

**HOSPITALITY IN A CISTERCIAN ABBEY:
THE CASE OF KIRKSTALL
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES**

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VOLUME TWO**

Submitted in Accordance with the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Leeds
Institute for Medieval Studies

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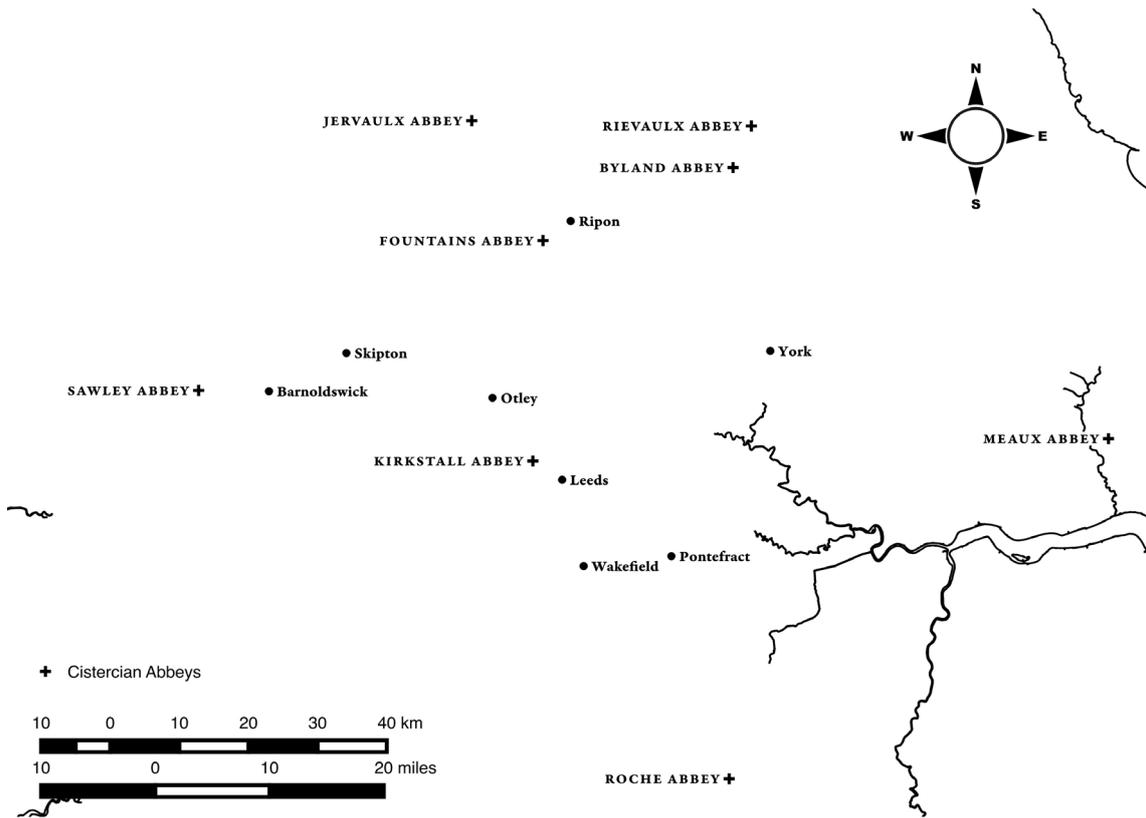
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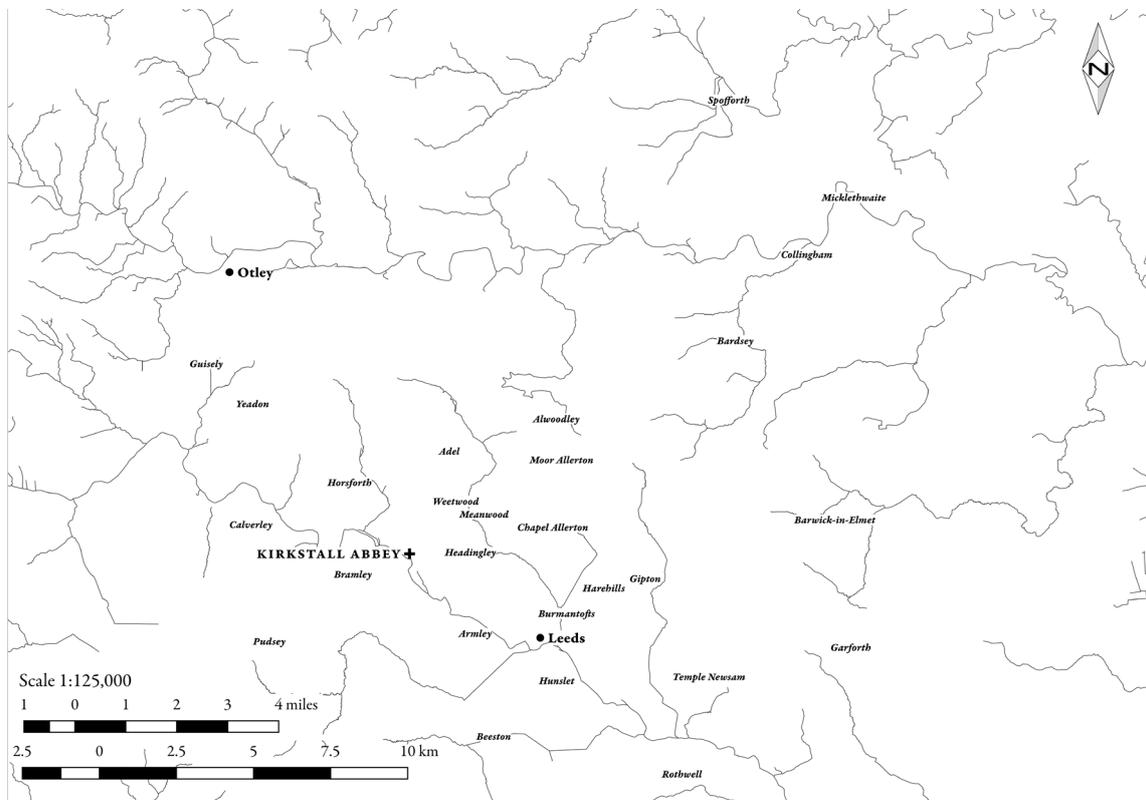
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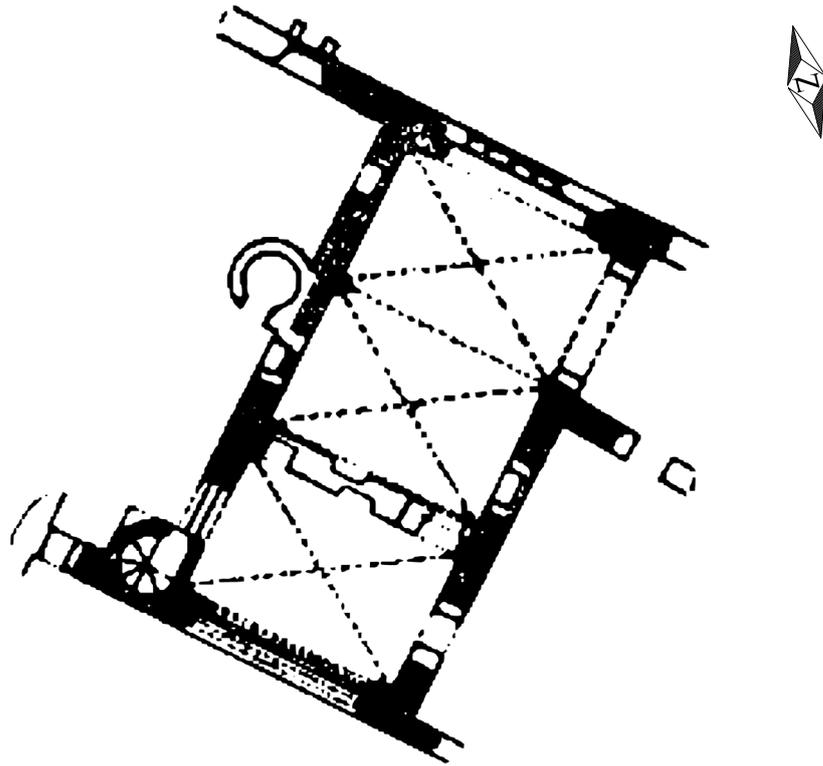
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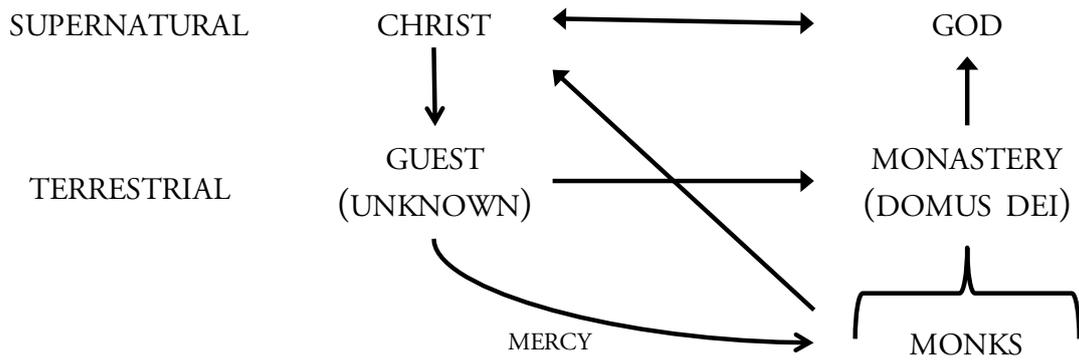


0.2: Map of the principal areas in and around Leeds mentioned in the text.
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0.5: Detail of groundplan of Kirkstall Abbey's gatehouse.

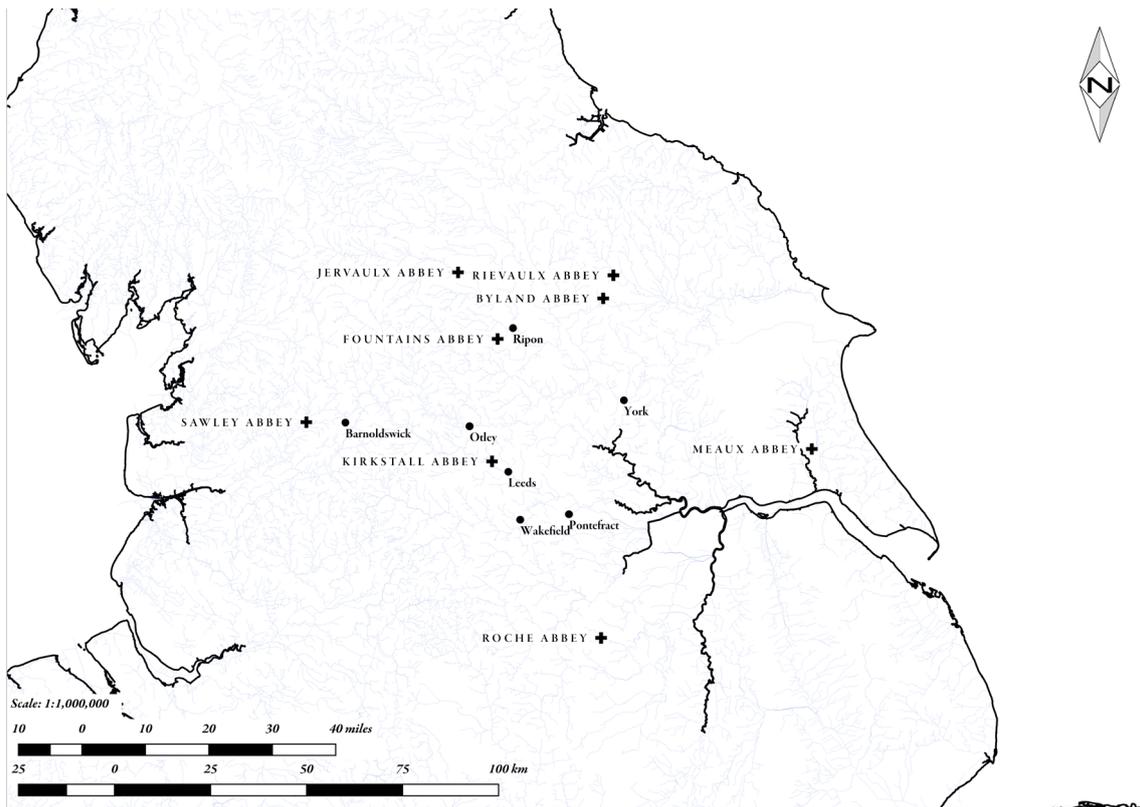
Source: Adapted from *Kirkstall Abbey: Historical Ground Plan* (Leeds: C. F. Kell, 1900).



1.1: Relationship of parties in monastic hospitality according to the *Rule of Benedict*.

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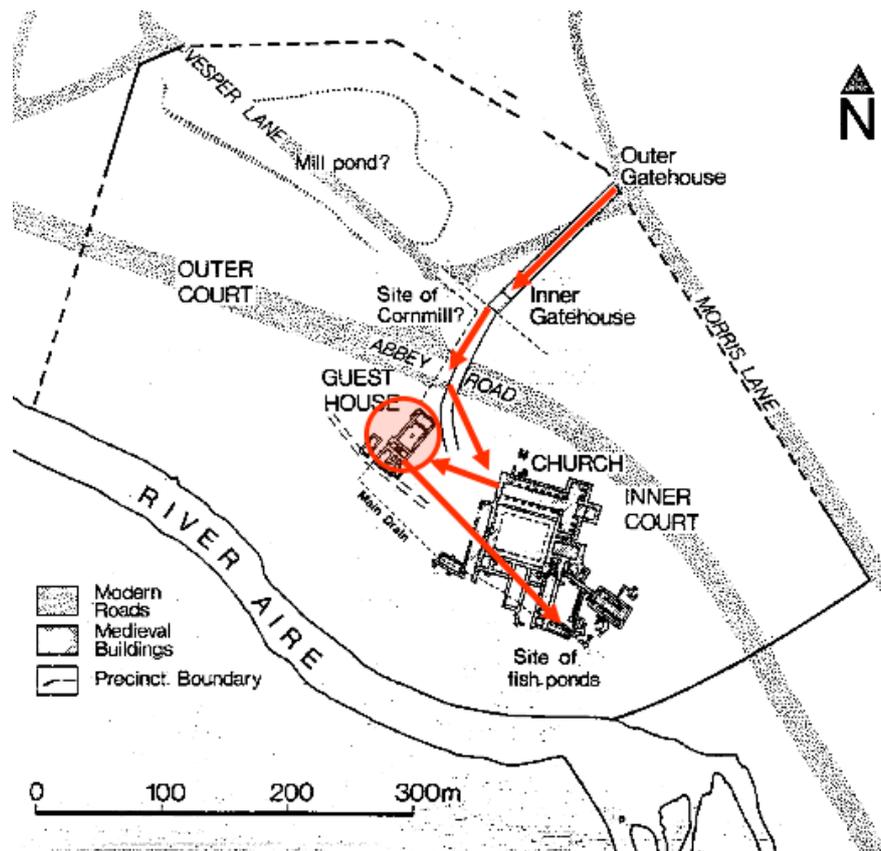
2.1: Cardigan estate map showing the extent of the precinct of Kirkstall Abbey in 1711.
Courtesy, West Yorkshire Archive Service.



2.2: Map of Cistercian houses near Kirkstall, and principal urban centres. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2013.



2.3: Valle Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire, viewed from the southwest, at the position of the former gatehouse. Source: Photographed by Richard Thomason 2013.



2.4: Plan of Kirkstall showing direction of travel from gatehouse through inner court.
 Source: Adapted from Stuart Wrathmell, *Kirkstall Abbey: The Guest House – A Guide to the Medieval Buildings and to the Discoveries Made during Recent Excavations*, 2nd edn (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeological Service, 1987).

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2.5: Groundplan of Buckfast Abbey guesthouse.
 Source: Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300–1500*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), III, p. 507.



2.6: Buckfast Abbey guesthouse, viewed from southeast.
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2.7: Buckfast Abbey guesthouse, viewed from northwest, showing width of original hall.
Source: Photograph by Richard Thomason 2013.



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Source: Photography by Richard Thomason 2013.



2.9: West range of Buckfast Abbey, viewed from the northwest.
The large mansion is of nineteenth-century date.
Source: Photograph by Richard Thomason 2013.

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2.10: The abbot's tower, Buckfast.
Source: Robin Clutterbuck, *Buckfast Abbey: A History* (Buckfast: Buckfast Abbey Trustees, 1994), p. 17.

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2.11: Groundplan of Coggeshall Abbey.

Source: J. S Gardner, 'Coggeshall Abbey and its Early Brickwork', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 18 (1955), pl. 5 (facing p. 32).

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2.12: Guesthouses of Fountains Abbey.

Source: Unpublished figure provided by kind permission of West Yorkshire Joint Services.



2.13: Division of Fountains Abbey’s buildings according to segregation scheme.
 Source: Adapted from David M. Robinson and others, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London: Batsford, 1998).



2.14: Fountains Abbey’s hospitality spaces according to transitional scheme.
 Source: Adapted from David M. Robinson and others, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London: Batsford, 1998).

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2.15: Groundplan of Furness Abbey.

Source: J. C. Dickinson, 'Furness Abbey: An Archaeological Reconsideration', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 67 (1967), 51–80, facing p. 60.)

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2.16: Plan of gatehouse structures in outer court of Furness Abbey, with post-monastic developments.

Source: J. C. Dickinson, 'Furness Abbey: An Archaeological Reconsideration', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 67 (1967), 51–80, facing p. 73.

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2.17: Groundplan of Jervaulx Abbey.

Source: Adapted from David M. Robinson and others, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London: Batsford, 1998), p. 128.

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2.18: Groundplan of Waverley Abbey guesthouse.

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2.19: Groundplan of Tintern Abbey.

Source: David M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130–1540* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2006). Available online at <<http://www.monasticwales.org/image/329>> [accessed 5 March 2016].

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2.20: Groundplan of Tintern Abbey guesthouse.

Source: Paul Courtney, 'Excavations in the Outer Precinct of Tintern Abbey', *Medieval Archaeology*, 33 (1989), 99–143 (p. 105, fig. 5).

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2.21: Groundplan of Tintern Abbey guesthouse.

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2.22: Groundplan of east of the cloister, Croxden Abbey.

Building 1 is labelled here as 'Infirmery Hall'; Building 2 is labelled as 'Abbot's Lodging'.

Source: Jackie Hall, 'Croxden Abbey: Buildings and Community' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2003), 2vols, II, fig. 67.

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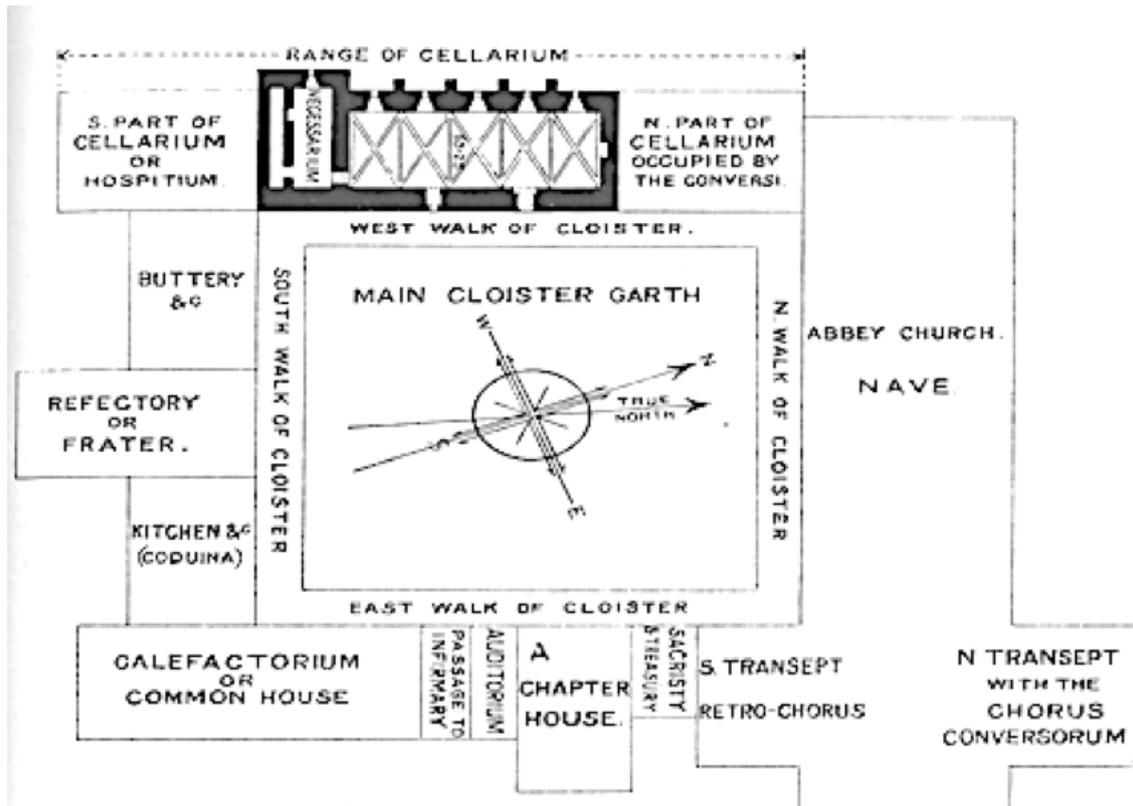
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Source: Richard W. Parker, Tony Ives and John Allan, 'Excavation and Building Study at Cleeve Abbey, 1995–2003', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 150 (2007), 73–167 (p. 74), fig. 1.

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2.24: Groundplan of Roche Abbey.

Source: Published online by English Heritage at <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/visit/places-to-visit/history-research-plans/roche-abbey-phased-plan>> [accessed 5 March 2016]



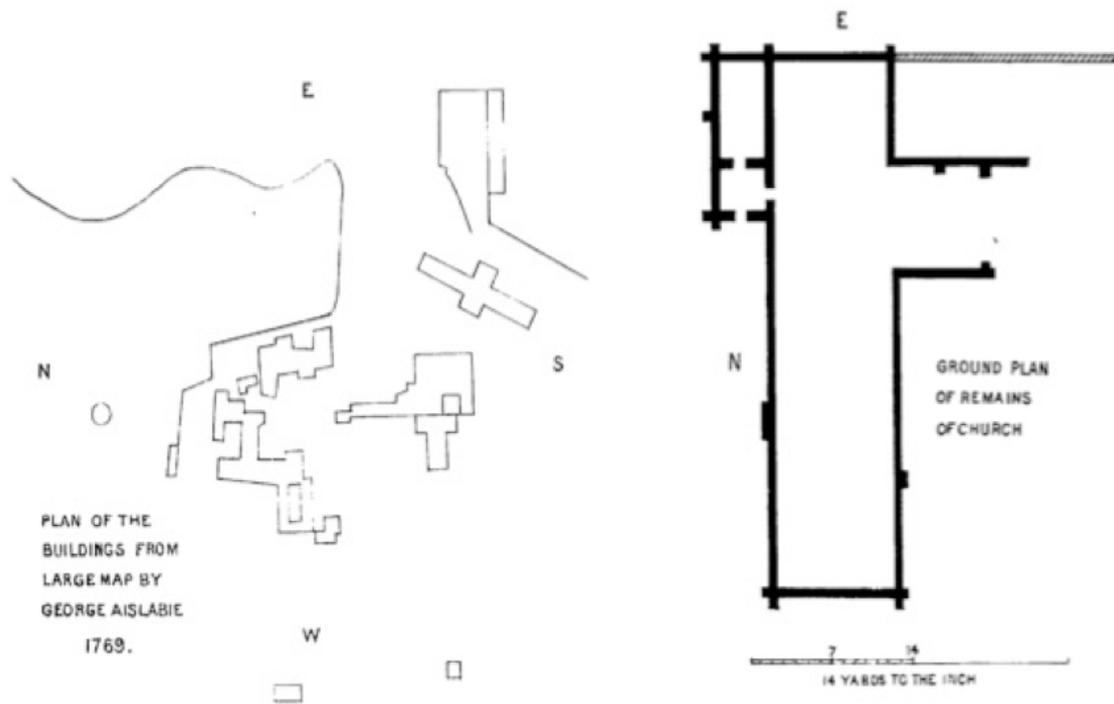
2.25: Groundplan of the western range of Flaxley Abbey.

Source: J. Henry Middleton, 'Flaxley Abbey: The Existing Remains', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 6 (1881–1882), pl. 9 (facing p. 280).

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2.26: Groundplan of Melrose Abbey.

Source: Elspeth Mackay, *Investigating Melrose Abbey: Information for Teachers* (online publication: Historic Scotland, n.d.), p. 6, available online at <<http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/investigating-melrose-abbey.pdf>> [accessed 7 March 2016]



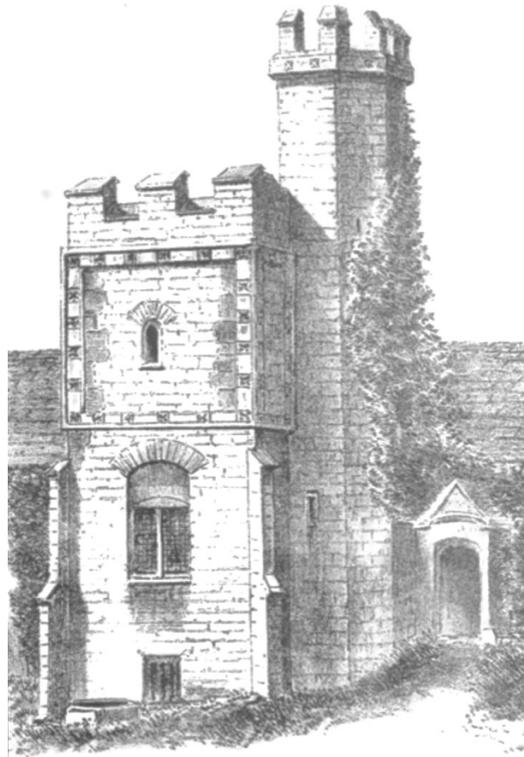
2.27: Groundplan of Buckland Abbey.

Source: J. Brooking Rowe, *Contributions to a History of the Cistercian Houses of Devon* (Plymouth: W. Brendon, 1878), plate 1 (facing p. 40).

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2.28: Groundplan of Buckland Abbey.

Source: Online ground plan published by Historic England available online at <<http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1163369>> [accessed 16 September 2015].



2.29: Drawing of abbot's tower, Buckland Abbey.

Source: J. Brooking Rowe, *Contributions to a History of the Cistercian Houses of Devon* (Plymouth: W. Brendon, 1878), plate 6.

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2.30: Groundplan of Forde Abbey.

Source: *Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England: Dorset*, 5 vols (London: H.M.S.O, 1952–57), I, facing p. 241.

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2.31: Phased groundplan of Forde Abbey.

Source: Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300–1500*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), III, p. 563, fig. 137



2.32: Exterior of Forde Abbey entrance tower and hall.

Source: Photograph by Richard Thomason 2013.



2.33: Detail of of Forde Abbey exterior of entrance tower.
Source: Photograph by Richard Thomason 2013.

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2.34: Groundplan of Cymer Abbey.

Source: David M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130–1540* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2006). Available online at <<http://www.monasticwales.org/image/319>> [accessed 5 March 2016].

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2.35: Groundplan of Valle Crucis Abbey.

Source: David M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130–1540* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2006). Available online at <<http://www.monasticwales.org/image/317>> [accessed 5 March 2016].

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2.36: The Kirkstall Abbey guesthouse excavations, 1980s.

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2.37: Phased plan Kirkstall guesthouse.

Source: Unpublished figure provided by kind permission of West Yorkshire Joint Services.

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2.38: Plan of Kirkstall's water supply systems.

Source: Unpublished figure provided by kind permission of West Yorkshire Joint Services.

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2.39: Artist's impression of the interior of Kirkstall's guesthouse.

Source: Adapted from Stuart Wrathmell, *Kirkstall Abbey: The Guest House – A Guide to the Medieval Buildings and to the Discoveries Made during Recent Excavations*, 2nd edn (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeological Service, 1987), p. 21.



2.40: Fireplaces in Kirkstall's abbot's lodging.

Source: William Henry St John Hope and John Bilson, *Architectural Description of Kirkstall Abbey* (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1907), fig. 35.

NO.	CATEGORY	EXAMPLE OBJECTS	MATERIAL TYPES
1.	<i>Building Materials</i>	Window cames Window glass Roofing (e.g. flashing) Architectural fragments	Lead Glass Lead Stone
2.	<i>Building Fasteners and Fittings</i>	Door hinges Decorative estoilles Lead piping (water management) Nails Padlock Rivet Washers	Iron Lead Lead Iron Copper alloy Copper alloy Copper alloy
3.	<i>Household</i>	Handles (of various objects/vessels) Thimbles Tongs Vessel fragments (e.g. cauldron leg)	Copper alloy/lead Copper alloy Iron Copper alloy
4.	<i>Crafts and Industry</i>	Chisel Fragments Punch	Iron Lead/copper alloy Iron
5.	<i>Multipurpose Blades and Sharpeners</i>	Knives Whetstone	Iron Stone
6.	<i>Commerce</i>	Numismatic finds (e.g. coins and jettons)	Silver/lead
7.	<i>Measurement</i>	Weights	Lead
8.	<i>Communications</i>	Book bindings Seal matrices Seal rings Styli Writing leads	Copper alloy Copper alloy Copper alloy Copper alloy Lead
9.	<i>Pastimes</i>	Die Tuning peg Gaming counters	Bone Bone Stone
10.	<i>Transport and Horse-Related</i>	Harness pendants Horseshoes	Copper alloy Iron
11.	<i>Subsistence and Agriculture</i>	Animal Bones Fishing weight Millstone Quern	Bone Lead Stone Stone
12.	<i>Hunting and Weaponry</i>	Arrow heads Dagger chape	Iron Copper alloy

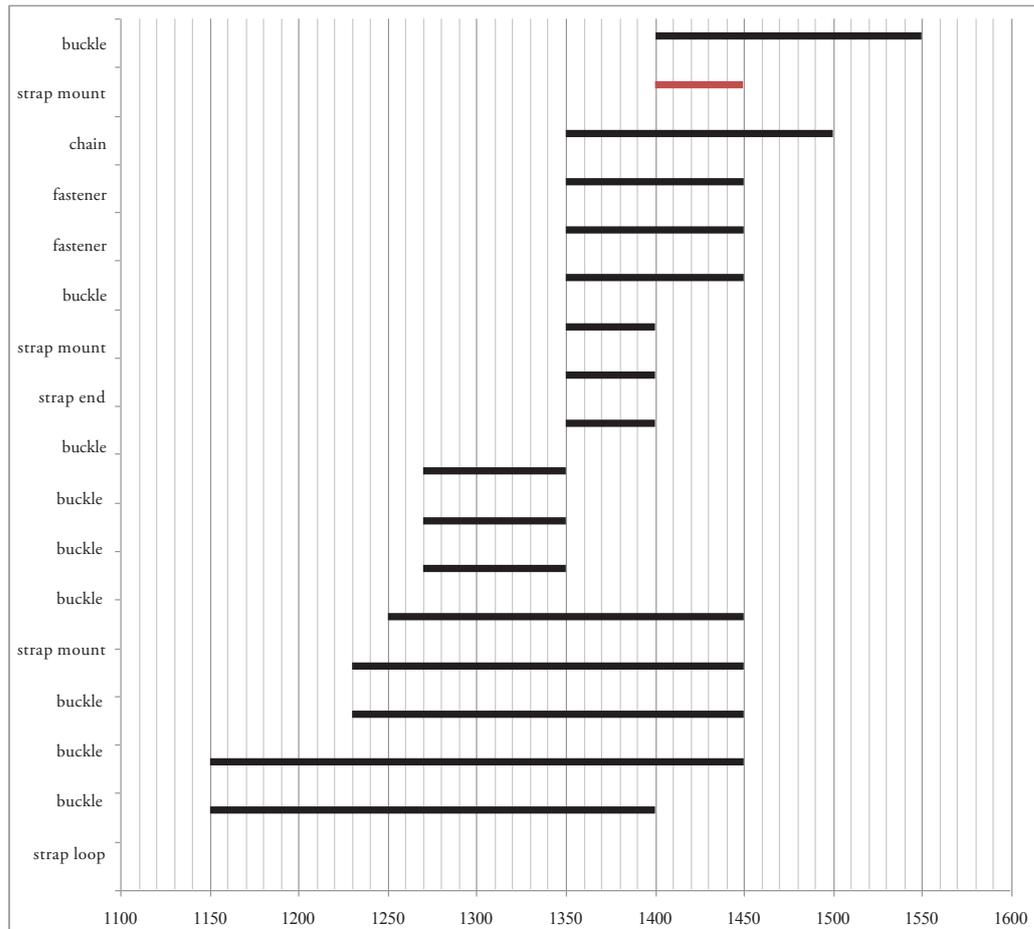
3.1: Functional categories of the Kirkstall guesthouse objects.
(Continued on next page.)

NO.	CATEGORY	EXAMPLE OBJECTS	MATERIAL TYPES
13.	<i>Personal Adornment and Dress</i>	Belt buckles Belt loops Brooches Buckle pins Buttons Clips Lace tags Pendants Rings Strap Fittings Studs	Copper alloy/lead Copper alloy Copper alloy (with silver) Copper alloy Copper alloy Copper alloy (modern?) Copper alloy Copper alloy Copper alloy/lead Copper alloy Copper alloy/lead
14.	<i>Toilet, Surgical, and Pharmaceutical</i>	Toilet implement Cased mirror	Copper alloy Copper alloy
15.	<i>Religious and Political Beliefs</i>	Monumental/ gravestone letter Pilgrim badge holder Rosary Bead	Copper alloy Lead Jet
16.	<i>Prehistoric Flint and Stone</i>	n/a	n/a
17.	<i>Wide-Ranging Uses</i>	Rings and loops	Copper alloy/lead/iron
18.	<i>Unknown / Uncertain</i>	Various sheet and strip fragments	Copper alloy/lead/iron
19.	<i>Natural Objects / Ecofacts</i>	Tooth	Tooth

ANALYTICAL CATEGORY	FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	EXAMPLES OF OBJECTS * indicates potential for crossover between categories
Material Environment	<i>Building Materials</i>	Window cames Window glass Roofing (e.g. flashing) Architectural fragments
	<i>Building Fasteners and Fittings</i>	Door hinges Decorative estoilles Lead piping (water management) Nails Padlock Rivet Washers
	<i>Religious and Political Beliefs</i>	Monumental/ gravestone letter
Social and Gender Identity	<i>Transport and Horse-Related</i>	Harness pendants Horseshoes
	<i>Hunting and Weaponry</i>	Arrow heads Dagger chape
	<i>Personal Adornment and Dress</i>	Belt buckles Belt loops * Brooches Buckle pins Buttons Clips Lace tags Pendants * Rings Strap Fittings Studs
	<i>Toilet, Surgical, and Pharmaceutical</i>	* Toilet implement * Cased mirror
	<i>Religious and Political Beliefs</i>	Monumental/ gravestone letter Pilgrim badge holder Rosary Bead
Activities and Behaviour	<i>Household</i>	Handles (of various objects/vessels) Thimbles Tongs Vessel fragments (e.g. cauldron leg)

3.2: Analytical categories of the Kirkstall guesthouse objects.
(Continued on next page.)

ANALYTICAL CATEGORY	FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	EXAMPLES OF OBJECTS * indicates potential for crossover between categories
	<i>Crafts and Industry</i>	Chisel Fragments Punch
	<i>Multipurpose Blades and Sharpeners</i>	Knives Whetstone
	<i>Commerce</i>	* Numismatic finds (e.g. coins and jettons)
	<i>Measurement</i>	Weights
	<i>Communications</i>	* Book bindings * Seal matrices * Seal rings Styli Writing leads
	<i>Pastimes</i>	Die * Tuning peg Gaming counters
	<i>Transport and Horse-Related</i>	* Harness pendants Horseshoes
	<i>Subsistence and Agriculture</i>	Animal Bones Fishing weight Millstone Quern
	<i>Hunting and Weaponry</i>	Arrow heads Dagger chape
	<i>Toilet, Surgical, and Pharmaceutical</i>	* Toilet implement * Cased mirror

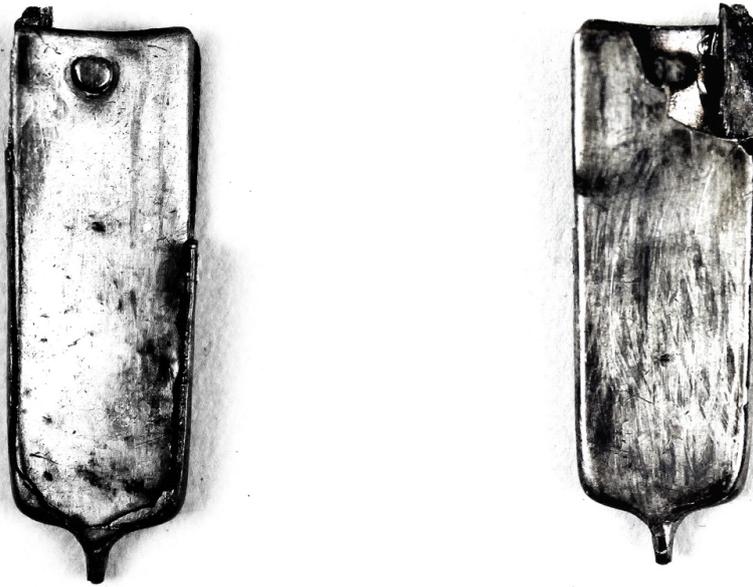


3.3: Dating of some of Kirkstall's dress accessories.

A red line indicates that the date-range is poorly attested with reference to stratified parallels, or difficulty in dating due to lack of well-defined diagnostic features.



3.4: Lobed strap mount.
SF 2776; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.045.

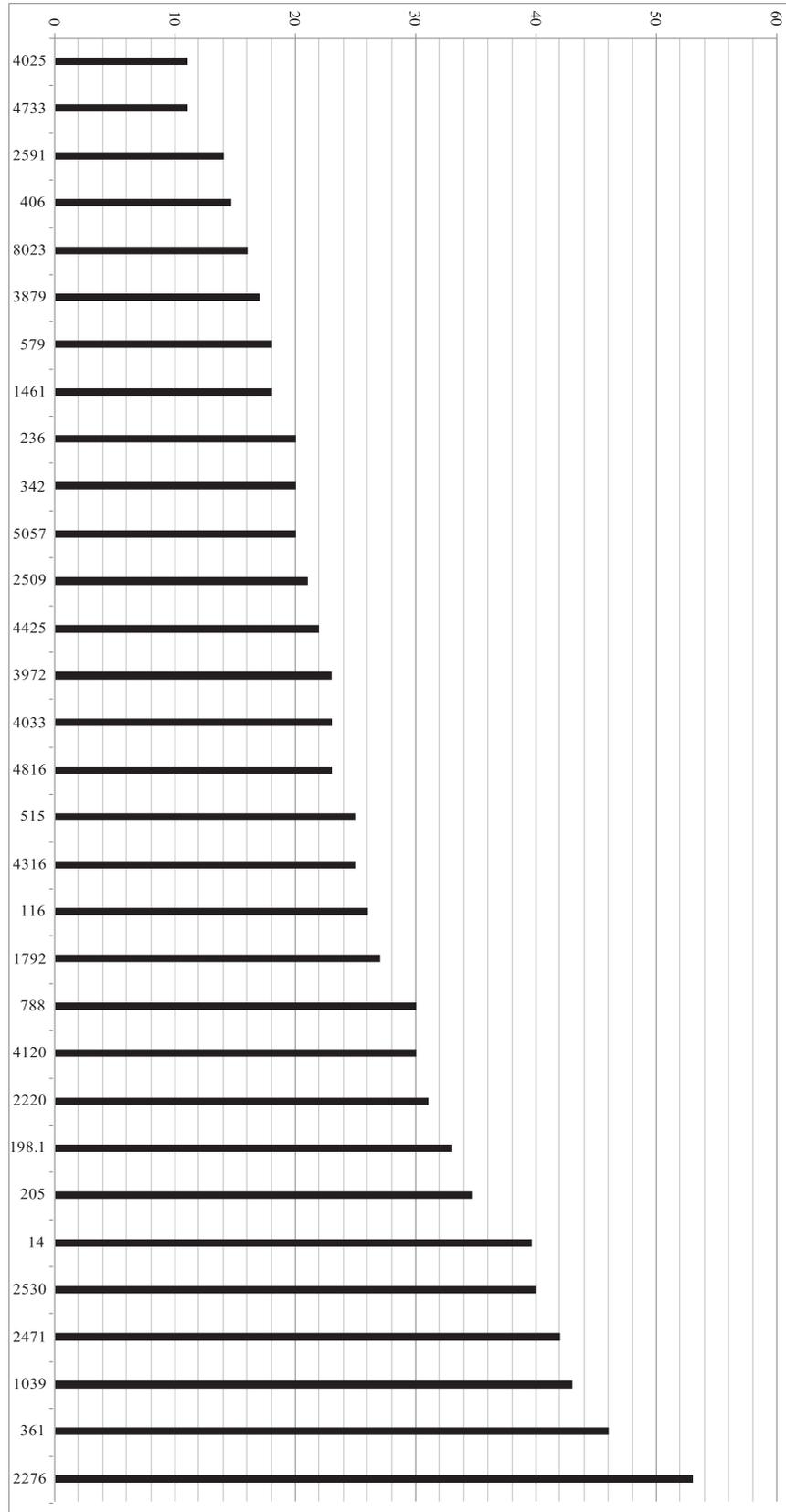


3.5: Silver strap end.
SF 7037; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.042.



3.6: Peasant labourer wearing belt.
Luttrell Psalter, BL Add. MS 42130, p. 20.

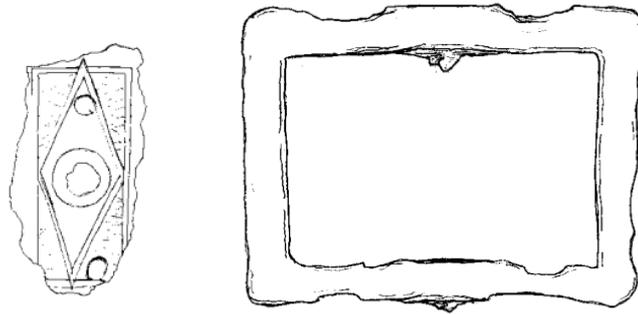
3.7: Width in millimetres of belt buckles from Kirkstall's guesthouse.





3.8: Effigy of King John, Worcester Cathedral, c. 1240.

Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), p. 225.



3.9: Possible configuration of buckle and strap mount
 Using buckle SF W2471 (LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.220) and mount SF 2566 (LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.367); not to scale. Source: Drawn by Richard Thomason 2014.



3.10: Arched pendent strap mount or purse hanger.
 SF 79:491; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.408



3.11: Bar suspension mount.
 SF 1811; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.310.

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3.12: Arched pendent strap mount or purse hanger.
 Source: Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories, c. 1150–c. 1450, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 3* (London: H.M.S.O., 1991), p. 223, fig. 140, no. 1198).



3.13: Detail of St George and sword belt.

Portrait of Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, from the Trinity Altarpiece, by Hugo van der Goes, *c.* 1478–79. Currently held at the Scottish National Gallery.



3.14: Effigy of Sir Humphrey Littlebury, at Holbeach in Lincolnshire, 1360.
Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), p. 15.



3.15: Effigy of Catherine Mortimer, wife of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, at Church of St Mary, Warwick, 1370.
Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), p. 15.

3.16: Double loop frame buckle with central bar, pin *in situ*.
SF 79: 236;
LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.388).



3.17: Detail of feet from Later Hilton knight, Swine, North Humberside.
Source: Pauline E. Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*
(Ipswich: Boydell Press, 1976), p. 114, fig. 70.



3.18: Squared buckles on the effigy of the Mirfield knight at Batley, West Yorkshire.
Source: Pauline E. Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*
(Ipswich: Boydell, 1976), p. 22, fig. 7.

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3.19: Buckle Terminology.

Source: Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories, c. 1150–c. 1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 3 (London: H.M.S.O., 1991).

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3.20: Anon. Flemish illustrator, 'The Granting of Privileges to Ghent and Flanders', post-1453.
Source: Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*
(London: . Batsford, 1986), p. 90, plate 90.



3.21: Oval lipped frame with notch for pin and offset bar.
Small find number unknown;
LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.044).



3.22: Fragment of oval-framed lipped buckle.
79:198; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.435).

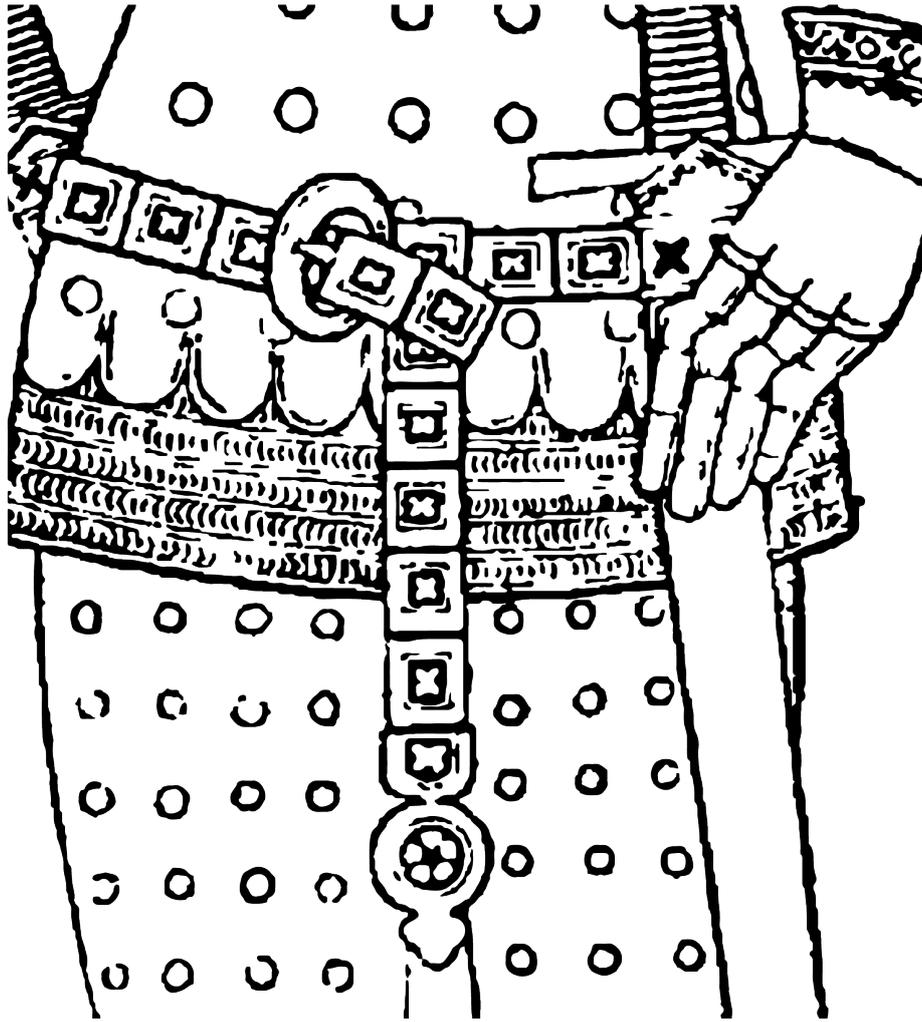
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3.23: Brass effigy of Sir Roger of Trumpington, Church of St Mary and St Michael, Trumpington (Cambridgeshire), 1290–1300.

Source: Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 137, fig. 1b.



3.24: Brass effigy of Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing (Norfolk), 1347.
Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 241.



3.25: Detail of Sir Miles Stapleton, Ingham Priory, Ingham (Norfolk), 1364.
 Source: Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 243.

3.26: D-form buckle with narrowed bar.
 SF 5057;
 LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.293).



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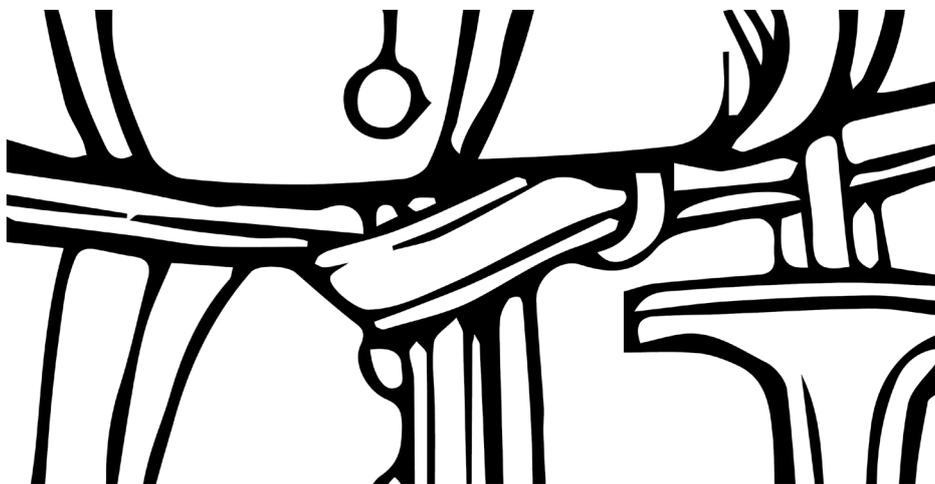
3.27: Monumental brass of unknown man, Church of St Thomas Becket, Hampsthwaite (Yorkshire), c. 1360–65; with detail of buckle.

Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Batsford, 1986), p. 37, fig. 24).



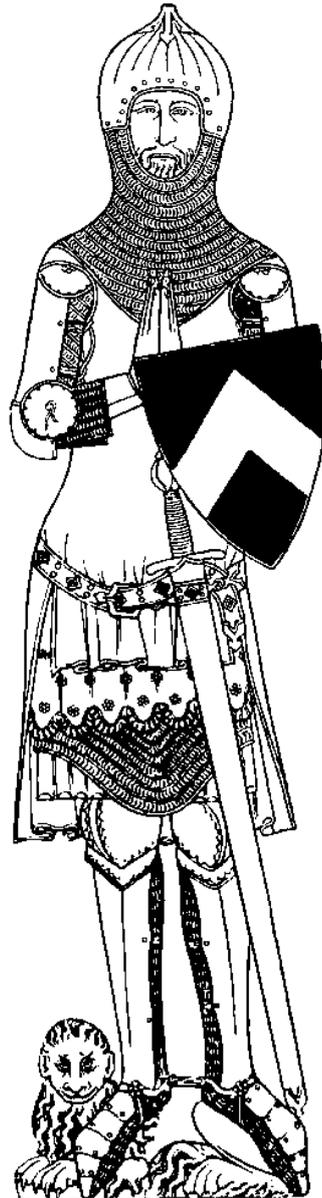
3.28: Man in civil dress, St John the Baptist's Church, Shottesbrooke (Berkshire), 1370, with detail of belt buckle and threaded strap.

Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 232.



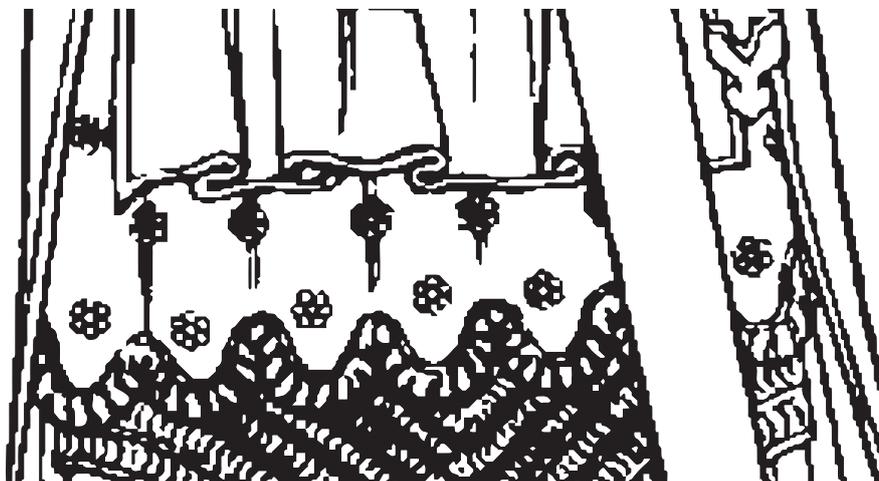


3.29: Domed sexfoil mount with integral rivet.
SF 1699; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.046.



3.30: Brass of Sir John D'Auberon, Chapel of St John the Baptist and St James, Stoke D'Abernon (Surrey), 1327.

Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), p. 239.





3.31: Effigy of Sir Gerard de Insula, Stow Nine Churches (Northamptonshire), 1260 × 70.
Source: Frederick Herbert Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Mediaeval Period* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1921), p. 239.



3.32: Two bar mounts.

Top: bar mount with central perforated lobe and slightly expanded and perforated terminals, with bands of engraved transverse lines decorating either side of central lobe.

SF 1422; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.225.



Bottom: possible bar mount with central lobe, with terminals broken off.

SF 4732; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.311).



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3.33: Oval frame buckle with ornate outside edge, Kirkstall guesthouse.
SF 8023; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.068.

3.34: Oval frame buckle with ornate outside edge, from Lurk Lane, Beverley. Source: Alison Goodall, 'The Copper Alloy and Gold', in *Excavations at Lurk Lane Beverley, 1979–1982*, ed. by Peter Armstrong, D. H. Evans, and David Tomlinson, Sheffield Excavation Reports, 1 (Sheffield: Humberside Archaeology Unit, 1991), pp. 148–54 (p. 150, fig. 114, no. 590).



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3.35: Composite strap fastener, Kirkstall guesthouse, 1350–1450.
SF 1797; LEEDM.D.2012.0035.001.218.

3.36: Composite strap fastener from Bedern. Source: Patrick Ottaway and Nicola Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Finds from Medieval York*, *The Archaeology of York*, 17 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002), p. 2903, fig.1477, no. 14389.

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3.37: Roger van der Weyden, 'Portrait of Anonymous Young Woman', c. 1460, with detail of belt.
Source: Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: . Batsford, 1986), p. 94, fig. 96.

SITE	KIRKSTALL (CLOISTER)	KIRKSTALL (GUESTHOUSE)	COPPERGATE, YORK	BEDERN, YORK	FISHERGATE, YORK
No. of dress accessories	15	302	14	144	22

3.38: Number of dress accessories found at Kirkstall Abbey and York.



3.39: Roger van der Weyden, 'Portrait of a Woman with a Winged Bonnet', c. 1435.
Now held at Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



3.40: Roger van der Weyden, 'Portrait of a Woman', c. 1460.
Now held at National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..



3.41: Roger van der Weyden, 'Portrait of a Woman', c. 1460.
Now held at National Gallery, London.

MONASTIC AREAS	OX	SHEEP	PIG	DEER
% NO. / BONES	90	5	3	2
MEAT KITCHEN ANNEXE	81%	12%	5%	2%
WORKSHOP RANGE	75%	14%	7%	4%

4.1: Composition of animal bones found in monastic areas.

Source: Michael L. Ryder, 'The Animal Bones', in *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1955–59*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 48 (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1961), pp. 41–53 (p. 70).

OX	< 2 YRS	> 2 YRS	> 5 YRS	C. 10 YRS
Mandibles	1	23	34	5
Molars	-	122	229	87
Incisors	-	15	8	14
Total	1	160	271	106
%	0.19	29.7	50.4	19.7

4.2: Aging of ox bones from Kirkstall Abbey meat kitchen.

Source: Michael L. Ryder, 'The Animal Bones', in *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1955–59*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 48 (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1961), pp. 41–53 (p. 71).

SHEEP	< 2 YRS	> 2 YRS	> 5 YRS	C. 10 YRS
MANDIBLES	2	21	-	-
MOLARS	-	11 (over 2 yrs, but n. v. worn)	-	-
TOTAL	2	32	-	-
%	5.9	94.1	-	-

4.3: Aging of sheep bones from Kirkstall Abbey meat kitchen.

Source: Michael L. Ryder, 'The Animal Bones', in *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1955–59*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 48 (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1961), pp. 41–53 (p. 71).

PIG	C. 1 YR (5 MOLARS)	C. 1.5 YRS (7TH MOLAR ERUPTING)	C. 2 YRS (7 MOLARS)	> 2 YRS (7 MOLARS, VERY WORN)
MANDIBLES	1	10	3	1
%	6.7	66.7	20.0	6.7

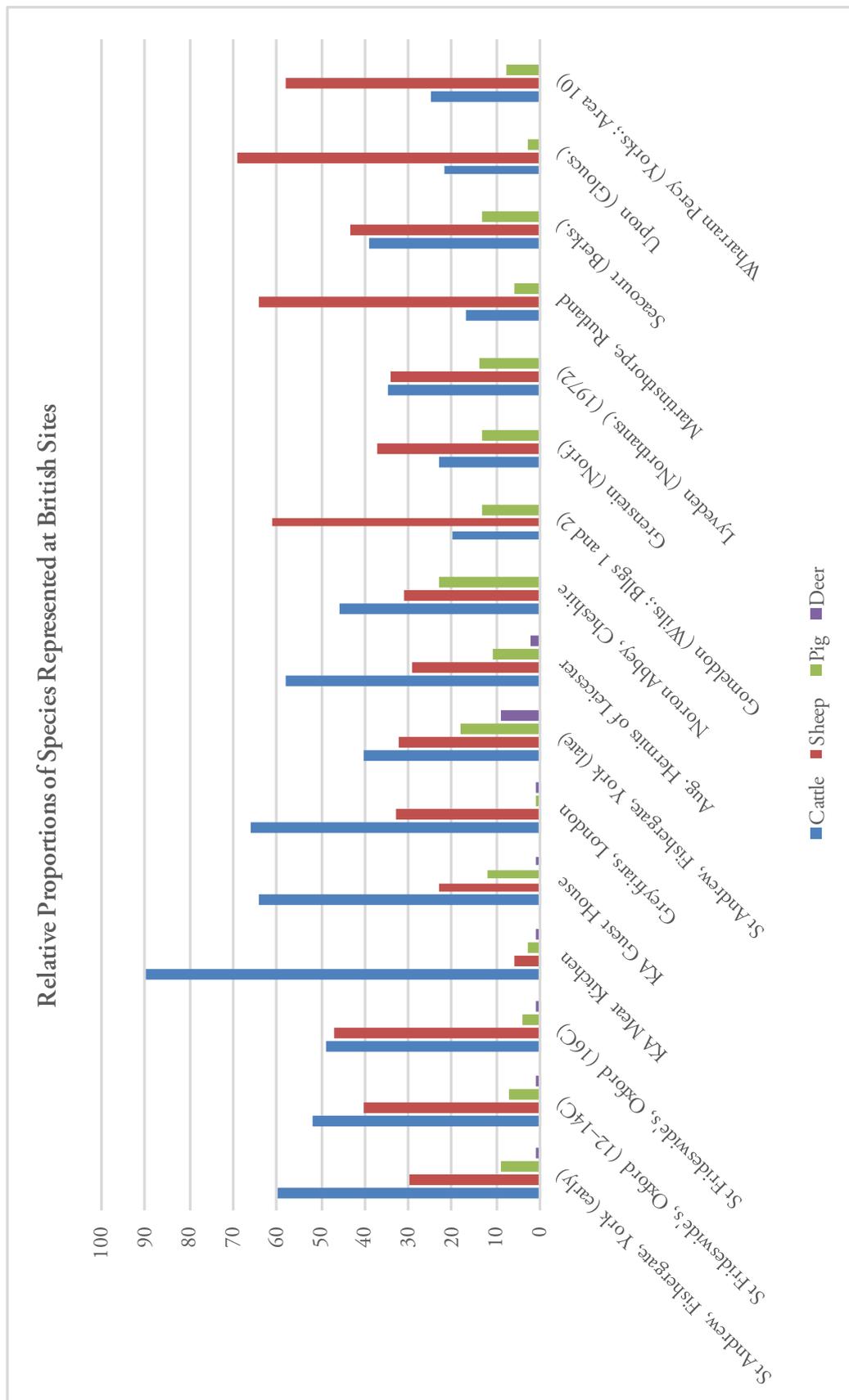
4.4: Aging of pig bones from Kirkstall Abbey meat kitchen.

Michael L. Ryder, 'The Animal Bones', in *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1955–59*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 48 (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1961), pp. 41–53 (p. 71).

GUESTHOUSE RANGE	OX	SHEEP	PIG	DEER
TOTAL NO. / BONES	1543	508	365	43
% NO. / BONES	50.61	16.66	11.97	1.41

4.5: Composition of animal bones from Kirkstall's guesthouse.

Source: Jane Richardson, 'Kirkstall Guest House Animal Bones', in *Kirkstall Abbey, Vol. 2: The Guest House Excavations, 1979–86*, ed. by Stuart Wrathmell, forthcoming.



4.6 Relative proportions of animal bones according to species in religious sites of Britain. Source: Data from Jane Richardson, 'Kirkstall Guest House Animal Bones', in *Kirkstall Abbey, Vol. 2: The Guest House Excavations, 1979-86*, ed. by Stuart Wrathmell (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeological Advisory Service, forthcoming), table 13; supplemented with data from Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 155, concerning Gomeldon (Wilts.; Bllgs 1 and 2), Grenstein (Norf.), Lyveden (Northants.), Martinthorpe (Rutland), Seacourt (Berks.), Upton (Gloucs.), and Whartram Percy (Yorks.; Area 10).

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4.7 Seal ring.
SF 1473; location unknown.