In the Footsteps of the Holy: Sacred Landscapes and the Cult of Saints in the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1220

Volume 2 of 2: Images, Maps, and Figures

Ross T. McIntire

PhD

University of York

Centre for Medieval Studies

September

TABLE OF FIGURES

Volume 2 Page

Fig. 3.1: Coldingham Priory and the site of the former oratory on Kirk Hill. 7
Fig. 3.2: Kirk Hill from the southwest 7
Fig. 3.3: The site of St Æbbe's Oratory, Kirk Hill. 8
Fig. 4.1: A '*leacht*' on the western boundary of the Lower Lake monastic complex, Glendalough 9
Fig. 4.2: Glendalough Valley and St Kevin's Monastery. 9
Fig. 4.3: St Saviour's Priory, Glendalough 10
Fig. 4.4: South chancel window, Trinity Church, Glendalough 10
Fig. 4.5: The chancel arch of Trinity Church, Glendalough 10
Fig. 4.6: St Kevin's Church from the south, with the chapel of St Ciarán in the foreground. 11
Fig. 4.7: The monastic 'core' of Glendalough 12
Fig. 4.8: Beranger's sketch of the 'Priest's House' 'tympaneum' 13
Fig. 4.9: South door lintel, the 'Priest's House,' Glendalough. 13
Fig. 4.10: The head of a doorway reused in the western entrance to St Kevin's Church 14
Fig. 4.11: 'St Kevin's Cell,' Glendalough. 15
Fig. 4.12: View of 'St Kevin's Bed' and Temple-na-Skellig 15
Fig. 4.13: 'St Kevin's Bed' 16
Fig. 4.14: Temple-Na-Skellig, 16
Fig. 4.15: Map of Station Island, Lough Derg by James Ware 17
Fig. 4.16: Station Island, Lough Derg 18
Fig. 4.17: Satellite imagery of Lough Derg 18
Fig. 4.18: Innishmurray, Cashel and nearby ecclesiastical sites 19
Fig. 4.19: Teach Molaise, Inishmurray 20
Fig. 4.20: Templemolaise, Inishmurray 20
Fig. 4.21: The Inishmurray 'Purgatory' 21
Fig. 4.22: Inishmurray pilgrimage sites 22
Fig. 4.23: The cemetery of Relickoran, Innishmurray 23
Fig. 4.24: The early-medieval cross-inscribed pillar at Relickoran 23
Fig. 4.25: Edward Ledwich's drawing of Monaincha, *c.*1799 24
Fig. 4.26: Satellite Imagery of Monaincha 25
Fig. 4.27: Monaincha island chapel. 25
Fig. 4.28: West portal of the monastic church at Monaincha 26
Fig. 4.29: The 'Saint's Road,' Dingle Peninsula 27
Fig. 4.30: Cross-Inscribed Stone, Kilcolman 28
Fig. 4.31: Gallarus Oratory 28

Fig. 4.32: Kilmalkedar Church 29
Fig. 4.33: St Brendan's Oratory 30
Fig. 4.34: Templemanaghan 30
Fig. 4.35: The monastic enclosure of Kilfountain 31
Fig. 4.36: The Columban 'itinerary' of the 'Irish Life of Colum Cille' 32
Fig. 4.37: The *Turas* stations of Glencolumbkille 33
Fig. 4.38: *Turas* Stations (1) and (2), Glencolumbkille 34
Fig. 4.39: *Turas* Station (12), known as the 'Townland of the Demons,' Glencolumbkille 34
Fig. 4.40: Turas Station (5), the chapel of Colum Cille, Glencolumbkille 35
Fig. 5.1: The major cult sites of St David in southern Wales. 36
Fig. 5.2: The medieval peninsula of St Davids and its sacred sites. 37
Fig. 5.3: Parc y Capel, Whitesands Bay 38
Fig. 5.4: Excavated plan of St Patrick's Chapel 39
Fig. 5.5: Excavated east end of St Patrick's Chapel 39
Fig. 5.6: Overhead view of 2016 excavation of St Patrick's Chapel 40
Fig. 5.7: 2016 excavation section of St Patrick's Chapel 41
Fig. 5.8: Excavated plan of St Justinian's Chapel 42
Fig. 5.9: Excavation photo of the east end of St Justinian's Chapel 42
Fig. 5.10: Burial in the northeast corner of St Justinian's Chapel 42
Fig. 5.11: Enclosure of St Non's Chapel 43
Fig. 5.12: Ruins of St Non's Chapel 43
Fig. 5.13: Porth Clais Harbour 44
Fig. 5.14: Ramsey Island (Ynys Dewi) 44
Fig. 6.1: Possible site of the Cloister Shrine, Durham Cathedral 45
Fig. 6.2: East cloister portal, Durham Cathedral 45
Fig. 6.3: Eastern pier of the south transept, Durham Cathedral 46
Fig. 6.4: Suggested plan of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral based on St John Hope 47
Fig. 6.5: The 'loca sancta' of Holy Island, Lindisfarne 48
Fig. 6.6: The 'hanging rib' between the north-west and south-east piers of the crossing tower 49
Fig. 6.7: The west front of Lindisfarne Priory church 49
Fig. 6.8: Nave pier of Lindisfarne Priory church with chevron decoration 50
Fig. 6.9: Nave pier of Durham Cathedral with chevron decoration 50
Fig. 6.10: 'Pilgrim's Door,' Lindisfarne Priory church, Interior 51
Fig. 6.11: 'Pilgrims Door' of Lindisfarne Priory church, Exterior 51
Fig. 6.12: St Mary's Church and Lindisfarne Priory church 52
Fig. 6.13: The west face of the chancel arch, St Mary's Church, Lindisfarne 52
Fig. 6.14: The join between the northeast corner of the original nave and the later north aisle 53
Fig. 6.15: The Heugh, earthwork and resistivity surveys. 53
Fig. 6.16: Aerial photograph of the Heugh Chapel 54

Fig. 6.17: The 'Chapel of the Lamp' on Lindisfarne Heugh 55
Fig. 6.18: Aerial view of the excavated 'Chapel of the Lamp 55
Fig. 6.19: Ruins of St Cuthbert-by-the-Sea on St Cuthbert's Isle, from the east 56
Fig. 6.20: Earthworks and standing remains on St Cuthbert's Island 56
Fig. 6.21: View from the northwest of the T-shaped chapel/guesthouse on St Cuthbert's Island 57
Fig. 6.22: The Lindisfarne seascape 58
Fig. 6.23: St Cuthbert's Chapel on Farne Island 59
Fig. 6.24: View of Inner Farne from the southwest 60
Fig. 6.25: The buildings of Inner Farne 61
Fig. 6.26: John Speed's map of Farne Island 62
Fig. 6.27: S.H. Grimm's late eighteenth century drawing of the ruins of St Cuthbert's Chapel, Tughall 62
Fig. 6.28: Building of Cuthbert's cell, *Life of St Cuthbert*, Oxford, University College, MS 165. 63
Fig. 6.29: Building of Cuthbert's cell, *Life of St Cuthbert*, British Library Yates Thompson 26 (f. 39) 63
Fig. 6.30: The "wanderings" of St Cuthbert 64
Fig. 6.31: Plan of SS Mary and Cuthbert's Church, Chester-le-Street 65
Fig. 6.32: The nave of SS Mary and St Cuthbert's Church at Chester-le-Street 65
Fig. 6.33: Grimm's 1786 sketch of St Cuthbert's Church at Tughall 66
Fig. 6.34: St Paul's Church in Jarrow, multi-period tower with Anglo-Saxon chancel to the west 67
Fig. 6.35: Plan of St Paul's Jarrow, with two Anglo-Saxon period churches joined by a later tower 67
Fig. 6.36: The 'Saxon' doorway in the west wall of the monastic complex at St Paul's Jarrow 68
Fig. 6.37: The Romanesque doorway in the west wall of the monastic complex at St Paul's Jarrow 68
Fig. 6.38: The western tower of St Peter's Church, Wearmouth 69
Fig. 6.39: Southeast pier of the lost chancel arch, possibly eleventh-century 70
Fig. 6.40: Satellite view of Old Melrose overlain by modern OS map 71
Fig. 6.41: Approximate Site of St Cuthbert's Chapel, Old Melrose 71
Fig. 7.1: The elevation and topography of Glastonbury promontory 72
Fig. 7.2: Glastonbury and its environs, showing the 'old' and 'new' courses of the River Brue 73
Fig. 7.3: The 'islands' of the Twelve Hides in their medieval topographical context 74
Fig. 7.4: Relief sculpture from the north portal of the Lady Chapel 75
Fig. 7.5: The Lady Chapel, Glastonbury Abbey 76
Fig. 7.6: Detail, Lady Chapel blind arcading, south interior wall 77
Fig. 7.7: Detail, window, south wall of Lady Chapel 77
Fig. 7.8: Detail, NE crossing pier of abbey church 78
Fig. 7.9: Looking NE from the summit of the Tor 79
Fig. 7.10: 10c or 11c wheel-head cross fragment from Glastonbury Tor 80
Fig. 7.11: Late-Saxon archaeology on the summit of Glastonbury Tor 80
Fig. 7.12: Relief sculpture of Brigid, Glastonbury Tor 81
Fig. 7.13: Sacred Sites of Glastonbury Town 82
Fig. 7.14: Glastonbury's Sacred Landscape 83

Fig. 7.15: The sloping hill of the 'island' of Beckery 84
Fig. 7.16: Excavated remains of Chapel II, Beckery 85
Fig. 7.17*:* The fourteenth-century manorial complex of Meare 86
Fig. 7.18: The island of Godney 86
Fig. 7.19: Panborough hill 87
Fig. 7.20: Nyland Hill (formerly known as Andrewsey) 87

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References in Volume 1 or in the image captions.

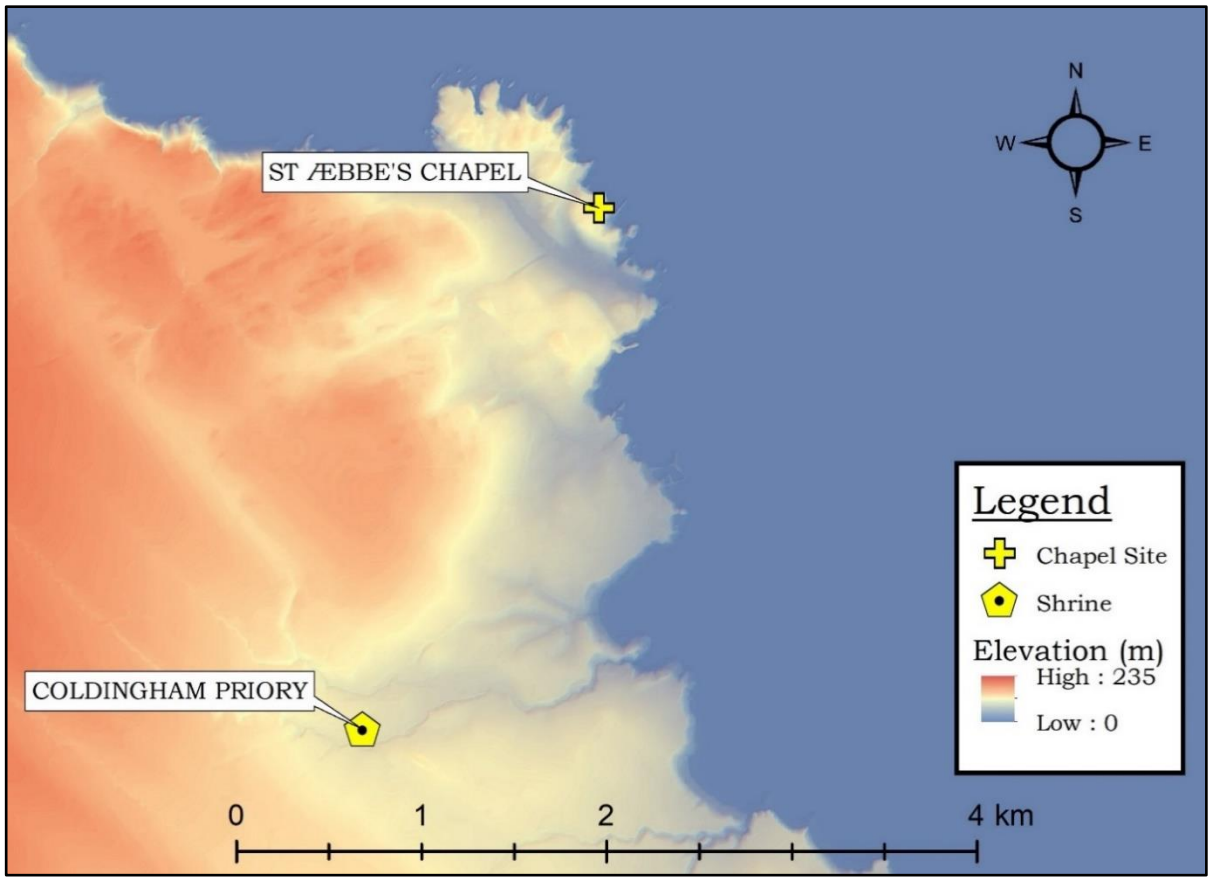

***Figure 3.1**: Coldingham Priory and the site of the former oratory on Kirk Hill. (Created with ArcMap)*

***Figure 3.2**: Kirk Hill from the southwest. The oratory is on the seaward side. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 3.3**: the site of St Æbbe's Oratory, Kirk Hill. The earthworks marking the site of the oratory are contained within a sub-rectangular enclosure on the east si of the hill. (Photo by RCAHMS Aerial Photography, http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1237351).*

Figure 4.1*: a* 'leacht' *on the western boundary of the Lower Lake monastic complex, Glendalough (Co. Wicklow). Recent investigation showed that it was more likely to belong a period of creative 'restoration' from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

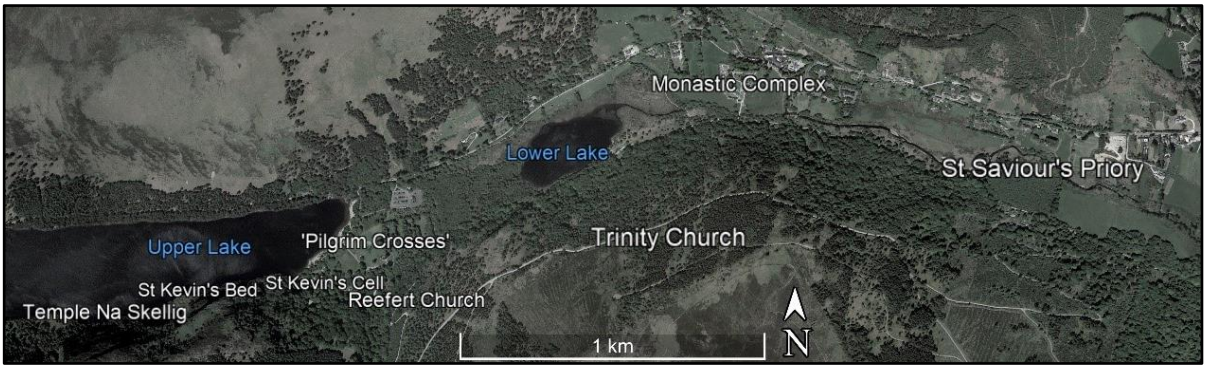

Figure 4.2*: Glendalough Valley and St Kevin's Monastery. (Google Earth) The sacred topography of the valley can be broken up into two main groupings around the Upper and Lower Lakes.*

***Figure 4.3**: St Saviour's Priory, Glendalough. While the church has been heavily reconstructed, the original architectural decoration displays the wealth of this small foundation. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

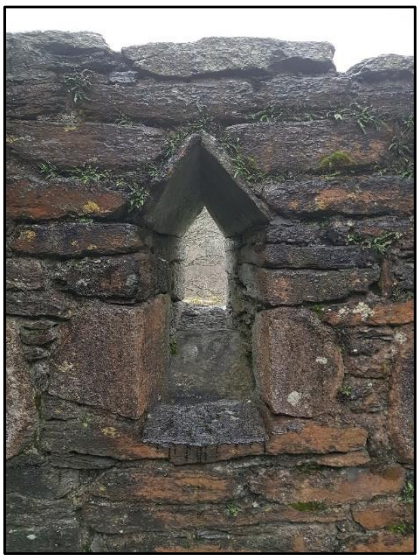

***Figure 4.4**: South chancel window, Trinity Church, Glendalough. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.5**: the chancel arch of Trinity Church, Glendalough. Despite its liturgical significance, the building is sparsely decorated. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.6**: St Kevin's Church (c.1100) from the south, with the chapel of St Ciaran in the foreground. Furthest from the gate into the precinct, as potentially both the site of the final stage of St Kevin's ascetic career and the place of his death and burial, this would have been Glendalough's* sancta sanctorum*, rather than the nearby cathedral as might be expected. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

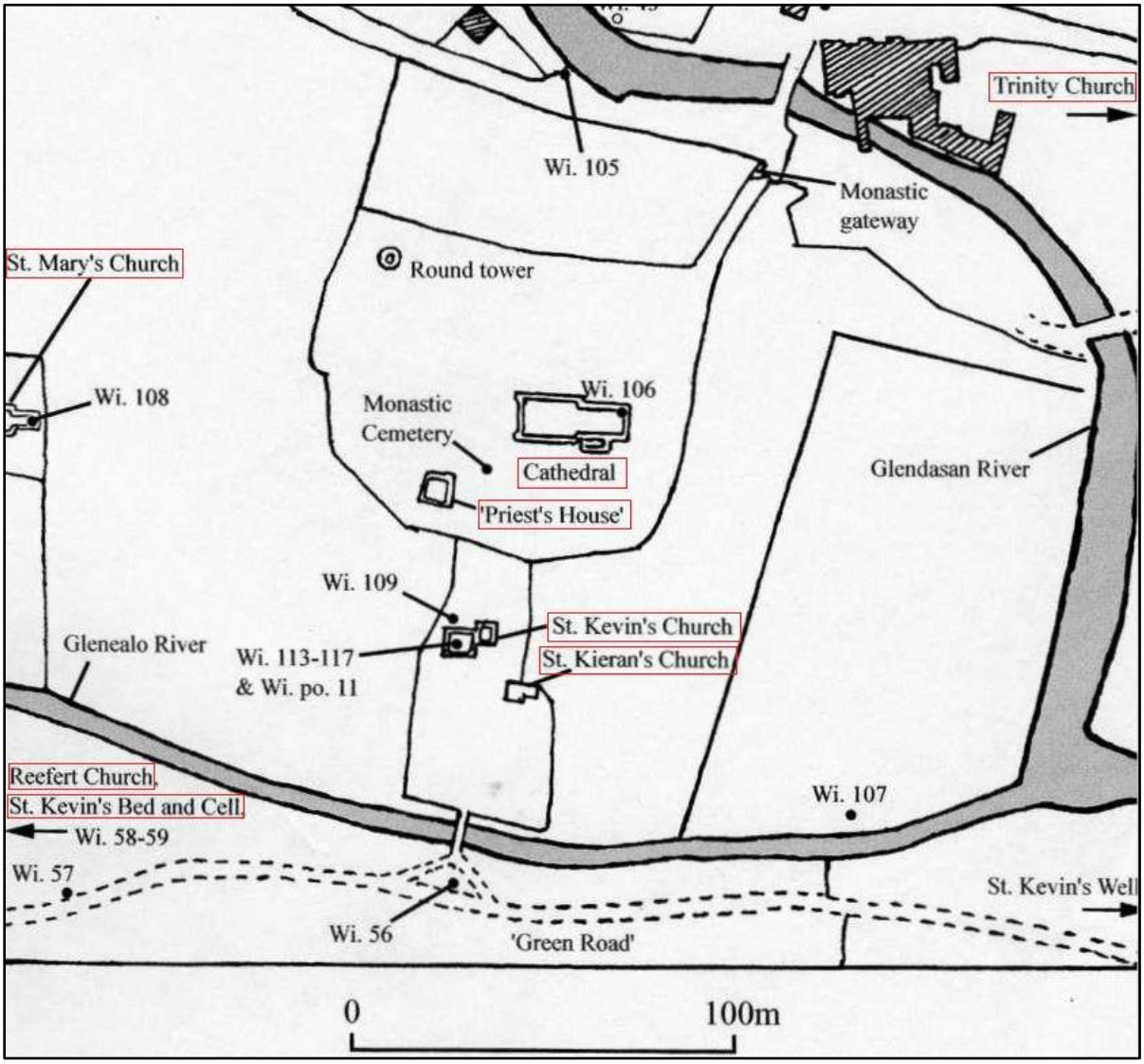

***Figure 4.7**: The monastic 'core' of Glendalough, including the location of bullaun stones. Major buildings discussed in this chapter are highlighted in red. (Reproduced from McGuinness, "Bullaun Stones and Early Medieval Pilgrimage at Glendalough," fig, b)*

Figure 4.8: *Beranger's Sketch of 1779. The stone was moved to its current location during the OPW restoration, and like the eastern blind arcade it may have come from another building. Tympanea are, however, rare in Irish contexts, and alternative sources, such as the base of a standing cross or shrine tomb are considered more likely. (Reproduced from Harbison,* Pilgrimage in Ireland*: 273)*

Figure. 4.9*: South door lintel, the Priest's House, Glendalough. (Photo by Roger Stalley,* [*http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/2456/*](http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/2456/)*)*

***Figure 4.10**: The head of a doorway reused in the western entrance to St Kevin's Church. Ó Carragáin argues that this is evidence of a previous stone building on the site, which makes it unique (with the exception of the cathedral) and strengthens the case for it as Kevin's shrine church. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.11**: 'St Kevin's Cell,' Glendalough. While the identification of the feature as the remains of a 'beehive'-type cell is plausible, no dating evidence has yet been discovered to support an early date. Nonetheless, it would have been a noticeable feature in the landscape to any visitor, particularly given its proximity to Reefert Church. (Photo by Ross McIntire).*

***Figure 4.12**: View of 'St Kevin's Bed' (L) and Temple-na-Skellig (R), southern shore of the Upper Lake, Glendalough [photo taken from the north shore]. See Figs. 4.13 and 4.14, below. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.13**: St Kevin's Bed, a probable prehistoric mine or possible Bronze Age burial chamber. It may have been used as an ascetic retreat by Kevin during his seven years at the Upper Lake and later by Bishop Lawrence O'Toole (b. 1128). As with nearby Temple-na-Skellig, it is accessible only by boat. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.14**: Temple-Na-Skellig, photographed from the north shore of the Upper Lake. On the basis of the heavily rebuilt eastern window, it is eleventh century in date, making it one of the oldest stone buildings at Glendalough. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

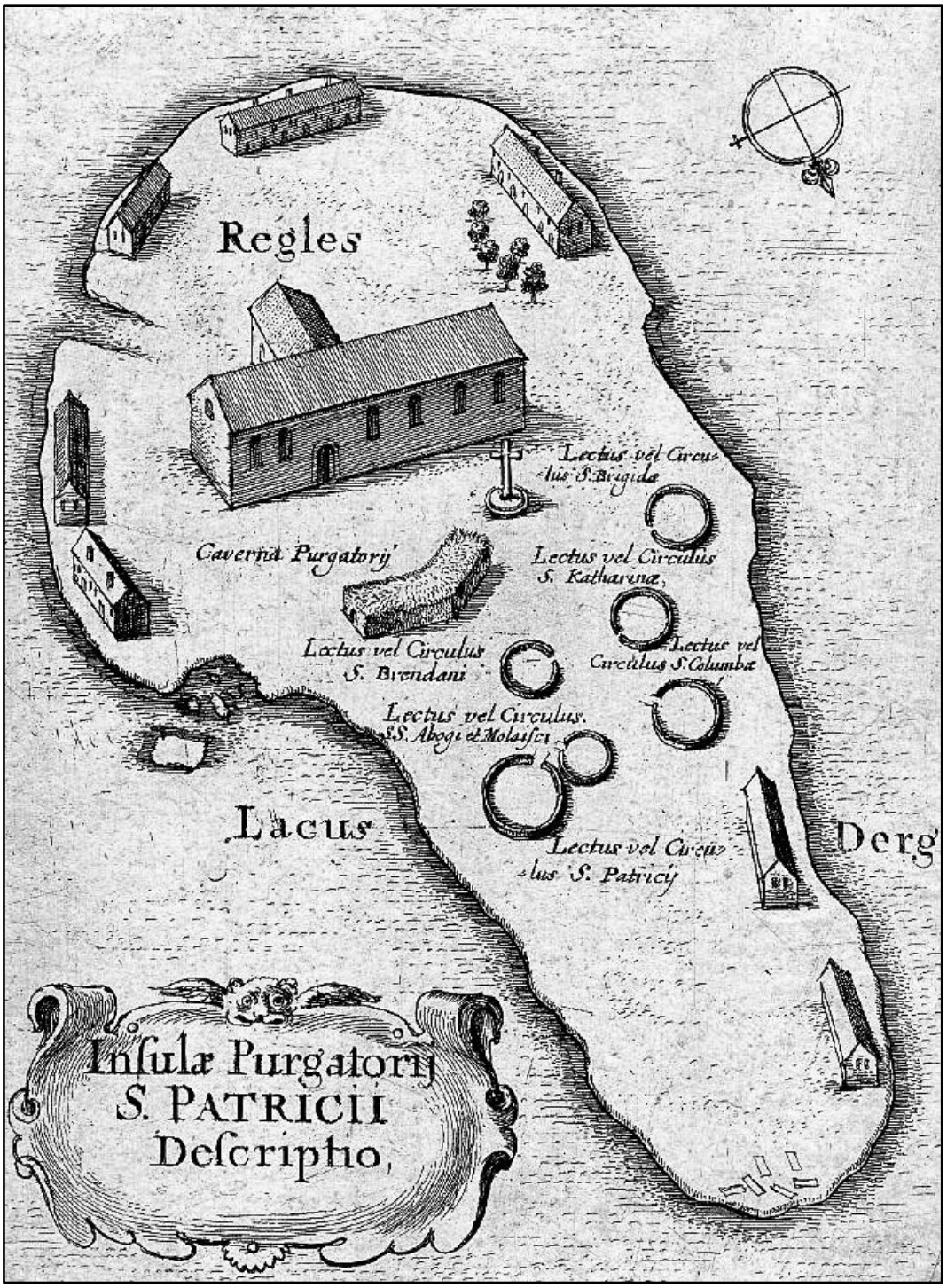

Figure 4.15*: Map of Station Island, Lough Derg. James Ware,* De Hibernia & Antiquitabus ejus, Disquisitiones *(London: 1654). The Purgatory is depicted as an above-ground structure, but its form seems to have changed significantly over the course of the medieval period.*

Figure 4.16*: Station Island, Lough Derg. The ninth-century cross shaft is in the foreground, with each of the black crosses marking the site of a saint's 'bed'. The mound behind the 'beds' is the traditional site of the Purgatory. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

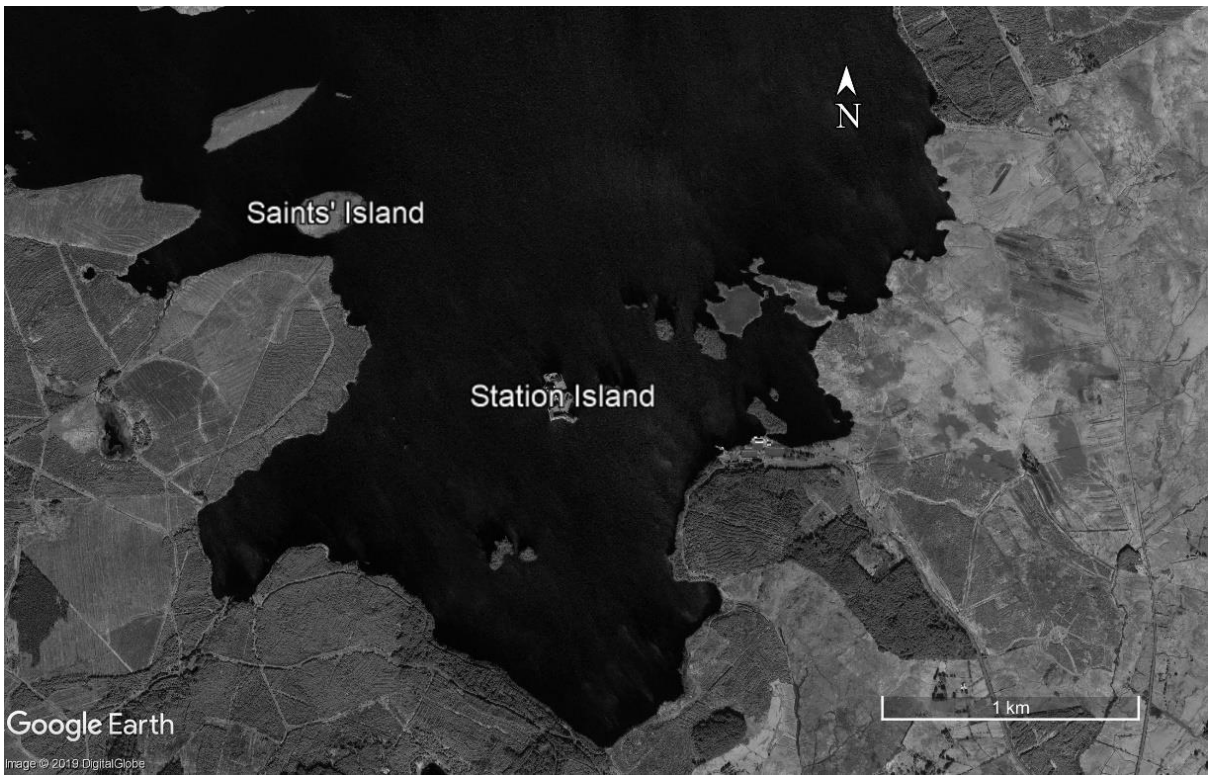

Figure 4.17*: Lough Derg, Co. Donegal (Google Earth)*

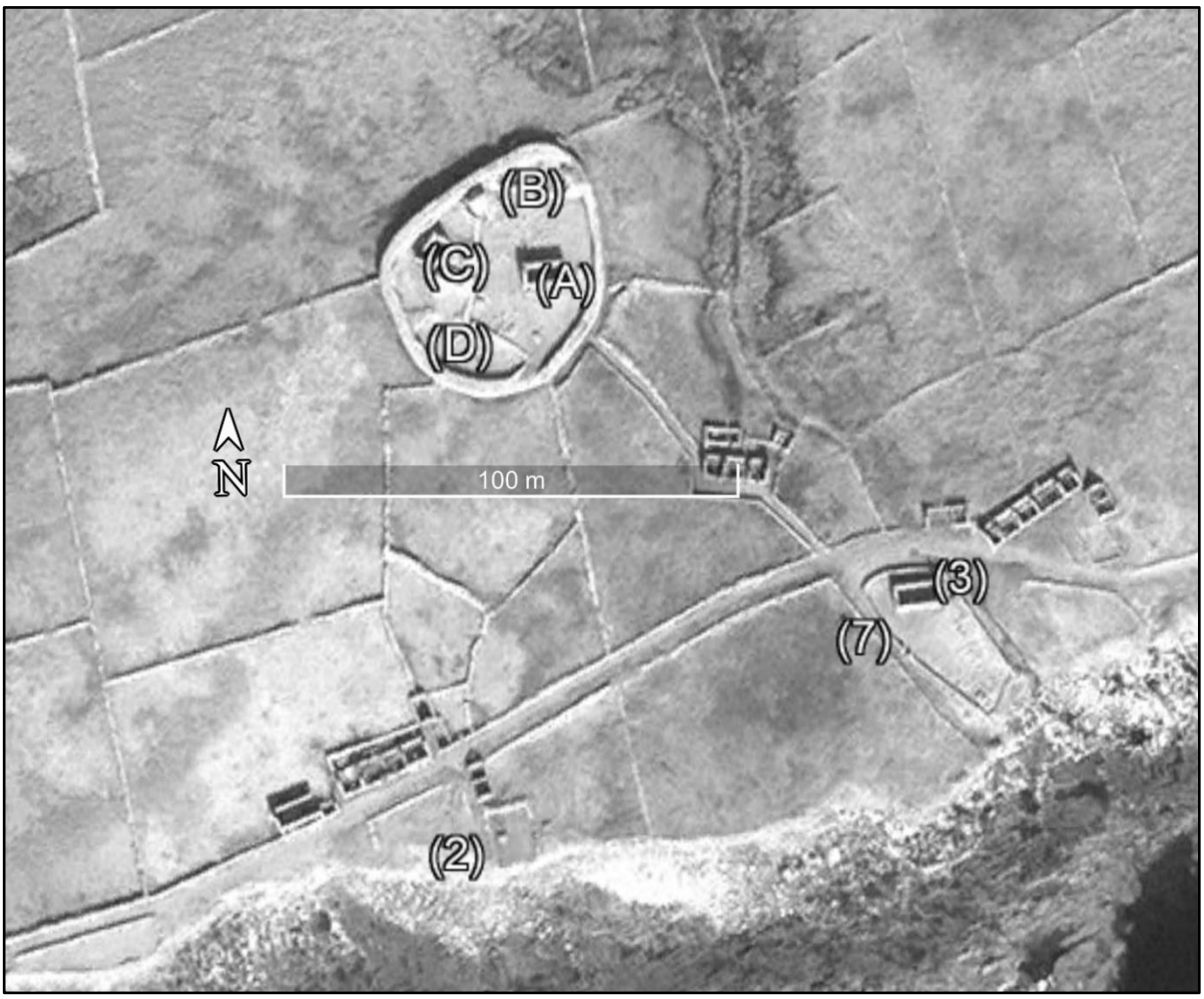

***Figure 4.18**: Innishmurray: the Cashel and nearby ecclesiastical sites. (Google Earth)*

Legend

(A) *Teampall Molaise* (B) *Teach Molaise* (C) *Teac na Taine* (D) *Clocha Breaca*
(2) *Relickoran* (3) *Templenaman* (7) *Crossatemple*

***Figure 4.19**: Teach Molaise, Inishmurray. (Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin*, Innishmurray)

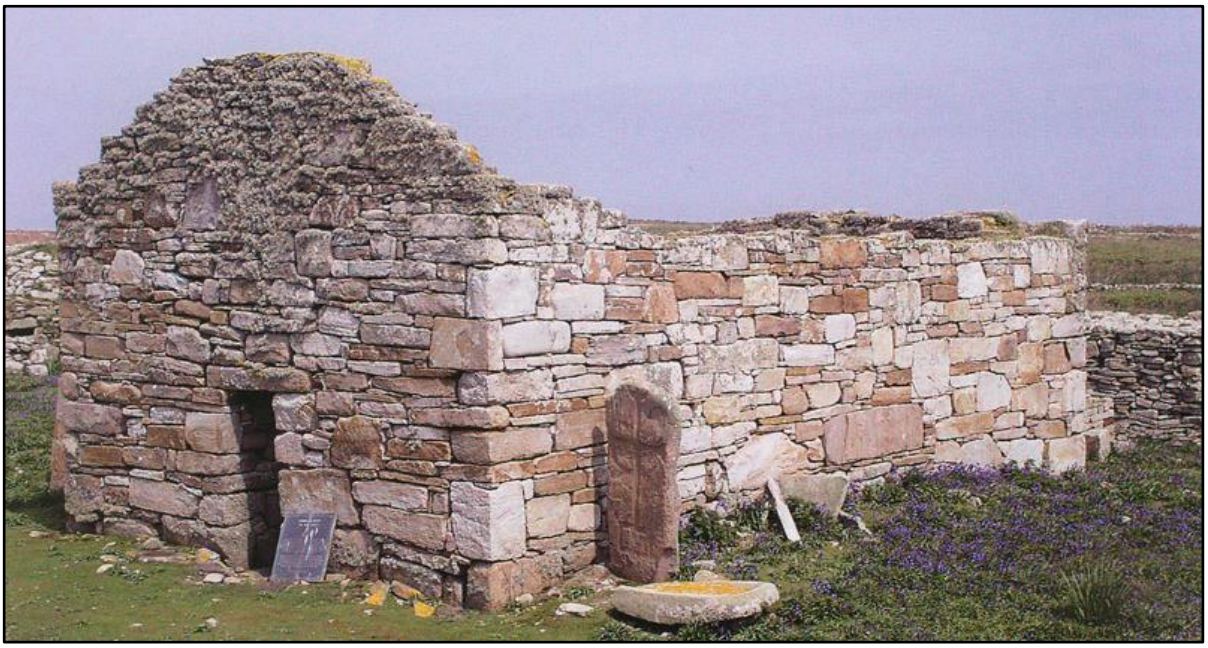

***Figure 4.20**: Templemolaise, Innishmurray. (Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin*, Innishmurray)

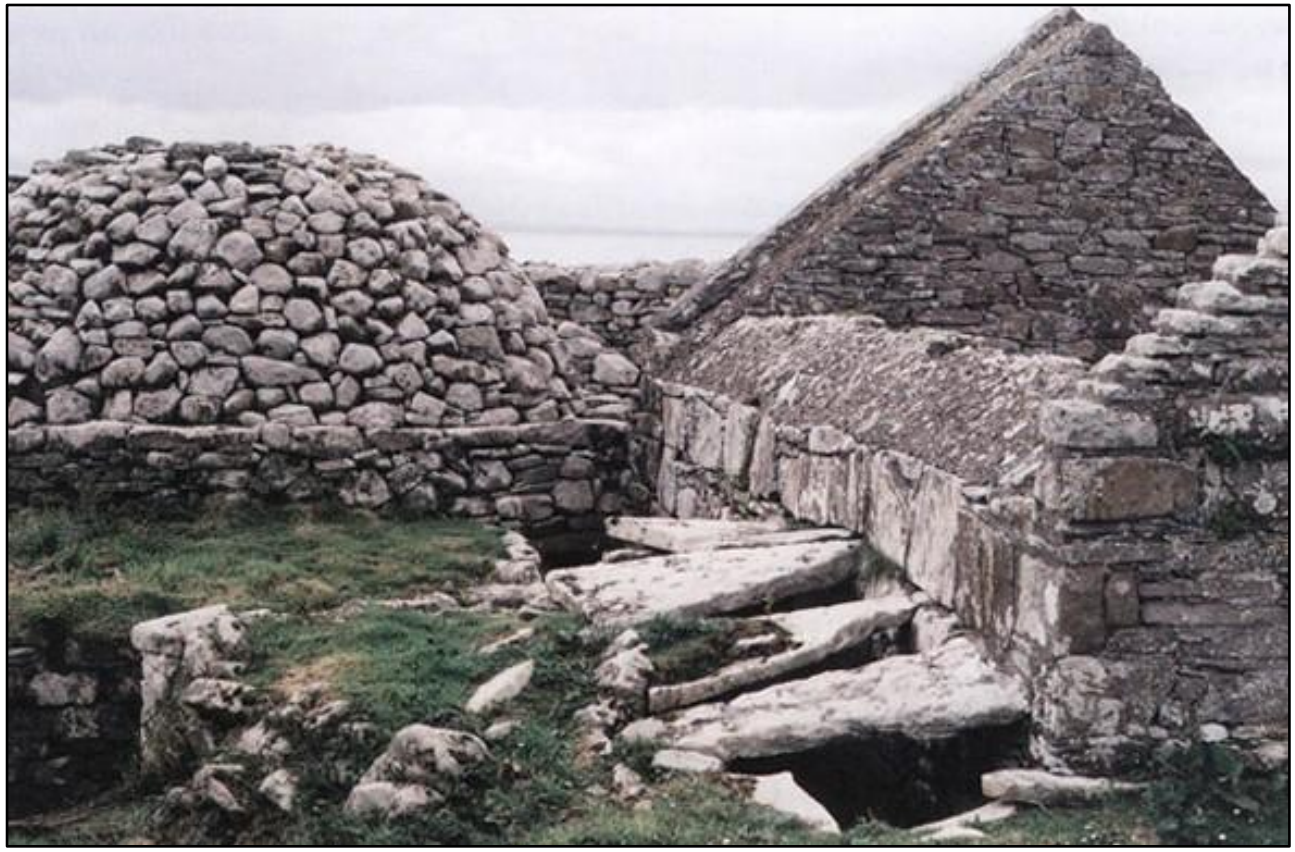

***Figure 4.21**: The Inishmurray 'Purgatory': a linteled above-ground passage against the south wall of Templenattiny, looking west. One of the surviving clochan huts is on the left. (Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin*, Innishmurray*)*

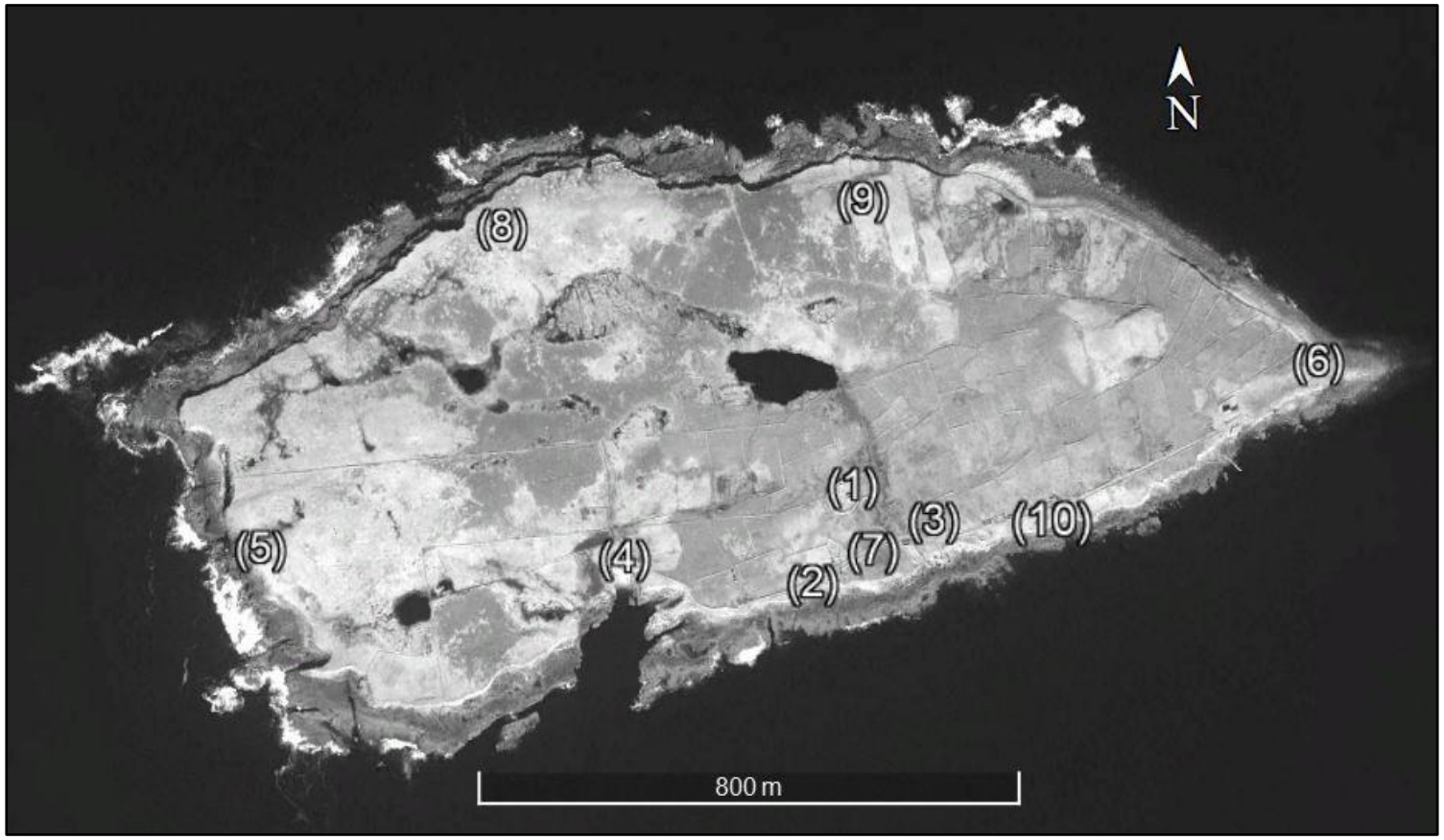

Figure 4.22: Inishmurray pilgrimage sites. (Google Earth)

Legend

(1) The Cashel (2) *Relickoran* (3) *Templenaman* (4) *Ollamurray* (5) *Trahanareear* (6) *Laghta Patrick* (7) *Crossatemple* (8) *Crossmore* (9) *Tobernacoragh* (10) *Treenode bed/more*

Figure 4.23*: Relickoran, one of the earlier satellite cemeteries of Inishmurray, associated with the Ionan saint Odran, with its cross-inscribed stone in the upper left corner. The stone enclosure is a later feature, and the site may originally have lacked a proper* leacht. *(Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin,* Innishmurray*)*

Figure 4.24*: the early-medieval cross-inscribed pillar at Relickoran, Inishmurray (Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin,* Innishmurray*)*

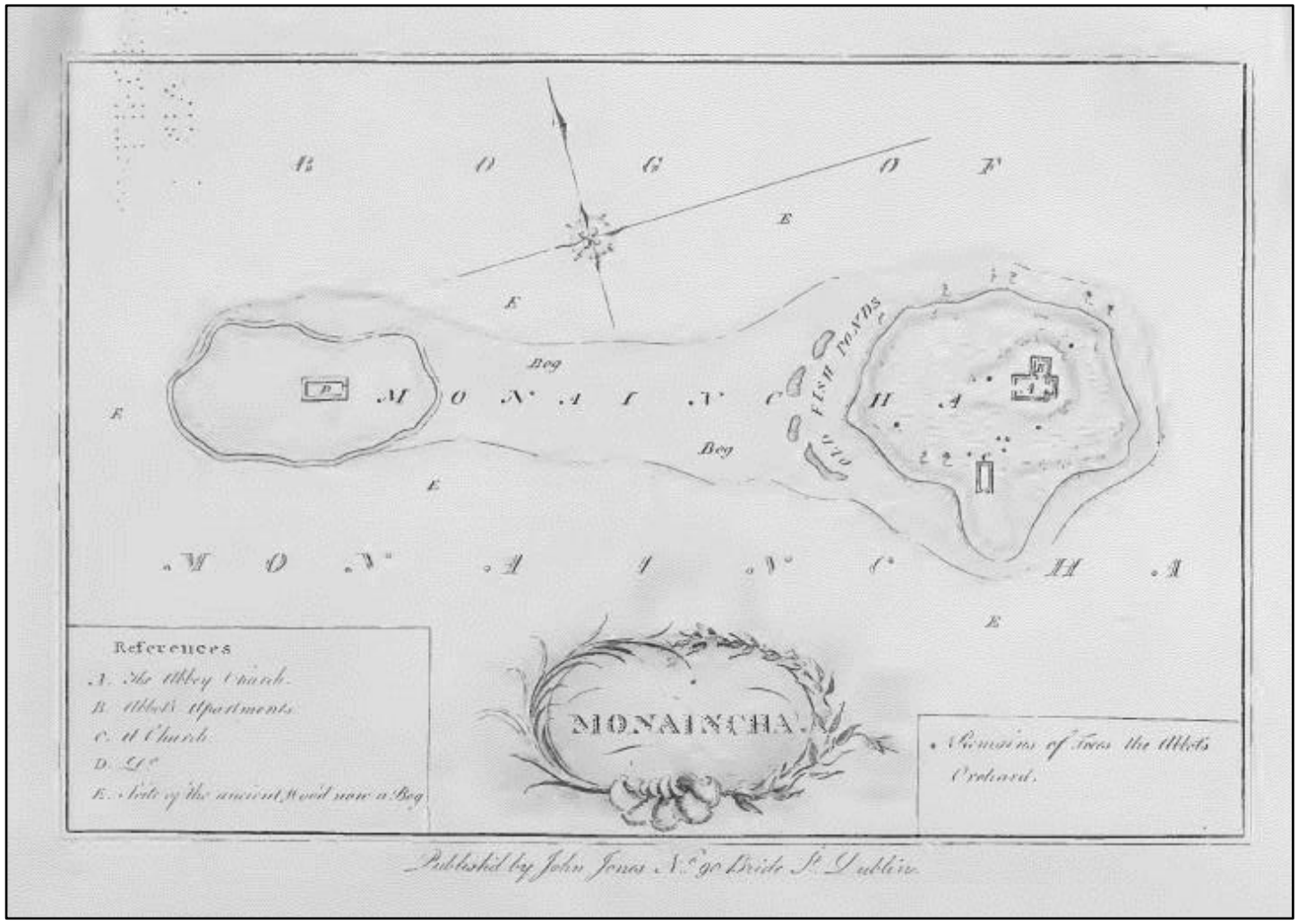

***Figure 4.25**: Edward Ledwich's drawing of Monaincha, c. 1799, showing two islands in the marsh. Only the right is visible today. The north-south oriented building to the south of the monastic church, labelled 'C' or 'a Church' by Ledwich is also lost, and the shape of the island has changed with much of the southern half of the island no longer visible.*

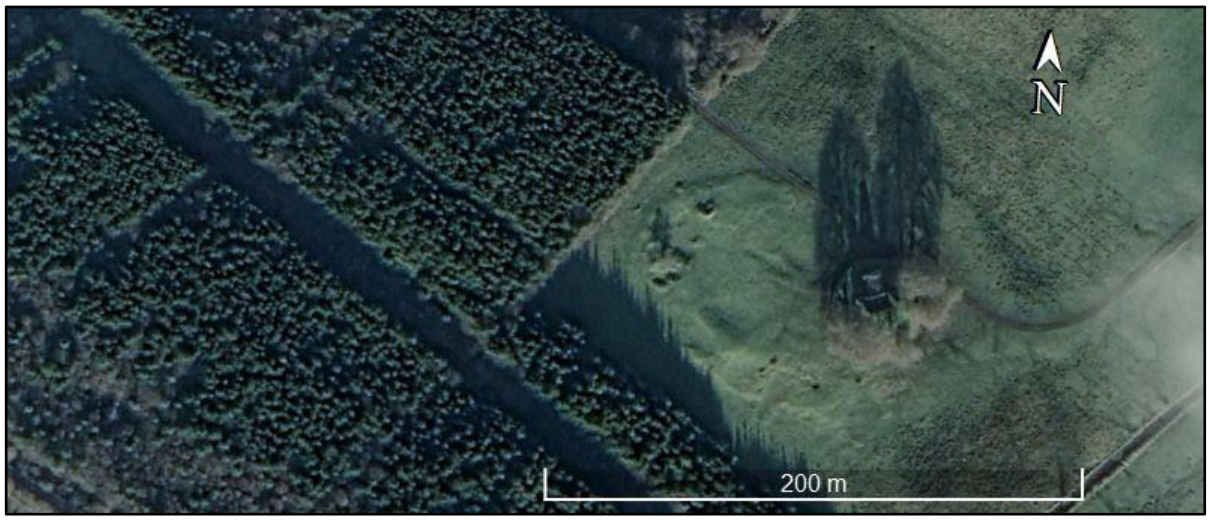

Figure 4.26*: Monaincha (Co. Tipperary). While the outline of the original island and later fishponds remain to the west of the monastic church, there is no trace of either the other buildings on the main island or the second island depicted by Ledwich in either modern aerial photos or those number taken in 1966, prior to the forestation of the adjacent land. (Google Earth)*

Figure 4.27*: Monaincha (Co. Tipperary) from the west. The northern extension dates from around the fifteenth century, and the wall around the mound is modern, cutting off some of the former 'island.' The standing cross at the west of the church may be in situ. (Photo: Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.28**: West portal of the monastic church at Monaincha. The Romanesque architecture and decoration are similar to that of the twelfth-century doorway at nearby Roscrea Abbey. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

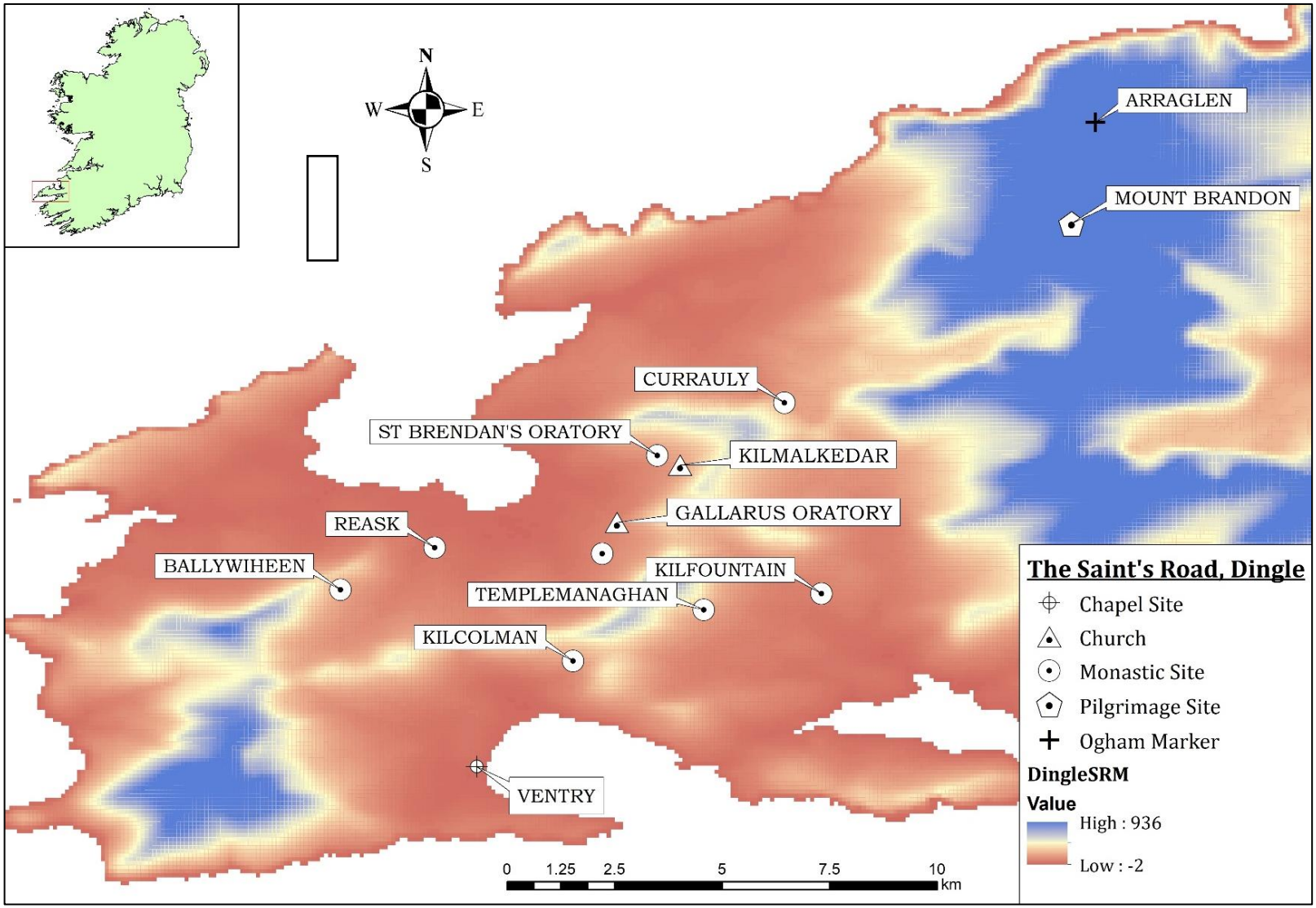

***Figure 4.29**: The 'Saint's Road,' Dingle Peninsula (Co. Kerry). (Created with ArcMap)*

***Figure 4.30**: Cross-Inscribed Stone, Kilcolman. The Ogham writing on the left and above the cross reads 'Colman the Pilgrim.' This could also refer to St Colmán Oilither, also known as Colman the Pilgrim of Ross (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.31**: Gallarus Oratory, a corbelled building dated to anywhere between the 7 to 11c., looking northeast. Beyond the enclosure the cemetery of Kilmalkedar is visible in the distance. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.32**: Kilmalkedar Church, Dingle Peninsula. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.33**: St Brendan's Oratory, near Kilmalkedar. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

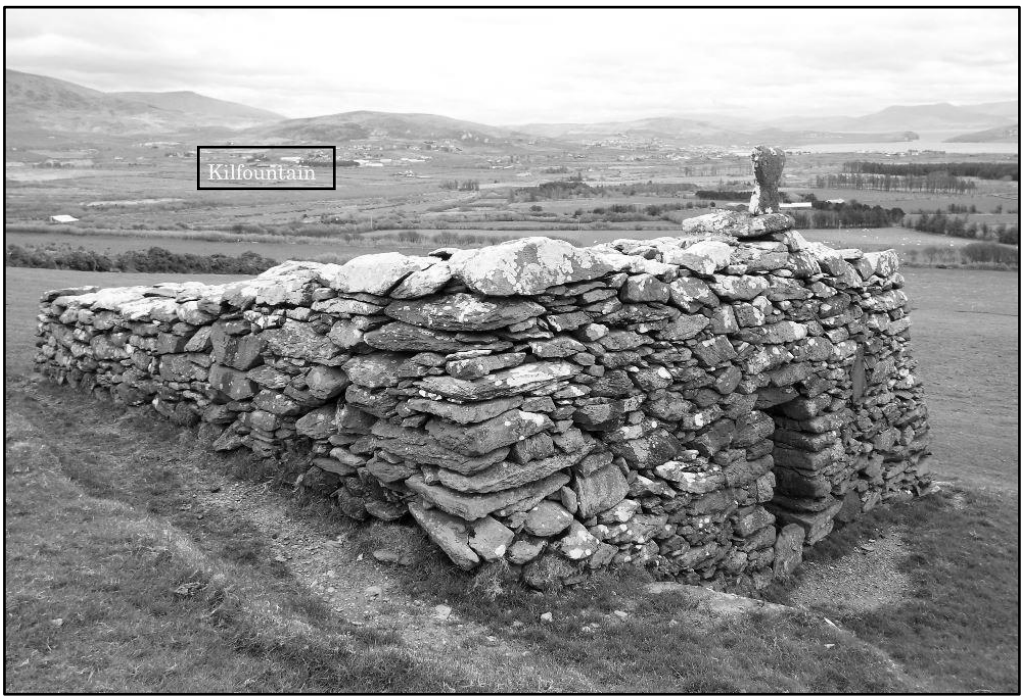

***Figure 4.34**: Templemanaghan, within a circular enclosure on the south slope of Lateevemore. Kilfountain lies to the southeast, visible from over the ruined oratory. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.35**: The enclosure of Kilfountain, with the ruined oratory and standing cross-inscribed stone on the right. The distant peak on the right-hand side of the photograph is the summit of Mount Brandon. Access to the site was graciously allowed by Jim Manning. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

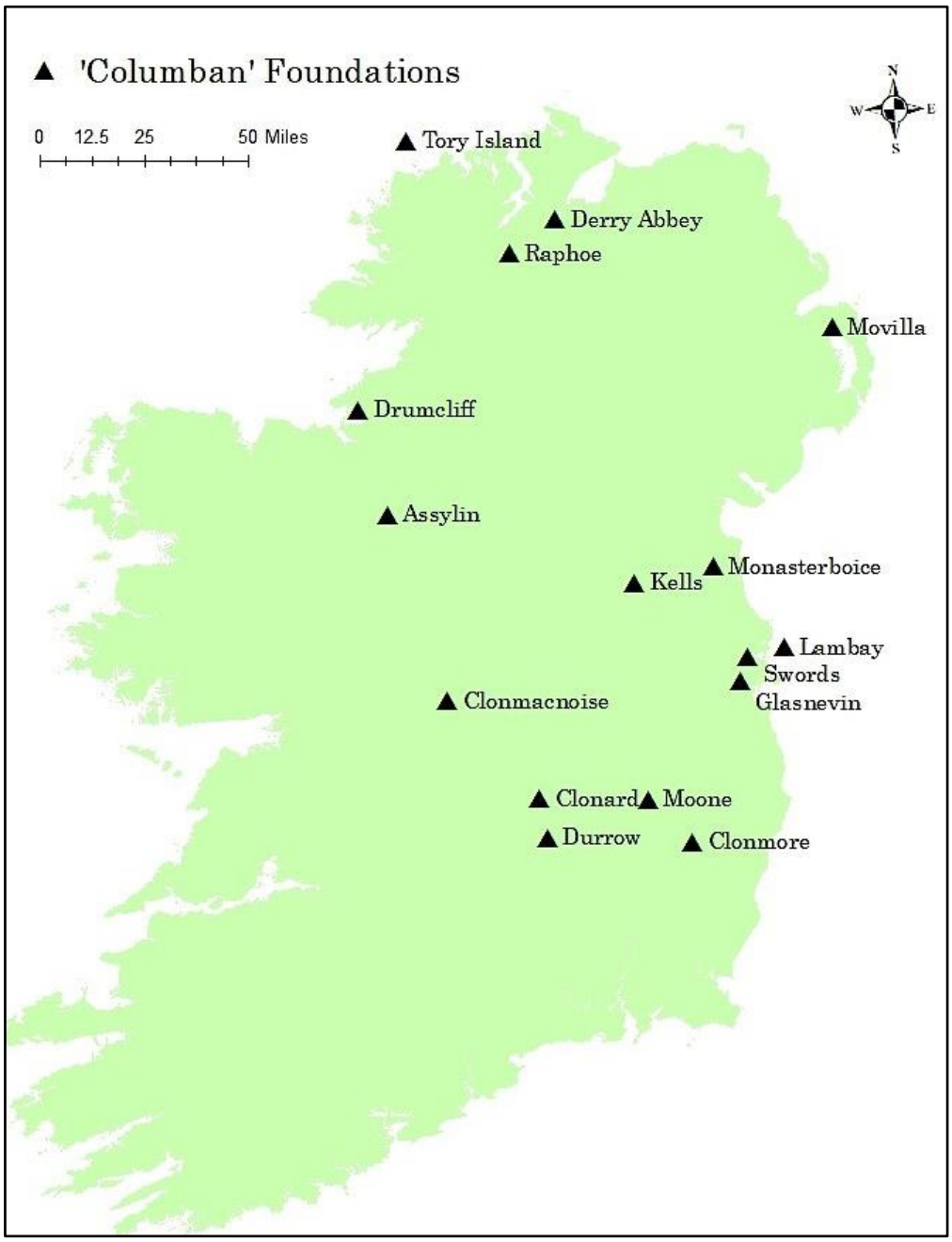

***Figure 4.36**: The Columban 'itinerary' of the* 'Irish Life of Colum Cille' *(Created with ArcMap)*

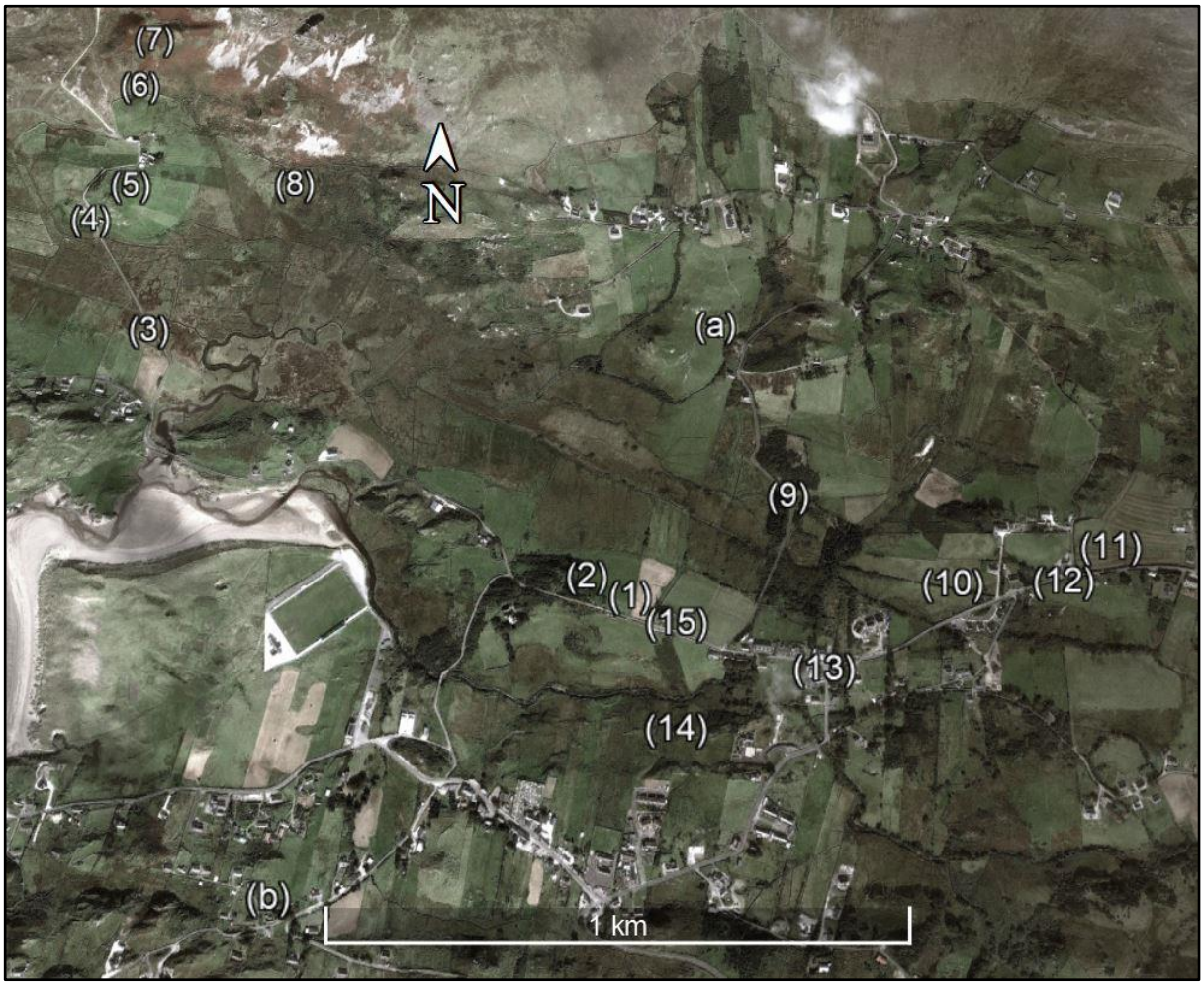

Figure 4.37*: The* Turas *stations of Glencolumbkille (Co. Donegal). To the south is the possible site of another group of features relating to St Fanad (b), who may have been the original patron of the valley before Derry introduced the cult of Colum Cille. (Google Earth)*

Pilgrimage Stations

(1) **Court Tomb East of St Columba's Church** (2) **Standing Slab** (3) **The Place of the Knees** (4) **The Height of the Cross** (5) **Colum Cille's Chapel** (6) **Colum Cille's Chair** (7) **Colum Cille's Well** (8) **Garden of Colum Cille** (9) **'Stone of the Gathering'** (10) **Roadside Cairn** (11) **Cairn** (12) **'Townland of the Demons'** (13) **Cross Pillar** (14) **Cross Pillar** (15) **Broken Cross Slab**

Other Sites

(a) **Farranmacbride Court Tomb** (b) **Site of St Fanan's Cell and Well**

***Figure 4.38**:* Turas *Stations (1) [background] and (2) [foreground], Glencolumbkille. The ruined passage tomb is integrated into the west wall of the churchyard. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 4.39**:* Turas *Station (12), known as the 'Townland of the Demons,' Glencolumbkille. This may be the entrance to a souterrain, which legend linked to a battle between Colum Cille and a group of demons. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 4.40: Turas *Station (5), the chapel of Colum Cille, Glencolumbkille. The building is oriented roughly north-south but in the 'east' end is a stone slab known as Colum Cille's 'bed'. In the hills above are the 'chair' of Colum Cille (6) and the holy well associated with him. (7) (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

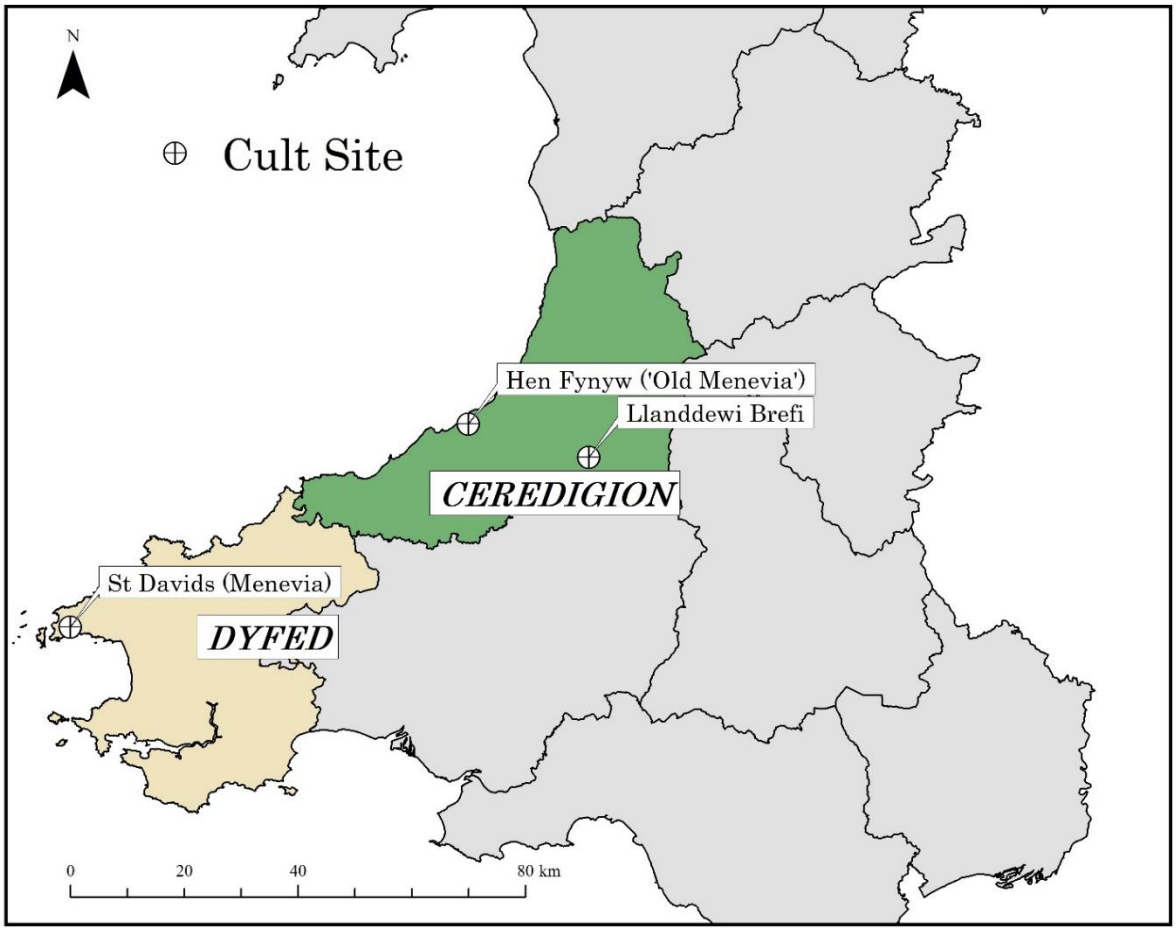

***Figure 5.1**: The major cult sites of St David in southern Wales. (Created with ArcMap)*

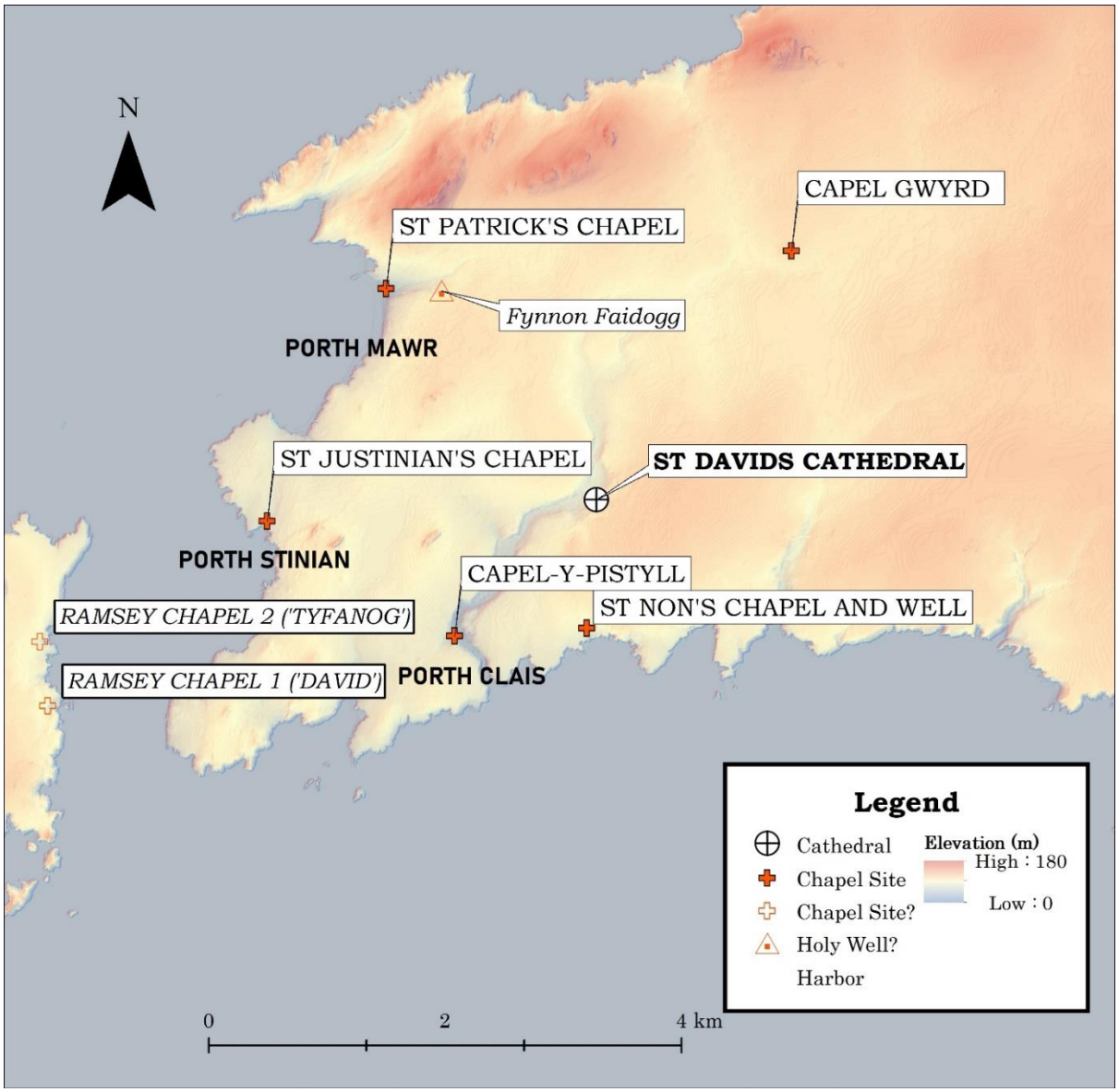

***Figure 5.2**: The medieval peninsula and its sacred sites. (Created with ArcMap)*

Figure 5.3*:* Parc y Capel*, Whitesands Bay (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

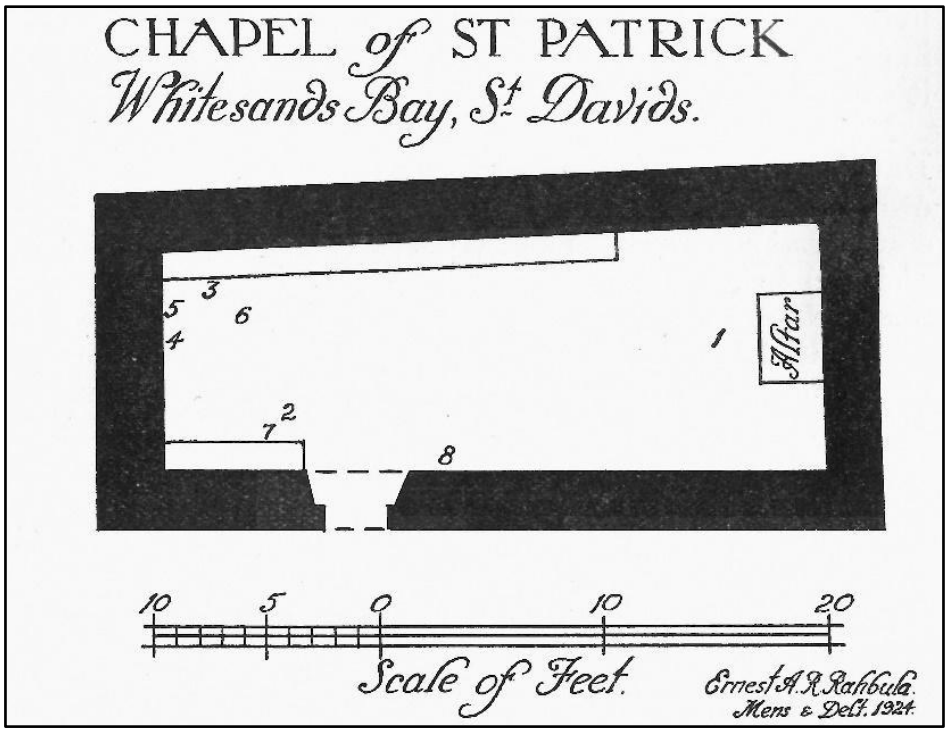

***Figure 5.4**: Excavated plan of St Patrick's Chapel (reproduced from Badger and Green, "St Patrick")*

***Figure 5.5**: Excavated east end of St Patrick's Chapel (reproduced from Badger and Green, "St Patrick")*

***Figure 5.6**: Overhead view of 2016 excavation, showing the west end of the chapel and the remains of Wall 42, surrounding earlier burials. (Reproduced from Murphy et al, "Excavations at St Patrick's Chapel 2016")*

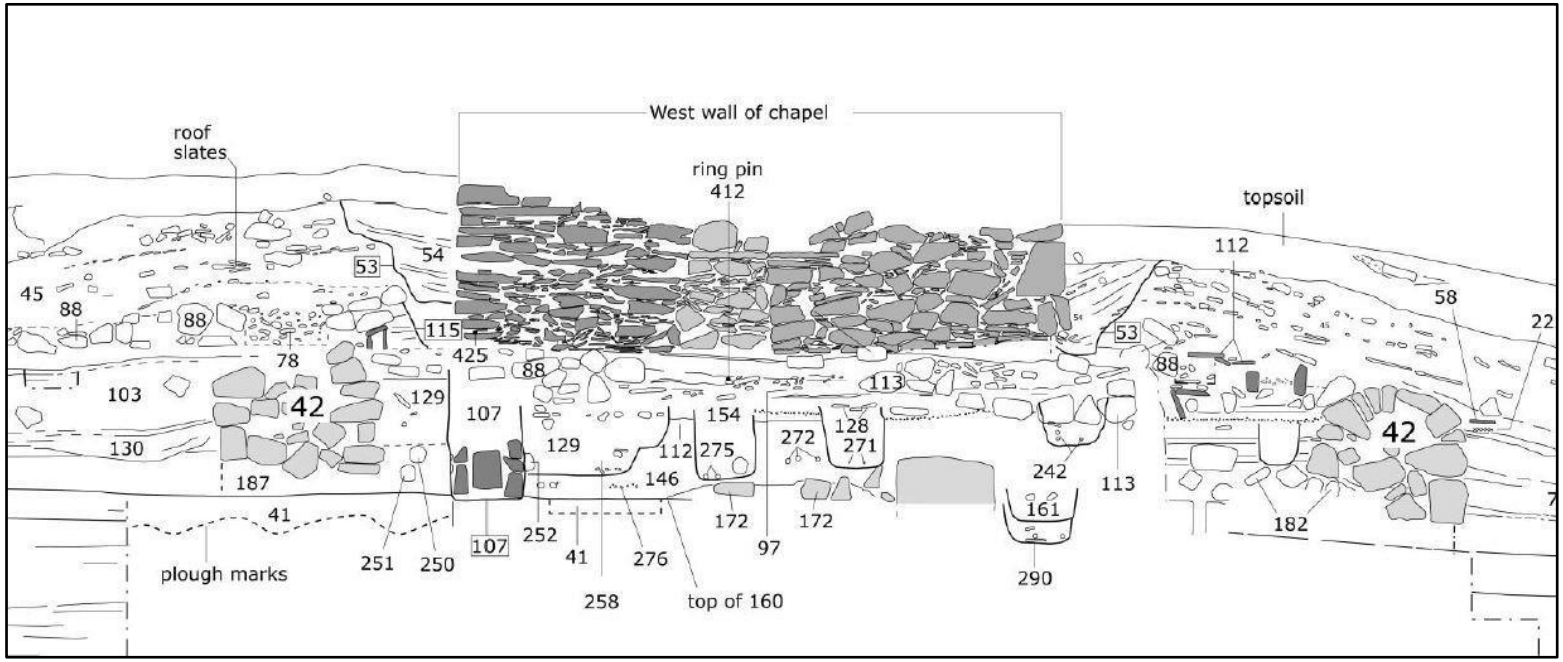

***Figure 5.7**: 2016 excavation section of St Patrick's Chapel, Porth Mawr, showing west wall of chapel above rubble layer (feature 88) within which was found an eleventh-century Hiberno-Norse ring pin. Note also Wall 42, a possible early medieval mortuary enclosure. (Reproduced from Murphy et al, "Excavations at St Patrick's Chapel 2016")*

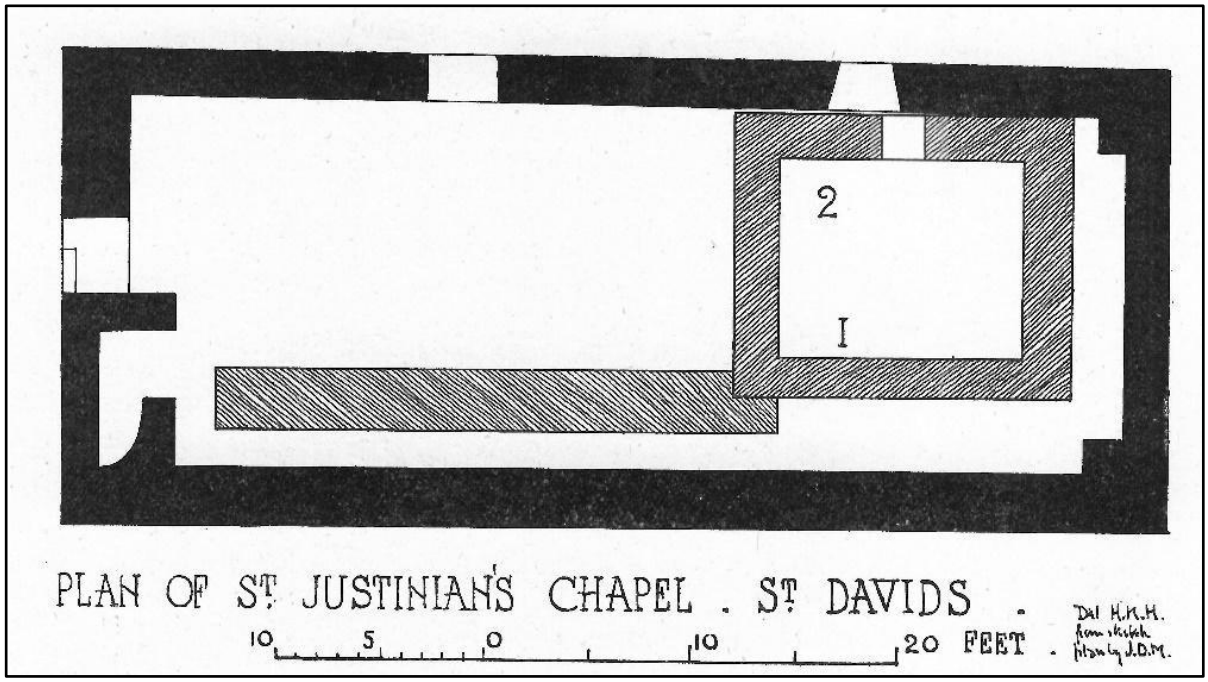

***Figure 5.8**: Excavated plan of St Justinian's Chapel, showing two phases of building and burials (1, 2). (reproduced from Boake, "St. Justinian," Fig. 1)*

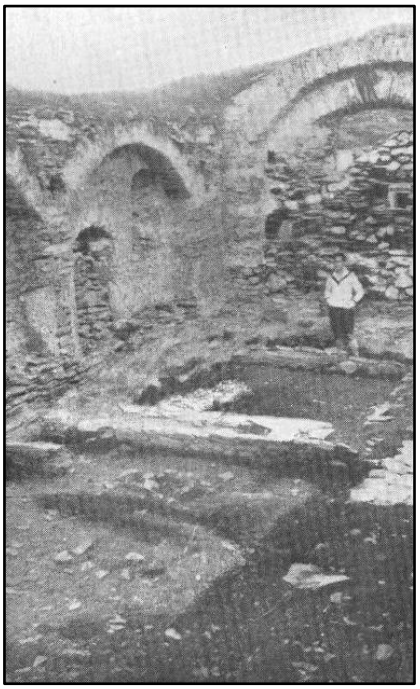

***Figure 5.9**: Excavation photo of the east end of St Justinian's chapel. (reproduced from Boake "St. Justinian," Fig. 4)*

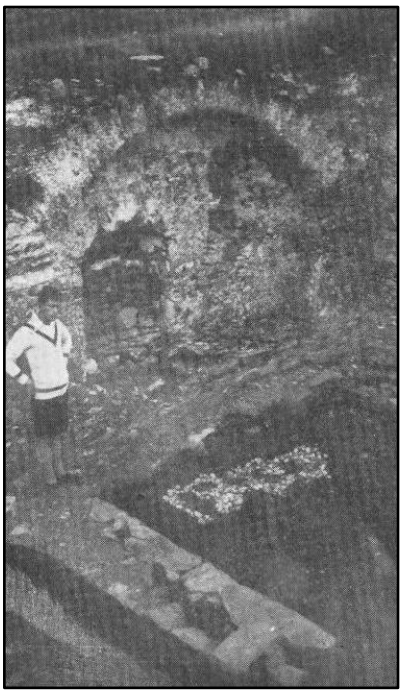

***Figure 5.10**: Burial in the northeast corner of St Justinian's chapel. (Reproduced from Boake, "St. Justinian," Fig. 3)*

Figure 5.11*: Enclosure of St Non's Chapel (centre), with holy well to the immediate NE. (Reproduced from Ludlow, "Identifying Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Site in South Wales")*

Figure 5.12*: Ruins of St Non's Chapel, looking south east. The early medieval cross-inscribed slab is resting in the far corner of the building. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 5.13: *Porth Clais Harbour, looking north.* Capel y Pistyll *stood behind the National Trust carpark (centre). (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 5.14*: Ramsey Island (*Ynys Dewi*) from the St Davids Coastal Path near Porth Justinian. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.1**: Possible Site of the Cloister Shrine, Durham Cathedral. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.2**: East Cloister Door, entering into the south aisle of the nave. The 'spiral-cable' moulding is unique in the cathedral. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.3**: Eastern Pier of South Transept, Durham Cathedral. This diagonal chevron pattern is unique in the cathedral. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

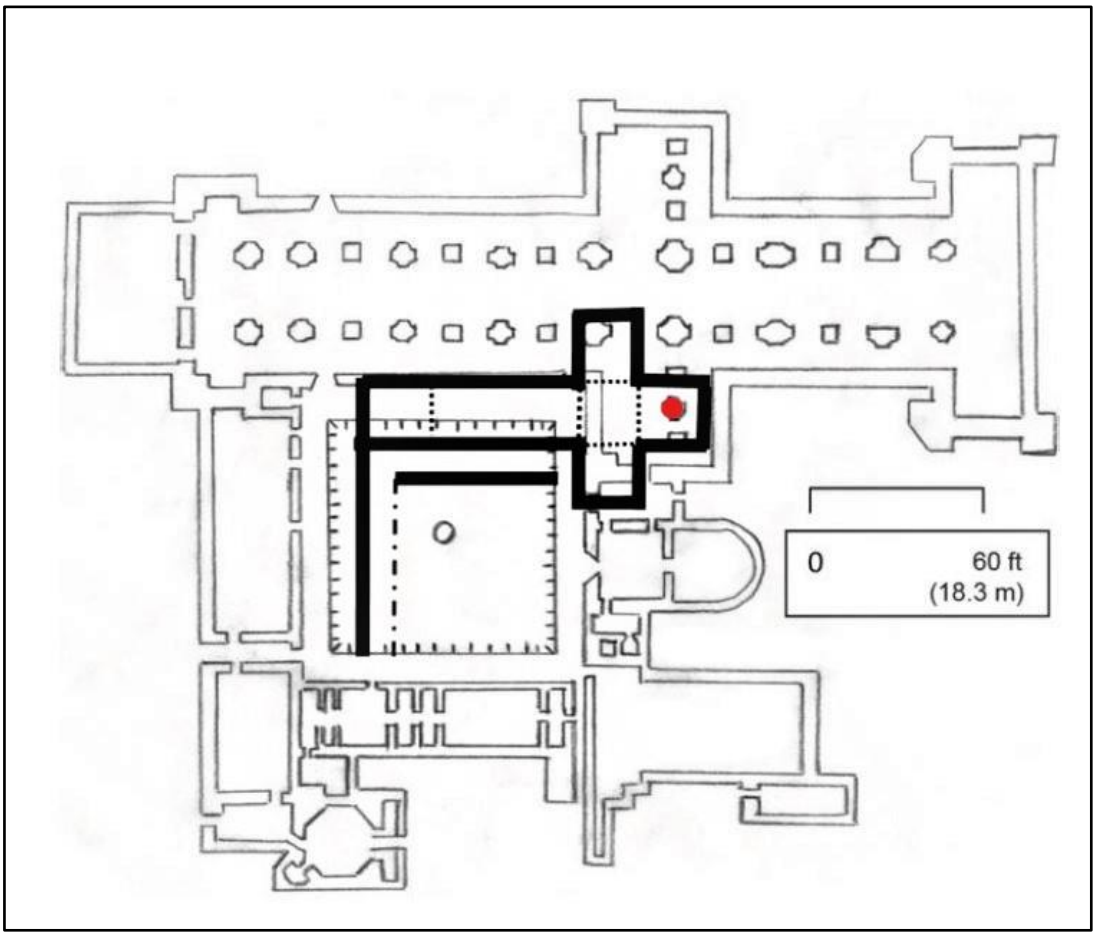

Figure 6.4*: Suggested plan of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral based on foundations found by St John Hope (reproduced from Bacola, 'The Hybrid Pier of Durham Cathedral' p. 32). The chevron-decorated pier (marked in red) in the Norman cathedral would, if St John Hope's plans are accurate, rest within the eastern arm of Ealdhun's church.*

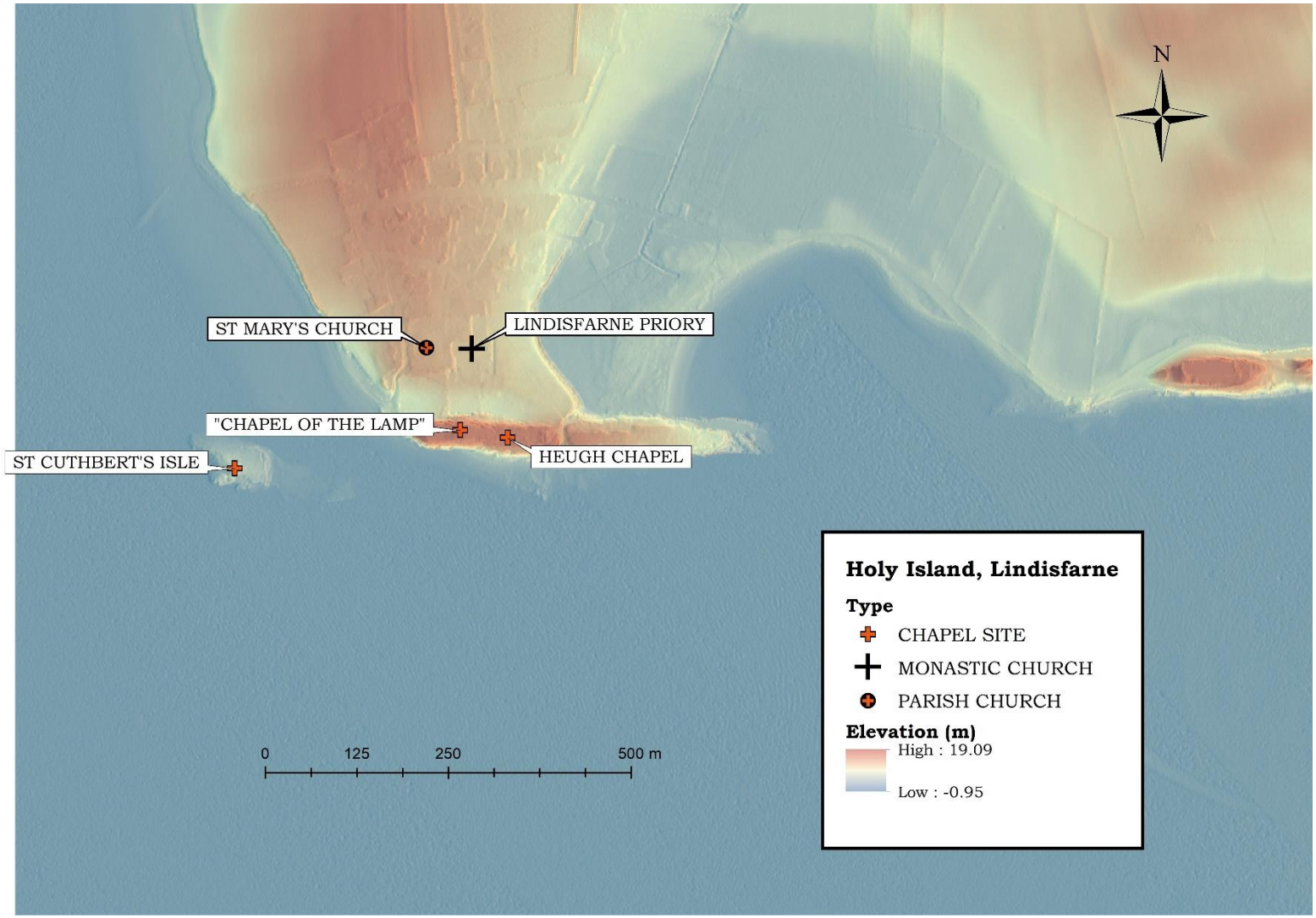

***Figure 6.5**: The 'Loca Sancta' of Holy Island, Lindisfarne (created with ArcMap)*

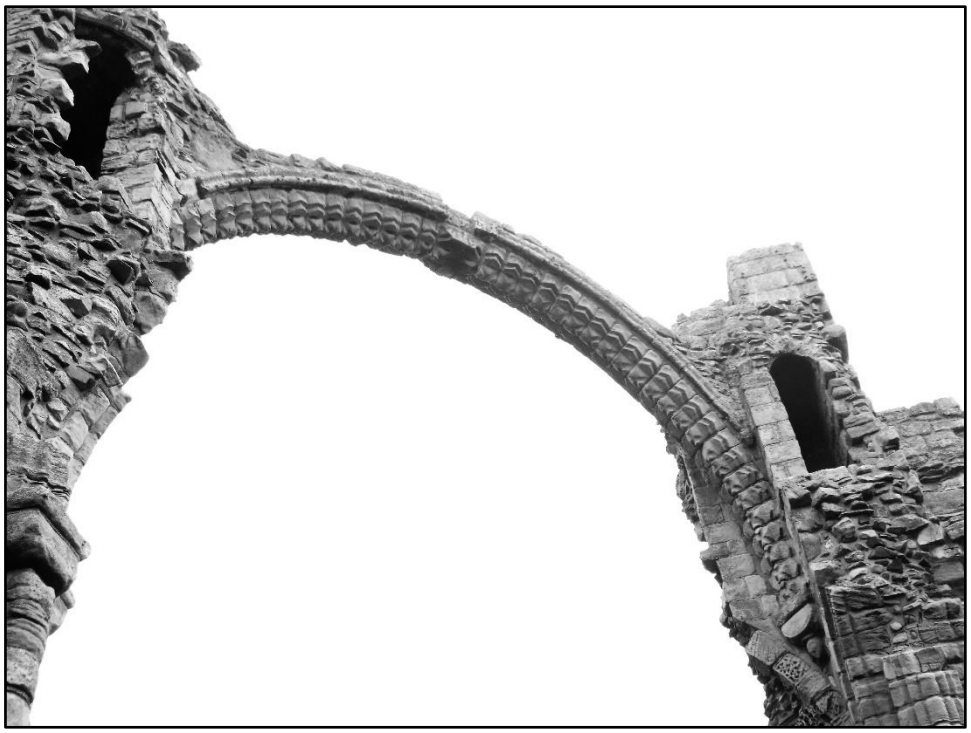

***Figure 6.6**: The 'hanging rib' between the north-west and south-east piers of the crossing tower, c.1150. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.7**: The west front of Lindisfarne Priory church. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

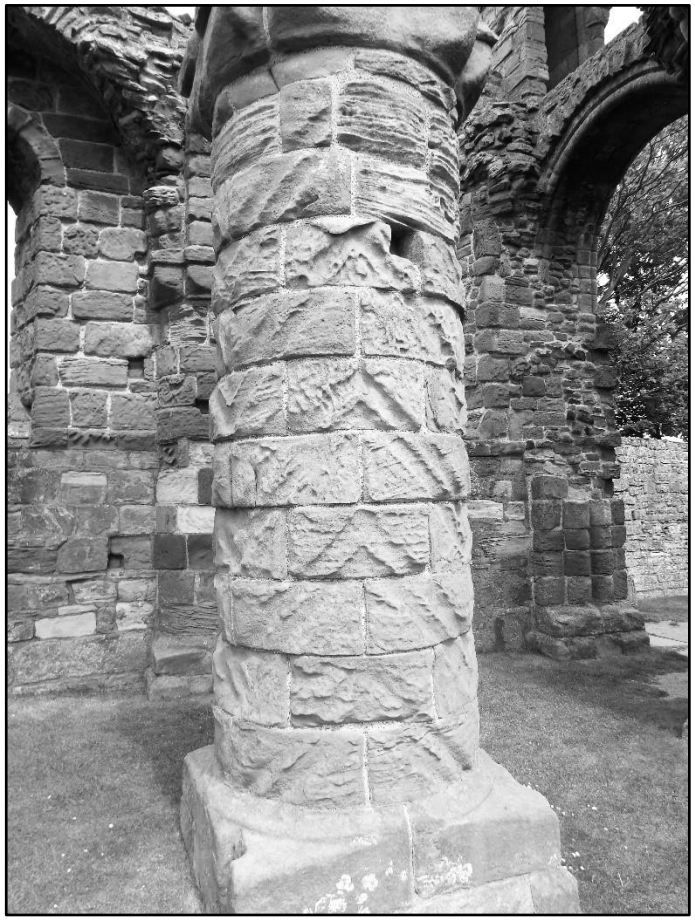

***Figure 6.8**: Nave pier of Lindisfarne Priory Church with chevron decoration. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

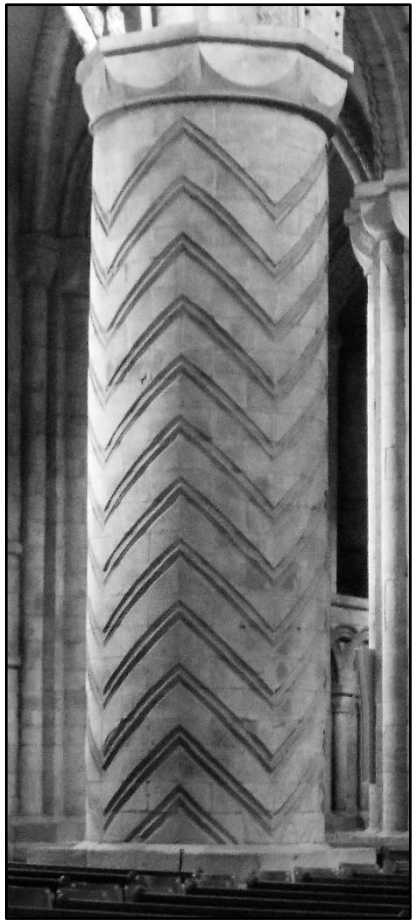

***Figure 6.9**: Nave Pier of Durham Cathedral with chevron decoration (Photo by Ross McIntire*

***Figure 6.10**: 'Pilgrim's Door,' Lindisfarne Priory Church, Interior. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.11**: 'Pilgrim's Door,' Lindisfarne Priory Church, exterior. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

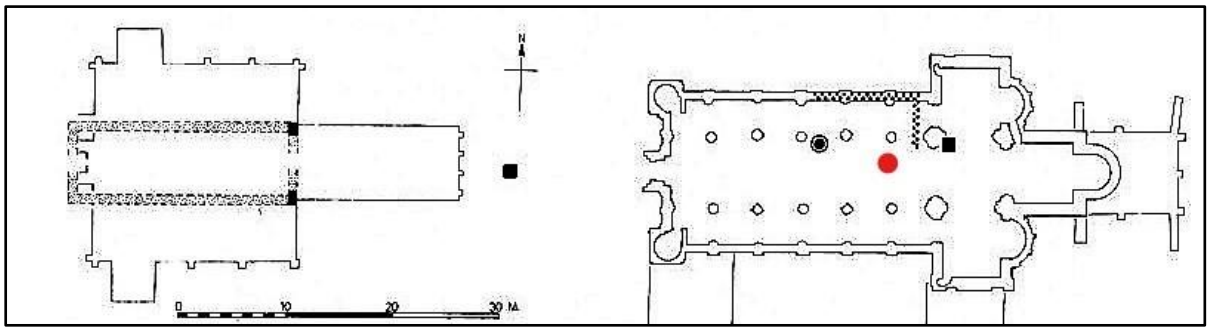

***Figure 6.12**: St Mary's Church and Lindisfarne Priory Church, showing the axial alignment and Peers' foundations (in the north aisle near the crossing, marked by a dotted line), possibly representing the Anglo-Saxon church of St Peter. The squares represent the locations of two cross-bases. The red circle represents the possible location of the cenotaph. (reproduced from John Blair, "The Early Churches at Lindisfarne, p. 50)*

***Figure 6.13**: The west face of the chancel arch, St Mary's Church, Lindisfarne. The scarring from a previous rounded open can be seen above the 13thc pointed arch. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

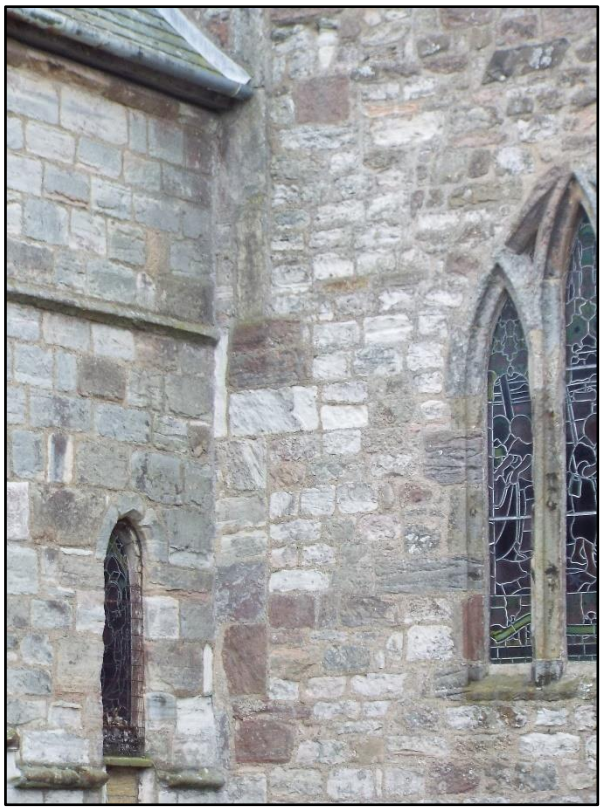

Figure 6.14*: The join between the northeast corner of the original nave and the later north aisle and chancel of St Mary's Church, Lindisfarne. Parts of the irregularly arrangement of the quoin stones of the nave can still be seen, suggesting that the nave was built in the eleventh century. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

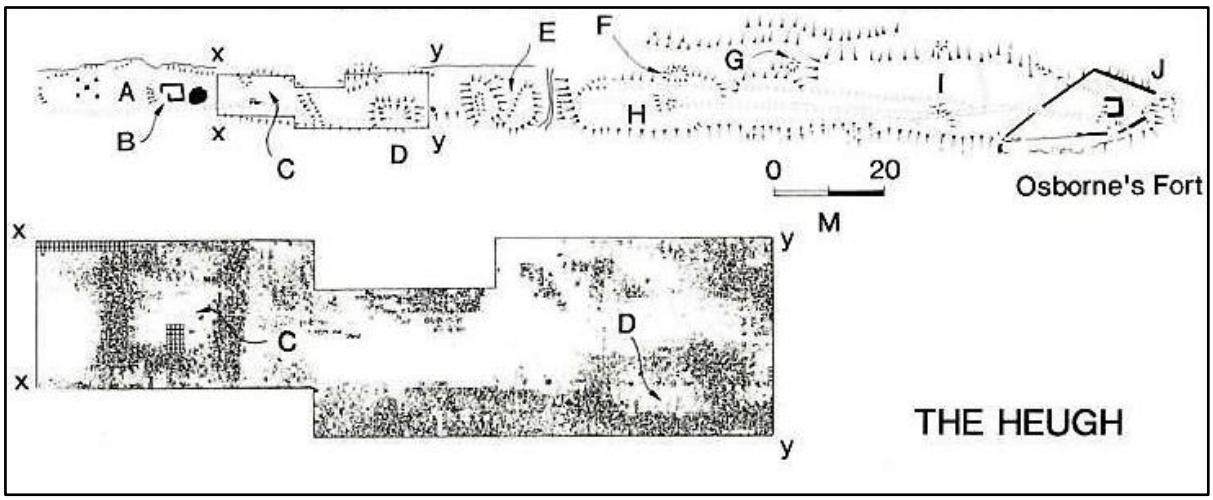

Figure 6.15*: The Heugh, earthwork and resistivity surveys. Recent excavations have identified Features C and D as being a possible watchtower and a substantial early medieval stone chapel respectively, while earlier foundations have been uncovered below Feature B, the post-medieval building known as the 'Chapel of the Lamp.' (reproduced from O'Sullivan and Young, Lindisfarne: Holy Island, p. 46)*

***Figure 6.16**: Drone photograph of the Heugh Chapel (Feature D) from 2017. While smaller in scale, it compares well with the seventh- to eighth-century churches at Escomb, Monkseaton, and Jarrow. (from Carlton "Archaeological Excavations on Lindisfarne Heugh").*

***Figure 6.17**: The 'Chapel of the Lamp' on the Heugh. The standing ruins to the east of the modern lighthouse are a post-medieval construction, but incorporated pieces of medieval architectural fragments suggested the presence of an earlier building. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.18**: Aerial view of the excavated 'Chapel of the Lamp,' showing the east and south walls of an earlier building and a number of burials just to the east. The interlace-decorated stone was found between two skulls in the north-most cut within the footprint of the post-medieval building. (Carlton, "Excavations on Lindisfarne Heugh in 2018, 5)*

***Figure 6.19**: ruins of St Cuthbert-by-the-Sea on St Cuthbert's Isle, from the east. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

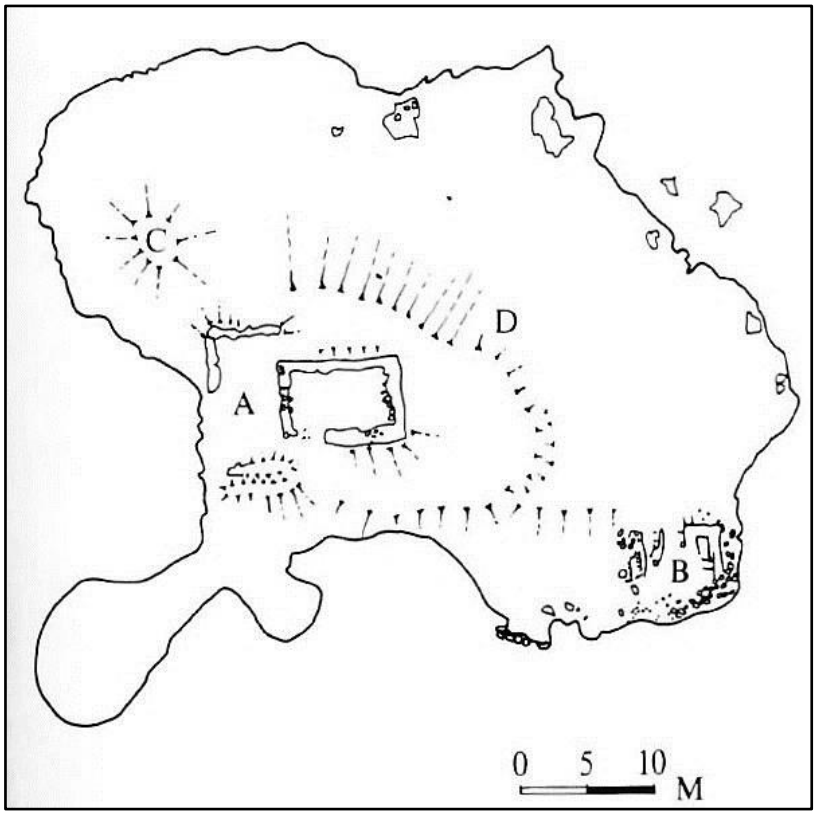

***Figure 6.20**: Earthworks and standing remains on St Cuthbert's Island. (Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Young, Lindisfarne: Holy Island, p. 43)*

***Figure 6.21**: View from the northwest of the T-shaped chapel/guesthouse on St Cuthbert's Island, with the Heugh (Right) and Lindisfarne Priory (Centre). (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.22**: The Lindisfarne Seascape (Google Earth)*

Legend

Lindisfarne Priory (A), St Cuthbert's Island (B) and Inner Farne (C) with Bamburgh Castle

Figure 6.23: *St Cuthbert's Chapel on Farne island. Against the west wall of the thirteen-century building are the remains of what Peter Ryder identified as a pilgrim's annex but, based on post-medieval depictions of the building, they may have belonged to a later gatehouse structure. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.24**: View of Inner Farne from the southwest, with St Cuthbert's Chapel and Prior Castell's Tower. (Photo by Ross McIntire)z*

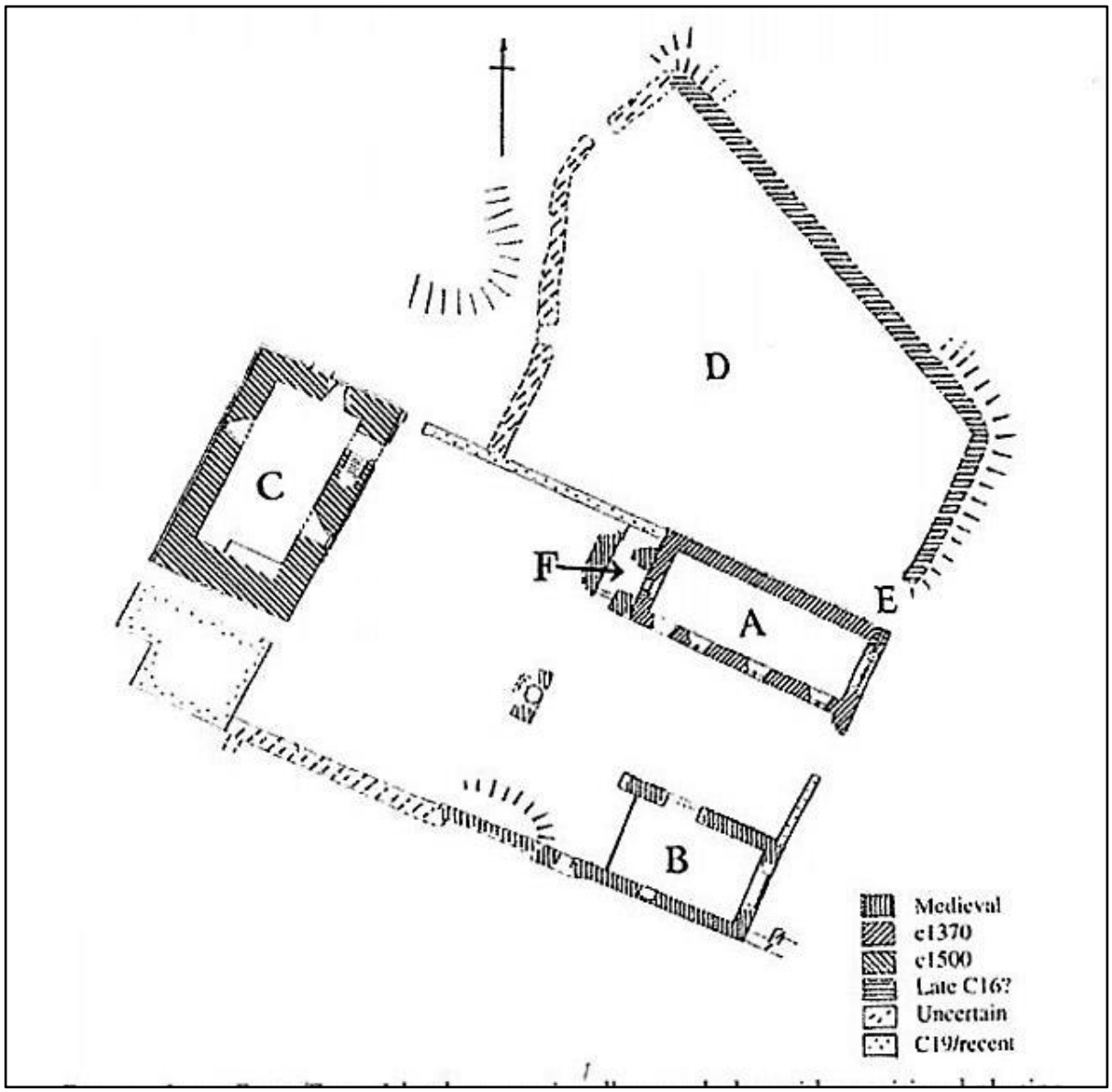

Figure 6.25: *The buildings of Inner Farne, including Prior Castell's Tower [C], St Cuthbert's Chapel [A] and the remains of the pilgrim's 'Galilee' [F] and 'St Mary's Chapel' [B] (Reproduced from Wells, "and he went round the holy places")*

Figure 6.26: *John Speed's map of Farne Island, showing the full walled complex in his time. (Speed, 1610)*

Figure 6.27: *S.H. Grimm's late eighteenth century drawing of the ruins of St Cuthbert's Chapel, showing what could be either Ryder's pilgrims' annex or part of the gatehouse structure on Speed's map. (British Library Additional MS 15543)*

***Figure 6.28**: Building of Cuthbert's cell,* Life of St Cuthbert *(c. 1100) Oxford, University College, MS 165.*

***Figure 6.29**: Cuthbert's cell under construction.* Life of St Cuthbert, *British Library Yates Thompson 26 (f. 39)*

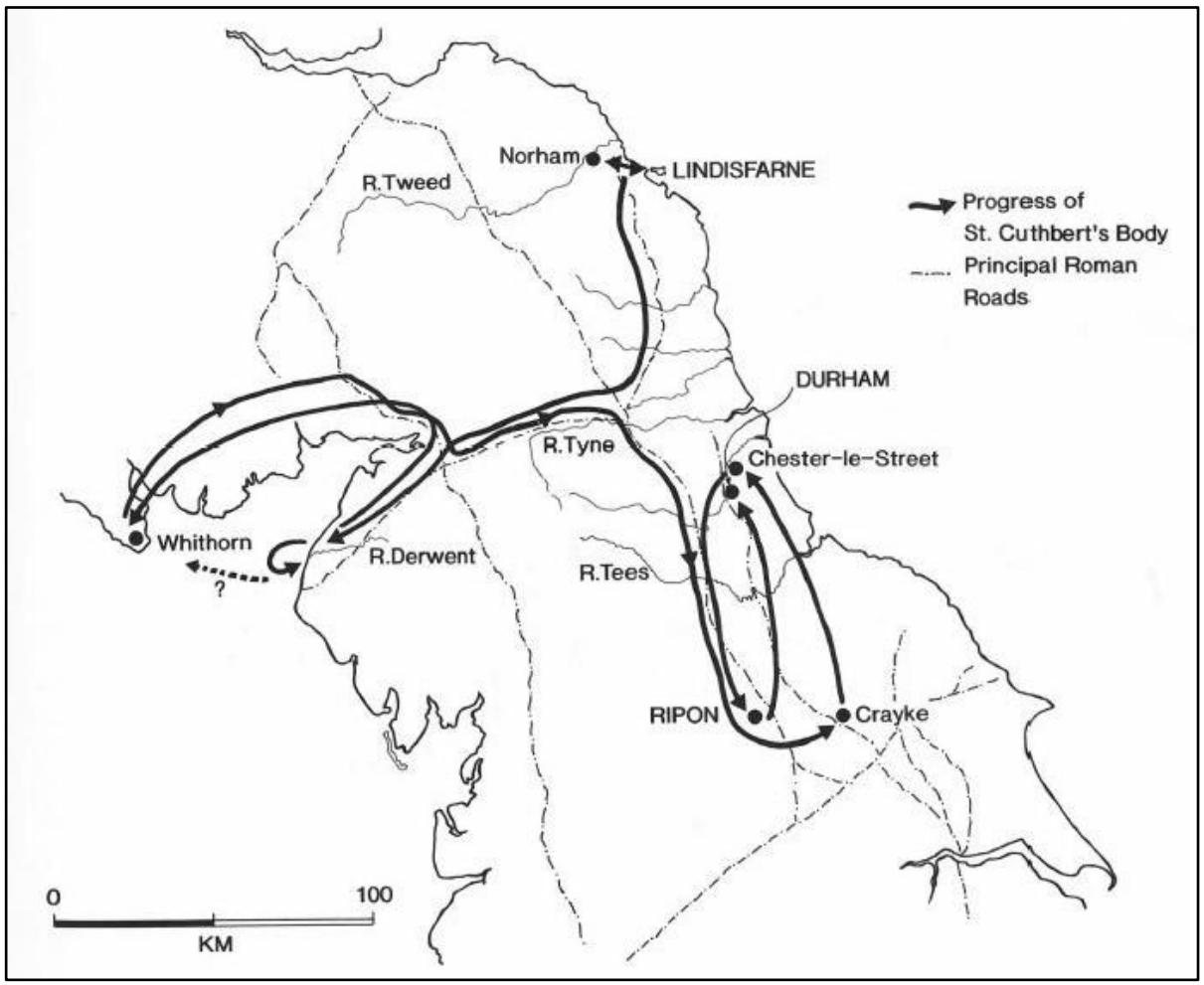

***Figure 6.30**: The "wanderings" of St Cuthbert, starting at Lindisfarne, moving across the country to Whithorn, and then circuiting Lindisfarne's Northumbrian estates, finally ending in Durham. (Reproduced from O'Sullivan and Young, Lindisfarne: Holy Island, p. 37)*

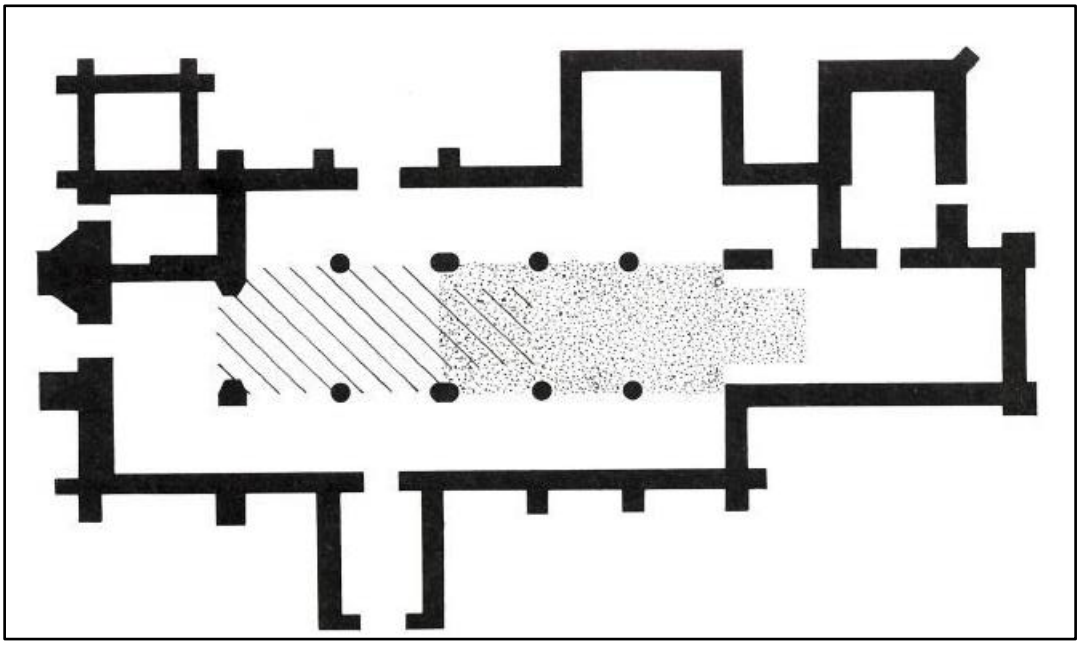

***Figure 6.31**: SS Mary and Cuthbert's Church, Chester-le-Street, showing two possible plans of the Anglo-Saxon church within the body of the 13c. nave. (Reproduced from Cambridge, "Why did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street," 369)*

***Figure 6.32**: The church of SS Mary and Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, looking east. The compound piers can be seen in the next bay to the east, and the high, narrow nave is consistent with Anglo-Saxon buildings of comparable rank, such as Escomb, or the church found on the Lindisfarne Heugh. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 6.33**: Grimm's 1786 sketch of St Cuthbert's Church at Tughall, now reduced to fragmentary foundations. Its scale and decorative scheme were impressive, despite a remote and historically insignificant location prior to Cuthbert's overnight stay in 1069. The architecture indicates a primary construction date of the late-eleventh century, making it one of the earliest Romanesque buildings in Northumbria. (British Library Additional MS 15542, no. 181)*

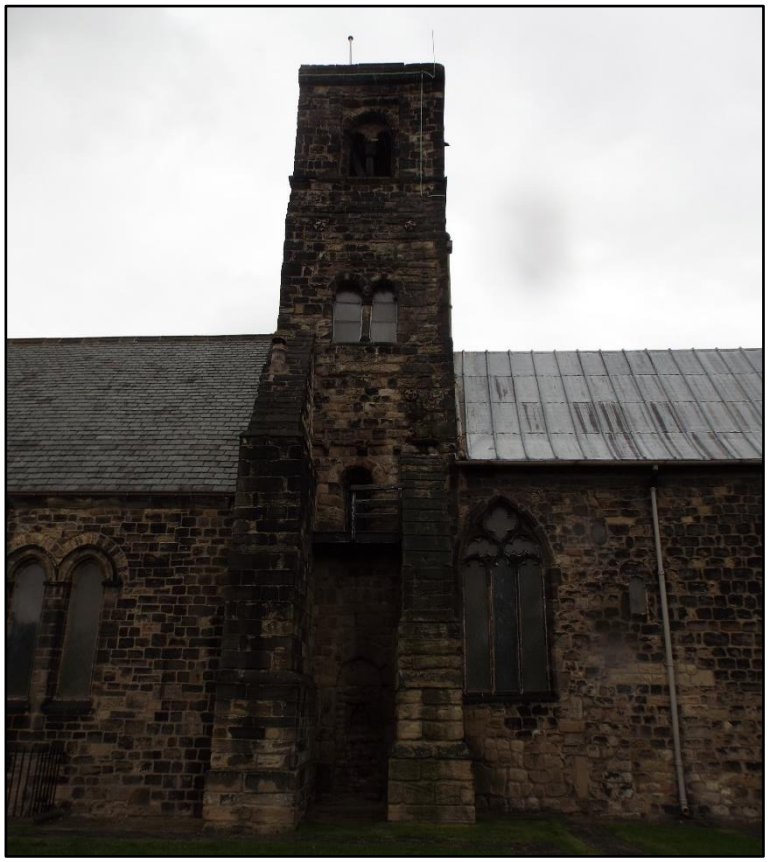

***Figure 6.34**: St Paul's Church in Jarrow, with multi-period tower and Anglo-Saxon chancel to the west. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

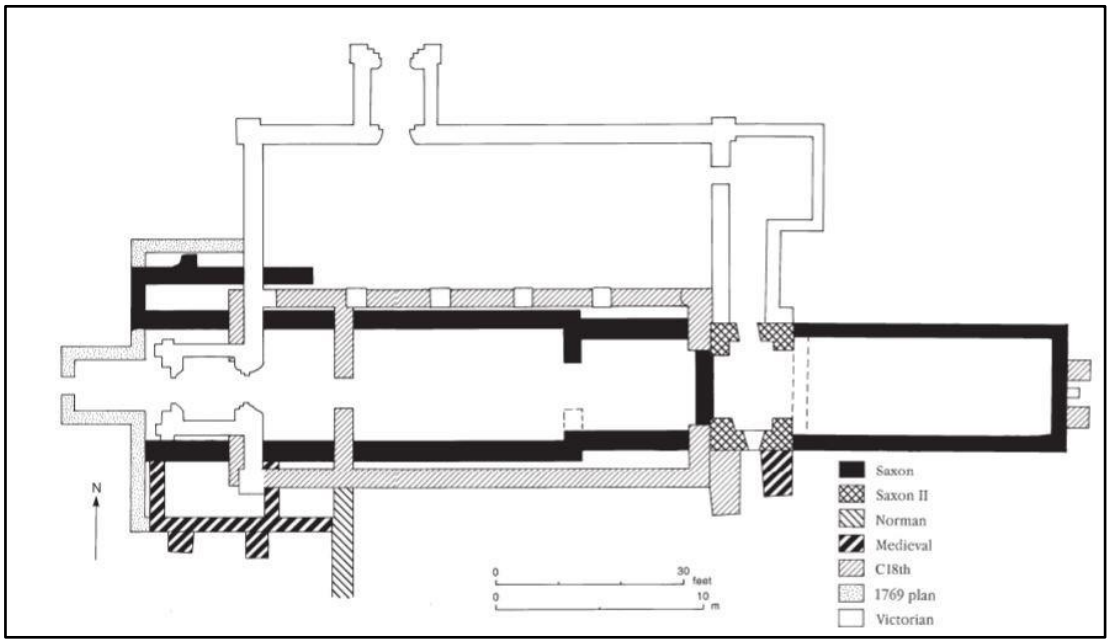

***Figure 6.35**: Plan of St Paul's Jarrow, with two Anglo-Saxon period churches joined by a later tower partially of post-Conquest date. (Reproduced from Cramp, Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites vol. 1 p. 161)*

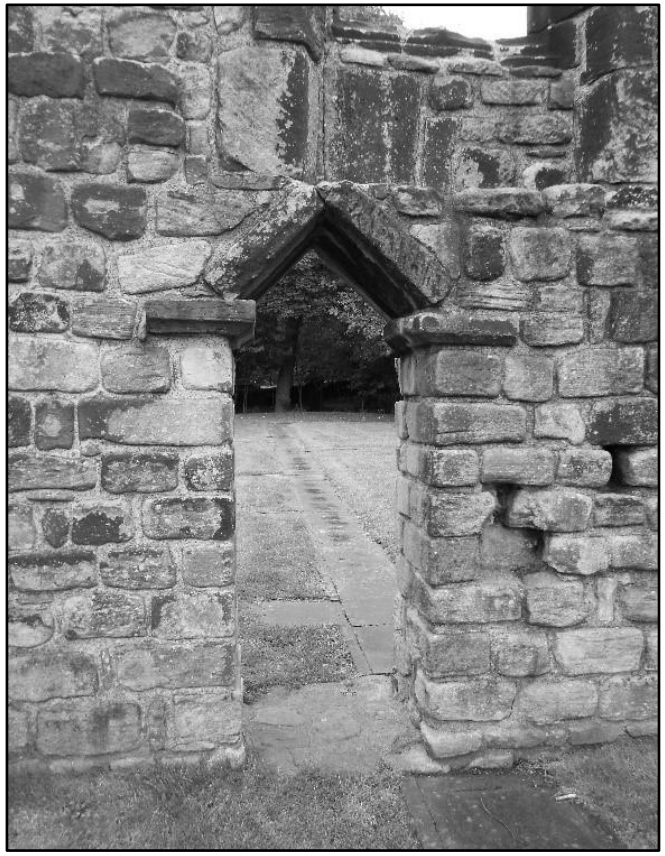

Figure 6.36: *The 'Saxon' doorway in the west wall of the monastic complex at St Paul's Jarrow. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

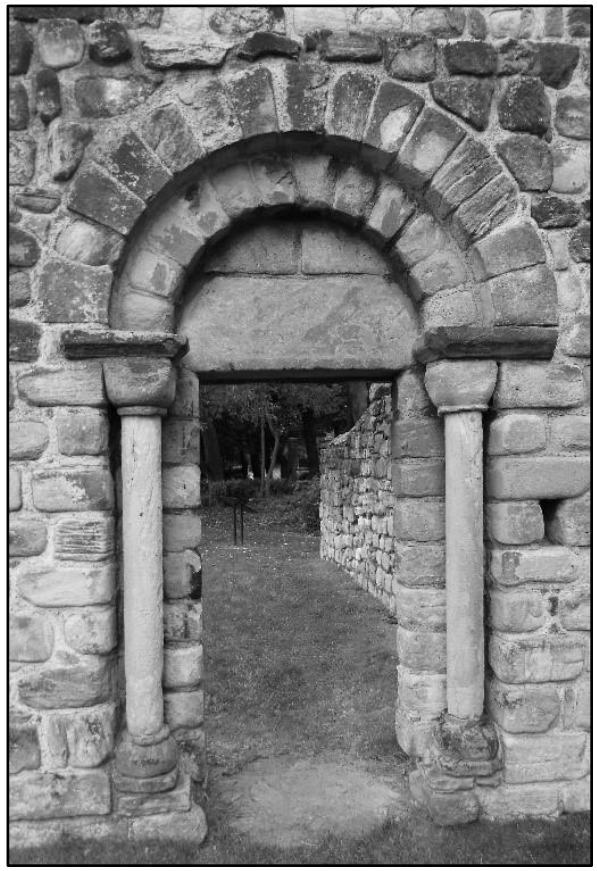

Figure 6.37*: The Romanesque doorway in the west wall of the monastic complex at St Paul's Jarrow. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 6.38: *The western tower of St Peter's Church, Wearmouth. The fabric above the third set of stripwork is of a noticeably different construction, indicating that a much later tower was built on a seventh- or eighth-century porch which featured a relief of a human figure, now greatly weathered. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 6.39: *Southeast pier of the lost chancel arch, possibly eleventh century. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

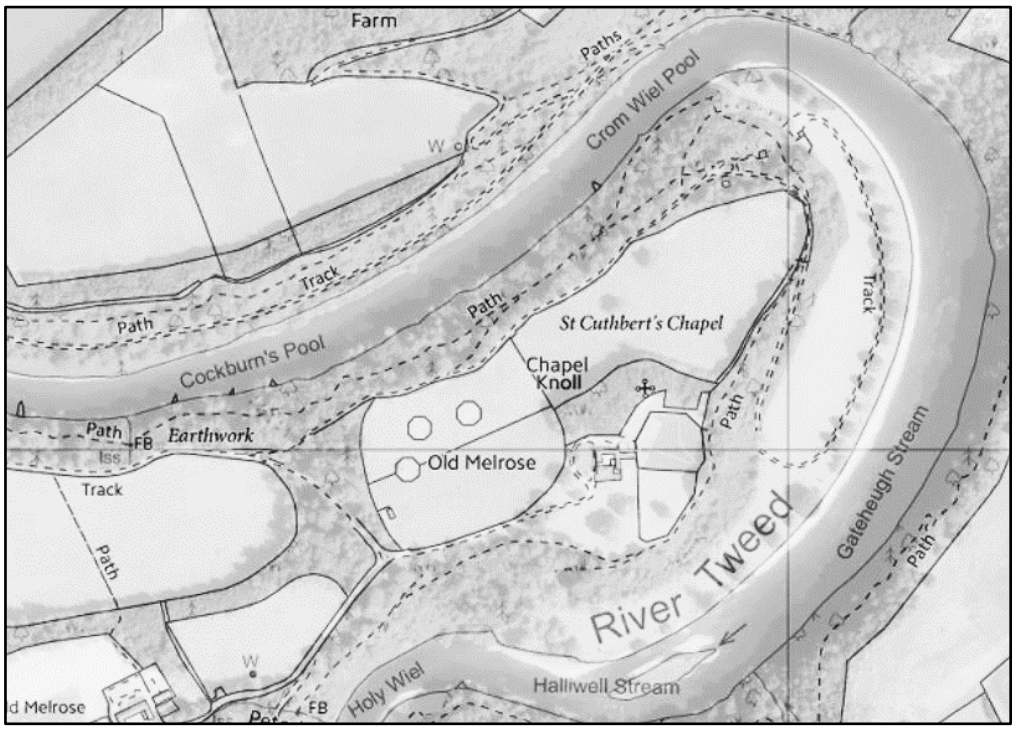

***Figure 6.40**: Satellite view of Old Melrose overlain by modern Ordinance Survey Map, showing suspected location of chapel and earlier monastery.*

***Figure 6.41**: Approximate Site of St Cuthbert's Chapel, Old Melrose, looking North. Possible remains of the chapel have been found inside the wooded area. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

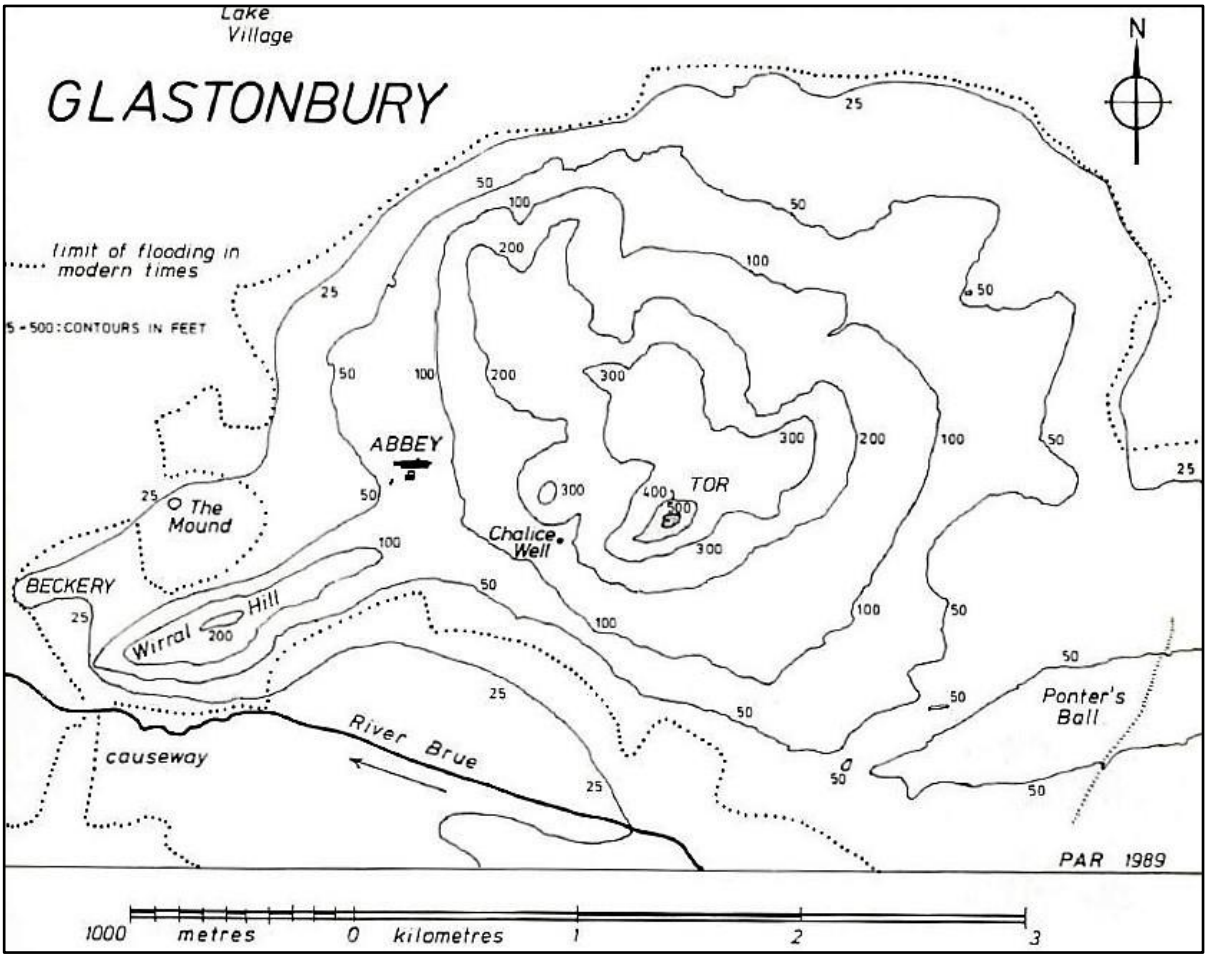

***Figure 7.1**: The elevation and topography of Glastonbury promontory. The chapel site at Beckery to the west rises just above sea level. (Reproduced from Rahtz, "Pagan and Christian by the Severn Sea.")*

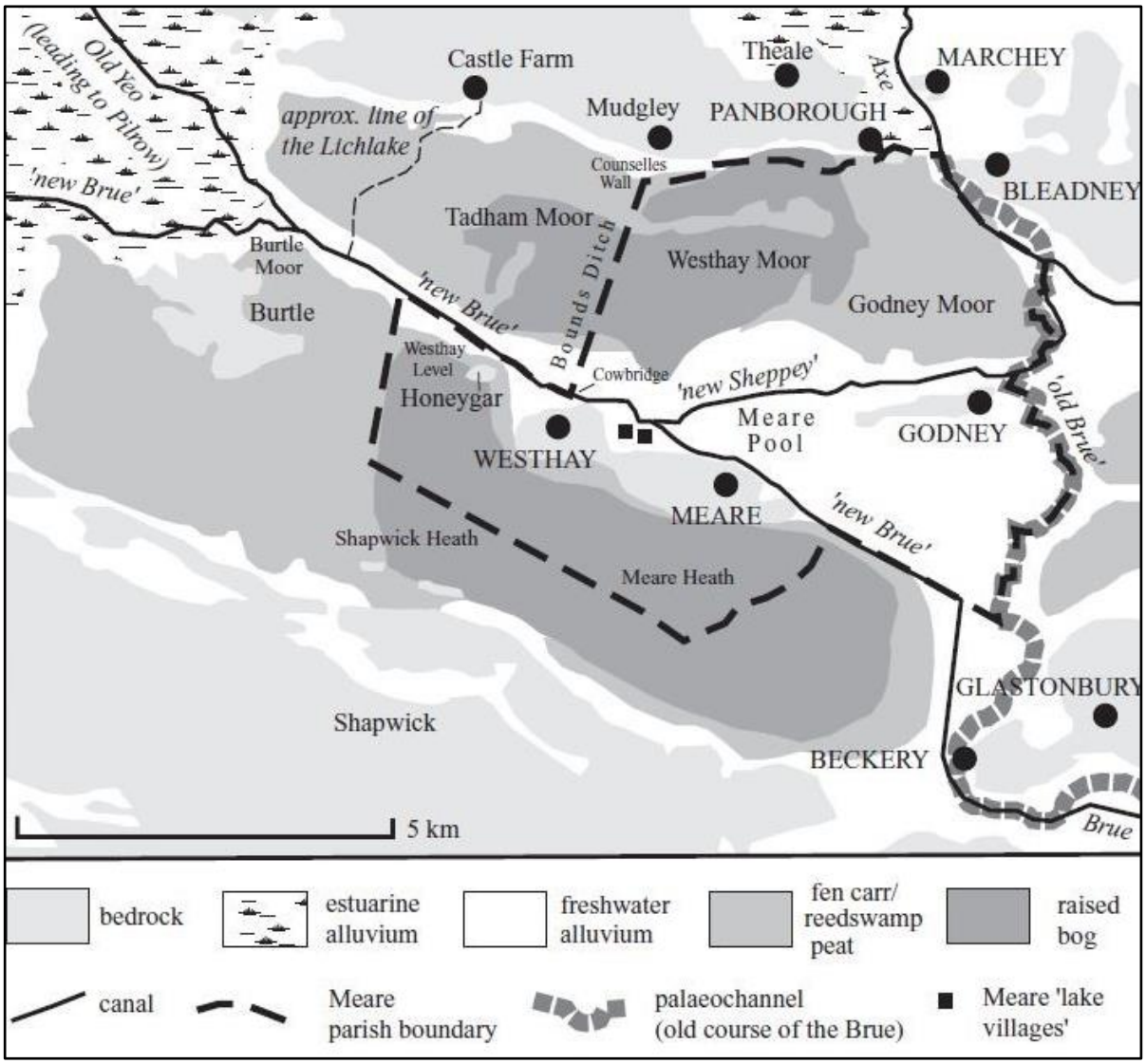

Figure 7.2: *Glastonbury and its environs, showing the 'old' and 'new' courses of the River Brue. (Reproduced from Rippon, "Making the Most of a Bad Situation?" p. 97)*

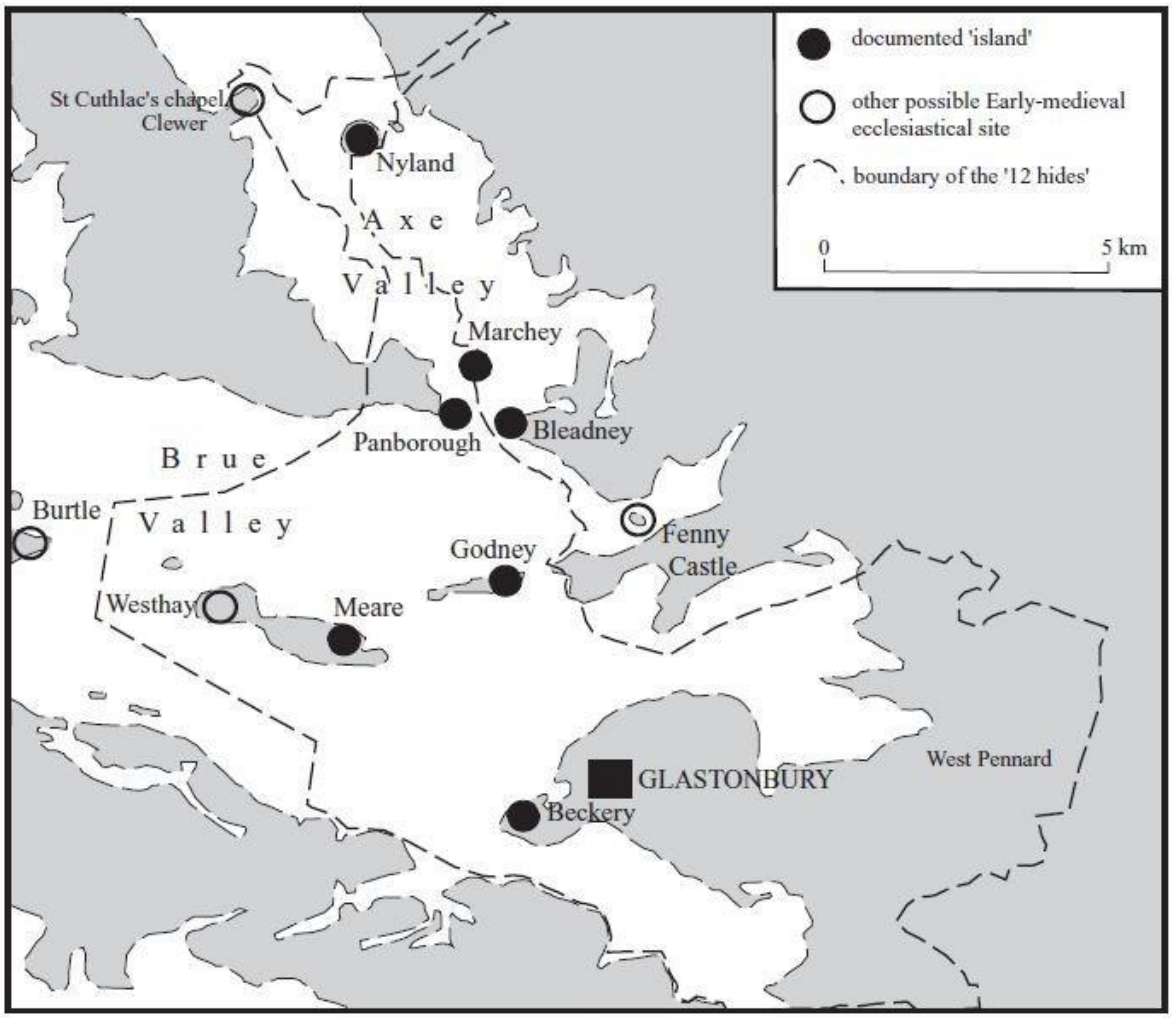

Figure 7.3: *The Islands of the Twelve Hides in their medieval topographical context. (reproduced from Rippon, "Making the Most of a Bad Situation?" Fig 4)*

***Figure 7.4**: Relief carving from the north portal of the Lady Chapel, showing St Brigid (in her common iconography of a woman milking a cow). (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 7.5: *The Lady Chapel, Glastonbury Abbey. The late-twelfth century building supposedly rests on the foundations of the legendary* Vetusta Ecclesia*, and based upon a surviving seal pre-dating the fire of 1184, it shares a number of architectural features, including the pepper-box' towers. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 7.6*: Detail, Lady Chapel blind arcading, south interior wall. (photo by Ross McIntire)*

Figure 7.7: *Detail, window, south wall of Lady Chapel. (photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 7.8**: detail, northeast crossing pier of abbey church, looking east. (photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 7.9**: Looking northeast from the summit of the Tor. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

A) Nyland **B**) Panborough **C**) Martinsey **D**) Meare

Figure 7.10*: 10c or 11c wheel-head cross fragment.* CASSS VII: Plate 254-255.

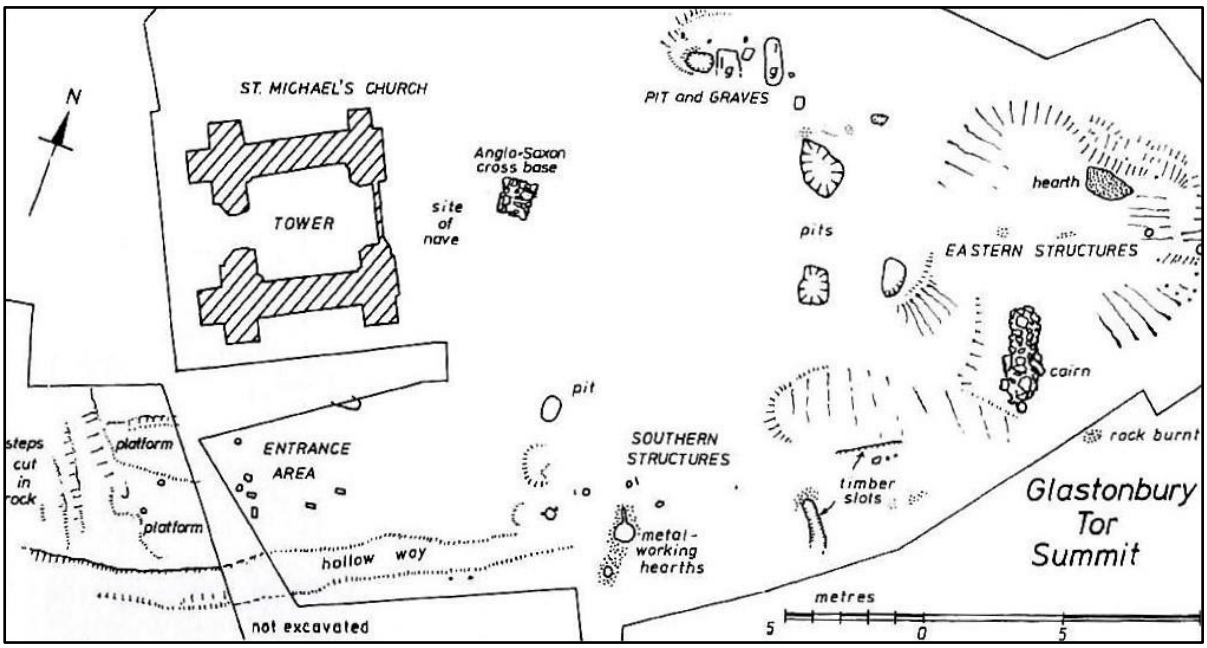

Figure 7.11: *Late-Saxon archaeology on the summit of the Tor, with the cross base located east of the later tower of St Michael's Church. (Reproduced from Rahtz and Watts,* Glastonbury: Myth and Archaeology*, Fig. 29)*

***Figure 7.12**: Relief carving of Brigid from the west face of the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century tower, Glastonbury Tor. (photo by Ross McIntire)*

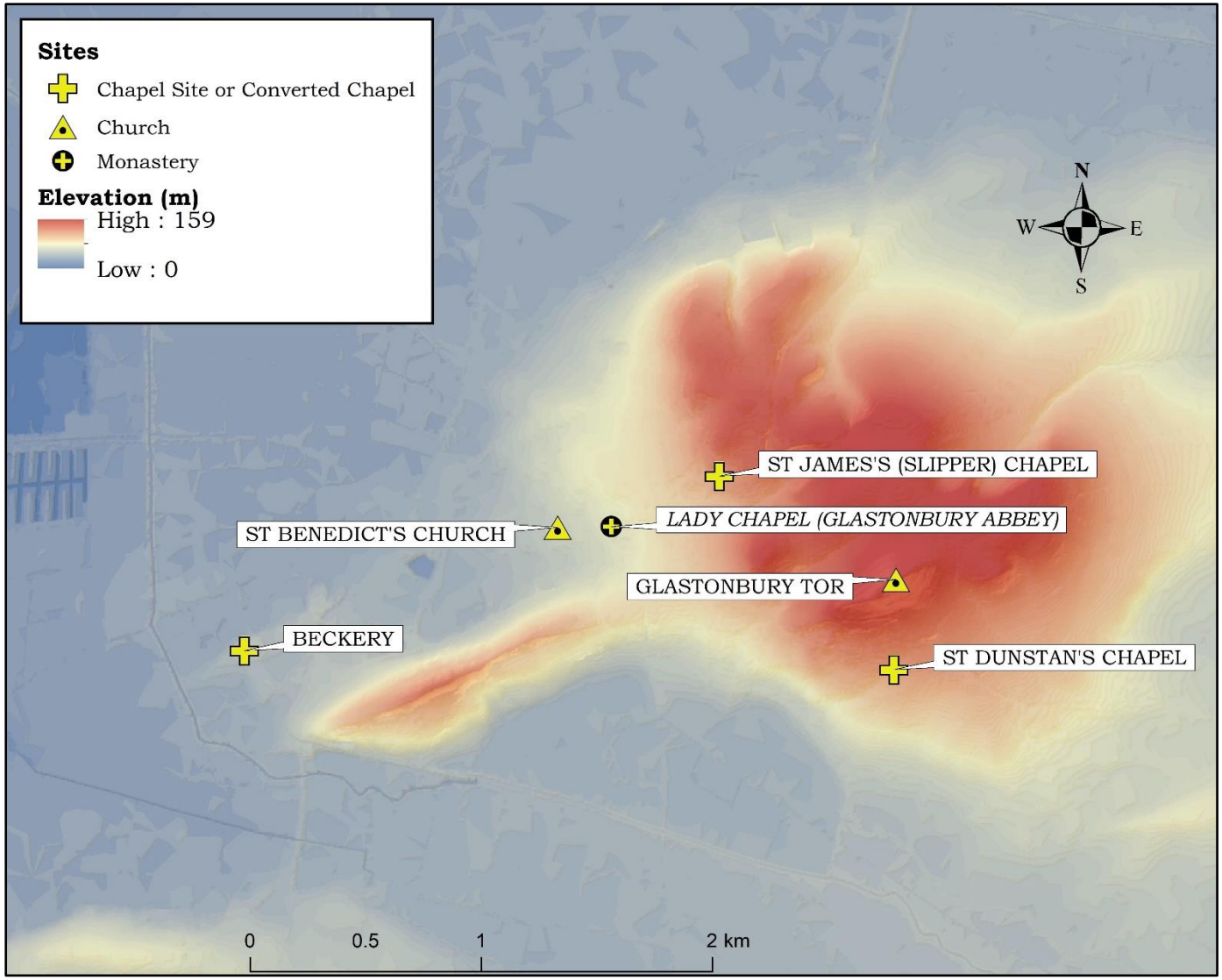

***Figure 7.13**: Sacred Sites of Glastonbury Town. (Created with ArcMap)*

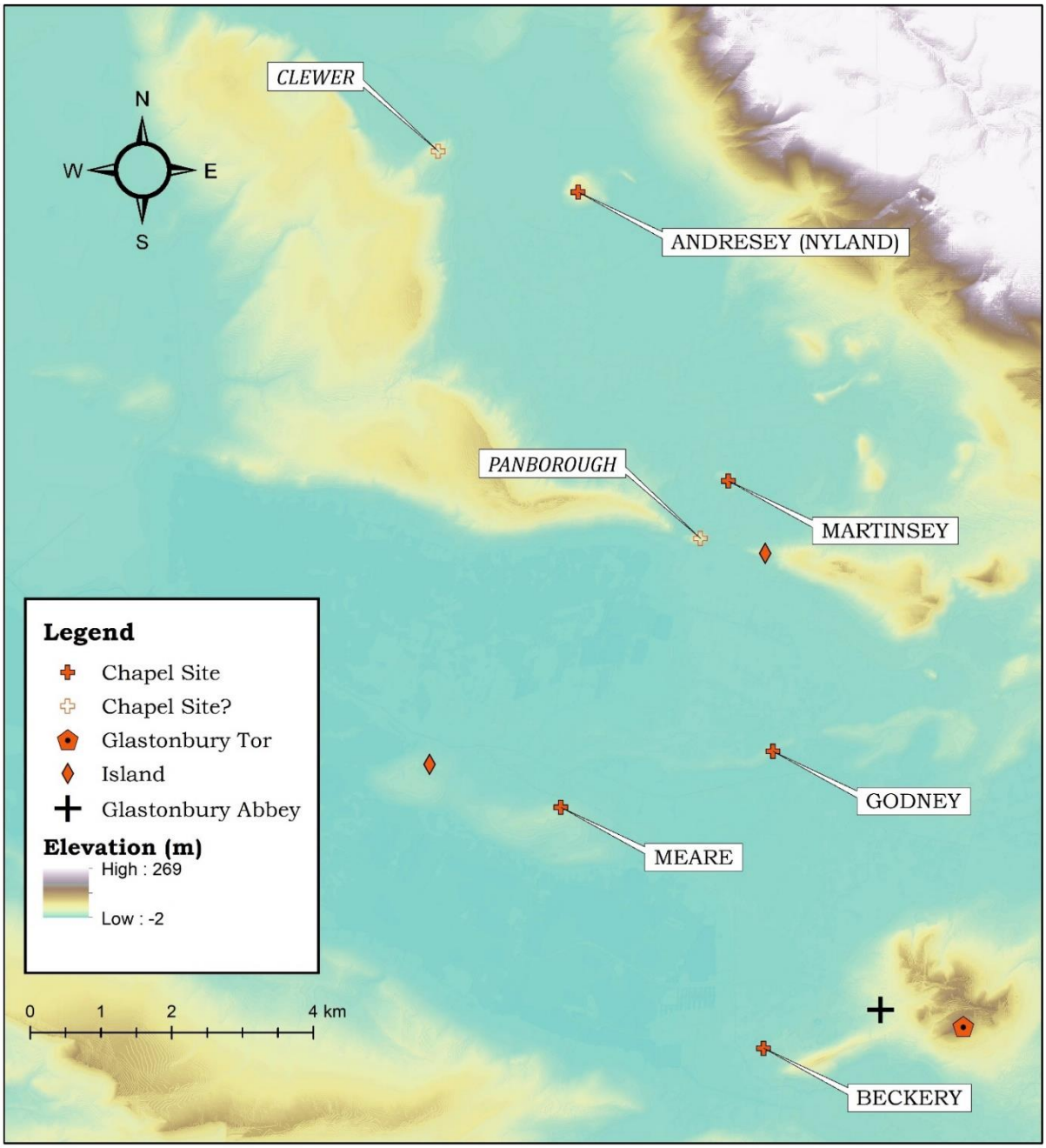

***Figure 7.14**: Glastonbury's Sacred Landscape. (Created in ArcMap)*

***Figure 7.15**: The sloping hill of the 'island' of Beckery, from the south. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

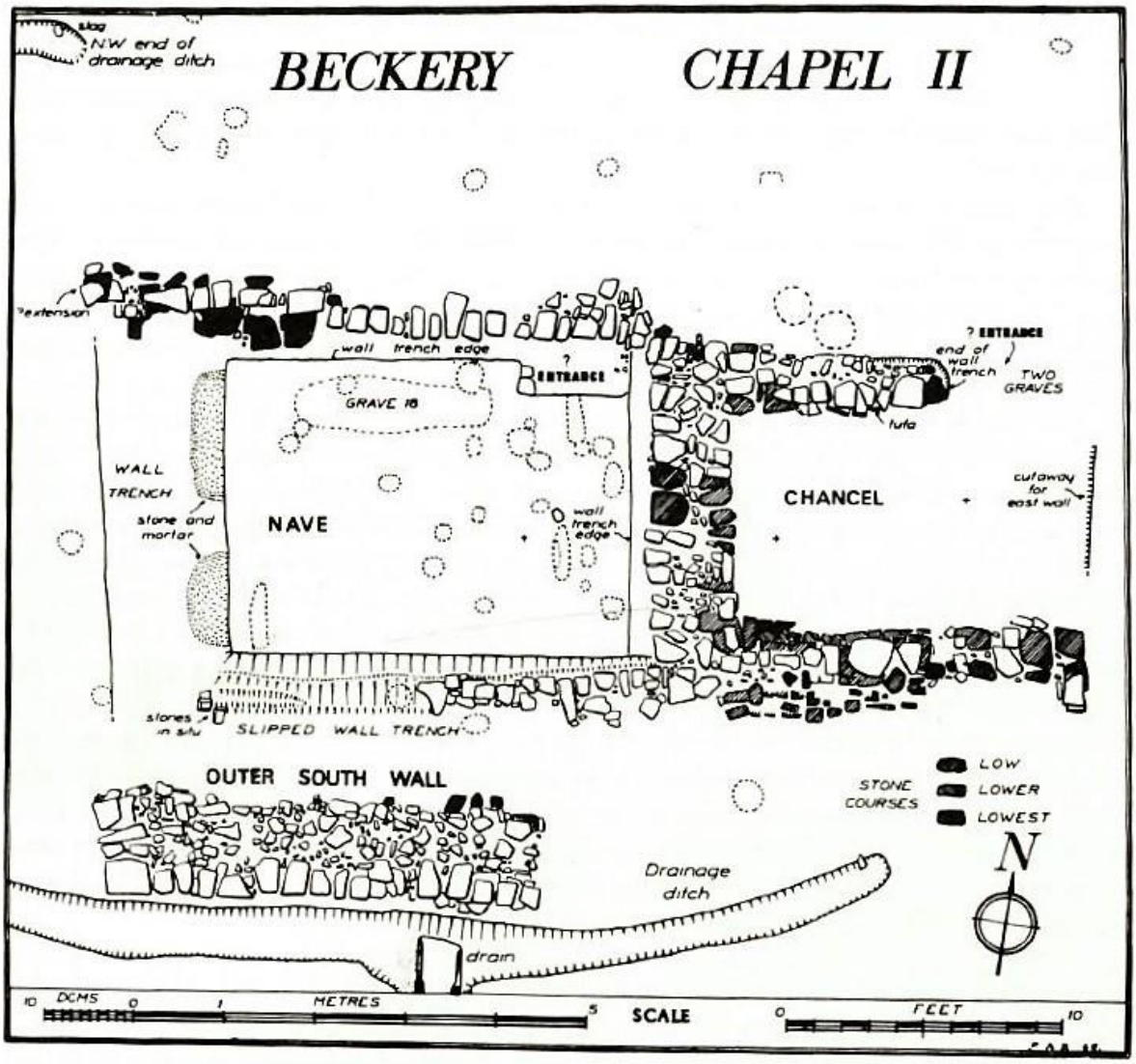

Figure 7.16*: Excavated remains of Chapel II, Beckery, late Anglo-Saxon to early Norman, including the 'outer' south wall. (Reproduced from Rahtz and Hirst,* Beckery, *Fig. 12)*

***Figure 7.17**: The fourteenth-century manorial complex of Meare from the east, with the Church of St Mary [L] and the medieval manor house [R]. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 7.18**: The island of Godney from the south, with the 1839 church of the Holy Trinity and Godney farm. (photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 7.19**: Panborough hill from the south (photo by Ross McIntire)*

***Figure 7.20**: Nyland Hill (formerly known as Andresey), looking north-west. The chapel of St Andrew is more likely to have stood on an area of flatter ground just above the medieval water table than at the summit. (Photo by Ross McIntire)*