

1 Introduction: the dimensions of sacred space in Reformation Europe

Will Coster and Andrew Spicer

Perhaps the most significant aspect of sacred space in Reformation studies over the last forty years has been its absence. This lacuna is striking because, since Mircea Eliade coined the phrase there has been a huge body of work on this subject generated by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, students of architecture, archaeologists and even by historians of other eras, stretching from ancient Greece to modern America.¹ Despite pioneering work by Natalie Zemon Davis on sixteenth-century Lyon, this picture has only recently begun to change.² Sacred space is fast becoming one of the major areas of study in late medieval and early modern religion.³ To date, however, there has been no serious and sustained attempt to investigate this important facet of the period in the variety of contexts that prevailed across the continent of Europe.

¹ M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York, 1959). On the ancient world see S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods, Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1998); B. Z. Kedar and R. J. Z. Werblowsky (eds.), *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land: Proceedings of the International Conference in Memory of Joshua Prawer* (Basingstoke, 1998); S. D. Kumin, *God's Place in the World: Sacred Space and Sacred Place in Judaism* (London, 1998); D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998). On America see, D. Chidester and E. T. Lithenthal (eds.), *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995); E. T. Lithenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana, Ill., 1993); D. C. Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore, Mass., 1991); P. W. Williams, *Houses of God: Region, Religion, and Architecture in the United States* (Urbana, Ill., 1997). In the aftermath of '9/11' the concept of sacred space has been frequently applied to 'Ground Zero'. See the useful review by P. W. Williams, 'Sacred space in North America', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70 (2002), 593–609.

² N. Z. Davis, 'The sacred and the body social in sixteenth-century Lyon', *P&P* 90 (1981), 40–70.

³ For examples of recent work see, J. M. Minty, 'Judengasse to Christian Quarter: the phenomenon of the converted synagogue in the late medieval and early modern Holy Roman Empire', in R. W. Scribner and T. Johnson (eds.), *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 58–86; P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 131–48; T. M. Lucas, *Landmarking, City, Church and Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago, 1997); R. McCoy, *Alternations of State, Sacred Kingship in the English Reformation* (New York, 2002), ch. 2.

The aim of this volume is to explore the many dimensions of sacred space in the context of one of the most significant events of this period of European history, the Reformation, in locations ranging from Britain to Moldavia, in a variety of cultural and religious contexts. The areas investigated cross not only the continent, but also the confessional divide, between the Catholicism that continued to dominate in the centre and the south (as well as the Orthodox faith to the east), and the Lutheranism and Calvinism that gained a foothold in the north, west and parts of eastern Europe. Each chapter provides a detailed investigation of an aspect of the general theme in a national or local context based on original research. The collection does not attempt to be a comprehensive study of this phenomenon, but enables the reader to draw his or her own comparisons across Europe and the period under study in a critical age that has undergone a revolution in perception in recent years.

It is no longer possible to argue that the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation were inevitable or even welcome events with roots deep in the failings and unpopularity of the medieval Church. Instead 'revisionism' has made it necessary to appreciate the ubiquity, functionality and popularity of late medieval Catholicism.⁴ Such an appreciation raises issues about the ability of reformers to impose or facilitate a transformation of religious life. This has turned the interest of historians away from the purely theological and administrative structures of rival churches, towards the impact of what is usually referred to as 'popular religion'.⁵ This shift has coincided with the rise of a form of cultural history with very similar aims, which has virtually subsumed the economic and social history that once dominated in academic circles.⁶

Such a form of investigation cannot be embarked upon in the same way as religious history was once undertaken. It demands different sources, such as wills, churchwardens' accounts, parish registers, court records,

⁴ C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975) and G. Strauss, 'Success and failure in the German Reformation', *P&P* 67 (1975), 30–65, are important points of departure.

⁵ On popular religion in general see B. Reay, 'Popular religion', in B. Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1985), pp. 91–128; Scribner and Johnson (eds.), *Popular Religion*, particularly the introduction by Scribner, pp. 1–15; K. von Greyerz, *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800* (London, 1984); R. W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987).

⁶ P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978); R. Muchembled, *Popular and Elite Culture in Early Modern France 1400–1750* (1978, Baton Rouge, La., 1985); B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550–1750* (London, 1998); S. L. Kaplan, *Understanding Popular Culture Between the Middle Ages and the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984); T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England 1500–1850* (London, 1995), especially ch. 1 by the editor, 'Problematising popular culture'; R. W. Scribner, 'Is a history of popular culture possible', *History of European Ideas* 10 (1987) 175–91.

as well as the visual and structural evidence provided by archaeology, art and architecture; it gives us the opportunity to understand the reception and impact of religion on the people, many aspects of which are reflected in the chapters present in this volume. But one of the strengths of the work in this collection is that the contributors are able to bring to bear an understanding of more traditional sources, including liturgical, theological and spiritual works, albeit with a new intellectual focus.

There has also been a shift towards seeing a plurality of Reformations, including those that can be described as magisterial, radical and Catholic, which has led to increasing scholarly fragmentation and an appreciation of the diverse nature of experiences of religious change.⁷ Moreover, where the Reformation was once seen as a single and abrupt watershed, historians now routinely talk of a 'long sixteenth century', whereby religious change stretches back to include earlier movements for reform. Other scholars have adopted a 'long reformation' that includes the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries.⁸

If post-revisionism can be defined as an attempt to investigate the ways in which the slow, hesitant and difficult process of religious change was undertaken on a broad canvas, it is hardly surprising that its proponents have begun to focus on understanding the concept of space within early modern religion. The ways in which space was created, and re-created, are an obvious means of investigating how change was achieved, or, just as importantly, how limited was its extent. Space is also much more than a physical issue; what is of chief concern to most of the historians currently working in this field is not the purely architectural utilisation of space, but what that can tell us about the *mentalité* of the people of Reformation Europe: how it reflected and reinforced their understanding of sanctity, divinity and themselves. Thus sacred space can be seen as situated at the crossroads of the major trends in the study of the Reformation, as a meeting place between popular religion and the attempt to reorder that religion. What is more, the collapse of the major intellectual structures that have dominated thinking about the Reformation, has also led to the study of sacred space beyond the initial period of change.

Late medieval Europe has long been seen as a landscape filled and defined by points of access to the holy: in the striking terminology of Henri Lefebvre, arguably the pre-eminent philosopher of space, it was a

⁷ C. Haigh, *English Reformations, Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993); C. Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford, 1996); J. D. Tracy, *Europe's Reformations* (Lanham, Md, 1999).

⁸ N. Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500–1800. The Neale Colloquium in British History* (Cambridge, 1998); see also Lindberg, *European Reformations*, p. 13 on the 'long sixteenth century'.

land 'haunted by the Church'.⁹ These included parish churches, chapels and cathedrals; abbeys, priories and nunneries; shrines, wells, springs and crosses; not to mention the caves and chambers of hermits and anchorites, the routes of pilgrimage, the sites of the dead and of martyrdom. Indeed, there were so many forms of sacred space in pre-Reformation Europe that it is impossible to compile a comprehensive list. It is not unreasonable to characterise late medieval Catholicism as a religion dependent on a highly complex landscape of the sacred.

It would, however, be misleading to depict the use of space across Catholic Europe as uniform. In a series of studies, Lionel Rothkrug, drawing a contrast with France, has pointed to the greater significance of holy sites over holy objects in late medieval Germany. Noting the different densities of such sites in the northern and southern empire, he even goes so far as to argue that there was a correlation between the success of the Reformation in those areas with few sacred sites and its failure in those regions with many.¹⁰ Some historians have taken exception to these conclusions, but they do, at the least, raise the possibility that there was a relationship between sacred space and the achievement of religious change. Such a relationship could be complex, as a religion that is closely tied to a map of the sacred may permeate the popular consciousness, but it is also highly vulnerable if that map is redrawn.¹¹

It is just such a reconfiguration that is associated with the Reformation. Reformers attacked the distinctiveness and efficacy of many sacred rites, assailed holy objects, broke down the barriers between the consecrated individual and the multitude, but they also launched an offensive on the sanctity of space. Luther denounced the dedication of churches as the first among 'the Pope's bag of impostures' and Calvin even more explicitly saw churches as not having any 'secret sanctity', but as convenient temples to house congregations.¹² This, linked to attacks on monasticism, purgatory

⁹ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (1974, Oxford, 1991), p. 254.

¹⁰ L. Rothkrug, 'Popular religion and holy shrines', in J. Obelkerich (ed.), *Religion and the People* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 20–86; L. Rothkrug, 'Religious practice and collective perceptions, hidden homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation', *Historical Reflections* 7 (1980); L. Rothkrug, 'Holy shrines, religious dissonance and Satan in the origins of the German Reformation', *Historical Reflections* 14 (1987), 143–286; L. Rothkrug, 'German holiness and Western sanctity in medieval and modern history', *Historical Reflections* 15 (1988), 161–249.

¹¹ A. Walsham, 'The reformation of the landscape: religion, memory and legend in early modern Britain', paper delivered at the Reformation Studies Colloquium at Easter 2004. Forthcoming publication of this research is planned.

¹² F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau (eds.), *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (St Louis, 1921), pp. 453–529; F. L. Battles (ed.), *John Calvin, Institutes*

and the cult of the saints, meant that shrines, relics and pilgrimage were destroyed; monasteries and chantries were dissolved; rood screens ripped down; altars stripped and moved; most strikingly iconoclasm 'purified' the internal landscape of churches and turned them from repositories of supernatural power to mere meeting houses.¹³

Thus the Reformation has traditionally been perceived as a process by which the sanctity of space, along with the other elements of the 'magic of religion' was destroyed: that it promoted, in Max Weber's famous phrase a 'disenchantment of the world'.¹⁴ In recent years Weber's thesis has been seriously undermined and there has been a growing awareness that Protestantism in its many forms could not entirely dispense with all elements of Catholic practice.¹⁵ Just as some of the sacraments were retained, so fonts, altars or communion tables, even churches themselves, could not be completely divorced from intimations of sanctity. As Bob Scribner put it, 'Protestantism was as caught up as Catholicism in the same dilemmas about the instrumental application of sacred power to secular life because it was positioned in the same forcefield of sacrality'.¹⁶ As the current research of Alex Walsham demonstrates, holy wells and other features in the landscape could remain centres of recusant worship in an overwhelmingly Protestant state, suggesting that the Reformation led not to the eradication of older patterns of sanctity in space, but to a modification of those views.¹⁷

of the Christian Religion, 1536 Edition (Grand Rapids, Mi., 1986), p. 73. For more detail of the Lutheran and Calvinist positions on the sanctity of churches see the contributions to this volume by Bridget Heal, Christian Grosse and Andrew Spicer.

- ¹³ C. M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986); E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992) and M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, I: Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988). For comments on icons and their context see L. P. Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands, Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 44, 133–47; N. Z. Davis, 'The rites of violence' in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 152–87; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in the Popular Religion of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1970), p. 35.
- ¹⁴ M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons (1930, London, 1985), p. 105. For Weber, Calvinism was the major step in this process. See also Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 58–89.
- ¹⁵ R. A. Mentzer, 'The persistence of "superstition and idolatry" among rural French Calvinists', *Church History* 65 (1996), 220–33; see also W. G. Naphy and H. Parish (eds.), *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (Manchester, 2003).
- ¹⁶ R. W. Scribner, 'The Reformation, popular magic and the disenchantment of the World', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1993), 475–94; R. W. Scribner, 'The impact of the Reformation on daily life', in *Mensch und Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Leiben, Atag, Kultur* (Vienna, 1990).
- ¹⁷ Walsham, 'The reformation of the landscape'; see also her chapter in this volume.

Some Protestants consciously retained the existing landscape of the holy. In Lutheran cities such as Nuremberg and Lübeck, the sacred topography of Catholicism was assimilated into Protestantism. Moreover, those religious communities that were forced to create new spaces for worship and ritual had to find precedents and develop their own concepts of how space should be organised and apportioned, even in the heart of the Calvinist movement, the ‘new Jerusalem’ of Geneva, what took place was not a process of desacralisation, but rather a rearrangement of space according to a new conception of the sacred. Beyond Geneva, there was an apparent contradiction in the Reformed Church’s practice of combating the ‘superstitious customs’ that reflected a continued belief in the sanctity of the church, while also attempting to protect the building from profanation.¹⁸

On the other side of the religious divide the Council of Trent placed an emphasis on the repair of ruined churches and shrines and on order and reverence within church services, but the Catholic Church could not hope simply to maintain its map of the sacred intact.¹⁹ The resurgence of ecclesiastical patronage, the construction and refurbishment of the churches of Rome, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, culminating in the completion of St Peter’s Basilica, made an emphatic and symbolic statement of the importance and sanctity of the Eternal City. The exuberance of the Baroque was part of a wider readjustment to the changed religious landscape. At the centre of the Catholic world, a number of writers redrew and redefined the sacred space of Rome for visitors and devout inhabitants, linking the present with their sacred past.²⁰ Beyond Rome, the fact that many areas of Europe were converted to Protestantism inevitably meant a wider realignment of the geography of holiness, and the war against heresy also created new centres of sanctity and the need to resanctify territory and sites restored to Catholic control.²¹ In the reconquered kingdom of seventeenth-century Bohemia, this necessitated the creation of new religious identities in the resanctification of ‘heretical’ space. But as the research of Elizabeth Tingle and Alexandra Walsham shows us, the Counter-Reformation was linked to the reordering of the physical world and a revisiting and reintegration of the pre-Christian landscape into a system of sacred spatial organisation. It reminds us that sacred space was transformed by the rise of new and the renewal of old religious

¹⁸ See the chapters by Bridget Heal, Christian Grosse and Andrew Spicer below.

¹⁹ J. Waterworth (ed.), *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent* (London, 1848), pp. 150–1, 161, 265–6.

²⁰ See Simon Ditchfield’s chapter in this volume.

²¹ T. M. Buttner, ‘The significance of the Reformation for the re-orientation of geography of religion in Germany’, *History of Science* 17 (1979), 151–69.

movements within the Catholic Church, but had also been appropriated by the Church in the past from other religions.²² Thus one of the by-products of the Counter-Reformation was a reassessment and a reassertion of the place of the holy on earth.

In the light of these findings it is necessary to re-evaluate our traditional view of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation as, respectively, movements for the destruction and preservation of sacred space. Instead we need to consider both as creative and adaptive forces, retaining functional elements of the existing system and developing new organisations of the holy. Across Europe and the religious divide, the removal of traditional social events such as dances, courts, communal meetings and ales from churches can be seen as a part of a process of the re-sacralisation of the church.²³ It seems then this period saw a 're-formation' of sacred space, in more than one sense.

If sacred space was not simply swept away by the Reformation then we need to consider how it survived and its nature in what was inevitably a much more complex and contradictory picture of religious experience than the one that historians have traditionally drawn. These may be defined as the problems of contestation, liminality, subdivision, polarity, dimension and meaning.

The simple division of topography into sacred and profane spheres assumes a set of shared values and beliefs, but that consensus could be absent. Even within the orthodox Catholic Church of the pre-Reformation era there were many instances where the sanctity of different sites was a subject of negotiation or dispute, and there existed groups within medieval society, most obviously the Jews, with clearly distinct views of the sanctity of space.²⁴ This problem was all the more acute after the Reformation in those places where the high tide of reform had left pools of alternative belief. Recent work by Lisa McClain and Frances Dolan has drawn attention to the implications of this problem among the English Catholic minority in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

²² See chapters by Howard Louthan, Elizabeth Tingle and Alexandra Walsham below; A. G. Remensnyder, 'The colonization of sacred architecture: the Virgin Mary, mosques and temples in medieval Spain and early sixteenth-century Mexico', in S. Farmer and B. H. Rosenwein (eds.), *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts. Religion in Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 189–219.

²³ C. J. Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England, From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (Oxford, 1992), p. 30, observes that, 'Reformation changes in the use of space within churches might well strike us as a sacralization of these buildings, rather than a secularization.'

²⁴ C. Zika, 'Hosts, processions and pilgrimage: controlling the sacred in fifteenth-century Germany', *P&P* 181 (1988), 25–64; K. R. Stow, 'Holy body, holy society: medieval structural conceptions', in Kedar and Werblowsky (eds.), *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, pp. 151–71.

centuries, while in contrast Penny Roberts has illustrated the difficulties faced by the Huguenots in France.²⁵ Norman Jones has seen these circumstances as creating areas of 'neutral space'.²⁶ In an urban context, confessional divides within communities necessitated the careful articulation of space to maintain separate and distinct places. But this negotiated sacred topography presented a number of battlegrounds for confessional conflict and contestation, especially when the balance between the religious faiths was altered.²⁷

To understand these borders we have to approach the much-discussed concept of liminality. This was originally identified by Arnold van Gennep to highlight the boundaries surrounding ritual states, movement between which is facilitated by rites of passage.²⁸ In liminality the bridges between states, in this case between zones of sanctity and profanity, act as places of possibility and danger. Some historians have been unconvinced by the rigidity of these boundaries and have concluded that the contrast was not between sacred and profane worlds, rather in the words of R. W. Scribner, 'the sacred is . . . experienced from *within the profane*'.²⁹ Furthermore if we consider this from another perspective, 'one of the defining characteristics of baroque style is this fusion of sacred and profane imagery'.³⁰ Therefore we need not consider sacred and profane space as distinct and totally opposed zones.

It has long been noted that in the early Church the location of the tombs of saints, usually outside of an urban centre, often led to the establishment of ecclesiastical buildings on or near such sites, acquiring sanctity by association, like pieces of iron undergoing polarisation by a magnet.³¹

²⁵ L. McClain, 'Without church, cathedral or shrine: the search for religious space among Catholics in England, 1550–1625', *SCJ* 33 (2002), 381–99; F. E. Dolan, 'Gender and the "lost" spaces of Catholicism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002), 641–60; P. Roberts, 'The most crucial battle of the wars of religion? The conflict over sites for reformed worship in sixteenth-century France', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 89 (1998), 247–66.

²⁶ N. Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 33–4.

²⁷ See the chapters by Duane Corpis and Amanda Eurich below; G. (Ineke) Justiz, 'Reforming space, reordering reality: Naumberg's Herren Gasse in the 1540s', *SCJ* 33 (2002), 625–48.

²⁸ A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M. B. Vizdeom and G. L. Caffee (Chicago, 1960); V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978); Kumin, *God's Place in the World*, pp. 30–8.

²⁹ R. W. Scribner, 'Cosmic order and daily life: sacred and secular in pre-industrial German society', in his *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), p. 2.

³⁰ B. L. Brown, 'Between the sacred and profane', in L. Brown (ed.), *The Genius of Rome, 1592–1623* (London, 2001), pp. 276–303; quotation at p. 281.

³¹ P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).

Routes to these sites of pilgrimage, particularly like those to the most famous shrines could themselves become veins of sacred force, and the chapels or shrines erected along them began to acquire their own status as holy ground.³² As Edward Muir has argued in relation to Italian cities, the distinction between the sacred church and the profane world around it was blurred by holy images ‘extending the sacrality of the church outward’.³³ Ecclesiastical buildings themselves demonstrate a complex language of space, an interaction between ideals of the utilisation of existing topography and the continuing development of a long tradition of the architectural mapping of sanctity that can be seen most obviously in the great cathedrals and monasteries.³⁴ Moreover, as Barbara Rosenwein has demonstrated in a wide-ranging study, ideas of immunity and sanctity created by space have long been a subject of negotiation between the church and the state.³⁵ Thus the division or relationship between profane and sacred space was constantly in flux; sacred objects and sacred places tended to become surrounded by other zones of sanctity that could be different in their character and intensity.³⁶

The results of these factors were gradations of holiness within sacred sites: for example, the church within the churchyard, the chapel within the church, the altar within the chapel. In late medieval Catholicism Christians crossed boundaries of holiness between different zones, or had their representative, the priest, cross these boundaries on their behalf, moving closer to the holy. In this way, sacred space defined religious experience, but it also reflected social experience. As a number of historians have noted, these concerns meant that sacred space was often sub-divided in ways that reflected and reinforced the nature of the social order. Seating in churches, which had begun to be employed in the late medieval period, was sometimes used to separate men from women, the young from the old, but most frequently it reflected the hierarchical social structure of early modern society.³⁷ The greater status of some points in

³² Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*; R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James' Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1986).

³³ E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981).

³⁴ M. Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, *Medieval Church Studies* 1 (Turnhout, Belgium, 2001); R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London, 1994) and see also her *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (Leicester, 1995) for a consideration of less prominent sites.

³⁵ B. H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999).

³⁶ F. De Polignac, *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City State*, trans. J. Lloyd (Chicago, 1995).

³⁷ M. Aston, ‘Segregation in church’, in D. Webb (ed.), *Women in the Church*, SCH 27 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 237–94; C. Marsh, ‘“Common Prayer” in England 1560–1640: the

the church was thus echoed in seating patterns, but space could also be sub-divided by other factors.

The issue of gender in sacred space has received some attention in recent years, while gendered space has become a major area of investigation in both late medieval and early modern social history.³⁸ Although we have important work on female monasticism, there has been very little exploration of the ways in which these two factors met to create lay versions of gendered sacred space, for example in terms of shrines, or the organisation of churches.³⁹ Perhaps for the epitome of gendered sacred space we have to look to the growth of 'twin' religious houses with communities of both monks and nuns. A number of the chapters in this volume indicate the ways in which gender not only provided sub-divisions, but also led to single-gendered spaces.⁴⁰

The character of sacred space not only reflected relations between parishioners, but the church and churchyard, serving as the places of burial and ritual, have been seen as structuring the relationships between the 'age groups' of the living and of the dead.⁴¹ It has become a commonplace of Reformation historiography that Protestantism, by abolishing Purgatory and the cult of the saints, severed these relationships.⁴² This view has recently been challenged, by pointing to continuing concerns among Protestants regarding their deceased relatives and ancestors.⁴³ Not

view from the pew', *PG&P* 171 (2001), 66–94; C. Marsh, 'Sacred space in England, 1560–1640: the view from the pew', *JEH* 53 (2002), 286–311; A. Spicer, "'Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Word": preaching, pews and Reformed worship in Scotland, 1560–1638', *History* 88 (2003), 405–22.

³⁸ For examples of gendered sacred space for other periods see: D. Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992); S. Ardener, *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (Berg, 1993); L. McDowell and J. P. Sharp (eds.), *Space, Gender, Knowledge, Feminist Readings* (Oxford, 1997); A. I. Kahera, *Deconstructing the American Mosque: Space, Gender and Aesthetics* (Austin, 2002). For women's space in society see B. A. Hanawalt, 'At the margins of women's space in medieval Europe', in her *'Of Good and Ill Repute': Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1998); A. J. Chutte, T. Kuchn and S. S. Menchi (eds.), *Time, Space and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe* (Kirkville, Mo., 2001); B. Capp, *When Gossips Meet Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003).

³⁹ Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*; U. Strasser, 'Bones of contention: cloistered nuns, decorated relics, and the contest over women's place in the public sphere of Counter-Reformation Munich', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 90 (1999), 254–88.

⁴⁰ For sub-division by gender see the chapter by Will Coster and for male space see that by Trevor Johnson below.

⁴¹ N. Z. Davis, 'Some tasks and themes in the study of popular religion', in C. Trinkaus and H. A. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 327–8.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 330; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 474–5; S. C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: an Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London, 1997), p. 178; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p. 396.

⁴³ P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 188–231.