for fixed-site will be used for productions that took place entirely in one space within the cathedral, despite movement that may have occurred within that space [image 5.2].



**Image 5.2 Fixed-Site Performance Spaces, 1928-2015**

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Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe, 1500-2000* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

For example, *The Coventry Mystery Plays* (1979) took place entirely in the nave of the ruined cathedral, but also included movement between different stages in the nave, as all the action was performed within the single area it is considered to be a fixed-site production. Had the action travelled into other areas of the cathedral then it would be labelled 'promenade' [image 5.3].

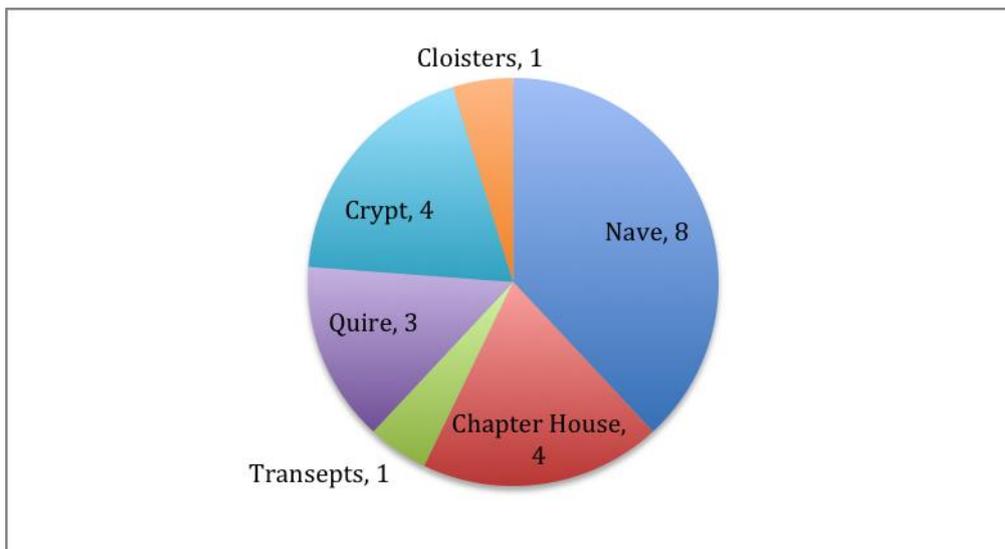


Image 5.3 Promenade Performance Spaces, 1928-2015

The following analysis uses this chart to form the subsequent discussion, beginning with the most popular site for performance and leading to the least-used areas. The chapter ends with a brief case study of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012)\* and the possible staging options that were discussed, drawing on documents in the archive of Bishop Grosseteste University.

Reviews of performance rarely focus on the division of the space and its role in the event. For this reason data for this chapter will draw heavily on my personal experience, as well as the small amount of published material on the matter. The need for such reliance on personal experience highlights the extent to which this is hitherto unexplored. The seating and staging configurations used in the spaces under discussion will be looked at only when evidence is available and pertinent to the discussion. The reason for this is the very inconsistent reporting of such configurations in the sources

that are relied upon for second hand information, such as reviews.

### **CATHEDRALS AS RELIGIOUS, TOURIST, AND THEATRICAL SPACES**

Cathedrals are by their nature religious spaces, environments where devotion to a deity is portrayed visually and carried out through actions. It is commonly believed that cathedrals have always been sites of purely religious activity, but that is not the case. Cathedrals, or churches in general, served as more than spaces of religious devotion up until and after the Reformation. According to William of Malmesbury, in 1141 King Stephen 'turned into a castle the church of the Blessed Mother of God at Lincoln', fortifying the cathedral as a military base of operations against the Empress Matilda's army stationed in the castle across the market square.<sup>471</sup> J.G. Davies' *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (1968) explores this topic, showing horse fairs in Salisbury Cathedral, lace markets in Ely Cathedral, and even wine stalls in Chartres Cathedral, among other activities.<sup>472</sup> The apparent contradiction between these activities and the words and actions of Jesus when he attacked the moneychangers in the Temple (Matthew 21:12-3) was either ignored or considered to be of little importance. The presence of such activities does not demonstrate approval by the ecclesiastical authorities, and it is of note the extent to which Bishops' Visitations record such events in order to single them out for condemnation. Such a history of profane activities in churches, as demonstrated by Davies, makes the modern observer rethink their notions of traditional and proper use of such buildings.

In modern England, cathedrals have become sites of tourism that capitalise on

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<sup>471</sup> As quote in Sheila Bonde, 'Castle and Church Building at the Time of the Norman Conquest', in *The Medieval Castle: Romance and Reality*, eds. Kathryn Reyerson and Faye Powe (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1984), 94.

<sup>472</sup> J.G. Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1968), 56.

their historical, cultural, and social significances.<sup>473</sup> Such a shift demonstrates the 'horizon of meanings' attributed to the monument by Lefebvre, exemplifying the transformation of the space in order to fit changing attitudes. This evolving mix of religious and profane is what has allowed for the entrance of theatre back into the cathedral after a lapse of many centuries. However, given the non-religious use of church buildings, one cannot view this as a profanation of the spiritual space. Rather, these actions reinstate profane use to the sites where it previously occurred on a widespread basis.<sup>474</sup> And as Chapter Two made clear, precedent has been set for such use in medieval and early modern cathedrals. As this thesis demonstrates, the dramatic and historical qualities of the building have become co-opted for theatrical performance of both the religious and profane genres. The result is that a space designed for visual and performed displays of piety has now become something much more: a monument, both religious and profane in its use and even structure.

Though the religious meaning of cathedrals attracts those who are inspired by such spiritual motivations, research into such tourists has shown that element of the demographic of visitors to be a minority. A mere 7% of visitors to Chichester Cathedral reported motivations relating to spirituality as the primary focus of their visit (prayer: 4%; pilgrimage: 3%).<sup>475</sup> A 2010 study of visitors to Canterbury Cathedral found only 10% of visitors 'described themselves as seeking any form of spiritual benefit from their visit'.<sup>476</sup> The work of Hughes *et al* (2013) shows that at Canterbury, tourists are motivated more for architectural and historical reasons to visit the cathedral, with many

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<sup>473</sup> Of course as a site of pilgrimage the medieval cathedral was the focus of a form of tourism, but the central force behind such a mission was itself spiritual and therefore firmly a part of religious practice and life. For more on the purpose and practice of religious pilgrimage in England prior to the Reformation, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Popular Religion in England 1400-1580*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 190-205.

<sup>474</sup> It must be remembered that in this thesis 'profane' is used to denote the non-religious rather than the anti-religious. See *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. 'profane', <http://oed.com>, accessed 31 May 2016.

<sup>475</sup> Jorge Gutic, Eliza Caie, and Andy Clegg, 'In Search of Heterotopia" Motivations of Visitors to an English Cathedral', in *International Journal of Tourism Research* 12 (2010): 753-4.

<sup>476</sup> K. Hughes, N. Bond, and R. Ballantyne, 'Designing and Managing Interpretive Experiences at Religious Sites: Visitors' Perceptions of Canterbury Cathedral', in *Tourism Management* 36 (2013): 215.

responding that the elements of the religious life of the building to be 'possible overkill' or of a 'low priority' to their visit.<sup>477</sup> The aim of the previously mentioned articles, as well as Myra Shackley's 'Cost and Benefit: The Impact of Cathedral Tourism in England' (2006), is to encourage cathedrals to diversify the tourists' experience in order to bring in new and more guests who contribute to the (often) astronomical sums it takes to maintain such buildings.<sup>478</sup> For these reasons cathedrals in modern England often contain spaces that are designed just for such use by tourist. In this way the tourism industry has directly impacted their role and function in society, as well as their physical construction.

A modern visitor to nearly any English cathedral has the option of buying anything from tea and cake to a full meal in cathedral spaces turned into restaurants or teashops. Often these can be accessed from outside of the main building, making entry into the church proper unnecessary, as at Lincoln. Gift shops are also prevalent, selling items ranging from books, postcards, communion bread and wine, to candy, and locally produced alcohol. Even in smaller cathedrals, or those not possessing space that allows for the inclusion of such shops, these can be found just outside the building and are often advertised in the cathedral itself (such as at Leicester, Derby, and Canterbury). Being able to bypass the main attraction shows the independent nature of such spaces and demonstrates their importance as sub-businesses that can cater to the needs of cathedral staff and visitors, as well as those who have no interest in the building. This highlights their supra-spiritual aspects and shows diversified interests on the part of the cathedral governing body. Even if the gift shop focuses on religious items, as at Leicester and Derby, their existence shows that the building is not solely a religious/spiritual environment, but a market as well. If, as Shackley argues, tourists need these non-

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<sup>477</sup> Ibid., 215-6

<sup>478</sup> Myra Shackley, 'Cost and Benefit: The Impact of Cathedral Tourism in England', in *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1, no. 2 (2006): 133-141.

religious spaces in order to better appreciate a cathedral, then the religious significance of the building has adapted in order to stay relevant to society.<sup>479</sup> In turn, these spaces can then be used to help theatre when using the space, offering pre-show food, selling tickets, and advertising.

Such changes typify the monumental capacities of the cathedral. They also help to understand how plays are not as radical a deviation from the norm as may first be assumed. The buildings themselves tend to have areas analogous to those of the traditional and/or black box theatre, making them well-suited environments that both provide new meaning and help the practitioner with physical correlation that makes the transition from theatre to cathedral easier than it may seem. The mimicry of the theatre in extra-theatrical productions, whether consciously or not, is a skeuomorph, or 'an object or feature copying the design of another artefact in a similar material'.<sup>480</sup> To argue that the design of cathedrals is based on that of theatres only works in the contexts of new builds, or modern additions/renovations. Whether conscious or not, the design parallels between theatre and cathedral can lend themselves to each other.

The conceptualisation of the cathedral performance as skeuomorph combined with the implications of the *physical space* of the building and the *mental space* of its religious and heritage meanings can help to understand and explain the choices made concerning how and why cathedrals are used in such a manner. Cathedrals can offer spaces not too dissimilar from theatres, and therefore allow the practitioner to capitalise on its *mental* and *social space* while utilising the *physical space* well suited for such work. When approached in this way cathedral performance can be seen as an attempt to break free of traditional theatrical notions (much like Mike Pearson argued for in 'My Balls/Your Chin' [1998]).<sup>481</sup> It can also be viewed as a way to transpose theatre into non-

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<sup>479</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>480</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. 'skeuomorph', <http://oed.com>, accessed 23 March 2016.

<sup>481</sup> Mike Pearson, 'My Balls/Your Chin', in *Performance Research* 3, no. 2 (1998): 35-41.

theatrical settings by attempting to ease the transition by incorporating skeuomorphic techniques while in the new site (i.e. using the crossing as a false-proscenium).

Despite the new role of many cathedrals as more than religious sites, the Christian messages and acts of the building are still their primary goals. Religion's minor role in the motivations of visitors to such places is nevertheless the focus of the cathedral. Accommodating visitors with non-spiritual intentions brings in the funds needed to operate it, and by extension its ministry, while also offering opportunities for proselytising. In this way theatre presents the cathedral with the same options, as does traditional tourism: people and money that support the religious function of the building.

### **CATHEDRAL SPACES: THEIR USE IN PERFORMANCE**

Cathedrals can be divided into either monastic or secular (non-monastic) buildings, with variations between the categories. Monastic institutions are by their nature sealed communities, cut off from the outside world to a much greater degree than their secular counterparts. As a result of this insular nature, monastic cathedrals contain spaces for day-to-day life not required in secular cathedrals originally staffed by priests who generally, though not exclusively, lived lives relatively more integrated with the local community. Refectories, dormitories, scriptoriums, and kitchens are commonly found in monastic buildings but do not generally exist in spaces built for secular clergy. The monastic cathedrals of Chester, Canterbury, Durham and others attest to this when contrasted with the secular York, Lincoln, Exeter, and Salisbury. A common, though by no means universal, feature of the two groups is the cloister, a monastic element, but one that can be seen at such non-monastic cathedrals as Lincoln, Salisbury, and Hereford. The distinction between these two cathedral types is no longer important in modern practice as no Church of England cathedral currently serves a monastic purpose.

However, the centuries of monastic use that shaped the physical building can still be felt. The following overview of cathedral spaces is designed to clarify their history, meaning, and use in order to provide the contexts in which plays are performed. Many current Church of England cathedrals are modern buildings (such as Coventry and Liverpool) or were parish churches raised to cathedral status (such as Derby, Leicester, and Birmingham), and therefore are physical products of different times and different needs. For these reasons speaking of cathedral design in a generic fashion is troublesome. As most cathedrals fit a certain design footprint, it is best to begin the discussion from that point.

The cruciform church building, as the name implies, has a footprint based on the form of a cross. This is the form of the majority of English cathedrals. **Image 5.4** shows the floor plan of Salisbury cathedral, which closely matches those of other medieval cathedrals.

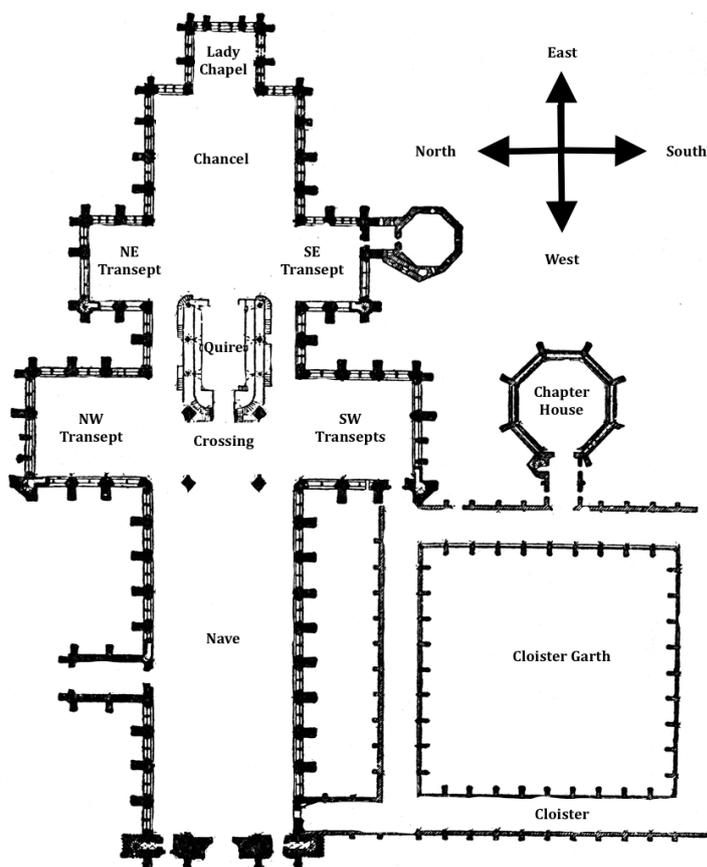


Image 5.4 Floor plan of Salisbury Cathedral, from 'Salisbury Cathedral', from <http://etc.usf.edu>, accessed 3 March 2014. Labels have been added and markings representing the vaulting have been removed for clarity.

The building is situated East-West in recognition of Matthew 24:27: 'For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be'. As a result of this belief, pre-Reformation churches situated the head of the cross in the east, pointing towards the rising sun and emphasising the risen nature of Christ. The crossbar of the building runs North-South, and serves as the primary feature delineating the church into its five basic parts. The nave is generally the largest portion of the building, consisting of the western end of the church up to the point of the North-South arm of the cross. The point at which the two bars meet is known as the crossing, and forms the north and south transepts. To the east of the crossing lies an area generally known as the chancel. Each of these areas can be further subdivided in many cathedrals, a consideration that will be introduced when appropriate. These constituent parts make up the church proper. While often the main focus of the cathedral, the church proper is only part of it, often extending to further, connected, buildings. Such structures include cloisters and chapter houses, common features that vary considerably from cathedral to cathedral. Other, mostly monastic, buildings will be considered as appropriate.

The chancel can be divided along lines that roughly correspond to a large number of the cathedrals in question. The area immediately to the east of the crossing is the quire, the place of much devotional activity in the cathedral as it sits at the heart of the building and can be easily cordoned off from the other activities taking place within the church. Two banks of fixed seating, known as stalls, commonly distinguish the quire as they face each other from the north and south sides. Where these quire stalls end is the presbytery, and consists of the high altar, the area before it, and the *cathedra* of the bishop. A screen placed behind the high altar divides the quire and area to the east, known as the retro-quire. The retro-quire can contain any number of shrines, altars,

tombs, or even just open space, and in so doing almost serves as a smaller, holier nave at the eastern end of the building. Although it is by no means a universal component of cathedrals, the eastern end is often the site of a chapel to the Virgin Mary, known as the lady chapel, a physical reminder of the deep devotion paid to Mary in England prior to the Reformation.<sup>482</sup>

Certain trends can be seen in the areas used in performance over time, especially the change from chapter house to nave performance after World War Two. Perhaps the most revealing element presented here is not the change in performance sites, with some being effectively disused, but rather the gradual adoption of a greater variety of spaces as the twentieth century progressed. The nave has continued to be the primary performance space from the 1950s onwards, being augmented rather than eclipsed by the use of other sites. However, the unique use of sites by a single cathedral, such as the refectory at Chester, and the cloister at Lincoln, are of interest. Such examples are the result of particular performance traditions at their respective sites. The importance of these practices lies in their ability to further set themselves apart from the cathedral performance tradition as a whole. The unique use of the chosen site creates an exclusive experience in that cathedral and its performance history, thereby setting it apart and allowing the cathedral to claim an uncommon aspect for its performance practice.

## **THE NAVE**

As **image 5.1** shows, the nave is by far the most popular site for performance in English cathedrals. It is a long hall forming the western end of the building, and commonly, though not universally, lined by aisles on the north and south sides. As the work of Davies shows, the interior of church naves could be crowded and perhaps even cacophonous. The noise from the people in the nave of Westminster Abbey was so

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<sup>482</sup> For more on the cult of the Virgin Mary and its role in England, see Ruben Espinosa, *Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Elizabethan England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 11-20.

distracting to the monks singing the services in the quire that a separate church, St. Margaret's, had to be built next to the abbey for the general congregation's use.<sup>483</sup> While such distractions are a rarity in modern cathedrals, the secluded nature of the space, cut off from the religious heart of the building, has led to its seldom being used for religious rites when compared to other spaces.

According to the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions (ALVA), Canterbury Cathedral received 957,355 visitors in 2015, second only in cathedral visitor numbers to St. Paul's, London (1,609,325).<sup>484</sup> This gives Canterbury the highest visitor numbers of cathedrals included in this study, and therefore a useful benchmark for judging cathedral activity. A study of Canterbury Cathedral's music and service sheets for 28 February through to 9 April 2016 shows 183 scheduled services or events, of which only six were to take place in the nave.<sup>485</sup> Given that this period included the weeks surrounding Easter, the near exclusion of the largest open area is noteworthy. Of the six events in the nave two were concerts, one was a service of matins for the local King's School, and the other three were all part of the Easter liturgy.<sup>486</sup> This demonstrates the lack of inclusion of this space in the daily, performed religious life of the cathedral. This also helps to explain the appeal of the nave beyond simple logistics for the producers of theatrical performances: by allowing theatrical performance in this area the Cathedral is essentially barring the activity from infringing on the daily life of the building. This may seem counter-intuitive, as the nave is often the area into which those visiting the cathedral enter the building, and the vast openness of the space can provide a significant visual impact upon their entrance. However, the under-exploited nature of the space

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<sup>483</sup> Westminster Abbey, 'History', from <http://www.westminster-abbey.org>, accessed 19 May 2016.

<sup>484</sup> Association of Leading Visitor Attractions, '2015 Visitor Figures', from <http://www.alva.org.uk>, accessed 22 March 2016.

<sup>485</sup> Canterbury Cathedral, 'Music List – for the period 28 Feb to 12 Mar 2016', from <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org>, accessed 22 March 2016; Canterbury Cathedral, 'Music List – for the period 13 Mar to 26 Mar 2016', from <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org>, accessed 22 March 2016; Canterbury Cathedral, 'Music List – for the period 27 Mar to 9 April 2016', from <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org>, accessed 22 March 2016.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid.

makes it an ideal candidate as a performance site. By relegating performance to this area, access to other sites of worship in the rest of the building can be maintained.

Gordon Bottomley's *The Acts of St. Peter* (1933) was written to tell the story of the patron saint of Exeter Cathedral as part of the building's 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary. In a letter to E. Martin Browne, Bottomley complained of the extensive cutting the festival organisers forced on him due to the location of the play in the nave:

There must be a Masonic service – which comes at (say) 6 o'clock on a day when my play is at 4 o'clock. The stage was to be taken down for that, which occupies half an hour. So I was asked to cut that much more out of my play. Then, it appeared that another twenty minutes must be allowed for the Freemasons' processional assembling; they want *that* much more off the play. Of course I am doing all they want: the producer assures me he means to give as much as 70 minutes to the play.<sup>487</sup>

The practical necessities of the cathedral during a time of much activity shaped the production by forcing the playwright to streamline the script. By staging the play in the nave, it was forced to contend with the practicalities of the rest of the festival's schedule. The plays of the Canterbury Festival, staged in the chapter house, would also have had to adjust timings in order to accommodate services in the nave. The difference with Bottomley's play was that the practicalities of using the same space as that which was needed for services forced more time to be cut in order to change over the space, rather than to simply allow people to go from one event to another. Although no mention is made of the *physical space's* influence on the text, the way in which it was used, the *social space* had a tangible mark on the outcome. Removing fifty minutes from a (presumably) 120-minute play must have an impact on the story being told, an impact of the nave's *social space*.

The large amount of open space allows for relatively easy logistics for the inclusion of scenery and audience seating, as well as for the easy movement of such

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<sup>487</sup> As quoted in E. Martin Brown with Henzie Browne, *Two in One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 76-7.

elements, and facilitates experiments with non-conventional seating, should this be desired. The direct access to the site from outside the building also makes the ingress and egress of the audience more controllable. For *The Coming of Christ* (1928), audience members were given colour-coded, timed entrance tickets, each of which corresponded to a different door leading into the nave [image 5.5]. Such actions would have made for easy audience management.



Image 5.5 Colour-coded, timed entry tickets to *The Coming of Christ* (1928), Canterbury Cathedral. CCA-U167/69/4.

Although it generally presents as an open space, the nave is not without features that can often be incorporated into the production. The most obvious is perhaps the crossing, and its associated furnishings. The majority of the nave-based productions included in image 5.1 were fixed-sited, with the audience sitting in the nave and facing east, towards the stage in the crossing. The arch spanning the western piers of the crossing, a common configuration in English cathedrals built before the innovations

introduced by Sir Christopher Wren at St. Paul's, forms a natural, if disproportionately large, false-proscenium arch. The presence to this piece of theatre-like architecture can perhaps explain why this is the most prevalent single arrangement in cathedral performance, allowing both producers and audience to connect the unusual performance space with more traditional, well-known, and acceptable presentational frameworks. This allows for the continuation of the fourth wall, separating actor and audience and confining each into their own spheres. *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013) used this separation to such a degree that when God entered from the audience space for the final judgement, it caught some off-guard enough to have caused a woman sitting near to me to let out an involuntary 'shit!' as his robes brushed her shoulder.

Different architectural styles affect the use of the nave as well. The English Baroque style of Birmingham Cathedral (finished 1715) is rectangular in shape except for an apsidal chancel. The plan of the cathedral's interior means that the space is essentially one nave; an open space without meaningfully partitioned areas such as the chapels, transepts, or quires found in earlier cathedrals such as Canterbury or Lincoln [image 5.6].<sup>488</sup>

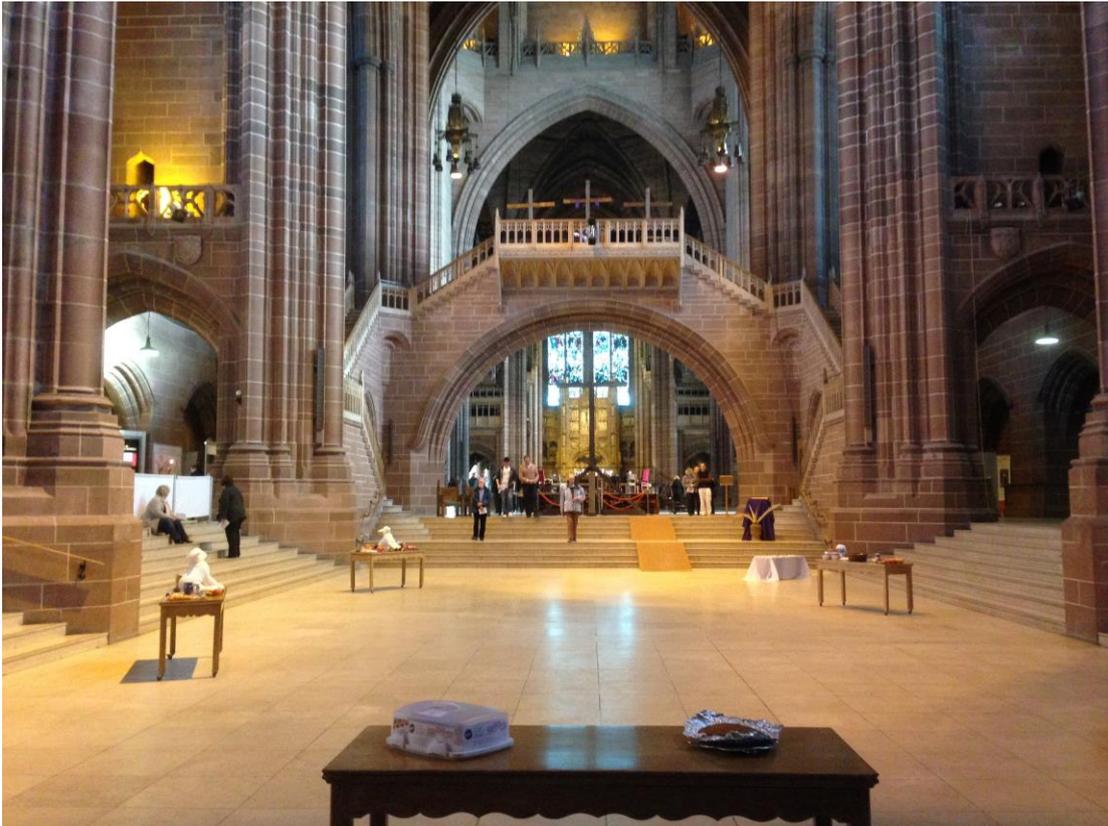


Image 5.6 *The Midlands Mysteries* (1990), the nave, Birmingham Cathedral. Photo courtesy of Kenneth Pickering.

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<sup>488</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands*, 3.

Liverpool (built 1903-78) lacks a traditional nave altogether. Instead, the western end is comprised of a sunken area known as the 'well', flanked by aisles level with the rest of the building's floor; this is separated by a large bridge, to the east of which is the western crossing, referred to as 'the great space'.<sup>489</sup> The segmentation of the place means that the 'well' portion of the nave forms a sunken acting area surrounded on three sides by steps that can be used as raked seating [image 5.7].



**Image 5.7** *The Liverpool Passion Plays (2014)*. The well looking towards the high altar in liturgical east. Photo Jason Burg.

Canterbury offers an architecture that is unique in English cathedrals. Its tiered stages (English Perpendicular, circa 14<sup>th</sup> century) rise from just west of the crossing and up to the pulpitum, providing four areas: the floor, two deep steps that can act as stages, and the top platform. [image 5.8].

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<sup>489</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The North and East Anglia*, 170-6.



**Image 5.8** The crossing of Canterbury Cathedral showing the different levels leading to the pulpitum. Photo Jason Burg.

These three distinctly different architectural styles show the variety available in the cathedrals of England, and demonstrate the different circumstances such variety presents in the nave. Although all are nominally naves, each case provides a different layout that must be adapted to for theatrical performance in that place.

The demand or desire for a large seating capacity can influence the choice to stage productions in the nave. Because financial records for many nave-based productions are not available, estimates of the actual cost are not possible. However, the financial requirements for such productions can be very high. When speaking unofficially to someone involved in the 2016 production of *The York Minster Plays* in York Minster, I was told that the budget was ‘in the range of six figures’.

Correspondence concerning *The Canterbury Mystery Plays* (1986) shows that the estimated cost of producing the play was £49,000, requiring both financial backing of a third party and 1,000 audience members per night in order ‘to make the project

viable'.<sup>490</sup> If audience volume and the resultant revenue were significant components in recouping an investment, then the nave, being the largest portion of most cathedrals, would be a logical choice for the play's staging.

**Image 5.3**, which presents the spaces used for promenade performances only, shows that the nave is the most popular space for both fixed-site and promenade. In most cathedrals it acts as an access point to many other areas of the building, so its inclusion demonstrates its appeal for such productions. Promenade productions such as *The Canterbury Mystery Plays* (1986, 1989, 1992) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1995) all centred on Canterbury's nave, using it as the point from which access into other areas of the building was granted. The different physical environments in the cathedral can be used to heighten elements of the scenes performed when used in promenade. *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2000) used the grandeur of their space by staging the journey to Golgotha as a procession from the cloister garth (the main acting area) to the nave, stopping the audience near the crossing. They then watched from that vantage as Jesus, alone, carried his cross to the far western end of the cathedral, at which point the cast ran towards Jesus, screaming 'Crucify him! Crucify him!'<sup>491</sup> The loneliness caused by the long, solitary walk down the dark nave, broken by the echoing screams and pounding footsteps of the rest of the cast, used the environment to emphasise the isolation and savagery of the moment. In contrast to this, the previous scenes had taken place in the enclosed cloister with actor and audience only feet from each other. The feeling of exile had been made possible in part by the change in spatial relationships, and therefore a shift in the dynamic between the actors and audience.

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<sup>490</sup> 'Correspondence concerning the performance of Mystery Plays in the cathedral'. CCA-U167/73; Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in The Cathedral: A 20<sup>th</sup> Century Encounter of Church and Stage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J. Garnet Miller, 2000), 311.

<sup>491</sup> Keith Ramsey, *The Lincoln Mystery Plays, 1978-2000: A Personal Odyssey* (Lincoln: Nerone Books, 2008). 61-2.

## THE CHAPTER HOUSE

With thirty-one productions, the chapter house is the second most commonly used place within the cathedral for performance. This number is heavily influenced by the plays of the Canterbury Festival but also includes more recent productions at Exeter Cathedral. When viewed over time it is a trend that mostly occurs early on in the timeline of this study. The chapter house can be argued as being unusual in cathedral spaces, as it is designed for speech, rather than singing or silence. The name derives from the daily reading of a chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict and/or a chapter of the Bible in the room, which also served as a meeting place for members of the monastic or secular community.<sup>492</sup> Though chapter houses were commonly rectangular, the building of Lincoln's ten-sided chapter house, completed in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, led to a 150-year trend of adopting polygonal plans for chapter houses throughout England.<sup>493</sup> This led to a great variety of design for such structures all over the country.

The chapter houses at Canterbury and Exeter are rectangular, rather than polygonal, and represent the only chapter houses used for performance in this study. Their relatively barren interior and generic shape would make the staging of theatre in it a straightforward prospect. Polygonal chapter houses may be deemed difficult spaces on account of the common presence of a central pillar supporting the roof, thereby causing sight-line problems and/or a call for creative seating configurations. Additionally, many of these spaces possess only one entry and exit point, making for unnatural and carefully devised blocking. This single point of entrance and exit also suggests another reason why chapter houses are rarely used, as Health and Safety regulations may not allow large numbers to congregate in such areas. Canterbury and Exeter, being rectangular, pose no sight line problems caused by a central pillar, and

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<sup>492</sup> David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 412-7.

<sup>493</sup> Jon Cannon, *Cathedral: The Great English Cathedrals and the World that Made Them, 600-1540*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Constable and Robinson, 2011), 365.

allow for simple seating configurations. The chapter house at Canterbury also has a small door cut in the northeast corner of the room, allowing for entrance and exits from two points.

Chapter houses possess a dual appeal for performance: their seclusion and non-liturgical nature. The space is normally accessed indirectly from the main church building, usually by way of a cloister walk. Though this is the most common layout, it is by no means universal (see for example Ripon and Lichfield Cathedrals, where the chapter house is entered directly from the church). Because of this, they are easily separated from the rest of the building and make excellent areas for the presentation of a variety of events. As they are often accessible without the need to enter the body of the church, they are perhaps the least likely to interfere with the operations of the building. This is particularly true of Canterbury, where access to the room is through the cloisters, which in turn can be entered from six points, only one of which leads into the church.

The chapter house at Canterbury held an exhibition of medieval stained glass\* in 2015; and in 2016 a launch party for an album by the cathedral's Girl's Choir took place in the room.<sup>494</sup> Lincoln's hosted a show of Methodist artists' images of Christ's passion in 2016,\* while Lichfield's houses a permanent display of items relating to the cathedral's Anglo-Saxon history.\* Events such as these show the common use of the space for non-liturgical events. The chapter house at Canterbury was scheduled for a single use during the six weeks for which music lists were available over the Easter period of 2016. This unique instance appears to have been for the beginning of the Palm Sunday procession, acting as a meeting point for the beginning of the liturgy's performance, rather than as a substantial component of the ceremony. It is perhaps most telling that when the chapter house is demolished, as at Rochester and Hereford, or when parish churches gained

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<sup>494</sup> Canterbury Cathedral, 'Music List – for the period 28 Feb to 12 Mar 2016,' from <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org.uk>, accessed 22 March 2016.

cathedral status, such as Derby and Leicester, there does not seem to be a desire to rebuild or add these spaces, as they do not serve a necessary function in modern cathedrals. Purpose-built, modern cathedrals such as Coventry, were never intended to include chapter houses. According to a cathedral guide, Liverpool's was included only for tradition and then had to be completely funded by the local Freemasons, and is in fact the smallest chapter house in the United Kingdom. Nikolaus Pevsner does not even mention the building as possessing a chapter house in his architectural description.<sup>495</sup> This space, then, is an example of one that cannot be universally applied to every cathedral.

The ability to separate the chapter house from the rest of the building, combined with its non-liturgical nature, makes it especially useful for cathedral performance. Certain drawbacks of the space appear to override these positive aspects, however, and probably account for its underuse. The aforementioned problem of the central pillar in polygonal chapter houses at first increases the problem of sight-lines, which can be overcome (to a degree) by adjusting the seating (for example, angling two seating areas with the pillar as the point at which the zones bend towards one another). This in turn would likely reduce the audience size, leaving the production to decide if partially obscured seats make up for the increase in their overall number. This will be seen in the following case study.

The size of the space is also a factor. Perhaps the reason for the use of the chapter house almost exclusively by Canterbury is its great size: at 90 feet x 35 feet, it is one of the largest in England.<sup>496</sup> By way of comparison, Exeter's is roughly 50 feet x 30 feet (the only other cathedral to use the chapter house).<sup>497</sup> In Chapter Six sound

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<sup>495</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The North and East Anglia* (London: The Folio Society, 2005), 170-6.

<sup>496</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The Southeast* (London: The Folio Society, 2005), 54.

<sup>497</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands*, 71.

reverberation will be explored and shown to be a particularly acute problem that results in auditory difficulties. The structure of polygonal buildings increases this problem. These combine to make the chapter house, though at first appearance a very suitable place for theatrical performance, a less than ideal location.

## THE REFECTORY

Refectories are the places in which meals were taken in monastic, and some secular, communities. The only cathedral to have used its refectory for theatrical performance in the modern period is Chester. The post-war revival of the city's mystery plays began at the cathedral's refectory in 1951, and was then carried on in 1952 and 1957, before the plays moved out of doors.<sup>498</sup> The refectory at Chester is interesting as it is perhaps the largest indoor space in the cathedral outside of the church proper, and is separated from it by the cloister [image 5.9].

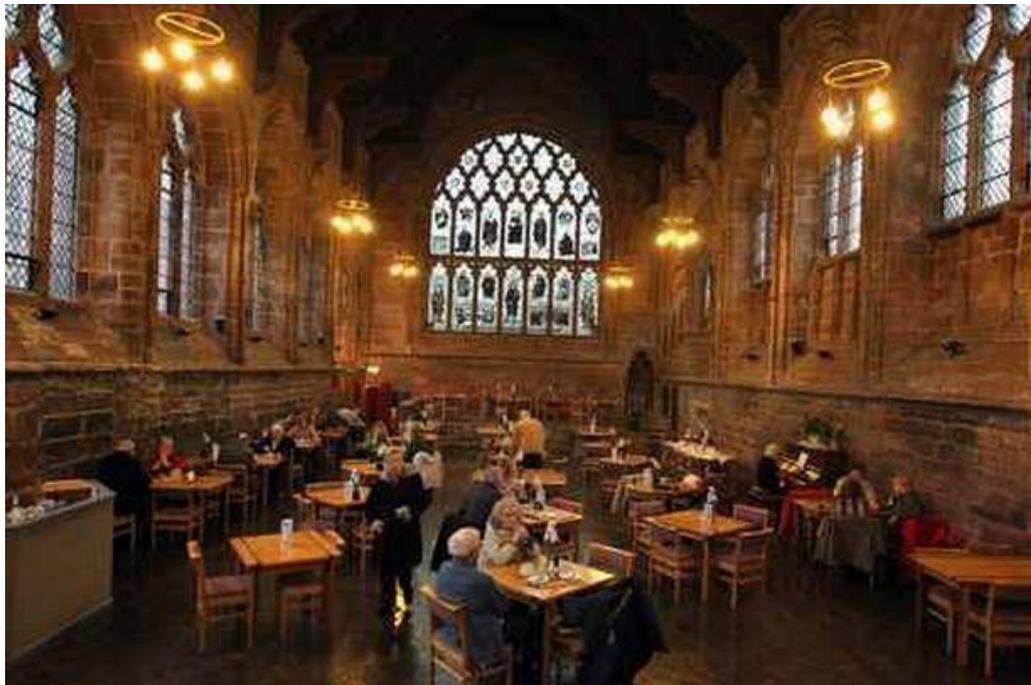


Image 5.9 The Refectory, Chester Cathedral. From Chester Chronicle, 'Ambitious plans unveiled for first ever "free school" in Chester', from *Chester Chronicle* (26 January 2012). From <http://www.chesterchronicle.co.uk>, accessed 6 March 2017.

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<sup>498</sup> David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', in *METH* 15 (1993): 111-23; John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in *ROMRD* 13-14 (1970-1): 261.

The large room resembles a medieval great hall and contains an elevated pulpit, accessed via a staircase cut into the south wall, from which readings from the bible would be made during meal times.<sup>499</sup> The foundation is Norman, but was heavily redesigned in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>500</sup> It was restored by George Gilbert Scott in 1913, and possesses one of the most elaborate timber ceilings in any cathedral.<sup>501</sup> The result is a harmonious design offering a single Neo-Gothic design aesthetic. The space is well suited for theatre due to its size, shape, access points, and timber ceiling (which would lend acoustical help by absorbing echoes and lessening reverberation time), and separate enough from the church proper so as not to interfere with services or tourists. It is, however, too small for the large-scale productions that have come to be part of *The Chester Mystery Plays* since the 1960s. For the 2013 production the refectory was used again, but as a place for pre-theatre dinners rather than a performance venue.

## **THE QUIRE**

The quire is another space that at first thought may appear to be well situated for theatrical performance. For the purposes of this thesis, the quire will be considered to be the entire area from the eastern pier of the crossing extending to the high altar. Quire stalls can act as audience seating, and the layout provides the ability to enter from various, easily accessible points into the acting space. Its architecture would require traverse staging, should one wish to use the stalls, and is in that sense limiting. Acoustically, quires are often the best space in the building, with wooden stalls and canopies to provide sound absorption that reduces reverberation. However, as anyone who has sat in quire stalls can attest, the available seating is designed not for one to be a spectator, but rather an auditor. The musical quality of cathedral services (often

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<sup>499</sup> Chester Cathedral, *Chester Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2009), 45.

<sup>500</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands*, 52-3.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid.*

described as being ‘sung’, rather than ‘said’) has created areas designed for singing. A stone inscribed with ‘cantante hic [sing here]’ is embedded in the floor at the centre of the quire at Lincoln, marking the point from which the acoustics of the space can be best controlled by a singer.<sup>502</sup> Sight lines in the stalls, particularly the back row, are often less than advantageous to one’s visual perception of any action placed between them. The quire is more commonly used for promenade, rather than fixed-site performance, in which audiences usually stand rather than sit. This allows for use of the better acoustics, but also for evading the use of the stalls.

*The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2014)\* made substantial use of the quire, with stagings of ‘The Last Supper’, ‘The Trial Before Caiaphas’, and ‘Pilate’ taking place in that area.<sup>503</sup> The script even describes the desired effect of using the space:

The audience is encouraged to congregate in the middle of the Presbytery, (as they will eventually find themselves in the middle of a ‘tennis-match style’ dialogue between characters in the Sanctuary, Bishop’s Throne and Choir Stalls). Caiaphas and the witnesses are based in the Sanctuary [...] [The Trial] takes place in the Bishop’s Throne.<sup>504</sup>

By setting the audience in the centre of the trial they have become part of the scene of the play through the power of affective piety. [image 5.10]. The use of levels in the quire helped to lend a sense of awe to the scene while providing better sight lines. As the audience walked into the presbytery, they passed through a choir singing from the stalls, entering a space that presented robed figures on the steps before the high altar in front of them [image 5.11] as well as in the *cathedra* to their right [image 5.10].

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<sup>502</sup> The quire at Lincoln was built mostly between 1190 and 1350, but Pevsner gives no indication as to the most likely date of the stone. Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The North and East Anglia*, 122.

<sup>503</sup> These scene titles have been added by myself rather than using the act/scene division in order to provide context for the scenes’ contents.

<sup>504</sup> Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop, *This is Our Story: The Liverpool Passion Plays, Whom Do You Seek?* (Liverpool Cathedral, 2013), 9. Unpublished typed manuscript.



Image 5.10 The Trial Before Pilate, *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2014). Liverpool Cathedral. Photo Jason Burg.



Image 5.11 Christ Before Herod, *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2014). Liverpool Cathedral. Photo Jason Burg.

The experience of walking into such a scene, combined with the powerful organ music reverberating throughout the space, was breath-taking. What made the audience a part of the scene most was this use of the architecture. The space forced the large audience

to push together to fill the quire stalls as well as the floor in-between them; a result of which was the creation of a crowd reflecting the crowd of the story. By putting us together in this way, we became a part of the performance for these scenes alone. At no other place in the cathedral did the audience become a component of the plot. The close atmosphere forced upon us by the quire created this feeling. The space is imposing at all times, but when used as a component of the play it lends an affective quality that contributes to the overall experience.

In 1987 *The Zeal of Thy House* was revived at Canterbury, fifty years after its original performance, and was staged in the quire, rather than the chapter house.<sup>505</sup> The play tells the story of the rebuilding of that portion of the building, with many scenes either explicitly or implicitly taking place in that area. Using the quire was a way to connect the play and the place to a greater degree than had been done in 1937, reinforcing the connection to the building that Dorothy L. Sayers intended with the original script. The re-enactment of history on the very site where such events occurred is a powerful use of space, and one that was the intention of the production. The director of the play, Kenneth Pickering, used this connection to impact the production. As such his staging occupied a grey area between play and historic re-enactment, the 'theatre/archaeology' of Pearson and Shanks, a component that was centred on the use of the quire.

Quires often contain the most obvious lamination of different architectural periods and styles in cathedrals. The basic structure at Canterbury's quire was completed by the early 12<sup>th</sup> century in Late-Norman style, but the fire of 1174 allowed William of Sens to introduce the Early Gothic style to England from France.<sup>506</sup> Most of the stonework's style seen today is of William of Sens' design, but the stalls date from 1685 and 1879, the pulpitum and its iron gate are late-14<sup>th</sup> century, and 15<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>505</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 315.

<sup>506</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The South-East*, 18.

sculptures of kings are the oldest in England (apart from memorial monuments).<sup>507</sup> The addition of modern altar coverings and chairs adds late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century design to the already eclectic area. These varied styles visually demonstrate the history of the building, showing it has been, and continues to be, a place of active worship and innovation, rather than a preserved museum piece. The monumental ability of the cathedral to maintain its relevancy is seen in the design styles that occupy the same place. *The Zeal of Thy House* (1987) added to this mix by becoming part of the history of the quire, adding a new layer to the artistic history of the place. All areas of cathedrals possess such amalgamations, drawing on the designs of different periods and mediums of art in order to create a greater whole.

Just as the architecture of Liverpool Cathedral affected the staging of the scenes already discussed, the physical construction of the quire can act as a catalyst for its use. Worcester Repertory Company's *Romeo and Juliet* (2015)\* was staged on the steps leading to the high altar, with the audience positioned in rows parallel to the stage. This was in contrast to the staging of their earlier works in the cathedral, which all used the open expanse of the lady chapel. The quire offered a more enclosed, secluded space in which the action of the play could not be lost. This was particularly important as the matinee performances in the lady chapel took place bathed in brilliant sunlight, making the focusing of audience members' attention more difficult. This problem was solved in the quire by the space's natural ability to restrict the field of vision of the audience via the enclosing architecture. The space was more conducive to vocal intelligibility when compared to the previous year's performance, and actors and crew had a more useful backstage space in which to work, easily concealing themselves from the audience. Onstage the pulpit to the south of the altar acted as Juliet's balcony, while the *cathedra* served as the control booth, showing the creative use of space the quire required of the

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<sup>507</sup> Ibid., 44.

production team. When comparing and contrasting the case of Worcester Repertory Company's use of space in Worcester, the quire presents obvious advantages to the other location used by the group.

## **THE CRYPT**

Crypts, like many architectural features, are not found in all cathedrals. Some lack a crypt, while others have small crypts (such as Hereford) or extend them to match a large proportion of the church's footprint (such as Canterbury and York). By their very nature crypts are a place of death and decay, but the commercialisation of cathedrals as tourist sites has perhaps changed this feeling, making them not so different from the rest of the building. Just as the quire, crypts are used for both promenade and fixed-site productions, offering similar options to those of the quire in the way of various entry and exit points into the space.

Much as with the use of the chapter house, Canterbury dominates the list of cathedrals where crypts were used for productions. The first recorded instance of crypt performance was Christopher Fry's *A Sleep of Prisoners* (1973).<sup>508</sup> The play is set in a prisoner of war camp in which four inmates interact with each other and with their dreams. It is through these dreams that the men draw lines connecting their stories to those in the Bible. The confined, relatively intimate space of the crypt would have acted as an appropriate setting for the action, encompassing the audience and actors in a way no traditional theatre could have accomplished. Plays would not be staged in the crypt again until 1986, when Kenneth Pickering's promenade version of *The Mysteries* used several areas of the building, including the crypt. In the preface to the published script for the 1986 production, Pickering noted that that 'the intimacy of the pageant wagon

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<sup>508</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 306.

was achieved in the Crypt'.<sup>509</sup> While no mention is made of the specific scenes played out in the space, the use of 'intimacy' may imply that smaller rather than crowd-based scenes may have been the focus.<sup>510</sup> Of the four areas used in the production (nave, chapter house, water garden, and crypt), only the last did not have a 'mansion' used 'to focus the audience's attention on the play' as its setting.<sup>511</sup> Such staging was necessary in the eyes of Pickering for the remaining spaces. The crypt appears not to have required the same treatment as the others, pointing to the unique circumstances that it offered. The production was deemed a success and was revived in 1989 and 1992, as well as inspiring a separate tradition at Birmingham Cathedral from 1990.<sup>512</sup>

The crypt at Canterbury, though large, has been divided into smaller areas by the building's architecture. Archbishop Anselm (1093-1109) began a massive extension and reconstruction of the Norman cathedral that lasted from 1096-1130, building above Archbishop Lanfranc's extension to the earlier Saxon building (1070-6) and in so doing turned the entire eastern end of Lanfranc's work into what is now called the western crypt.<sup>513</sup> The result is an aboveground crypt with transepts and large windows letting in sunlight on the east and south, with proportions and light that make it feel 'lofty and spacious'.<sup>514</sup> The cult of Becket provided funds and an impetus for the construction of the Trinity Chapel and its crypt (1181-4), forming what is now known as the eastern crypt [**image 5.12**].<sup>515</sup>

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<sup>509</sup> Kenneth Pickering, Kevin Wood, and Philip Dart, *The Mysteries at Canterbury Cathedral* (Worthing: Churchman Publishing, Ltd., 1986), xi.

<sup>510</sup> Paperwork between the producing theatre and the Cathedral for the 1986 production mentions specific spaces and the scenes to be played in them (CCA-U/167/73). However, these documents predate the opening of the production and do not align with Pickering's own published recollections. For this reason I have chosen to disregard the paperwork in favour of Pickering's account.

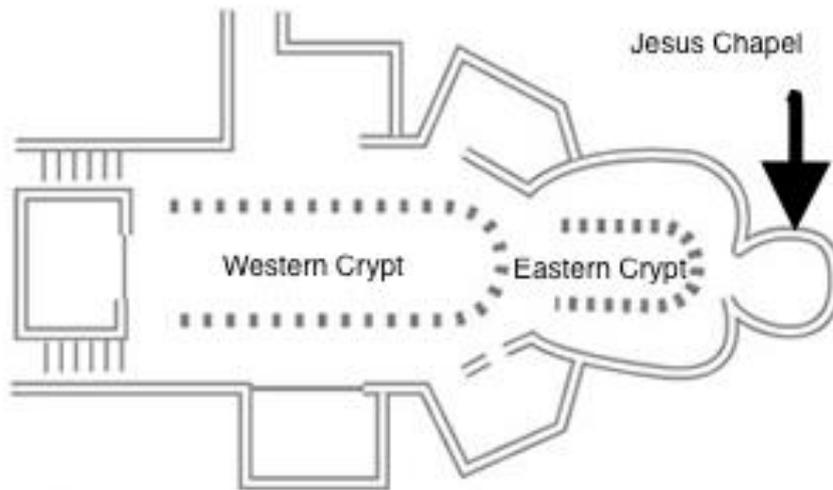
<sup>511</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 310.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, 308-21. Birmingham Cathedral has no crypt, so it is not considered in this section.

<sup>513</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*, 9-17.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-8.



**Image 5.12** The crypt, Canterbury Cathedral. Photo from Canterbury Cathedral, 'Cathedral map', from <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org.uk>, accessed 6 March 2017. Labels added.

The western crypt is further divided, owing in part to the original design concept of the space not as a crypt, but as Lanfranc's church's eastern end. **Image 5.12** shows the original design, with the quire, aisles, transepts and former presbytery (now the location of the 14<sup>th</sup> century chapel of Our Lady Undercroft), as well as the ambulatory of Lanfranc's cathedral.<sup>516</sup> The addition of numerous Norman columns further helps to visually divide the space, and provides for more intimate acting areas than might at first be assumed given the great size of the area. This division is what helped to create the intimate space needed for Fry's play and Pickering's productions. Although considerably larger than the chapter house, the crypt's architecture partitions it into manageable areas that lend themselves to the plays and scenes it has hosted.

Two more productions used Canterbury's crypt: *Murder in the Cathedral* (1998) and *The Massacre at Paris* (2014). Both were staged to mark special events. The former was a part of the Lambeth Conference, a gathering of the Anglican Communion held every ten years, and included a special performance for the conference delegates, many of whom would have been bishops and archbishops from across the world.<sup>517</sup> The latter was a play to mark the 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Christopher Marlowe. Both

<sup>516</sup> Ibid., 7. No nave is included as Lanfranc's original is now part of the current nave. An 'ambulatory' is a semi-circular aisle that encloses an apse. See Ibid., 339.

<sup>517</sup> Bob Libby, 'Be Quick to Catch a Murder', in *The Lambeth Daily* 4 (22 July 1998): 3.

productions served a purpose to mark an event. *Murder in the Cathedral* acted out perhaps the most well known story of the building that serves as the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion, and therefore was a way to connect the delegates and their faith to the history of the building. Use of the crypt, a portion of the cathedral that predates the martyrdom of Becket, both taps into the ancient past of the space and offers a secluded area from the rest of the cathedral, therefore not likely to interfere with the running of the conference's proceedings.<sup>518</sup> The case of *The Massacre at Paris* (2014) is discussed in greater detail in the case study to Chapter Three, and shows the connection the play had to the crypt.

### **THE LADY CHAPEL**

Lady chapels, often situated at the extreme eastern end of the building, are sites testifying to the growth and power of the cult of the Virgin Mary in England in the medieval period. In *The Stripping of the Altars* (2005) Eamon Duffy points to the special role of Marian devotion in English religious practice throughout the medieval period, changing only with the Reformation.<sup>519</sup> The cult was so endemic in English society and culture that rather than die with the Reformation, it morphed into Protestant-approved forms, such as that shown by Ruben Espinosa in *Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Shakespeare's England* (2011).<sup>520</sup> These chapels, like many other sites under consideration, vary enormously from cathedral to cathedral. Five instances of lady chapel performance have occurred since 1928. However, it is interesting to note that the earliest is from 2012, making it the most recent area to be used for theatre.

Worcester Repertory Company is responsible for four of the five productions in

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<sup>518</sup> Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), plan I.

<sup>519</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 256-65.

<sup>520</sup> See Ruben Espinosa, *Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Shakespeare's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

lady chapels: *Macbeth* at Worcester (2012), *The Merchant of Venice* at Worcester (2013), and *Julius Caesar* at Worcester\* and Hereford\* (2014). Lady Macbeth's lines 'Come, you spirits/ That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,/And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full/ Of direst cruelty! (1.5.40-3)' juxtaposes with the space and its Marian associations to a stunning degree. *Julius Caesar*, too, clashes with the meaning of the space, being a story of politics and war, famous for the presence of only two explicitly female roles. In contrast, Off The Ground Theatre's *Othello* (2014)\* in Liverpool's lady chapel almost harmonized with the space in the play's focus on the unjust treatment of Desdemona. Combining this with the presence in the lady chapel, evoked the Seven Sorrows of Mary, further connecting the play and the place, though most likely in an entirely unintentional manner.

Unlike the many of the other areas discussed, the lady chapel is unlikely to have attached to it profane ideas and uses. This may be due to the placement of the chapel in or near the chancel, and often near the high altar. The eastern end is the cathedral's spiritual centre, and is often the most liturgically active. The placement of profane spaces (such as shops) near this area could carry with it unwanted associations with the moneychangers in the Temple (Matthew 21:12-17), in addition to the distraction of shops within sight and hearing during services. I have never come across a cathedral lady chapel converted to use as a café, shop, or vestry. When within the church proper (as opposed to cloisters), these profane spaces tend to be placed in the far western nave (as at Peterborough), or the transepts (Hereford). Instead, the chapel is directly connected to religious devotion of a specific, spiritual entity. This association has an affective quality that allows it to inspire or remind one of the role of Mary/the feminine in their lives and in so doing adds layers of meaning onto the space.

Worcester's lady chapel was begun in 1224 in the Transitional style that eventually lead to Early Gothic, as demonstrated by the focus on height and thin lines

[image 5.13], that are expressed in the double lancet windows, the black Purbeck marble blind-arcading, and vault shafts that run from floor to vaults.<sup>521</sup>



Image 5.13 The lady chapel of Worcester Cathedral with the stage set for *Julius Caesar* (2014). Photo Jason Burg.

This is in contrast to the rest of the retroquire, which features noticeably less Purbeck and fewer windows.<sup>522</sup> The chapel's east end is an alcove set one bay length out, creating a natural point of focus. A proscenium arch-style arrangement framing the stage is not possible, as the ceilings of the retroquire and lady chapel are the same height, but clear limits of the acting area create the defined limits of a stage set back from the setting line that is clearly defined by the architecture. Memorial monuments separating the aisles of the retroquire from the lady chapel act as partial blinders for the audience sat facing the east end. These features set the lady chapel apart from the rest of the retroquire by acting as a way to draw the focus of the audience forward onto the stage (as indeed, even the monuments face this direction). The great height (Pevsner described it as a

<sup>521</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands*, 294 and 304.

<sup>522</sup> Ibid, 304-6.

place 'where verticalism is unchecked') could make the performance feel lost, but the more elaborate glass and marble decoration attract the attention, while the monuments act as visual barriers making the area feel more compact than it actually is.<sup>523</sup>

The early Reformation focused much of its efforts on the destruction of art that was seen as an adjunct to Roman Catholic worship and theology, creating a mindset where 'religious art was not merely destroyed physically, but was undermined ideologically'.<sup>524</sup> Despite the long history of Marian devotion in England, lady chapels were treated the same as other spaces, being stripped of their valuables and furnishings just like any other space. Subsequent to the clearance of such objects of Marian devotion, the unclear position of Mary in the Church of England has seen their sporadic restoration since the reign of Elizabeth I.<sup>525</sup> The physical manifestation of this trend can be seen in most English cathedrals, where these chapels (often in their original locations) have been restored as places of devotion to the Virgin Mary. This may be a simple acknowledgment in the name 'lady chapel' being applied, or may include elaborate statuary and altarpieces. Often what is present is a statue of Mary centrally positioned on the altar. Even though the space has been altered in use, meaning, and design since the Reformation, acknowledgment of its historical role as a site of Marian devotion through such labeling and decoration continues the affiliation. Lady chapels connect the past and present through Mary. By drawing on this history the cathedrals capitalise on the monumental status of the Virgin as a symbol of the Church Militant, drawing together the Christian community, and thus help to position themselves in the wider Christian world.<sup>526</sup> What this demonstrates is that one must not view the

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<sup>523</sup> Ibid, 304.

<sup>524</sup> See John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 1-9, quote taken from pg. 2.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid., 166 and fig. 32.

<sup>526</sup> Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976), 105-6. Mary is often seen as the neck that connects the head (God/Christ) to the body (the human race), emphasising her direct rather than indirect importance (Ibid., 286). The idea of Mary as

cathedral space as unaltered since the Reformation, but one that continues to express the 'horizon of meaning' that monuments reflect of an ever changing society.

## THE CLOISTER

Cloisters are variable components of cathedral design, being more common in monastic than secular buildings. They provide secluded access to open-air environments, allowing for privacy and seclusion, a function that is indicated in the name itself.

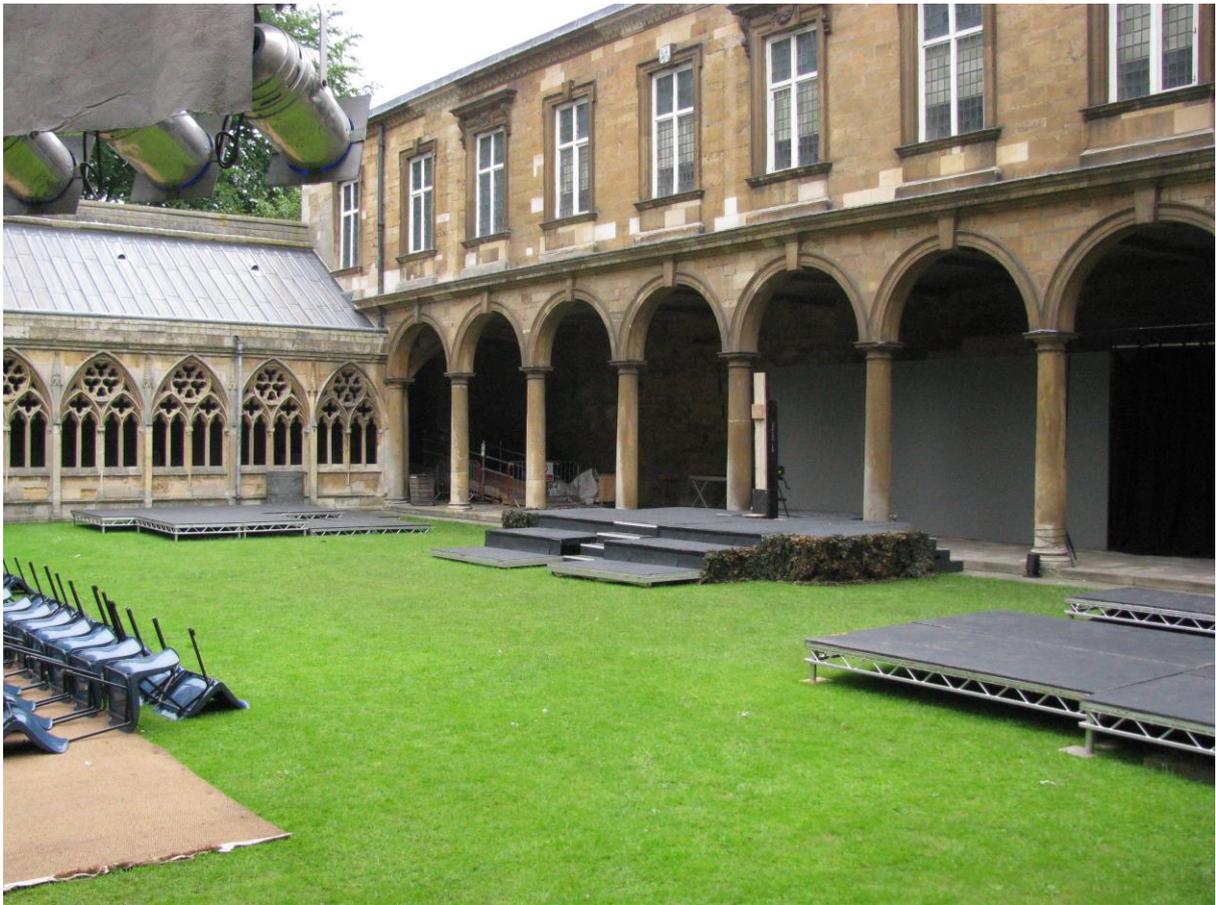
Cloisters consist of a rectangular, covered pathway surrounding a garden, often referred to as a *garth*. In many cathedrals they act as a corridor connecting other parts of the building to the church proper. Refectories, dormitories, chapter houses, and warming houses often lead off the cloister, making it a central hub for the daily life of the cathedral staff. Many cathedrals situate their coffee and/or gift shop off the cloister (such as Durham, Worcester, and Hereford), reinforcing the view that it serves a more profane than religious use in modern times. Only three times since 1928 has a cloister been used for the staging of theatrical productions, all of which took place at Lincoln as part of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (1985, 1993, 2012\*).<sup>527</sup> The possible reason for this is the unique design of Lincoln's cloister, as will be shown shortly.

The three productions were staged in the garth with the northern cloister walk serving as the backdrop and backstage area. At Lincoln the cloister garth (completed circa 1290) is open on the northern side from the ground to the ceiling except for an arcade of Tuscan columns, while the remaining three sides are enclosed with walls [image 5.14].

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a symbol of the universal Church is of course applicable only to those churches and individuals who do not view such Marian devotion as heretical.

<sup>527</sup> Alan J. Fletcher, 'Lincoln Mystery Plays', in *ROMRD* 28 (1985): 207-9; Michael O'Connell, 'Extracts from the *Lincoln Mystery Plays*', in *ROMRD* 34 (1995): 183-6.



**Image 5.14** The north wall of the cloister garth, Lincoln Cathedral. Seating and staging in place for *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012). Photo Jason Burg.

This is not common in other cathedrals, where access to the garth is often through one or two doorways. The unusual northern walk is a result of the decay of the original, which was replaced by a design commissioned of Sir Christopher Wren in 1674 that also included the library above.<sup>528</sup> The library adds height to this side of the walk when viewed from the garth, creating a two-story backdrop whose height and proportions make it loom over the rest of the single storied walkways. The contrast between the styles serves to remind one of the building's history. Pevsner described standing in the north walk and looking south as 'standing in the Renaissance and looking back at the Middle Ages'.<sup>529</sup> The open nature of the north walk at Lincoln lends itself to use for performance because of this feature, creating a framed walkway and auditorium-like seating area that is well suited to the staging of plays. However, the presence of multiple

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<sup>528</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The North and East Anglia*, 164-9.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

grave slabs in the garth could lead to problems for staging as well as seating. These, however, did not appear to be such a problem in 2012 owing to their location mostly at the periphery of the garth, and therefore out of the way of audience and actors alike. The few that were centrally located had stages placed over them. Such considerations could affect the staging options, but it would appear, only to a small degree.

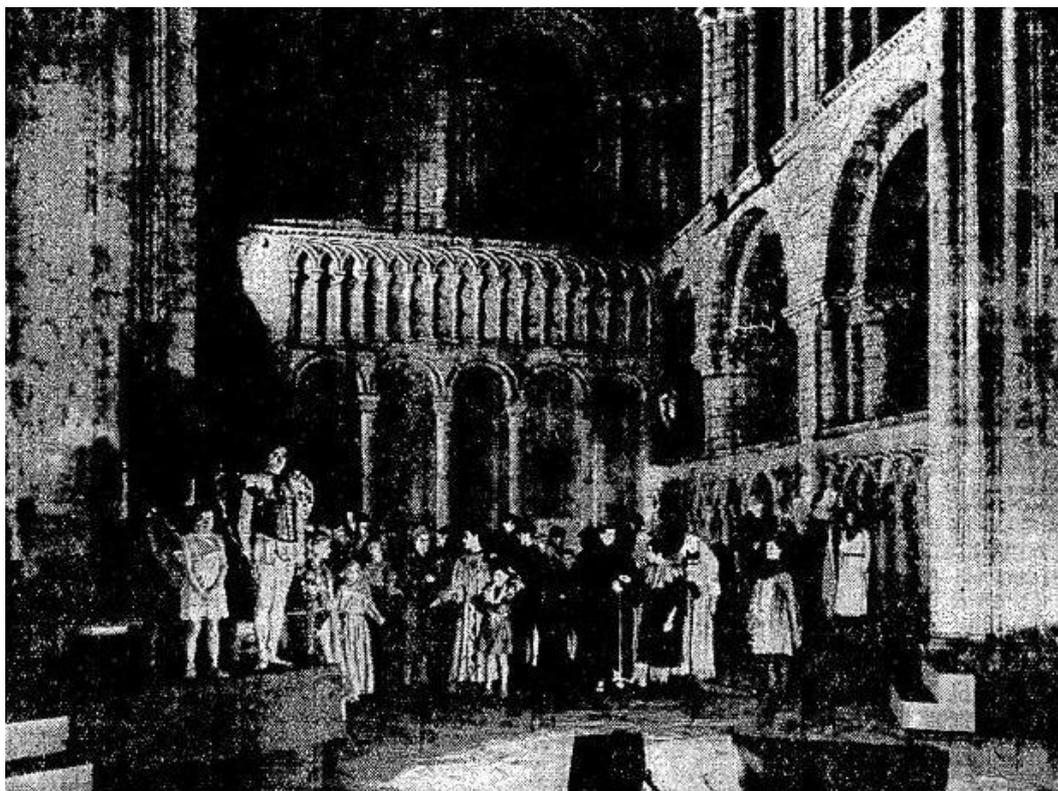
The 2012 production set the Old Testament scenes in the ruins of the nearby Bishop's Palace, and the New Testament in the cloister, granting access through the chapter house, thereby bypassing the church proper entirely. The open nature of the space coupled with the ability to access it without opening the church makes the cloister at Lincoln a very suitable place. When compared to cloisters such as Chester's and Gloucester's (where the garths are landscaped with trees and hedges around a central water feature, and therefore not suitable for anything but small performances), Canterbury's (which is still an active site for the burial of cremains), or Worcester's (which is filled with grave slabs and stone markers around a central tree), the advantages of Lincoln's become clearer. Although being open to the elements makes the weather a factor in every performance, it also allows the cathedral's hourly bells to play a role. In 2012, during the 'Final Judgement', the bells punctuated the lines of one actor. He used this unexpected interruption to his advantage, holding the audience's attention in near total silence as the bells struck ten times, suddenly becoming a death knell for his soul as demons overtook him.

## **THE TRANSEPTS**

The transepts, running North-South and cutting through the East-West body of the church, are spaces almost entirely used for the placement of chapels. Some cathedrals have converted these chapel spaces for use as offices and vestries in order to make much needed room (as at Canterbury and Lincoln), or museums (as at Peterborough). Some

cathedrals have double transepts, a larger western set and a smaller one to the east, attesting to the wealth of the institution at the time of their construction. Modern cathedrals often lack these spaces or have them in very modified forms (such as St. Paul's in London, which is greco-cruciform, or Birmingham's English Baroque rectilinear design). The first occasion for their theatrical use was for a production of *The Zeal of Thy House* at Ely in 1960, set in the south transept.<sup>530</sup> Little mention is made of the production in *The Times* review other than the visual harmony between the Norman architecture and the costuming. The only other mention is of *The Conversion of St. Paul* (1982) at Winchester Cathedral, in which both north and south transepts were used for the promenade performance that also used the nave.<sup>531</sup>

The sole picture from the Ely production [image 5.15] is very grainy and not much is discernable.



**Image 5.15** *The Zeal of Thy House* (1960), Ely Cathedral. From *The Times*, 'Picture Gallery', from *The Times*, issue 54952 (12 Dec 1960): 6. *The Times Digital Archive* <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 Dec 2014.

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<sup>530</sup> *The Times*, 'The Zeal of Thy House in Ely Cathedral', in *The Times*, issue 54952 (12 Dec 1960): 6. *The Times Digital Archive* <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 Dec 2014.

<sup>531</sup> Peter Happé, 'The Conversion of St. Paul', in *ROMRD* 25 (1982): 145-6.

It appears as though the downstage area was the northern opening of the south transept, which may give a clue as to why that space was chosen. Ely Cathedral is best known, architecturally, for its large octagonal crossing (referred to as the octagon) and lantern that lend a feeling of expansiveness to that portion of the cathedral. Pevsner described the space's impact in uncharacteristically affective terms: 'For the basic emotion created by the Octagon as one approaches it along the nave is one of spaciousness, a relief, a deep breath after the oppressive narrowness of the Norman work'.<sup>532</sup> This vast open space was created after the Norman tower fell in 1322.<sup>533</sup> Rather than simply rebuilding the crossing as a traditional quadrangle, the sacrist (Alan of Walsingham), suggested the creation of an octagonal shape by losing the bays nearest the crossing, and instead connecting the remaining columns diagonally; this created smaller transepts, shortening them from four to three bays long while also opening the entire central space [image 5.16].<sup>534</sup>

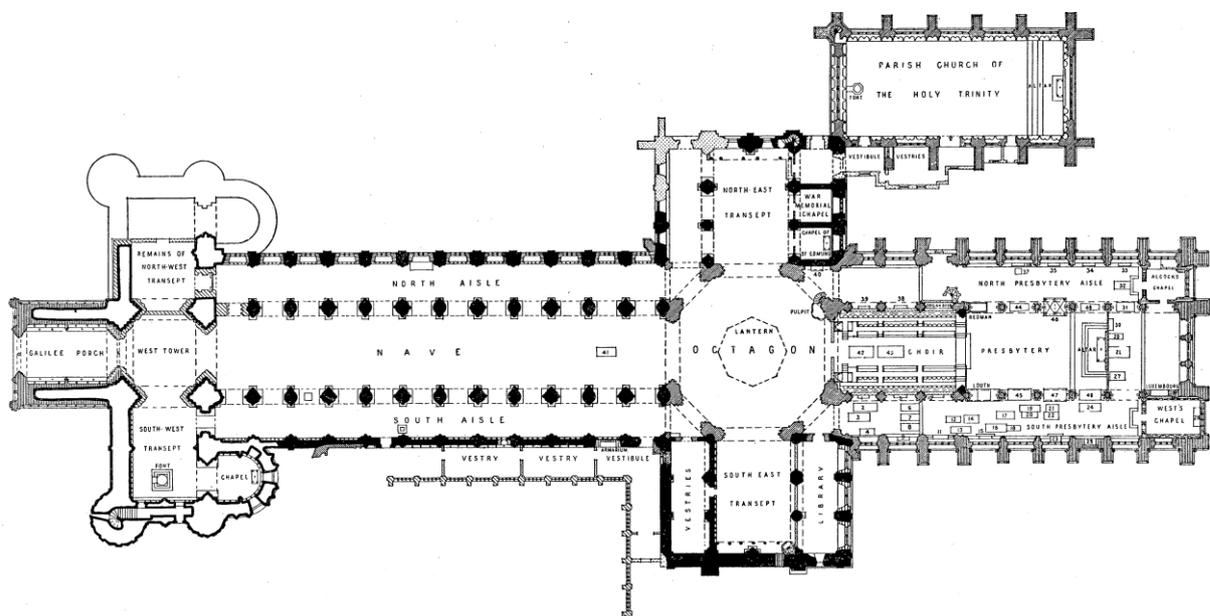


Image 5.16 The floor plan of Ely Cathedral. From British History Online, 'City of Ely: Cathedral', from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>, accessed 6 March 2017.

However, from the 1340s until the 1770s the large space was filled with quire stalls

<sup>532</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The North and East Anglia*, 95.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

before they were moved further east, thereby opening up the massive area.<sup>535</sup> The choice to move the quire would allow the 1960 production's use of the octagon and south transept.

**Image 5.17** shows the view of the south transept from the octagon.



**Image 5.17** The south transept of Ely Cathedral, showing the open nature of the transept created by the octagon. From Paradoxplace, 'Ely Cathedral', from <http://www.paradoxplace.com>, accessed 6 March 2017.

One can see that the architecture creates a similar situation to the lady chapel at Worcester (mentioned above). The arcaded aisles of the transept help create the defined borders of the acting space while also providing backstage space and a number of entrance points onto the 'stage'. The octagon's angled walls open up the transepts into the crossing more than the usual style, where ninety degree turns from nave into transept narrow the field of vision and therefore would affect sightlines, limiting the

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<sup>535</sup> Ibid., 97.

number of seats. What is created is a type of apron before the transept, lengthening the stage space further downstage and allowing the actors to be more visible to a wider audience. The result of this configuration at Ely is a Norman world (the south transept) framed by the Gothic (the walls of the octagon), which in turn reflects *The Zeal of Thy House's* story of the rebuilding of a cathedral from Norman to Gothic.

The often-compact area of the transepts, coupled with the openness to the rest of the building, can make them less than desirable performance spaces. They provide the intimacy of the smaller portions of the cathedral, such as the lady chapel or quire, but do not offer seclusion from the rest of the building, or freedom from the acoustical problems present in larger spaces such as the nave. Speaking generally, they are perhaps the space least suited to performance in cathedrals, and the presence of only two productions that have chosen this site attests to this statement. But in the case of Ely the building helped the visual framing of the play and provided a backdrop befitting the story.

## **MEANINGS**

The decision to place certain plays in specific sites in cathedrals brings with it the question of what does it mean to do so. Such questions directly concerning theological issues have already been explored in Chapter Four, with particular focus on (pseudo)-biblical and religious plays. Instead the focus here is on the individual spaces' religious meanings and their impact on profane plays. No generalised statement can be made on the exact meaning of each cathedral space, as such feelings can shift from cathedral to cathedral and person to person. However certain cases can be explored as suggesting how the space shapes such meanings in the context of theatrical performance.

The double suicide in act five, scene three of *Romeo and Juliet* can have a specific meaning in a traditional theatre that is shaped by the production. Transpose that scene

to the steps before the high altar of Worcester Cathedral and the implicit symbolism and purpose of the building changes the reaction and meaning for the audience [image 5.18].



Image 5.18 *Romeo and Juliet* (2015), Worcester Repertory Company, Worcester Cathedral quire with high altar behind actors. From Worcester Repertory Company, 'Timeline photos', from [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com), accessed 6 March 2017.

The altar and its connection to the sacrifice of the Mass instantly associates the suicides with the Eucharist, as the teenagers die for the sins of their parents, uniting the factions and bringing about peace with their deaths ('[do] with their deaths, bury their parents' strife' [Prologue, line 8]). Capulet makes this clear when he calls the deadlovers 'Poor sacrifices of our enmity (5.3.304)'. The purgative power of self-sacrifice becomes the catalyst for reconciliation, bringing peace to the Montagues and Capulets, and thus to the world of the play. The *physical* altar's *social* and *mental* symbolism comments on and accentuates the scene. It is not just the cathedral, but the environments used within it that provide commentary on the action, shifting meaning through the power of space.

While the altar can create such a reading of the scene, the placement of the action

in the crypt of Canterbury (1995) can have different meanings. Job 1:21 ('The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away') and Psalms 31:15 ('My times *are* in thy hand') implicitly state the sin of taking one's life, contrary to God's wishes. Robert Halliday has shown the early modern English practice of excluding suicides from church burial, instead commonly interring the corpse at a crossroads near a parish boundary so as to confuse its ghost.<sup>536</sup> Shakespeare refers to such practices in *Hamlet* (V.i.215-27), and yet no such allusions are made regarding the death of Romeo and Juliet. With the reminder of the Eucharist (the high altar) replaced by the enclosing atmosphere of death (the crypt), the mortality of the characters comes to the forefront, and with it the facts of murder and suicide that surround them. Their self-inflicted deaths are thus viewed as antithetical to the space designed for the repose of those not killed in such a manner, creating contrasts between the space and the action: if such an action were carried out, the body would not be allowed within that space.

Important meanings associated with places within cathedral can help to explain communal connections to that space as well, and thus contextualise their use. Chapter Three's case study of *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* showed how the French Church's connection to the specific place of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral is of historical and cultural importance to the members of the Church. The cultural memory of that particular location within the cathedral can be understood through Maurice Halbwachs' work on memory and religious groups. Halbwachs theorised that in order for cultural memory to survive the 'temporal horizons [reaching] back [...] beyond the horizon of living memory' the members of the community 'need objects and topographical sites to provide structure'.<sup>537</sup> These sites thus become monuments in line with Lefebvre, and

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<sup>536</sup> Robert Halliday, 'The Roadside Burial of Suicides: An East Anglian Study', in *Folklore* 121, no. 1 (April, 2010): 82.

<sup>537</sup> Astr Erll, 'Locating family in cultural memory studies', in *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42, no. 3 (May/June 2011): 307. Although the term 'cultural memory' was coined after Halbwachs' death, his work provided the foundation for the field of study.

function as a physical point in which one may connect to a non-physical past. Cultural memory seeks to explain how the past is created or re-created 'within sociocultural contexts', showing how history and memory are not necessarily cohesive, with cultural memory having the ability to be in opposition to facts.<sup>538</sup> This explains how the French Church's Walloon descendants can feel a connection to the story of the massacre of Huguenots as part their own cultural memory. Such collectivization of memory can be applied to other groups as well, including the cathedral community as defined earlier in this thesis.

The previously discussed issue of Lady Macbeth in the lady chapel of Worcester provides an antithesis to the character in the form of the Virgin Mary. The sanctity and maternal capacity of Mary heightens through juxtaposition the former's confession, when she reveals that 'I have given suck, and know/ How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:/ I would, while it was smiling in my face,/ Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,/ And dash'd the brains out (*Macbeth* I.vii.55-9)'. The horror of such a line contrasts with the lady chapel, making the play appear not to fit the space. However, it is first through such a reversal of the expected that the meaning is enhanced. Lady Macbeth's lines also align her with the soldiers who murdered the children of Judea in the massacre of the innocents (Matthew 2:16), creating yet another contrary figure to Mary and one that is commented upon by the religious setting. The two female archetypes are now placed on opposite ends of a gendered spectrum, one commenting on the other and therefore giving greater meaning to both. More ferocity and malice can be seen in Lady Macbeth when put in this context, which is accentuated by the space lending biblical and mariological symbolism, making it a different story than that performed in traditional theatrical settings.

The court scene in *The Merchant of Venice* (IV.i) is also affected upon by

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<sup>538</sup> Ibid., 303 and 309.

performance in the lady chapel. Although disguised as a male law clerk, Portia is known to the audience as a woman throughout the scene in which her quick thinking outwits Shylock and saves the life of Antonio. Her command of the action places the power in the hands of a woman rather than a man (doubly so, as she has also displayed power over the men by convincingly obscuring her true identity). In doing so Portia becomes a symbol of female power, mercy, and strength, mirroring Mary on an earthly rather than spiritual level. The ultimate outcome of the scene is the sentence of forced conversion of Shylock, making a Christian of a Jew. With this act Portia exerts spiritual control over a Jewish man, further symbolically aligning her with the Holy Mother. Denise L. Depres's 'Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body: Mary and the Jews' (1998) has shown that anti-Judaic imagery was often associated with the cult of Mary in late medieval England, where she cleansed the sins and heresies committed by the Jews.<sup>539</sup> Merrall Llewellyn Price also points to the tradition of Marian wrath wrecked on Jewish populations in the N-Town plays, with particular focus on the 'anti-Semitic Marian miracles' such as the withering of limbs when Jews (i.e. unholy individuals) touch holy objects.<sup>540</sup> To the audience member aware of this history, Marian symbolism becomes a framework through which to view this scene, aligning Portia and Mary through power, mercy, and anti-Semitism. This reading may be tenuous in other settings, but can be strong when performed in the context of the lady chapel. However, this reading is my own, and is informed by my education and cultural background, but that does not mean that others could not also see it. But as it is a reading informed by personal experience, one cannot assume it of all audiences.

Of course the director, actor, or audience may not notice such connections, but they are nevertheless present in the production. Inadvertent parallels between plot and

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<sup>539</sup> Denise L. Depres, 'Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body: Mary and the Jews', in *Jewish History* 12, no. 1 (Spring, 1998): 47-69.

<sup>540</sup> Merrall Llewellyn Price, 'Re-memorizing the Jews: Theatrical Violence in the N-Town Marian Plays', in *Comparative Drama* 41, no. 4 (Winter, 2007-8): 439-40.

the historical symbolism of the space allow the critic to draw certain corollaries out of the performances should they have the background that can inform them. As Lefebvre wrote, visitors to a cathedral must 'plunge into a particular world, that of sin and redemption; they will partake of an ideology; they will contemplate and decipher the symbols around them'.<sup>541</sup> Lefebvre is not implying that in order to experience a space one must be fully cognizant of its *intended* meanings, symbolism, and history. Rather he points to the individual partaking, contemplating, and deciphering the space for his or herself, allowing personal experiences of religion, culture, and educations to shape the 'ideology' and 'symbols' present. Such a democratic, or individualistic, interpretation of space does not allow for any one ideation to be given supremacy over the others. Criticism need not be mindful of all aspects of the environment. Rather, such knowledge lends itself to the deeper understanding of the performance instead of being a prerequisite for such considerations. That is to say, one need not be aware of the associations between Marian and anti-Semitic images in medieval England in order to comment thoughtfully on *The Merchant of Venice* performed in a lady chapel; but such understanding will add to such observations. The performance space becomes the context in which one can add further depth and insight into the meaning of the play. Such abilities are heightened when the space of performance carries a multitude of meanings, such as the monument that is the cathedral.

#### **CASE STUDY: THE LINCOLN MYSTERY PLAYS (2012)\***

*The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012)\* was a promenade performance with the Old Testament scenes played in the ruins of the Old Bishop's Palace (across the street from the cathedral), the New Testament being presented in the cloister garth. At the end of the Old Testament portion the audience was led around the eastern end of the cathedral

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<sup>541</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 221.

and into the chapter house, where tea and coffee were sold, before being asked to take their seats in the garth. This simple, symbolic staging was the first time it was used at Lincoln, and documents in the Bishop Grosseteste University Library show that possibly two other options were considered for the production.

Two documents in the Lincoln Mystery Plays Archive of the university, currently labelled 'LMP 2012 Staging at Old Palace and Cathedral', show an eventually abandoned plan for a more extensive promenade production.<sup>542</sup> The first is a floor plan of the cathedral with pencil annotations showing the proposed sites and order of use [image 5.19].

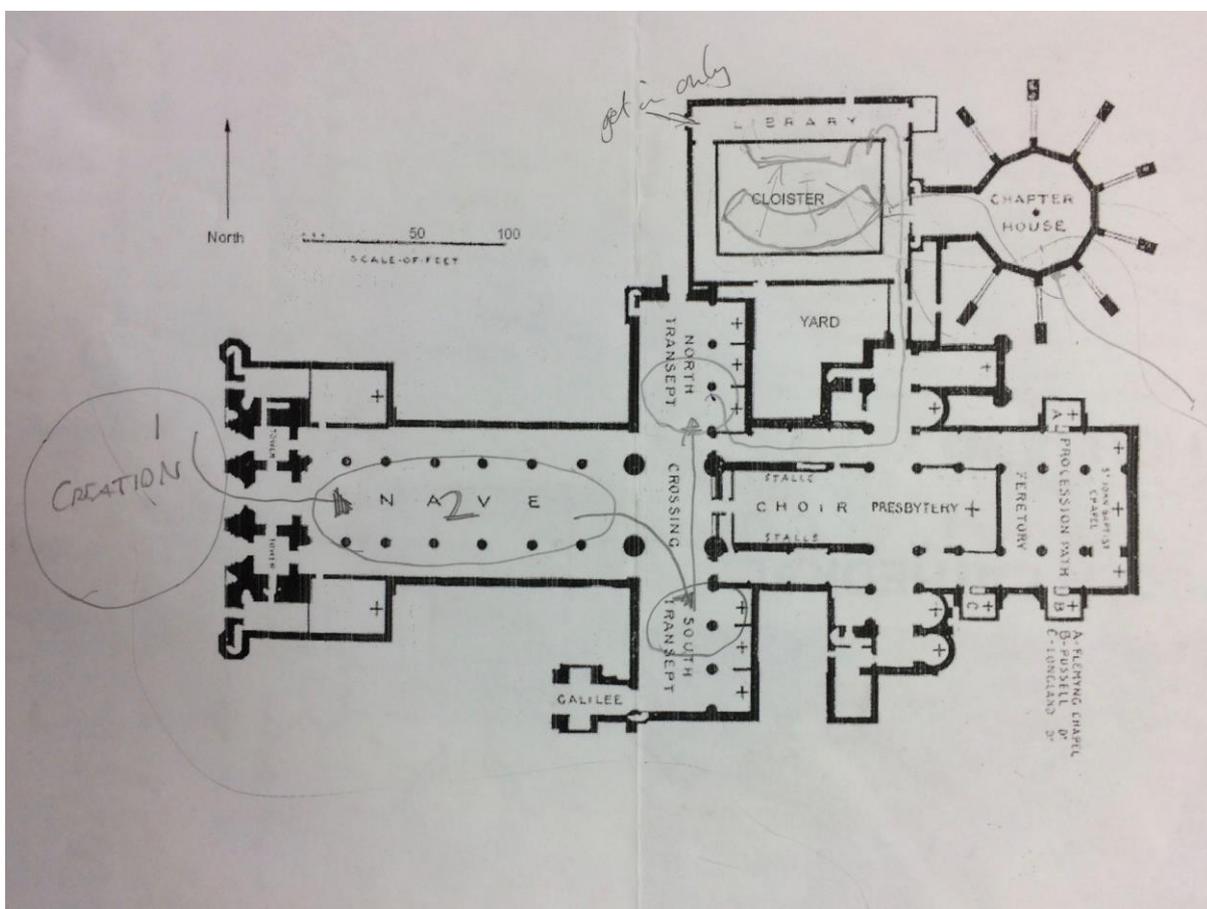


Image 5.19 Proposed staging for *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012). From LMPA, 'LMP 2012 Staging at Old Palace and Cathedral', provisional catalogue reference.

The promenade would have begun at the west front (echoing earlier productions) and

<sup>542</sup> LMPA 'LMP 2012 Staging at Old Palace and Cathedral', provisional catalogue reference. The Lincoln Mystery Plays Archive was deposited at the Bishop Grosseteste University Library, Lincoln, after the 2012 production. As of this writing it has not been catalogued or conserved. The documents contained no archival information as of the time of my visit in March 2016.

then carried on into the nave, south transept, north transept, and ending in the cloister. The configuration of the seating and staging in the cloister matches that of the final production, despite no other portion of the building being used. The only notation as to the content of the scenes performed in each space is the word 'Creation' in a circle demarcating the west front. Lines appear to show travel pathways through the chapter house, but nothing indicates why, as the document shows a clear promenade path from west front through to cloister, bypassing the chapter house.

The second item is a footprint of the chapter house [image 5.20].

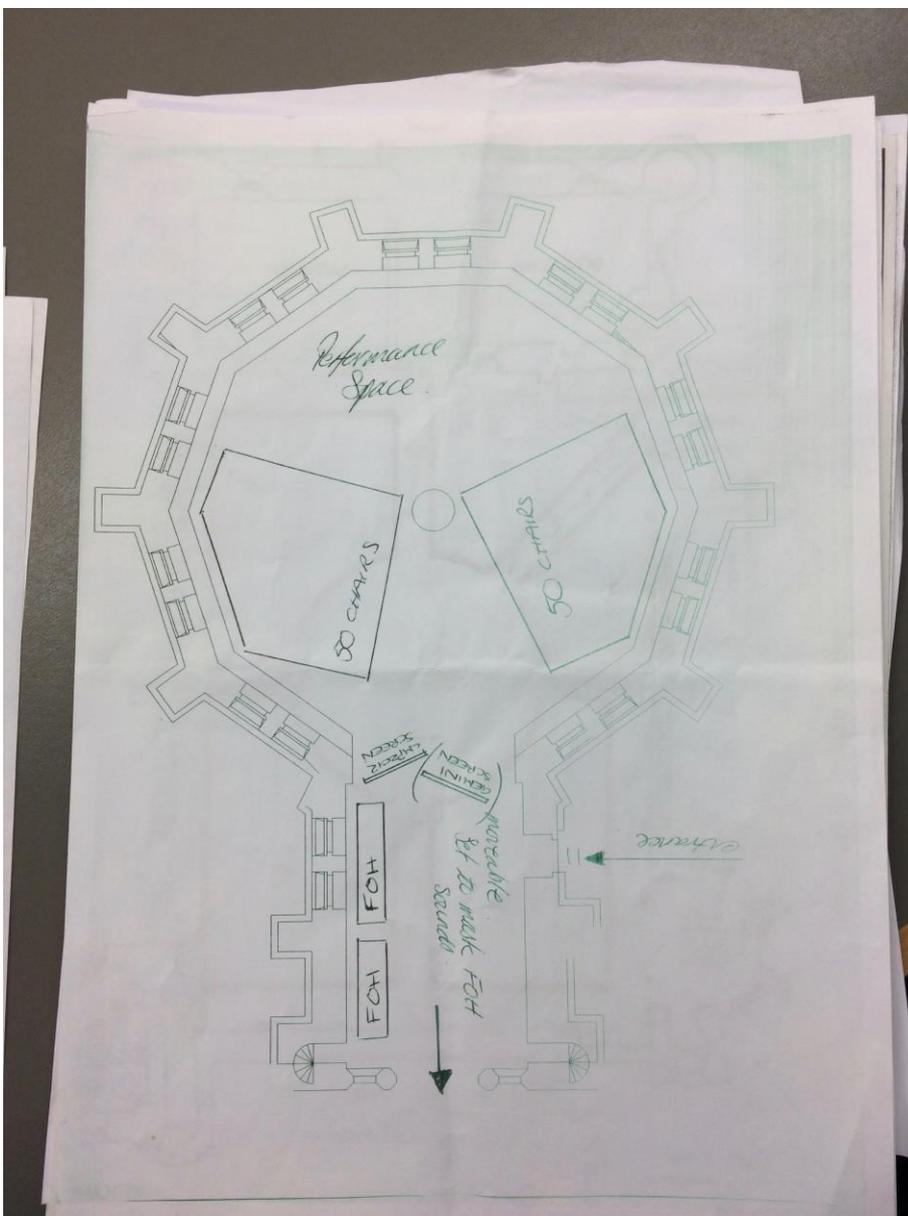


Image 5.20 Proposed use of the chapter house for *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012). LMPA, 'LMP 2012 Staging at Old Palace and Cathedral', provisional catalogue reference.

Two banks of fifty seats are situated around the central pillar, while two screens block the corridor connecting the polygonal building to the cloister, obscuring sightlines to allow actors and front of house materials to be sequestered from the audience's view. This may represent a possible seating option after the Old Testament scenes, in contrast to the cloister used for the New Testament. Or it may be an entirely different option, perhaps a fixed-site performance in which the entirety of the play would have taken place in the chapter house. An entrance leading directly outside is clearly marked on the document, showing that this option would allow for the exclusion of the church proper. And so perhaps **image 5.20** represents not a different staging option to the cloister for the second half of the performance, but rather a possible setting for the entire performance. The presence of front of house (FOH) tables, masking screens, and the notation 'movable set to mask FOH sound' makes it likely that the space was intended for use during performances. These items imply that the chapter house may have been the sole space used. However, the presence of an arrow pointing into the cloister may be an indication of something else. Unfortunately, without more documentation it is not possible to know.

These documents are the sole indication in either archived or published material that show the discussion of different staging options for a single production. They indicate that an extensive promenade as well as a possibly fixed-site configuration were proposed. Along with the eventual plan chosen for the production, at least three options were considered. The sightline problems presented in the chapter house likely posed significant problems with the central pillar creating visual barriers to much of the stage for audience members in the back rows. The five-site promenade would appear to have been the most complex option, requiring access into the church proper (most likely raising the fee for using the space if there was one), and also requiring more ushers to guide the audience from place to place. The option used provided no intrinsic sightline

problems, allowed for the use of multiple sites (capitalising on the inherent symbolic act of moving inside the cathedral when Jesus entered the world), and restricted access into the church proper. Each proposal presented here demonstrates drastically different uses of the cathedral, but they also illustrate the variety of staging options available for a single production.

## **CONCLUSION**

The cathedral has changed both meaning and use ever since it was first created as an institution and space. It is at once religious, profane, and historical, containing a multitude of understandings and meanings that contribute to the experience of the environment. Though they remain primarily religious spaces, tourism has irrevocably shaped both the meaning and physical character of modern English cathedrals. The plays themselves bring in visitors, often in very large numbers, and so contribute to them as a tourist sites. In this way the three aspects of religion, tourism, and theatre coming in a symbiotic relationship that ultimately benefits the space.

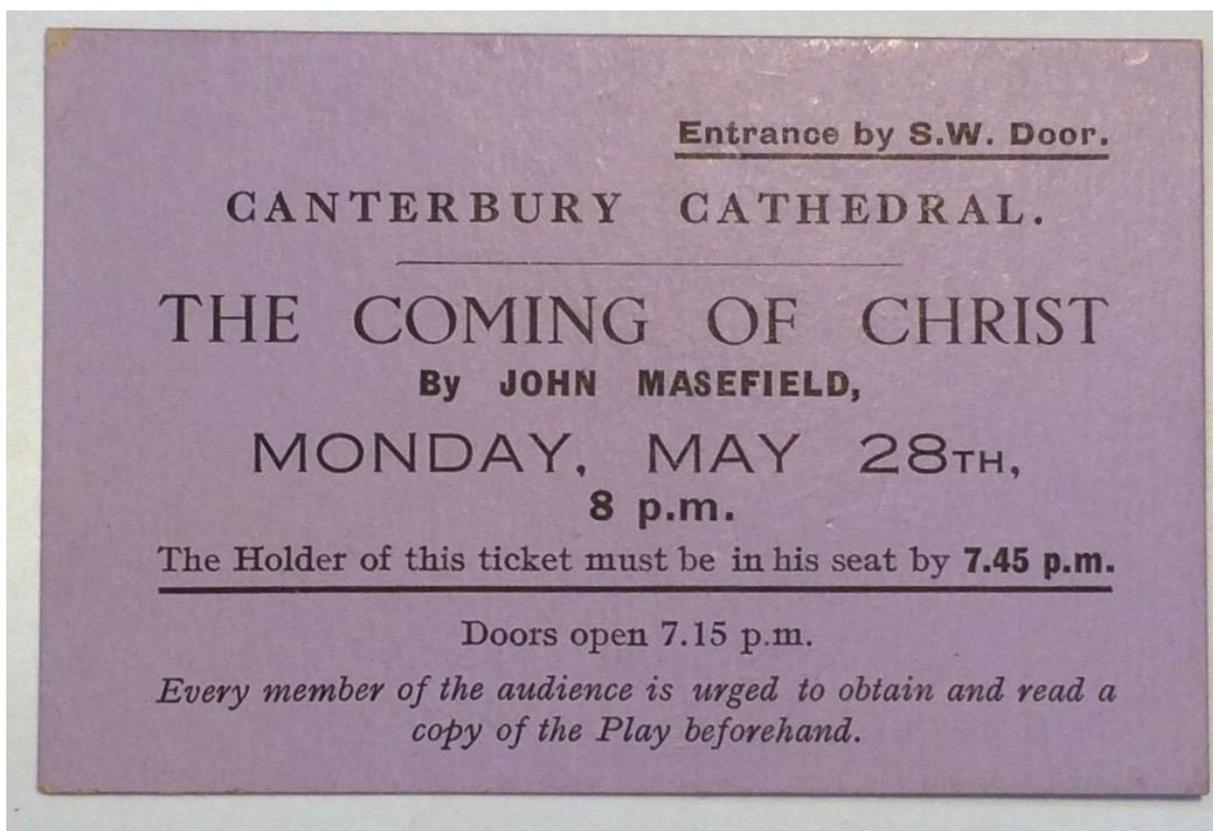
The choice of where to perform in a cathedral can be shaped by a myriad of factors, and the ultimate decision will help to construct the meaning of the play, as shown especially in the case of Worcester Cathedral's lady chapel. Logistical reasons, many of them unique to each production and cathedral, have contributed to performance location choice, as can be seen in the use of naves across the country, and of the chapter house at Canterbury in particular. The different designs of cathedrals contribute to the variety of use and the inherent meaning imparted onto the performance by the space.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 'SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES': CATHEDRAL ACOUSTICS AND PERFORMANCE

It will be understood that while every effort will be made to help the proper hearing of the spoken words – as well as the music – the acoustics of the cathedral present special difficulties. Ticket holders are urged to procure and read copies of the Play beforehand.<sup>543</sup>

These words, in a letter from Dean George Bell, greeted the 6000 individuals who had applied for tickets to the first theatrical production in an English cathedral since the sixteenth century. In order to ensure that the audience was aware of the auditory problems the cathedral presented, the tickets for the performance were also imprinted with the advice that 'Every member of the audience is urged to obtain and read a copy of the Play beforehand [image 6.1]'.<sup>544</sup>



**Image 6.1** Ticket to *The Coming of Christ* (1928) at Canterbury Cathedral, showing the advice at the bottom to read the play before attending the performance. 'Sample Tickets Mystery Play May 1928', CCA-U167/69/4.

<sup>543</sup> Letter from Dean Bell to ticket applicants. As quoted in Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral: A Twentieth Century Encounter Between Church and Stage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwall: J. Garnet Miller, 2001), 93.

<sup>544</sup> 'Admission Tickets for *The Coming of Christ*' (1928), CCA-U167/69/4.

John Masefield's *The Coming of Christ* (1928) in the nave of Canterbury Cathedral was a testing ground for the capabilities of a space designed for the amplification of the sung voice rather than the spoken word. The play was performed in the crossing, using the architecture's steps and platforms leading to the quire as a stage from which the actors faced their audience to the west. The admitted result was that 'a good deal of Masefield's play had been inaudible', resulting in the search for locations within the cathedral that were better suited to performance.<sup>545</sup> No play would be performed again in Canterbury's nave until 1970, when director E. Martin Browne 'boldly decided to wrestle with the difficult acoustics [...] of the Nave' to commemorate the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Thomas Becket's martyrdom with a production of *Murder in the Cathedral*.<sup>546</sup>

In a letter to Margaret Babington dated 8 October 1945, Dorothy L. Sayers regretfully informed Babington that she would be unable to fulfil her request to write a new play for the first Canterbury Festival after the end of the war.<sup>547</sup> Sayers had already written two plays for Canterbury Cathedral's chapter house (*The Zeal of Thy House* [1937, 1940] and *The Devil to Pay* [1939]), but was already engaged to write a new play, *The Just Vengeance* (1946), for Lichfield Cathedral. She told Babington 'I have already involved myself in doing one [play] for Lichfield – a very tiresome business, because the Dean discourages me by saying that owing to the acoustics of the place not one word of it will probably be heard'.<sup>548</sup> The Dean's words demonstrate the secondary position of the text in relation to the performance space, showing that the actual act of performance was paramount over its comprehension by the audience. Such pronouncements demonstrably affected Sayers' attitude towards writing the play as shown in the letter, and indelibly influenced the final text, and thus the production.

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<sup>545</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 95.

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid.*, 305.

<sup>547</sup> Letter from Dorothy L. Sayers to Margaret Babington, dated 8 October 1945. CCA-U167/58.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid.*

In the introduction to the script Sayers herself wrote that the play 'is constructed for performance in a cathedral, rather than for reading in the study'.<sup>549</sup> The goal of this statement can be read as a means to explain the supremacy of the visual grandeur that she had in mind during her writing process. It also shows that action, setting, and visual impact were given primary importance over the words, perhaps the former inspiring the latter. Because of the space for which she was writing, Sayers was not thinking to create drama, but rather theatre. Such a hypothesis explains her introductory assertion that places the performance and its performance space at its centre.

As the above examples show, acoustics play a role from the very beginning of the production process. The reality of Canterbury's nave's sound reverberation qualities was such that, according to Kenneth Pickering in *Drama in the Cathedral* (2001), they played a role in the choice of the location for the subsequent productions of *Everyman* (1929) and *Dr. Faustus* (1929), which were moved to the west front and chapter house, respectively, with contingency plans for the use of the chapter house for *Everyman* should the weather necessitate a move indoors.<sup>550</sup> Pickering notes that the focus on elocution and choral speaking in the early twentieth century helped to shape the verse drama that would become a hallmark of the Canterbury Festival.<sup>551</sup> It is therefore more interesting to note the audibility problems at Canterbury were not negated by the use of actors highly trained in the 'complex art with a scientific basis' that was elocution; so deep is the problem of the cathedral's acoustics.<sup>552</sup> The use of places such as naves, refectories, or chapter houses brings visual grandeur in the form of impressive scenery and a unique background, but also amplifies the problems of inaudibility. The smaller, more intimate spaces, such as the eastern crypt at Canterbury or the lady chapel of Hereford, present locations better suited for the reception of the spoken word.

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<sup>549</sup> Dorothy L Sayers, *The Just Vengeance* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1946), 10.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>551</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 33-46.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

Part One of this chapter focuses on the importance of sound in performance, as well as in non-(theatrical) performance contexts, including sound's role in the creation of space. In Part Two the relationship between the cathedral space and the impact of its aural environment on performance is examined. In Part Three the special case of cathedral acoustics in relation to performance is explored, showing how cathedral productions are forced to make adjustments or risk having their sound lost or distorted. This section draws on historical as well as contemporary concerns of cathedral acoustics. Part Four looks at the ways in which productions seek to work with or overcome the acoustical realities of cathedrals, including performance location, vocal training, sound amplification, and scenic design. In order to provide a varied study in the ways in which different cathedral spaces affect the acoustical experience of a performance, multiple productions are considered in this chapter. The production list is dominated by those productions that I personally attended, followed by those few for which sound-related problems are mentioned in reviews and other documentary sources.

### **THE ROLE OF SOUND IN THE CREATION OF SPACE**

It is not possible for a hearing person to escape sound, making it one of the most pervasive influences affecting the perception of our environment on par with the visual.<sup>553</sup> Yet the visual has historically been given priority over the aural.<sup>554</sup> As the letters from Dean Bell and Sayers demonstrate, the ability for the audience to understand the actors has at times been of less importance than the use of the space in which the words were to be spoken. The visual of the cathedral interior lends itself to the eye, but what is beautiful to the eye may create problems for the ear. Henri Lefebvre

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<sup>553</sup> Michael Southworth, 'The Sonic Environment of Cities', in *Environment and Behavior* 1 (1969): 49-70.

<sup>554</sup> Jonathan Gunderlach, 'Sound: Exploring a Character-Defining Feature of Historic Places', in *APT Bulletin* 38, no. 4 (2007): 13; Augusta McMahon, 'Sound, Space, and Light: Towards a Sensory Experience of Ancient Monuments', in *American Journal of Archaeology* 117, no. 2 (April, 2013): 174.

speaks of the dominance of the visual in theorising space throughout *The Production of Space* (1991), ideas which he based partially on Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (1957).<sup>555</sup> Lefebvre argues that the increased interplay between light and shadow in the cathedral was a result of the transition from Norman to Gothic architecture, placing emphasis on the visual. The innovation of the Gothic arch allowed for larger windows, thus bringing more light inside buildings, which in turn created a greater dichotomy between light/dark in the cathedral interior. This architectural evolution would eventually lead to the visual sense's primacy over the other four in western culture.<sup>556</sup> Lefebvre's theorisation not only draws a connection between space and the diminishing role of sound in society, but places the genesis of the aural/ocular shift in western culture in the cathedral.

In *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (2003) David Wiles argues that the predominance of sight in the theatre can be thought of in terms of Foucault and Lefebvre's assertion that power is exerted through the gaze.<sup>557</sup> One can take Lefebvre's previously stated connection between cathedrals and the dominance of the visual as an early example of this idea. The imposition of sightlines is a display of power articulated through planned theatre spaces. The same dictate can be seen in cathedral design in the medieval period, as the congregation strained to make visual connection with the elevated host in a space designed to give optical rather than physical contact with the Saviour. Wiles states that Lefebvre has '[forced] us to recognize the extent to which

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<sup>555</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism: An Inquiry into the Analogy of the Arts, Philosophy, and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York: Meridian Books, 1951).

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*, 58; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 259. Stanford Lehmborg touches on the visual primacy of the Eastern Church from a much earlier period. Lehmborg asserts that Constantinople's Hagia Sofia (constructed 523-7) was built in such a way so that a centrally placed altar was visible from all sides by the congregation. Stanford Lehmborg, *English Cathedrals: A History* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), xii. Augusta McMahon discusses the interplay of light and shadow in ancient Mesopotamian culture and architecture, arguing that due to the presence and effect of the harsh desert sun, shadow allowed for greater visibility of contours and colour (McMahon, 'Sound, Space and Light: Towards a Sensory Experience of Ancient Monuments', 172-3). Such differences show that one must speak of sensory primacy within certain contexts, and not as a universal rule.

<sup>557</sup> David Wiles, *A Short History Of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 12.

modern theatre has become predominantly ocular. Spectacular sets, reinforced by stage lighting [...] and an architectural emphasis on sightlines, makes the experience of theatre going a pre-eminently visual experience'.<sup>558</sup> The supremacy of the eye means that unacceptable acoustics are tolerated, as art and architecture seek to please the ocular to the detriment of the aural. According to Lefebvre, this 'visual logic' has come to inform all aspects of social practice, such is its all-pervasive power.<sup>559</sup>

Douglas Pocock has highlighted sound's importance in the creation of space in 'Sound and the Geographer' (1989), noting that 'Sound is a neglected phenomenon, not least because of the dominance of the eye which, in effect, encourages deafness'.<sup>560</sup> My own experience as a professional lighting designer has shown me that audiences believe sound levels to be lower in darker spaces, while more brightly lit spaces have the opposite effect. Such experiences illustrate the connection between sight and sound, supporting Pocock's assertion.

Lefebvre's ideas of monumentality include the theorisation of sound's important role in the creation of space, with particular emphasis on the space of the cathedral as an example:

Monuments are also liable to possess acoustic properties, and when they do not this detracts from their monumentality. Silence itself, in a place of worship, has its music. In cloister or cathedral, space is measured by the ear: the sounds, voices, and singing reverberate in an interplay analogous [...] to the interplay set up when a reading voice breathes new life into a written text. [...] It is in this way, and at this level, in the *non-visible*, that bodies find one another. Should there be no echo to provide a reflection or acoustic mirror of presence, it falls to an object to supply this mediation between the inert and the living.<sup>561</sup>

According to Lefebvre, the sound experienced in a space defines that environment, even if its absence is the defining characteristic. The soundscape of a space is not simply a

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<sup>558</sup> Ibid.

<sup>559</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 286.

<sup>560</sup> Douglas Pocock, 'Sound and the Geographer', in *Geography* 74, no. 3 (1989): 199.

<sup>561</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 225.

means of experiencing it, but an aspect that 'breathes new life' into the space, changing both it and its affective ability by giving it a new metaphorical life. A mute environment is devoid of a fundamental aspect of space; sound is a component part of the spatial experience and altering the sound shifts the meaning of the environment, the space, and the experience. Such shifts can be used in theatrical performance in cathedrals, where expected sounds and sound levels can be played with in order to create a shift in the perception. *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* used such aural juxtaposition in the 'Final Judgement', when an electric guitar took centre stage (both visually and aurally) to cover the screams of the damned as they were forcibly thrown into the waiting Hell Mouth. While the device was perhaps crude and pedestrian, the result was a comparison between the usual sounds heard in a cathedral with the sounds in the play at that moment. This shift changed the meaning of the space, as a house of God became the pit of Hell.

Sound waves are physically altered by the space through which they travel in a way that is unique and defining to that environment. In this way the reverberation and the perception of that reverberation are unique aspects of each space. Sound, then, is ultimately spatial for its manipulation by the environment in which it resonates and creates unique experiences. This theory also extends to the ways in which humans perceive the sound that is altered by the space, in a form of echolocation that helps us to understand our surroundings. It is part of the 'non-visible' of which Lefebvre speaks.

When a space has been designed to limit or even cancel out the reverberation of sound, the acoustical environment is altered considerably. Wiles examines the effects of this action in the case of the black box theatre space, where he believes:

[D]rapes and prefabricated plywood units [yield] a voice that comes from nowhere but the actor's body. There is no sense of acoustical life in the environment. The singular spectator is placed in a linear relationship to the singular sound source, not enveloped in a shared sound. Words in a dead acoustic ask to be

stripped of their semantic function, and to their rhythmic function of punctuating silence. This is [the] unsolved problem of the black box: the failure of [...] language to resonate.<sup>562</sup>

Wiles's analysis of the effect of the dead acoustical environment uses more explicitly theatrical terminology to explain the idea of Lefebvre cited above. Both Lefebvre and Wiles contend that the reverberation of sound within a space affects the perception of that space and the sounds perceived within it, and to remove this aspect of sound irreparably alters space. Of particular interest is the idea of the 'shared sound' that is created by multi-linear sound reverberation but is lost in the singular linearity of sound perceived from one source (reverberation being a multi-source experience as it is omnidirectional). Wiles is explicit in his opinion on the effect of such actions: the sound fails to 'resonate', meaning it is devoid both of the physical alteration to the sound waves as well as the meaning imparted to sound by the space in which it was created and perceived. In such acoustically dead environments the words have more power and meaning than the sound of the words, but the power of the physical space is diminished. The affective power of God's line beginning the first of the York Mystery Plays: 'Ego sum alpha et omega; vita, via, veritas, primus et novissimus' (*The Tanners Play*, line 1), would be far different in a reverberant cathedral than in an acoustically dampened black box theatre. Sound's role in cathedral performance cannot merely be an adjunct to the production; it must be a conscious component of the whole.

### **REVERBERATION TIME (RT), ECHO, AND SOUND ABSORPTION**

An examination of popular acoustical textbooks reveals only very limited attention devoted to the church context. Everest and Pohlmann's *Master Handbook of Acoustics* (2009) contains two brief references, covering reverberation time (RT) and the use of

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<sup>562</sup> Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, 258.

Helmholtz resonators.<sup>563</sup> Kuttruff mentions the subject three times in *Room Acoustics* (2000) but in each instance the church figures as an anecdotal reference in the discussion of RT or sound reflection, nothing more.<sup>564</sup> In *The Science and Application of Acoustics* (2000) Raichel passes over the subject of worship spaces entirely.<sup>565</sup> This is not to say that the subject is neglected outright: monographs and peer-reviewed articles on it have been published, such as *Worship Space Acoustics* (2010) and 'A Geometrical Acoustic Simulation of the Effect of Occupancy and Source Position in Historical Churches' (2015).<sup>566</sup> Rather it is interesting to highlight the areas in which the textbook authors have flagged up the church as a unique or interesting case, while leaving in-depth analyses to more specialised works. The focus on RT in the above-mentioned passages shows it to be of great concern. Indeed, when specifically discussing churches Kleiner *et al* spend considerable time on RT before discussing the other factors of consideration.

RT (in seconds) is the time from the initial creation of a sound to the point at which it decays to 60 decibels (dB), an arbitrary number, but one which corresponds to general inaudibility.<sup>567</sup> The volume and total absorption properties of the materials in a space affect RT; the air in the space can further affect this, though it is considered negligible in spaces under a certain volume.<sup>568</sup> As the sound reverberates off of walls and loses energy the measurable volume in dB (dynamic) lowers. Calculating the RT of a place is expressed in the Sabine equation:

$$RT_{60} = (0.161V)/A$$

Where  $RT_{60}$  is reverberation time in seconds,  $V$  is the volume of the room expressed in

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<sup>563</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 170 and 210.

<sup>564</sup> Heinrich Kuttruff, *Room Acoustics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Spon Press, 2000), 218, 283 and 290.

<sup>565</sup> Daniel R. Raichel, *The Science and Application of Acoustics* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2000).

<sup>566</sup> Mendel Kleiner, David Lloyd Klepper and Rendell R Torres, *Worship Space Acoustics* (Fort Lauderdale: J. Ross Publishing Inc., 2010); Lidia Alvarez-Morales and Francesco Martellotta, 'A Geometrical Acoustic Simulation of the Effect of Occupancy and Source Position in Historical Churches', in *Applied Acoustics* 91 (2015): 47-58.

<sup>567</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 154.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*, 155-6. Everest and Pohlmann do not specify the volume.

cubic metres, and A is the total absorption of the room in metric sabins.<sup>569</sup> The absorption of a room is affected by the total surface area of the contents of the space as well as the individual material make-up of those contents, making such a calculation time-consuming and complicated.<sup>570</sup> Acoustical consultants Everest and Pohlmann note that the intended uses of a church will influence the eventual RT present in the building.<sup>571</sup> This is further noted by Kuttruff who also adds that RT<sub>>2</sub> '[is] not well accepted by congregations for reasons which have nothing to do with acoustics'.<sup>572</sup> Kleiner *et al* list the preferred RT for preaching and Gospel music at RT<sub>>1</sub>, chant at RT<sub>1-2</sub>, and organ music at RT<sub>2-4</sub>.<sup>573</sup> The variety shown in these estimations illustrates the difficult problems that arise with the use of multi-purpose spaces. English cathedrals are places of preaching, plainsong chant, organ music, and choir singing, and the disparate RT levels for such actions create an uneven acoustical environment for all of these aspects of liturgy.

In their brief discussion of churches Everest and Pohlmann refer to 'highly reverberant liturgical churches and cathedrals' and less reverberant 'sermon-orientated churches', creating a dichotomy between what may also be defined with regard to liturgy as high- and low-church preferences.<sup>574</sup> Kuttruff also briefly notes the same phenomenon.<sup>575</sup> The longer RT in a church affects the ability to hear the original sound with clarity, making more intricate sounds such as speech or chamber music harder to

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<sup>569</sup> Ibid., 156. Sabin: 'A unit of sound absorption equal to the absorbing power of one square foot of perfectly absorbing surface' (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'sabin', from <http://www.oed.com>, accessed 17 March 2015). The same equation can be expressed in imperial measurements as  $RT_{60} = (0.049V)/A$ , changing the value of V from cubic metres to cubic feet.

<sup>570</sup> Everest and Pohlman, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 155.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>572</sup> Kuttruff, *Room Acoustics*, 218. Kuttruff does not elaborate on why this is, stating only that 'This shows that the churchgoers' acoustical expectations are not only influenced by rational arguments such as that of speech intelligibility but also by hearing habits'.

<sup>573</sup> Kleiner *et al*, *Worship Space Acoustics*, 237.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>575</sup> Kuttruff, *Room Acoustics*, 218.

discern.<sup>576</sup> As the sound reflects off surfaces, the volume lowers, meaning that higher reverberant churches may sound louder than their less reverberant counterparts. Everest and Pohlmann go on to state that ‘Churches generally represent a compromise between music and speech’, creating an acoustical setting entirely conducive to neither.<sup>577</sup> Kleiner *et al* go so far as to offer two competing options when designing church space: (1) design a space to accommodate unsupported speech with ‘electroacoustical reverberation-enhancement systems for music’; or (2) design a space conducive to music and ‘well-designed sound systems that focus acoustic radiation on the congregation and avoid irradiating the room’s upper reverberant volume’.<sup>578</sup> Kleiner *et al* do not appear to endorse the idea that one space can handle both speech and music equally: one will have to be the primary and the other the secondary.

When sound is absorbed by surfaces it lowers in frequency (pitch) by a coefficient ranging from 0.0 to 1, where 0.0 absorbs all sound and 1 reflects all sound.<sup>579</sup> As sound reflects, it lowers in volume and frequency, creating lower and lower pitches with each reflection. In a room of highly reverberant materials the sound reflects more before it is absorbed, as each reflection takes a smaller portion of its frequency.<sup>580</sup> In a room of highly absorbent materials the sound is sooner absorbed and thus the frequency range is lowered after fewer reflections. As the interior construction of cathedrals changes not only from cathedral to cathedral, but site to site within the

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<sup>576</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 170.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>578</sup> Kleiner *et al*, *Worship Space Acoustics*, 237.

<sup>579</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 180-2. Frequency is ‘The measurement of rapidity of alterations of a periodic signal, expressed in hertz (Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 487)’. Higher frequency (pitch) sounds have a shorter wavelength while lower frequency (pitch) sounds have a longer wavelength. The combination of frequency and absorption help to create what can be called sound quality (a term not used in any acoustical manual consulted for this thesis). A sound at 250 Hz will theoretically lose 0.44 of its frequency when absorbed by an unpainted concrete wall (known as the Absorption Coefficient), meaning the reflected sound will be 140 Hz (having lost 44% of its original frequency). The same sound will lose only 0.05 (or 5%) of its frequency when reflected off of indoor-outdoor carpeting (a material commonly used by acousticians), reflecting back into the environment at 237.5 Hz. This change in frequency lowers the pitch, thus affecting the perceived sound. See *Ibid.*, 179-222.

<sup>580</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 179-80.

cathedral, each environment offers a unique opportunity to alter the sound's volume and frequency. A more reverberant room will offer the auditor more opportunities (in the form of reflections) to hear higher pitches before the sound is ultimately inaudible. This means that higher pitched sounds (such as the whetting of a knife) reflect more in highly reverberant place than in less reverberant. Thus, the high pitch of the whetting stone remains audible for a longer period than the lower pitch of a body hitting the ground.<sup>581</sup> Had the whetting stone been used in a less reverberant theatre, the sound would have been less impressive as absorption would have lowered its frequency and sound faster than in the highly reverberant cathedral. The result in terms of performance is that perceived sound can change significantly from site to site, possibly creating a deeper impression on the audience.

Related to RT is the problem of echo. While RT is concerned with sound generally, echo refers to the reverberated sound that can be heard as a discrete repetition of speech and is thus a sub-category of RT.<sup>582</sup> Rectilinear rooms present a particular problem for what is known as a flutter echo, or the reflection of sound/speech between two parallel surfaces that creates a regular reflection, which 'can be audibly disturbing, [degrading] the intelligibility of speech and the quality of music'.<sup>583</sup> The reason this type of RT (i.e. echo) is especially troubling for intelligibility is because of the 'cocktail party effect'.<sup>584</sup> This describes the ability of humans to distinguish and focus on one sound out of many while simultaneously being able to change that focus should the

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<sup>581</sup> Both of these examples for taken from *The Massacre at Paris* (2014\*).

<sup>582</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 486.

<sup>583</sup> *Ibid.*, 97, 268.

<sup>584</sup> The term 'intelligible' and its derivatives are used throughout this chapter to refer to speech that is 'capable of being understood; comprehensible' in the sense that words spoken by actors can be understood by the audience, and convey the intended meaning, rather than the sound being distorted so as to create an unintended result (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'intelligible', accessed 1 December 2016, <http://oed.com>). Everest and Pohlmann discuss this in such terms in relation to churches and theatres (pg. 383-5). This applies only to speech, and does not cover other forms of auditory communication and does not imply that only intelligible speech can convey meaning.

need arise (such as a third party calling one's name across a room).<sup>585</sup> However, when different frequencies enter the ear (as happens when an actor speaks over an echo) the perceived sound contains new frequencies as well, in a non-measurable phenomenon called 'aural nonlinearity'.<sup>586</sup> The result is a confluence that confuses the ear, thus making distinguishing between the spoken words and the simultaneous echo difficult.<sup>587</sup> The problem of echo, then, is more than additional noise, but one of frequency distortion affecting the perception of speech. In reverberant cathedral environments this distortion confuses the ear, creating intelligibility problems for auditors. Attempts at lessening RT are the same as those used for echo, and in the following discussion RT and echo will be treated in a similar manner due to the echo representing a type of RT.

This brief introduction to certain elements of acoustics shows the level of complexity with which one is presented when attempting to produce intelligible theatre in a cathedral environment. The multi-faceted nature of RT makes it the most important acoustical factor in cathedral performance. One can ascertain from a space's RT not just the time it takes for sound to dissipate, but also the likelihood of echoes, relative acoustical volume, and even how the place will affect the pitch of sounds. The choice between intelligible speech, music, or liturgy is an ever-present concern, and has specific and unique connotation in the cathedral context.

## **ACOUSTICAL CONCERNS IN CATHEDRALS**

Although the Anglican cathedrals of England vary significantly in their architectural styles and periods of construction, the majority are creations of late medieval societies or earlier. As such they are examples of that society's interests, knowledge, and ideas. Baumann and Hagg note that the medieval world was cognisant of certain architectonic

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<sup>585</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 63. This is also called 'auditory scene analysis'.

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-4.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*

acoustical phenomena through the classical works of Vitruvius, al-Farabi and others; however, they argue that the period's own theorisation was limited, relying on the knowledge of antiquity and relatively unconcerned with the formulation of new understanding.<sup>588</sup> This is not to say that acoustical theory stagnated in the period; rather it highlights the importance placed on the knowledge of previous centuries over the creation of new acoustical thought in the era. Perhaps the most studied application of classical acoustical theory and practice, specifically Vitruvian-based, is the use of objects known variously as 'echeia', 'resonant cavities', and 'acoustic vases'.<sup>589</sup>

These vases are recommended by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) as a means to better the acoustics of public environments, exclusively focusing on their use in theatres.<sup>590</sup> The vases were placed in the walls of buildings with their uncovered mouths in the direction of the intended sound source. The evidence of their use in the classical period is relatively slight, with no extant physical examples that provide incontrovertible proof.<sup>591</sup> Arns and Crawford identify fifty-two extant churches spread across ten European countries with acoustical vases, with a further six churches where they have been found under quire floors; interestingly, those found under the quire are all located in England.<sup>592</sup> Modern acoustical engineers have continued the use of such vases, dubbing them Helmholtz resonators.<sup>593</sup> Helmholtz resonators work by absorbing the same sound frequency at which they themselves naturally vibrate, the sound absorption being maximised 'at the frequency of resonance and [decreasing] at nearby

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<sup>588</sup> Dorothea Baumann and Barbara Hagg, 'Musical Acoustics in the Middle Ages', in *Early Music* 18, no. 2 (1990): 200-1.

<sup>589</sup> See Robert G. Arns and Bret E. Crawford, 'Resonant Cavities in the History of Architectural Acoustics', in *Technology and Culture* 36, no. 1(1995): 105 and 112-9; Baumann and Hagg, 'Musical Acoustics in the Middle Ages', 201-2.

<sup>590</sup> Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura*, trans. Morris Hickey Morgan (Mineola: Dover, 1914), 143-153.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-19.

<sup>592</sup> See Arns and Crawford, 'Resonant Cavities in the History of architectural Acoustics', 133-5. The article lists the former Yugoslavia as one country, however both churches reside in what is now Slovenia.

<sup>593</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 209.

frequencies'.<sup>594</sup> The Helmholtz resonator captures sound waves and absorbs certain frequencies; the sound that is not absorbed by the resonator leaves the mouth of the vessel in a hemisphere, thereby re-emerging extracted of a certain frequency and being immediately diffused back into the environment.<sup>595</sup> Everest and Pohlmann assert that 'a diffusion of sound is very desirable in a studio or listening room', making such dispersed sound clearer and more intelligible than when un-diffused.<sup>596</sup>

The precise use of Helmholtz resonators in churches of any size, but particularly in larger churches and cathedrals, could theoretically lead to the creation of an aural atmosphere more conducive to either speech, sung voice, chanted voice, or instrumental sound, depending on their location, number, and vibrational frequencies. Though their use in European churches appears to be limited, their existence shows a conscious effort to improve acoustical environments in Christian worship spaces going back hundreds of years.

The ability of the church to inscribe itself onto the practices that take place within its confines is particularly evident in the medieval liturgical context. Music has played a role in Christian worship from the earliest periods to the modern day.<sup>597</sup> Some have argued that the evolution of medieval liturgical music reflects the ways in which composers and singers adapted to their highly resonant churches.<sup>598</sup> In order to create intelligible vocals the music would be (re)written to work with the space, creating a tradition of distinctive liturgical music that is a defining characteristic of medieval western liturgy. Such influences are clearly present, and much discussed, in the work that Johann Sebastian Bach composed while he was employed as the Cantor of St.

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<sup>594</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid.

<sup>597</sup> Sam Barrett, 'Music and Liturgy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 183-204.

<sup>598</sup> Pocock, 'Sound and the Geographer', 196; Lehmborg, *English Cathedrals*, 86.

Thomas' Church, Leipzig, between 1723 and his death in 1750.<sup>599</sup> Bach's work composed for St. Thomas's Church would have been influenced by the space's and institution's realities, much as Sayers's play *The Just Vengeance* (1946) was affected by the qualities of Lichfield Cathedral.

Alvarez-Morales and Martellotta have shown that the effect of occupied versus unoccupied church space can lead to a reduction in RT from roughly half a second at 125 Hz, to about one and a quarter seconds at 2 kHz.<sup>600</sup> Their work has also shown that the placement and number of audience members, combined with the position and direction of the sound source, are all contributing factors to the RT reduction in a given space.<sup>601</sup> While this reduction can be useful, the overall diminution will not necessarily result in sufficient RT, and may in fact be an incalculable variable given the necessary transient position and direction of sound production and the varied levels of occupancy in the space from performance to performance or service to service. The resultant variables mean that a consistent awareness of the acoustical fluctuations of a space change considerably over the course of a production, a factor that the untrained or inexperienced actor may find difficult to work with.

As creations of a Roman Catholic, medieval society most of England's cathedrals were designed for the liturgical practices of the time. The sixteenth century transitions between Roman Catholic and Protestant liturgy in England produced churches that 'were there for sermons and the occasional community Eucharist. The most prominent piece of furniture was not an altar but a pulpit'.<sup>602</sup> The shift from the visual to the aural was becoming not just apparent in liturgy, but in architecture as well. Just as medieval

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<sup>599</sup> Rudolf Eller and Stephen A. Crist, 'Thoughts on Bach's Leipzig Creative Years', in *Bach* 21, no. 2 (1990): 31-54; Andreas Glöckner, 'On the Performing Forces of Johann Sebastian Bach's Leipzig Church Music', in *Early Music* 38, no. 2 (2010): 215-22; Arthur Mendel, 'On the Keyboard Accompaniments to Bach's Leipzig Church Music', in *The Musical Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1950): 339-62. Bach's position meant he wrote music for various churches in Leipzig, but scholarly work seems to focus on St. Thomas's Church.

<sup>600</sup> Alvarez-Morales and Martellotta, 'A Geometrical Acoustic Simulation of the Effect of Occupancy and Source Position in Historical Churches', 52.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-7.

<sup>602</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Penguin, 2009), 681.

church space affected the evolution of liturgical chant, the shift in emphasis to preaching changed the church space. In *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* (1750), Sir Christopher Wren's son (also named Christopher Wren) made public 'A great number of original papers and records' of his father.<sup>603</sup> Included was a guideline for the rebuilding of London's parish churches after the Great Fire of 1666, which included an emphasis on the ability of the congregation to see and hear the services:

In our reformed Religion, it should seem vain to make a *Parish-church* larger, than that all who are present can hear and see. Romanists indeed may build large churches; it is enough if they hear the murmur of the Mass and see the elevation of the Host, but ours are to be fitted for Auditories [...] but to build more room than that every person may conveniently hear and see is to create noise and confusion.<sup>604</sup>

Wren's desire for order and harmony in his designs is rooted, at least partially, in his belief in the necessity for the congregation to be 'Auditories', that they may hear and see the entire service for which the church was built. The choice of such a word places the aural over the ocular, despite Wren's stated desire for both senses to be equal.

As the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, the first Protestant-designed and -built cathedral in the world, Wren's views on the difference between the two main western branches of Christianity are relevant to understanding the space's function in the design of the church. In this passage Wren focuses on parish churches, one of which he insists should be provided for every 2,000 inhabitants.<sup>605</sup> The emphasis on audibility in parish churches, while making no mention of cathedrals, does not denote ambivalence towards such considerations in the cathedral context; Wren's theory can just as easily be applied to cathedrals.

The significance of the new role of the congregation as 'Auditories' affirms the importance of common language in the divine service. The seemingly simple change of

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<sup>603</sup> Christopher Wren, *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* (London, 1750), title page.

<sup>604</sup> *Ibid.*, 320-1.

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

liturgical language from Latin to the vernacular placed more emphasis on the common tongue, thereby lending the words spoken in the church a greater impact on society in general. *The Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdomes* (1645) was a parliamentary replacement for the Book of Common Prayer that focused the liturgy of the Protestant Church of England not on actions but on words.<sup>606</sup> Of the book's fourteen distinct sections pertaining to religious practices, the longest is devoted to 'the Preaching of the Word', and if combined with the prescribed prayers before and after such preaching, covers over one quarter of the work.<sup>607</sup>

*The Directory* was unsuccessful in permanently reforming the Church of England, lasting only a short time before itself being replaced; but its importance lies in the information it relays about the value of hearing and understanding language in religious worship in the period.<sup>608</sup> The authors prefaced the work by writing that:

Because the Masse, and the rest of the Latine-service being removed the publique worship was celebrated in our own Tongue; many of the Common people also received benefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own Language, which formerly were unto them as a Book that is sealed.<sup>609</sup>

The tying of the Reformation to the use of the vernacular in religious worship draws a distinction between those of 'the Latine-service' and 'the Common people'. This reflects Wren's language, where he distinguishes between the 'Romanists' and the collective 'our' in reference to the English/Protestants. The book later refers to the use of Latin as 'an unprofitable use of unknown Tongues', while simultaneously extolling the preacher to speak 'Plainly, that the meanest may understand'.<sup>610</sup> Both extracts speak to the importance of understanding the spoken word in the liturgy, and by extension the

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<sup>606</sup> Anonymous, *The Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the Taking Away of the Book of Common-Prayer and for Establishing and Observing of this Present Directory Throughout the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales* (London: 1645), STC Position: Wing 1329:13.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid., 'The Contents'.

<sup>608</sup> Stanley R. Hall, 'American Presbyterians and the Directory for Worship, 1645-1989', in *American Presbyterians* 72, no. 2 (1994): 71.

<sup>609</sup> Anonymous, *The Directory for Publique Worship*, 1.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid., 17.

comprehension of the service by the congregation. *The Directory* routinely refers to the congregation as 'Hearers'.

It must not be assumed, however, that the Protestant churches of Europe were the sole advocates for creating church spaces that were conducive to the intelligibility of speech and music. In advice concerning the building of Venice's church of San Francesco della Vigna, Francesco Giorgi, a Franciscan Friar, recommended:

[...] to have all the chapels and the choir vaulted because the word or song of the minister echoes better from the vault than it would from the rafters. But in the nave of the church, where there will be sermons, I recommend a ceiling (so that the voice of the preacher may not escape or re-echo from the vaults). I should like to have it coffered with as many squares as possible [...] And these coffers, I recommend, amongst other reasons, because they will be very convenient for preaching: this the experts know and experience will prove it.<sup>611</sup>

Giorgi's words reflect a change in the attitude towards acoustics from the early medieval period, already discussed, where an emphasis on classical thought superseded innovation. They show that the clergy were clearly cognisant of the effects of architecture on acoustics by the early sixteenth century. As the Reformation affected liturgical dramaturgy throughout Europe over the coming centuries such experiences would physically and metaphorically shape church architecture across the continent.

The focus on the need for intelligibility would become a common theme in the design of western churches through the modern day, eventually crossing the divide between Roman Catholic and Protestant spaces.<sup>612</sup> Authors such as Robert Shankland, and those already mentioned, have all noted the effect of the Reformation on the design of churches from those with a higher RT in which Roman liturgy was celebrated to

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<sup>611</sup> Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 139.

<sup>612</sup> See Alvarez-Morales and Martellotta, 'A Geometrical Acoustic Simulation of the Effect of Occupancy and Source Position in Historical Churches', 47-58 for the change in Roman Catholic church use after the Second Vatican Council and its affect on the acoustics of churches.

newer churches with an RT more conducive to the spoken word.<sup>613</sup> The emphasis on the preaching in many Protestant churches has resulted in placing the pulpit, from which the 'Word of God' is brought to the congregation, at the centre of worship.<sup>614</sup> This tension between architecture designed for speech or music is the catalyst for the practices discussed in Part Four of this chapter.

## ACOUSTICS IN PRACTICE

The acoustics of a rehearsal space are the realities to which the production becomes accustomed as it evolves, adjusting appropriately while preparing for performance. The transition from this normative environment into the cathedral can cause problems for the actors as they modify their speech and actions to accommodate the cathedral's acoustics. This is also true of the transition from rehearsal room to purpose built theatres. The stress associated with this transition may be amplified if the performance site is one to which the actors and crew are unaccustomed. Access to the place of performance plays a role in the tailoring of one's performance, but obtaining such access in a busy cathedral can be problematic. *The Mysteries* and *The Passion* (2011)\* at Gloucester Cathedral had one chance to rehearse in the nave, but owing to a prolonged traffic incident when traveling the cast was given very little opportunity to work in the cathedral prior to performing.<sup>615</sup> The result was a young cast completely unaccustomed to the highly reverberant qualities of the nave, resulting in line delivery that was mostly unintelligible. The transition made the cast and crew of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*

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<sup>613</sup> Alvarez-Morales and Martellotta, 'A Geometrical Acoustic Simulation of the Effect of Occupancy and Source Position in Historical Churches', 47-58; Arns and Crawford, 'Resonant Cavities in the History of Architectural Acoustics', 104-35; Robert S. Shankland, 'The Development of Architectural Acoustics: The Application of the Science of Acoustics to Architectural Designs has Produced Greatly Improved Halls for Both Speech and Music', in *American Scientist* 60, no. 2 (1972): 201-9.

<sup>614</sup> Victor Fiddes, *The Architectural Requirements of Protestant Worship* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961), 49. James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 33-4.

<sup>615</sup> This information was given to the audience as we waited outside the cathedral while the actors were preparing the space.

(1989) 'stressed and bad tempered' as they 'found the nave enormous and a trifle intimidating' during their first rehearsal there, despite having just performed the play in Southwell Minster, demonstrating the differing realities of different environments.<sup>616</sup> Worcester Repertory Company's *Julius Caesar* (2014)\* was performed in both Hereford\* and Worcester\* Cathedrals, but the company was granted access to the buildings only once before the first performance at each location.<sup>617</sup> However, the company (and director in particular) had experience working in the space and were thus able to use that experience in their brief rehearsal period *in situ*.<sup>618</sup>

Third Monkey and The Marlowe Theatre's joint production of *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* was granted considerably more access to the eastern crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, loading in Monday morning and premiering Tuesday evening. The company was allowed multiple rehearsals to acclimate to their surroundings on condition that they vacate by 5pm so as not to disturb Evensong, and the cast of the production adjusted relatively easily. The co-director of the show, Paul Allain, attributed this to the actors' rehearsal conditions: Jackson's Lane, an arts venue located in a deconsecrated Victorian church in Highgate, London.<sup>619</sup> Rehearsals took place in Studio One, a room occupying the first floor of the building, comprising the upper portion of the original nave and chancel of the church. Jackson's Lane's website describes it as 'a huge expanse under the eaves of the vaulted ceiling [...] one of the largest rehearsal spaces in the UK', with a capacity of 120.<sup>620</sup> The room's wooden floor, high timber ceilings, large volume, and brick walls with lancet windows may have been one of the most important factors in adjusting from the rehearsal to the performance venue for the actors. Studio One was able to replicate a space whose reverberation was significant enough to be a factor

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<sup>616</sup> Ramsey, *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 42.

<sup>617</sup> Chris Jaegar, personal interview, 14 October 2014.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid.

<sup>619</sup> Paul Allain, personal interview, 19 February 2014.

<sup>620</sup> 'Studio One', from <http://www.jacksonslane.org.uk>, accessed 16 March 2014.

around which the actors had to work, training them for the acoustics of the cathedral. *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* also rehearsed in a church, preparing the actors to work in a reverberant setting analogous to the cathedral.<sup>621</sup> By spending rehearsal periods in similar acoustical environments, the actors of various productions learn to work with rather than against the cathedral's acoustical nature.

While attending a rehearsal in Studio One, I was struck by how often the actors were reminded by Allain and his co-director, Andrew Dawson, of the acoustics of their future performance site. Prior to beginning rehearsals, the cast and directors travelled from London to Canterbury to see the area in which they would be performing. They apparently experimented with the acoustics of the eastern crypt, as they were reminded of their time spent there throughout the rehearsal I witnessed. The actors were advised to slow their speech and enunciate clearly. Pre-show and pre-rehearsal warm ups at Canterbury took place in the eastern crypt, with the vocal portion led primarily by Dawson. A key part of this warm-up was the singing of *Vive Henri IV*, a song slightly modified for this production and sung as a transition from scenes thirteen to fourteen as the court danced onstage and others ran throughout the ambulatory surrounding the audience in celebration of the crowning of King Henri IV. This exercise helped to accustom the actors to the crypt's specific reverberation; the words of the song became clearer, louder, and more forceful as the actors worked with each other and the space.

Plays in which the characters' language may present a difficult situation for audiences, such as medieval, early modern, and modern verse drama, present more barriers to intelligibility than those in which the characters' language is close to the audiences' own. T.S. Eliot's modern verse poetry for *Murder in the Cathedral* was designed not to reflect natural speech, but rather to show the play's rhetorical beauty.

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<sup>621</sup>The Chester Mystery Plays, *The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle and History, Miracles and Mystery*, souvenir programme (2013): 9-11. Though this is not explicitly mentioned in the souvenir programme, photographs included in the programme clearly show this.

For this reason the text can be off-putting to some even under the best acoustical conditions, and can pose serious problems when recited in environments not suited to the reception of the spoken word. The play's 1970 production in the nave of Canterbury Cathedral drew both criticism and praise for the blending of 'the Gothic beauties of Eliot's verse' with the nave's acoustical realities.<sup>622</sup> The *Daily Telegraph's* reviewer noticed Becket's (John Westbrook) intonation, commentating that 'Despite (or perhaps because) the acoustical problems, the speaking is a constant delight. It has to be slow, elaborate and pointed [...] I do not remember to have heard such distinguished and distinctive enunciation for years'.<sup>623</sup> The *Kentish Observer's* reviewer concurred, calling Westbrook's Becket 'a joy to listen to despite the acute reverberation from the cathedral', and stated that 'The director [...] had obviously wisely instructed the cast to speak slowly and speak up, and this had the effect of both minimising the acoustic problems and giving full measure to Eliot's dialogue'.<sup>624</sup> This careful, meticulous diction had been learned in 1928's *The Coming of Christ*, for which:

Laurence Irving recalls vividly that Masefield went to great lengths to train his cast in slow and careful diction. He would take a line like 'And the men I employ, all are mine,' and insist that Irving listened to the resonance of each word before speaking the next.<sup>625</sup>

While the reviews for the 1970 production hint at the inadequate acoustics of the nave, they are equally congratulatory of the production's attempts and successes at overcoming the obstacles.

Professional actors are often called in to help with the acoustical problems of

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<sup>622</sup> B.A. Young, 'Murder in the Cathedral', from the *Financial Times* (26 September 1970). This review is taken from 'Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings', CCA-U167/35, in which many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*).

<sup>623</sup> Eric Shorter, from the *Daily Telegraph* (26 September 1970). This review is taken from 'Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings', CCA-U167/35, in which many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*).

<sup>624</sup> Anonymous, from the *Kentish Observer* (29 September 1970). This review is taken from 'Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings', CCA-U167/35, in which many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*).

<sup>625</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 93.

cathedrals, training actors how to use the place to be heard best. Actors from the Royal Shakespeare Company's Open Stages trained the Leicester University cast of *Richard III* (2014) in Leicester Cathedral.<sup>626</sup> Kenneth Pickering, who directed a promenade production of *The Mysteries* (1998) at Canterbury Cathedral, has taught cathedral clergy how best to speak in the cathedral environment at Canterbury.<sup>627</sup> The cathedral asks its guests to stop and pause for a clergy-led minute of prayer every hour on the hour from the main pulpit in the nave, assisted by electronic amplification. Pickering was asked by the cathedral authorities to coach their staff on how best to be heard for this important moment that takes place several times throughout the day. The need for professional coaching in such a seemingly mundane task for people who work there daily speaks to the special considerations the cathedral requires. Pickering gathered the staff in the cathedral one evening after it was closed to the public and had them experiment by dividing them into groups with instructions to speak in turns throughout the building; the result was a sudden awareness among those involved of the acoustical dark spots and sweet spots in the cathedral, and the ways in which their sound system must be used in conjunction with proper enunciation and timing in order to be used most effectively.<sup>628</sup> As Kahrl points out in his review of *The Wakefield Mystery Plays* (1973) at Ely Cathedral: 'one began to wonder whether the actors had been instructed to deliver their lines ponderously for fear of the cathedral's echo'.<sup>629</sup> Kahrl's supposition, if correct, goes to show that modulating speech to suit the cathedral can have negative consequences if carried out improperly.

Many large-scale productions of mystery play cycles, such as those at York Minster (2000)\* and Chester (2013)\* have employed a mixture of professionally trained

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<sup>626</sup> Leicester Cathedral, 'Richard III to be Staged in Leicester Cathedral', from <http://www.leicestercathedral.org>, accessed 16 May 2016.

<sup>627</sup> Kenneth Pickering, personal interview, 3 May 2013.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid.

<sup>629</sup> Stanley J. Kahrl, 'Medieval Drama in England, 1973: Chester and Ely', in *ROMRD* 15-16 (1972-3): 121.

and amateur actors. This inevitably leads to inconsistencies in speech delivery and interaction with sound. *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* employed a professional actor, Francis Tucker, in the role of Lucifer.<sup>630</sup> Tucker's training and experience showed throughout the performance, but it was a combination of his diction and vocal timing that aurally set his performance apart from the other actors. His diction made his quasi-middle-English lines not only audible in the expansive nave of the cathedral, but also, for the most part, intelligible. This was in contrast to many actors whose intelligibility was perhaps nearer to 60%. Many of the untrained or less experienced actors delivered their lines without pausing to allow for the dissipation of the echo that inevitably followed; or would deliver their lines too soon after the completion of their interlocutor's line. Both actions meant that the beginnings of lines were often covered by reverberation, making them partly or wholly unintelligible. In marked contrast to this, Tucker used the timing of the echo to his advantage: his lines seemed to have had a life after they left his mouth, moving around the nave and reverberating off the ancient walls until fading, at which point the next line was delivered. His use of the echo was especially powerful when he would scream or raise his voice, after which he would pause and look around as if to be looking for his voice in the air. His convention of appearing to look for his voice's echo was unsettling to see, as his grinning face scanned the space, making the audience feel as though he was expecting someone or something to enter the stage with him.

The production was based at Chester\* Cathedral for June and July, but travelled for two performances to Liverpool\* Cathedral in October. Chester's cathedral is a pre-conquest building used as a monastic church until gaining cathedral status in 1541.<sup>631</sup> It is an architectural mix of features spanning over five hundred years and was

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<sup>630</sup> *The Chester Mystery Plays, The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle and History, Miracles and Mystery* (2013), 18. Souvenir programme.

<sup>631</sup> Jon Cannon, *Cathedral: The Great English Cathedrals and the World that Made Them* (London: Constable, 2011), 291.

considerably renovated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>632</sup> This has resulted in a building designed to enhance the liturgical sounds of monastic offices as well as Roman Catholic and Victorian high-church liturgy, and not therefore best suited for the projection and intelligible reception of the spoken voice. The stage was set in the crossing of the cathedral with the actors facing the audience in raked seating in the nave to the west. To project one's voice accurately in this location takes skill, experience, and patience, as one must learn to pause, however briefly, between words in order not to cover subsequent words with the resultant echo of the preceding.

In contrast, Liverpool Cathedral is a twentieth century building representing a scale of architecture not seen in any other English cathedral.<sup>633</sup> Though conceived for Protestant worship, its physical form focuses on liturgy and was designed by Giles Gilbert Scott, a Roman Catholic.<sup>634</sup> The first dean of the cathedral, Frederick William Dwelly (served 1931-1955), was a prominent church liturgist who valued the dramatic effect of processional, a preference evident in the liturgy he would devise for the building.<sup>635</sup> Photographs of Dwelly's services show a liturgical style aimed at filling the cathedral's spaces and presenting a dramatic spectacle for the congregation. Wren's desire for the audience to see is reflected in Scott's design of a space in which the majority of a congregation can see the high altar, but the scale of the building fails on the second of Wren's warnings, that: '[to] build more room than that every person may conveniently hear [...] is to create noise'.<sup>636</sup> Dwelly saw the wide, open spaces Scott created, and composed a corpus of cathedral liturgy that did not draw on the processional patterns of the Oxford Movement or on the medieval model on which it

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<sup>632</sup> Ibid., 292 and 490.

<sup>633</sup> Peter Kennerley, *The Building of Liverpool Cathedral*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing Ltd, 2008), 3.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>635</sup> Peter Kennerley, *Frederick William Dwelly: First Dean of Liverpool, 1881-1957* (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing Ltd, 2004), 213-7.

<sup>636</sup> Wren, *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*, 320.

was based. Instead, his focus was to incorporate the building by filling it with processional participants dressed in robes and cassocks that reflected and complemented the red sandstone of the architecture.<sup>637</sup> Although Dwelly orchestrated the visual aspects of the liturgy, he left the considerable complications of the aural landscape to others more experienced in the field.<sup>638</sup>

One of the most noticeable traits of the interior of the cathedral is the long echo that is created by every sound made inside the main space of the building.<sup>639</sup> A single clapping of one's hands creates an echo lasting anywhere between eight and fourteen seconds, significantly higher than the  $RT_{2-4}$  recommended for organ music by Kleiner *et al*, and drastically different from the  $RT_{<1}$  recommended for speech.<sup>640</sup> Everest and Pohlmann provide a graph showing and comparing the optimum RT of 'more reverberant liturgical churches and cathedrals, [and] churches having services more oriented to speech'.<sup>641</sup> The volume of Liverpool Cathedral is 450,000+ m<sup>3</sup>, making it the largest church building in the United Kingdom and the fifth largest in the world.<sup>642</sup> According to Everest and Pohlmann the optimum RT for a cathedral of this volume is  $RT_{1.5-2}$  for speech, and  $RT_{2-3.5}$  for liturgy, both of which are far below the  $RT_{8-14}$  experienced in the cathedral. The result is a highly reverberant space in which sound reverberation needs to be kept in mind and speech adjusted accordingly in order to deliver clear, intelligible dialogue.

The main space of the cathedral is divided into seven sections: the well, the western crossing, the central space, the eastern crossing, the quire, the presbytery, and

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<sup>637</sup> Kennerley, *Frederick William Dwelly*, 214-5.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>639</sup> By 'main space' I am referring to the areas of the cathedral that do not include the cloisters or chapter house, as these areas are distinct from the rest of the building, often being separated by doors and corridors.

<sup>640</sup> Kleiner *et al*, *Worship Space Acoustics*, 237. The measurement of  $RT_{8-14}$  is my own, taken on various occasions and within various spaces within the cathedral.

<sup>641</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 171.

<sup>642</sup> Liverpool Cathedral, 'Cathedral', from <http://www.liverpoolcathedral.org.uk>, accessed 17 February 2015.

the chancel/high altar [image 6.2].

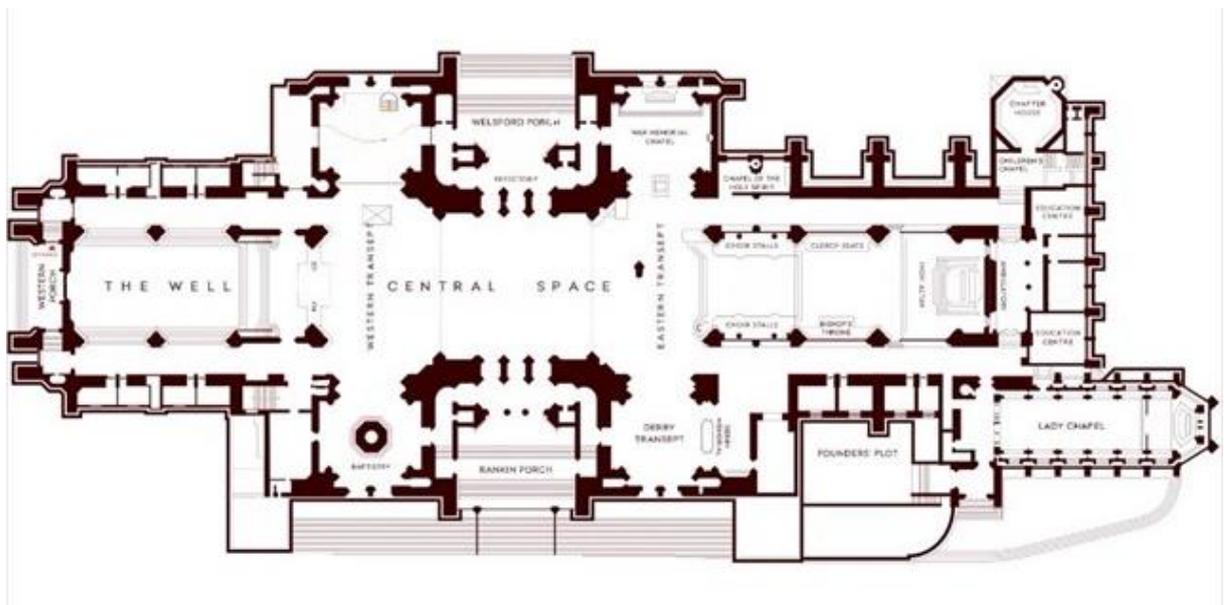


Image 6.2 Floor plan of Liverpool Cathedral. From 'Liverpool Cathedral', <http://www.geocaching.com>, accessed 10 February 2017.

Each flows into the next, the only physical boundary being the bridge perched above an archway that visually (and only partially physically) separates the well and the western crossing. While this makes for a space in which the high altar is visible to most, it also means that the sound produced in the building faces little absorption and much reflection as it travels from its source. However, the long central tunnel of the cathedral means that if one projects down it, the problem of flutter echoes can be substantially reduced, due to a lack of nearby parallel surfaces. When this is understood and worked with by a person trained and experienced with its effects (such as Tucker) the negative results are minimal; but when used by untrained individuals with little experience the resultant noise can be best described as cacophonous.

Large-scale mystery play productions routinely contain crowd scenes that call for the use of large numbers of people, often times talking or yelling. This not only creates high sound volumes, but also introduces multiple sound sources pointing in different directions, filling the cathedral with original and reflected sounds that cannot be differentiated. When this is done intentionally, as in the first Temple scene in Liverpool

(2014)\*, it helps to create a specific atmosphere that is conducive to the scene's sense of organised chaos and desperation as Mary and Joseph look for their lost child. However, when this is done on top of dialogue, the result can be unintelligible. *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* set the famous 'Play of the Antichrist' in the context of Chester's race day, with music and large crowds of drunken and disorderly individuals becoming the sinful world led astray by Lucifer. The crowd's yelling of scripted and unscripted dialogue mixed together as people attempted to speak over one another in imitation of drunken ramblings, making the speech indistinguishable and unintelligible for most of the scene. Not only was dialogue nearly impossible to discern, but the large crowd also obscured actors who were speaking. As the audience could not make out speech and the stage was filled with dozens of raucous characters, it was not possible to ascertain who was speaking (let alone what was being said). The action of the scene was thus lost as the dialogue that should have drawn the attention of the audience to specific actions onstage was covered by noise that prevented the audience from narrowing their focus onto individual actions. The loss of the action and dialogue in the scene is a result of improper understanding of the space's acoustical properties, as well as poor decisions in staging.

'The Final Judgment' easily falls into the same trap. As the souls of the dead were divided between Heaven and Hell, the screams of the damned reverberated around the cathedral interiors of Liverpool,\* Chester,\* and Gloucester,\* completely masking the scripted speech of the actors. The addition of an electric guitar and full choir at Chester only exacerbated the problem. The one case where this did not occur in this scene was *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012)\*. The location of the scene in the cloister garth meant that sound had no ceiling off which to reverberate, and so RT was drastically reduced, which in turn helped intelligibility.

The problem of large groups is not just restricted to the instances mentioned

above. Even when proper diction is employed and the actors are practised in the space, choral speech in a cathedral can create problems for aural nonlinearity, as mentioned above. As different actors produce different vocal frequencies, choral speaking represents a situation in which wide ranges of frequencies are used to convey the same scripted text. When these sounds reflect off surfaces, new frequencies are added to the mix. If a flutter echo is present, then the simultaneous effect of the echo combined with sound from the original source further adds to the range of frequencies at play. This creates additional frequencies in an individual's ear that differ from person to person. The result is a form of distortion that cannot be adjusted for, but which is unique to each individual. This distortion is generally present at all times as the multitude of sounds one hears are on different frequencies. But this is accentuated with choral speaking, especially in a highly reverberant environment. Such distortion affects the intelligibility of speech, especially in the modern verse drama of Masefield and Eliot, and the medieval verse of mystery plays.<sup>643</sup>

In addition to the skilful use of sound by the actor, the obvious acoustical problems can be overcome or diminished in a variety of ways. Everything from the choice of the performance location, the use of sound absorbing materials, and sound amplification can be utilised to affect positively the acoustical experience of the audience and actors. Worcester Repertory Company's touring production of *Julius Caesar* (2014)\* was staged in the lady chapels of Worcester\* and Hereford\* Cathedrals as a continuation of the company's 'Shakespeare in the Cathedral' annual tradition. Both buildings are a mix of differing periods of construction with lady chapels that reflect the early English architectural style (1220-55).<sup>644</sup> Hereford's lady chapel is diminutive when compared with that of Worcester and is separated from the small eastern transepts by a short flight of stairs leading up to the vaulted chapel. The location of the stage was the

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<sup>643</sup> See Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 87 for a general overview.

<sup>644</sup> Cannon, *Cathedrals*, 347, 453, 490.

area just before the eastern dais leading to and including the altar. Director Chris Jaegar said that choice of space was intentional to allow for crowd control, focusing the visual, and to allow the actors to be heard and understood.<sup>645</sup> This choice allowed the grandeur of the building to take full effect visually, while simultaneously being a space where the acoustical problems experienced in other areas were significantly diminished. Of all of the spaces in which I have seen cathedral performance, this production was the most audible, clearest, and least reverberant.

Aside from the smaller space in which the performance took place, the space onto which sound was projected (over and behind the audience and into the eastern transepts) played a significant part in the relatively good acoustics. When they stood on the stage facing west, the actors' voices were focused onto the wall two bay lengths from the west end of the lady chapel's north and south walls that separate the retro-quire and quire. The openings between the walls of the lady chapel and this wall lead into the small eastern transepts. This configuration creates what is known as a 'coupled room', where two separate rooms are joined by a solid surface with a coupling aperture giving unimpeded access for sound to travel between the two rooms.<sup>646</sup> In the case of *Julius Caesar* at Hereford Cathedral (where the sound source predominantly excited the lady chapel and not the transepts) this meant that the reverberation in the transepts would only have been audible in the case of so called 'impulsive sounds', such as 'loud cries, isolated chords of a piece of music, etc', or if the auditor were positioned near the coupling aperture.<sup>647</sup> The effect of this coupling is the loss of reverberation from the source vibrations that were reflected into the transepts and not back into the lady chapel or the space immediately before the retro-quire's western wall.

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<sup>645</sup> Chris Jaegar, personal interview, 14 October 2014.

<sup>646</sup> Kuttruff, *Room Acoustics*, 290-1.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*, 290. Excite: 'To induce a condition in (a substance) in which it emits a characteristic spectrum of radiation; to bring about the emission of (a spectrum)' (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'excite', from <http://www.oed.com>, accessed 18 March 2015).

This was used to great effect in the performance, as actors were placed there to yell during Mark Antony's funeral oration (3.2.73-252). The piercing shouts of the people invaded the lady chapel, but their reverberation did not compete with the sound of the actor playing Mark Antony. The reason for this effect is the direction of the source sound and the intentions of the actors/director. When actors project their voices in a coupled room with the coupling aperture on a surface parallel to the direction of speech (such as in the lady chapel, assuming the actor is speaking directly out to the audience), then the initial sound excites that room, as previously discussed. However, if an actor is positioned in the transepts but projects their voice directly at/into the coupling aperture (as in a proscenium-arch stage when an actor speaks directly out to the audience) then the resulting reverberation in the transepts will be clearly heard in the coupled room (i.e. the lady chapel).<sup>648</sup> The combination of a relatively smaller space with coupled rooms makes the lady chapel at Hereford very well suited to the projection and intelligible reception of the spoken word.

In contrast, Worcester's lady chapel of the same period is considerably larger in every way. While that at Hereford is roughly as wide as the nave, at Worcester the lady chapel is the same width as the building's nave and aisles, creating a structure that does not seem to taper as it runs from west to east.<sup>649</sup> Hereford's lady chapel is raised several steps from the floor of the retro-quire, but Worcester's is not raised, instead it sits level with the retro-quire, except for the dais on which the chapel's altar sits in its far eastern niche. This arrangement prevents reverberant sound echoing off of the retro-quire's screen from dissipating into other areas of the building besides the area of performance, as it does at Hereford. At Worcester the retro-quire is separated from the quire by an ornate Victorian stone reredos that covers only a small percentage of the coupling

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<sup>648</sup> Ibid., 291.

<sup>649</sup> Cannon, *Cathedral*, 347 and 453.

aperture between the retro-quire and quire.<sup>650</sup> While Hereford's lady chapel is a distinct separate room within the cathedral, the lady chapel at Worcester is a section of the larger building that is not delineated from the spaces to which it abuts. This can be seen when one compares the floor plans of the cathedrals in relation to each other.

To counteract the issue of reverberation (and especially flutter echo), Worcester Repertory Company hangs a black curtain from the reredos when performing in the lady chapel in order to absorb more of the sound coming directly from the stage. The effect is a dampening of noise that is noticeable even when the performance is not underway; particularly if one is standing near to the curtain. The material absorbs direct sound coming from the stage as well as reverberant sound echoing off of the stone walls, pillars, monuments, and vaulting. Jaeger noted that this is nearly mandatory at Worcester, but not at Hereford.<sup>651</sup> The acoustics could have benefited from more curtains positioned in certain locations, but doing so would have meant obscuring the fabric of the cathedral, partially defeating one of the performance's greatest attractions. Another option would have been to bunch the fabric; this would create more surface area for absorption while not taking up more space than was already being used by the current material. This would reduce the absorption coefficient at roughly the same frequencies as the unfolded fabric, and as such would improve the acoustics while visually taking up only marginally more space.<sup>652</sup>

*The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* were staged in the well with the bridge and its archway acting as the upstage boundary for the action as well as an orchestra area placed directly under the bridge, helping to contain the sound of the production. The east end of the well rises four steps to a large platform before rising another five steps to the level of the rest of the nave, just before the bridge. This creates a stage consisting of

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<sup>650</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands* (London: The Folio Society, 2005), 304.

<sup>651</sup> Chris Jaeger, personal interview, 14 October 2014.

<sup>652</sup> See figures 12-15 and 12-16 in Everest and Pohlmann, *The Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 194.

multiple levels, acting areas, and relatively neutral architecture. The well differs significantly in its design from the rest of the building [image 6.3].

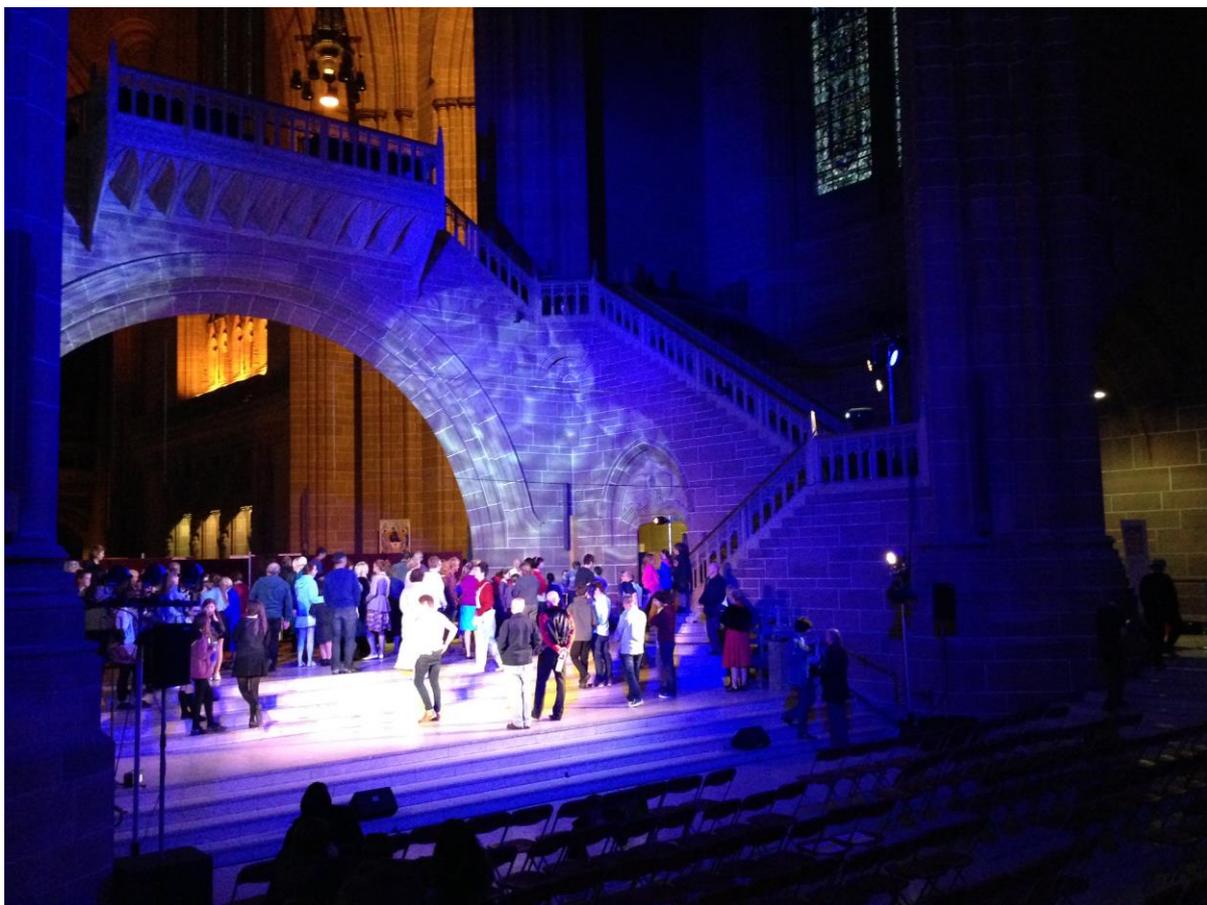


Image 6.3 Actors and crew of *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013\*) onstage under the bridge and facing into the well of Liverpool Cathedral. Photo by Jason Burg.

Due to the natural formation of the site on which the cathedral is constructed, the west end of the nave was built into the ground, creating a significant indentation accessed from the side aisles of the west end of the building and giving it the name ‘the well’. The delineation helps to create a more intimate feeling than in the other spaces of similar size in the cathedral and may help to focus sound that is generated there.

Minutes from a meeting of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral dated 4 February 1939 contain a report from a drama sub-committee addressing concerns brought by Dorothy L. Sayers regarding the staging and acoustics of her upcoming production of *The Devil to Pay*.<sup>653</sup> The formatting of the minutes leaves the question of whether Sayers

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<sup>653</sup> ‘Minute Book’, dated 4<sup>th</sup> February 1939, CCA-U167/23, leaves 5 recto – 7 recto.

or Laurence Irving was concerned most with the acoustics, but despite the answer, the result would have been generally beneficial. The following is the report by acoustician Hope Bagenal, who had been asked by the Friends to advise them on how to better the acoustics of the chapter house.

As Chapter Houses go the acoustics might be worse. That is to say the reverberation is not so long as it might be. Canterbury is oblong on plan and has a wooden polygonal ceiling, not a curved stone vault. When all the audience seats are occupied the reverberation is probably less than 3 seconds. Even in the empty hall with the reverberation at its longest you remember ~~was~~ I was able to speak to you and Mr. Irving and we heard and understood each other.

That is to say that acoustically you have not extreme church conditions but modified church conditions, and these have often been useful creative conditions in the past; but they must be understood.

[...]

But if you want to cut down your reverberation you can do it effectively in the manner I suggested on the occasion of my visit. The Canterbury velarium, which used to be slung in the nave for nave services, can be used in the Chapter House over the whole of the rear wall. It ought cover the window, or a large part of it. Mr. Irving says that this would rather help the production. The velarium is in three large canvas sheets about 30ft. X 50ft. each. I enclose a drawing to show how they ought to go; namely, slung up with an air space of a few inches between each sheet. The canvas could be cheaply decorated. Mr. Irving would make suggestions for you: it could be draped at intervals of a yard or so with red and white muslin vertical strips such as are used to wind around flag poles, or could be dotted with gold paper stars or something of the kind.

This velarium would supply a large area of sound absorbing material which will reduce reverberation. But choral music will not sounds so well.”<sup>654</sup>

Bagenal was a well-respected acoustician in the period, and is credited with the introduction of acoustical science as a widespread concern in the British construction industry.<sup>655</sup> The concern of the Friends was clearly a deep and vexing one if it necessitated the help of such a man. Bagenal is clearly not too concerned with the RT of

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<sup>654</sup> Ibid, leaves 6 recto – 7 recto.

<sup>655</sup> David Trevor-Jones, 'Bagenal, (Philip) Hope Edward (1888–1979), architectural theorist and acoustician', from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxford.dnb.com>, accessed 19 May 2016.

the building, and seems to offer his suggestion while not being completely convinced of its necessity. He reassures the Friends that what they face is not insurmountable, and indeed may even have been an aspect to incorporate into the tradition, rather than an obstacle to overcome. His final advice is essentially to cover a window with an expanse of cloth.

It is unclear which window can be designated as the rear one in the chapter house: 'rear' may refer to its relation to the stage or the audience. Both the eastern and western windows are massive, and would present a difficult situation with regards to reverberation off their surfaces. Covering the eastern window would prevent sound from reverberating off the glass and into the audience, helping to reduce omnidirectional sources. Covering the western window would achieve the same effect, but would allow for the sound projected out towards the audience, theoretically the main direction of sound projection, to be heard, then absorbed; the opposite is true in the first scenario. In the latter arrangement sound is better dealt with once it reaches the wall behind the audience, being absorbed and therefore restricting its ability to reverberate, making the western window the likely candidate.

Larger physical alterations and additions to the space have been used by productions in order to adjust to the less than perfect acoustics of cathedral settings. With their richly documented history, the plays of Canterbury offer excellent examples of the ways in which scenic design unintentionally supports a better acoustic. Scenic design is discussed in Chapter Seven, but the ability of these designs to absorb and reflect sound in a way that is conducive to better audibility deserves separate consideration here. The first plays at Canterbury after *The Coming of Christ* (1928) were the double bill of *Everyman* and *Dr. Faustus*, performed in 1929 at the west front and chapter house, respectively. It is interesting that although two spaces were chosen for the plays, only one (the chapter house) would be used again for this purpose.

For the next twenty-five years Canterbury's chapter house became what Kenneth Pickering called 'one of the most unusual playhouses in England'.<sup>656</sup> Photographs of the productions in the Canterbury Cathedral Archive show scenic designs echoing the blind arcading of the square chapter house's eastern wall, but faced in wood rather than stone. The use of softer, more absorbent wood reduces the RT and consequently improves intelligibility in reverberant rooms such as the chapter house, where an  $RT_{>3.5}$  is measured when the room is empty.<sup>657</sup> Harald Melvill's scenic design for *Peasant's Priest* (1947) used large tapestry backdrops flanking the stage; these consisted of roughly 360 feet<sup>2</sup> of reverberation-absorbing cloth in addition to a floor covering of 'plain uncoloured hessian [...] to deaden the sound of the actor's footsteps on the otherwise bare boards [of the stage floor]'.<sup>658</sup> Both materials would have acted to lessen the reverberation of the space and improve intelligibility, though Melvill is only explicit in this sense when discussing the hessian.

From an acoustical perspective the chapter house's history and intended function doubtlessly played a role in its use solely at Canterbury and Exeter. Robert Speaight, who first played Becket in the 1935 production of *Murder in the Cathedral*, noted the acoustics of the chapter house as 'difficult', but does not appear to have elaborated.<sup>659</sup> As already stated, the chapter house is perhaps the only cathedral place designed for spoken word, rather than for silence or music. Chapter houses at Exeter and Canterbury are rectilinear in design, consisting of a long tunnel and, as at Canterbury, an elaborate throne for the Prior or Bishop at the eastern end [**images 6.4 and 6.5**].

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<sup>656</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>657</sup> This measurement is my own.

<sup>658</sup> Harald Melvill, *Designing and Painting Scenery for the Theatre* (London: The Art Trade Press Ltd., 1948), 84-5.

<sup>659</sup> Robert Speaight, 'With Becket in "Murder in the Cathedral"', in *The Sewanee Review* 74, no. 1 (Winter, 1966): 179.

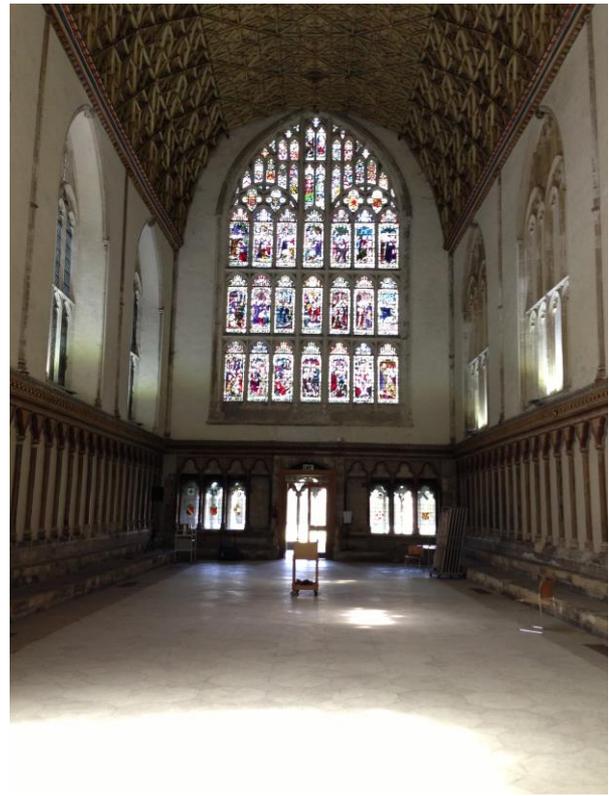


Image 6.4 and 6.5 Canterbury Cathedral chapter house facing east [image 6.4] and west [6.5]. Notice the throne positioned in the centre of the eastern wall. Photos by Jason Burg.

Such a design could allow for fewer surfaces off which sound could reverberate when coming from the direction of the throne, reducing the chance of flutter echoes if one were to modulate one's voice accurately. Within cathedrals, polygonal chapter houses existed only in English, secular institutions.<sup>660</sup> Perhaps a reason for this disparity is the bad acoustics of the polygonal shape, which encourages flutter echoes and high RT. Rectilinear chapter houses allow for better intelligibility by reducing echoes and RT, something that would be desirable in the large monastic communities and less of a problem in smaller, secular chapters. From the fourteenth century until its dissolution, Canterbury averaged between sixty and eighty monks, all of whom would have attended

<sup>660</sup> Cannon, *Cathedrals*, 106 and FN 46. A small number of large, important, non-cathedral monastic houses in England also had polygonal chapter houses (such as Westminster Abbey). However, circumstantial evidence may indicate that such polygonal buildings in monastic settings had more to do with trends in architecture and the display of wealth, rather than for logistical concerns such as acoustics. Being a Royal Peculiar, Westminster Abbey was a personal display of wealth, power, and religious fervour for the royal family, and as such following elaborate trends in building (such as polygonal chapter houses) served a similar purpose to other forms of ostentatious display. No study of the English chapter houses has of yet been published, and further work may reveal that larger monastic communities had less interest in polygonal buildings than their (usually much smaller) secular counterparts.

daily chapter.<sup>661</sup> While at York, the second richest cathedral in medieval England, rarely more than seven of the thirty-six secular canons would be present in the city at any one time.<sup>662</sup> The difference in the number of voices between these chapters speaks to the possible volume levels and number of sound sources at chapter meetings.

Perpendicular surfaces reflect sounds directly back at the source, but the presence of multiple surfaces set at angles to the source (i.e. the walls in a polygonal chapter house) increases reflection and sends reflections back at the source from multiple angles.<sup>663</sup> This causes aural nonlinearity, as discussed above, creating distortion to the hearer. If one compares the twelve basic structural corners of Canterbury's chapter house to Lincoln's thirty-six, the ability of the polygonal design to distort sound more is obvious.

It is conceivable that the structure, and not just the size, of cathedral chapter houses was influenced by the size of the chapter and the potential acoustical problems that come with increased numbers. With a potential attendance of seven canons at York's daily chapter compared to eighty at Canterbury, the rectilinear design of Canterbury would help reduce reflection from the larger group, thereby creating an environment more conducive to intelligibility. The smaller secular chapters would have less to contend with in terms of number of potential sound sources and volume. The smaller numbers of seculars could deal better with the poorer acoustics of polygonal buildings than their monastic brethren despite the problems faced by the polygonal structure. This would explain the non-existence of polygonal chapter houses in monastic cathedrals, and help to demonstrate the acoustical superiority of rectilinear over polygonal rooms for intelligibility. When Canterbury's monks decided to maintain the rectilinear plan for their chapter house when re-construction began in 1304 they

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<sup>661</sup> Barrie Dobson, 'The Monks of Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages, 1220-1540', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsey, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 116-7.

<sup>662</sup> Cannon, *Cathedral*, 462 and FN 10.

<sup>663</sup> Everest and Pohlmann, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 101.

disregarded the trend for polygonal buildings begun fifty years previous at Lincoln.<sup>664</sup> This decision made for better acoustics in the room and thereby affected the choice to use the space more than 600 years later for the Canterbury Festival, which in turn affected the work of designers and writers. It is interesting to think what may have happened in the twentieth century, had the monks bowed to architectural trends over acoustics and opted instead for a great polygonal building in the fourteenth.

The 1970 production of *Murder in the Cathedral* was to be the centrepiece of the year-long schedule of events commemorating the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket. As such, the staging of director E. Martin Browne's production in the nave of Canterbury would allow for audiences of 685 at each performance, many more than could be housed in the cathedral's chapter house.<sup>665</sup> The media expected a total of 14,000 audience members to witness the play over its short production run, substantially more than had been able to attend any other previous Canterbury Festival play.<sup>666</sup> Browne must have known from his intimate experience with theatre in the cathedral that the nave was one of the places least suited for audibility.

Reviews from 1970 show an awareness of microphones used by the production to counteract the nave's acoustics. The *Daily Telegraph's* review found this problematic: 'Half-a-dozen candlestands dotted around the platform, apparently secreted microphones, and it looked as if much of E. Martin Browne's production had been based on the business of getting the chorus and the knights within their range'.<sup>667</sup> The use of microphones changed the nature of the play in performance, apparently creating non-realistic movement patterns that drew the attention of at least part of the audience. The

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<sup>664</sup> Ibid., 361.

<sup>665</sup> The Kent Messenger, 'Cathedral murder is a four night sell out', in the *Kent Messenger* (28 August 1970). This review is taken from 'Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings', CCA-U167/35, in which many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*).

<sup>666</sup> Ibid.

<sup>667</sup> Eric Shorter, in the *Daily Telegraph* (26 September 1970). This review is taken from 'Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings', CCA-U167/35, in which many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*).

necessity of the microphones created a different play than would had been the case had they not been used; such examples show the ways in which the acoustic of the cathedral can effect more than the aural landscape, but the visual as well.

The production of *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (1978) seems to have experienced similar effects from the placement of the stage. In his book *The Lincoln Mystery Plays: A Personal Odyssey, 1978-2000* (2008), director Keith Ramsey reflected briefly on the first production of the play in what would become a tradition: 'To set a play under the central tower is asking for trouble. The production was partially inaudible. The sound system didn't help much. It was lucky the story was rather well known'.<sup>668</sup> Strangely, Ramsey makes no reference to acoustics related to the precursor of the play, *The Oberufer Christmas Plays* (1976), which were also staged in the cross, 'under the central tower', and yet drew no comment from Ramsey nor, apparently, affected his judgment when choosing a performance location for 1978.<sup>669</sup> Ramsey attempted to address this issue in the 1993 production, but admitted that 'I set the plays in too long a section of the nave and audibility was a problem'.<sup>670</sup> The nave, it would appear, was dramatically too important for Ramsey, allowing him to sacrifice audibility for the visual experience.

Modern-built cathedrals, such as Coventry (consecrated in 1962), and Liverpool (officially opened 1978), have the advantage of being designed with thought for better acoustics and intelligibility, and hearing a play in these spaces is considerably different from the experience in older cathedrals.<sup>671</sup> In *Passion: A Contemporary Journey to the Cross* (2015) at Coventry Cathedral\*, the play began in the east end of the ruins of the old cathedral and then moved inside the modern building.<sup>672</sup> As the audience walked

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<sup>668</sup> Ramsey, *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 4.

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>671</sup> 'Coventry Cathedral', from <http://www.englishcathedrals.co.uk>, accessed 16 March 2015; 'Liverpool Cathedral', from <http://www.englishcathedrals.co.uk>, accessed 16 March 2015.

<sup>672</sup> It should be noted that in discussing the cathedral ruins with members of the cathedral staff after the performance, I was informed that the ruins of the old cathedral are considered an extension of the new

between buildings a musician playing discordant notes on a soprano saxophone followed. Having very little off which his sound could reflect the notes seemed distant, and faded into the background. Upon entering the western door of the new building and sitting in the provided chairs, the sounds of the saxophonist could be heard approaching the door. As the play entered the cathedral, the acoustics of the space took over and what was a distant sound of music became an enveloping experience; the sound intensified and reverberated off of the walls, becoming not only an audible, but tactile. The sound waves interacted with the bodies of the audience and could be physically sensed, making one to think of Lefebvre's words that 'It is in this way, and at this level [i.e. the acoustical], in the *non-visible*, that bodies find one another'.<sup>673</sup> The reverberation off the walls of the building and through the bodies of the audience connected the place to the people occupying it. The people in front of me, whose bodies had already absorbed and changed the wavelength, altered the sound waves travelling through my body, connecting my experience to them. Moving from the openness of the ruins to the large but enclosed space of the cathedral, it was the enveloping physical and aural sensation created by the saxophonist that helped to make the audience aware of the place and each other.

*The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2014)\* created a similar experience with the use of their 10,267-pipe organ, the largest in the United Kingdom, which includes two of the loudest pipes in the world.<sup>674</sup> The plays were staged peripatetically over four nights in Holy Week, with different scenes being performed each night in different areas of the cathedral. On the third night Jesus' entry into Jerusalem was played briefly as the assembled audience waited for him and his disciples in the central space. As Jesus

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building and that together they make up one cathedral. The ruins are consecrated ground and remain a space actively used in the cathedral's worship and liturgy.

<sup>673</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 225.

<sup>674</sup> Liverpool Cathedral, 'The Organ', from <http://www.liverpoolcathedral.org.uk>, accessed 18 March 2015; 'Liverpool Organs', from <http://www.liv.ac.uk>, accessed 18 March 2015.

approached the standing audience, actors placed amongst them shouted 'Hosanna in the highest!' and cheered as the crowd parted and Jesus and the others marched east towards the high altar. Throughout this moment the cathedral's organ played in the background, low but present. As the audience turned to follow Jesus he mounted the quire steps and the organ's role in the scene changed, transforming from a distant background sound into a booming harbinger of the Son of God. The sound emanating from the pipes and reverberating off of the cathedral's walls was shocking and caused many people to spontaneously look skyward. The sound waves could be felt in one's torso and limbs, even causing the programmes on the pews to vibrate slightly.

The reverberation of cathedral buildings has been used with success for the delivery of dialogue, as has been seen; but it can also play a part in action motivated sounds, such as the slamming of doors and clanking of metal objects. The Guise's faction in *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* was accompanied during the massacre scenes by an actor constantly whetting a knife, creating a sound that reverberated effectively off of the stone walls of Canterbury's eastern crypt. The quality of the sound was similar to that of terra cotta pots rubbing against one another, eliciting goose-bumps and the sensation of chills from myself as I sat in the audience. E. Martin Browne used the acoustics similarly in *Murder in the Cathedral* (1970). Desmond Connolly of the *Kent Herald* commented that:

One of the most convincing moments comes when a sudden banging is heard on one of the Cathedral's doors. I felt a shudder climb up my spine as the banging got louder and more impatient. The noise only stopped when Becket orders the doors to be opened and then the next thing to be heard is the heavy, brisk footsteps of the knights making their way through the audience to the archbishop.<sup>675</sup>

Connolly's emphasis on the aural over the visual in this most important of moments in

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<sup>675</sup> Desmond Connolly, 'A Dramatic Disaster is Avoided', in the *Kent Herald* (30 September 1970). This review is taken from 'Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings', CCA-U167/35, in which many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*).

the play shows the impression made by the use of sound in conjunction with the performance space. It is not clear to which door he refers, but the likely candidate is the door leading from the cloister walk into the martyrdom, the site of Becket's murder in 1170. This space, the martyrdom, is set lower than the crossing steps on which the stage for the production was built; an entrance from this location would mean the actors would have had considerable time to enter and make their way to the stage while delivering their lines calling Becket 'Daniel', and commanding him to 'Come down Daniel to the lions' den, / Come down Daniel and join the feast' (part II).

Keith Ramsey employed a similar technique of using the building's reverberation in *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2000). The play was acted in the cloister but moved into the nave for the crucifixion.

The audience were each given a lighted candle to follow the cross [borne by Jesus] round the cloister and down to the nave [...]When the audience reached the screen, we kept them there facing down the nave. Jesus then set off on his own, dragging his cross towards the hill of Golgotha [...] As he reached the foot of the slope I had asked the actors to rush down the nave shouting, 'Crucify him!' Their shouts echoed in the soaring heights of the nave. I think the moment worked well. Christ's cry of 'Eloi, Eloi, lamas sabachthani' [...] echoed hauntingly.<sup>676</sup>

The long silence of the procession followed by the isolating moment as Jesus dragged his cross down the nave of the cathedral would have been broken by sudden screams echoing off of the walls of the building.

## CONCLUSION

While it may not appear to be a problem of great import, the acoustical realities of cathedrals in the context of performance are a substantial factor with which theatrical productions must work. Since the first modern production in a cathedral the desire to use the monumental space of the building has lead some to sacrifice audibility for the

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<sup>676</sup> Ramsey, *The Lincoln Mystery Plays*, 61-2.

sake of the space. But, as Lefebvre and Pocock have theorised, the aural landscape of a space plays as important a role as that which can be perceived by the eye. The low intelligibility of words spoken in Lichfield Cathedral, as well as the desire nonetheless to use that space as the inspiration and site of Sayers' *The Just Vengeance* shaped the final play, as the playwright herself mentions in its introduction.

Acoustical problems can lead to a major loss in audibility and intelligibility, making cathedral performances noteworthy as shows where the words themselves are often not heard, and therefore not understood. Untrained actors in an unfamiliar space that has not been properly chosen or adapted for its acoustical qualities can lead to performances in which the words of the playwright are essentially relegated to areas of little importance in the actual presentation of the play.

The creation of space and performance through sound is affected by multiple factors, as discussed above. All of these elements come together to create a unique soundscape which can be generalised (though by no means applied universally) as a highly reverberant place in which sound absorption and echo shape the perceived aural environment in a way unlike traditional theatres. Rather than using places designed to dampen certain frequencies and project the voice, the cathedral offers the antithesis: an area in which the total control of sound is impossible. The cathedral's space shapes sound in a particular way that reinforces its power and dominance, reminding one of where they are. However, it is this otherness, this ability to be different in a way that reminds one of the space in which they sit that creates the cathedral performance as a sonic environment, in which the sounds created and distorted by the *physical space* influence the perception of the *social space*. As Lefebvre stated, 'it is in this way [...] that bodies find one another'; it is through the non-visual sense of hearing that we

interact with our environment, thus creating space from place.<sup>677</sup>

A production must make use of the acoustics with which it is working. This can be done either by training actors to use their voices in conjunction with the reverberation of the space, or by adding to and manipulating the environment in order to dampen sound, or by choosing spaces within the cathedral that work best with the sound requirements of the production. Ideally, all three options must be employed and balanced in order to reach the optimum audibility and intelligibility that a production needs. Such was the case of *Julius Caesar* (2014)\* at Hereford Cathedral. Director Chris Jaeger's choice of space, and his placement of vocally well-trained actors within that space, helped to create a play for which there was very little trouble hearing and understanding. The problems associated with cathedral acoustics in relation to theatrical performance are numerous, but can be overcome to a substantial degree if consideration is given them, and then acted upon.

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<sup>677</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 225.

## CHAPTER SEVEN:

### SCENIC, COSTUME, AND LIGHTING DESIGN IN CATHEDRAL PERFORMANCE

Scenic, costume, and lighting design together create the visual world of a play. While each of these three elements is distinct, the interplay between them requires particular attention in cathedral performance. The reason for this is the inherent dramatic nature of cathedral architecture, coupled with its semiotic value, which requires the designer to actively integrate existing design (i.e. the cathedral itself) into their own work. Unlike traditional theatres, the cathedral cannot and should not be designed over, but be incorporated into and perhaps even inspire the design. This chapter deals with such issues, analysing when design works with and against the space, and the results of such work.

Part One covers the field of scenic design, looking at the ways in which scenic designers incorporate their designs into the cathedral environment. The case of Harald Melvill's design for *Peasant's Priest* (1947) at Canterbury will be used to explore the negative impact that a disharmony between architecture and scenic design can have on the final product. Part Two is concerned with costume design and its influences taken from the ecclesiastical settings in which the designs are given life. Stella Mary Newton's designs for *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) are given attention in the case study. The focus of Part Three is lighting design for cathedral performance, emphasising the collaboration between the lighting designer and costume and scenic designers and exploring how they work together to create new words within the cathedral. *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\*, will serve as the case study for this section of the chapter.<sup>678</sup>

#### SCENIC DESIGN

When researching past productions and attending live performances of cathedral plays

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<sup>678</sup> For this last section I will draw on my own experience, training, and work as a professional lighting designer.

one notices the striking role the cathedral's architecture and furnishings play in scenic design.<sup>679</sup> The designs can be relatively simple, in which little to no outside furnishings are brought into the cathedral and the given circumstances of the building are the focus of the design (such as *Romeo and Juliet* [2015]\* at Worcester Cathedral or *Othello* [2014]\* at Liverpool Cathedral); or a design which covers the majority of the architecture, leaving little to no semblance of the building, and possibly creating a frame in which the action is separated from the foundational design (such as *Peasant's Priest* [1947] at Canterbury Cathedral). A middle ground exists, and seems to be the most common, where the design interacts with and accentuates the building's architecture, neither letting it speak for itself nor covering its uniqueness. This last option can be seen in productions ranging from *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000)\*, in which a relatively simple set design drastically altered the playing place's structure, to *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2014)\* at Chester Cathedral, when the set added to the building, neither adjusting the place nor covering it up.

The key visual record showing the setting for *The Coming of Christ* (1928) in its entirety that could be found while conducting research for this thesis is the cover of Kenneth Pickering's *Drama in the Cathedral* (2001).<sup>680</sup> The cover shows a detail of a now lost painting by Laurence Irving that he completed from memory circa 1936, illustrating the veneration of the Christ child by a full host of at least thirty-six characters [image 7.1].<sup>681</sup>

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<sup>679</sup> For the purposes of this chapter the terms 'architecture', 'architectural circumstances', and 'furnishings' will be used to denote elements of cathedrals that are present within the building irrespective of theatrical productions (i.e. pulpits, stairs, rood screens, pillars, *et cetera*). The term 'design' will be used to refer to all physical elements that are brought from outside, into the space for the production (i.e. tapestries, flats, stage flooring, set decorations, *et cetera*), including those elements that are cathedral property but were moved into the playing place in order to be useful to the production (i.e. tapestries, chairs, *et cetera*). Both of these categories would normally fall under the title of 'design', but in order to distinguish the found elements from those that were not found, this terminology will be used.

<sup>680</sup> Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral: A Twentieth Century Encounter Between Church and Stage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J. Garnet Miller, 2001), cover. Other images exist of the production, but none shows enough of the setting in order to be of use as a source for discussing scenic design.

<sup>681</sup> Kenneth Pickering, personal email to the author, 27 January 2016.

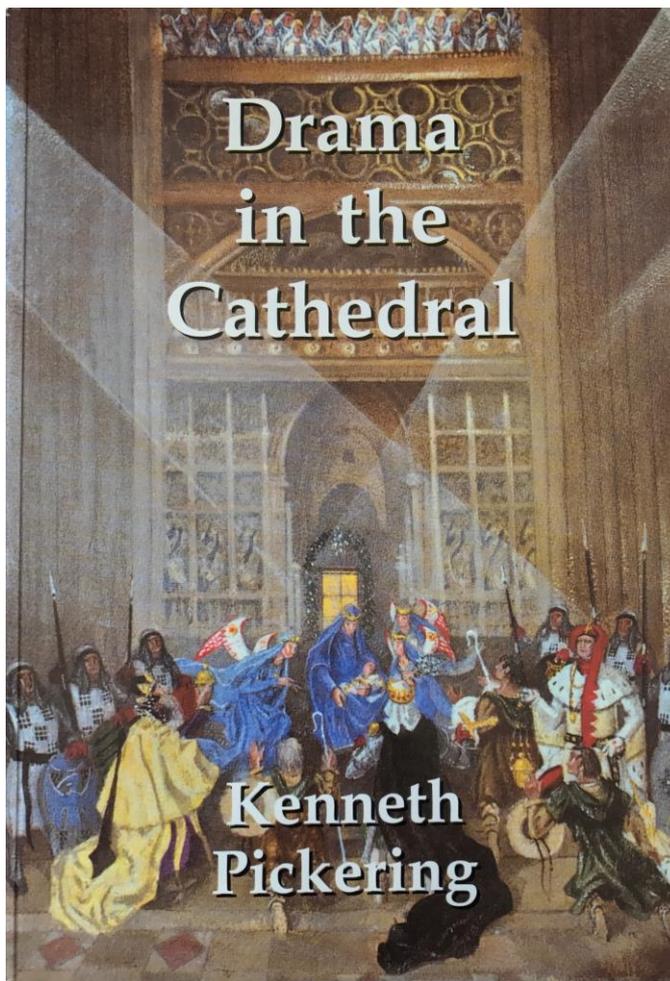


Image 7.1 Laurence Irving's artwork (1936) used on the cover of *Drama in the Cathedral* (2001), showing the veneration of the Christ Child in *The Coming of Christ* (1928).

The staging for the play took place in the crossing of the cathedral, an area that consists of a pulpitum leading from the quire via a single doorway to a platform that runs the width of the screen. From this platform, referred to here as the upper stage, a flight of twelve steps descends to the middle stage before four more steps lead to the lower stage.<sup>682</sup> Above the upper stage the fifteenth century pulpitum's gallery offered a place from which 'the host of Heaven' and trumpeters could perform, retaining the idea of 'the Heavens'.<sup>683</sup> The quasi-proscenium arch of a decorative bracing spanning the western bay of the crossing framed the action, enhancing the entire *mise-en-scène*. The painting shows no obvious scenery aside from the architecture of the building, except perhaps a

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<sup>682</sup> John Masfield, *The Coming of Christ* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1928). The term 'Middle Stage' is used in the stage directions in the script (page 3), from which I have extrapolated the 'Upper' and 'Lower' stages for ease of description.

<sup>683</sup> Jonathan Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2013), 143.

garland of greenery outlining the door to the quire. The script from the 1928 production gives a detailed account of the movements of many of the characters, specifying the entrance and exit points, as well as instructions on ascending and descending the cathedral's stairs, indicating that the whole area was used.<sup>684</sup>

The relatively small amount of information that can be ascertained from the painting and the script, teamed with knowledge gained by visiting the space, makes the design for the play appear to have been centred on allowing the cathedral to be the focus. There is no substantial set design to speak of, in that there is no evidence of scenery that was brought into the crossing; rather the actors' costumes and properties, as well as their bodies and architecture, created the entire visual. This was to be the similar response to scenic design adopted in 1970, when *Murder in the Cathedral* was the next play to be performed in the crossing. Photographs from that production show the addition of an altar on the middle stage, and nothing else [image 7.2].



Image 7.2 *Murder in the Cathedral* (1970), in the crossing, Canterbury Cathedral. From Michael Billington, 'Get your sin and suffering here, folks!', from <http://www.theguardian.com>, accessed 6 March 2017.

<sup>684</sup> Masefield, *The Coming of Christ*, general.

Perhaps it was the space's grandeur and massive scale that did not allow for a set design to easily work.

As the Canterbury plays transferred to their permanent setting in the chapter house, the issue of set design becomes more apparent in the records. Laurence Irving took advantage of a gift of £100 to the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral by designing and building a set that mimicked the chapter house's walls (though with the 'restoration' of the medieval painting), and added screens that allowed for backstage space as well as multiple entrance points, and elevation above the chapter house floor [**image 7.1**].<sup>685</sup> Irving's setting premiered as part of the 1933 revival of *Becket*, though no mention is made as to what setting was used for the original production the previous year.<sup>686</sup> The result of Irving's design was the introduction of what has been called 'the first open stage in England', in which the absence of a proscenium arch dropped the boundary between actor and audience, and set the tone of the productions to come at Canterbury.<sup>687</sup> The reviewer for *The Times* called his set 'simple and beautiful', a sentiment that appears to have been felt throughout its years of use.<sup>688</sup>

Irving's set appears to have been in *de facto* use for all subsequent productions until the cessation of the festival after 1940. The best image of the set in use comes from *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* (1936).<sup>689</sup> One can see a raised stage flanked by small wings perhaps one foot higher than the central platform, on top of which sit screens designed to replicate the blind arcading of the chapter house seats that fill the upstage wall [**image 7.3**].

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<sup>685</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 99.

<sup>686</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>688</sup> The Times, 'The Canterbury Festival', in *The Times* (14 June 1937): 12. From *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 5 December 2014.

<sup>689</sup> 'Book of Photographs', CCA-U167/74, page 5.



Image 7.3 *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* (1936), showing Laurence Irving's scenic design in the chapter house of Canterbury Cathedral. 'Book of Photographs', CCA-U167/74, page 5.

The result is a harmonious extension of the fourteenth century aesthetic that accentuates the cathedral, rather than hiding or recreating the space's elements. Irving design was used for all productions from 1933 until the closing of the festival after 1940. These plays fall into one of two categories, being either historically or thematically appropriate to the chapter house. Placing the historical plays within a fourteenth century place may be anachronistic to some of their plots, but it fulfils the sense of a medieval atmosphere; while the thematically apt plays (*Christ's Comet* and *The Devil to Play*) are enhanced by the correspondingly ecclesiastical setting. Only one of the post-1933 plays was not written for the chapter house, Laurence Binyon's *The Young King*, written in 1934.<sup>690</sup> For this reason it is reasonable to assume that the playwrights

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<sup>690</sup> John Hatcher, 'Binyon, (Robert) Laurence (1869-1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 27 January 2016. Pickering disputes this, claiming that Christopher Hassall's *Christ Comet* was not written for Canterbury (see Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 107), but Hassall's biographer insists that the play was written as part of the festival and the earliest published

writing for the chapter house were also aware of Irving's design on which their play would be staged.

Irving's setting was used until its destruction during a bombing raid in the Second World War, in which much of the costume stock was also destroyed, and after which the Devil's tail hung for some time from a blown out window.<sup>691</sup> The first play at Canterbury after the war had relative *carte blanche* to determine the scenic design, unencumbered with the need to re-use existing furnishings. That first production, *Peasant's Priest* (1947), is the focus of the following case study and so will not be discussed at this point in the chapter.

When *The Zeal of Thy House* was revived for the 1949 festival it would be the first time the play would be produced at Canterbury without Irving's set. Costume designer Norah Lambourne had originally been approached to 'devise a simple screen setting for the play', before Harald Melvill was given the job.<sup>692</sup> The result does not seem to have followed the remit given to Lambourne. Few images of the production can be found, but those that are available focus on the actors more than the set. An image showing the confession of William to the Prior in the final act of the play is the clearest, though it does not appear to show the whole stage [**image 7.4**, see main image].<sup>693</sup>

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script is the 1938 Festival edition. For these reasons I consider *Christ's Comet* to have been written for Canterbury Cathedral. See John Guest, 'Hassall, Christopher (1912-1963)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 27 January 2016 and Christopher Hassall, *Christ's Comet* (Canterbury: H.J. Goulden Ltd, 1938).

<sup>691</sup> Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 112.

<sup>692</sup> Norah Lambourne, 'Recollections of Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', in *Costume* 25, no. 1 (1991): 7.

<sup>693</sup> David Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life* (Oxford: Lion Publishing Plc., 1992), plate 10.

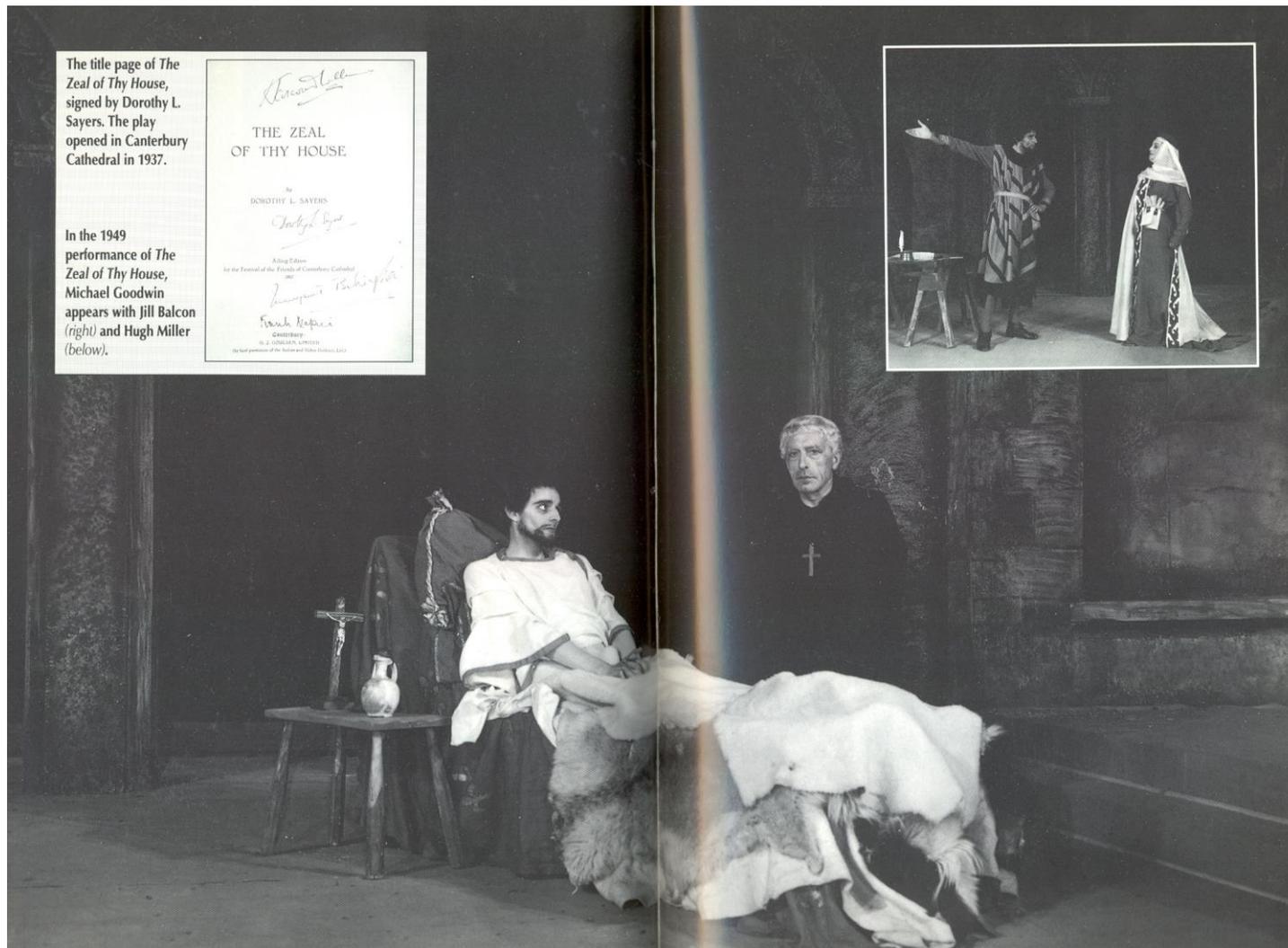


Image 7.4 *The Zeal of Thy House* (1949), chapter house, Canterbury Cathedral. Designs by Norah Lambourne. From Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life*, image 11 and 12.

The image is dark, but the background shows wood painted with the scumbling technique in order to appear as if stone. A large portal partially frames the scene with a characteristic Norman style dog's-tooth carved arch supported by very un-Norman square, narrow pillars. The clash of styles is striking enough to be off-putting, drawing attention to the artificiality of the design. Another image shows the portals in a clearer view [**image 7.4**, see inset].<sup>694</sup> In this picture the pillars now look slightly rounded. If one looks again to the first image and notes the shadowing effect done using the scumbling on the sides of the square pillars, a desire to create a rounded effect can be seen that is not conveyed in the former image but is in the latter. The implication is that Melvill's painting effects were only partially successful in their ability to create the optical illusion of rounding a square pillar.

The reason for the importance of this seemingly minor attribute of the set design becomes clear when one consults Pickering. In discussing the production in 1975, Mr. Fairbrass, who worked on the production's electrical requirements, gave insight into the thought behind the set design, saying that a group wishing for 'real scenery' in the festival influenced the choice.<sup>695</sup> Pickering's comments reveal much about the result.

This was almost certainly an artistic blunder, as one of the best aspects of the pre-war productions was the effectiveness with which they used the Chapter House setting itself. To construct scenery representing part of a cathedral, when the play is actually being staged in an ecclesiastical setting was to attempt an impossible blend of the real and the imaginary, the flat and the three-dimensional.<sup>696</sup>

Here Pickering finds the problem with the design, and not just in the specific case of this production, but in cathedral scenic design as a whole: to attempt to recreate the ecclesiastical setting in which the play takes place, and in doing so covering the actual building, is to deny the presence of the performance site itself. Such designs exclude the

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<sup>694</sup> Ibid., image 10 (inset).

<sup>695</sup> As quoted in Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, 113.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid., 113.

building and work against its uniqueness. They can only fail in an attempt both to match the cathedral in affective quality, and to use it as a component of the production; both of which are key reasons for using cathedral in this way. Such designs do not appear to be common in subsequent productions either at Canterbury or the other cathedrals of England. The next cathedral production of *The Zeal of Thy House* was not until 1960, when Ely Cathedral's south transept became the stage.<sup>697</sup> The correspondent of *The Times* noted the elegant use of the cathedral in the review, giving no indication of any scenic elements that were not part of the building itself.<sup>698</sup> The photographs accompanying the article also give no indication of scenic design apart from the cathedral's own architecture, which validates the assumption that none other was used.

Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Just Vengeance* (1946) was a play specifically written for performance in the west end of Lichfield Cathedral as part of the cathedral's 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations. Norah Lambourne's scenic design was a multi-tiered series of platforms connected by flights of steps of varying height [image 7.5].<sup>699</sup> These platforms, like a gothic window, rose to a pinnacle on the central, highest stage that was framed by a semi-circular upstage arch. Only this platform was within the frame of the arch, leaving the rest of the stage to be flanked by the thirteenth century pillars of the nave.<sup>700</sup> The steps and platforms were painted 'to blend with the stonework of the Cathedral', while 'the background was dark blue with gold decorations'.<sup>701</sup> These steps thus became an extension of the given architecture, rather than emulating it as Irving's had done for Canterbury.

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<sup>697</sup> The Times, 'The Zeal of Thy House', in *The Times* 9 Dec 1960: 18. *Times Digital Archive*, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk>, accessed 29 January 2016.

<sup>698</sup> Ibid.

<sup>699</sup> Lambourne, 'Recollections of Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', 2-3, 5. Lambourne implies that the director, Frank Napier, may have had a hand in designing the set, saying that he had made 'his own model of the proposed stage' (page 2). However, it is not clear whether this was to Lambourne or Napier's design. As Lambourne was given the job 'To design the scenic decor and to paint it', the assumption can be made that the design was her own.

<sup>700</sup> Pevsner and Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands*, 179.

<sup>701</sup> Lambourne, 'Recollections on Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', 3.

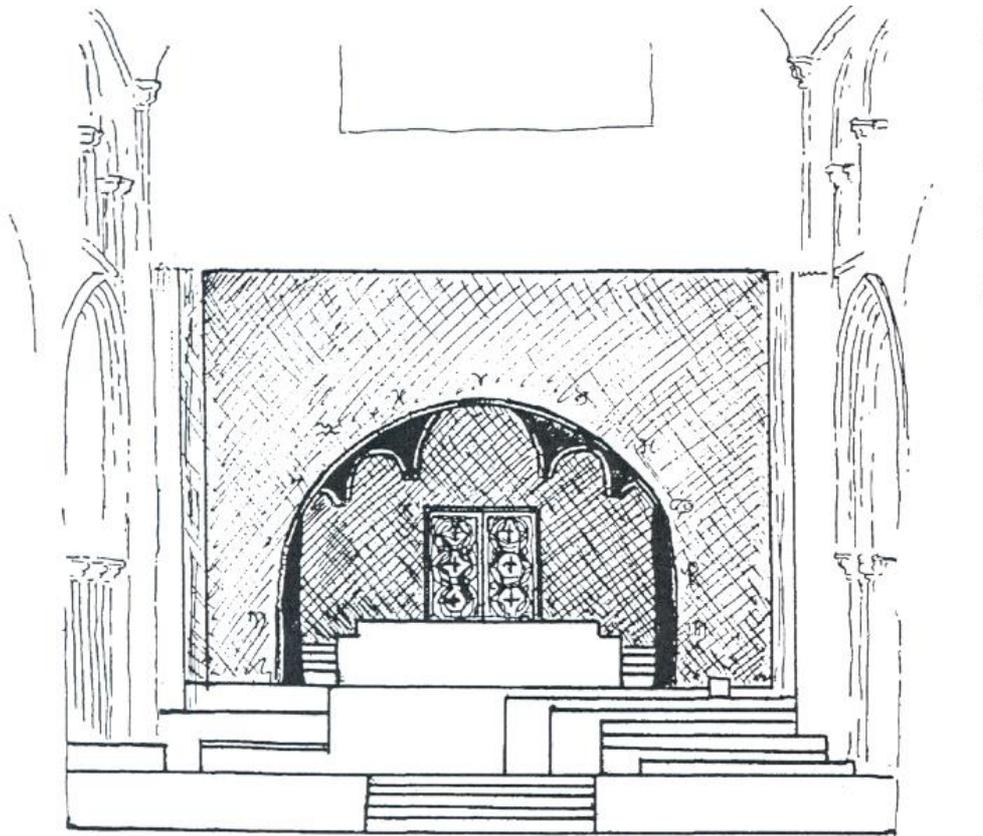


Image 7.5 Sketch for the scenic design for *The Just Vengeance* (1946). Nave, Lichfield Cathedral. Design by Norah Lambourne. From Lambourne, 'Recollections of Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', Fig. 1.

While the colour choice for the lower portion of the design mimics the building, the palette used for the central arch and upstage wall would have stood out against the stone wall which it partially covered. This would potentially create a dividing line between the set and the cathedral wall, thereby drawing attention to the artificiality of this section of the scenery, but this was not the case.

The point at which the upstage scenic wall ended appears to have been just above the west doors, and just below a quire gallery built just below the west window. The gallery's position allows the set to meld with the building, just as the paintwork did on the stairs, by creating a linking aspect between the temporary set and the permanent wall. There is no indication that the lighting for the play illuminated the quire gallery, but this would have been affected by reflected and spilled light. Such low levels of unintentional lighting would have worked with the design to soften the transition from scenery to cathedral.

In the image of the final scene of the play in Lambourne's article, the reflection of the western window's arch in the set is striking [image 7.6].<sup>702</sup>

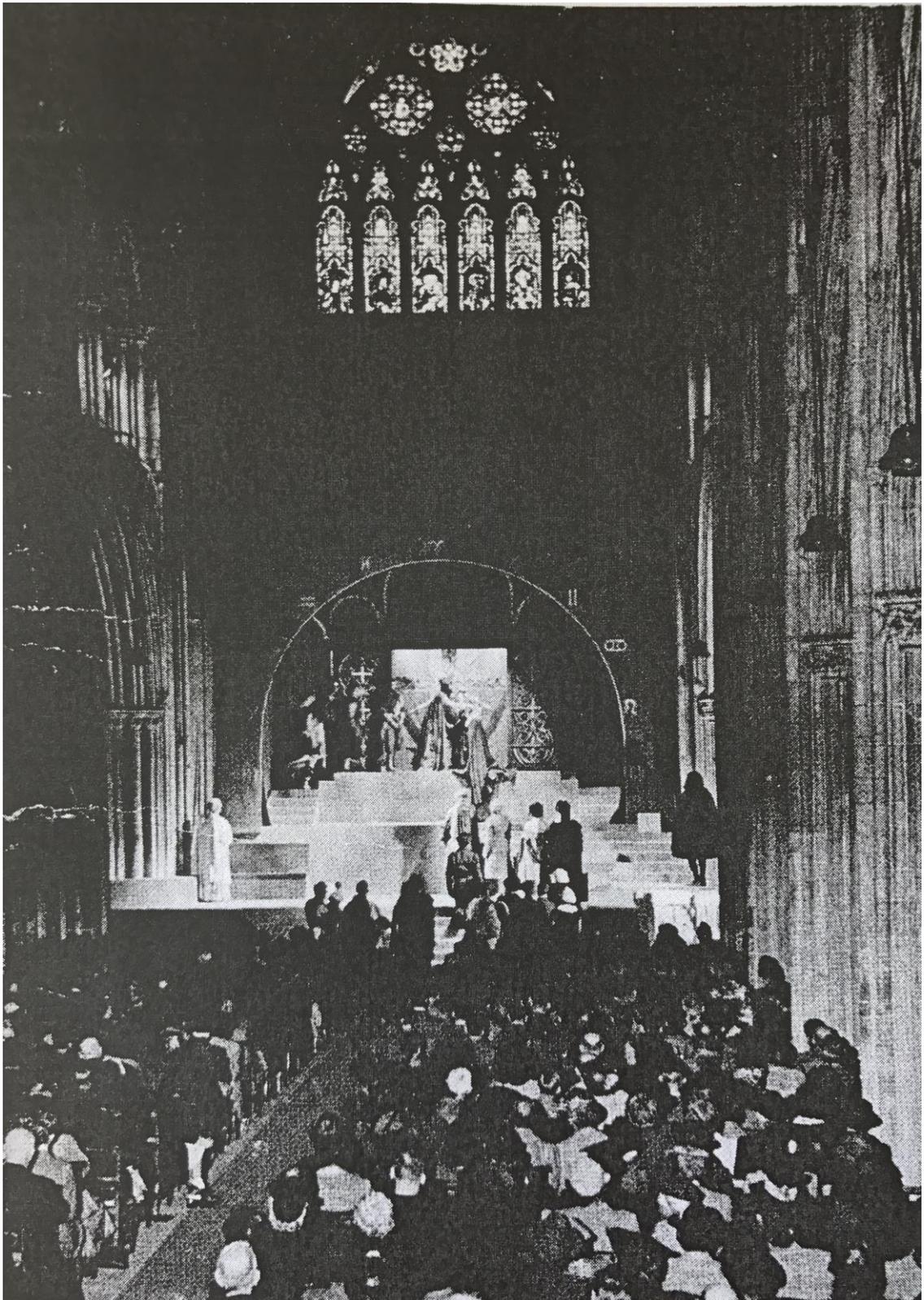


Image 7.6. *The Just Vengeance* (1947), the nave, Lichfield Cathedral. Photo from Lambourne, 'Recollections of Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', 5.

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<sup>702</sup> Ibid., 5.

Her design is more semi-circular, while the window is more classically gothic in shape, with straight sides leading to a pointed arch. Images of the nativity and adoration of Christ fill the lancets, while angels and Christ in Glory can be seen in the trefoils and quatrefoils at the top of the window. The image shows the window as back-lit, indicating that either the performance took place during daylight hours (in which case the windows in the nave aisle would have been blocked) or perhaps the addition of exterior lighting to make the stained glass visible from within the cathedral at a night time performance.

The significance of the window's imagery can be seen in the play's theme. *The Just Vengeance* is a play about accepting the meaning of self-sacrifice by way of understanding the sacrifice of Christ as a means of atonement. The play does this by reliving key events of the Bible related to sacrifice while also placing the idea in the context of Lichfield's history. This theme is seen in the images of the window. While a crucifixion scene does not exist in the glass at the west end, the sacrifice of Mary as the Mother of Sorrows is central in the imagery. By highlighting the window both with lighting and reflection in scenic design, Lambourne further connected the play to the place. The action in front of the stage arch became a *tableau vivant*, of sorts, recreating the theme present in the window below which it sat.

This form tiered platforms for staging can also be seen in *The Coming of Christ* at Canterbury (1928), *Murder in the Cathedral* at Canterbury (1970), and *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* at York (2000\*). Both examples from Canterbury, however, incorporated the space's architecture to create stepped staging, rather than building a fully stepped platform or series of platforms. By doing this, rather than raking the audience, the design allowed the actors to travel vertically in space, helping to create hierarchical levels that can then be used as part of the staging while also giving better sightlines to the audience.

The large scale on which this was carried out at York [**image 7.15** and **7.16**] could have created numerous problems ranging from the inability to fill the stage (making the action and the actors seem small and lost in intimate scenes), awkward crossings through the space (due to the time it would take), and even safety issues arising from actors potentially falling down the flights of steps. However, director Gregory Doran worked hard to prevent these problems, and when one watches the recording of the production it is quite startling how well the steps are used. In particular, the movement of the actors in 'The Flood' was fluid and cohesive, filling and emptying the space quickly and seamlessly. Other, more intimate scenes combined scenery, lighting, and action to feel as though they were happening in a more confined environment. The use of removable scenery in the form of arches designed after stone tracery in 'The Presentation in the Temple' was particularly notable. The action in this moment of the play was focused by the lighting and the careful, subdued movements of the actors in conjunction with the stage's limits as defined by the delicate arches brought on for the scene. So while only four actors were present on the immense stage, the scene lost none of its intimacy.

As at Lichfield, the steps at York were painted to imitate the stone of the building, becoming an extension of the pillars that framed it and the floor from which it appeared to spring. The acting area consisted of four acting areas, each running the width of the nave or crossing and defined by the columns and bays. The stage began at the third western bays of the nave and rose to cover the pulpitum at the crossing, drawing one's eyes to the organ pipes and the stone vaulting of the quire. The great depth of the stage created a double framing effect: the crossing's western arch created a proscenium through which the uppermost platform was enclosed by the eastern arch and crossing. The scale on which this was accomplished left no need for forced perspective, as the cathedral's scale allowed the eastern arch to be viewed through the

western despite their identical size and design. This double framing was a feature of the set that partially relied on lighting in order to highlight the uniqueness of the visual.

The raking of seating, as opposed to the set, was employed for *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* in the crossing of Chester Cathedral. The raked audience allowed the easy viewing of the stage that, while containing multiple seating levels, was comparatively flat. This was a suitable option as the area under and around the crossing is substantially smaller than at York or Canterbury. This allowed designer Judith Croft to create a set based around a flat primary acting area, but from which raised multiple levels [image 7.7].



Image 7.7 *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013). Chester Cathedral. Design by Judith Croft. Photo Jason Burg.

A central focus of Croft's design was a Victorian wooden carving of the rood that sits in the centre of the cathedral's quire screen. The entire set reached to this point of the cathedral's architecture, becoming a central image of the entire production. The rest of the set was designed as a workshop, using reclaimed material and hung with tools, in order to symbolise 'the workshop of the Creator'.<sup>703</sup> This concept worked to normalise the patchwork of design that makes up the cathedral.

### **CASE STUDY: HARALD MELVILL'S SCENIC DESIGN FOR *PEASANT'S PRIEST* (1947)**

As the first play to be produced by the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral after the Second World War, Laurie Lee's *Peasant's Priest* marked the beginning of a new era in Canterbury's cathedral plays. On 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1942 a German bomb destroyed the medieval monastic library of the cathedral.<sup>704</sup> The library's eastern wall was shared with the chapter house, causing that building to suffer collateral damage from the incident. By the end of the war, the chapter house's eastern window was mostly devoid of glass, the timber ceiling was covered internally with scaffolding, and photographs show that the walls appear to have been held together by criss-crossing tethers in an attempt to stabilise the structure.<sup>705</sup> Despite the visual and safety issues presented, Harald Melvill stated that the chapter house was chosen as a performance site 'to let the audiences see the Cathedral's "honourable wounds", and realise the great difficulty under which we all laboured in presenting the 1947 festival'.<sup>706</sup>

Such desire to reclaim the place that was so damaged by years of war speaks of the monumentality of the both the building and the plays. Practical issues concerning the building were clearly obstacles to the production, not the least of which would have

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<sup>703</sup> The Chester Mystery Plays, *The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle and History, Miracles and Mystery* (2013), 13. Souvenir Programme.

<sup>704</sup> Jonathan Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2013), 167.

<sup>705</sup> Harald Melvill, *Designing and Painting Scenery for the Theatre* (London: The Art trade Press Ltd, 1948), plates LXXIV-LXXVI.

<sup>706</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

been the safety of those involved. Melvill himself was injured when a small piece of falling masonry hit him on the head while in the chapter house, nearly knocking him out.<sup>707</sup> Judging from the pictures in Melvill's book, the chapter house was still in a state of considerable disrepair when the play opened nearly a year and a half after peace was declared.<sup>708</sup>

*Peasant's Priest's* six scenes are played out in five locations, covering both interior and exterior, as well as royal and common settings.<sup>709</sup> In order to allow for such a variety of places, Melvill wrote that 'It was decided at the initial scene discussions not to attempt anything approaching realism in the various settings'.<sup>710</sup> This was accomplished with a stage consisting of three raised platforms: a central raised acting area flanked by two platforms, all at different levels and accessed via steps [image 7.8 and 7.9].

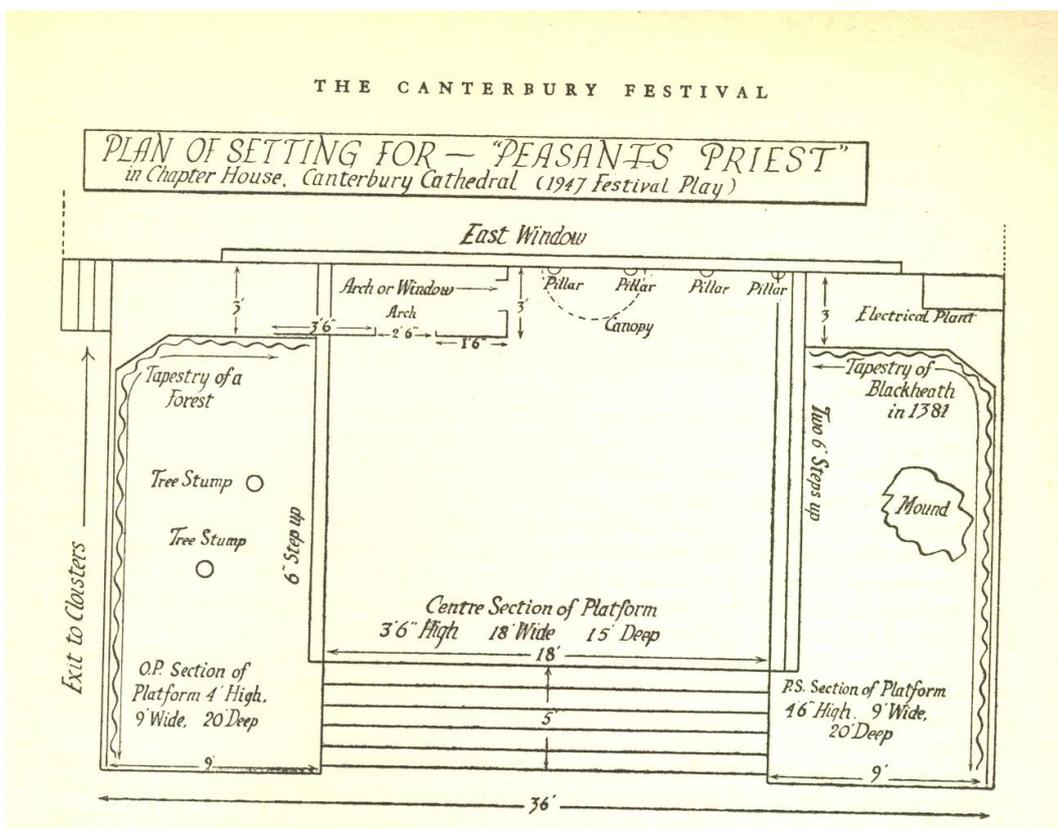


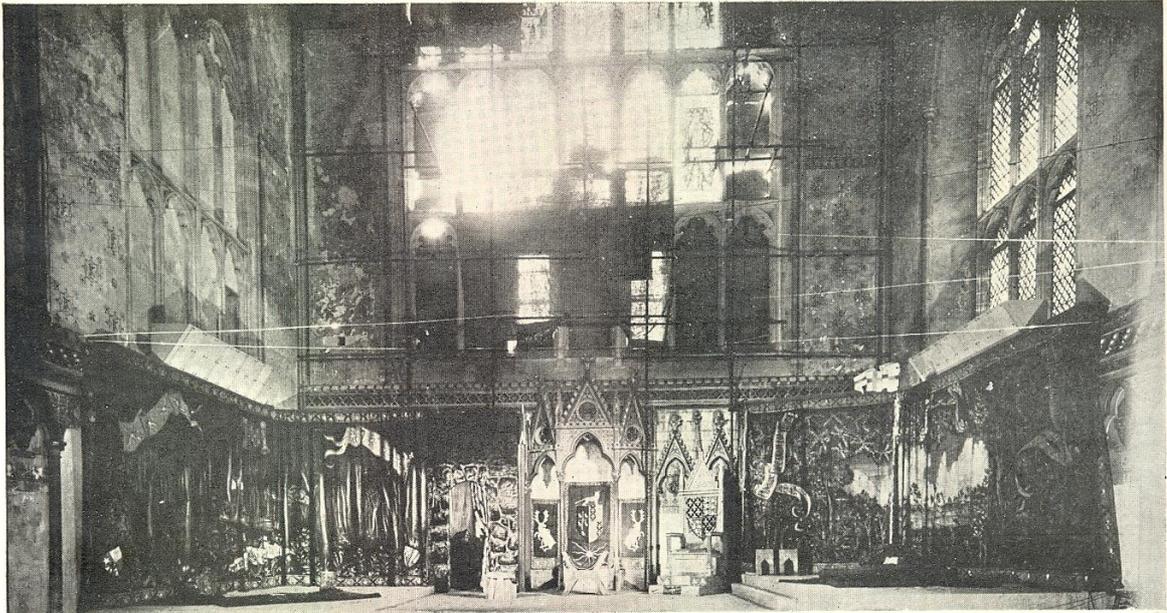
Image 7.8 Floorplan of Harald Melvill's design for *Peasant's Priest* (1947). From Melvill, *Designing and Painting Scenery for the Theatre*, 85.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid., 86.

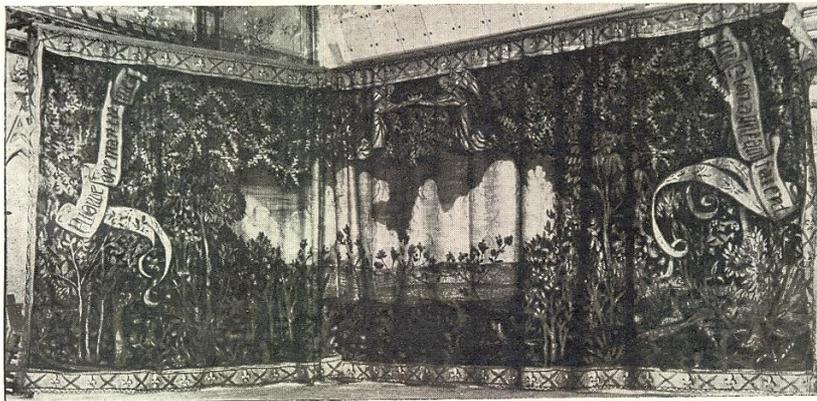
<sup>708</sup> Ibid., plates LXXIV-LXXVI.

<sup>709</sup> Laurie Lee, *Peasant's Priest*, 1947. Unpublished manuscript copy containing electrician's notes for first production. In the private collection of Professor Kenneth Pickering.

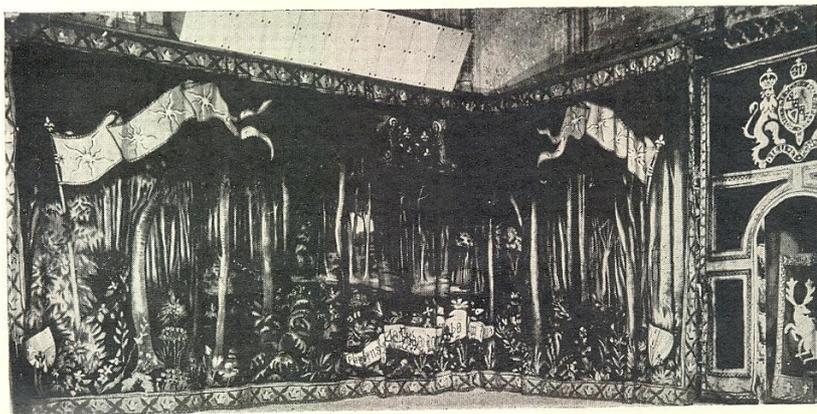
<sup>710</sup> Melvill, *Designing and Painting Scenery for the Theatre*, 85.



LXXIV. General Setting for *Peasant's Priest* in the Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral for Canterbury Festival, 1947.



LXXV. Tapestry depicting 'Blackheath' in *Peasant's Priest*



LXXVI. Tapestry depicting 'A Forest' in *Peasant's Priest* by Laurie Lee at Canterbury.

Image 7.9 Harald Melvill's design for *Peasant's Priest* (1947). Chapter house, Canterbury Cathedral. From Melvill, *Designing and Painting Scenery for the Theatre*, plates LXXIV-LXXVI.

The overall effect was a slightly asymmetrical stage floor incorporating three distinct levels.<sup>711</sup> Around this stage Melvill used hessian tapestries running the depth and width

<sup>711</sup> Ibid., 85.

of the side platforms to signify a forest (stage right) and Blackheath (stage left).<sup>712</sup> The eighteen foot wide upstage centre was divided in two, the stage right half representing a tavern and consisting of a narrow building from which the small backstage area could be accessed. For the stage left portion of the upstage area, Melvill chose to incorporate the chapter house's canopied throne, composed of three arches of blind arcading, as well as the two stalls immediately adjacent stage left of the canopy.<sup>713</sup> This is the only point in which the scenery is integrated with the building, and the only true use of the chapter house's decorative architecture within the action of the play. The result is nearly unique in the visual record of Canterbury's plays: a scene design that neither mimics the chapter house (as Laurence Irving's pre-war designs did), nor one that focuses on the environment itself. The only other design to do similarly was Irving's adaptation of his usual set for *The Devil to Pay* (1938), the straight, classic lines of which were in contrast to the chapter house's gothic flourishes [image 7.10].



Image 7.10 *The Devil to Pay* (1938). From CCA-U167/96.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid., plates LXXIV-LXXVI.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid., 84-6.

Melvill's construction attempts a box-set design framed by a proscenium arch but within a rectangular building lacking the elements necessary to make such a stage arrangement. The photographs in his book show a designer endeavouring to transpose his extensive knowledge and experience with traditional proscenium arch stages into the chapter house setting. By bounding his stage on three sides with tapestries whose dark colours contrast the lighter walls against which they hung, he created an inadvertent box design in which the action of the play takes place within the confines of his design, rather than within the cathedral's architecture. Melvill's design for Christopher Fry's *Thor, with Angels* (1948) also looked out of place in the chapter house. The hard, dark lines between the tapestries and the chapter house walls became the border between Melvill's design and the cathedral, offering no blending between the world of the play and the world of the audience. However, it must be noted that these are the only plays at Canterbury that are set almost exclusively outdoors, perhaps indicating that the problem was more to do with the setting of scenes than the design of scenery. However, in either case it is arguable that the designer should have allowed for the blending of the building to the scenery in order to complement the two, as Mr. Fairbrass had noted.

The visual focus of the play changes, no longer being the cathedral, and instead shifting to Melvill's design of a stylised, medieval England. However, in the context of the post-war, reconstruction period, the contrasts can perhaps be seen as a way to highlight both the work still needing to be done, and the past terrors which the cathedral (and thereby the city and its people) survived. Coupling this with the fundraising aspirations of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral can perhaps justify the seemingly out of place design as an appeal to remember the past and preserve the monument for the future.

The play tells the story of the popular uprising of 1381 against the imposition of a

third consecutive poll tax by the government of the boy King Richard II. On June 10<sup>th</sup> of that year Kentish rebels stormed the nave of Canterbury Cathedral and denounced Archbishop Simon Sudbury, who also happened to be the Lord Chancellor.<sup>714</sup> The rebels eventually caught the Archbishop in London, beheading him on Tower Hill four days later.<sup>715</sup> While much reporting on the revolt is focused on London, rebels throughout the country laid waste to various properties, including the Archbishop's Canterbury palace, and the city's castle.<sup>716</sup> The destructive results of the revolt could have been seen in the physical state of the city in 1381, just as the apparent scars of war could still be seen in the chapter house in 1947. In contrast to the design for *The Zeal of Thy House* (1949) already discussed, Melvill's use of scenic design to cover portions of the chapter house drew attention to the remains of the building. In 1949 his covering of the chapter house with a faux-cathedral veneer served only partially to hide the building and its history.

## **COSTUME DESIGN**

Like scenic design, costume design varies considerably from cathedral production to cathedral production. The same factors that contribute to scenery also work in defining the parameters of the costume designer. Large-scale productions with professional casts and crew tend to have more flexibility with their work than small community-based ones, as might be expected from the presumably higher budget. Just as with other aspects of design, the costuming for cathedral productions can vary from what can appear to be the actors' own clothing, to elaborate, hand made, and expensive costumes.

Costuming can harmonise with cathedral architecture by drawing on elements of that design in order to blend the setting and the garments together. This can take the form of direct inspiration, as the design of the Snake's costume in *The York Millennium*

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<sup>714</sup> Jon Cannon, *Cathedral: The Great English Cathedral and the World That Made Them* (London: Constable, 2007), 135; Foyle, *The Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral*, 123.

<sup>715</sup> Foyle, *The Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral*, 122.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

*Mystery Plays* (2000)\*, which has clear connections to the half snake/half human depicted in the medieval stained glass of the building in which the play was performed.<sup>717</sup> Hannah Marshall's designs for Worcester Repertory Theatre's *Romeo and Juliet* (2015)\* at Worcester Cathedral consisted of elaborate, if generic, early modern English styles similar to those in Janet Arnold's *Patterns of Fashion* (1985).<sup>718</sup> The pleats in the women's skirts were quite deep, creating distinctive vertical lines starting at the feet and rising to the bum-roll. These lines, created by the folds in the fabric, were reminiscent of the Early English Perpendicular style of architecture of the presbytery. In particular, the rounded effect created horizontally in the skirts' folds reflected the columns and arches that make up much of Worcester Cathedral's internal architecture. As one's eyes followed the lines of the skirts, attention was pulled up, past the clothing, and continuing to the aforementioned pillars. The result was a harmonious *mise-en-scène*, combining the lines of the costumes with the lines of the place.

In costume design, colour choice plays as substantial a role in the overall visual of the final production as do cut and silhouette. Such colour choices are affected by a great deal of factors, and of course vary based on the tastes and circumstance of the designer. A common source of costuming for cathedral plays, particularly those produced by the Cathedral itself, is liturgical vestments, including choir and priestly robes. The use of such garments can be seen in *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2014)\* and *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012)\*, in which substantial costume elements were drawn from cathedral dress. Community-based productions that have less in the way of costuming budget and stock often utilise the found costumes of actors or, occasionally, that of the cathedral. Frederick William Dwelly (1881-1957), the first Dean of Liverpool Cathedral,

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<sup>717</sup> Thomas French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (Great Britain), Summary Catalogue 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), plate 3.

<sup>718</sup> The Worcester Repertory Company, *Romeo and Juliet*, souvenir programme (2015) 7; Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion: The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Women, C 1560-1620*, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan, 1985).

was a well-known liturgist whose work is still in use to the present day.<sup>719</sup> In an unpublished article marking the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dwelly's birth, Dean Frederick Dillistone noted that:

Dwelly recognised the immense importance not only of movement but also of colour. Those taking part in the processions [in the cathedral] wore robes designed to harmonise with the distinctive shade of the red sandstone out of which the fabric of the cathedral was constructed. Dominant colours selected for choir and guild were russet, green and that belonging to ripening ears of corn, all suggestive of the life of nature in the countryside.<sup>720</sup>

These robes can still be seen in use on a daily basis by visitors to the cathedral, as not only those participating in ceremonial, but also the vergers and volunteer guides continue to wear the colours that are now part of the cathedral's history. The colours chosen by Dwelly reflect the building, which in turn mirrors the surrounding countryside; bringing the outside inside, and in so doing connecting the cathedral to its diocese, visually reinforcing the ideas of monumentality. These robes play a significant role in *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2013, 2014\*, 2015), being used as generic dress for many of the characters, including a substantial number of the ensemble.<sup>721</sup> The fact that the cast consisted mostly of the Overcrofters, the cathedral's youth group, can help one to understand the use of the cathedral's robes: they connect the play to the space, transcending traditional hierarchical roles of clergy and age, while at the same time allowing for the saving of money on costuming.

The composition of the play's 2014 cast included members of the cathedral clergy, including the Dean, The Very Reverend Dr. Pete Wilcox, as Disciples of Christ. These actors also wore the green and russet robes of the cathedral. The result was a sartorial thread connecting the liturgy of the cathedral to the visual of the play. The

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<sup>719</sup> Peter Kennerley, *Frederick William Dwelly, 1881-1957: The First Dean of Liverpool* (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2004).

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>721</sup> Unless otherwise cited, information regarding *The Liverpool Passion Plays* was collected while attending rehearsals and performances for the 2014 production.

continuity in dress between these two particular aspects of cathedral life (worship and theatre) would have had an effect on the regular parishioners of the cathedral, further strengthening a bond between the play and the place. When acting in 'The Last Supper', the Dean was helping to recreate a founding story that plays a central role to his faith, which in turn is acted out on the altar before which the scene took place. The wearing of his priestly garments reinforces this act, and makes the inclusion of the clergy in the scene a powerful reminder of the scene's significance. The colours and use of the robes made them an extension of the cathedral monument, enveloping the actors and thereby joining their corporeal bodies to the space in a fashion not possible had other costumes been used.

The use of robes designed mostly for adults by children as young as eight had the outcome of overly baggy garments that on some were hitched up at the waist. This was a cause for amusement among audiences, especially during the Temple scenes as pre-teen's ran about the well of the cathedral attempting to sell fruit, bread, and toilet paper to the audience while trying not to fall over their ill-fitting costumes. Such antics added to the festival atmosphere of the scene's opening. Although the potential for comedy was present due to the large robes, it was not intrusive. Notable among these scenes was 'The Washing of Christ's Feet', which was conducted with such humility and grace, that the surrounding disciples' overly large dress was suddenly inconsequential. This was partially helped by the matching colour of the robes and stonewalls, making the background characters to appear to meld with the scene whilst on the periphery of the action. A presumably unintentional aspect of this design choice was the effect of reminding one of the medieval traditions of the Boy Bishop; the positioning of Herod in the *cathedra* during the trial scene further helped this. Although he was not clothed in the robes of Dwelly's colours, the feeling of misrule, the central theme of the Boy Bishop, was nevertheless primed by the feeling of children in adult's clothing that was present

throughout the rest of the play. *The Liverpool Passion Plays* used a pre-set colour palette designed to match the building, but other productions often contrast the place, setting themselves apart.

In a letter to Margaret Babington dated 27 November 1936, Dorothy L. Sayers had spoken of her fear that the plot of her play *The Zeal of Thy House* would 'land us with rather a sombre company of black monks! I shall do what I can to get in as many brightly coloured laymen and women as possible [...] costumed in the manner of the early primitives [...] to lend a good deal of splendour to the scene'.<sup>722</sup> The resultant costume sketches in the Canterbury Cathedral Archive show that Sayers' sartorial desires were carried out, at least in the 1949 production.<sup>723</sup> Norah Lambourne was asked by Sayers to design the post-war revival of the play, most likely due to the loss of the costume stock by bombing mentioned earlier.<sup>724</sup>

The laymen and women in the sketches are clothed in what is recognisably 12<sup>th</sup> century garb in brilliant flourishes of colour [**image 7.11** and **7.12**]. For the cut and colours of the costumes Lambourne consulted medieval manuscript paintings, picking 'faded pink, green and ochre' as the palette of the workers.<sup>725</sup> She endeavoured to create the 'simple bold treatment[s]' in her designs that the chapter house setting called for.<sup>726</sup>

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<sup>722</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers*, ed. Barbara Reynolds, 4 vols. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995), 1.406.

<sup>723</sup> 'Zeal of Thy House Costume Designs', CCA-U229. The description of this item in the archive is 'Costume designs for Dorothy Sayers' play "Zeal of Thy House" (1937), owned by Miss Hilda L. Preston of 79 Old Dover Road who helped to make some of the original costumes'. However, Miss Preston worked on the production of 1949, not those of 1937 or 1940. Norah Lambourne's sketches in her article describing her work on the 1949 production are the same as those in the Canterbury Cathedral Archive. Images from the original production in 1937 in Kenneth Pickering's *Drama in the Cathedral* also show different costumes than those in the archive sketch book (compare Kenneth Pickering, *Drama in the Cathedral*, figures 18 and 19 of William of Sens and Lady Ursula with those of Norah Lambourne, 'Recollections on Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', figures 3 and 4). For these reasons I believe that CCA-U229 is from the 1949 production designed by Norah Lambourne, and has been falsely attributed to the 1937 production by Miss Preston's nephew, who donated the sketches after her death

<sup>724</sup> Lambourne, 'Recollections on Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', 6.

<sup>725</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>726</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.



Image 7.11 Norah Lambourne's designs for pilgrims (1). *The Zeal of Thy House* (1949). CCA-U229.



Image 7.12 Norah Lambourne's designs for pilgrims (2). *The Zeal of Thy House* (1949). CCA-U229.

The effect of such costume choices would be to create contrasts between the colours of the place and those of the actors, thereby separating the actors from their surroundings with opposing colour palettes while also keeping their silhouette in-line with the architecture of the building.

The habits of the monks remained black, reflecting their Benedictine order.<sup>727</sup> This colour choice is needed in order to maintain historical accuracy, but the result would have been a sartorial connection between the cathedral and the monks, both being clothed in neutrals in opposition to the lay people's bright colours. In a bid to maintain historical accuracy, Sayers encouraged Lambourne to contact the historian and Benedictine Monk, Peter F. Anson, who sent her 'a description and a diagram from which I was able to make a pattern'.<sup>728</sup> Her use of manuscript sources and her information from Anson led to what must be considered to have been well-informed, and presumably accurate, recreations of twelfth century clothing. Interestingly, her designs for William of Sens' two costumes show the only use of the colour black by a non-monastic in the play.<sup>729</sup> Given the character's belief in his equality with God as a creator, perhaps the design is meant to reflect a religious leaning in the man. His clothing is quite extravagant when compared to the other workmen and even the other master builders, but the use of black as a reference back to the religiosity of the monks may hint at the man's genuine, if inappropriately expressed, religious zeal.

The religious nature of many cathedral plays has at times led to the use of what can be described as traditional depictions of it in the Bible. The accuracy of such designs is not as important as the feeling that they portray the truth. Stella Mary Newton mentioned the disappointment of the actors to her designs for a Persian themed *tableau*

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<sup>727</sup> 'Zeal of Thy House Costume Designs', CCA-U229, leaves 5-6.

<sup>728</sup> Norah Lambourne, 'Recollections on Designing for the Religious Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers', 6; Michael Yelton, 'Peter F. Anson (1889-1975): Monk, writer, and Artist', from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 2 February 2016.

<sup>729</sup> 'Zeal of Thy House Costume Designs', CCA-U229, leaves 7 and 9.

*vivant* when they realised they would be clad in historically and culturally accurate clothing, and not ‘turbans and “Turkish” trousers’!<sup>730</sup> However this is not a dictum and costume designs for many cathedral plays do not attempt to recreate accurate clothing culture (such as *The Massacre at Paris* [2014]\* at Canterbury, or *Othello* [2014]\* at Liverpool), and there is no reason why they should. As would be expected, the use of Biblically-inspired dress tends to be relegated to plays on such themes, and so a discussion of the topic would focus on that genre alone. Despite this common practice, some medieval plays are staged with costumes melding Biblically-inspired silhouettes, but with modern colours, and cuts, and vice-versa.

Judith Croft described her designs for *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* as ‘eclectic, but the strongest theme will be mid-twentieth century, with medieval touches and some present day references too’.<sup>731</sup> The production had strong links to the city, perhaps the strongest of which was placing the Chester ‘Antichrist’ play within the context of the debauchery of Chester’s annual race day. Croft’s designs, combining present, recent-past, and medieval, reflected the cathedral itself. Just as the building’s designs are not of one time, neither were the production’s. Rather than causing discontinuity and anachronistic rifts, the designs created a timeless effect that flowed throughout the play, never allowing one scene to become identified with one period or style of dress. In deciding to remove the requirement for historical authenticity, the designer is freed to explore the designs as an artistic expression rather than a historical exercise. The modern school uniforms of the chorus of children did not clash with the pinstriped suit of Lucifer, or the mid-century furs, pearls, and head-gear of Mrs. Noah’s friends. Even when working within the cut of one period, Croft allowed herself to play with the embellishments of the piece, such as the costume of Older Mary.

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<sup>730</sup> Stella Mary Newton, ‘The First Three Plays by T.S. Eliot: Designs for Settings and Costumes’, in *Costume* 24, no. 1 (1990): 98.

<sup>731</sup> The Chester Mystery Plays, *The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle and History, Miracle and Mystery* (2013), 13. Souvenir programme.

Older Mary (Clare Vickers) was dressed in a long skirt and jumper with a thin (possibly linen) overcoat fastened with a single clasp at the neck, all in the shades of blue with which the character is commonly associated. The opening of the overcoat was bordered vertically with a simple striped pattern that included some form of sparkling embellishment. The effect was what is often referred to as timeless, being both recognisably modern and at the same time simple enough to be easily inserted into various periods. The addition of a large scarf placed the costume into a more bounded context when used in the right way. The scarf spent much time wrapped around the neck and shoulders of Older Mary, but after the death of Jesus it was placed on her head, folded double so that the crease rested above her forehead and the rest draped over and down her shoulders and back. Croft's design for this character allowed a somewhat modern drape, vaguely bringing to mind a woman's casual skirt suit, that also created a recognisably medieval (if stylised) silhouette; the overcoat and head scarf combined to trace the lines of Mary's robe so often seen in medieval and renaissance iconography of the *pietà*. This was further enhanced as Older Mary exited the stage after the death of Christ. Just before this, Older Mary stood centre stage and slowly turned to the audience as the front lighting crossfaded, bringing up blue backlight that cast her in sharp silhouette [**image 7.13**]. She raised her hands slightly, palms up, away from her body at waist level in what Eamon Duffy calls 'the conventional gesture of adoration'.<sup>732</sup> Actor, lighting, and costume came together to create a fleeting moment of visual storytelling that was enhanced by the obvious influence of Marian iconography.<sup>733</sup>

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<sup>732</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2005), image 40.

<sup>733</sup> **Image 7.13** is a screen shot from a recorded production. While pre-purchasing the DVD of the 2013 production I was told by a woman from the Chester Mystery Plays that the night the DVD was to be recorded the lighting would not be the same as the other nights. This was to accommodate the need for higher lighting levels in order to make the production more visible on the recording. For this reason the lighting in the image does not reflect the photometric situation on the nights I attended performances.



Image 7.13 Older Mary, *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013). From *Chester Mystery Plays, Chester Mystery Plays* (2013), film.

In her programme notes, Croft wrote that her starting point for design ‘is always the script and the location’ and that ‘the Cathedral environment will provide a background of ancient solemnity’.<sup>734</sup> In adhering to no single era and instead drawing on various periods even within one costume, her designs were able to reflect the building and its timeless qualities. This building has passed through the centuries, and is thus physically made up of materials and designs from the earliest period through to the modern day. Her work did not just reflect the religiosity of the space (as discussed in the costume of Older Mary), but the history of the cathedral itself, from its founding as an abbey in 1092 to the present day.<sup>735</sup> Lambourne’s designs acted in a similar fashion, connecting the space to its layered history through clothing.

In contrast to Croft, other designers and designs discussed here did not achieve the same level of melding the design with the space. The costume designs for *Othello*

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<sup>734</sup> The Chester Mystery Plays, *The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle and History, Miracle and Mystery* (2013), 13. Souvenir programme.

<sup>735</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The West and Midlands* (London: The Folio Society, 2005), 36.

(2014)\* contrasted starkly with the ornate, Neo-Gothic of Liverpool's lady chapel. The modern military camouflage and uniforms were juxtaposed with the feminine curves and décor of the chapel, marking a striking contrast between the majority of the characters and their environment. While this created visual discontinuity, it also highlighted the forceful intrusion of masculine/military power into a feminine space. This was particularly powerful as Othello murdered Desdemona. By failing to harmonise with the architecture, the costumes focused on the dissimilarity rather than unity not only of the chapel, but also of the power dynamic at work in the play. Costume designs for *The Merchant of Venice* (2013) in Worcester also worked against the aesthetics of the cathedral, but in so doing created a visual discord that did not appear to serve any symbolic purpose when taken into context with the space. Rather, images show characters costumed in a mixture of twentieth century, western dress that does not appear to draw any connection between the Perpendicular Gothic of the chapel [image 7.14]. Rather than blending with and drawing inspiration from the dominating surrounds, the design looks removed from and entirely disinterested in the space.



Image 7.14 *The Merchant of Venice* (2013), Worcester Cathedral, lady chapel. Worcester Repertory Company. From Worcester Repertory Company, 'Production Shots Now In!', <http://www.facebook.com>, accessed 6 February 2017.

**CASE STUDY: STELLA MARY NEWTON'S COSTUME DESIGNS FOR *MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL* (1935)<sup>736</sup>**

Stella Mary Newton, the costume and scenic designer for the first production of *Murder in the Cathedral*, was adamant that the location for which her designs were to be employed uniquely shaped the end result. By situating the first production in the chapter house of Canterbury Cathedral the play's visual aesthetic would be affected to a considerable degree by the architecture. In 1990 Newton wrote that 'Had the first production been planned for another setting, I should have produced very different designs'.<sup>737</sup> Throughout her published recollections of her time working with Eliot on various plays the case of *Murder in the Cathedral* stands out as a distinctly unique experience. She is constantly concerned with the ways in which the space and the designs will collaborate, and how and when best to overcome or work with this interaction.

Newton had designed Eliot's procession-play *The Rock* in aid of a church building fund for greater London in 1933.<sup>738</sup> This was the piece that inspired Bishop Bell to contact Eliot about writing for Canterbury, resulting in the creation of *Murder in the Cathedral*.<sup>739</sup> Upon learning the location for the play Newton immediately noticed a potential problem:

Thomas à Becket had lived in the late twelfth century: the decoration of the chapter house was typically fourteenth century. There was no question of using scenery, or screens of any kind to hide the background, so it seemed to me that the only solution as to try to deaden the gentle brownish decoration on the natural stonework by using strong designs for the costumes, and by not being too narrowly, historically accurate in their design.<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>736</sup> Stella Mary Newton, 'The First Three Plays by T.S. Eliot: Designs for Settings and Costumes', 97-110. The article is the text of a lecture given by Newton on 28 September 1988 at the church of St Magnus-the-Martyr.

<sup>737</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>739</sup> E. Martin Browne, *The Making of T.S. Eliot's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 35.

<sup>740</sup> Ibid., 102.

Newton may have been over-cautious, as her audiences would be unlikely either to know or care about this anachronism, but the comment reflects her concern with the ways the space would interact with her work. While the time between Becket's death (1170) and the remodelling of the chapter house (1304) is relatively short, in architectural terms this period represents the beginning of the most prolific cathedral building and design era in medieval history. The revolutionary design influence of the abbey church of St. Denis, just outside Paris (1137-41), can be seen throughout Europe, arriving in England in 1174 with the rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral and spreading as far north as Lincoln and west as Llandaff in only a few decades.<sup>741</sup> When this is taken into account, Newton's fear of visual discontinuity between the place and play has a point. The space itself is relatively plain, leaving Nikolaus Pevsner to comment that the comparative austerity of the room 'impresses just because its majestic proportions are left to speak for themselves'.<sup>742</sup> The designs would need to overcome the 'visual boredom' the location could induce in the audience.<sup>743</sup> The goal, then, would seem to be a design that both took from and added to the chapter house's aesthetic, neither competing with it nor covering it up.

Her observation that the time period of the story and the chapter house do not match up led her to abandon the historical accuracy around which she would have otherwise based her designs. However, her design sketches show that the costumes of the knights stayed within the parameters of what could be considered a traditional look, as do the costumes for the chorus (though these are perhaps too highly decorated for what the script calls the 'poor women of Canterbury'). The result of this disregard for 'original' designs can be seen best in the costumes of the four Tempters. These are the

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<sup>741</sup> Robert A. Scott, *The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral* (London: University of California Press, 2005), 12-5.

<sup>742</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England: The Southeast* (London: The Folio Society, 2005), 54.

<sup>743</sup> Stella Mary Newton, 'The First Three Plays by T.S. Eliot: Designs for Settings and Costumes', 102.

only ethereal characters in the play, being manifestations of Becket's psyche rather than flesh and blood, historical individuals. As such, Newton's departure from the more realistic and relatively historical costumes of the other characters follows the characterisation Eliot employed in the script.

The double casting of the Knights and Tempters allowed Newton to draw parallels and distinctions between the different sets of characters in a way that revealed its spatial inspiration.<sup>744</sup> The Knights appear as a group throughout the play, acting out different parts of a greater whole. Contrastingly, the Tempters have a greater sense of individuality, as they appear one by one. Newton expressed this in their dress, sartorially representing each Tempter's mode of temptation.

[T]he First Tempter represented the pleasures of society in London: I gave him a long medieval skirt, slit to suggest striped trousers, and within a narrow coronet, the suggestion of a top hat – to represent what was then, in the 1930s, called a 'man about town.'

For the Second Tempter, urging Becket to return to his position of political power at the Court, I tried to give the impression of a diplomat, in a sombre suit, with a running design based on a row of medals round his chest, and a coronet.

The Third Tempter was trying to persuade Becket to remember the pleasures of a country lord, so I tried to give a broad hint of what were then called 'plus fours', as worn by all country gentlemen in 1935 [...]

The Fourth Tempter was Becket himself, 'tempting him with his own desires', that is, to endure martyrdom rather than give way [...] This Tempter I dressed in a habit of the same form as Becket's but in two shades of yellowish stone-colour.<sup>745</sup>

Each of these descriptions shows a desire to add modern accoutrements to the characters' dress. If one compares the costume of the Knight with that of the corresponding Tempter, it can be seen that the two share a common base idea and silhouette. For example, the designs on the tunics worn by the third Knight and Tempter

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<sup>744</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid., 103-4.

are derived from a diamond pattern that is itself, according to Newton, taken from the heraldic design of the historical character portrayed.<sup>746</sup> The allusion to plus fours in the design is accomplished by simply lengthening the tunic that otherwise matched the cut of the corresponding Knight. For the most part, Newton maintained the silhouette of the Knights' costume when designing those of the Tempters', changing embellishments and altering the cut, but keeping the overall outline. The exception is the last Tempter, who is designed to mimic Becket, rather than the Fourth Knight. Newton's design for the Fourth Tempter may take from the silhouette of the archbishop's dress, but it also draws on the Fourth Knight's colour palette, bringing in the yellows of his tunic and cloak.<sup>747</sup> This artfully combines the two characters in one, making the costume neither recognisably monkish (due to the colour) nor secular or profane (due to the cut). Such design choices that refer back to the Knights can easily be picked out when one compares the designs side by side, but may not make conscious impressions on the viewer seeing them in different scenes.

Newton stressed that her ambition with the Tempters was partially motivated by the desire that they 'unlike the Knights and the Chorus, should merge into the stonework of the background'.<sup>748</sup> This helps one to understand the idea of the Tempters as a psychological phenomenon of Becket alone, rather than as corporeal entities. In this convention they come from the building itself yet have roots in the Knights, blurring the lines between profane and monastic life. The Knights have brought these temptations to the forefront of Becket's mind, symbolised by their apparent visual merging with the building, of which Becket (as Archbishop) is the human representative. It is interesting that Newton does not mention this with the monks, though by not categorising them

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<sup>746</sup> Ibid., 103; '3<sup>rd</sup> Knight', in 'Album of Sketches', CCA-AddMs-103(3); '3<sup>rd</sup> Tempter', in 'Album of Sketches', CCA-AddMs-103(7).

<sup>747</sup> '4<sup>th</sup> Knight', in 'Album of Sketches', CCA-AddMs-103(4); '4<sup>th</sup> Tempter', in 'Album of Sketches', CCA-AddMs-103(8).

<sup>748</sup> Stella Mary Newton, 'The First Three Plays by T.S. Eliot: Designs for Settings and Costumes', 103.

with the Knights and Chorus, they can be *de facto* classified with the Tempters as those who should come out of, and merge with, the stonework, rather than play its contrast. The silhouette of the monk's habits is seen only in a silent film of less than two minutes showing the various characters and key crew involved in the production.<sup>749</sup> Becket's costume does not differ from those of the other monks except for the addition of a large, though plain, pectoral cross. Rather than the traditional black robes of Benedictine monks, Newton 'gave them habits of either very dark brown, very dark blue or very dark green. The effect was, as I had hoped, a lively black, which helped in their various groupings'.<sup>750</sup> While still remaining dark, the colours chosen by Newton would stand out onstage, not only creating subtle contrasts between the individuals and groups of monks, but also let the characters blend into the chapter house's given colour palette. The film of the costumes was made not in the chapter house, but rather in the cloister garth, allowing for better lighting. While this does not allow one to compare the costumes to their scenery, it still shows them in the context of the cathedral, giving a close approximation. When contrasted with the colours of the Knights and Tempters, the result would be a striking visual contrast: the monks blend with the buildings in which they live, while the vivid colours of the Knights betrayed their nature as beings out of their place, intruders into a world of subdued hues and dark habits. This is further demonstrated in the cut and drape of the monks' robes.

The costumes of the Knights (both in the sketches and in the film) contain numerous lines going in many different directions: horizontally, vertically, and diagonally. In addition to this, the Knights wear garments with substantial embellishments of applique 'embroidery', heraldic animals, and elongated helmets, as well as properties such as swords. The effect is further separation of the men from the

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<sup>749</sup> Sydney Bligh, 'T.S. Eliot sequence', filmed by Sydney Bligh, copyright Helen Jarrett, 1935. In the collection of Tim Jones, Senior Lecturer, Department of Media, Art and Design, Canterbury Christchurch University.

<sup>750</sup> Stella Mary Newton, 'The First Three Plays by T.S. Eliot: Designs for Settings and Costumes', 102.

space. These added elements and various lines do not harmonise with the Decorated Gothic style of the building, in which the overwhelming feeling is one of elevation as the design seeks to continually draw one's eyes heavenward by way of tall, narrow, vertical lines. These strong verticals are reflected in the simple habits of the monks, whose long robes and scapulars created vertical lines in imitation of the building's ribbing and columns; these lines were only broken by the cowls and rope-belts, but even these were relatively slight and unobtrusive in contrast to the Knights' larger and more pronounced belts and collars.

The play's characters can be divided into three groups: the Monks and Knights of the play are firmly of this world; the Tempters are ethereal tricks of the mind; and the Chorus, while of this world, has a formality and detachment from the action that makes the Monks and Knights almost prosaic in comparison. Newton's design signified this in their dress, which followed the same design for all actors, but in which differences were created in order to break up the visual monotony possible in such uniformity. The long robes worn by the Chorus were bifurcated with colour, red dominating the right half of the body and blue on the other. This colour scheme, however, was reversed for half of the Chorus, resulting in a standard look that still allowed for some distinction so that 'in grouping they could look either pale or dark'.<sup>751</sup> The colours chosen by Newton, blue and red, are still visible in the chapter house's surviving traces of medieval paint that once decorated the stalls and walls of the room. Newton drew from the building's aesthetic in her colour choices while also reflecting the robes of the monks in silhouette. Both elements helped tie the Chorus to the building and to the world in which the action was taking place.

When the production transferred to the Mercury Theatre in London, Newton felt the need to redesign certain costumes in order to blend with her neutral, sparse set

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<sup>751</sup> Ibid., 102; 'Chorus', in 'Album of Sketches', CCA-AddMs-103(10).

design for the traditional theatrical setting.<sup>752</sup> In fact, Newton's set design for the subsequent run of the show seems to have been created in order to accommodate the costumes designed for Canterbury. She created a simple, neutral environment in which suggestions of a church (altar, stained glass window, and pulpit) were the only pieces of scenery set against existing black velvet curtains.<sup>753</sup> The only change she thought noteworthy was in the colour palette of the Tempters, who at The Mercury were clothed mostly in black (and therefore mimicking the walls of the design), 'but they were not nearly as effective as they had been at Canterbury'.<sup>754</sup> These same costumes were used during the Second World War for performances 'in basements and warehouses throughout the country [...] and in the basement of Lloyd's Bank in Leadenhall Street'.<sup>755</sup> While it may be argued that the changes in costume design, being slight, prove that Newton's costuming was in effect independent of the performance spaces, lending itself for production in a variety of locations, the opposite is actually true. These costumes were put to use in found sites, used in a time of war during which the rationing of cloth would have made the construction of new, elaborate, and heavy costumes difficult, expensive, and overly luxurious. Arguably, it would seem not that the costumes suited the place, so much that the costumes fitted the necessary requirements for performance during the war. Newton's costume designs were works for which she drew directly from Canterbury's chapter house, not only in colour, but silhouette as well. As such they were creations of an environment that indelibly shaped her work and for which her work sought to expand and bring into the world of dress

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<sup>752</sup> Stella Mary Newton, 'The First Three Plays by T.S. Eliot: Designs for Settings and Costumes', 105.

<sup>753</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>754</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>755</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

## LIGHTING DESIGN<sup>756</sup>

Light can only be perceived once it reflects off a surface, and as such relies on the presence of objects in order to be perceived by the eye.<sup>757</sup> Due to this reliance lighting design is different from costume and scenic design, and cannot be fully realised or planned until the work of the others has been decided upon. Lighting designer Kristin Zetterstrom noted this, saying that 'I can't finish my design until the work of the other designers is done or almost done. Until I see the completed work of the others I can't complete my own'.<sup>758</sup> Unlike scenic designers, lighting designers must work in a site that is rarely devoid of another's designer, instead having to work around the physical world designed or chosen for them. For this reason discussing lighting in cathedral performances is different than in the previous analyses. The focus is more about how the light interacts with the world of the play, rather than how it is inspired directly by setting in which it is carried out. Inspiration from the architecture is of course relevant, but the interaction with other design elements is just as important, and means that the lighting designer cannot draw inspiration solely from the cathedral architecture or text. This may seem controversial, appearing to relegate the lighting designer to a secondary role that is subjugated to the other visual designers, but this is not the case.

In my experience, lighting designers do not work outside of the collaborative processes of the rest of the production team. Rather they are directly connected to the costume and scenic designs, having to work with them as much as they must work with their performance location. Lighting design consists of four aspects: colour, texture, focus, and intensity. If the overall design concept for a production is to be consistent across all design aspects, the lighting designer should always work with the costume

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<sup>756</sup> For this section I will be drawing on my experience and training as a professional lighting designer and theatrical electrician.

<sup>757</sup> Although this is a truth of physics, it has been understood by lighting designers as early as Adolphe Appia. See Richard C. Beacham, *Adolphe Appia: Artist and Visionary of the Modern Theatre* (Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994), 57-8.

<sup>758</sup> Kristin Zetterstrom, personal interview, 26 January 2017.

and scenic designers to create a cohesive/complimentary colour palette from the beginning of the production process; leaving remaining aspects to be considered once the other designs have been finalised.<sup>759</sup>

The term 'lighting' has a variety of uses in the design context. Any use of illumination in a cathedral production will be considered under this umbrella, including architectural, ambient, candle, and theatrical lighting choices. Many productions rely on the architectural or ambient lighting available in the cathedral for either practical or budgetary reasons. Such productions as *Othello* (2014)\* at Liverpool used nothing but the ambient lighting, while others (*The Liverpool Mystery Plays* [2014]\*) relied mostly on this but brought in certain lighting effects at specific stages of the production. The final option is that which is generally only seen in the largest and most costly productions: the use of professional lighting equipment and a professional crew (*The York Millennium Mystery Plays* [2000] at York, *The Chester Mystery Plays* [2013]\* at Chester\*, and *The Massacre at Paris* [2014]\* at Canterbury).

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<sup>759</sup> To say that this theorisation of lighting design diminishes the work is not accurate; rather it shows how closely the lighting designer must work with the rest of the team in order to create a cohesive visual. Just as a director cannot block the entirety of a play and expect to make no corrections if they have not seen a floor plan and elevation of the intended set, so too with the lighting designer. Unlike a lighting designer, a costume or scenic designer's work may be viewed withdrawn from the other aspects of design. The costume sketches of Newton and the scenic designs of Melvill presented earlier in this chapter all show their individual designs removed from the context of the other designers, but that is not possible for a lighting designer. A lighting designer's work minus the other visual designs of the production is devoid of all or most context. This can be attested to by anyone who has seen a stage after the set has been struck but before the lighting instruments: colour, focus, texture, and intensity have all had their contexts removed and the result is a design that is drastically altered from that which was intended; in many ways it is no longer a design, but rather chaos. Stephen di Benedetto articulates a hierarchy of designers in *An Introduction to Theatre Design* (2012) beginning with the scenic, then costume, then lighting designer (Stephen di Benedetto, *An Introduction to Theatre Design* [London: Routledge, 2012], 2-8). He justifies this because 'Once built, the adjustment of specific details of the set design is less flexible than those [of other design areas] (ibid., 2). Lighting designer Richard Pilbrow has made similar comments as well, saying that the lighting designer's primary goal is to 'enhance the appearance of the set and costumes', thereby implying that those elements must be completed first (Richard Pilbrow, *Stage Lighting*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [London: Cassell, 1986], 33). Both of these lighting designers agree with Zetterstrom. Bruce A. Bergner says that 'Design is an active process that stems from a source', identifying the key source for the scenic designer as the play text (Bruce A. Bergner, *The Poetics of Stage Space: The Theory and Process of Theatre Design* [London: McFarland and Company, 2013], 147). In the case of lighting design a key source is the physical world that the lighting is to illuminate, which must be in place before the lighting designer can conceptualise the final design. One may argue that the Son et Lumière style art installations that are popular at cathedrals dispute this. On the contrary, they reinforce it. One comes to a Son et Lumière in order to see the *building* lit in a new and different way. If the building were removed the light would hit nothing and would be invisible after it left the lighting instruments, but that does not diminish the work of the lighting, which helps to show how the building could be viewed in a different manner.

Unlike paint colour (which is additive), lighting colour is created through subtractive processes. True white light is an equal combination of the three colours of the light spectrum: red, green, and blue. It is this that allows light-emitting diodes (LEDs) theoretically to create all colours of light by varying the levels of these three basic frequencies. Theoretically, all electric light at its source is white, and colour is created not by adding to it, but rather by subtracting frequencies that are not a part of the desired colour choice. White light is not all the same, as different sources produces different white light.<sup>760</sup> For this reason the source of the light must also be taken into account. For example, lighting generated by a lamp leaves it as equal measures of red, green, and blue.<sup>761</sup> If it then passes through a piece of red colour media, the green and blue frequencies have been filtered out of the white light, leaving only the red. This red light interacts with surfaces off which it bounces and is then perceived by the human eye. However, the surface off which a light bounce also has the ability to subtract/absorb light frequencies, and only reflect those that have not been absorbed. If a white light passes through a magenta colour media it possesses only red and blue frequencies. If it then hits a surface painted red, the surface absorbs only the blue, reflecting the red light.<sup>762</sup> In this way the work of the lighting designer is directly affected by the colour choices of the costume and scenic designs, showing the importance of collaboration when such colour choices are made.

However, our idea of 'white light' is dependant on the audience and the space in which the light is in, as human perception of colour is relative, and not true.<sup>763</sup> For example, a white light from a tungsten halogen lamp in a darkened theatre is generally

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<sup>760</sup> Nick Moran, *Performance Lighting Design: How to Light for the Stage, Concerts and Live Events* (London: Methuen Drama, 2007), 13-4.

<sup>761</sup> This is of course theoretical, as true white light (i.e. 1/3 red, 1/3 blue, and 1/3 green) is almost impossible to create.

<sup>762</sup> For more on light and colour see Nick Moran, *Performance Lighting Design*, 59-64.

<sup>763</sup> Greg Ward Larson and Rob Shakespeare, *Rendering with Radiance: The Art and Science of Lighting Visualization* (San Francisco: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers, 1998), 440.

in the range of 3200 degrees K; but the same light source used in daylight (between 5000 and 7000 degrees K) will appear yellow due to the relative shift in intensity between the background light and the source light.<sup>764</sup> This relative perception of colour can pose a problem to the designer who is used to working in darkened spaces with static and controllable lighting levels. If the ambient lighting with which a designer works fluctuates, then their design by necessity must also change with the photometric of the space in order to maintain consistency. As cathedral performances, even those that take place in crypts, will have levels of natural or artificial light pollution, the designer needs to accommodate these inconsistencies. The difference can be enough that separate cues may need to be written for daylight and night time performances, which itself could mean the need for technical rehearsals under both circumstances. In this way the lighting designer works with the space, as the realities of the building have the power to alter the design once created. Aside from the space, weather can also affect the design, with cloudy or sunny conditions having the power to drastically modify the light. Lighting is unique in this aspect of cathedral performance, as it must interact with an environment that changes minute by minute.

The importance of the subtractive quality lies in its use to change the colour of the surfaces off which it bounces. Unlike many traditional theatres, the interiors of cathedrals are not painted black (which absorbs all frequencies of light, reflecting none), and usually present exposed stone off which one may bounce light. This makes the entire interior a canvas for the designer. By not having a surface that absorbs light, the designer is free to project onto the interior and thereby change the colour of the space. This is an aspect of lighting that can allow the designer to utilise more colour than would be possible in a traditional, black-coloured space. One of the most remarked upon elements of *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000)\* came at 'The Ascension', when

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<sup>764</sup> Ibid.

the entire length of the cathedral's quire vaulting was lit to resemble a rainbow [image 7.16].<sup>765</sup> The vaulting's light-buff colour allowed this effect, as light was able to reflect off it, making the impressive spectacle. The stone of Chester Cathedral was capitalised upon during 'The Judgement' of *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\*, when designer Chris Ellis lit the space with red, a colour that allowed for maximum reflection off the red sandstone of the building, thereby transforming the massive western arch of the crossing into a fiery image of Hell.<sup>766</sup> Ellis had been careful throughout the rest of the production not to over use this effect, making the final reveal impressive. This same effect of lighting to alter colour can be seen in costumes as well. Black cloth may appear black in white light, but when viewed under certain lights the base colour of the dye can become dominant. Such cloth is often dyed with a blue or red base, and when under those colours the light reflected off the material will reflect the base colour. A similar, though opposite, phenomenon occurs when lightly coloured material (such as light pastels) are lit by high intensity white light, resulting in the colours becoming washed out and indiscernible. Early collaboration with the other designers regarding the colour palette is necessary in order to avoid such problems if they are not to be part of the intended design.

It is a common practice in lighting design to focus lighting in order to draw the eye to what is desired by the designer/director. *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000)\* was staged on a massive set consisting of steps leading to acting platforms. The imposing vastness of the design became obvious when smaller, more intimate scenes (such as 'The Presentation in the Temple') called for focus to be drawn to a group of three or four actors. It was through lighting that this was accomplished, as only a small portion of the stage was lit, leaving the remaining area in darkness. This draws the eye,

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<sup>765</sup> Barbara I. Gusick, 'A Review of the *York Millennium Mystery Plays*', in *ROMRD* 40 (2001): fig 6.

<sup>766</sup> Chester Mystery Plays, *The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle and History, Miracles and Mystery* (2013), 22. Souvenir Programme.

focusing it on the action and causing the areas in darkness to be disregarded in the periphery. The focusing of the audience's eyes is an aspect of lighting design that can take the massive interiors of England's cathedrals and make them into small, intimate settings such as the Temple scene mentioned above.

Focus can also be drawn to the architecture itself. The high verticals of cathedrals can be capitalised upon should the designer and director wish to use the immense volume of such areas. This can be done through contrasting light and dark by side-lighting columns, statues, and other tall objects. In my experience and training, sidelight is nearly ubiquitous in dance as it focuses on the body of the dancer and highlights their movement. When used on the columns of a crossing they draw the attention of the viewer to the full illuminated height, and thus remind one of the great proportions of the building. The same effect can be accomplished with uplight. **Image 7.15** from *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000) shows that the uplight of 'The Crucifixion' uses the columns and piers of the crossing as a frame in which to position the scene, which draws attention to the building and its connection to the moment being acted out. **Image 7.16** from the same play shows how the lack of focus on the columns and piers created isolation for 'The Ascension', setting apart the stage from the rainbow projected onto the vaults of the quire. Such lighting creates interplay of light and shadow on the architecture, reminding one of Adolphe Appia's assertion that 'it is the quality of shadows which expresses for us the quality of light'.<sup>767</sup> The shadows highlight the artificiality of the scene's surroundings, but in so doing reinforce the power of the cathedral space.

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<sup>767</sup> Beacham, *Adolphe Appia*, 59-60.

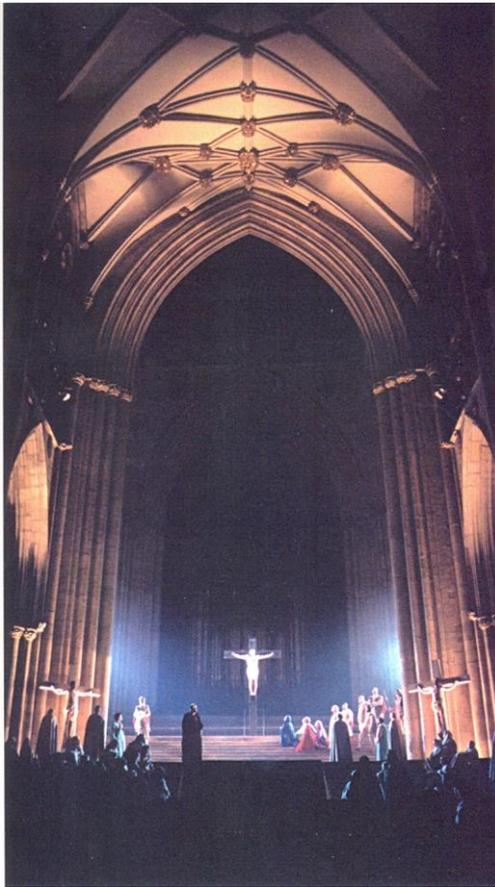


Image 7.15 *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000), 'The Crucifixion'. The crossing, York Minster. From *RORMD XL* (2001): fig. 5.

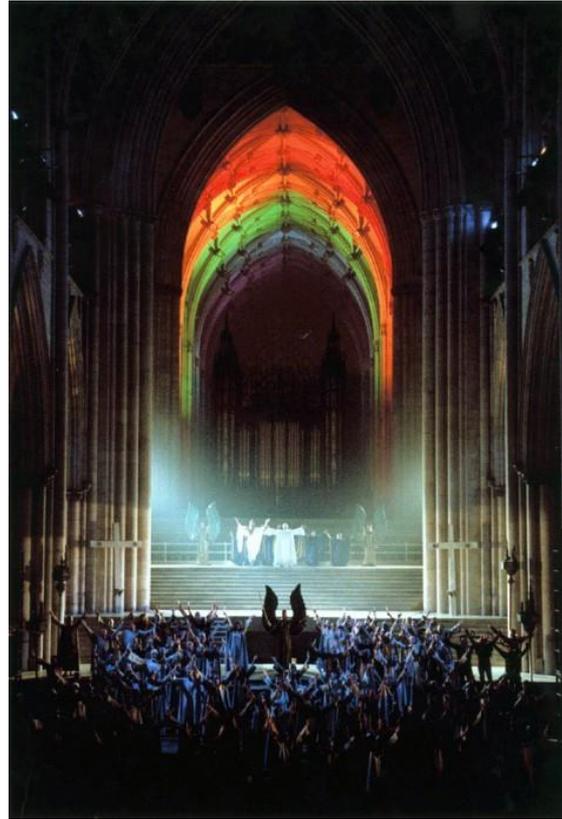


Image 7.16 *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000), 'The Ascension'. The crossing, York Minster. From *RORMD XL* (2001): fig. 6.

**CASE STUDY: PABLO HERNANDEZ BAZ'S DESIGN FOR *THE MASSACRE AT PARIS* (2014)\***

By combining lighting elements such as candles and modern lighting equipment within a production, a designer can play with juxtaposed ideas of the space's illumination. By using what may be considered traditional lighting for a space (i.e. candles in a cathedral), augmented by non-standard lighting for the environment (i.e. LED par cans), the opposing styles can create a sense of otherness that rarefies the atmosphere. *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\* was staged in traverse in the eastern crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, an area partially underground, and therefore with limited natural and artificial light able to penetrate the room. The crypt has built-in lighting in the form of wall sconces focused onto the ceiling, creating top-reflected light that effectively

illuminates the centre of the room, casting residual light into the aisles, which is enhanced by the light from the windows. Although this general lighting would have been enough to illuminate the performance, the desire for greater control of the design and for the inclusion of lighting as an element of dramatic storytelling, led to the inclusion of traditional lighting instruments, creating an atmosphere of eerie juxtaposition. Designer Pablo Hernandez Baz was able to include angles, colours, and intensities that contrasted with the space, allowing the audience to experience the crypt in a way not possible under normal circumstances.<sup>768</sup>

The eastern crypt includes two large cylindrical columns in the middle of the acting space. Around these were built round, wooden cages consisting of four levels, on the lower three of which were placed approximately seventy white pillar candles. The combined light of around 140 candles provided static lighting from the time the audience entered until they left, creating the unchangeable palette around which and with which Hernandez Baz worked. He added to this a set of lighting trees, each containing three ellipsoidal reflecting spotlights at shin, chest and above head height to the western end of the crypt, focusing them down the length of the room [image 7.17]. Such heavy sidelight was required of the space, as the configuration of the seating would have made lighting situated behind the audience and focused into the acting area blinding for the spectators. A focus on side lighting is common in many cathedral performances, as the ability to hang instruments directly over the audience or stage to create front and back lighting can be logistically and financially difficult or impossible. While this second option would have created front and back lighting, the effect on the audience's vision would have been too drastic to make such a configuration acceptable. The sidelight that this created lit actors only from one direction, casting long shadows into the eastern end of the crypt and allowing them to use the at times mono-directional

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<sup>768</sup> The Marlowe Theatre, *Marlowe 450: Faustus/The Massacre at Paris/The Jew of Malta*. 2014. Souvenir programme.

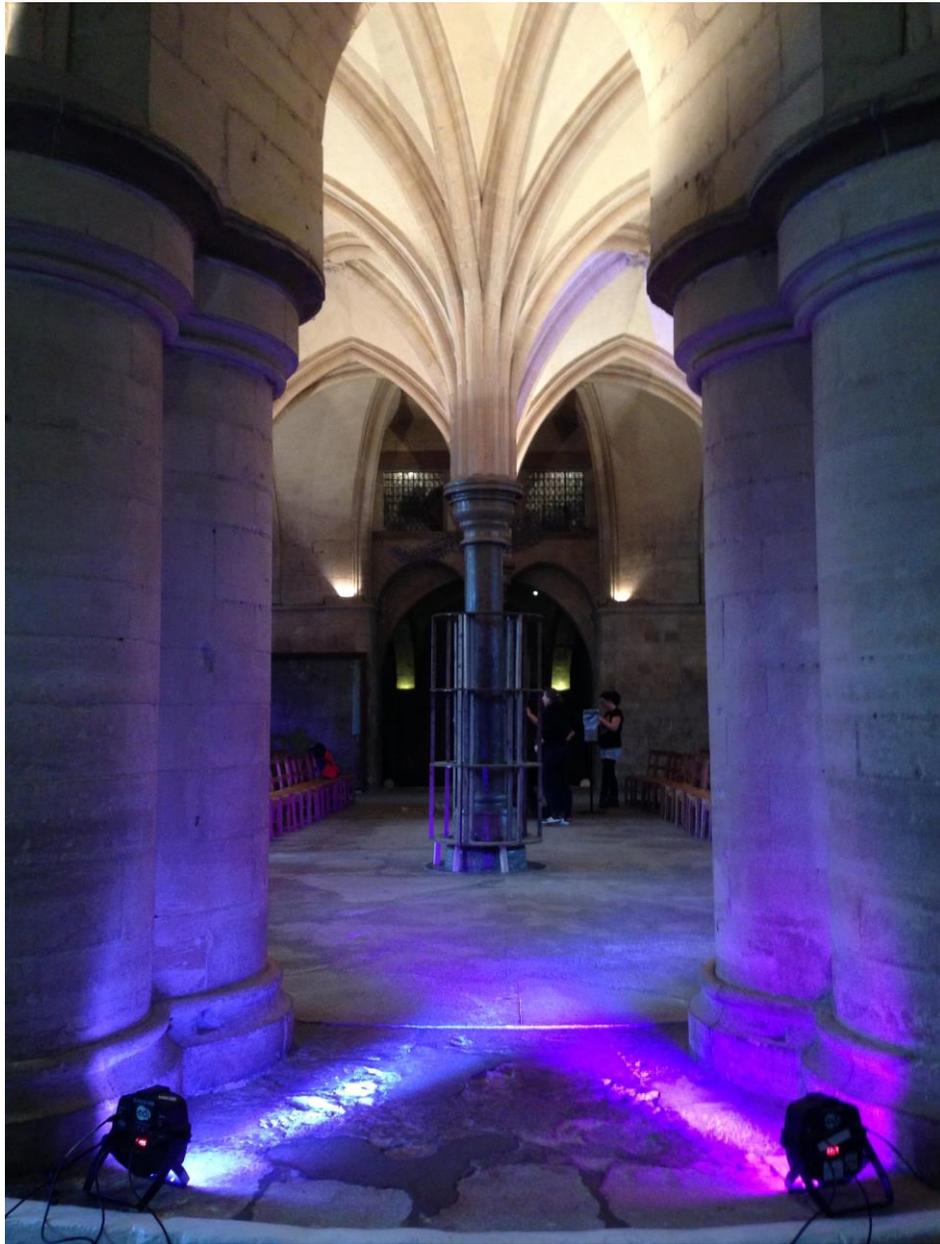
nature of the light to conceal their faces.



**Image 7.17** Lighting trees in the west of the eastern crypt for *The Massacre at Paris* (2014). Canterbury Cathedral. Photo Jason Burg

Augmenting this main source of electric lighting was a series of LED par cans situated in three main groupings: the first was a pair set at ground level on the onstage side of the farthest eastern pillars and focused on the floor of the acting area, the beams crossing each other on the floor before they reached the eastern pillar [image 7.18]; the second and third were matched sets of the same LED par cans set in the north and south

aisles, focused on the vaulting of the ceiling both above the acting and audience areas as well as the aisles themselves.



**Image 7.18** *The Massacre at Paris* (2014). Eastern crypt, Canterbury Cathedral. Photo by Jason Burg.

The instruments placed in the aisles were used more sparingly than those placed next to the eastern pillars. These eastern units were used to provide low levels of light to contrast, both in direction and colour, with the ellipsoidals placed in the western end. These par cans acted as colour fill, rather than primary instruments. However, that is not to say they did not provide atmospheric elements to the overall design.

The use of sidelight as a primary angle of directional lighting brings with it an

ability to highlight certain aspects of objects that make the angle useful when trying to concentrate on the movement of the body. It is for this reason that sidelighting is popular, nearly ubiquitous, when designing for dance. The sidelight makes verticals the focus of the eye, especially when placed against dark backgrounds where the body/object is all that is caught in the light's beam. This angle has the capability to make objects appear smaller/narrower than they are by only revealing the portion angled towards the light, altering the eye's perception of the lit body. The sidelight used in *The Massacre at Paris* allowed actors' movements in the various massacre scenes to be heightened visually as they moved in and out of the light, adjusting their bodies to catch the light and then retreat from it just as quickly. Scene fifteen of the play is a short piece in which Guise discovers and confronts his wife about her affair. For the production the scene was considered too short and the Duchess of Guise too weak, and so lines from *The White Devil* were added. In this new amalgamated version, upon her husband's discovery of the affair the Duchess railed against him. In doing so the actress used the mono-directionality of the lighting to make her face lit while manipulating the Duke's into darkness, thereby taking a dominant position in the scene. Lighting became an active participant in the scene in this way.

The sidelight altered how the space was viewed with this manipulation of angles. The tall, vertical pillars and archways were made more imposing. This focus on the verticals of objects and bodies was softened by moments in which the uplights in the aisles illuminated the vaulting of the entire space. The light from these par cans was reflected and diffused into the rest of the crypt, causing the harsh sidelight to become less focused and intense (despite the actual intensity levels of the instruments). It was this reflective quality that allowed the designer to use only four uplights to effectively light the entire crypt with fill light. The light colour of the stone in the eastern crypt was the perfect surface off which to bounce light. The change in colour of this fill light was

able to make the feeling of the entire space of the eastern crypt change from menacing during the massacre scenes, to joyous in the coronation scene. By choosing when and how to use this fill light the designer made the audience become aware of its surroundings at times, and distracted them from it at others.

The par cans, as LEDs, had the ability to create a range of coloured light and could thus be easily changed by Hernandez Baz to match the design he wished for in any given cue. These primarily consisted of reds, violets, and greens that contrasted with the soft amber of the candles and the varied, bare lamps of the ellipsoidals. While the instruments in the western end of the crypt contained no colour media, they were nevertheless capable of providing varied light. When a tungsten halogen lamp's intensity is kept at lower percentages the resulting colour shift is known as 'ambering', when the light frequency's range (i.e. its perceived colour) is in the amber spectrum.<sup>769</sup> As the intensity is raised the ambering effect is lost until it reaches (theoretically) pure white light. Thus, while the light coming from a bare lamp may pass through no material to create a colour, the manipulation of the lamp's relative intensity can itself create colour. The importance of this becomes clear when one considers the subtractive nature of colour in terms of light, discussed earlier.

The ambering effect that came from the western end of the crypt, when used at the right levels, could imitate the light quality (a combination of colour and intensity) that was provided by the candles. This gave the effect of candlelight coming through to the stage from the western arch that leads into the western crypt. The value of such an effect is made clear when the blocking of the play is considered. While the play was staged primarily in the eastern crypt, the beginning of the piece actually began in the western crypt, where the audience was kept prior to being led into the acting area. In this place is a chapel known as the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft where, as the

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<sup>769</sup> See Ward, Larson and Shakespeare, *Rendering with Radiance*, 430-2.

audience stood by and watched, the staging of the marriage between Henri de Navarre and Margaret de Valois that precipitated the events in the play was staged, lit only by the candle stands on either side of the couple. After the brief ceremony the priest led the actors to the eastern crypt, followed by the audience. The lighting thus could be used as a reflective convention, drawing the spectator's attention to the chapel where the inciting incident of the play occurred. As the quality and angle of the light coming from the six ellipsoidals imitated that of the candles that were left in the chapel, the sidelight can be seen as an extension of the candlelight at times, rather than as an addition to it.

As the play has at its core a rivalry between the two factions of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, co-directors Allain and Dawson made use of the two entrances into the acting area, having the former enter from the west and the latter from the east. This was compounded by the placement of actors whilst offstage to be still within the view of the audience by having the Roman Catholic characters sit in the Jesus Chapel that takes up the far eastern end of the crypt. This created for the audience an awareness of the opposing chapels on the respective sides of the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. The different qualities, angles, and colours of light coming from the east and west visually reinforced the disunion between the two sides.

## **CONCLUSION**

Costume, scenic, and lighting design must all interact with the environment in which they exist in order for a cohesive visual image to be presented. The results of all three of these design areas within the cathedral should ideally create a coherent visual that reflects the work of all three practices, coming together to provide a single image of the world of the play that harmonises with the cathedral's aesthetic. In doing so the designers create the visual framework in which the rest of the production sits, redefining and/or exploiting the cathedral environment in order to assist in the telling

of the story of the play. No singular trend in design can be applied to all cathedral productions, except of course the presence of the cathedrals themselves. It is difficult to generalise cathedral performance as they range in scope from professional productions with six-figure budgets, to small community-based performances by church or educational groups. Among others, these factors affect access to and use of costuming, scenery, and lighting equipment and stocks. A designer must work with the circumstances they are given, and this includes limited or extensive access to materials. It is therefore disingenuous to discuss all productions as if equal access to these materials was possible: the Overcrofters at Liverpool did not have the same access to stock and finances as The Chester Mystery Plays designers. So it must be remembered that the following discussion of trends tries to focus on design concept, rather than quality of construction/execution of design. As design trends change in all areas with time, this represents a personal description of past practices, and not an implied prescription of form for future design work.

Costume designs have changed much in cathedral productions since 1928. Into the 1960s there was a prevalence for historically appropriate costume. Newton and Lambourne's designs strove for a historicity that blended with their cathedral environments, making their work an extension of the location by appearing to be a part of the medieval history of the space. Designs tended to reflect the historical past of a period of the play. Professional companies (including those that produce medieval civic drama), began to change this concept later in the twentieth century. Bricolage became the design convention most commonly in use, drawing on multiple time periods and cultural trends in order to create a single aesthetic. Croft's designs are a key example of this form of layered inspiration. Her designs for Chester, either individually or as a whole, drew on multiple historical and cultural forms, reflecting the layered history and

design of the cathedrals themselves.<sup>770</sup> Designs such as Croft's often seem to meld well with the space, the aesthetic matching that of the cathedral and in so doing not contrasting with the environment. Many smaller productions by most community-based groups tend to present a more streamlined, single design approach. When attending these productions they often do not appear to take into consideration the performance space, and can cause a visual disharmony. *The Merchant of Venice* (2013) is a case in point. The single design concept had no connection to the lady chapel's aesthetic and so clashed, seeming out of place. However, the Liverpool production of *Othello* (2014)\* also followed a single style in the form of a modern, military convention that was visually and symbolically at odds with the feminine design of the lady chapel. The difference between the two was that while neither created continuity in design between the costumes and the space, *Othello* capitalised on that by allowing it to highlight the masculine/feminine tension of the play. Melvill's sets did the opposite, disregarding the architecture in favour of box sets that seemed to forget the setting in which they were positioned. This presented a visual discontinuity that nevertheless commented on the themes of the play, something that Melvill's work did not. And therein may lay the key to avoiding the criticism of Melvill's designs: one must rely on the cathedral's aesthetics and incorporate them into costume and scenic designs in order to harmonise with the space.

Added scenic elements are mostly minimal in cathedral productions, particularly since the latter quarter of the twentieth century. The work of the Canterbury Festival prior to 1970 is perhaps the most elaborate in terms of scenic elements, with a shift occurring later towards an aesthetic focusing on the architecture of the building. This later shift is most obvious in larger sites, such as naves and quires, but can be seen in

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<sup>770</sup> See the discussion of Older Mary's costume, above. Other examples are found in *The Massacre at Paris* (2014)\*, *The Mysteries* and *The Passion* (2011)\*, *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* (2012)\*, *The York Millennium Mystery Plays* (2000)\*.

smaller areas as well. Rather than compete with large places, the designs for nave productions mostly rely on the minimal, with stepped stages or simple platforms. All of Worcester Repertory Company's five cathedral productions used no added scenery, relying instead on the space's architecture to lend itself to the production. The same can be said for all of the plays produced at Liverpool, with the exception of raised stages and crosses. The importance of such designs seems to be their ability to incorporate and use the given architecture, shaping the play around the world of the cathedral, rather than attempting to force a new world into the cathedral with extensive scenery. By minimising the added scenery the design allows the architecture to speak for itself. Such an approach, when used in conjunction with the costuming, can create an aesthetic consistency. This approach can be seen across all periods of cathedrals, dramatic genre, and scale levels of productions.

Trends in lighting design across cathedral performance are in some ways the easiest and most difficult to discuss. Cathedrals already have illumination systems in place in most areas where one would want to stage a play. Couple that with the high cost of hiring equipment (if needed) and the extra costs and time of rigging, hanging, focusing, and cueing means that using additional lighting (i.e. not that which is already present) can potentially add significant logistical and monetary constraints to a production. Only larger productions in larger places have tended to use lighting systems that offer complete coverage of the acting area, house lights, and architectural lighting. Designers for these productions must often work around the site, bringing in large lighting trees or towers in order to hang instruments that cannot be supported by the buildings' fabric. This means that direct front and backlight is not possible, as hanging over the audience is often not feasible. Sidelight then becomes a major source of lighting, creating angled lighting that can cast distinct shadows if the angle is not steep

enough due to limited space.<sup>771</sup> Despite this, the lighting for such large-scale productions does not seem impeded by the space. Hernandez Baz was presented with a crypt that would not allow lights to be hung much higher than head height, and a traverse staging plan. His response was to use sidelight to augment the candles onstage while also using up-lights to draw attention to the walls and ceiling surrounding the audience. His design represents the most complex lighting outside of a nave production that was found during research, and shows that the size of the space need not interfere on the ability of the designer.

Smaller productions tend to rely on easier to manage and generally cheaper specials, when they use them at all. These were used to great effect in *The Liverpool Passion Plays* (2012, 2013, 2014\*, 2015) during the crucifixion. By relying on the cathedral's own basic wash of lighting for most of the production these specials created a striking visual. Rather than the low, amber-hued sodium lights and grey light filtering in through clear windows of the rest of the performance, the crucifixion was lit with purple up-lights angled onto the cross on the bridge, while the arch underneath was lit by a lighter purple backlight revealing the veil of the Temple as it was torn in two. The use of general lighting for the majority of the performance creates greater contrast when specials such as the spotlights on the cross are eventually used. In this way the lighting design can take advantage of the cathedral's minimal lighting by creating contrast with the special.

Stella Mary Newton's designs demonstrate how this melding of space and design can be accomplished in costuming by allowing the space to influence the designs. However, when designers seek to differentiate their work from the place of performance, visual disharmony between the design and the space can be seen. Harald

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<sup>771</sup> For example, the lighting towers for *The York Minster Plays* (2016)\* were placed far enough from the stage that the angle to the front of the stage was horizontally steep enough to almost appear as front light. However, the towers used in *The Chester Mystery Plays* (2013)\* were too close to the stage, and so had to be augmented with front light that was positioned at the back of the stepped audience seating.

Melvill's set for *Peasant's Priest* shows how such spatial considerations, when not accounted for, can lead to an overall awkward *mise-en-scène*, where design and architecture compete rather than blend. While lighting design may interact with the performance space the least of the three design forms here, its ability to effect the visual of the other two is apparent. By using angles, colours, and intensities, the lighting designer can change visual perceptions of the performance space. All design acts upon, and is in turn itself acted upon, by the space of performance, creating designs whose effects on the performance are truly space-based.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that the use of English cathedrals as sites of theatrical performance must be viewed as a spatial practice in which the performance both shapes and is shaped by the environment. The preceding seven chapters have demonstrated how the cathedral alters the productions and texts performed within them. Drawing upon the monumental theory of Henri Lefebvre the critic can better articulate the power of performance space as a creative, active force. In this context, the case study of the cathedral demonstrates its ability to be drawn upon as inspiration by a society seeking to assert its place.

The theory of the monument helps one to understand how theatrical performance can bring cathedral space into being. Lefebvre's exemplar for the theory is the cathedral: a space he calls a total space, one that envelops completely the individual.<sup>772</sup> Such a totality can be seen in the theatre as well. It is through these elements that the cathedral becomes a space, rather than a place. In the same way the script, acoustics, scenic, costume, and lighting designs, actors, directors, and playwrights make a theatre more than an empty box, but transform it. These elements exist in the cathedral already, but are invigorated with theatrical performance, making it alive with new or returned emotions, thoughts, actions, and ideas.

The choice of the cathedral reflects this desire to place oneself within a wider societal framework, notably through the prevalence of play texts reflecting religious, historical, and geographical ties linking the play and place. Very few of the plays presented in Appendix B fall outside of one or more of these three connections. The importance of the space in the production process is central, beginning with the earliest stages of development. Texts created for performance in cathedrals exemplify this, with *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Zeal of Thy House* showing not only how space can

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<sup>772</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 220-1.

inspire plot, but also how it can affect the very words and form of the text. The resulting place-based narratives reflect the environments for which they were originally written even when performed in other spaces.

From the moment the idea to use the cathedral as a performance site enters the minds of the production team, their work has already been inspired and altered by the space. For this reason one must keep in mind a variety of logistical and aesthetic guidelines in order to use the space most effectively. The preceding chapters have attempted to outline these principles in order to document and offer help to those seeking to make and analyse theatre within cathedral walls. Lefebvre's theory of the monument can help with this, offering a lens through which one may view the process of theatre making within cathedral environments, and reminding one that the space is a symbol of a society, and not merely an empty vessel or frame.

First and foremost, one must work with the cathedral's governing body, or its representatives, in order to establish a code of practice and conduct that will regulate the entire production. Practical concerns such as the site of performances, plot content, and restrictions on the use of the place must be established early on in order to proceed as smoothly as possible. The case of *A Passion for Birmingham* shows how the Cathedral's requirements can affect locations used within the cathedral. The minutes of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral show the level of control the Cathedral can exert on play selection and content. Such elements should be established early on in the production process. But one must also remember that the cathedral community extends beyond its walls, encompassing a wide range of individuals that feel a connection to the space that may alter their perception of performance. Such people may be drawn to the performance due to the location, but that location may affect how they view the actions in the play. The audience members who felt the killing in *The Massacre at Paris* was wrong and so left in the middle of a performance, and those that thought an actor should

not administer the sacrament of communion even within the context of a play must be considered. The attitudes of people to what is and is not appropriate within a cathedral are not confined solely to those working in the space. The cathedral community, as an unbounded group, must be thought of as well; they have a stake in the cathedral, and are likely to be audience members.

Research has shown a strong tendency towards plays reflecting a historical, geographical, or religious connection between the plot and the cathedral. Additionally, Kenneth Pickering's assertion that no play written for Canterbury, aside from *Murder in the Cathedral*, gained commercial success outside of the cathedral setting needs to be remembered. These may be warnings to would-be producers. If one views cathedral performance through the lens of monumentalism, then the strong connection between play and place should seem an obvious motivational factor to choose texts that reflect such a connection. The performance history presented in Chapter Two shows that this has been a trend since 1928. This may indicate that plays with an established history outside of the cathedral, and that may possess a connection to the cathedral, are commercially the best options for production. The medieval civic drama of England is a prime example. This is not to say that only such plays may be deemed 'successful' (regardless of how one may apply that term), but that such plays may be able to connect to the space on levels that others cannot, while simultaneously offering works known to audiences. The Marlowe450 project certainly had this in mind when they chose to play only *The Massacre at Paris* in Canterbury Cathedral, staging the remaining plays in the modern Marlowe Theatre.

As has been seen throughout the research conducted for this work, acoustics are perhaps the largest obstacle to confront once a production has been allowed to use the cathedral. Chapter Six documented the numerous times in which various productions in a multitude of cathedrals observed the difficult situation of the acoustical atmosphere.

The experience of others has shown that working with the given acoustics of the cathedral, and acting to soften such problems as reverberation time, are key to producing a play in which the spoken work is intelligible to the audience. One must consider carefully the options for performance sites, focusing on smaller locations within the cathedral, ideally with sound absorbing materials either present, or easily added. Actors must be trained to accommodate the acoustics from an early point in the rehearsal process. The more time actors have to learn the acoustics of the performance site the better they can work with it. Location, adjustments to the physical space to absorb reverberation, training actors, and allowing actors time to learn the acoustics of the cathedral are all of vital importance to overcoming the 'special circumstances', as Dean Bell referred to it, of the acoustics of the cathedral

As has been discussed in Chapter Seven, the visual designs of a production (costume, scenic, and lighting) vary considerably in performance, from elaborate to basic. Just as the acoustics of the building need to be dealt with appropriately, the visual of the production needs to be incorporated into the space as well. A focus on minimalism and historicity (such as the designs of Laurence Irving at Canterbury) allow the production to sit within the space and not apart from it by blending into the cathedral's individual aesthetic. This requires the designers to take into account the architecture and art of the place in order to blend with the building. When this is not done the design seems awkward within the space, refusing to become part of the cathedral. Harald Melvil's box sets placed with the cathedral are a clear example of this. By drawing a distinct line between his design and the chapter house Melvil effectively sectioned the world of the play off from the building that it was supposed to emphasise. Designers must be careful not to design around the *physical space* of the cathedral, but to incorporate it into their work. To do otherwise is to disregard not only a significant

focus of the production, but to make a design contend with the inescapable, monumental aesthetic provided by the cathedral.

Archival research, attendance at cathedral performances and rehearsals, personal conversations with participants, and a theoretical grounding in the ideas of Lefebvre have provided a basis for the argument outlined in this thesis. The case studies provided specific accounts of this influence on everything from location of the playing place, to the text, and design. This method of focused discussion has allowed the individual circumstances of certain productions to be highlighted. The presence of such archival materials as the electrician's prompt books for many of the early Canterbury plays, and the personal letters between Margaret Babington and Dorothy L. Sayers have contributed to these in-depth analyses of individual productions. While the case studies are concerned only with individual productions, they demonstrate precedents for the ideas presented in them and thus exhibit how such concepts can be applied to other instances of cathedral performance. Additionally, the large amount of such personal and production-specific material reveals the depth to which cathedral performance can, and should be studied.

The focus of this thesis on the influence of cathedral space has necessitated the exclusion or only cursory enquiry into areas of important, related topics from this work. The paradigm shift in medieval performance at Lincoln Cathedral; the role of cathedral plays in Anglican proselytization; the recent trend in the creation of modern Passion plays (many of which are heavily connected to cathedrals); the role of musicals and operas in cathedral settings; non-Anglican cathedral performance; and the expansion of the topic to include the parish church context: these are some of the areas into which more research needs to be conducted and for which archival material is available.

The first six months of 2016 have shown not only a continuation, but also a growth in theatrical performance in English Cathedrals. Aside from the modern Passion

plays carrying on at Birmingham and Liverpool, other cathedrals and theatre companies joined the growing tradition. In York, the minster provided the setting for a new production of the city's medieval plays, this time dubbed *The York Minster Plays\**, the title firmly connecting play and place. Antic Disposition restaged their 2015 production of *Henry V* in a tour that included Winchester, Salisbury, Gloucester, Bristol, and Worcester Cathedrals.<sup>773</sup> The Handlebards played *Much Ado About Nothing* in Coventry Cathedral's ruins in June.<sup>774</sup> Worcester Repertory Company will use Worcester Cathedral for a performance of *King John* to commemorate the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the king's death in November, literally staging the action around his tomb.<sup>775</sup> *The Lincoln Mystery Plays* will be set in the cloister of the cathedral in August.<sup>776</sup> And *The Chester Mystery Plays* appear to have been appreciated in their cathedral setting in 2013, with plans having been announced for the 2018 production to be set there once again rather than returning to the cathedral green.<sup>777</sup>

Cathedrals uniquely shape plays produced within them, and the power of the space to act upon the performance is evident in all aspects of the production. The nature of the cathedral's history, architecture, religious use, symbolic meaning, tourist associations, and social position all act upon the space which in turn works upon all plays performed within their walls. When a play of any kind is performed in a cathedral it is indelibly altered by the space, making the event unique and non-replicable outside of that spatial context. When the practitioner uses the cathedral for performance they must take into account, from the earliest stages of production, Archbishop Becket's line in *Murder in the Cathedral*, and 'Remember where you are'.

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<sup>773</sup> Anne Cox, "'Once More Unto the Breach': Antic Disposition's *Henry V* Back in the Trenches', from <http://www.stagereview.co.uk> (24 February 2016), accessed 3 July 2016.

<sup>774</sup> The Handlebards, 'The Boys - 2016 Dates', from <http://www.handlebards.co.uk>, accessed 3 July 2016.

<sup>775</sup> Worcester Repertory Company, 'What's On?', from <http://www.worcester-rep.co.uk>, accessed 3 July 2016.

<sup>776</sup> Lincoln Mystery Plays, 'Latest Production - 2016', from <http://www.lincolnmysteries.co.uk>, accessed 3 July 2016.

<sup>777</sup> Chester Mystery Plays, 'Our Next Major Production in 2018', from <http://www.chestermysteryplays.com>, accessed 3 July 2016.

## APPENDIX A

### ENGLISH CATHEDRAL PERFORMANCE PRIOR TO 1642<sup>778</sup>

YEAR	ASSOCIATED HOLY DAY OR FEAST	CATHEDRAL	ACCOUNT	REED CITATION
1220-5	Epiphany	York	<b><u>Item, one will contrive stars with all things pertaining to them except the rushes which the boy bishop of future (times will acquire):</u></b> one on Christmas night for the shepherds and <b><u>two on Epiphany night if the presentation of the three kings be done.</u></b>	REED: York 2.687
1220-5	Christmas	York	<b><u>Item, one will contrive stars with all things pertaining to them except the rushes which the boy bishop of future (times will acquire):</u></b> <b><u>one on Christmas night for the shepherds</u></b> and two on Epiphany night if the presentation of the three kings be done.	REED: York 2.687
1308/9	Monday in Holy Week	Lincoln	...Likewise on gloves and shoes bought for Sir William le Venur in the play made in the church on Monday in Easter week, 8d...	REED: Lincolnshire 2.646-7
1317/8	Epiphany	Lincoln	...Likewise to the vicars of Lincoln church for the solemnity made by them on epiphany about the play of the three kings, 18s 2d...	REED: Lincolnshire 2.647
1321/2	Easter	Lincoln	...Likewise in expenses incurred at Easter time on the play of St Thomas the twin ( <i>or of St Thomas Didymus</i> ), 9s 9d;	REED: Lincolnshire 2.647
1321/2	Epiphany	Lincoln	on one woollen head for a king's head on the feast of the Epiphany, 8d.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.647
1321/2	Pentecost	Lincoln	to the cleric bringing ( <i>or carrying</i> ) the dove on the feast of Pentecost, 12d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.647
1323/4	Easter time	Lincoln	...In expenses incurred at Easter time on the play of St Thomas the twin ( <i>or of St Thomas Didymus</i> ), 5s 8d...	REED: Lincolnshire 2.648

<sup>778</sup> Many of the entries contain information for more than one possible performance. In order to differentiate between the performances in a single entry the relevant material is presented here underlined and bolded. For example, compare the first and second entries for 1383/4, which show a single entry for both an Epiphany and an Easter play. The first entry (concerned with the Epiphany play) is only concerned with the bolded and underlined material, while the second entry (concerned with the Easter play) is only concerned with the remaining material that is bolded and underlined in the relevant line.

1326/7	Monday in Holy Week	Lincoln	...In expenses incurred on the Monday in Easter week for the play of St Thomas the Apostle in the nave of the church, namely, on bread, wine and ale, 6s 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.648
1330-3	Pentecost (?)	Lincoln	The cleric bringing ( <i>or</i> carrying) the dove, 6d.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.648
1332/3	Monday in Holy Week	Lincoln	...On bread bought for the play of St Thomas the Apostle on the Monday in Easter week, 12d; on wine, 5s; on ale, 2d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.648
1368/9	Monday in Holy Week (?)	Lincoln	Play of St Thomas [...] Likewise he accounts for having paid 6d on bread, 2s 6d on ale, (and) 2s 6d on wine.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1383/4	Epiphany	Lincoln	<b><u>Expenses about the play on Epiphany Day</u></b> and (about the play) of the Resurrection [...] <b><u>First to Sir John Louth for the making of a star, 10s 9d; likewise to William Sadiler for the making of three crowns for the kings, 2s 11d.</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1383/4	Easter (?)	Lincoln	<b><u>Expenses</u></b> about the play on Epiphany Day and ( <b><u>about the play of the Resurrection [...]</u></b> ) First to Sir John Louth for the making of a star, 10s 9d; likewise to William Sadiler for the making of three crowns for the kings, 2s 11d.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1383/4	Easter (?)	Lincoln	Likewise on wine bought, namely, four gallons for the Resurrection play, 2s 8d; likewise, on ale, 6d; likewise on bread, 6d.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1384/5	Epiphany	Lincoln	Expenses about the Epiphany play	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1384/5	Easter (?)	Lincoln	Expenses about the Resurrection play	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1386/7	Epiphany	Lincoln	<b><u>Expenses about the play on Epiphany day</u></b> and (about) the Resurrection (play) [...] <b><u>First on the mending of the kings' crowns (and) of the star, and on the hiring of trimmed (or lined) garments for the kings, and on other necessary expenses, 19s 6d;</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649
1386/7	Easter (?)	Lincoln	<b><u>Expenses about the play on Epiphany day</u></b> and (about) <b><u>the Resurrection (play) [...]</u></b> <b><u>on wine, ale, and bread bought for the Resurrection play, 3s 3 1/2d</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.649

<b>1390/1</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	Expenses incurred for the (angelic) salutation on Christmas Day and the play in Easter week [...] First to Sir John Louth for the expenses reckoned by him about the star and the dove, 2s 6d; likewise on expenses incurred by the sacrist at the same time for the (angelic) salutation, 6s 2 1/2d;	REED: Lincolnshire 2.651
<b>1390/1</b>	Holy Week	Lincoln	Expenses incurred for the (angelic) salutation on Christmas Day and the play in Easter week [...] likewise for expenses incurred about the play in Easter week, 3s 11d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.651
<b>1393/4</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...Likewise on 3 pairs of gloves bought for Mary, Elizabeth, and the angel on Christmas Day at dawn at matins, 3d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.651
<b>1394/5</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...Likewise on three pairs of gloves bought for Mary, the Angel, and Elizabeth on Christmas Day at dawn, 4d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.651
<b>1395/6</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...Likewise on three pairs of gloves bought for Mary, the Angel, and Elizabeth on Christmas Day at dawn, 4d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.652
<b>1395/6</b>	Pentecost	Lincoln	...Likewise paid to J. Tetford for the repair of cords and other necessary things for the dove and the angel on the feast of Pentecost, 12d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.652
<b>1396/7</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...Likewise on gloves bought for Mary and the angel on Christmas Day, 2d; likewise on two pairs of gloves bought for two prophets on the same day, 4d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.652
<b>1399/ 1400</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and the prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.652
<b>1401/2</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And in gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and two prohets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.652
<b>1402/3</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.653
<b>1403/4</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel and the prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.653
<b>1404/5 or 1405/6</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and two prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.653
<b>1406/7</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel and two prophets at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.653

<b>1407/8</b>	Easter	Wells	...Also paid to Edward Glover for the making of one tunic of the Holy Saviour for the play in Easter week and for the dyeing, 20d....	REED: Somerset 2.834
<b>1408/9</b>	Easter	Wells	...Also paid to Edward Glover for the mending of one tunic of the Holy Saviour for the play in Easter week, 7d...	REED: Somerset 2.834
<b>1408/9</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and two prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.653
<b>1417/8</b>	Easter	Wells	...Also paid for the dyeing of one robe of the Holy Saviour for the play in Easter week and for two beards for two pilgrims, 16d...	REED: Somerset 2.834
<b>1417/8</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...and in coin paid on Christmas for gloves for the prophets, Mary, and the angel, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.654
<b>1418/9</b>	Easter	Wells	Also on one large piece of blue buckram for three mantles for the three Marys at Easter at matins, 8s 6d...	REED: Somerset 2.835
<b>1420/1</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary (and) the angel at dawn on Christmas and for two prophets, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.654
<b>1423/4</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves for Mary, the angel, and two prophets at matins at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.654
<b>1426/7</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.655
<b>1431/2</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves for Mary and the angel, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.655
<b>1433/4</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary, the angel, and prophets for Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.655
<b>1434/5</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves for Mary and the angel, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.655
<b>1440/1</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel and the prophets at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.655
<b>1442/3</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.656
<b>1443/4</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to the church's custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.656
<b>1445/6</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.656
<b>1446/7</b>	Christmas	Lincoln	And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas	REED: Lincolnshire

			according to custom [...] 6d	2.656
1447/8	Christmas	Lincoln	<...> (for) Mary <...> at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.657
1448/9	Christmas	Lincoln	And in gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.657
1449/50	Christmas	Lincoln	And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.657
1450/1	Christmas	Lincoln	An on gloves bought for Mary and the angel on dawn at Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.657
1452/3	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom this year, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.658
1453/4	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom this year, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.658
1454/5	Christmas	Lincoln	And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.658
1455/6	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom this year, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.659
1456/7	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.659
1457/8	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.659
1458/9	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660
1458/9	Ascension (of Mary? i.ee Feast of St Anne?)	Lincoln	<u>...And in reward to John Hanson for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension' that took place in the cathedral last year, 26s 8d.</u> And on a like reward given to Stephen Bony, vicar, for his labours carried out about the spectacle ( <i>or</i> display) that took place in the choir on Christmas day, 6s 8d. And to William Muskham, vicar, for his labours about the dove and the banner in the choir and the clock last year, 3s 4d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660

1458/9	Christmas	Lincoln	...And in reward to John Hanson for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension' that took place in the cathedral last year, 26s 8d. <b><u>And on a like reward given to Stephen Bony, vicar, for his labours carried out about the spectacle (or display) that took place in the choir on Christmas day, 6s 8d.</u></b> And to William Muskham, vicar, for his labours about the dove and the banner in the choir and the clock last year, 3s 4d...	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660
1458/9	Pentecost (?)	Lincoln	...And in reward to John Hanson for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension' that took place in the cathedral last year, 26s 8d. And on a like reward given to Stephen Bony, vicar, for his labours carried out about the spectacle (or display) that took place in the choir on Christmas day, 6s 8d. <b><u>And to William Muskham, vicar, for his labours about the dove and the banner in the choir and the clock last year, 3s 4d....</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660
1459/6 0	Christmas	Lincoln	And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660
1459/6 0	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And in a reward given to John Hanson, chaplain, for his labours and his care about the 'Assumption' and the spectacles ( <i>or displays</i> ) that took place in the church on the feast of St Anne, 12s 4d...	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660
1460/1	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660
1461/2	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.660-1
1461/2	Assumption or St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>...And on like allowance made to John Hanson for the business carried out about the 'Assumption' this year, (blank);</u></b> and to John Bradley for costs incurred by him at dawn on Christmas for the star and the cords for the same (star) as appears by his bill, ( <i>blank</i> )...	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661
1461/2	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on like allowance made to John Hanson for the business carried out about the 'Assumption' this year, (blank); <b><u>and to John Bradley for costs incurred by him at dawn on Christmas for the star</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661

<b><u>and the cords for the same (star) as appears by his bill. (blank)...</u></b>				
1462/3	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661
1462/3	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...and allowance is made for him for expenses and a reward given to John Hanson, chaplain, for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension,' 10s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661
1463/4	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661
1463/4	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And in allowance made to Sir John Hanson for his labour carried out about the 'Ascension' this year, 10s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661
1464/5	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.661
1464/5	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And in allowance made to John Hanson for his labour carried out in the church about the 'Ascension' in the nave of the church by the favour and courtesy of the lord (canons) this year, 10s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.662
1465/6	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.662
1467/8	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.662
1468/9	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	Decree for expenses on St Anne's Day around the 'Assumption of the Lady Mary' [...] On the Saturday for chapter, that is, on 29 July AD 1469, Master Robert Fleming, dean, Hugh Tapton, chancellor, Robert Aiscogh, subdean, (and) Robert Wymbyssh, Thomas Alford, and John Graveley, residentiary canons, (all) of Lincoln Cathedral, having met in the chapter house for the same chapter, as they have said, decided with unanimous consent <...> that the costs and expenses lately incurred by Sir John Hanson, chaplain, about the spectacle (or display) of the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne last past in the nave of the said church, together with that Sir John's reward, be met in this regard out of the whole of the money coming in from the opening of the great altar for Midsummer term last past, to take place before	REED: Lincolnshire 2.662

			the canons there on the next (day of chapter).	
1470/1	Easter	Wells	...And paid for two pounds of hemp for making wigs for the three Marys playing on the night of Easter, 6d; and paid for three coifs bought for the said three Marys, 3d; and paid for three quarts of fustic for the dyeing of the said wigs, 6d; and paid to Christine Handon for the dyeing and making of the said costumes, 12d...	REED: Somerset 2.838
1470/1	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.662-3
1473/4	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.663
1474/5	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.663
1474/5	Corpus Christi	Lincoln	...[And on a reward given to those playing the Corpus Christi play this year, nil.] ... And on the lord canons' dinner on the feast of Corpus Christi while they were watching the play this year, 16s 2d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.664
1475/6	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.664
1475/6	Corpus Christi	Lincoln	...And on the lord canons' dinner on the feast of Corpus Christi while they were watching the play this year, 18s 6d.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.664
1477/8	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel according to custom at dawn on Christmas, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.663
1477/8	Corpus Christi	Lincoln	...And on the banquet for the canons being in John Sharpe's room within the close to see the Corpus Christi play [beyond ( <i>blank</i> ) allowed to the clerk of the common fund in the clerk of the fabric fund's office as well as in this own office in the previous year] 17s 3 1/2 d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.664
1477/8	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.664
1477/8	Corpus Christi	Lincoln	...And on the banquet for the canons being in John Sharpe's room within the close to see the Corpus Christi play, 17s 11d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.665
1480/1	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.665

1480/1	Corpus Christi	Lincoln	...And on the banquet for the canons being in John Sharpe's room within the close to see the Corpus Christi play, nil this year....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.665
1481/2	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.665
1482/3	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.665
1482/3	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>...And paid to Sir Henry Botery for the making (ie the completion (?)) of the half-done 'Coronation of St Mary' in the cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln for the feast of St Anne. 47s;</u></b> and paid for the breakfast for the lord (canons) being at the play called 'Pater Noster play,' along with 15d paid for the same lord (canons') expenses on the second day of the same play, 17s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.665-6
1482/3	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	On the Saturday for chapter, that is, on 7 July AD 1483, the the high choir of the cathedral church of St Mary at Lincoln after that day's compline was finished, the lord dean with his brethren, that is, the precentor, the chancellor, the treasurer, and Alford, standing together before the west door of the choir next to their accustomed (places) and discussing the procession of St Anne that was to be made by the citizens of Lincoln on her feast next coming, decided together that they wanted to have that show ( <i>or</i> entertainment) or rite of the 'Assumption' or 'Crowning of St Mary' repaired and prepared anew and put on and shown in the aforesaid procession, as had been customary in the nave of the said church. And the question also came up among them at whose expense this work should take place. They said that (it should be) at the expense of those who wished to contribute or give something to it, and in the event that such a contribution or donation would not complete such costs, that then all that remained thereof should be born equally by the common fund and the fabric fund. And they then ordered there that the lord	REED: Lincolnshire 2.666

			treasurer and Master Thomas Alford should be master supervisors of the said work, since the lord subdean, then the provost of the said church, was away on this tourn [sic] for the povost's office.	
1483/4	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.666
1484/5	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.666
1485/6	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.667
1485/6	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And paid to Henry Botery, chaplain, by the lord provost's command, for the showing of the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, 5s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.667
1486/7	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.667
1487/8	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.667
1488	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	The advowson of one chantry of Burton [...] And on the same day the same canons granted to the lord treasurer (the right) to present and name to the chantry of Burton, which Sir Robert Clark holds at present, any suitable chaplain whatever, whenever that chantry next happens to be vacant, <b><u>and (granted to the lord treasurer the right) to keep that Sir Robert with him, because he is so clever in the showing and entertainment called 'the Ascension' that is usual each year on the feast of St Anner, etc.</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.668
1488/9	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.668
1489/9 0	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.668
1489/9 0	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowed to him for money paid to Robert Clark, chaplain, for his labours about the 'Coronation of St Mary' in the nave of the church on the feast of St Anne, 2s.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.668
1490/1	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.669

1490/1	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And on money pair to Sir Robert Clark for his labour on the feast of St Anne about the 'Coronation of St Mary,' 2s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.669
1491/2	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.669
1492/3	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.669
1493/4	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.669
1493/4	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And paid to Sir Robert Browne labouring about the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne in the year last past, because it was not allowed earlier, 2s; and for the same this year, 2s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.669
1494/5	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.670
1495/6	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.670
1501/2	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.670
1501/2	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowance is made to him as of money paid to John Barns, by order of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption' on the feast of St Anne, 2s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.670
1502/3	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.670
1502/3	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowance is made to him as of money paid to John Barns, by order of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, 2s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.671
1503/4	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.671
1503/4	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) as of money paid to John Barns, by order of the lord dean and lord members of the chapter, for his labours about the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, 2s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.671
1505/6	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.671
1506/7	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas	REED: Lincolnshire

			according to custom, 6d....	2.671
1506/7	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) of money paid to John Barns, by the order of the lord members of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, both for this year and for the past year, 4s....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.671-2
1507/8	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.672
1507/8	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) of money paid to John Barns, by the order of the lord members of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, 2s	REED: Lincolnshire 2.672
1508/9	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom, 6d....	REED: Lincolnshire 2.672
1508/9	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	...And allowance is made to the same (clerk) of money paid to John Barns, by the order of the lord members of the chapter, for his labour about the 'Assumption' made on the feast of St Anne in the nave of the church, 2s	REED: Lincolnshire 2.672
1509/1 0	Christmas	Lincoln	...And on gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.672
1509/1 0	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to him in reward for the clock and <b><u>the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne and for (his) labours and expenses [...] 10s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.673
1509/1 0	Pentecost (?)	Lincoln	<b><u>And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to him in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne and for (his) labours and expenses [...] <b><u>10s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.673

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1509/1 Pentecost Lincoln  
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**It concerns John Barns [...] On the Saturday for chapter, that is on 1 December AD 1509, the lord treasurer, the archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, canons residentiary meeting as a chapter in the chapter house - although master precentor, the archdeacon of Stow, and (Sir) FitzHerbert are away from the site of the chapter, they are expressly agreed with whatever is done by those men in that chapter - after a discussion among the aforesaid treasurer, archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, about and concerning the labour and care carried out every year, and to be carried on in future, by John Barns, among other things about the dove and the clock in the week of Pentecost**

and also about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, (and) likewise on Christmas Day in preparing the star at dawn and in Holy Week with the banner, unanimously granted, in the name of the chapter, to the aforesaid John Barns for all his labours and careful actions to be shown about the aforementioned in future from year to year an annuity of 20s to be paid to the same (John) annually as long as the chapter pleases in the following way, that is, 10s to be paid by the clerk of the common fund and 10s to be paid by the clerk of the fabric fund yearly at the chapter's pleasure.

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REED:  
Lincolnshire  
2.673

1509/1 St Anne's Day Lincoln  
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It concerns John Barns [...] On the Saturday for chapter, that is on 1 December AD 1509, the lord treasurer, the archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, canons residentiary meeting as a chapter in the chapter house - although master precentor, the archdeacon of Stow, and (Sir) FitzHerbert are away from the site of the chapter, they are expressly agreed with whatever is done by those men in that chapter - after a discussion among the aforesaid treasurer, archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, about and concerning the labour and care carried out every year, and to be carried on in future, by John Barns, among other things about the dove and the clock in the week of Pentecost and also about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, (and) likewise on Christmas Day in preparing the star at dawn and in Holy Week with the banner, unanimously granted, in the name of the chapter, to the aforesaid John Barns for all his labours and careful actions to be shown about the aforementioned in future from year to year an annuity of 20s to be paid to the same (John) annually as long as the chapter pleases in the following way, that is, 10s to be paid by the clerk of the common fund and 10s to be paid by the clerk of the fabric fund yearly at the chapter's pleasure.

REED:  
Lincolnshire  
2.673

1509/1 0	Christmas	Lincoln	<p><b><u>It concerns John Barns [...] On the Saturday for chapter, that is on 1 December AD 1509, the lord treasurer, the archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, canons residentiary meeting as a chapter in the chapter house - although master precentor, the archdeacon of Stow, and (Sir) FitzHerbert are away from the site of the chapter, they are expressly agreed with whatever is done by those men in that chapter - after a discussion among the aforesaid treasurer, archdeacon of Lincoln, and (Sir) Roston, about and concerning the labour and care carried out every year, and to be carried on in future, by John Barns, among other things</u></b> about the dove and the clock in the week of Pentecost and also about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne, (and) likewise <b><u>on Christmas Day in preparing the star at dawn</u></b> and in Holy Week with the banner, <b><u>unanimously granted, in the name of the chapter, to the aforesaid John Barns for all his labours and careful actions to be shown about the aforementioned in future from year to year an annuity of 20s to be paid to the same (John) annually as long as the chapter pleases in the following way, that is, 10s to be paid by the clerk of the common fund and 10s to be paid by the clerk of the fabric fund yearly at the chapter's pleasure.</u></b></p>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.673
1510/1 1	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.673
1510/1 1	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to the same in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses [...] 10s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.673
1510/1 1	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to the same in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses [...] 10s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.673

1511/2	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1511/2	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to him in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1511/2	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And for John Barns, porter of the close: given to him in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1512/3	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1512/3	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And given to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1512/3	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And given to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1513/4	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1513/4	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, (and) given to the same in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674
1513/4	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, (and) given to the same in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of St Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.674-5
1514/5	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675
1514/5	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, (and) given to the him in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> <b>10s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675

1514/5	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close. (and) given to the him in reward for</u></b> the clock and <b><u>the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses [...]</u></b> 10s	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675
1515/6	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675
1515/6	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...]</u></b> [10s] 12s	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675
1515/6	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for</u></b> the clock and <b><u>the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...]</u></b> [10s] 12s	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675
1515/6	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	For John Barns [...] Be it noted that on 14 June in the year abovesaid, the lord dean, lord precentor, lord chancellor, lord archdeacon of Lincoln, lord archdeacon of Stow, and Sir Massingberd, canons residentiary meeting as a chapter in the chapter house, granted to John Barns 2s to be paid annually to him by the clerk of the common fund for his labours about the 'Assumption of St Mary' on (St) Anne's Day - just as he has had in the past as appears by the account books of the clerk of the common fund - over and above 20s granted to the same John at the will of the chapter, granted by the chapter on 1 December 1509, for his labours around the said 'Assumption' and other labours to be exercised at various times of the year.	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675-6
1516/7	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.676
1516/7	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne <b><u>for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...]</u></b> [10s] 12s	REED: Lincolnshire 2.676

1516/7	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.675
1517/8	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.676
1517/8	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.676
1517/8	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.676
1518/9	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.676-7
1518/9	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1518/9	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1519/2 0	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1519/2 0	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677

1519/2 0	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1520/1	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1520/1	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1520/1	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.677
1521/2	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678
1521/2	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678
1521/2	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678
1522/3	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678
1522/3	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid in reward to the same John by the</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678

			<b><u>chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	
1522/3	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678
1523/4	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.678
1523/4	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1523/4	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1524/5	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1524/5	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1524/5	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1525/6	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679

1525/6	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid in reward to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1525/6	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being And paid to the same John by the chapter's favour [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.679
1526/7	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.680
1526/7	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.680
1526/7	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to John Barns, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.680
1527/8	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.681
1527/8	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Bedyll, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.681
1527/8	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Bedyll, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne for (his) labours and expenses along with 2s granted to him by the chapter for the time being [...] [10s] 12s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.681

1528/9	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.682
1528/9	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.682
1527/8	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne</u></b> [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.682
1529/3 0	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.682
1528/9	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.683
1528/9	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne</u></b> [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.683
1530/1	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.683
1530/1	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.683
1530/1	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne</u></b> [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.683
1531/2	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.683
1531/2	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1531/2	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne</u></b> [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1532/3	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684

1532/3	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b> 12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1532/3	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...]</u></b> <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1533/4	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] <b> 6d</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1533/4	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b> 12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1533/4	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...]</u></b> <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684
1534/5	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] <b> 6d</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.684-5
1534/5	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b> 12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.685
1534/5	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...]</u></b> <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.685
1535/6	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] <b> 6d</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.685
1535/6	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b> 12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.685
1535/6	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...]</u></b> <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.685
1536/7	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] <b> 6d</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686
1535/6	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686

			[...] <b>12s</b>	
1535/6	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne</u></b> [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686
1537/8	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686
1535/6	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686
1535/6	Christmas	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock and the 'Coronation of (St) Mary' on the feast of St Anne</u></b> [...] <b>12s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686
1538/9	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.686
1538/9	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> , the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1538/9	Christmas Eve	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve</u></b> [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1539/4 0	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1539/4 0	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> , the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1539/4 0	Christmas Eve	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve</u></b> [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1539/4 0	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	And paid in coin for expenses about the 'Coronation of St Mary' this year [...] 2s 4d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1540/1	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1540/1	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> , the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687
1540/1	Christmas Eve	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve</u></b> [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.687

1541/2	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1541/2	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> , the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and for other things [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1541/2	Christmas Eve	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and for other things [...] 6s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1542/3	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1542/3	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> , the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and other things [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1542/3	Christmas Eve	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and other things [...] 6s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1542/3	St Anne's Day	Lincoln	And paid in as much coin (as was spent) for expenses around the 'Coronation of St Mary' this year [...] 3s 8d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.689
1543/4	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought for Mary and the angel at dawn on Christmas according to custom [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.689
1543/4	Pentecost	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock</u></b> , the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and other things [...] <b>6s</b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.688
1543/4	Christmas Eve	Lincoln	<b><u>And paid to Thomas Watson, porter of the close, in reward for the clock, the king's banner, and the star on Christmas Eve and other things [...] 6s</u></b>	REED: Lincolnshire 2.689
1548/9	Christmas	Lincoln	And paid for gloves bought at dawn on Christmas [...] 6d	REED: Lincolnshire 2.689

## APPENDIX B

### CATHEDRAL PERFORMANCE, 1928-2015

YEAR	CATHEDRAL	SPACE	PLAY (PLAYWRIGHT)	GENRE <small>779</small>	COMPANY	DIRECTOR	SOURCE
1928.05.28-29	Canterbury	Nave	<i>The Coming of Christ</i> (John Masefield)	B, C			Timothy J. Ray, 'The Drama of Dogma: The Theological Aesthetics of Dorothy L Sayers' <i>The Zeal of Thy House</i> ', unpublished MLitt Thesis, CCA-Thesis Box 3/4 (2006)
1929.08.20	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Dr. Faustus</i> (Christopher Marlowe)	R, EM	Norwich Players	Nugent Monck	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Canterbury Cathedral Festival of Music and Drama 1929</i> , souvenir programme (1929), 4-6. CCA-Pamphlet 38/1.
1932.06.14-18	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Becket</i> (Tennyson)	P, H, C		Eileen Thorndike	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Festival of Music and Drama</i> , souvenir programme (1932), 4-8. CCA-Pamphlet 38/12
1933	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Becket</i> (Tennyson)	P, H, C		Eileen Thorndike	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Festival of Music and Drama</i> , souvenir programme (1933), 4-11. CCA-Pamphlet 38/11; Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> (Malvern: J. Garnet Miller, 2001), 99.
1933.06	Exeter	Nave	<i>The Acts of St. Peter</i> (Gordon Bottomley)	B, C			E. Martin Browne with Henzie Browne. <i>Two in One</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 75-8.
1933.06.5-10	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Becket</i> (Tennyson)	P, H, C		Eileen Thorndike	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Festival of Music and Drama</i> , souvenir programme (1933), 4-11. CCA-Pamphlet 38/11.
1934.06.9-16	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Young King</i> (Laurence Binyon)	P, H, C	The Cathedral Players	Eileen Thorndike	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Festival of Music and Drama</i> , souvenir programme (1934), 4, 7-10. CCA-Pamphlet 38/10.
1935.06.15-22	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> (T.S. Eliot)	R, H, C	The Cathedral Players	E. Martin Brown	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Festival of Music and Drama</i> , souvenir programme

<sup>779</sup> R: Religious. B: Biblical. P: Profane. H: Historical. M: Medieval Text. EM: Early Modern Text. C: Modern Text.

							(1935), 6, 9-11. CCA-Pamphlet 38/9.
1936.06.20-27	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury</i> (Charles Williams)	P, H, C	The Cathedral Players	E. Martin Brown	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1936), 6, 10-3. CCA-Pamphlet 38/8.
1937.06.12-19	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Zeal of Thy House</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, H, C	The Cathedral Players	Harcourt Williams	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1937), 6-8. CCA-Pamphlet 38/7.
1938.06.25 to 1938.07.02	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Christ's Comet</i> (Christopher Hassall)	B, C	The Cathedral Players	Michael MacOwen	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1938), 4-11. CCA-Pamphlet 38/5.
1939.06.10-17	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Devil to Pay</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, C	The Cathedral Players	Harcourt Williams	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1939), 3-9. CCA-Pamphlet 38/4.
1940.06.24-29	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Zeal of Thy House</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, H, C		Harcourt Williams	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1940). CCA-Pamphlet 37/18.
1944.06	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>I Will Arise</i> (T.B. Morris)	R, C		E. Martin Browne	E. Martin Browne with Henzie Browne. <i>Two in One</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 231. Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>1951 Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1951), 69. CCA-Pamphlet 38/26.
1946.06.15-22	Lichfield	Nave	<i>The Just Vengeance</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, H, C		Frank Napier	The Times, 'Play in Lichfield Cathedral', in <i>The Times</i> , issue 50479 (17 June 1946): 6. <i>The Times Digital Archive</i> , <a href="http://www.thetimes.co.uk">http://www.thetimes.co.uk</a> . 5 Dec 2014; Lichfield Cathedral, 'The 750th Anniversary of Lichfield Cathedral', (1946). Souvenir Programme. Lichfield Cathedral Archive Box 17/F.
1947.06.21-28	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Peasant's Priest</i> (Laurie Lee)	P, H, C	The Pilgrim Players	E. Martin Brown	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1947), 6-8. CCA-Pamphlet 38/17.
1948.06.19-26	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Thor, with Angels</i> (Christopher Fry)	R, H, C	The Pilgrim Players	Christopher Fry	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival 1948</i> , souvenir programme (1948), 20. CCA-Pamphlet 38/16.

<b>1949.06.25 to 1949.07.02</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Zeal of Thy House</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, H, C	The Pilgrim Players	Christopher Hassall	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1949). CCA-Pamphlet 38/14.
<b>1951</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Shearmans' and Tailors' Play and The Weavers' Play</i>	B, M	The Religious Drama Society and Coventry Cappers' Company	Carina Robins	John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 263.
<b>1951</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: In The Beginning</i> (Betty and Joseph McCulloch, editors)	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede	John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261. David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', <i>METH</i> 15 (1993): 111-23.
<b>1951</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: The Nativity</i> (Betty and Joseph McCulloch, editors)	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede	John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261. David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', in <i>METH</i> 15 (1993): 111-23.
<b>1951</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: The Passion</i> (Betty and Joseph McCulloch, editors)	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede	John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261. David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', in <i>METH</i> 15 (1993): 111-23.
<b>1951.07.18 to 1951.08.10</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Makers of Violence</i> (Robert Gittings)	P, H, C		John Allen	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>1951 Canterbury Festival</i> , souvenir programme (1951), 37. CCA-Pamphlet 38/26.
<b>1952</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede (?)	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261.
<b>1952</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: The Nativity</i> (Betty and Joseph McCulloch, editors)	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261. David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', in <i>METH</i> 15 (1993): 111-23.

<b>1952</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: The Passion</i> (Betty and Joseph McCulloch, editors)	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede	John R Elliott, Jr, 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261. David Mills, 'The 1951 and 1952 Revivals of the Chester Plays', in <i>METH</i> 15 (1993): 111-23.
<b>1953</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>His Eminence of England</i> (Hugh Ross Williamson)	P, H, C			Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 114.
<b>1957</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: In The Beginning</i>	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede (?)	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261.
<b>1957</b>	Chester	Refectory	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays: The Passion</i>	B, M	Chester Mystery Plays	Christopher Ede (?)	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 261.
<b>1960.06.29 to 1960.07.03</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Deluge and Everyman</i>	B, M	The Festival Players	Philip Hollingworth	Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Deluge and Everyman</i> , 1960. Souvenir programme. Programme 1960 (CCA-Pamphlet 37/3).
<b>1960.12</b>	Ely	Transept	<i>The Zeal of Thy House</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, H, C	King's School Dramatic Society	C.R.I Matheson	The Times, 'The Zeal of Thy House', in <i>The Times</i> , issue 54950 (9 Dec 1960), <i>The Times Digital Archive</i> , accessed 5 Dec 2014; The Times, 'Picture Gallery', in <i>The Times</i> , issue 54952 (12 Dec 1960): 6. <i>The Times Digital Archive</i> . Web. 5 Dec 2014.
<b>1962.06.15-24</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>A Durable Fire</i> (Patric Dickinson)	R, H		Geoffrey Staines	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral Festival 1962</i> , souvenir programme (1962). CCA-Pamphlet 38/29.
<b>1962</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Cycle</i> (E. Martin Brown, editor)	B, M		E. Martin Browne	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 263.
<b>1964</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Cycle</i>	B, M		E. Martin Brown (?)	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 263.
<b>1964</b>	Southwark		<i>Redemption</i> (Gordon Honeycombe)	B, C	The Royal Shakespeare Company		Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 301; 'Long Bio', www.gordonhoneycombe.com, accessed 12 May 2015.
<b>1964.06.02-07</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> (T.S. Eliot)	R, H, C	Little Chart Players	Donald Bain	Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Festival Programme 1964</i> , souvenir programme (1964).

<b>1967</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Cycle of Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Robert Prior-Pitt	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 263.
<b>1968.04.12</b>	Derby	Nave (?) <sup>780</sup>	<i>The Wakefield Cycle</i>	B, M	Derby Playhouse and Derby Cathedral	John Williams	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 265.
<b>1969</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Cycle of Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Clare Venables and Rhys McConnochie	John R Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 263.
<b>1969.08</b>	Lincoln		<i>The Lincoln Cycle of Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	Lincoln Theatre Royal		John R. Elliott, Jr., 'Modern Productions of Medieval Mystery Cycles', in <i>ROMRD</i> 13-14 (1970-1): 263.
<b>1970.06.27</b>	Canterbury	Quire	<i>Visitatio Sepulchri</i> and <i>The Journey to Emmaus</i> (W.L. Smoldon, editor)	B, M		E Martin Brown	Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Canterbury 1970: Complete Programme of Events, June to October</i> , souvenir programme (1970): 7. CCA-Pamphlet 37/10.
<b>1970.09.25 to 1970.10.17</b>	Canterbury	Nave	<i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> (T.S. Eliot)	R, H, C	Canterbury Cathedral	E. Martin Browne	Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Canterbury 1970: Complete Programme of Events, June to October</i> , souvenir programme (1970): 49-51. CCA-Pamphlet 37/10; Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Canterbury 1970: St Thomas Becket Commemoration 1170-1970</i> . Souvenir programme (1970). CCA-Pamphlet 37/12. Canterbury Cathedral, 'Play Programme, "Murder in the Cathedral by T S Eliot"', CCA-DCc-AddMS-123/8. Souvenir programme. Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J Garnet Miller, 2001), 306.
<b>1973</b>	Canterbury	Crypt	<i>A Sleep of Prisoners</i> (Christopher Fry)	B, C			

<sup>780</sup> No review specifically mentions the location within the cathedral, however Elliott mentions that Christ was crucified on the rood screen, which would most likely place the audience in the nave.

<b>1973</b>	Ely	Nave	<i>The Wakefield Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	Local companies from Ely, March, Cambridge, Peterborough Mask Theatre, St. Neot's Players, and Sawston Catholic Players.		Stanley J. Kahrl, 'Medieval Drama in England, 1973: Chester and Ely', in <i>ROMRD</i> 15-16 (1972-3): 117-23.
<b>1975</b>	Canterbury	Chapter House	<i>The Lincoln Cycle</i>	B, M			Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. (Colwell: J Garnet Miller, 2001), 306.
<b>1976.12.?</b>	Lincoln	Nave	<i>Oberufer Christmas Plays</i>	B, M	Bishop Grossetese College	Keith Ramsey	Keith Ramsey, <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays, 1978-2000: A Personal Odyssey</i> (Lincoln: Nerone Books, 2008), 1-2.
<b>1978.06.3-24</b>	St. Alban's	Nave and Quire	<i>The Castle of Perseverance</i>	R, M		Howard Davies	John R. Elliott Jr., 'Census of Medieval Drama Productions', in <i>ROMRD</i> 21 (1978): 100-2.
<b>1978.06.03-24</b>	Southwark	Nave	<i>The Castle of Perseverance</i>	R, M		Howard Davies	John R. Elliott Jr., 'Census of Medieval Drama Productions', in <i>ROMRD</i> 21 (1978): 100-2.
<b>1978</b>	Lincoln	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i> (Marshall Rose, editor)	B, M	The Molecule Theatre, and The Mermaid Theatre.	Keith Ramsey	Keith Ramsey, <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays, 1978-2000: A Personal Odyssey</i> (Lincoln: Nerone Books, 2008), 2-5.
<b>1979.07.31 to 1979.08.18</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Coventry Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	Belgrade Theatre Company	Ed Thomas	Peter Happé, 'The Coventry Mystery Plays', in <i>ROMRD</i> 22 (1979): 139-41.
<b>1981.05.21-23</b>	Winchester	Nave	<i>Wisdom</i>	R, M	King Alfred's College Drama Department	John Marshall	Pater Happé, 'Wisdom', in <i>ROMRD</i> 24 (1981): 196-7.

<b>1982.05.27-29</b>	Winchester	North Transept, Nave, South Transept	<i>The Conversion of St. Paul</i>	B, M	King Alfred's College Drama Department	John Marshall	Peter Happé, 'The Conversion of St Paul', in <i>ROMRD</i> 25 (1982): 145-6.
<b>1983.05.26-29</b>	Winchester	Nave	<i>The Killing of the Children</i>	B, M	King Alfred's College Drama Department	John Marshall	Peter Happé, 'The Killing of the Children', in <i>ROMRD</i> 26 (1983): 119-20.
<b>1985.07.8-20</b>	Lincoln	Cloisters	<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Keith Ramsey	Alan J. Fletcher, 'Lincoln Mystery Plays', in <i>ROMRD</i> 28 (1985): 207-9.
<b>1986</b>	Canterbury	Nave, Crypt, Chapter House	<i>The Mysteries</i> (Kenneth Pickering)	B, M	Channel Theatre Company	Kevin Wood, Philip Dart	Kenneth Pickering, Kevin Wood and Philip Dart, <i>The Mysteries at Canterbury Cathedral</i> , Worthing: Churchman Publishing (1986); Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 310.
<b>1987</b>	Canterbury	Quire	<i>The Zeal of Thy House</i> (Dorothy L. Sayers)	R, H, C		Kenneth Pickering	Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 315.
<b>1988</b>	Birmingham <sup>781</sup>	Nave	<i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> (T.S. Eliot)	R, H, C			Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 322.
<b>1989</b>	Lincoln	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Keith Ramsey	Ramsey, <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays</i> , 41-2.
<b>1989</b>	Southwell	Nave	<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Keith Ramsey	Ramsey, <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays</i> , 41-2.
<b>1989</b>	Canterbury	Nave, Crypt, Chapter House <sup>782</sup>	<i>The Mysteries</i>	B, M			Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 322.
<b>1990</b>	Birmingham	Nave	<i>The Mysteries</i>	B, M			Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 322.
<b>1992</b>	Canterbury	Nave, Crypt, Chapter House <sup>783</sup>	<i>The Mysteries</i>	B, M			Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 319.

<sup>781</sup> Birmingham Cathedral's design allows for only one space to be used for performance. For this reason all productions in that cathedral are listed as happening in the nave.

<sup>782</sup> Pickering does not explicitly name these locations as the performance sites, however he strongly implies that the same areas used in the 1986 production were also used this year.

<b>1993.08.05-07</b>	Lincoln	Cloisters	<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Keith Ramsey	Michael O'Connell, 'Extracts from the <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays</i> ', in <i>ROMRD</i> 34 (1995): 183-6.
<b>1994</b>	Birmingham	Nave	<i>The Mysteries</i>	B, M			Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 319.
<b>1994 (?)</b>	Birmingham	Nave	<i>The Parting of Friends</i> (Kenneth Pickering)	P, H, C			Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 322.
<b>1995</b>	Canterbury	Nave, Crypt, Chapter House	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	Channel Theatre Company	Claudia Leaf, Phili Dart	Kenneth Pickering, <i>Drama in the Cathedral</i> , 321.
<b>1997.07.20 to 1997.08.02</b>	Birmingham	Nave	<i>The Midlands' Mysteries</i> (Kenneth Pickering, editor)	B, M		Kenneth Pickering	Victor I. Scherb, ' <i>The Midlands' Mysteries</i> ', in <i>ROMRD</i> 37 (1998): 113-5; Pickering, 321-2.
<b>1998.07.22-25</b>	Canterbury	Crypt	<i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> (T.S. Eliot)	R, H, C	The Festival Players (part of Group 81)	David Kemp and Lynne Watson	Bob Libby, 'Be Quick to Catch a Murder', in <i>The Lambeth Daily</i> 4 (22 July 1998): 3. Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, <i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> , souvenir programme (1998). CCA-38/30.
<b>2000.04.21-22</b>	Derby	Nave	<i>The Derby Medieval Mysteries</i>	B, M	The Derby Shakespeare Theatre Company and Derby Cathedral	Caroline Reader	Matthew Steggle, ' <i>The Derby Medieval Mysteries</i> ', in <i>ROMRD</i> 40 (2001): 202-3.
<b>2000.07.11-15</b>	Southwell		<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Keith Ramsey	Ramsey, <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays</i> , 60.
<b>2000.07.18-29</b>	Lincoln		<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M		Keith Ramsey	Ramsey, <i>Lincoln Mystery Plays</i> , 60.
<b>2000.06.22 to 2000.07.22</b>	York	Nave	<i>The York Millennium Mystery Plays</i> (Mike Poulton)	B, M		Gregory Doran	Barbara I. Gusick, 'A Review of the York Millennium Mystery Plays', in <i>ROMRD</i> 40 (2001): 111-31.

<sup>783</sup> Ibid.

<b>2004.03.09</b>	Leicester		<i>Richard III</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	University of Leicester, LUTheatre Group	Roger Scoppie and Stuart Tym	Leicester University Theatre, '2003/04 Production', from <a href="http://lutheatre3.blogspot.co.uk">http://lutheatre3.blogspot.co.uk</a> , accessed 19 September 2014.
<b>2004.09.08-25</b>	Chichester		<i>Dr. Faustus</i> (Christopher Marlowe)	R, EM	Chichester Festival Theatre with Chichester Cathedral	Martin Duncan, Edward Kemp, Stephen Pimlott, and Dale Brooks	Rob Conkie, ' <i>Doctor Faustus</i> ', in <i>ROMRD</i> 44 (2005): 128-31.
<b>2006.08.01</b>	Coventry (Old)	Nave	<i>The Mysteries</i>	B, M	Belgrade Theatre	Barry Kyle	Hickling, Alfred. 'The Mysteries'. From the <i>Guardian</i> (26 July 2006). <a href="http://www.theguardian.com">http://www.theguardian.com</a> , accessed 14 September 2015.
<b>2008.01.25-26</b>	Exeter	Nave	<i>Simeon's Quest</i> (David MacWatters)	B, C	Cathedral Players	Elizabeth Miller	BBC Devon, 'Simeon's Quest', from <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/devon">http://www.bbc.co.uk/devon</a> (7 January 2008), accessed 22 June 2016.
<b>2008</b>	Canterbury	Nave	<i>Dallas Sweetman</i> (Sebastian Barry)	P, H, C			Cavendish, Dominic. 'Review: Dallas Sweetman and Privates on Parade', from the <i>Telegraph</i> , 28 September 2008. From <a href="http://thetelegraph.co.uk">http://thetelegraph.co.uk</a> . Access 26 Feb 2015.
<b>2009.04.16-18</b>	Exeter	Nave	<i>Cross Purposes: A Passion Story</i> (David MacWatters)	B, C	Cathedral Players	Elizabeth Miller	This is Exeter, 'Original tale of death and resurrection, from <a href="http://www.exeterexpressandecho.co.uk">http://www.exeterexpressandecho.co.uk</a> , accessed 22 June 2009.
<b>2011.05.?</b>	Gloucester	Nave	<i>The Mysteries and The Passion</i>	B, M	Playbox Theatre Company	Mary King, Emily Jane Quash	Attended
<b>2012.06.14-16</b>	Exeter	Quire	<i>Murder in the Cathedral</i> (T.S. Eliot)	R, H	Cathedral Plays		Exeter Express and Echo, 'Get ready for a murder in the cathedral', from <a href="http://www.exeterexpressandecho.co.uk">http://www.exeterexpressandecho.co.uk</a> ,

accessed 22 June 2016.

<b>2012.07.10-21</b>	Lincoln	Cloisters, Bishop's Palace	<i>The Lincoln Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	The Lincoln Mystery Players	Attended	
<b>2012.10.24-27</b>	Worcester	Lady Chapel	<i>Macbeth</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	Worcester Repertory Company	Worcester Repertory Company, 'Macbeth at Worcester Cathedral', from <a href="http://www.facebook.com/WorcesterRep">http://www.facebook.com/WorcesterRep</a> , accessed 3 February 2015.	
<b>2013.10.15-18</b>	Worcester	Lady Chapel	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	Worcester Repertory Company	Freya Leng, 'The Merchant of Venice/Worcester Cathedral', in the <i>Worcester News</i> 16 October 2013, from <a href="http://www.worcesternews.co.uk">http://www.worcesternews.co.uk</a> , accessed 18 February 2016; Worcester Repertory Company, 'Production shots now in!', from <a href="http://www.facebook.com/WorcesterRep">http://www.facebook.com/WorcesterRep</a> , accessed 3 February 2015.	
<b>2013</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act One</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters	Catherine Jones, 'Meet the Creators of Liverpool Cathedral's Easter Celebration', in <i>The Liverpool Echo</i> (10 April 2014), from <a href="http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk">http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk</a> , accessed 24 April 2014.	
<b>2013</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Two</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters	Catherine Jones, 'Meet the Creators of Liverpool Cathedral's Easter Celebration', in <i>The Liverpool Echo</i> (10 April 2014), from <a href="http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk">http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk</a> , accessed 24 April 2014.	
<b>2013</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Three</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters	Catherine Jones, 'Meet the Creators of Liverpool Cathedral's Easter Celebration', in <i>The Liverpool Echo</i> (10 April 2014), from <a href="http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk">http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk</a> , accessed 24 April 2014.	
<b>2013.06.26 to 2013.07.13</b>	Chester	Nave	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	Chester Mystery Players	Peter Leslie Wild	Attended. Chester Mystery Plays, 'The Chester Mystery Plays: Spectacle & History, Miracles & Mystery, (2013). Souvenir Programme.

<b>2013.09.19-21</b>	Exeter		<i>Ring Round the Moon</i> (Christopher Fry)	P, C	Cathedral Players		Cathedral Players, 'Ring Round The Moon', from <a href="http://www.amdram.co.uk">http://www.amdram.co.uk</a> , accessed 22 June 2016.
<b>2013.10.11-12</b>	Liverpool	Nave	<i>The Chester Mystery Plays</i>	B, M	Chester Mystery Players		Attended
<b>2014.03.18-19</b>	Canterbury	Crypt	<i>The Massacre at Paris</i> (Christopher Marlowe)	P, H, EM	Fourth Monkey with Marlowe Theatre	Paul Allain, Andrew Dawson	Attended <sup>784</sup>
<b>2014.04.03-05</b>	Liverpool	Lady Chapel	<i>Othello</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	Off The Ground Theatre (Youth)		Attended
<b>2014.04.13</b>	Ely		Passion: A Contemporary Journey to the Cross (Malcolm Guite)	B, C	Claire Henderson Davies	Clarie Henderson Davies	Claire Henderson Davis, from <a href="http://www.passiontour.org">http://www.passiontour.org</a> , accessed 1 April 2015.
<b>2014.04.14</b>	Liverpool	Nave	<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act One</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Undercrofters		Attended. Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop, <i>This is Our Story: The Liverpool Passion Plays, Whom Do You Seek?</i> (Liverpool Cathedral, 2013). Unpublished typed manuscript.
<b>2014.04.15</b>	Liverpool	Nave, Crossing, Quire	<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Two</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Undercrofters		Attended. Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop, <i>This is Our Story: The Liverpool Passion Plays, Whom Do You Seek?</i> (Liverpool Cathedral, 2013). Unpublished typed manuscript.
<b>2014.04.16</b>	Liverpool	Nave, Crossing, Quire	<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Three</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Undercrofters		Attended. Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop, <i>This is Our Story: The Liverpool Passion Plays, Whom Do You Seek?</i> (Liverpool Cathedral, 2013). Unpublished typed manuscript.
<b>2014.04.19</b>	Liverpool	Nave	<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Four</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Undercrofters		Attended. Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop, <i>This is Our Story: The Liverpool Passion Plays, Whom Do You Seek?</i> (Liverpool Cathedral, 2013). Unpublished typed manuscript.

<sup>784</sup> I was able to attend both rehearsals and performances of *The Massacre at Paris* (2014).

<b>2014.04.14-19</b>	Birmingham	Nave	<i>A Passion for Birmingham</i> (Tim Jeffries)	B, C	The Old Joint Stock Theatre Company	Tracy Street	Paul Marston, 'Review: <i>A Passion for Birmingham</i> by the Old Joint Stock Theatre Company', from <a href="http://www.birminghammail.co.uk">http://www.birminghammail.co.uk</a> (16 April 2014), accessed 29 April 2014.
<b>2014.04.?</b>	Leicester		<i>Richard III</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	University of Leicester, LUTheatre Group	Roger Scoppie	Leicester Cathedral, 'Richard III to be Staged in Leicester Cathedral', from <a href="http://www.leicestercathedral.org">http://www.leicestercathedral.org</a> , accessed 19 September 2014.
<b>2014.07.03-05</b>	Hereford	Chapter House <sup>785</sup>	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	Worcester Repertory Company	Chris Jaegar	Hereford cathedral, 'Shakespeare in the Chapter House Garden', from <a href="http://www.herefordcathedral.org">http://www.herefordcathedral.org</a> . Accessed 16 May 2016.
<b>2014.10.14-16</b>	Hereford	Lady Chapel	<i>Julius Caesar</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	Worcester Repertory Company	Chris Jaegar	Shakespeare at the Cathedral', from <a href="http://www.herefordcathedral.org">http://www.herefordcathedral.org</a> , accessed 3 October 2014.
<b>2014.10.22-25</b>	Worcester	Lady Chapel	<i>Julius Caesar</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	Worcester Repertory Company	Chris Jaegar	Attended
<b>2015.03.?</b>	Exeter	Chapter House	<i>Henry VIII</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	University of Exeter, Drama Department	David Wiles	University of Exeter, 'Drama: Research News', from <a href="http://www.humanities.exeter.ac.uk">http://www.humanities.exeter.ac.uk</a> , accessed 29 September 2016.
<b>2015.03.24 to 2015.04.03</b>	Birmingham	Nave	<i>A Passion for Birmingham</i>	B, C	Old Joint Stock Theatre	Tracey Street	UK Theatre Web, 'A Passion for Birmingham, T0662821979', from <a href="http://www.uktw.co.uk">http://www.uktw.co.uk</a> , accessed 28 February 2016.
<b>2015.03.25</b>	Exeter	Chapter House	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	The HandleBards	James Farrell	Eventful, 'Exeter Cathedral - The HandleBards: The Comedy of Errors in Exeter', from <a href="http://www.eventful.com">http://www.eventful.com</a> , accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards, "'For With Long Travel I Am Stiff and Weary'", from <a href="http://www.handlebards.com">http://www.handlebards.com</a> , accessed 22 June 2016.

<sup>785</sup> The chapter house at Hereford is a ruin in the centre of an enclosed garden on the site of the former building. As it is still enclosed by the walls of the building and is considered part of the cathedral it is included in this study.

<b>2015.03.26</b>	Exeter	Chapter House	<i>Macbeth</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	The HandleBards	James Farrell	Eventful, 'Exeter Cathedral - The HandleBards: Macbeth in Exeter', from <a href="http://www.eventful.com">http://www.eventful.com</a> , accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards "By the pricking of my thumbs, something wicked this way comes", from <a href="http://www.handlebards.com">http://www.handlebards.com</a> , accessed 22 June 2016.
<b>2015.03.30</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act One</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters		Passion Trust, 'Liverpool', from <a href="http://www.passion-plays.co.uk">http://www.passion-plays.co.uk</a> , accessed 18 February 2016.
<b>2015.03.31</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Two</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters		Passion Trust, 'Liverpool', from <a href="http://www.passion-plays.co.uk">http://www.passion-plays.co.uk</a> , accessed 18 February 2016.
<b>2015.04.01</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Three</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters		Passion Trust, 'Liverpool', from <a href="http://www.passion-plays.co.uk">http://www.passion-plays.co.uk</a> , accessed 18 February 2016.
<b>2015.04.04</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Four</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters		Passion Trust, 'Liverpool', from <a href="http://www.passion-plays.co.uk">http://www.passion-plays.co.uk</a> , accessed 18 February 2016.
<b>2015.05.09</b>	Liverpool		<i>The Liverpool Passion Plays: Act Five</i> (Mark Lovelady and Daniel Bishop)	B, C	The Overcrofters		Passion Trust, 'Liverpool', from <a href="http://www.passion-plays.co.uk">http://www.passion-plays.co.uk</a> , accessed 18 February 2016.
<b>2015.05.27-30</b>	Salisbury	Nave	<i>King John</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, H, EM	Shakespeare's Globe	James Dacre	Salisbury Cathedral, 'Salisbury International Arts Festival', from <a href="http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk">http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk</a> , accessed 16 May 2016; Matthew Stadlen, 'Salisbury International Arts Festival 2015 Diary: Day 4', in the <i>Telegraph</i> , from <a href="http://www.telegraph.co.uk">http://www.telegraph.co.uk</a> , accessed 16 May 2016.

<b>2015.10.20-24</b>	Worcester	Quire	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	Worcester Repertory Company	Chris Jaegar	Attended. Worcester Repertory Company, <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (2013). Souvenir Programme.
<b>2015.11.09 and 2015.11.11</b>	Exeter	Chapter House	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	The HandleBards	James Farrell	Exeter Daily, 'HandleBards: Hamlet and A Midsummer Nights Dream', from <a href="http://www.theexeterdaily.co.uk">http://www.theexeterdaily.co.uk</a> , accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards, "'I'll put a girdle around the world in forty minutes'", from <a href="http://www.handlebards.com">http://www.handlebards.com</a> , accessed 22 June 2016.
<b>2015.11.10</b>	Exeter	Chapter House	<i>Hamlet</i> (William Shakespeare)	P, EM	HandleBards	Emma Sampson	Exeter Daily, 'HandleBards: Hamlet and A Midsummer Nights Dream', from <a href="http://www.theexeterdaily.co.uk">http://www.theexeterdaily.co.uk</a> , accessed 22 June 2016; The Handlebards, "'Though this be madness, yet there is method in't'", from <a href="http://www.handlebards.com">http://www.handlebards.com</a> , accessed 22 June 2016.

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<sup>789</sup> The file of correspondences between Margaret Babington and Dorothy L. Sayers held at Canterbury Cathedral Archive is titled 'Correspondence' and catalogued U167/58 and does not contain individually catalogued items within the file, which is common in other files in the archive. For this reason letters in the file are listed individually.

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<sup>791</sup> Many of the cuttings lack some source information (i.e. page number, title, periodical name, *et cetera*), which is reflected in the citation information.

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