PAST & PRESENT



Durham Cathedral

Report and findings March 2017



Arts & Humanities Research Council



Contents

Contents	i
Project summary, team and acknowledgements	ii
Introduction	1
1. Cathedrals as multi-purpose spaces	3
2. Experiencing worship	5
3. Enhancing spiritual engagement	7
4. Experiencing the building	9
5. Festivals and special events	. 11
6. Saints, beliefs and traditions	. 13
7. Pilgrimage and the Cathedral	. 15
8. Leaving and taking away	. 17
9. Belonging, identity and ownership	. 19
10. Building wider relationships	.21
Appendix 1: Durham Cathedral question data overview	.23
Appendix 2: Durham Cathedral demographic data overview	.29

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Project summary, team and acknowledgements

Project summary

This report is the product of a three-year interdisciplinary research project (2014-2017) funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council and led by a team based at the University of York. The project examined the history and contemporary experience of pilgrimage in its broadest sense through the lens of casestudies of four English cathedrals: Canterbury, Durham, Westminster and York. The chief interdisciplinary strands were history, social science, anthropology, theology and religious studies. Through a combination of historical research and on-site fieldwork the team has been enabled to compare past practice with modern experience in a new way. The project has examined people's expectations and the ways in which these were met or modified by their experience of engagement with each building and the community it houses.

Project team

The Principal Investigator was Dr Dee Dyas (University of York), a recognised authority on pilgrimage, who is currently carrying out detailed research on engagement with sacred space. The two Co-Investigators were Dr Marion Bowman (Open University) and Professor Simon Coleman (University of Toronto). Dr Bowman is a Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, a recognised specialist in contemporary vernacular religion and pilgrimage. Professor Coleman is an anthropologist who holds a chair in The Study of Religion, specialising in the theory of pilgrimage and the study of cathedrals. The Research Assistants were Dr John Jenkins and Dr Tiina Sepp. Dr Jenkins is a medieval historian who has undertaken research into the experience and management of pilgrimage, worked with Dr Bowman and Professor Coleman, to undertake extensive on-site fieldwork and interviewing of participants for the study.

Acknowledgements

The project team would like to record their considerable gratitude to the staff and volunteers at Durham Cathedral for all the help, support and goodwill they showed to the project across the three years of research. We hope the results of our work will assist this hardworking team to continue to enhance the mission of the cathedral to worshippers and visitors, of every faith and none, who cross the threshold of this special place.

Introduction

Context

In 2012 the *Spiritual Capital* report estimated that 27% of the resident adult population of England (roughly 11 million adults) had visited a Church of England cathedral at least once in the previous year. One of the report's key findings states:

Cathedrals are not just tourist destinations but places that can convey a sense of the spiritual and sacred even to those who are on the margins of Christian faith, or who stand some way beyond... this presents cathedrals with enormous potential.

Theos/Grubb Institute

This 'enormous potential' for engaging with visitors from many backgrounds is hardly news to those responsible for the life, worship, and ministry of welcome of our cathedrals. Most would agree that the continuing rise in visitor numbers, together with the growing interest in spirituality, 'special' places and pilgrimage shown by so many today, offer great opportunities for mission and community building. They also bring significant challenges in terms of resources and strategy.

The 'Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals, Past and Present' (PEC) Research Project

Since 2014 the PEC team has been working with Durham Cathedral staff and volunteers on an agreed plan of research exploring the cathedral's history *and* contemporary visitor experience. Both perspectives are key to understanding the way the Cathedral was designed and used in the past, and recognising the needs, expectations and aspirations of today's multiple audiences. The team has explored a wide range of evidence related to the Cathedral's mission, management, and stated purpose *'to worship God, share the gospel of Jesus Christ, welcome all who come, celebrate and pass on our rich Christian heritage and discover our place in God's creation.*' This summary report is designed to promote discussion, highlight examples of best practice, and build on current achievements to enhance further the Cathedral's outreach and the experience of all who visit.

Some key issues

- Cathedrals have worship, welcome and witness at their core, yet they are now welcoming increasingly diverse audiences for whom both worship and witness may seem alien. Is the answer to keep worship and tourism apart or to allow worship to speak to all visitors?
- Cathedrals are shared but diverse spaces inhabited by many groups: staff, volunteers, visitors of all
 ages and interests, pilgrims, regular congregations and other worshippers. All affect each other; all
 are affected by and influence the shared space. How helpful is it to see them as separate rather than
 overlapping categories? Should everyone, whatever their reasons for being in the space, be seen as
 a 'potential pilgrim' capable of spiritual response?
- Cathedrals now often speak of 'pilgrims' but what or who *is* a pilgrim? In Christian tradition pilgrimage
 can be a journey through life, an inner journey, and a journey to a holy place. All who cross cathedral
 thresholds are on a life journey, with many keen to take the chance to reflect on it or spend time in
 quiet. Evidence shows a wide range of interaction with sacred places, past and present. This may
 include formal 'pilgrim' activity but may also be fluid, spontaneous and variable, even within a single
 visit. What does this mean for managing visitors and the use and presentation of buildings?
- Cathedrals have multiple identities. How can they combine being major heritage sites and civic resources with retaining their core role of offering worship and being places of spiritual encounter, rather than museums? What is the balance between access and control?
- Cathedrals are places of 'spiritual heritage'. How do they explain their meaning to visitors who may come from any faith or none and have little if any Christian understanding?

Most cathedrals today present a 'stripped back' appearance compared to the rich splendour of their medieval predecessors, yet human beings learn and respond through their senses. What can cathedrals offer today to enhance learning, experience, encounter and response? How can they encourage return visits, and a feel of ownership, especially for local people?

Principles of Investigation

Our team consists of historians and social scientists, all with experience of working in Christian contexts. Team members are aware that their role is not to redescribe the cathedral for staff who already know its spaces intimately. Rather, the aim is to develop a holistic perspective that would be difficult for any single person to attain. Thus, we are guided by a number of general principles:

- An interdisciplinary approach is necessary to understand how current understandings and uses of cathedrals relate to their role in the recent as well as more distant past.
- Cathedrals are not only important *repositories* and *guardians*, but also significant *interpreters*, of history, through exhibitions, guided tours, notices, and material culture.
- Worship spaces are vital parts of cathedrals, accessible to the public, but our focus on the management, mission, and civic profile of cathedrals means that we are interested in all dimensions of work associated with cathedrals. We have therefore developed techniques to learn from as many people as possible with connections to cathedrals.

Methods

These guiding principles led us to develop the following research strategies:

- Study of cathedral archives.
- Tracing shifts in spatial arrangements and uses of cathedrals over time.
- Consulting previous works published about cathedrals, including commissioned reports.
- Techniques designed to gain a wide and rich variety of information, including:
- Direct observation of behaviour in cathedrals from different vantage points, during different seasons and special events, and at different times of the day.
- Interviews with both staff and visitors to cathedrals. The term 'staff' is understood to cover a wide variety of roles, ranging from senior clergy to volunteers. The term 'visitors' is taken to cover both local residents and travellers.
- Questionnaires distributed from a project table located within the cathedral.
- Online responses/ email interviews as a means of gaining extended insights from even brief visitors, regardless of their home location.
- Observation of social media.

Conceptual Frameworks

While this report presents detailed analyses of different spaces and uses of the cathedral, our research has uncovered broad themes, derived from our observations and academic literatures. These themes represent challenges but also great opportunities for cathedrals:

- The significance of adjacencies, i.e. the ways cathedrals house different activities, often simultaneously, within close proximity. Boundaries between these activities may be fuzzy.
- Cathedrals as containing tight and loose spaces: sometimes, activity in a cathedral is highly focused and regulated in space and time, as during a service; sometimes activities are far less regulated and focused, as during times of open access. Staff manage the often swift transitions between these different uses of space.
- Cathedrals as places of low thresholds, but high expectations. Apart from charging for entry in some cases, cathedrals are open freely to all; but those who come may have high expectations for spiritual or heritage experiences.
- Spaces with norms of access and behaviour. Cathedrals control access (times and spaces). Behavioural protocols (ideas of 'appropriate behaviour' not necessarily shared by/ explained to visitors) are important to convey without censure: these are often key in determining the experience of visitors, and key points of challenge for staff.
- Spaces of relationality. Cathedrals are places where people may seek anonymity, but may also seek
 connections with fellow visitors, faith, history, their city, etc. Sometimes, the connections they make
 are unexpected, leading to surprising transitions in identity, as between a 'tourist' and a 'pilgrim'.

1. Cathedrals as multi-purpose spaces

Cathedrals have always been places of multiple roles and significance. This fact is one of their great strengths; it also underlies many of the challenges they face today. Recent decades have seen English cathedrals build up congregations, attract greater heritage visitor numbers, develop an increasing range of civic roles and provide very popular 'venues' for cultural and educational events. These developments offer great potential for mission; they also place great demands on resources and on the ability of cathedrals to maintain a clear identity. How can 21st century cathedrals combine being major heritage and cultural sites with their key roles of offering worship and providing spaces which will encourage even casual visitors to begin to sense the reality of God and become intrigued by the Christian story? To what extent can multiple activities and audiences co-exist positively and creatively? The ways in which Durham Cathedral is seeking to answer these questions not only have local relevance, but can make a major contribution to the national debate as all cathedrals look to the future.

Historical perspectives

Durham Cathedral has long had multiple roles. It was founded as a monastery and although the shrine of St Cuthbert made it a major pilgrimage destination, the monks often had different priorities. Pilgrims always had to be accommodated around the primary business of the monastic liturgy. Those who came to the Cathedral rarely did so for one easily-identifiable purpose. In the medieval period, for example, a visitor could come to worship, pray, hear a sermon, seek St Cuthbert's aid, attend the ecclesiastical court, or any combination of these and other activities. Rather than categorise them by action, the focus was on providing a spiritual and special experience for all.

Contemporary observations

Today the Cathedral is not only a sacred space but part of a World Heritage site. The management of multiple audiences is a major challenge, both in terms of overall strategies and of interactions between visitors, Cathedral staff and volunteers, including assessments made of the likely interests and potential engagement of varied visitors. Some of the key topics addressed in this report include looking at how worshippers and heritage visitors can co-exist in the same space positively and how spiritual engagement for all can be enhanced. Both historical perspectives on Durham's past, and social science insights on the value of 'porous boundaries' between groups and spaces, indicate that it may not be necessary or helpful to categorise user groups too definitely. The data collected by the *Spiritual Capital* report suggested that 'the distinction between tourists and pilgrims is "'fuzzy''. Those that appear to be secular tourists nevertheless understand that cathedrals hold '*spiritual capital*', and even look to tap into it for themselves.' Our research confirms these findings. We therefore want to suggest that re-examining the pilgrimage terminology used so widely today and looking at ways in which *all* those who enter can be seen as 'potential pilgrims' (that is, those who are open to learning to engage with sacred spaces), could be a useful way forward.

Cathedrals across the country use the terms 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage' widely today but it is clear that many staff and volunteers often need more help in seeing how these concepts can work on the ground in providing for and approaching visitors. We propose that harnessing the full range of meanings of pilgrimage within Christian thought, i.e. a) the New Testament sense of life as a pilgrim journey, b) inner journey/pilgrimage through prayer and meditation, c) journeying to 'holy places', could offer a range of ways in which all who visit could, if they wish, find access to spiritual experience and be helped 'to encounter God', a key aspect of this Cathedral's aims.

- 'We welcome all who cross our threshold... We help people to encounter God' (Durham Cathedral our Mission and Vision'). How can all visitors increasingly be welcomed and guided in ways which create and maintain openness to all aspects of the space? How can this ethos be maintained?
- How can the Cathedral maximise the positive power of the 'fuzzy' or 'porous' boundary'?

- 'Durham, with its enormous mass and its three great towers standing on a lofty promontory, round which the River Wear sweeps in a defile, makes a picture unrivalled perhaps by any other cathedral.' Sir T. G. Jackson, 1925
- '[Dean Alington] saw that if the Cathedral were to be what he believed it ought to be, a place of worship to which all should be attracted and to which all should be welcome, something of the glory and the colour which had once adorned it in the Middle Ages must be restored: it must be made as lovely as he, the Dean, and Chapter could make it. Hence it became his absorbing care to dream and plan for the increase of its beauty.' Cyril Alington, Dean, obituary, 1955
- '[The Cathedral's] particular ministry was to the senses rather than the intellect and it was one of my desires to foster a closer relationship between the Cathedral and the arts, not only in word and music, but also in the visual arts, including drama, sculpture, stained glass, painting, metalwork and embroidery.' Peter Baelz, Dean, 1980-89
- 'An interesting footnote to the common perception of increasing secularisation, which is being accompanied in some respects by increased sacralisation. People have rediscovered the need to celebrate and to commemorate, and their first thought is, "Let us have a special service in the Cathedral". John Arnold, Dean, 1989-2002 Durham Cathedral: History Fabric & Culture (2015)
- '[Durham] Cathedral has a more robust and less fragile atmosphere than many more modern parish churches. The sense of the sacred re-asserts itself with effortless ease which gives us the courage to welcome the so-called secular, as in a recent celebration of the Eucharist with music by... Duke Ellington, and the more controversial exhibiting of the AIDS quilt.' John Arnold, Dean, 1996
- 'Like the vast majority of our built religious heritage, the Cathedral is still what it was constructed to be, a living, working, praying community of men, women and children. I call this the human texture of heritage and it is immensely precious.' Michael Sadgrove, former Dean, 2016

- 'The Cathedral is a treasure in itself, an architectural reliquary holding the remains of not one saint... but two. It is the Open Treasure of the North East, holding the saints of early Christianity in these lands side by side with the heroes of the Durham Light Infantry and the victims of mining disasters. But above and beyond all that, 'Open Treasure' points us to the Treasure of the Christian Faith, the Treasure which is open to all.' Andrew Tremlett, Sermon on Installation as Dean, 2016
- 'There are people who very specifically come here because it is the resting place of St Cuthbert and also Bede, and I think there's an important draw and attraction but I would say that is a relatively small proportion. I think for most people, they're probably more drawn to it because Bill Bryson said it's the best cathedral on planet Earth. But I do think it is an icon of the North East and I think if you're in the North East it is definitely one of the tickable visiting places.' Cathedral staff
- 'For some, it's Cuthbert. It's the shrine of Cuthbert and Bede. And the ancient changelessness of it is really important. The grandeur and beauty of it. To be in that place that's been prayed in for 1,000 years can be so important. But also it's a very open space. It's a very church-y space, but it's a public space as well, that you don't have to belong to the cathedral to go to.' Local resident
- 'I think that's why people come here because it's got years of history and I say to visitors, "If only walls could talk", the history behind the place... a feeling of a great spirituality in the building. But of course it's not the building that makes it spiritual, it's the people here...' Cathedral staff
- 'There are many people who come to the cathedral simply to look at it as a piece of architecture. They [say] "What a wonderful building, aren't you fortunate to have this? And I quite often say, "Yes it is wonderful but it is not what matters! It is worshipping that matters.' Worshipper

2. Experiencing worship

The Cathedral has in the past successfully integrated visitors and services but currently there is a tendency to keep services and non-worshipping visitors apart, perhaps because they are seen as potentially disruptive to each other. To what extent can experiencing worship *help* 'tourists' become 'pilgrims'? How can the Cathedral increasingly use its '**adjacencies**', and multiple spaces to encourage visitors to observe and learn from one another, and move closer to the meaning of the building?

Historical perspectives

When the current Cathedral was built, lay people wishing to visit St Cuthbert's shrine could only do so outside service hours, as it lay behind the High Altar and was only accessible through the Quire. Individual pilgrims were allowed in by the sacristan 'when the monks were not in the church'. Yet miracle stories show a number of visitors having their most intense and fulfilling experiences in the nave or chapels against a background of worship. The creation of the Chapel of Nine Altars made possible lay visits to St Cuthbert *around* the central activity of the monastic liturgy. The architectural change rendered the pilgrims' potentially disruptive presence compatible with liturgical life; the activities henceforth overlapped and visitor behaviour was 'controlled' by music, incense, candles, and prayer. Thereafter the shrine opening hours coincided with the monastic hours, so the pilgrims' experience was heightened by the backdrop of worship.

This integration was lost after the Reformation. Increasingly service attendance (free) and visiting (charged-for) came to be regarded as separate activities, with one not allowed to 'disturb' the other. Visitors to Durham in the 18th and early 19th centuries paid for a verger-led tour, although charges were abolished, except for the tower, in 1841. This, along with the cathedral staying open until 6pm, has remained largely unchanged ever since. The provision of services has shifted greatly, the two most important changes of recent decades being the movement of Communion from 7.30am to 12.30, and Evensong from 3pm to 5.15pm. Communion used to take place before visitor hours; it has now moved to the middle of the day but the sense of it being 'a closed service' has persisted to some extent.

Contemporary observations

On weekdays, morning and evening services take place in the Quire. Helpfully, in Durham people are allowed to listen to Morning Prayer and Evensong while seated in the nave, an instance of the 'adjacency' and 'permeability' of the space. Qn. 5 data indicate that as many people observe as actively participate in services, though observing itself is significant and not to be disregarded. People can and do drop in for part of the service, light a candle in the nave, or are just delighted to find a service in progress - all advantages of the 'low threshold' but 'high expectation' enabled by the place. 12.30 Holy Communion, however, is usually held in one of the reserved areas of the Cathedral (such as the Feretory, the Galilee Chapel or one of the Nine Altars chapels). Access to all services is overseen by bedesmen and stewards. However, questions are raised, sometimes by visitors themselves, about why areas are roped off, often quite a few minutes before services, creating distance between visitors and worship and affecting access to the Feretory and East End. Being late for 12.30 Communion services can result in being excluded, while chaplains may close the Feretory doors before shrine prayers are due to begin, which can also cause disappointment.

- Worship has always been the Cathedral's most effective spiritual 'weapon' and can transform visitor behaviour and responses. The sight of lit candles, the sound of words and music, the smell of incense, are all powerful cues to which many respond instinctively. How can these be used to help people engage with the story and meaning of the building?
- Encouraging wider participation, including allowing people to become familiar with worship gradually from close by, might be productive, as well as allowing the sound and atmosphere of the service to 'spill out' beyond the Chapel during normal visitor hours.

- '[a pilgrim] came to Durham Cathedral while Bishop Hugh was celebrating Mass in the Easter octave before the saint's tomb, and the crowds were attempting to enter the shrine, and he most devotedly called upon St Cuthbert's aid. Just as Bishop Hugh said 'I believe in one God' the pilgrim's penitential belt broke and fell to the floor, which all around heard.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century
- '[a knight] fell down at the tomb of St Cuthbert, and during the chorus of Te Deum (for it was the hour of Lauds) he cried out 'Have mercy on me, St Cuthbert' [in response to the text of the office]' Of the Miracles and Translation of St Cuthbert, early 12th Century
- 'At the east end of St Cuthbert's Feretory there was...very fine candlesticks of iron...which had light set in them before day, that every monk might have more light to see to read upon their books at the said Nine Altars when they said Mass, and also to give light to all others that came there to hear and see the divine service.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century
- 'There was a long form [bench], which did reach from one Rood door to the other, where men did sit to rest themselves on and say their prayers and hear divine service.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century
- '[The cover of St Cuthbert's shrine was drawn up] during Matins, when Te Deum was sung, and at High Mass times, or at Evensong, when the Magnificat was sung... and when [devotees] had made their prayers, the clerk did let down the cover and lock it at every corner.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century
- 'There has frequently been some difficulty in making any changes which might adapt the services to the wants of the time; and this had tended to diminish the efficiency of a cathedral which, for its large funds, the beauty of its services, its close connexion with a University, and its proximity to one of the largest towns of the North of England, has almost unrivalled means of making itself felt as a great religious institution, and as the model church of the diocese.' William Lake, Dean, 1884

- 'There's a certain formality and grandeur and a high aesthetic about [services], which for some people is very attractive because it sets such a high standard.' Local resident
- I have come to love the liturgy, and the whole idea of the Eucharist on a Sunday morning, of leading up to what you are going to do in receiving the bread and wine, the huge preparation for that, means a great deal to me... when I was more able to walk, I went almost every night to evensong, and that again meant a great deal. I miss it a lot.' Worshipper
- 'Nowadays [the clergy] stay at the crossing, people come down and say thank you for that... or just talk about what has been happening, or ask them what do you think about this, that or the other? And that can last for at least half an hour, and the clergy are there to be approached, to be talked to... To be friendly, so there is a sense of family there, of friendship, of welcome.' Worshipper
- 'I do very much appreciate the fellowship of the people I know at the cathedral. The tremendous service of the canons, who give so much and one always knows one is going to get the best from them, both in their sermons, in their prayers. The final prayer at Evensong every day... is not simply part of the liturgy, it comes from whoever is conducting it, they are always wonderful. I always find tremendous enrichment.' Worshipper
- 'Disappointed we could not enter the area where St. Cuthbert is buried. We were too late for communion.' Pilgrim visitor
- 'Sometimes... there's a service going to start and somebody comes and they say "Can I go and see St Cuthbert?" and you think, "Are they going to be able to go later?... and if not, then you try and do your best... You might have to find a steward to escort them down.' Cathedral staff

3. Enhancing spiritual engagement

Durham Cathedral is a 'treasured sacred space', offering everyone the chance to pause, reflect, pray, and worship. Many sense the spirituality that shapes the building but may not be familiar with churches or sure how to express response. The very grandeur of the building can overwhelm and people may struggle to find a focus. Aware of the vital role of the senses in human learning and spirituality, the Cathedral works effectively to provide multisensory stimuli and ways of response.

Historical perspectives

The medieval Cathedral experience at Durham was multifaceted and multi-sensory, drawing those who came into a process of revelation and transformation. The Cathedral was not one large space but a series of interconnected smaller areas, each with its own altar or other focus. The screens and covering of St Cuthbert's shrine, together with the experience of moving through the Cathedral towards this focal point, created a sense of mystery, awe, and expectation. Medieval cathedrals were not built as silent, unadorned halls. Miracle stories from St Cuthbert's shrine show how candles, incense, and music 'filled the space'. Built around the monastic liturgy, large parts of the building beyond the nave rood screen were inaccessible or highly controlled, particularly the Quire. Cuthbert's shrine was often closed to access and even sight by its wooden cover. Yet the nature of medieval worship meant that the Cathedral was a rich multisensory experience. The pillars and walls (now bare) were brightly painted and hung with tapestries and banners; masses of flickering candles provided lighting; statues, altars, and images supplied points of devotion; and the liturgy filled the air with music.

Despite Puritan opposition in the 17th century, John Cosin, prebend and later bishop of Durham, sought the 'beauty of holiness' for the Cathedral, reinstating traditions and practices, including music during services and lighting candles. Although much of the Cathedral was 'scrubbed' in the 18th and 19th centuries, in the 1930s Dean Alington, with the Friends of the Cathedral, sought to 'restore some of the damage done in past generations by mistaken zeal'. Since the 1980s the Cathedral has sought to reach out spiritually through commissioning numerous major art works.

Contemporary observations

Lighting candles offers an engaging, 'universally-accessible' way to express response or need, without requiring specific understanding, knowledge of how to participate in a formal act of worship, or even being able to articulate one's thoughts clearly. It is a significant activity here (**Qn. 5**). Interviews show candle lighting can express non-verbal prayer for oneself or others, recall loved ones, honour Cuthbert and Bede, ask for their intercession, or simply symbolise connecting 'not only with God but with praise and holiness offered over hundreds of years'. It may also prompt exploration of thoughts with companions and in prayer notes. The placing of candlestands matters, as lighting candles directly in front of a tomb or statue may feel 'too Catholic' for some. The 'un-focussed' stands at the front of the nave are usually full and the chance to sit nearby quietly is clearly valued.

The Cathedral is a very tactile place where visitors can touch the statue of Mary in the Galilee Chapel, carvings on tombs, and the Great Organ Case. In 'Open Treasure' visitors are invited to smell fresh bread or touch the tiles and so on. Appropriate sound *and* quiet are both important in spiritual engagement. When there is worship, choir practice or concert rehearsals going on, many visitors choose to sit and listen - what we might call *active*, rather than merely *ambient*, listening. Perceived as less helpful by visitors and volunteers, is organ tuning or lengthy practice during the day. For many Durham Cathedral is a sanctuary from daily pressures and a major challenge is provision of quiet spaces. 'High' and 'low' season fieldwork confirms the importance of peace and quiet in spiritual response. The popularity of the Feretory demonstrates this. The Chapel of the Holy Cross offers space for private prayer and worship but many do not find it and are unsure if they can enter. The cloisters may also provide relative quiet at some points in high season.

- What more can be offered to help visitors focus, reflect on their life journey, and express response?
- Could there be more explicit use of chapels (including Holy Cross) as smaller 'spaces of invitation' and accessibility which feel 'safe' and not over exposed, especially for those new to prayer?
- What further material could be provided to help those who wish to learn more about faith?

- 'The brothers had therefore decorated the walls with beautiful ornaments. When the great bell at the entrance to the church was to be rung for the festival, the young, the old and children all came. The bell weighed more than many men put together, but the natives of Durham had knowledge and skill in ringing these bells. Hence the ministers of the church with a few others and the youths of Durham had exercises in bell-ringing. Thus on the first hour of the day [of the festival] large numbers of young men came to do this work. They had the bells ringing sweetly.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century
- 'When the cover of the [shrine] was drawing up the [six silver] bells did make such a good sound that it did stir all the people's hearts that were within the church to repair unto it, and to make their prayers to God and holy Saint Cuthbert, and that the beholders might see the glorious ornaments.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century
- 'On Candlemas day last past, Mr Cosens... busied himselfe from two of the clocke in the afternoone till four, in climbing long ladders to sticke up wax candles in the said Cathedrall Church. The number of all the Candles burnt that evening was 220, besides 16 Torches.' Canon Peter Smart, 1628
- 'The pomp of the Cathedral service and the vast space and magnificence of the Cathedral itself certainly produce an imposing effect on the mind, but I doubt whether they are calculated to inspire true devotion.' James Losh, 1812
- 'We attempted to turn tourists into pilgrims... We never asked, only accepted... I formed the intention of raising the emotional and spiritual temperature by just a degree or two a year. After ten years, you could notice the difference.' John Arnold, Dean, 1989-2002

- *People say, "We come every Saturday and light a candle in memory of..."* Volunteer
- [I light a candle] 'At shrines of St. Cuthbert and St. Bede to ask for their intercession. Worshipper
- 'I always light a candle for my late mother whenever I am in the Cathedral. It helps me to focus my thoughts on her for a few minutes, even if she did die many years ago.' Volunteer
- 'A candle provides a visible sign of a contact with something beyond the human trying not to use the word God. A prayer/longing/searching hard to quantify. In simplest terms such a small light and a wisp of smoke does provide a concrete sign of something hard to explain.' Pilgrim
- 'Lighting a candle always seems appropriate in a cathedral... I think it feels like your prayer is connecting not only with God but with praise and holiness that has been offered in the place over hundreds of years and connects with the idea that a cathedral still is a vibrant place or prayer, worship, devotion and pilgrimage every day. Churches... don't have the continuous cycle of daily prayer in the same way as a cathedral. In that way, unrealistic as it is, it can feel like your prayer is more heartfelt or likely to be heard in a cathedral.' Pilgrim
- 'I [lit a candle] as a mark of respect for Bede. Historians have to look out for each other!' Visitor
- 'A cathedral has such beautiful music I absolutely love the sound of choristers... and find the music an inspiring aspect of worship that lifts me to another place... I like to sit in the quieter parts of the cathedral and look at the stained glass windows. I also like to sit in the nave and look at the whole view.' Pilgrim
- I would certainly like the opportunity to come when you could sit in silence and just hear background music, as is becoming more common in cathedrals and the greater churches (cannot easily replicate that in a parish church where often there is only a small amateur choir.' Pilgrim
- 'The notice says, "Private Garden," but then it says, "Chapel of the Holy Cross," almost on top of that. If you were just an "ordinary visitor" you would think, "Oh, I'm not supposed to go through there because it's a private garden".' Volunteer

4. Experiencing the building

Both historical and contemporary evidence shows that the differing ways in which the Cathedral community and visitors experience the space are profoundly affected not only by changes in architecture and spatial arrangements, but also by the labelling and designation of spaces and the manner in which people are enabled or encouraged to move around the building.

Historical perspectives

It is difficult for anyone to stand in Durham Cathedral today and visualise it as it was. The vast solidity of the structure gives a false impression that the building has never changed, that this is how it was meant to be. Yet the Cathedral's current form and internal layout mainly result from historical accident, rather than design. Some of the key focal points of the Cathedral as originally planned – St Cuthbert's golden shrine and the Rood Screen – have been destroyed, and others obscured or restricted by later features. Successive removals and replacements of the choir screen up to the 19th century, for example, have not only changed the appearance of the Cathedral, but on a deeper level altered the 'sacred landscape' of the building – how the space is navigated, negotiated, and experienced. One important example is the Galilee which was built in the 12th century, partly as a place where women, excluded from the main body of the Cathedral when it became a Benedictine monastery, could express devotion to St Cuthbert. It is a unique space, both exclusionary and inclusive. Together with the blue marble line (also associated with excluding women), it powerfully indicates the differences between the landscapes of the medieval and contemporary Cathedrals. Changes and developments can mean that the building cannot easily 'speak for itself', requiring careful consideration of ways in which those who enter encounter the space.

It is noteworthy that the medieval Cathedral had many more enclosed spaces, particularly the multitude of small chapels, and the laity used them for private contemplation, especially if in distress. This apparent fragmentation was actually an invitation to varied use. Even when chapels were 'closed' for private Masses, it was common for the laity to gather outside and listen to divine service. Thus the act of worship made barriers **permeable**, and opened up the space of the Cathedral.

Contemporary observations

The importance of the first view and impressions received when entering the Cathedral, and the difference made by enabling or blocking routes around the building, cannot be overestimated. Ensuring visitors who are not receiving a guided tour experience the power of certain views, and are then enabled to engage more closely with the history and the spirituality of the building, requires a measure of 'stage management' similar to that employed in the Middle Ages. Most visitors do not join a tour but spend more than an an hour in the Cathedral (**Qn. 2; Qn. 5**). One approach is to offer 'differentiated trails', where leaflets or booklets focus on a particular theme. Another method is to provide explicit 'spaces of invitation' and thus **accessibility**, where the person (individually or in a group) is encouraged to focus on and engage with a particular area and activity, such as joining a service even from a short distance, lighting a candle, touching a significant object, or quiet contemplation. 'Spaces of invitation' need to offer not only permission but *encouragement* to enter, and points of focus.

Recent changes to the west end have considerably altered the dynamics of the building and influence ways in which people relate to it. When asked about their least favourite area of the Cathedral, several people mentioned this area, which is perceived as a more secular space. It is where the rope is laid out before services; the area where it was said medieval women were confined; the space for donations, where money is therefore used. The placing of the new Open Treasure desk has inevitably affected the way both visitors and those who work in the Cathedral experience the building. Practical concerns remain over the coexistence of information about the exhibition, and the process of general welcome and entry, not least as many people now assume that they need to buy a ticket to enter the Cathedral. Stewards used to give out bookmarks with prayers and service times; these have now been replaced by OT leaflets. The new arrangements, mean that access to the Galilee is also not as straightforward as it used to be.

- 'There was a pilgrim who came from distant lands to the church of St Cuthbert. As penance for his sins he had been bound with three chains of iron, of which God in his mercy had loosed two... When he heard of the fame of Cuthbert's virtues, therefore, he speedily went to Durham. From the north side of the church, as usual, he sought access to the tomb of St Cuthbert, he made noises through the doors inside the church, and obtained entry from the sub-sacrist. As he entered the shrine area, and while imploring St Cuthbert with cries, suddenly, as the sub-sacrist saw, his irons fell at the feet of the sacristan on the pavement. The sacristan with much joy brought him to St Cuthbert, and there he made an offering of his manacle.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century
- The Galilee was built so there would be a space 'in which women were lawfully allowed to enter, as they were not permitted access to the holy inner spaces where the saint's body is, where they may take solace in contemplation.' Geoffrey of Coldingham, early 13th Century
- 'Rude people walking and talking in the Church, round about the Quire, in the very time of service, to the great disturbance thereof... Making the Church on weekdays a through-fare to carry burdens and other things no ways fit to appear there, through the Church... suffering the dogs to enter the Quire and disturb God's service...[allowing] beasts to feed in the sight of people on the Palace Green at the very door of the Cathedrall, and sometimes entering into the Church' Denys Granville, Dean, 1681
- 'The Cathedral has a massiness and solidity such as I have seen in no other place; it rather awes than pleases, as it strikes with a kind of gigantick dignity, and aspires to no other praise than that of rocky solidity and indeterminate duration' Dr Samuel Johnson, 1773
- 'The old and solid [choir] screen was very properly removed in the time of the late Dean but to leave the Choir without a screen was an anomaly, and has produced such an exaggeration of the popular theory of 'vista' as to convert the most grand of our cathedrals into something like a magnified corridor.' Sir Gilbert Scott, 1875

- 'I think the big thing is you're turning people from tourists to pilgrims. You are interpreting the building, you are helping the building speak to them about God, and I think that's what pilgrimage is. That's the difference between a pilgrim and tourist.' Cathedral staff
- I was a student here and I wouldn't come here to pray, but... because I just wanted somewhere quiet and I think a lot of us would do the same thing - if you were just feeling a bit stressed or a bit down... come up onto Palace Green and either just sit outside or go into the Cathedral and just sit for a few minutes somewhere quiet... the cloisters as well... You're not necessarily in the Church, but it's still calm and it's still got that kind of feeling of being in something really solid, that's been there for a long time... it's a bit like when you go and stand by the sea, it makes you put everything else in perspective.' Cathedral staff
- In August 2016, a cyclist riding around the world working for various charities visited. He said his
 journey could be regarded as pilgrimage even though he was not religious. He likes to visit churches
 and cathedrals. It was his first visit to Durham and he was very impressed but could not go to the
 feretory because that part of the Cathedral had already been cordoned off for Evensong.
- 'The ropes have been around, although we've got plans that actually want to see the end of the ropes as they are at the moment.' Cathedral staff
- 'I really like Fenwick Lawson's Pieta in the Nine Altars. There's something so dramatic about that... it so connects with the suffering world.' Local resident
- [Least favourite part of the Cathedral]: 'The area near the main door; sometimes there are one too
 many people 'hovering' and waiting to pounce on visitors, and it doesn't always convey as welcoming
 an impression as is probably intended.' Visitor

5. Festivals and special events

Durham Cathedral has an enviable reputation for the way it hosts a wide range of large-scale services and special events such as Lumiere. Such occasions draw in significant numbers who may never otherwise attend or visit, presenting considerable mission opportunities. The strengthening of community identity through events such as the Miners Gala builds on the Cathedral's historic relationship to its region and offers an effective mechanism for engagement.

Historical perspectives

Prior to the 20th century, the Cathedral did not have a natural regular congregation of worshippers. The main points of contact with the laity of its city and diocese were when it hosted large events on holy days or special occasions such as a royal or episcopal visit. This was the purpose of the large communal worshipping space of the nave. Records of offerings received throughout the year show that a handful of major feasts accounted for the majority of all visitors. Much of this was bound up with civic and diocesan activity and pageant focused on shrines and altars. The Cathedral therefore needed to appeal to repeat visitors.

While Durham generally offered a broad multisensory experience in the Middle Ages (see **3**. **Enhancing Spiritual Engagement**) it also used specific sensory elements such as spectacle, notably the giant Paschal candle, and regulated processional movement through the city and within the church to encourage locals to visit, participate, and feel a sense of excitement. It was desirable to seek a balance between memorable traditions and new enticing elements, and so the Cathedral might host well-known preachers or decorate the building with new banners and liturgical furnishings, while the appearance of Cuthbert's shrine would change constantly as new, precious gifts were given. Following the Reformation, the need to balance tradition and progress was understood, as accounts of the spectacularly-lit Candlemas service of the 1620s attest.

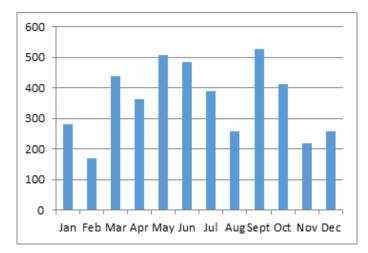
Contemporary observations

Attending festivals and special events offers a wide range of audiences reasons and opportunities to (re)connect with the Cathedral. Hosting concerts, carol services and graduation ceremonies creates significant opportunities to invite people who might otherwise not have an 'excuse' to come. Christmas Carol services, though very demanding for staff and volunteers, are excellent 'bridging' events for secular groups and institutions: they appeal to elements of culture, not least carols themselves, that are already half-known by audiences, and encourage **low-threshold** participation.

The Cathedral looks, feels and sounds different during a major festival – the Miners Gala, Easter, Christmas, St Cuthbert's Festival, the Lumiere light festival, University matriculations and graduations. It is the combination of the spiritual and the spectacular that draws many people in. The Gala provides one model of bridging city and Cathedral through a processional tradition, leading to the question of whether other opportunities for this might be possible, for instance making the the move from the central square to the Cathedral, embodying a form of liturgical **relationality**. Christmas and New Year's Eve are times when many lonely or relatively more displaced people come in; many also bring in presents to be distributed by the Salvation Army and place them under the Christmas tree. Durham's unique Nativity crib and its allusions to the mining industry express a powerful sense of locality and history. One question to consider might be how the narrative of the Cathedral, including not only St Cuthbert but also other historical figures, including those who are not saints. might be brought to the fore in some events, indicating the deep ties between the Cathedral and the city. The celebration of the anniversary of the life or death of a local figure might be linked to school curricula in history or RE.

- Look at ways to build on local links within wider celebrations.
- Large events bring new people in and present opportunities to offer them routes to ongoing/long-term spiritual engagement. How might this be done effectively and sustainably?
- Consider ways to maintain some level of public access during special events and services so people can see the cathedral 'in action'.

- 'Many people eagerly come to the annual feast of the Translation, it calls out many from all around of diverse minds and purposes.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century, ch. 48
- '[Bede's shrine was] taken down every festival day, when there was any solemn procession, and carried with 4 monks in time of procession and divine service.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century, ch. 22
- '[On St Cuthbert's Day] and certain other festival days, in the time of divine service, they were
 accustomed to draw up the cover of St Cuthbert's Shrine' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century, ch. 2
- 'There was a goodly monument called the Paschal [Candle], which was set up in the Quire, and there to remain from Maundy Thursday until Wednesday after Ascension Day... in latitude almost the breadth of the Quire, and in longitude that did extend to the height of the vault... estimated to be one of the rarest monuments in England.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century, ch. 4



Seasonal variation of offerings at St Cuthbert's shrine 1370-1420, showing highs after Easter and St Cuthbert's festivals

The five highest-grossing (in terms of offerings at the shrine of St Cuthbert) events in the early 15th Century were Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Translation of St Cuthbert (4th Sept), the Feast of St Cuthbert (20th March), St Faith (6th October). Pentecost was a diocesan procession; Corpus Christi a civic procession, the Translation and St Faith may have functioned as harvest festivals.

 'St Cuthbert's banner... was not borne but on principal days when there was a general procession, as Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Corpus Christi, and St Cuthbert's day.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century, ch. 49

- 'If you have a Lumiere... a light festival that comes into the Cathedral, we've got to give people the opportunity to respond. People seem to physically want to do something, and it's fascinating to talk to those people, there's a different crowd during Lumiere. Some people haven't got a clue what they're doing, but they know, instinctively they want to light a candle.' Cathedral worker
- 'An awful lot of people come in, men particularly, just before Christmas... If you walk in here a
 fortnight, 10 days before Christmas, you will always find those pews full of men who have lost their
 wives, either this previous year or maybe years gone by. And they cannot face Christmas on their
 own and they come in here and they unburden. You don't have to talk to them, but they are there.
 And the Lord does his thing with them... Sometimes it is quite spectacular.' Volunteer chaplain
- 'For me a highlight is the St Nicholas Procession when Santa Claus comes. There are a lot more people for services over Christmas period, it's constantly grown.' **Cathedral worker**
- 'I always attend the Advent Carol Service, which is wonderful and I have not forgotten my first experience of the service many years ago. I help to organise the United Service on New Year's Eve for the wider community. The Cathedral gives full support and help.' Worshipper
- 'I have often attended the service on New Year's Eve because that day of the year can be a lonely time for someone single I find, and there are not many places with services on.' **Pilgrim**
- 'I was brought up near here and we always came to the cathedral on Christmas Eve.' Volunteer
- 'I think it [the Miners Gala service] is very moving, very impressive... Partly it's the music, because ... sometimes when you hear the brass bands, I think, "That's my roots." Volunteer

6. Saints, beliefs and traditions

Cathedral histories and guidebooks, although not cathedral guides themselves, tend to present history in terms of dates and names - when was that built, and by which prior or dean? Yet the history of a living Church also includes related stories and beliefs which illustrate its meaning through the centuries. At Durham, many of these centre on the unique role of St Cuthbert in the story of the region and its people.

Historical view

It may seem obvious to note the medieval attachment of the people of the North to St Cuthbert, but there are a number of interesting facets to his cult. It was unique in England for its strong regionality and crossborder nature - the 'people of the saint' (*haliwerfolc*) occupied an area that could stretch from the Humber to the Forth. While Cuthbert was frequently called upon for healing he was also seen as a protector against injustice and misfortune, and might be thought of a the 'spiritual lord' of the region and comforter of his people. Women sought his aid despite being barred from his presence. A further unusual element of Cuthbert's story is his post-Reformation longevity amongst Protestants and Catholics in the region. His importance lay not in the historical facts of his life, but in the stories that were told about his posthumous protection - his sanctuary, his ducks, and his success in battles.

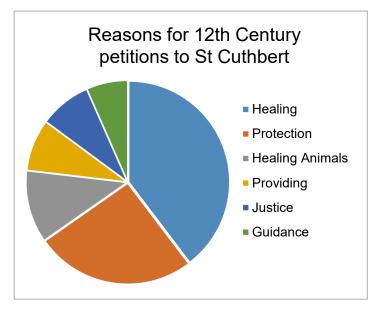
St Cuthbert has always overshadowed Bede and Oswald within the Cathedral and the region. Takings from the shrines show that women restricted to the Galilee preferred to give money at the altar of the Holy Cross, where there was a surrogate shrine to St Cuthbert, rather than to the bodily-present Bede. Yet as national and international saints, Bede and Oswald were (and are) much better known. Bede was considered the 'greater' saint by 15th century French visitors. Following the Reformation, recusant Catholics, unable to pray at the shrine of St Cuthbert, pushed coins between the cracks of the mortar at Bede's tomb, and King Charles I stopped to pray there in 1633. The three saints form a useful triumvirate to whom people can relate: 'comforting' Cuthbert, 'scholarly' Bede, and the brave martyr Oswald.

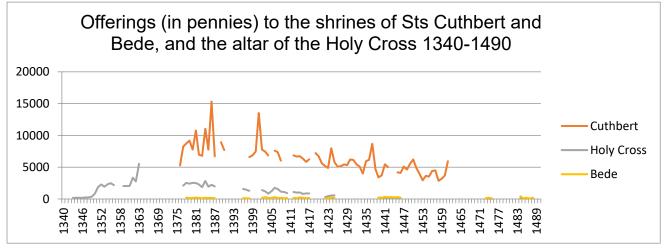
Contemporary observations

For many Durham Cathedral remains centred on the powerful story of St Cuthbert, previously lord-like but now 'the people's saint'. The continuing currency of belief in Cuthbert's protective power, and its perceived relevance to contemporary needs, can be seen in the numbers who come to the shrine prayers, light a candle, or leave a written prayer for someone who has died or has health problems. Cuthbert's dominant position in the cathedral narrative is challenged by some who think that Bede has unfairly been left in his shadow. Both the cathedral's architecture and the tombs' locations have a direct impact on how Bede and Cuthbert are perceived, interacted with and responded to, but both act as a point of focus for visitors. One strategy might be to say more about how the two relate to each other-a form of connectivity that can give visitors a sense of direction and engagement, expressed spatially and narratively: How can the two be seen in dialogue with each other, not least as Bede is a chronicler of Cuthbert? Explicit movement from one to the other, guided as a mini trail through a leaflet, given the amount of time people, might move the visitor from a relatively peripheral part of the cathedral to a place more in the centre. In addition, while Cuthbert's story can be used as part of a boundary-challenging narrative, celebrating the north-east but also uniting England and Scotland, Bede-a figure of significance in the north of England but also in Europe--can be seen as a figure showing how the history of England need not be written through the concerns of the south of England alone.

- Explore also the story of St Oswald as a positive role model of a leader, willing to die for his people and beliefs, as part of a strategy of linking the narratives of the different saints.
- The strength of Bede's international reputation as a patron saint of scholars and students, is not currently matched with awareness of where he is buried. His three concurrent feast days on May 25th (Roman Catholic calendar), 26th (historic) and 27th (Anglican calendar), could offer excellent opportunities for civic and ecumenical events to change this.

- 'They said they were 'Haliwerfolc', and they held their lands for the defence of the body of St Cuthbert' Robert de Graystanes, 14th Century
- 'A French Bishop, returning out of Scotland, coming to the Church of Durham, and brought to the shrine of St Cuthbert, kneeled down, and after his devotions offered a bawbee [small Scots coin], saying 'St Cuthbert, if you are a saint, pray for me'. But afterward, being brought to the Tomb of Bede, saying likewise his prayers, offered there a French Crown, with this alteration, 'St Bede, you who are a saint, pray for me.' William Camden, 16th Century





Holy Cross was the 'Cuthbert' chapel in the Galilee for women. Bede was never popular. There is a significant increase in offerings at the Black Death, and further spikes in takings correspond with times of high mortality or bad harvests.

- 'I'm a north-eastern lad... I've always been aware of [St Cuthbert's] story and his life and the Holy Island Lindisfarne, a special place for us all, including me.' County Durham resident
- The story of 'St Cuthbert's mist', said to have saved Durham from bombing one summer night in 1943, is often told by guides and stewards whilst pointing to the Royal Air Force window.
- Some students think it bad luck to go up the tower before graduating. 'I find it incredible in this day and age but I have had students asking if I thought it OK to go up the Tower as they haven't actually received their degree... They've never been able to say what they expected to happen!' Guide
- A **Cathedral worker** wondered whether Cuthbert's shrine was the 'biggie' because '[the shrine] *is in an enclosed space, up steps, East End, as opposed to Bede being in a more public space'.*
- St Cuthbert's implied misogyny is highlighted in guidebooks and by the guides, who use the blueblack line as a focal point of tours. The interpretation often (but not universally) given is that Cuthbert himself was open to all, and his antipathy to women is a later invention.
- 'As a good evangelical, one doesn't really pay a lot of attention to the saints, but I have come to appreciate them more, since I have been in Durham...Simply that they are godly.' Worshipper
- 'I realise [St Cuthbert] was a great and godly man, but... [Bede] is the one that means something to me, not because he is a saint, but because he was a scholar who also loved, worshipped, and gave his life to God.' Worshipper

7. Pilgrimage and the Cathedral

Two major growth areas in contemporary religion are 1) visiting cathedrals and 2) pilgrimage, and Durham is clearly well placed to respond to both trends. One opportunity and challenge for both cathedrals and pilgrimage is that they attract passers-through, as well as people rooted in congregations. Pilgrimage does not need to involve a long physical journey, although it may. It is more about the potential to regard the journey into sacred space with a certain seriousness and commitment, without necessarily understanding where the spiritual end-point will be. Individuals can experience a range of spiritual engagement, from being self-identified 'pilgrims' with a clear focus, to heritage visitors who come with no 'spiritual' intention but may discover new meaning and opportunity to reflect on their life and experience. There is often movement along this continuum of spiritual experience while in the cathedral and it is important that staff and volunteers remain alert to this potential for change and growth as they interact with visitors.

Historical perspectives

From the beginning the identities of St Cuthbert and that of the Cathedral were indivisible, with the entire building oriented around his tomb behind the High Altar. Prior to the erection of the Nine Altars, the Cathedral functioned as a shrine writ large, and petitioners who could not access the feretory would cling to pillars or press themselves against the walls of the nave. Access to St Cuthbert was a source of some contention in the past, as the laity of Durham felt it was their right as 'people of the saint', while the monks sought to minimise disruption to their enclosed way of life. As a compromise, access through the Cathedral was a matter of individual need and circumstance. There was no fixed 'pilgrim route' around the Cathedral, which was full of gateways and barriers, and admittance to the feretory platform was restricted to the most needy, and most generous. The nature of this 'privileged' access through the Cathedral meant a gradual revelation of each space and increasing levels of interaction with the saint, heightening the experience. The Nine Altars itself was intended as an ambulatory which allowed pilgrims to see and interact with the shrine, praying in the niches below, putting their coin in a strongbox, and lighting candles at times when the shrine itself was 'closed'. Needs expressed and met included mental and physical healing, both sought and unexpected. In the Galilee, women could pray at the surrogate chapel to St Cuthbert where the paintings of St Cuthbert and St Oswald survive. An illustrated manuscript may have lain open on the altar at a picture of the shrine in order to aid visualisation and prayer.

Contemporary observations

'Pilgrimage' to, within and from Durham Cathedral is manifested in numerous ways, formal and informal, involving not only visitors from near and far, but also those who work within the cathedral as staff and volunteers. Individuals and groups of self-identified pilgrims set out with a clear sense of purpose, for example, the regular Methodist Women in Britain pilgrimages from Durham Cathedral to Lindisfarne. Others move almost imperceptibly into spiritual engagement through responding to the worship and the beauty of the building, or having the rare opportunity to express need or thanksgiving. This is indicated by **Qn. 5** responses indicating the importance of prayer, lighting candles etc', as well as **Qn. 6** responses agreeing that it is a 'spiritual' place, though not necessarily an *explicit* destination of pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage and pilgrimage tours mainly focus on St Cuthbert (and other Northern saints) demonstrating their continuing 'drawing power'. Such movement links closely to the region. Further development of pilgrim routes, connecting the Cathedral to a network of Christian Heritage sites, such as Holy Island, Wearmouth-Jarrow, Escomb, and Auckland Castle would reinforce and support spiritual learning and experience.

- Analysis of prayers left by St Cuthbert's shrine shows the range of needs and emotions expressed by visitors. Could some of these themes (with anonymised quotes) be used in training staff and volunteers to show what may be on the minds of the people they greet and direct?
- Seek to connect St Cuthbert's shrine more explicitly to Open Treasure displays when complete.
- 'Pilgrimage' has many meanings in Christianity (and other faiths), plus a wider currency signifying
 visits to places of special meaning. Exploring the multiple Christian meanings of the term could help
 visitors connect experience in the Cathedral to the start of, or a key stage in, their spiritual journey.

- 'A certain pilgrim wore a belt of iron as punishment for a crime. He had spilt blood in anger, and had been condemned to wear the iron, which bit into his flesh causing ulceration and wounds in his belly and sides. It had dug into him so that he could not lie down in comfort... Moving was also very difficult. Having traversed Christendom, he at length came to England... He heard many things about Cuthbert's holiness, and came to him. When he came to Durham Bishop Hugh was celebrating Mass in the Easter octave before the saint's tomb, and the crowds were attempting to enter the shrine, and he most devotedly called upon St Cuthbert's aid. Just as Bishop Hugh said 'I believe in one God' the belt broke and fell to the floor, which all around heard. The belt was brought out in the presence of all and his body shown, and it was declared a miracle. Many people saw and felt the wound and the belt.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century
- 'A certain knight named Ralph de Capella had daily suffered a fierce pain in his tooth, with pain and a deformed red swelling that had come out in incredible agony on one of his cheeks. He had often and in many ways attempted to deal with the pain, but no medicine or treatment had dulled it in any way. He came to Durham one day by chance on business, and sitting down in one of the outer parts of the church of St Cuthbert he thought about his illness. He could not bear it or forget it because the pain was always there. Finally he decided to go to the tomb of the blessed Cuthbert and ask for mercy. Coming therefore to the shrine, he knelt down and placed his swollen cheek on the back of the tomb... As soon as he touched it to the shrine all the pain disappeared, because of the power of the blessed Confessor to drive away pain and troubles. He went home happy and joyful that the swelling and redness had disappeared. But within a few days... half his tooth fell out... Seeing this, and knowing the mercy of St Cuthbert that he had received, he quickly climbed on his horse and went to St Cuthbert's tomb where he offered half his tooth. Then he summoned the custodian of the tomb and told him what had happened.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century

- 'For me Durham conveys a solid stronghold, a place of strength and refuge, an indication of God's continued presence, and a place to follow in the footsteps of so many believers who have worshipped there.' Lindisfarne pilgrim
- 'I go on pilgrimage to Cuthbert's shrine, and I suppose in a way I do it every day, because every time I come in, I go to the shrine and I light a candle.' Volunteer
- 'Candles were lit for my father who died at 67... and my brother who was 50 years of age.' Spiritual tourist
- 'I am often concerned about several people, who are struggling with ill-health.' Worshipper
- When fieldwork began in May 2015, some volunteers doubted we would find out a lot about pilgrimage in Anglican cathedrals: 'It's a Catholic thing, you know. People who come in are mostly tourists. Very few pilgrims.'
- 'It's the growth of interest in the northern saints and the so-called Celtic spirituality, that's what's caused the growth [in pilgrimage] here I think. And it really has grown.' Volunteer
- 'Durham is a good meeting point (the pilgrims come from all over the country) and the worship at the shrine of Cuthbert seems to me to be the perfect rendezvous, so we begin in worship at a very significant place.' Lindisfarne pilgrim
- 'Pilgrimage is a word for everything in our world...The piece of work I'm doing for the cathedral is called Pilgrimage. I have a Buddhist mantra in it which is basically, "Om mani padme hum," which is preparation for tranquillity, if you like. I have an Arabic saying in it too, "What is life, but pilgrimage?" Pilgrimage is a journey which we're all on and its movement. There's nothing nothing static anywhere in our world or in us. Everything is movement... for me, pilgrimage is recognising this movement and being part of it and really enjoying it.' Artist
- 'Pilgrimage goes on forever throughout life... that's the excitement of Christian pilgrimage for me, that there's an exciting journey into God, into eternity.' Local resident

8. Leaving and taking away

Since the earliest days of Christian pilgrimage there has been a desire to take away objects which help individuals recall and rekindle their experience, and share what they have learned and felt. In the Middle Ages these channels of memory and holiness included pilgrim badges and objects, such as pieces of stone or cloth. Such items were believed to be imbued with the spiritual power associated with the saint or place. It was also important for pilgrims to leave something of themselves behind, usually as offerings representing prayers. Opportunities to take away and to leave behind items full of meaning still carry real spiritual significance for many visiting cathedrals today. At Durham this has included contributing to, and thus becoming part of, the Lego Cathedral.

Historical perspectives

It is not clear whether St Cuthbert had a medieval pilgrim badge in the form of those distributed at Canterbury, for example. His particular cross was well known, appearing on his banner, on the shoulders of the gowns of his sanctuary men, and on the tunics of his army. It may be that St Cuthbert's medieval 'souvenirs' were cloth crosses, to be sewn on to the pilgrim or visitor's clothes to mark them out as one of the 'people of the saint'. Another local cult sold 'pictures' or prayer-cards of their saint, which may have been the practice at the Cathedral. Other pilgrim 'takeaways' included cloth that had been touched to the shrine, or phials of holy water from the many stoups. The idea of spiritual 'exchange' was important with medieval visitors just as keen to leave something of themselves as to take something away. Offerings could be coins, candles, or wax images, but were often highly personal items such as brooches, prayer beads, and rings. These would be attached to the shrine while the pilgrim watched. As a miracle story from the 15th century makes clear, the intention of the offering was just as important as what was given.

The provision of a Cathedral shop at Durham is very recent; only in the late 1970s were the increasing numbers of visitors catered for with a bookshop, as well as the cafe and treasury exhibition. The present gift shop was established in the 1990s, within the medieval cloister but outside the Church.

Contemporary observations

The importance of presence, proximity, materiality and the transferability of sacredness remain significant in relation to what is left at and taken away from the Cathedral by a range of visitors. The opportunity to light candles both with specific foci (at the tombs of Bede and Cuthbert, in proximity to some artworks) and at less focussed locations (e.g. Nave crossing) is clearly appreciated by a range of visitors of various (and no) spiritual affiliations. Similarly, the capacity to write and leave prayers is very important.

Apparently a 'secular' space, the shop nonetheless complements liturgical activity and different 'Cathedral experiences' in important and memorable ways through its merchandise, including the many items reproducing images of the Cathedral. Fridge magnets can be as significant as overtly religious goods and high-end merchandise in terms of connectivity. People buying items on site, and their recipients, consider them to have more 'value' and meaning because they 'come from' the Cathedral. Though sometimes characterised as superficial or potentially distracting from the immediacy of the experience of the building and its atmosphere, photographs can be meaningful mementoes and are significant for many visitors, including self-identified pilgrims. Photographs both mark an individual's presence at the place, and provide a contemporary expression of ongoing connection with it. Both photographs and goods from the Cathedral encourage forms of narrative and physical connection with social groups beyond the space and time of the visit itself, just as pilgrims shared their experiences, relics and badges in the past.

- The creation of a Durham pilgrim passport and stamp could be linked to a specific point where these are given out and where individuals could be allowed a photograph to capture their presence in the cathedral. Sensitively designating spaces and well as that of the heritage visitor.
- Create more prayer cards and other objects, reflecting Cuthbert's faith and spirituality to be taken away, used at home, and shared with others.

 [At the shrine] hang diverse rings given by pilgrims of whose name we are ignorant Two necklaces with two rings from two pilgrims Two necklaces from two female pilgrims A scallop shell and a silver and gilt ship from a certain pilgrim

Entries from the Feretrarian's Accounts, 1401

- 'And when they had made their prayers, and did offer anything to it, if it were either gold, silver, or jewels, straightaway it was hung on the shrine.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century, ch. 49
- 'There were two fair Holy Water Stones belonging to the Abbey Church of Durham... the fairest of them stood within the north church door... and always fresh water was provided every Sunday morning by two of the bell ringers.' *Rites of Durham*, late 16th Century, ch. 19.
- 'A gentleman of Devonshire distraught in his mind, having great and miserable sickness in his body... in the morning was led up to the feretory of the saint at eight o'clock, having in his right hand a penny vowed. At times he cried "Cuthbert, Cuthbert". In the end he offered the said penny vowed, at the said feretory of Saint Cuthbert, but without devotion or prayer as he was a fool without discretion and reason. And so he endured in his great madness and bodily disease.'

Miracle account, 1446

- [Lighting a candle] 'A comfort to continue to do something done over hundreds of year in the same place - a kind of offering.' Pilgrim
- 'Please pray for that she will be healed. Thank you.' Prayer left by visitor
- 'I also do try and concentrate where I can on local providers and craftspeople and artists because I think it's really important that we're supporting our local community and we are celebrating the sort of skills that we've got there as well.' Cathedral staff
- I go to the cathedral as often as I can to work in the shop painting and demonstrating, meeting the public...I have my paints, and I also have examples of prints of work so they can actually see past pieces, representations of past work. And the cathedral sell my prints and cards so the people can handle those, buy them, look at them, ask questions about past work as well... I enjoy very much organised parties from Asia because these people have their cameras at the ready, at the blink of an eye, and they always want selfies and they're always asking questions and it's a lot of fun. The international side of meeting people in the shop is lovely.' Artist
- 'Within the Cathedral shop... Cuthbert is really important... lots of Cuthbert crosses and a lot of Cuthbert themed merchandise...I think we do sell a lot of St Cuthbert crosses as lapel pins, as keyrings, whatever form it actually seems to appear on.' Cathedral staff
- 'I think fridge magnets are very high up the list, keyrings and bookmarks and postcards.' Cathedral staff
- 'You wouldn't believe how many rosaries we sell...Loads of them. Rosary bracelets, rosary necklaces, just sell lots of rosaries. People obviously still feel very strongly about that type of thing.' Cathedral staff
- 'Whilst we go to different places, in the way the pilgrims collected bits to show everybody when they
 came back, we give [the children] little bits in their bags for them to take home as well. So they collect
 a postcard of the window and a prayer of St Bede and St Cuthbert and leaflets about various different
 saints and they also get a little cross keyring at the end, Cuthbert cross keyring as a reminder of their
 time. We do pilgrim badges as well.' Cathedral staff
- 'Inside the chapel, we found a place that we both felt was right for commemorating our baby. It was by Bede's tomb, below an inscription that is very meaningful to me in my grief. . . I lit a candle for [baby of bereaved French mother who had lit candle for writer's baby at Notre Dame] . . . and then I lit a candle for our baby.' Online account, with picture of the 2 candles lit at Durham

9. Belonging, identity and ownership

The Cathedral community relies on the partnership between the clergy (including voluntary chaplains) and the large lay community which encompasses many volunteers as well as the staff. Many staff and volunteers also see themselves as being on a personal spiritual journey, or developing a relationship with the Cathedral which is beyond the immediate scope of their role. There is often an understandable desire for tangible recognition of the value of volunteers to the Cathedral, or of their being stakeholders, which the growth in numbers during recent decades can make difficult to manage.

Historical perspectives

Since the establishment of the Cathedral, local lay people have wanted to be involved as part of a wider Cathedral community. The presence of volunteers and staff has a long historical precedent, but the relationships between this large and diverse external group and the much smaller body of resident clergy have not always been easy ones.

In the middle ages, as one might expect in a monastic cathedral, it was likely that unbeneficed clergy acted as guides and stewards of the Cathedral church, although they only appear fleetingly in the records. Since the Reformation the vergers have long been the core of the Cathedral's front-of-house, although almost nothing is known about them either, yet for countless generations they told the stories, pointed out the stones, walked the aisles and, on a micro level, organised the running of the building. The introduction to *Durham Cathedral: History Fabric and Culture* (2015) laments that no-one could be found to write a chapter on the role played by those other than senior clergy in the history of the Cathedral, a sad but typical gap in the historical record. Today's staff and volunteers are vital, outward-facing, and often long-term, members of the community. The Friends (founded in 1933) provide substantial support in maintaining and enhancing the building and the life of the Cathedral.

Contemporary observations

Many different forms of ownership and belonging are discernible in relation to the contemporary Cathedral. Some clergy stay for a number of years but then move on within the Church, whereas volunteers tend to be longer-standing locals. There is also the Cathedral congregation, while in the city many local people, even if not self-identifying as religious, feel a sense of ownership of the Cathedral. One might say that all these various forms of ownership have different stakes in their belonging and do not always view the Cathedral in the same way.

Becoming a volunteer and wearing one's gown with pride is a very particular way of establishing a stake in the cathedral. One steward described volunteering at the Cathedral as her 'fix'. The hours and skills that hundreds of volunteers put in constitute a very significant, but often unseen, benefit to the Cathedral and one whose very familiarity and ubiquitousness makes it easy to overlook. It is also important to recognise the various roles which may be embodied in a single Cathedral volunteer: a steward is often a local resident and member of the Cathedral community, who may even at times self-identify as a pilgrim.

Such a large group as the volunteer body brings a great breadth of expertise, but also a diversity of interests, approaches and viewpoints which may not always mirror those of Chapter. As they are very often the public face of the cathedral, volunteers carry a great responsibility for the way in which it is perceived by the wider world. More generally, volunteers provide access to a potentially very extensive network of local people who might be encouraged to develop a relationship to the Cathedral or at least to certain events there.

- How might volunteer commitment be further recognised through special events?
- Is there scope for more specialist tours or events which would offer volunteers the opportunity to focus on specific interests and forms of expertise, or to develop in their roles?

- *'All the men of the bishopric are accustomed to have free entry and exit through the gate of the bailey of Durham to the body of the saint'* **1303**
- 'There were four men appointed to ring the bells at midnight, and at all such other times of the day as the Monks went to serve God [who slept in the church]. Two men did always sweep and keep the church cleanly, and did fill the Holy Water stones every Sunday in the morning with clean water, before it came to be hallowed, and did lock in the church doors at night.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century
- 'Because the bells of the cathedral were heavy and high up in the tower, the monks of St Cuthbert had their servants ring them to mark the divine office. Their help of others kept the monks from getting too tired. Yet because the ringing of the bells is often changed to mark with contrasting tones the psalms and the songs of which the laity have no experience and even less in the way of understanding, the monks in their wisdom keep them in ignorance.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century
- POSUIT HANC PETRAM THOMAS MOISES (Thomas Moses laid this stone) Mason's inscription on stone of the Chapel of Nine Altars

- 'There's a sense of ownership about Durham Cathedral for people born in County Durham, which I was.' Local resident
- 'There was a big move to get more volunteers, and I was coming up to retirement and thought it would be a lovely thing to do because it has been part of my life and my history.' Volunteer
- 'The people of Durham and surrounding areas whatever their background very much think that the cathedral is theirs... when you stand on welcome and talk to people particularly during the holidays perhaps there are grandparents bringing their children, men and women bringing their children, because they came and they want to bring their children to see something that is part of their tradition, their heritage. And I think that charging would make a barrier to that.' Volunteer
- I felt I wanted to worship somewhere where I could be anonymous... where I didn't have to feel I needed to do something, I could simply go and take what was given and worship and that is what brought me to the cathedral... it was a place that you could simply go and be, and know that nothing other was expected of you, except that you were there to worship God.' Worshipper
- 'Some people want to come to worship God, but in a small church they might feel too exposed and would feel too much was expected of them, in... commitment, devotion, knowledge, all sorts of things... whereas they can come to a big place like the cathedral, and simply be there, come and go.' Worshipper
- 'There is a sense of family at the cathedral. There are the regular worshippers who one comes to know, and become a core nucleus family.' **Worshipper**
- '[The Cathedral] is very much seen as a hub of the community... years ago there used to be Methodist 'Big Meeting', which used the Cathedral once a year, and all the village churches and people throughout the area came in for a special service... it was a bit like the Miners' Gala. Having been born and brought up in Durham, I've always felt that affinity with the Cathedral.' Volunteer
- When I'm on duty on a summer evening, I also look at the Miners' Memorial... Certain pages are quite heart-rending because you can see when there's been a major disaster, and it names all the people who were killed... Both my grandfathers were miners.' Volunteer
- 'The Undercroft is a great place for bodily refreshment, and I always take the pilgrim groups there
 after worship in the Feretory as we begin to get to know each other. The prices are good too!'
 Durham Lindisfarne pilgrim

10. Building wider relationships

The relationship of Durham Cathedral to the city and the region is unique. The sense of personal connection with the figure of St Cuthbert and the spirituality which he represents remain a powerful force, though the imagery associated with St Cuthbert has evolved as society itself has changed.

Historical evidence

Cuthbert's position as protector and spiritual lord of the whole region of Northern England and the Borders, whose influence stretched from the Humber to the Tees, was unique in England and meant he had particularly strong bonds with his *haliwerfolc* ('people of the saint'). One of the primary reasons for this was the 'wanderings' of the saint's body with his early monastic community. Recent study sees this not as a flight from raiders but as a more deliberate strategy to bring the saint closer to the centre of his landholdings. This reinforced the view of Cuthbert as a spiritual protector, travelling around his lands in much the same manner as a secular lord. In the Middle Ages, each of the 'stops' and other places of importance to the life of St Cuthbert was strongly linked to the Cathedral – not just Farne and Holy Island, but Norham, Crayke, Hexham, Melrose, and various stopping-points in Cumbria. There were no regular 'pilgrim routes' between these and the Cathedral; instead they served as local subsidiary points of contact with St Cuthbert for those in their vicinity. They also ensured that he maintained a vital presence throughout the landscape.

The monks of Durham did not take this presence for granted, and looked to cultivate and strengthen it throughout the Middle Ages. Cloth and holy water relics of the saint were 'toured' around the Border; the Cathedral was instrumental in the building of Lytham St Cuthbert's, which maintained a regular medieval parish pilgrimage, and drew up a list of all the parish churches dedicated to St Cuthbert, doubtless to foster close relations. Following the intensification of the Scottish wars, when Melrose Abbey tried to claim Cuthbert's history as its own, the monks of Durham countered by courting the personal piety of Robert Bruce and giving Cuthbert relics to Dunfermline Abbey. This assiduous 'advertising' was largely responsible for the longevity of Cuthbert's cult after the Reformation. In the last century the Cathedral has sought to integrate into European church networks, twinning with Lübeck, as well as reaching out to other faiths, including hosting the Methodist 'Big Meeting' from 1948 and the visit of Cardinal Hume in 1979.

Contemporary observations

The relationship between Durham Cathedral and local people is both close and complex. There are several strong and long-established links between the Cathedral and specific groups, such as (former) miners, the Durham Light Infantry and parish churches that have a link to St Cuthbert and St Bede. This desire to identify with the Cathedral and/or the saints is clearly also important more widely: many visitors are not Anglican, and a number of visitors of other faiths (and none) come to the Cathedral explicitly seeking a spiritual connection. Although both Cuthbert and Bede have served historically as points of friendly contact between denominations, some Orthodox and Catholic visitors, both of whom venerate St Cuthbert, have reported a sense of unease about expressing their faith in the Cathedral. In contrast, the provision for school groups of all denominations is very good and the development of opportunities to connect inside and outside (especially wooded) spaces across all key stages in creative ways are excellent examples of the Cathedral capitalising on its unique features to good effect.

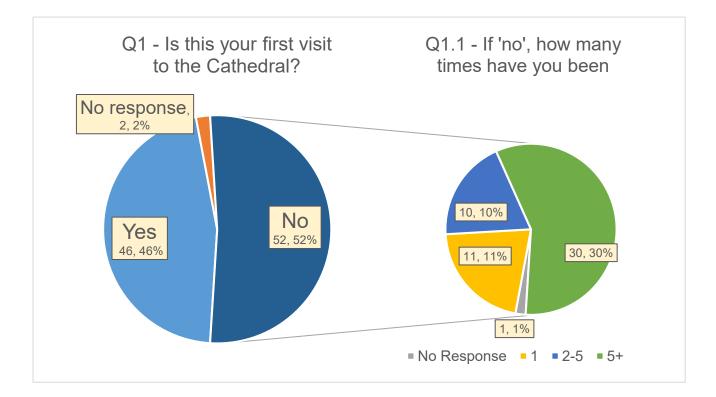
In relation to people of other Christian denominations or other faiths, pilgrimage is a powerful bridging activity that can be more easily accommodated within a Cathedral than in most parish churches. In addition, there is the question of whether the Cathedral might function not merely as the centripetal endpoint of a pilgrimage, but also as a centrifugal starting-point for people to discover the city and the region. 'Pilgrim' trails are popular with a wide range of users, including walkers and cyclists, and the development of further pilgrimage networks across the region could be a valuable tool in outreach. Exploring further the historic Cuthbert connections across the Border would offer another way of rethinking his influence, making it boundary-breaking in relation to national divisions.

- 'In recent times when the Bishop of Durham wished to extend the boundaries of St Cuthbert's church...he sent messengers throughout his diocese with portions of the choicest relics of the saints.' Reginald of Durham, 12th Century
- '[Cuthbert] is said to be descended from the blood-royal of the Kings of Ireland, being son of one Muriardach and Sabina his wife, who was daughter to a King there. He was brought up in the Abbey of Melrose.' Rites of Durham, late 16th Century
- [Cuthbert appeared in a vision to a sick man in Scarborough] 'Come to me on the day of my translation and I will cure you... I am he whom they call St Cuthbert, and my home is Farne. It lies in the sea, opposite Bamburgh, and no-one reaches it except on shipboard.' Miracles of Farne, 13th century

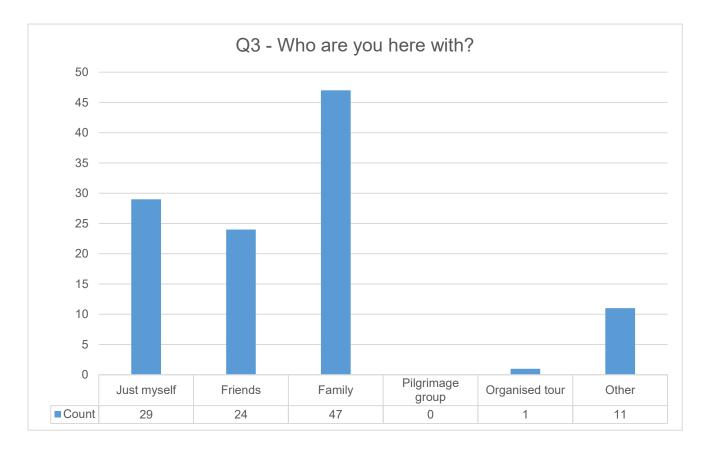
- One steward said that when she was still working, she would see the Cathedral from the window of her office and think that after retiring she would start volunteering there.
- 'It's beauty, it's home, it's stability, it's always there.' Cathedral worker
- 'Some people come in with their shopping bags; they just pop in.' Volunteer
- 'You will not understand Durham Cathedral till you have been to a Miners Gala.' Volunteers
- A retired miner, who had lost his wife a few years earlier, stopped going to churches because he felt her death had been very unfair. The first church he went to about 1.5 years after his wife's death was Durham Cathedral, and he finally felt comforted. A chaplain noticed him looking quite distressed, approached him and they talked 'for ages' in the Gregory Chapel. The reason he had gone to the Cathedral and not his parish church in County Durham was that both he and his wife loved the Cathedral. He is now popping in regularly every month.
- A **pilgrim** who set out on Lindisfarne pilgrimage from Durham: 'We were setting off from a place filled with God's presence to a destination which is considered a holy place of prayer, a 'thin place' where God's presence is tangible.'
- 'Our visitor profile... is very varied. It's obviously schoolchildren, so we do an awful lot of Key Stage I, Key Stage II stuff with them, particularly about the Northern Saints... That is really good because you're getting that educational level in. We get a lot of groups visiting, from Women's Institutes, Embroiderers' Guilds, almost any group you can possibly think of.' Cathedral staff
- 'Many of the volunteers are not Anglican. We have atheists amongst us, we have Methodists and Catholics and Buddhists... So I think it's the building that connects everybody.' Cathedral staff
- The 'Methodist Women in Britain' and other groups make pilgrimages from Durham to Lindisfarne (and the other way round). People from a parish church in County Durham described a St Cuthbert's day pilgrimage of a small group of Orthodox as well as Anglican pilgrims, who carried their icon, while chanting all the way from that parish church to the Cathedral. On arrival, the leader put the icon inside its wallet, as he was reluctant to display it in the Cathedral. Some of them did not even go into the Cathedral. An (Anglican) pilgrim noted: *"I was sad that our ecumenical relations are not strong enough, or perhaps not well known in the Orthodox community, to give confidence in the Cathedral's welcome for all denominations."*
- I was asked to take a group of Muslims around... I wasn't very knowledgeable about the Muslim religion, and so I found out what I could about it and looked for links between the Muslim faith and the Christian faith... when the group came into the Cathedral, very quickly they attached themselves to some of these stories and they were very pleased to be able to join in and talk about their understanding of some of the things, particularly about Mary and particularly about the sacred space of the Cathedral.' Volunteer

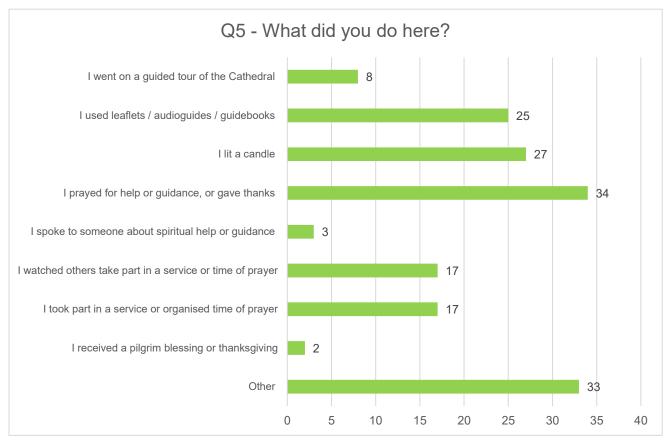
Appendix 1: Durham Cathedral question data overview

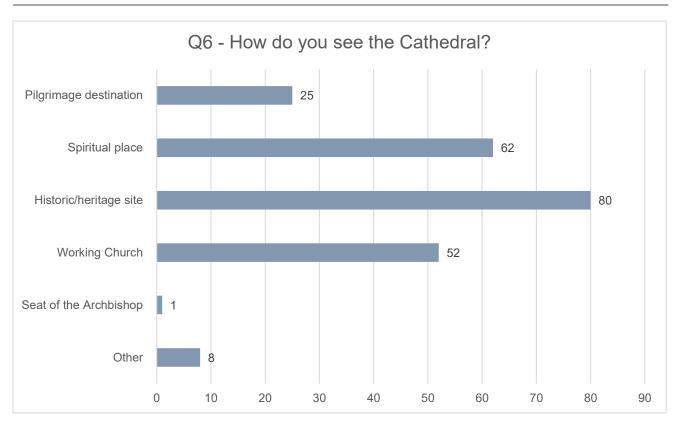
Total number of respondents: 100

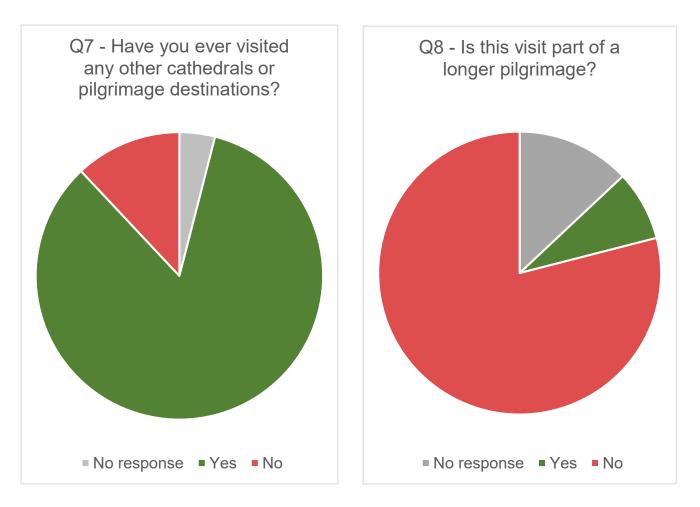


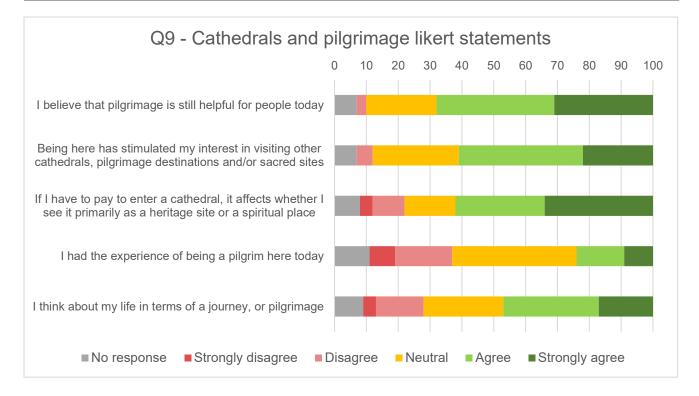


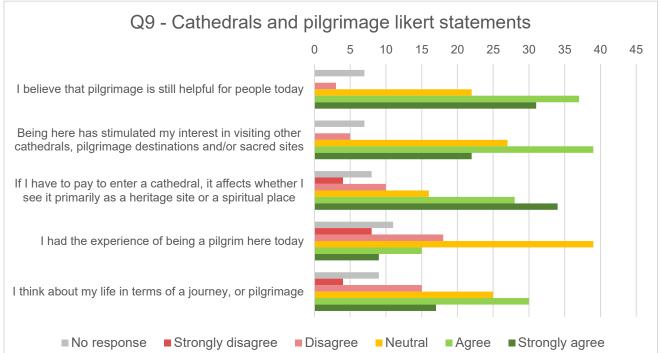






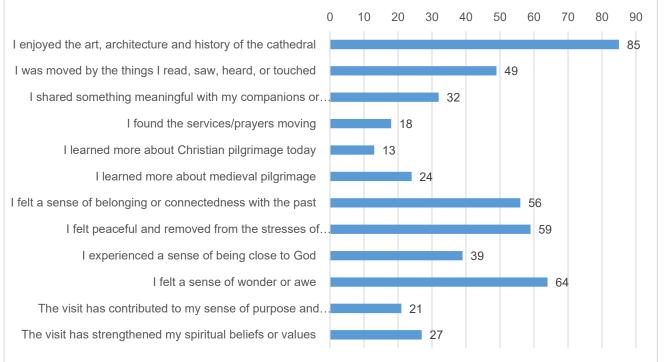






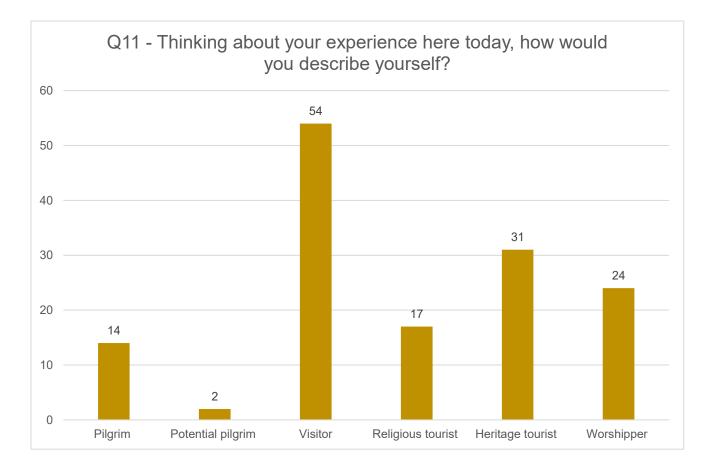
Q9 - Cathedrals and pilgrimage likert statements – data overview								
	No response	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree		
I believe that pilgrimage is still helpful for people today	7	0	3	22	37	31		
Being here has stimulated my interest in visiting other cathedrals, pilgrimage destinations and/or sacred sites	7	0	5	27	39	22		
If I have to pay to enter a cathedral, it affects whether I see it primarily as a heritage site or a spiritual place	8	4	10	16	28	34		
I had the experience of being a pilgrim here today	11	8	18	39	15	9		
I think about my life in terms of a journey, or pilgrimage	9	4	15	25	30	17		

Q10 - Which of the following experiences formed part of your visit to the Cathedral?



Full questions:

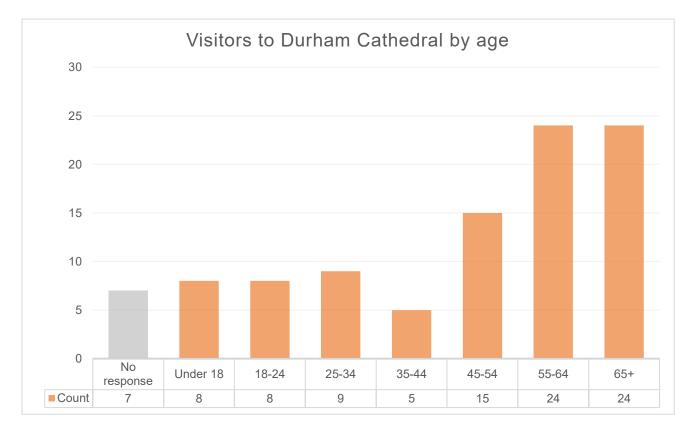
- I enjoyed the art, architecture and history of the cathedral
- I was moved by the things I read, saw, heard, or touched
- I shared something meaningful with my companions or others present
- I found the services/prayers moving
- I learned more about Christian pilgrimage today
- I learned more about medieval pilgrimage
- I felt a sense of belonging or connectedness with the past
- I felt peaceful and removed from the stresses of everyday life
- I experienced a sense of being close to God
- I felt a sense of wonder or awe
- The visit has contributed to my sense of purpose and meaning in life
- The visit has strengthened my spiritual beliefs or values

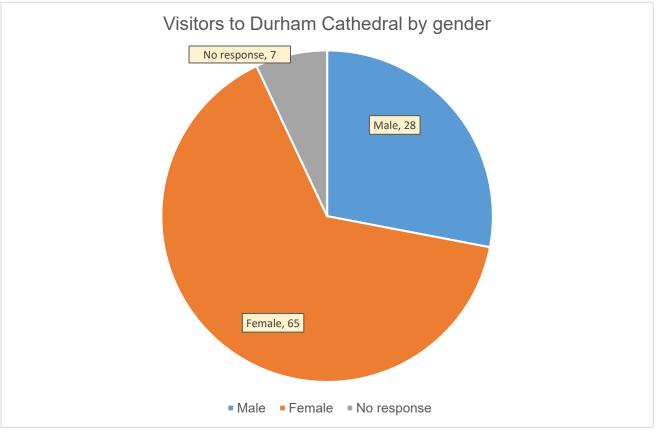


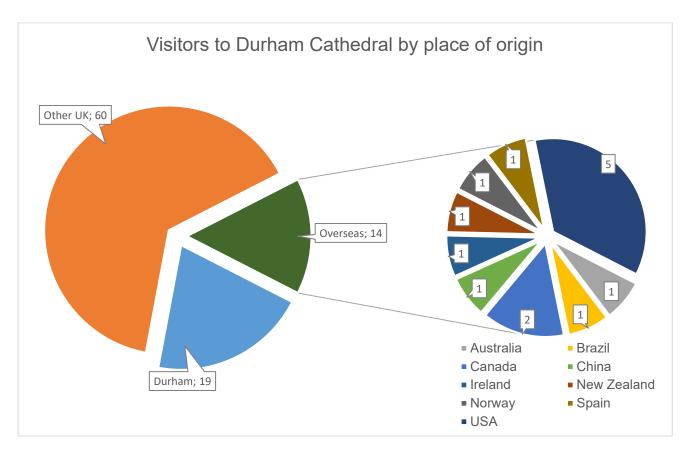


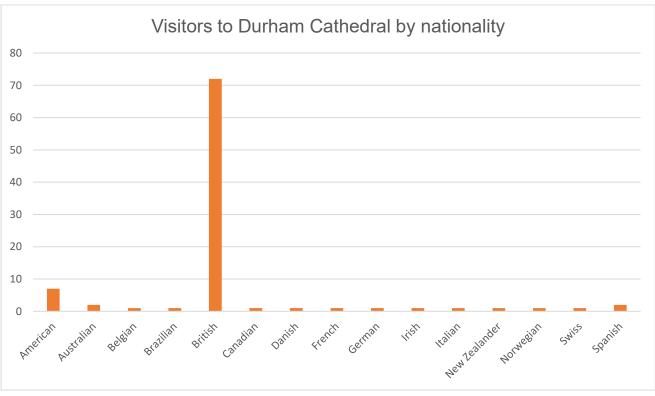
Appendix 2: Durham Cathedral demographic data overview

Total number of respondents: 100



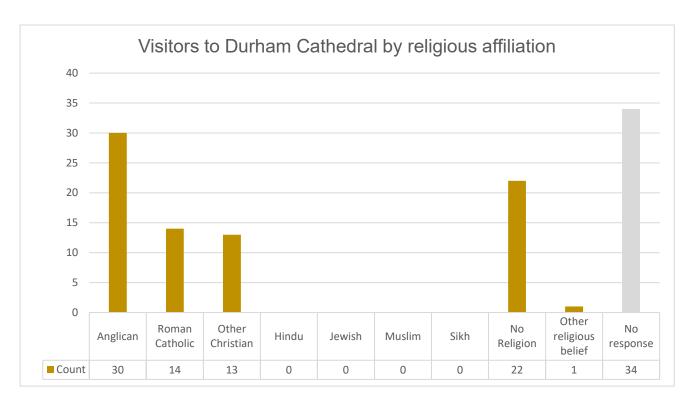






Note:

- 'English' (11 responses) and 'Scottish' (3 response) amalgamated under 'British'.
- There were five instances where two nationalities were included within responses, indicating that two individuals were represented (eg. a couple, or two friends). These responses were separated and each was added to the respective nationality total.



Notes:

- This question allows respondents to choose more than one answer.
- The unusually high 'non-response' rate (34) suggests that the question (worded '*Please indicate any religious affiliation*') was ignored by many respondents who had no religious affiliation. The 'No Religion' option is therefore likely to be negatively skewed.
- Answers to 'Other Christian' were: 'Lutheran, Missouri Synod'; 'C of Scotland' (2); 'URC'; 'Indep Presbyterian'; 'Evangelical / Independent'; 'Non church affiliation'; 'Baptist / Charismatic Free Church'. Five respondents indicated 'Other Christian', but did not elaborate.
- Answer to 'Other religious belief' was: 'Buddism'.

