THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LATE MONASTIC HOSPITALITY

2 VOLUMES: VOLUME 1

ROCHELLE L ROWELL BA, MA

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DPHIL TO THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 2000

Abstract

This thesis examines the role of a distinctive group of monastic buildings, those constructed for the use of visitors, placing them in the distinctive cultural settings of the monastery and the surrounding secular landscape. It reconsiders the applicability of the inside/outside, secular/monastic dichotomy, which tends to imply restriction of access to the house, and examines human behaviour in and around visitors' structures, in the form of ritualized hospitality. It is thus concerned with the recursive relationships between monastic and secular cultures, and between individuals negotiating power through their manipulation and structuring of space.

This thesis employs an explicitly archaeological research agenda and recording methodology which explores the evidence at both extensive and intensive levels. An extensive survey of surviving gatehouse remains was undertaken to examine the apparent 'liminal' role of these structures. At the intensive level, detailed building recording was undertaken on two complexes, at Stoneleigh Abbey and Gloucester Cathedral, whose primary function was to provide hospitality to outsiders. These are used as primary case studies, and are supplemented by textual, pictorial, and landscape evidence in order to investigate what monastic hospitality was, in what manner it was expressed, and how it was experienced.

CONTENTS:

LIST OF FIGURES:

i.Maxstoke outer gatehouse, early fourteenth century, ground and first floors (Holliday 1878, 77)
j. Butley great gatehouse, early fourteenth century (Caröe 1933, pl.3)

19. Comparative pitched gable gatehouse facades:
a. St Mary's gatehouse, Gloucester, outer facade, late twelfth/early thirteenth century (Waller 1890, 6)
b. Beaulieu Abbey outer gatehouse, outer facade, early thirteenth century (Hope and Brakspear, 1906b, facing 142)
c. Cleeve Abbey inner gatehouse, inner facade, thirteenth/fourteenth/fifteenth century (Platt 1984, 206)
d. Cleeve Abbey inner gatehouse, outer facade, thirteenth/fourteenth/fifteenth century (Coppack 1998, pl.21)
e. Gloucester Cathedral, inner gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century
f. Maxstoke Priory, outer gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century (Holliday 1878, pl.5)
g. Maxstoke Priory, outer gatehouse, inner facade, fourteenth century (James 1925, facing 142)
h. Stoneleigh Abbey, great gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century (Repton's 1809 illustration, in Batey 1996, 89)
i. Kirkham Priory, great gatehouse, outer face, late thirteenth century
j. Butley Priory, great gatehouse, outer face, early fourteenth century (Platt 1984, 104)
k. Norwich Cathedral, St Ethelbert's gatehouse, early fourteenth century (Pevsner 1962, pl.10a)
l. Norwich Cathedral, Erpingham gatehouse, early fifteenth century (Pevsner 1962, l.14a)
m. Kingswood Abbey gatehouse, early sixteenth century (Robinson 1998, 130)
n. Easby Abbey, great gatehouse, twelfth/early fourteenth century (Weaver 1989, 21)
o. Letheringham Priory gatehouse, late fifteenth century, outer facade (Morant 1995, pl.26)
p. Whalley Abbey, outer gatehouse, early fourteenth century (Robinson 1998, 202)
q. Tavistock Abbey, great gatehouse, twelfth/fifteenth century (James 1925, facing 70)

20. Comparative blind arcading in pitched gable gatehouse passages
a. Evesham, *c.*1139-43
b. Bristol, great gate, twelfth century (Morant 1995, fig.21)
c. St Mary's, York, late twelfth century (RCHME 1975, pl.19)

21. Comparative cross-placed gatehouse facades:
a. Reading, inner gatehouse, inner facade, late thirteenth/fourteenth century (VCH 1906, facing 341)
b. Worksop, great gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century (Cook and Smith 1960, pl.107)
c. Bridlington, great gatehouse, outer facade, late fourteenth century (VCH 1974, facing 113)
d. St Albans, great gatehouse, inner facade, fourteenth century (Watkins 1934, 33)
e. Llanthony gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth/sixteenth century (Chandler 1993, 176)
f. Cartmel gatehouse, mid fourteenth century (Dickinson 1991, 106)
g. Abingdon great gatehouse, outer facade, late fifteenth century (Chandler 1993, 32)
h. Great Malvern, great gatehouse, fifteenth century (Hurle and Winsor 1985, pl.13a)
i. Bromfield, great gatehouse, fourteenth century, outer facade (Crossley 1951, 4)
j. Bromfield, great gatehouse, fourteenth century, inner facade (Pevsner 1958, pl.42a)
k. Wigmore, inner/abbot's gatehouse, fourteenth century, outer facade (Morant 1995, pl.29)
l. Polesworth gatehouse, fourteenth century, outer facade (James 1925, between 54

and 55)

22. Comparative cross-placed gatehouse ground plans (inner facade to bottom of page):
    a. Bridlington, Bayle gatehouse, late fourteenth century, ground through third floors (Morant 1995, 76)
    b. St Albans, great gatehouse, fourteenth century (RCHME 1910, 187)
    c. Bardney, outer gatehouse, fourteenth century (Brakspear 1922, 9)
    d. Thornholme gatehouse, mid fourteenth century (Coppack 1989, 196)
    e. Langley, inner gatehouse, fourteenth century (Clapham 1923, 140)
    f. Cartmel gatehouse, early fourteenth century (Dickinson 1991, 106)
    g. Maxstoke, inner gatehouse, fourteenth century (Holliday 1878, 72)
23. Comparative turreted gatehouse facades:
    a. Peterborough, abbot's gatehouse, early thirteenth century (Morant 1995, pl.15)
    b. Canterbury St Augustine's, Fyndon gate, outer facade, early fourteenth century (Gem 1997, 129)
    c. Bury St Edmunds, great gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century (Morant 1995, pl.8)
    d. Battle, great gatehouse, inner facade, fourteenth century (Platt 1984, 198)
    e. Battle, great gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century (Morant 1995, pl.11)
    f. Thornton, great gatehouse, outer facade, late fourteenth century (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1989, cover)
    g. Thornton, great gatehouse, inner facade, late fourteenth century (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1989, 17)
    h.Alnwick inner facade, mid fourteenth century (Morant 1995, pl.24)
    i. Alnwick, outer facade, mid fourteenth century (Hope 1887, facing 346)
    j. Ely Porta, outer facade, late fourteenth century (Hankey 1964, 22)
    k. Thetford, great gatehouse, outer facade, late fourteenth century (Platt 1984, 100)
    l. Colchester late fifteenth century (RCHME 1922, facing 47)
    m. Torre great gatehouse, outer facade, fourteenth century (Cherry and Pevsner 1989, pl.55)
    n. St Osyth late fifteenth century (Cook and Smith 1960,)
24. Comparative turreted gatehouse ground plans (inner facade to bottom of page):
    a. Peterborough, abbot's gatehouse, early thirteenth century (Anon. 1932b, plan)
    b. Ely Porta, late fourteenth century (Coldstream 1979, pl.1)
    c. Alnwick, great gatehouse, fourteenth century (Hope 1887, plan)
    d. Worcester, great gatehouse (Willis 1986, plan)
    e. Ramsey gatehouse, late fifteenth century (RCHME 1926, 208)
    f. Torre, great gatehouse, fourteenth century (Clapham 1923, 145)
    g. Colchester, great gatehouse, late fifteenth century (RCHME 1922, 47)
    h. Pentney gatehouse, late fourteenth/fifteenth century (Anon.1932a, 377)
    i. Thornton, great gatehouse, ground, first, and second floors, late fourteenth century (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1989, 16 and 18)
    j. St Osyth, great gatehouse, early thirteenth/late fifteenth century (RCHME 1922, 203)
25. Comparative tower gatehouse facades and plans:
    a. York, St Mary's gatehouse, inner facade, twelfth/late fifteenth century, illustration *c.*1700 (RCHME 1975, pl.18)
    b. Tewkesbury abbot's gatehouse, outer facade, late fifteenth/early sixteenth century (Porter 1994,14)
    c. Michelham, great gatehouse, inner facade, fifteenth century (Platt 1984, 197)
    d. Norton gatehouse, inner facade, late fifteenth century, engraving of1727 (Platt 1984, 164)
    e. Whalley, abbot's gatehouse, late fifteenth century (Ashmore 1962a, 20)
26. Buck's view of the great gatehouse and abbot's lodging at Battle, from the west (Brakspear 1933, pl.39)

27. A view of the church west front and prior's lodging at Castle Acre, from the northwest (Platt 1984, 161)
28. A reconstruction of the western view of Castle Acre Priory, based on surviving evidence (Faulkner 1962, 302)
29. Ely, site plan demonstrating position of 'black hostelry' and secular visitors' accommodation (Coldstream 1979, pl.1)
30. Bury St Edmunds, site plan demonstrating the position of the abbot's and prior's accommodation (Whittingham 1952, pl.21)
31. Canterbury, Christ Church Priory, site plan demonstrating the position of the prior's, sub-prior's and visitors' accommodation (Newman 1976b, 213)
32. Gloucester, site plan demonstrating the position of abbots', priors', and guests' lodgings (Welander 1991, 320)
33. Examples of misidentified guest buildings:
    a. Haughmond, ground-floor abbot's hall, first classified by Hope and Brakspear as an infirmary (1909, facing 310)
    b. Boxgrove, guest house, identified by Hope as an infirmary (Peckham 1920, facing 19)
34. Rievaulx, plan of infirmary, later converted into lodgings for the abbot (Coppack and Fergusson 1994, plan)
35. Furness, site plan (Dickinson 1967, facing 60)
36. Fountains, site plan (Coppack 1993, 10-11)
37. Canterbury St Augustine's, site plan (Gem 1997, 124-5)
38. Examples of monastic infirmaries
    a. Bardney (Brakspear 1922, plan)
    b. Jervaulx (Christie 1924, 6-7)
    c. Thetford (Gilyard-Beer 1958, fig.12)
39. Easby, site plan (VCH 1968, plan)
40. Kirkham, site plan (Peers 1988, 6-7)
41. Domestic structures traditionally identified as either almonries or guest houses:
    a. Bardney, range attached to the abbot's gatehouse (Brakspear 1922, plan)
    b. Monk Bretton, range attached to the great gatehouse (Graham and Gilyard-Beer 1966, 10-11)
    c. Canterbury St Augustine's, a 1655 view of the gate and guest house from the west (Gem 1997, 147)
    d. Canterbury St Augustine's, plan of the guest house (Gem 1997, 130)
    e. Stoneleigh, ground plan of the guest range attached to the great gatehouse
    f. Evesham, view of the almonry, outer facade, facing southwest
    g. Gloucester, view of the almonry, outer (western) facade, attached to St Mary's gatehouse
42. The abbot's lodgings at Croxden (Gilyard-Beer 1958, pl.23iii)
43. The guest complex at Fountains, including resistivity of the great guest hall (Coppack 1993, 10-11; resistivity, Coppack, pers.comm.1996)
44. a.Tintern, site plan demonstrating position of Building B (Courtney 1989, 100)
    b. Tintern, plan of excavated guest hall (Courtney 1989, 105)
45. Kirkstall, early thirteenth-century guest hall (Wrathmell 1984, 13)
46. Ely, prior's and guest's lodgings (Wood 1965, 26)
47. Positions of visitors' accommodation
    a. Detached: Byland, abbot's lodgings, twelfth century (Harrison 1990, 32-3)
    b. Incorporated: Bardney, abbot's lodgings (Brakspear 1922, plan)
48. Comparative semi-detached lodgings:
    a. Durham (Hill 1866, pl.10)
    b. Finchale (Peers 1933, facing 13)
    c. Forde (RCHME 1952, 241)

d.Thame (Godfrey 1929, 61)
e. Wigmore (Brakspear 1934, facing 25)

49. The domestic porch in monastic planning:
a. Canterbury's Aula Nova, surviving remains (Withers 1925, facing 46)
b. The Canterbury waterworks' plan of the porch to the *Aula Nova* (Greene 1992, 110)
c. Bishops' palaces at Hereford, Canterbury, and Wells, from the mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries (Blair 1993, 12)
d. Furness, guest hall (Dickinson 1967, facing 60)
e. Kirkham, visitors' hall (currently interpreted as an infirmary) (Peers 1988, 6-7)
f. Worcester, guest hall (Fletcher and Cordingley 1961, 432)
g. Milton Abbas, abbot's hall (RCHME 1970, pl.16)

50. Comparative domestic porches attached to west cloister range
a. Bradenstoke (Brakspear 1923, 230)
b. Castle Acre (Brakspear 1933,)
c. Hailes (Coad 1933, 4)
d. Kington (Brakspear 1923, 246)
e. Torre (Clapham 1923, 145)
f. Cerne Abbas (RCHME 1952, 77)
g. Cerne Abbas, abbot's porch, *c.*1500 (RCHME 1952, pl.105)
h. Forde, abbot's hall and porch, early sixteenth century

51. a. Dartington Hall, Devon (*c.*1390), from an illustration by Buck 1734 (Girouard 1978, 45)
b. Great Chalfield Manor, Wiltshire (*c.*1470-80) (Girouard 1978, 44)

52. Entrance doorways into superiors' lodgings
a. Fountains (Coppack 1993, 76)
b. Rievaulx
c. Birkenhead (Aldridge 1890, pl.3g)

53. Comparative roof types:
a. Worcester, nineteenth-century reconstruction of surviving guest hall roof from *c.*1320 (Lloyd 1993, pl. 52)
b. Great Malvern, guest house roof, fourteenth century, prior to dismantling (Wood 1965, pl.25a)
c. Little Malvern, prior's hall, early fourteenth century
d. Flaxley, abbot's hall, mid fourteenth century (Lees-Milne 1973, 843)
e. Sherborne, fifteenth-century guest hall roof (RCHME 1952, pl.36)
f. Prittlewell, fifteenth-century prior's hall (RCHME 1923, pl.2)
g. Westminster, abbot's hall, late fourteenth century (RCHME 1924, pl.170)
h. Milton Abbas, 1498 (RCHME 1970, pl.17)

54. Milton Abbas, moveable screens, dated 1498 (Platt 1984, 211)

55. a. Evesham, abbot's fireplace, now in almonry
b. Muchelney, sixteenth-century fireplace in abbot's lodgings (Platt 1984, 218)

56. Cleeve, wall painting of the crucifixion at dais end of abbot's hall/refectory (James 1926, facing 127)

57. a. Newminster, tiled floor of abbot's chapel (Honeyman, Bertram, and Hunter Blair 1929, facing 95)
b. Ely, Prior Crauden's chapel, tile pavement (Keen 1979, pl.20)

58. Comparative monastic kitchens:
a. Bardney, guest house south of the monastic kitchen and south range, early thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Brakspear 1922, plan)
b. The abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury, mid fourteenth century, plan (Wood 1965, 249; Raleigh Radford 1973, 17)
c. The interior of the kitchen at Durham, built 1366-71 (Wood 1965, 251)
d. The kitchen at Durham, 1366-71 (Wood 1965, 250)

CHAPTER 4. MONASTIC VISITORS' BUILDINGS: STONELEIGH ABBEY

98. CAD plot. Guest range, north face, elevation 14, phased
99. CAD plot. Gatehouse, south face, elevation 2
100. CAD plot. Gatehouse, north face, elevation 12
101. Eroded sandstone carving in elevation 12, reputed to bear the arms of the founder, Henry II
102. Garderobe closet in southwest corner of gatehouse chamber
103. CAD plot. Gatehouse, west face, elevation 1
104. Gablets over elevation 1 (2118, north end; 2119, south end) and 3 (2226, south end)
105. CAD plot. Gatehouse, east face, elevation 3
106. CAD plot. Gatehouse, first floor, nothwest wall, elevation 20
107. Period 2 string course on the eastern elevation of the gatehouse, representing eaves level
108. Doorway 2286, elevation 3
109. Gatehouse roof, tie beam, decayed mortise and empty peg holes
110. Elevation 16, gate passage, southeast wall
111. CAD plot. Gate passage, southeast face, elevation 16
112. The unblocking of a period 2 doorway (2537) from the gatehouse passage
113. CAD plot. Gate passage, plan and elevation 16
114. Maxstoke, great gatehouse, engraving by Buck. Several dark voids are visible on the inner face of the rear gable wall, above the first-floor window (VCH 1908, 76)
115. Maxstoke Priory, great gatehouse, inner facade and attached stair turret (Holliday 1878, 78)
116. CAD plot. Guest range, north face, elevation 13
117. Internal head and rear arch of window 2478, elevation 13
118. Example of painted decoration on internal mullion faces, elevation 13
119. Brick fill of probable fireplace associated with chimney 2434, first-floor level, north wall
120. Oak floorboards, ranging from 0.30 m to 0.40 m wide, first-floor level
121. CAD plot. Guest range, south face, elevation 10
122. CAD plot. Guest range, south face, elevation 10, phased
123. CAD plot. Guest range, south face, elevations 4-5
124. CAD plot. Guest range, south face, elevations 4-5, phased
125. CAD plot, Guest range, south face, elevation 6
126. Window 2285, elevation 4
127. Carved figure, first floor, elevation 4
128. Vaulting in the passage behind elevation 6, first floor
129. Ground-floor of the porch, looking northwest towards inner doorway 2849 (jamb of doorway 2850 to right), through outer doorway 2360 (elevation 8)
130. Ground-floor of the porch, looking north at doorway 2850
131. Corbelling supporting first-floor doorway into hall
132. CAD plot. Guest range, porch, elevation 8
133. CAD plot. Guest range, porch, elevation 9
134. Area of mortar fill/render, probably concealing evidence for a laver
135. Incised decoration on the rib vault over the porch
136. Stone 'trough' found centred in porch floor
137. Porch, gable window 2347 (internal), recut sill
138. Gablet 2858, terminating the porch coping on the east
139. Stone cupboard, first-floor porch, north wall
140. CAD plot. Guest range, roof trusses, pegging and marking above second-floor ceiling. Includes inset, truss II, west face
141. Guest range roof trusses (truss VI in foreground), with marking on eastern face
142. Guest range windbraces, facing north
143. CAD plot. Guest range, marking on windbraces, based on TST survey of bay 1 north

144. Scarring left by the dismantling of chimney 2497, at the junction of the gatehouse and guest range (note the alterations to the principal rafter in the background)
145. Guest range, roof plan, showing the distribution of common rafters
146. Common rafters, with chamfering, reused in the seventeenth-century second-floor ceiling
147. CAD plot. Guest range, arch brace posts
148. A fifteenth-century jester at St Levan, Cornwall (Smith 1969, 81)
149. East Anglian illuminations depicting peasant women wearing hoods with liripipes, *c.* 1335-40 (Scott 1986, 25)
150. An illumination from Matthew Paris' *Life of SS Alban and Amphibalus*, showing artisans wearing hoods with liripipes (Coldstream 1991, 11)
151. Illustrations of medieval travellers wearing the hood and liripipe (Wade Labarge 1982, 26 and 36-7)
152. The abbot's chapel at Battle, positioned above a porch leading into the west range (Brakspear 1933, 157)

CHAPTER 5. MONASTIC VISITORS' BUILDINGS: GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

153. A historical map of Gloucester, showing the precinct in relation to Roman walls and medieval structures (Heighway 1981, map 18)
154. Plan of Gloucester Cathedral precinct, showing the location of historic buildings (digitized from copy by R. Bryant)
155. Plan of the position and arrangement of domestic guest structures focussed on the west range area, ground and first floors (digitized from copy by R. Bryant)
156. Illumination from a thirteenth-century royal manuscript (MS 13A III f.41v), showing the west front of the cathedral church to the left (Welander 1991, pl.4)
157. Kip's illustration of Gloucester, 1709 (Eward 1985, pl.5)
158. The 1760 Chapter Acts plan, giving the location of buildings as related to leases. Note that there is no west range (Eward 1985, end plate)
159. Hall and Pinnell's plan of the precinct, *c.*1780, including the west range (Welander 1991, pl.21)
160. Carter's plan of Church House, 1807 (Welander 1991, 306)
161. Cawston's plan of the precint, *c.*1843 (Welander 1991, pl.20)
162. Engraving from Bonner's *Itinerary*, 1797, showing the stair tower and north block before restoration (Welander 1991, pl.23)
163. Pre-1848 view of the stair tower and abbot's tower by J. Coney (GCL SC 100.28)
164. *c.* 1750 view of College Green, showing 7 Miller's Green (*c.*1670 facade) and Church House (Eward 1985, 214)
165. Watercolour of Church House by J. Ross, *c.*1806 (courtesy of C. Heighway, from the Society of Antiquaries' library)
166. Unpublished 1807 watercolour of the west front of the north block and Parliament Room, by Carter (containing significant inaccuracies) (courtesy of C. Heighway, from the Society of Antiquaries' library)
167. Published engraving of Carter's 1807 watercolour, omitting Parliament Room (Welander 1991, 243)
168. Restoration works undertaken on the junction between the vestibule and chapel, during which a window was inserted into a chimney stack (Welander 1991, 465)
169. Pre-1957 photograph of the north face of the Parliament Room (GRO GPS 154/946)
170. St Mary's gatehouse, inner face, with an attached almonry range to the south
171. Fourteenth-century inner gatehouse, leading into the inner court (Miller's Green)
172. The fifteenth-century oriel window of the Bishop's Palace, along Pitt Street
173. 1856 survey of the ground and first floors of the Bishop's Palace, before demolition, traced by Waller in 1881 (Hope 1897, pl.III)

174. 1856 survey of the north, south, and west elevations of the Bishop's Palace before demolition, traced by Waller in 1881 (Hope 1897, between 110 and 111)
175. CAD plot of 1856 bishop's palace survey, based on tracing by R Bryant
176. Restored exterior of the slype, with the abbot's chapel above
177. The west range slype, looking into the south cloister walk (photo by R.J.L. Smith)
178. A sketch of the interior of the abbot's chapel, facing east (C.A. Buckler, in Parker 1860, 354)
179. CAD plot. North interior elevation of the abbot's tower, recorded by Heighway
180. Restored exterior of the thirteenth-century vestibule
181. Restored multangular stair tower connecting the vestibule and north block
182. A fifteenth-century lantern found during the restoration of the stair tower
183. The restored western face of the north block
184. Roof trusses with 'marbled' painting in the Henry Room
185. Fifteenth-century moulded post supporting the roof of the Laud Room
186. The panelled door in the Laud Room (Oswald 1951, 1105), as compared with remarkably similar panelling in the Red Lodge at Bristol (Country Life 1903, 720)
187. The Parliament Room from the north
188. The arrangement of the thirteenth-century guest structures, demonstrating the possible length:width ratios of the hall
189. CAD plot. Parliament Room, north elevation, exterior
190. Thirteenth-century window in the northern elevation
191. Reconstruction of the dimensions of the thirteenth-century window
192. West wall of 7 Miller's Green
193. Northern facade of 7 Miller's Green (note plinth at bottom right)
194. West facade of St Mary's Gate before restoration, showing thirteenth-century jamb shafts, as drawn by F.S. Waller in 1890 (Welander 1991, 304)
195. The inner facade of the inner gatehouse
196. CAD plot. Parliament Room, east elevation, exterior
197. CAD plot. Parliament Room, west elevation, exterior
198. Lierne vault in the inner gatehouse passage
199. Internal view of the Parliament Room, facing east
200. Internal view of post 1211 at the northeast corner of the Parliament Room
201. CAD plot. Detailed plan of the Parliament Room, first floor
202. CAD plot. Trusses I through III of the Parliament Room
203. CAD plot. Partition wall between the Parliament Room and the Henry Room, north and south faces
204. Fifteenth-century fireplace in the Parliament Room
205. Unmoulded post supporting east end of truss VII in the Henry Room
206. Inserted window in the east wall of the Henry Room, necessitating the removal of a post and corbel for truss VI
207. Moulded corbel supporting an (originally) external chimney for the Henry Room fireplace
208. Seventeenth-century lease measurements superimposed on a plan of the visitors' buildings
209. A reconstruction of the original layout of the first floor of the domestic guest buildings, including the original dimensions of the Parliament Room in the fifteenth century
210. A reconstruction of the window positions along the west face of the north block based on Carter's 1807 illustration

Abbreviations

BN, AC, etc. - Benedictine nuns, Augustinian canonesses, etc
CH - Carolyn Heighway
GC - Gloucester Cathedral
SA - Stoneleigh Abbey
GCL/GL - Gloucester City Library (both abbreviations used in catalogues)
GRO - Gloucester Record Office
NMR- National Monuments Records
SMR - Sites and Monuments Records
RCHME - Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
SBT - Shakespeare Birthplace Trust
WMS - Warwickshire Museum Service
VCH - Victoria County History
BoE - Buildings of England series (Pevsner, *et. al.)*
O.S. - Ordnance Survey

TST - Total Station Theodolite
EDM - Electronic Distance Measurer
nts - not to scale
ats - approximately to scale
C - Cut
F - Fill

Abbreviations used on plans:
G - gatehouse
A - almonry
P - porter
I - infirmary
S - superior
SS - sub-superior (ie. prior, subprior)
K - kitchen
M - misericorde
GH - guest house
H - hall
ch - chamber
pch - porch
† - chapel
fp - fireplace

Acknowledgements

Almost four years ago, Dr Jonathan Clark, Dr Kate Giles and I crawled around a dark and dusty attic and found a forgotten guest hall roof...

The research and recording undertaken for this thesis would not have been possible without the support of many individuals and groups. Thanks are therefore due to Stoneleigh Abbey Limited, and the staff of Ernest Ireland Construction and of St Blaise, for allowing me access to the Stoneleigh Abbey Gatehouse and for turning a blind eye when I distracted their masons and carpenters in the hunt for medieval features. Further thanks must go the Royal Archaeological Institute for providing the funding to record the roof; to Robert Howard, for transport, conversation, and dendrochronology; to Professor Richard Morris and the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, for the opportunity to share my results at a conference; and to Professor Andor Gomme, for his advice on post-monastic features and for showing me Little Malvern.

I owe a great debt to Carolyn Heighway, whose knowledge of Gloucester Cathedral and its precinct, and whose repeated offers of food and lodging, made the recording project at Gloucester possible. Carolyn generously supplied me with the results of twenty years of her own research.

Further thanks must go to members of the Department of Archaeology, in particular Dr Tania Dickinson, who made sure that my research ran smoothly. Dr Lawrence Butler provided me with much food for thought in the earlier stages of this work.

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of Kate and Jonathan, who not only provided invaluable friendship and scholarly discussion, but extra hands and minds for building recording. Similarly, I am grateful to Barbara Wills, who both edited my final draft and supplied plenty of tea and friendship over the last four years.

However, Jane Grenville was there to push me on, to inspire me, to make me believe in this research in my darker moments. I will always be grateful for her dedication and friendship.

Although far away, Mom and Dad were always there to tell me they believed in me. Without them, university would have remained a dream..

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my husband, Simon - for everything.

CHAPTER 1. PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN MONASTIC ARCHAEOLOGY: CONCEPTIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT VISITORS' BUILDINGS

'One of the most difficult problems confronting the student of monastic architecture lies at the very entrance to the complex. Today's chain link fence and ticket office prelude access to what is often little more than the monastic nucleus of church and cloister. And once inside the site, lawn and landscape encourage a permeable passage across foundations or through fractured walls. The reality of the precinct in the Middle Ages and the scale, relationship, and circulation among its parts was different' (Fergusson 1990, 47).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Extant literature on the subject of high and late medieval English monasticism is, at first glance, overwhelming in its quantity and scope. But closer study reveals that detailed examinations of monastic visitors' buildings - gatehouses, guest houses, superiors' lodgings, and supporting service structures - are comparatively scarce, and work on the subject of monastic hospitality is almost non-existent. The agendas which have directed the archaeological treatment of monastic sites, and consequently of visitors' buildings, are imbued with an attitude which regards the monastic experience as foreign and incomprehensible. Scholars more intimately familiar with monasticism, such as historian David Knowles, are concerned primarily with the experience of monasticism itself - the religious experience of being a monk or nun, rather than the experience of the secular visitor observing and participating in that lifestyle. The world of the cloister is recognized as a distinct "culture" with varying levels of contact with, and segregation from, the outside world. For this reason, research has always aimed to illuminate an unconventional way of life, and tends to ignore the question of how contemporary secular society interacted with it.

The Dissolution has long been a popular theme of research, but primarily in terms of demonstrating the way in which monasticism degenerated into a state of perniciousness, far from the so-called 'monastic ideal'. Thus, chapter four of Coppack's book on abbeys and priories (1990) is titled 'The softening of Cistercian ideals', while Platt (1984) concludes his work with a chapter on 'Bending the Rule'. This thesis, however, will demonstrate that if religious practice and morals had deteriorated, the effect was gradual, spanning the entire high and late medieval period, and it was in part a response to evolving standards of secular living. Visitors to a monastic house expected a grade of hospitality in sympathy with their own lifestyle, and the importation of such levels of comfort and indulgence, via the

construction and fitting-out of visitors' buildings, undermined the principles on which monasticism was based. It is my contention that the monastic 'ideal', as Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell saw it, in which social rank, wealth and individualism were subjugated to commonality, had barely ever existed.

The true irony of this absence of concentrated scholarship on the subject of hospitality, is that hospitality was in fact a *central* aspect of monasticism, its *raison d'être* (Knowles 1963, 478), necessitating the building of a gatehouse and guest house early in a monastery's construction history. Fergusson cites an early twelfth-century Cistercian charter which states that 'no abbot shall be sent to a new place without at least twelve monks and...without prior construction of such places as an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a guest house, [and] a gatekeeper's cell...' (1983, 75), a pattern followed closely by houses of other orders as well. However, no authors examine what is meant by 'hospitality', other than noting its connection with charitable functions such as almsgiving, and that monasteries were pressured to provide the service (Coppack 1990, 107; Gilyard-Beer 1958, 31; Greene 1992, 9). This thesis attempts to redress this imbalance, and restore hospitality to its rightful place within monastic history.

1.2 Research agendas up to the 1950s

In drawing away from the Romantic appreciation of ruins in the landscape which dominated the eighteenth century, antiquarians of the nineteenth century (including both architectural historians and archaeologists) attributed a very different value to the monastic site; monastic ruins became the subjects of serious academic inquiry. It has been suggested that this interest was, in part, a response to the displacement associated with the growth of new towns, which fostered a desire for a sense of identity and history (Coppack 1990, 20). Yet such work did not escape a preconceived bias towards aesthetically pleasing remains - Charles Newton, in a speech to an assembly of antiquarians in 1850, stated that 'He who would master the manifold subject of Archaeology... must combine with the aesthetic culture of the artist, and the trained judgement of the Historian, not a little of the learning of the Philologer' (Evans 1950, 4).

An approach which encouraged the detailed architectural study of standing structures, with the aim of establishing exemplars of particular monastic building forms, generally ignored

less inspiring examples of architecture, especially those so ruinous as to make stylistic study impossible. Furthermore, establishing typologies involved determining the historical periods to which specific features belonged. With the publication of Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (1819), proposing the stratigraphic subdivision of architectural styles into historical periods, medieval architecture was categorised as 'Early' 'High' or 'Late Gothic', 'Early English', 'Decorated', 'Perpendicular', or 'Tudor'. This was achieved primarily through the classification of moulding profiles. Following in the footsteps of Rickman, as well as figures such as Willis (1844), considered by his contemporaries to be 'ungodly' for his interest in 'fabric history' (Stocker 1992, 302), and Paley (1847), Richard Morris of the University of Warwick has attempted to simplify their methods for the twentieth-century architectural historian and archaeologist (Morris 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1992). But though widely employed by archaeologists as a basis for further examination, the limitations of such a method are manifest in its reliance on comparison with previously recorded and dated profiles (creating a dangerous series of assumptions), while ignoring the context of surrounding evidence for intrusions and alterations which testify to the development of a building. While Morris has indeed pointed out that stratigraphic analysis based on the 'building break' has been a standard technique of architectural history since the 1840s (Morris 1996b, 1), the 'break' is primarily perceived or interpreted where there is a stylistic difference between two regions, rather than on the basis of a change in non-diagnostic material often only observable on a stone by stone level.

Two dominant approaches to the excavation of the monastic site followed, both emphasising the particularly architectural nature of investigations. The first was inspired by standing fabric of distinctly 'monastic' buildings. 'Interesting' standing remains, themselves the target of architectural survey, acted as signposts, encouraging scholars to clear areas selectively in order to establish the shape and extent of surrounding buildings. The claustral areas of Fountains were investigated in the 1870s on this principle. The most widely recognized proponent of this approach was, of course, Sir William St John Hope. Dedicated to establishing 'standard plans' for monastic sites, his work resulted in the creation of typologies for specific monastic orders. His investigation of Alnwick, unusual for its consideration of the entire precinct, is a case in point (Hope1887, 337-346). Faced with a 'hopeless site for excavations', primarily consisting of the standing remains of the

gatehouse and an empty field, Hope laid trenches and traced walls in a "scientific manner" (*ibid.*,337), identifying what he believed to be the infirmary buildings, the sites of the kitchen, the guest complex, as well as the bakehouse and such service structures. Hope made no attempt, however, to determine individual phases of construction, and in his description of the artistic merits of the standing gatehouse, he failed to account for the role of the gate in monitoring the boundary between monastic and secular spheres.

A second approach to excavation was based on the belief, predominant since the seventeenth century, that any investigation would only 'prove' what the abundant documentary sources had already stated - a faulty premise, but one which has continued to direct the course of much monastic investigation. In 1790, John Martin instructed a gardener to excavate the chapter house at Fountains in order to collate the remaining tombs with documentary lists of abbots (Coppack 1990, 30). Upon this same assumption, Harold Brakspear engaged in area excavation in the early 1900s to recover buried fabric, which in turn reflected favourably on the study of the precinct as a whole. The resulting site plans were phased according to documentary evidence for building periods and to comparative studies of claustral building styles and decoration provided by architectural studies. Brakspear employed similar techniques on buildings at Waverley, but with little understanding of guest structures, and limited comparative material to that date, he was unable to understand their phasing and function, and thus identified a guest hall as an infirmary (see below, p.70) (1905, 75-85).

Although it was often possible to distinguish several periods of work in the foundations of buildings, it was an unwritten and perhaps unrecognized policy of both approaches that clearance or excavation was only to be taken to the latest monastic level, leaving untouched any earlier phases. This supported a desire to attain a general plan of a site. Much of this work was done in the context of structural preservation, particularly after the passing of the Ancient Monuments Acts in 1900 and 1913, under which the government took into guardianship ruins and standing fabric of archaeological/architectural importance (Saunders 1983, 15 and 18-19). Above-ground remains of the church and claustral ranges were granted protection by the Act, but below-ground remains were investigated only if threatened by destruction. Inner and outer court remains only warranted attention if they were structurally complete or stylistically identifiable. On the one hand, the policy

protected material which would be recovered later, when more sophisticated methods of retrieval were implemented, but it also hampered our understanding of the development of the buildings. Furthermore, it ignored the frequent post-monastic re-use of surviving structures; as a result, we have lost many opportunities to understand post-Dissolution conversion practice.

Hope and Brakspear, both individually and together, managed to study many of the sites which comprise the basis for our understanding of monastic life. During his career, Hope published articles on at least four Benedictine, eight Cistercian, five Augustinian, seven Premonstratensian, two Carthusian, and two Cluniac houses. Brakspear collaborated on several of these, but added at least fourteen more sites of his own to the list. Examining their achievements chronologically, in particular with reference to the religious order to which each site belonged, it is obvious that there was a close correlation between the progression of sites investigated, and the quality, accuracy and depth of understanding in their work. Indeed, many of the interpretations proposed by either of these men or their colleagues, being based largely on comparisons with their previous excavation efforts and with surviving documentary sources, and accompanied by a great deal of intuition, was later the object of sharp criticism. For example, Hope's interpretation of a building at Boxgrove, *c.*1901, was re-examined by W.D. Peckham in 1920. The latter wrote

> It seems to me contrary to medieval building tradition to have designed this large [hall] as two separate rooms... There is, so far as I know, not a scrap of evidence that it was so divided, and the burden of proof would fall on those who would establish a partition (1920, 6, n25).

Similarly, Hope was taken to task for interpretations at Furness Abbey:

> On the eastern side of the cloister the very thick wall which ran between the infirmary and the abbot's house was demolished in 1952. Its date was uncertain. Hope had no hesitation in assigning it to the 15th century and put forward the startling suggestion that it had originally had a gallery on top without producing any evidence to support this highly unusual plan... (Dickinson 1967, 58-59).

They and their colleagues generated a body of information which, though an outstanding achievement in its own right, is fallible in many respects, and has led to decades of misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

1.3 RESEARCH AGENDAS FROM THE 1950S TO THE PRESENT

The post-war period marks an 'enlightenment' in monastic archaeology. Both Coppack (1990) and Greene (1992) point to new circumstances and interests which have influenced the archaeology of monastic sites. Following the development of aerial survey necessitated by war-time defence, there was a shift from architecture-based studies to more specifically "archaeological" investigations. This was prompted by the new bird's-eye view of the monastic precinct which delineated the foundations of previously uninvestigated buildings (Knowles and St Joseph, 1952). Post-war development was a factor in encouraging the increased investigation not only of the church and cloister, but also of these interesting, but unfamiliar, remains (Coppack 1990, 30; Greene 1992, 44). The fashionable 'New Archaeology' forced a shift (after 1970) to an emphasis on the economics of monastic institutions, and a subsequent interest in examining structures within the outer court or precinct which provide evidence of economic environment and landscape. Coppack's report on Thornholme Priory is an example of the approach which led to an increased interest in the outer precinct. His justification for excavation referred to the overwhelming neglect which the outer court has suffered at the hands of historians, architectural historians, and archaeologists: "For in theory it is little more than a farm yard, its buildings crude and functional and with little apparent relevance to the religious life" (1989, 185). However, throughout this report the outer court is viewed as the economic base supporting the monastic establishment (*ibid.*,185): Coppack failed to recognize his identification of the gatehouse at Thornholme as an important step towards understanding the *social* aspect of this religious establishment.

It fell to architectural historian Peter Fergusson to start exploring the meaning of the gatehouse. Fergusson's central theory interprets the role of the gatehouse on Cistercian sites in creating seclusion, 'keeping the world out and the community in', within the context of circulation around the precinct (1990a, 47-48). But while suggesting a plausible, if obvious, interpretation of the meaning of a monastic gatehouse, much of his paper is still a typological survey, summarizing what is already known about the form and function of individual examples, and attempting to determine whether there was a standard plan or architectural type for the Cistercian gatehouse. He concludes that the absence of towers and the creation of the triple portal gatehouse fronted by walled lanes made the Cistercian gatehouse distinctive, but neglected to theorize on the social implications of these structural modifications.

The most recent publication on gatehouses, by Roland Morant, is an architectural, typological survey of the surviving medieval portals in Great Britain (1995). At its core is a gazetteer of remains, classified according to precinct location, the numbers of entry arches and their positions within the precinct, locations of cross-walls and longitudinal walls with archways, and an analysis of bay numbers. Morant's interpretations treat portals as an all-encompassing group; although he recognizes various types of portal, such as gateways, inner and outer gatehouses, and porch towers, he fails to distinguish between the widely differing functions which gates were built to serve.

If, therefore, there has been some advance in the range of interests within monastic archaeology, there is still an overriding emphasis on the retrieval of the ground plan of a site, and establishment site and buildings typologies. In this respect, Greene notes the development of techniques including aerial photography, field survey, geophysical survey, standing building recording, excavation, and finds analysis which have enhanced our understanding of monastic sites (1992, 40-56). In addition, excavation, contrary to Greene's claim that it is a course of action of last resort because of its destructive nature (1992, 50), is still a principal form of data retrieval. Although many different kinds of evidence are now analysed, trenches or cuttings are still commonly set with the aim of determining structural layout. Likewise, field surveyors and aerial photographers, interested in mapping earthworks, are concerned with the topographical layout of a site. Their techniques are not necessarily useful in understanding ruinous buildings in their original, three-dimensional form, and certainly do little to contribute to our understanding of the social role of these structures.

The buildings within the precinct provided the setting for a *secular* experience of monasticism. The gatehouse and its associated guest structures were the key ingredient of this experience. In considering buildings associated with the provision of hospitality, this thesis attempts to bring social interpretations of monastic evidence to the forefront. By combining the latest techniques and methodology employed in standing building recording with contextual forms of analysis and interpretation - including, for example, uses of space in the ritualisation of monastic behaviour - this work highlights the importance of social practice in structuring the monastic environment.

1.4 GUEST BUILDINGS IN THE TYPICAL MONASTIC PLAN

This investigation of monastic visitors' buildings can be only a beginning. The obvious first step, after considering the absence of comprehensive work on hospitality and visitors' buildings within the discipline, was to determine exactly how many, and what type of, examples of gatehouses, guest houses and superiors' lodgings, with associated service buildings, have survived the ravages of both the Dissolution and centuries of secular rebuilding, renovation, and abandonment. Having embarked on this task, it soon became apparent that the not-so-simple attempt to find these buildings would take second place to the need to determine the nature of the criteria upon which their identification was based, and their reliability within the context of this thesis. The results of this search led to a serious reconsideration of the way in which we attribute function, identity, and meaning to standing structures. First, however, the limits of these investigations, and background setting for the buildings involved, needs to be established.

As this thesis draws heavily on the nature of space and access within a standard monastic plan and the way in which 'meaning' was employed within it, it seemed appropriate to restrict examination to comparable orders and houses. There are several hundred male and female foundations of different monastic orders which have been deliberately excluded from this study, including those of the Bonhommes, Carthusians, Gilbertines, Grandmontines, and the Mendicant orders (see Midmer 1979, 352-358), as well as further foundations in the form of colleges, minor cells, granges, and houses of the military orders. Along with the contrasting nature of their monastic plan, further reasons for their dismissal include the small number of their foundations in England, coupled with an inadequate number of surviving sites with extant (particularly standing) visitors' buildings. The orders investigated, therefore, include the Augustinians (a total of 238 male and 24 female houses in England), Benedictine (160 male and 83 female), Cistercians (85 male and 30 female), Cluniacs (32 male and 3 female), and Premonstratensians (40 male and 4 female), a total of 699 known foundations.

The gatehouse

An understanding, or lack thereof, of the role of visitors' buildings within the typical monastic plan begins with the distinction between inner and outer courtyards. Casual reading of the literature reveals that the areas encompassed by these terms are not at all clear to monastic archaeologists. Courtyard distribution and access is often confused

because of variations between foundations of different size, or affiliation with different orders, although this situation has been clarified somewhat by Morant's work on monastic gatehouses (1995, 37-46). The internal monastic landscape was composed of the claustral house and the precinct. The concept of an inner or great court and outer court within the precinct relied primarily on the availability of access to the monastic church (fig.1). Within a Benedictine, Augustinian, or Cluniac house, where lay access to the church was permitted, the inner court enclosure was just beyond the west cloister range, excluding the church. It was a semi-public space, controlled by a gatehouse. In urban contexts, especially in greater houses, a separate outer court might be created, with a further gatehouse, which permitted a greater degree of control over to whom and at what times access to the church was possible, and was particularly effective in managing uprisings between town or city and the monastery (for example, at Bury, Chester, and York). But in Cistercian and Premonstratensian houses, which were generally established outside major population centres, and where lay access to the church was not generally permitted, the inner or great court encompassed both the church and nearby monastic buildings. An additional outer court might be positioned some distance away, incorporating industrial and agricultural buildings, with another gateway or gatehouse giving access. Thus the visitor, instead of passing through one barrier as in the Benedictine-type houses, passed through two.

There are at least two hundred standing, excavated, or documented gatehouses in England. The survival of many is largely due to either their continued use as gateways into cathedral closes or converted secular houses, or our appreciation of their extraordinary size and beauty. Recognizing gatehouses had always seemed a relatively easy task in comparison with the identification of other hospitality-based structures. The position of a large archway, or a large entry arch abutting a smaller one, or an arch set in a length of perimeter wall, is generally significant - sometimes very fragmentary remains of gates have been identified on this basis, as at Rievaulx and Abbotsbury (Coppack 1986, 129; Morant 1995, 199 and 201). The prominence of the archway as an identifying criteria has resulted in the popular belief that incomers were deliberately segregated into pedestrians of low social status, and the socially privileged on horseback (for example, Gilyard-Beer 1958, 37). Relatively complete examples of gates with a wealth of *in situ* ornamentation (at Kirkham and Thornton, for example, figs.18g and 23f.), have always attracted attention, since architectural historians and antiquarians could use these buildings to elaborate on the system of patronage, with its accompanying wealth, which allowed these foundations to exist (see

Peers 1988, 2-3).

The first real problems, however, arise with the attempt to distinguish those examples associated specifically with hospitality; such structures, while perhaps serving many additional contemporary functions, would have provided the primary means of monitoring legitimate visitor traffic. Most easily excluded from this group are those gates which existed solely to allow layfolk access to the cemetery, labourers to service buildings, or goods suppliers to a waterway. Gloucester Cathedral, for example, retains three gateways into the precinct, but two of these provided access only to the south porch of the church and the cemetery (fig.32). But the possibility of a change in the function or status of a gate, such as its elevation to 'great gate' status accompanying rebuilding, must be kept in mind.

Another complication is the lack of knowledge of the monastic plans of the minor or more obscure houses. The spatially isolated gate, often fragmentary and with little or no associated claustral or church remains, is difficult to place into any context; assumptions about the number, position, and function of such gates can be hazardous (e.g. Pentney). Furthermore, some gates and their monastic houses have experienced such extreme post-medieval renovation and rebuilding, that again, the original layout and nature are unclear and thus their original association with hospitality becomes difficult to establish. Although confirming the identity and position of main gates to both inner and outer courts in larger houses (such as Gloucester, Worcester, or Christchurch, Canterbury) can be a simple matter, it is sometimes difficult to assess if additional, more private, gateways were constructed to filter yet further the visitors to guest and superiors' lodgings.

Thus, the most useful gatehouses to this thesis were those to which a relatively secure spatial relationship could be established with both the cloister and church, and with known visitors' accommodation, including some idea of the nature of their use over the entire later monastic period. Of those mentioned above, only 126 could be identified with any certainty as outer, great, or inner gates which would be encountered by a high-status visitor (Appendix A). The sites on which these are found are given in a distribution map (fig.2). Of these, Morant has described all but seventeen (1995, 137-201), and these last few are known either from documentary sources, nineteenth- and twentieth-century illustrations (the buildings thereafter being destroyed), or from recent excavations. The distribution of gatehouses according to order are as follows: fifty-one Benedictine, thirty-six Augustinian,

twenty-seven Cistercian, six Cluniac, and seven Premonstratensian.

This thesis attempts to review visitors' buildings from a contextual perspective, regarding gatehouses as a vital part of the social practices of hospitality. Their location and function, their structural and visual layout, along with the physical and visual access to the precinct which they provided, will be examined in detail in Chapter 3, with the aim of highlighting how gatehouses were employed to support, and alter, secular perceptions of monasticism.

Guest accommodation

Archaeologists and architectural historians habitually make perfunctory comments regarding the existence of guest houses and superiors' lodgings in their site descriptions and guide books. On sites where these buildings no longer survive above ground level they are frequently assumed to occupy the upper floor of the west range; they are otherwise haphazardly identified with standing domestic buildings opportunely nearby the claustral ranges. Such identification is particularly convenient where the post-monastic destruction or rebuilding of the upper floor of a structure, accompanied by an inability to investigate additional regions beyond the claustral ranges, makes direct contradiction impossible (for example, at Bayham, Kington, Langley, and Torre). Where they survive *in toto* they are regarded as some of the more exceptional specimens of the monastic lifestyle, believed to illustrate the conviction that late medieval monasticism had degenerated into a lifestyle of indulgence and privilege - Pevsner, for example, stated that the prioress' lodgings at Norwich Carrow, 'in its sumptuousness and worldliness, almost seems to justify the Dissolution'(1962, 286).

This lack of secure criteria for the form and function of visitors' accommodation means that without intensive investigation and recording of each individual site, a complete and accurate assessment of survivals is impossible. Provisos aside, however, visitors' accommodation (including halls, chambers and service structures) might be found at, or are mentioned in documents for, the following sites in England (fig.3):

Augustinian: 24 sites
Bolton, Bradenstoke, Bridlington, Bristol, Carlisle, Dorchester, Dover, Haughmond, Hexham, Ixworth, Kirkham, Lacock (AC), Lanercost, Leicester St Mary's, Michelham, Newstead, Notley, Repton, St Bartholomew, St Osyths, Shulbred, Thornton, Ulverscroft, and Wigmore.

Benedictine: 37 sites

Benedictine: 37 sites
Bardney, Battle, Birkenhead, Boxgrove, Bury St Edmunds, Christchurch Canterbury, St Augustine's Canterbury, Cerne Abbas, Chester, Dunster, Durham, Ely, Exeter, Finchale, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Great Malvern, Kington (BN), Little Malvern, Malling (BN), Malmesbury, Milton Abbas, Monk Bretton, Muchelney, Norwich, Norwich Carrow (BN), Nunkeeling (BN), Peterborough, Polsloe (BN), Sherborne, Tewkesbury, Thicket (BN), Tynemouth, Westminster, Winchester, Worcester, and York.

Cistercian: 25 sites
Baysdale (CN), Buckland, Buildwas, Byland, Cleeve, Coggeshall, Croxden, Flaxley, Forde, Fountains, Furness, Hailes, Jervaulx, Kirklees (CN), Kirkstall, Netley, Newminster, Rievaulx, Robertsbridge, Roche, Sawley, Stoneleigh, Thame, Waverley, and Whalley.

Cluniac: 5 sites
Castle Acre, (Monk Bretton), Much Wenlock, Prittlewell, and Thetford.

Premonstratensian: 8 sites
Alnwick, Bayham, Blanchland, Coverham, Easby, Halesowen, Langley, and Torre.

It must be emphasized that for most of these sites, the evidence is extremely fragmentary. The numbers of survivals per order (between twenty to thirty percent) are generally proportionate to the number of male houses established by each order, and their distribution throughout the country is relatively uniform. The exception is the number of nunneries with remains, probably reflecting a tendency towards smaller size and lesser wealth, circumstances often reflected in the types of building materials used in construction, an ability to maintain buildings, and the suitability of those structures for secular conversion.

Some scholars note that guest houses and superior's lodgings can be functionally indistinct from each other, since a superior might also house distinguished guests (see, for example, Gilyard-Beer 1958, 31; Coppack 1990, 76). But according to current research at least, these building appear to be structurally indistinct as well. Although Verey commented that had there been enough surviving internal detail in Abbey House at Tewkesbury, he could have determined whether the building was either the former abbot's house or the guest house (1976, 371), he unfortunately neglected to describe his criteria for doing so. The general assumption is that both superiors' lodgings and guest houses consisted of a large hall with attached great chambers, perhaps with associated parlours, bedchambers, kitchens and services, all of which were fitted out with the appropriate windows, fireplaces, and garderobes, internal and external decoration and furnishings; consequently, they have been compared favourably with the arrangement of secular manor houses of the high and late medieval periods (Faulkner 1958, 152-4; Gilyard-Beer 1958, 33; Harrison 1988, 18; Greene 1992, 9). Although some of these buildings survive with their original arrangement of rooms relatively intact, and both surveys and inventories from the sixteenth-century listing numbers and functions of rooms in such lodgings exist, scholars generally have not

delved much deeper than the obvious. Social distinction between, and the use of, these spaces are considered primarily in terms of which building the guest is accommodated in, whether in the guest house or superior's lodging. Alternatively, where there are two very similar houses together in one area, as at Fountains, the 'quality' of a structure is related to the perceived social status of the inhabitants (Coppack 1993, 47).

1.5 SUMMARY

The material presented above has established the necessity for an in-depth study of the nature and role of visitors' buildings on medieval monastic sites in England. In effect, we know very little about these buildings and their role in providing hospitality to secular visitors. This thesis can only begin to dismantle misconceptions. First, the so-called 'devolution' of monasticism can be shown to be an unjustified assessment of what was, in fact, a reasonable (if partially unconscious) response to the overwhelming demands of a secular society to maintain hospitality. Accompanying this is the need to demonstrate that contrary to our modern response, medieval monastic culture was both familiar to and familiar with its secular counterpart, due to the utilisation of recognised forms of material culture and social behaviour. At a more symbolic level, it is possible that the interaction between these two distinct social groups created a shift in the meaning of hospitality, and that the traditional emphasis on community and equality so commonly associated with monasticism - so fundamental to the practice of earlier cenobitic monasticism in general and hospitality in particular - was displaced by social practices which served to confirm social inequality and hierarchy.

Chapter 2 presents various theoretical foundations potentially useful in examining these themes, with particular attention to the development of theories regarding the nature and use of space, and the ritualisation of social practice. In addition, it presents a methodology for the detailed archaeological study of standing remains; buildings provide a significant body of evidence for this past way of life which can be interpreted both in conjunction with, and above, documentary sources. Chapters 3 through 6 present structural and documentary evidence for hospitality in detail. In chapter 3, the body of existing excavated and standing evidence is considered in conjunction with the material from inventories, surveys, accounts, and histories; and is divided into two sections which deal first with gatehouses, and then with domestic structures. This is followed in chapter 4 by a case study based on the surviving guest house at Stoneleigh Abbey, a Cistercian house in Warwickshire, and in

chapter 5 by another case study based on the various Benedictine guest structures at Gloucester Cathedral. The interpretative results of this detailed research, recording, and analysis, along with new questions arising from the fieldwork, are summarized in Chapter 6, with an additional consideration of the extent to which the methodology employed satisfied the research aims set above.

CHAPTER 2. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LATE MONASTIC HOSPITALITY

'To be interested in artifacts without any contextual information is antiquarianism.' (Hodder 1986, 123)

2.1 THEORY AND MONASTIC ARCHAEOLOGY

While there has been progress in theoretical discussions in archaeology as a discipline, and even some recently within medieval archaeology, within the sub-discipline of monastic archaeology there has been a reluctance to engage in critical debate about our interpretive aims for the study of the monastic site. Post-processual approaches are still unpopular in mainstream monastic archaeology, despite the ground gained within the medieval discipline. No archaeologist has yet attempted to apply contextual interpretation to the study of monastic visitors' buildings. Perhaps one factor is the general decline in interest among recent generations of archaeologists in the archaeology of a medieval ecclesiastical aristocracy, instead favouring vernacular studies (Rahtz 1981, 5). Another may be that the methodology employed in monastic archaeology is already well developed and understood (Mytum 1989, 339). But possibly the most compelling is the fact that medieval archaeologists, in particular those dealing with monastic sites, are working within a documented historic period, and are already burdened with the necessity of dealing with large amounts of archaeological and textual evidence, and have not been particularly keen to engage in theoretical debate (Gilchrist 1990, 3). In spite of the recent revival in literature on the monastic theme with the publication of Coppack's general survey *Abbeys and Priories* (1990), Greene's *Medieval Monasteries* (1992) and Aston's *Monasteries* (1993), such contributions have done little to inspire radical, social interpretations of the monastic site. A noteworthy exception is Roberta Gilchrist's work which uses a contextual approach to explore meaning in the built environment of the English medieval nunnery (Gilchrist 1994b). Her work, however, focuses primarily on the maintenance of gender identity through the inner-cloister life of nuns, and is less concerned with the materially-recognized relationship between that culture and its secular counterpart. No such contextual approach has been adopted to identify the role of monastic visitors' buildings. The image generated by antiquarian traditions of the monastic house is either one of an insular culture, or one characterized by the later monastic 'fall from grace', embodied in increasing wealth and provisions for individual comfort and privacy. Although monastic archaeology has more recently begun to concentrate on less recognized areas of the monastic site, such as the outer court, it has not yet begun to exploit the potential for social interpretation which

arises from these trends. This thesis therefore attempts to build upon, and provide a critique of, traditional means of analysis, while assessing the potential for new lines of inquiry which may offer alternative interpretations of monastic life.

2.2 Social and Spatial Interpretation of Buildings

Within current approaches to the interpretation of archaeological evidence there are many which deal either directly or indirectly with theories of space and social structure. Much that characterizes these approaches has been adopted from other disciplines, such as philosophy (Ricoeur 1971), sociology (Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1984), social geography (Lefebvre 1974), linguistics (Saussure), and anthropology (Levi-Strauss), and has been adapted to suit the needs of an archaeologist studying material remains of past cultures. Some of these ideas are particularly suited to the analysis of space in the built environment. It is an aim of this thesis to show that a more meaningful account of medieval monasticism can be achieved using a *contextualism* akin to that proposed by Barrett, which not only places material culture in its social context (Hodder 1986), but interprets the structuring of social relations and dominant forms of meaning through material remains (Barrett 1987). The following sections will undertake to explore various theories contributing to such an account, outlining both their character and role in furthering our understanding of the way space is used to structure behaviour and convey meaning, and suggesting how they may be applied to the problem of understanding medieval monastic hospitality.

Traditional, functional, and structural approaches to space

Much of the current understanding of how monastic life was organized results from early, 'traditional' investigations of archaeological and architectural remains. As discussed in chapter 1, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century architectural historians identified buildings in terms of their stylistic or typological qualities, an approach which favoured 'polite' high-status ecclesiastical and domestic architecture but gave little attention to peripheral ecclesiastical or vernacular buildings. Such aesthetic analysis involved a very intuitive judgement of the quality of an example of polite architecture, thus prompting the criticism of élitism, and generating the image of the 'effete connoisseur trying to elucidate his own subjective reaction to a building' (Stocker 1992, 302). The notion of stylistic chronology, characterized for example by Bannister Fletcher's *History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1961) which illustrates sequences of medieval vaulting, doorways, and window mouldings, for example, was part of the categorization of

architectural forms through typological analysis. It was 'legitimate to consider architectural typologies both as a function of the history of architectural space and of the design process employed by architects' (Lawrence 1983, 20). While architectural historians did attempt to reach individual agents in their studies of style, it was with the aim of discovering some affinity with 'artists' of the past. An individual identified was an individual recognized and empathized with. But if agency is understood as *influence* rather than *identity*, then such studies do not give due credit to the agency of architects, patrons, and users and their role in the manipulation of meaning. Such studies examined a building as the 'end product' of a building campaign, ignoring the social effects of intermittent changes in the building over time (Graves 1989, 311). Buildings and their components were thus decontextualized from aspects of the society or culture which produced them.

Functional interpretations tend to dominate much current monastic investigation, and though useful, should be viewed as contributors to our understanding of the monastic built environment. Choices made concerning the arrangement and use of space are given common sense explanations (Mytum 1989, 340), often subscribing to some level of environmental determinism. Topography, water supply, and the availability of building materials are taken to explain the location and layout of the monastic house. Alternatively, the arrangement of space within the house is interpreted as dependent upon material considerations. The location of the dorter on the upper floor of the east range, attached by a night stair to the south transept of the church, allowed ease of access into night services while remaining tucked out of the way of daily activity. Such a simplistic description of elements of material culture overlook the probability of deeper meanings which cannot be attributed to how something is used, or an assessment of its effectiveness (Hodder 1987, 1). Archaeologists should be attempting to reach the *meanings* associated with the form, function, and location of a building in its environment. The location of monks' sleeping quarters in the eastern range made possible the east-west alignment of beds along the lateral walls, parallelling the alignment of bodies in burial, a symbolic statement that each was ready to meet its maker on the day of judgement, and the position of living spaces on first floors agreed with a religion that associated the sky above with Christ and heaven.

Associated with functional explanations is a dependence on *historical particularism*, which attributes priority to the 'unique and individual character of circumstances and events' (Mytum 1989, 340). A culture was 'the product of a unique sequence of development in

which the largely chance operation of diffusion played the major role in bringing about change' (Trigger 1989, 152). In spite of its 'sterile idealism' (*ibid.*, 369) this is a valuable approach for monastic archaeology, and is receiving renewed support from post-processualists on account of its attention to cultural diversity and to the 'individual' responsible for social action. Admittedly it would be difficult to recognize archaeologically the individual monks within a community unless they had managed to assert their identities through positions of authority as monastic officials, yet the presence of a superior, a patron, or a visitor should be discernible in the way space was structured. Such people played parts in the life of the monastic house as individuals, so they should not be interpreted only collectively. However, historical particularism proposes a 'uniqueness' in individuals and situations which seems to ignore the role of knowledge in motivating and directing action. It also denies a role to long-term processes of social change with which processual archaeologists are concerned, and which can be a useful approach for understanding movements for monastic reform. In allowing for idiosyncrasies, it is still necessary to consider the limits of identifying uniqueness and the likelihood of ulterior motivations in human behaviour.

Amos Rapoport applied a functionalist approach to systems analysis in combination with his environment-behaviour research to discuss the way building form is shaped by activity. He outlines a theory by which activity systems, organized in space and time, are studied in systems of *settings*, in which a setting is defined as 'a milieu which defines a situation, reminds occupants of the appropriate rules and hence of the ongoing behaviours appropriate to the situation defined by the setting, thereby making co-action possible' (1990, 9 and 12). He explains how meaning is conveyed as 'non-verbal communication' in the built environment through the use of three components: fixed-feature elements (buildings, walls), semi-fixed elements (furnishings), and non-fixed (people, activity and behaviour) (1982, 87-122; 1990, 9), through which we can understand how a building influences behaviour. Rapoport's focus on systems has made an impact on processual interpretation, but it hampers contextual building research. The individual is still present in the non-fixed element, but cannot be identified except in relation to the system of which people are a part; 'any individual variations must occur within an *order*' (Rapoport 1990, 13). But the concept of non-verbal communication draws attention to the importance of material culture in informing human behaviour, and it is this idea which is taken up in much post-processual interpretation.

Structuralist theory suggests that the human mind subconsciously categorizes information about its surroundings in terms of a 'grammar', and that this grammar becomes a means of understanding the ideas of the culture which created it. The structuralist thesis has been unconsciously (and consciously) maintained by many archaeologists investigating the monastic arrangement of built space, and it can still be considered a preliminary interpretive tool aiding deeper levels of analysis (*cf.* Gilchrist 1990). Material culture, including buildings, is seen as a system of signs, in which meaning is the product of structural relationships between these signs. This information is presented in the form of *binary oppositions*, and these have been considered particularly useful in aiding spatial analysis. Historians, art historians, and archaeologists, perceiving monasticism as a religious life taken up in renunciation of the secular world, have preferred to focus on the difference between monastic and secular cultures - the division between, or opposition of, these cultures. Inside/outside, religious/secular, and public/private are among the more popular binary oppositions applied, and are found in the most recent contextual studies. Gilchrist, for example, purposely notes the relationship between religious/non-religious areas and monastic/secular space in the medieval nunnery (1990, chapter 6), but in the context of identifying internal stratification, she draws a parallel with 'the growing desire for privacy which was felt in secular dwellings and hospitals' (1989, 55-61, 64). These oppositions operated not only at the precinct walls or within the outer court, but within the claustral house itself. It is generally believed that access to the claustral ranges, as well as to most regions of the church beyond the nave, was restricted to monastic inhabitants. Visitors were permitted access only to selected spaces - those buildings constructed specifically for their accommodation and use (for example, Gilchrist 1989, 61). Further documentary sources, however, particularly monastic rules, the lives of saints, financial accounts, and visitations, suggest that access was perhaps not so restricted, and that the opposition of private, monastic space to public, secular space has been given misguided emphasis. Such oppositions were clearly present, but the trend in archaeology has simply been to identify them, without necessarily explaining why they existed or how they were constructed or recognized by people who encountered them. Archaeologists examining the relationship between secular and monastic, public and private space have assumed that binary oppositions are simply reflected by the built remains, and thus have tried to read oppositions into them. This thesis demands a more contextual understanding.

Hillier and Hanson furthered an understanding of the functionalist analysis of space in their *Social Logic of Space* (1984), emphasizing the role of human action in structuring social order through the use of space. Addressing the relationship between built forms and social organization, Hillier and Hanson used the 'syntax' of cellular mapping to describe social patterns operating in and around buildings (1984, x-xi), hypothesizing that buildings create and order space into patterns which are actually a reflection of the existing order of society (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 2). Although this thesis does focus on the nature of access into and within buildings, formal access analysis has proved unhelpful. Not only does it tend to ignore relationships between inhabitants while focussing on the inside/outside dichotomy (Fairclough 1992, 350; Foster 1989a, 44), but it is unable to account for symbolic divisions of space, not indicated by physical walls and entrances, and leaves little room for organic social structures and meanings which form the focus of contextual interpretation. Finally, the method necessitates not only an accurate ground plan, but also the layout of upper floors, and preferably information regarding the use of such physical obstacles as locked doors, human barriers(i.e. monastic officials), and forms of visual access (see Markus 1993, fig.7). This degree of information is often lacking in the surviving evidence. Reliance on a faulty understanding of the location and identification of buildings, doors and windows, and personnel can thus damage the credibility of such studies. Cromwell's thesis on Yorkshire Cistercian monastic sites is a case in point, particularly in its omission of entire visitors' complexes from the ground plans used to map access (1987) (fig.4).

Discussions of access and spatial arrangement, along with the recognition of structuralist oppositions in space, have led to an increased interest in the subject of 'liminality', such as that demonstrated by Gilchrist (1992b), Parker Pearson and Richards ('boundedness'; 1994) and Lavine (1981) and Sanders (1990) ('boundary permeability'). Douglas, in *Purity and Danger*, noted how 'margins' exist between the human body and the area surrounding it (1966, 115). These margins are the bodily excretions which were part of, yet are now outside, the body. Douglas suggested that bodily margins are parallelled with terrestrial margins, or liminal areas. Turner pointed to the paradox present in the concept of liminality, of being both one thing and another. He was concerned with ritual rites of passage, in which the *limen* is a threshold, or the transition phase between two states of being (1977a, 37-38). Sanders takes this conceptual framework for marginality and applies it to symbolically bounded space, in which symbolic markers controlling movement, sight, sound, smell, and touch indicate the level of boundary permeability (1990, 65). Parker

Pearson and Richards note how physically defined features, such as walls, gates, and entrances mark the transition from one area to another (1994, 1), but here, the physical recognition of transitional areas is a reflection of symbolic boundaries between inside/outside, sacred/profane. Their point is that although there can be archaeologically recognizable definition between spaces, such definition may also reflect conceptual divisions in a society: 'very simple environments may be highly divided conceptually and these divisions may be indicated either not at all physically- or only in very subtle ways' (Rapoport 1980, 298-9).

Monastic visitors' buildings played a decisive role in the creation of a 'liminal' threshold for the liaison between secular and religious cultures. The nature of boundaries and their role in regulating interaction featured heavily in medieval monastic perceptions of space, as well as in perceptions of religious and secular social structure (Gilchrist 1989, 55). Precinct walls and gates dividing secular and monastic cultures as well as internal rooms and buildings separating individuals, groups or functional spaces were an important visual control for the medieval perception of monasticism. But deeper symbolic divisions, subconsciously recognized by both inhabitants and visitors, controlled not only their movement and encounters, but also guided the formation of hierarchies of power and authority operating through monastic hospitality. These concepts will be discussed more thoroughly in a consideration of the nature and meaning of the monastic gatehouse in chapter 3 through 6.

Contextualism and structuration theory: space, meaning, and the knowledgeable agent

Contextualism has developed as an attempt to understand the interaction between symbolism, material culture, and meaning. It places material in its cultural setting or context, its functional whole. Hodder's contextualism also defines context as 'with-text', embracing an analogy with textual interpretation, and with reading material culture as a product of discourse, encoding ideas about the cultural surroundings (Barrett 1987, 70; Hodder 1986, 122). The analogy refers back to earlier interpretive approaches which regarded archaeological data as a record, or language, claiming that just as there are linguistic rules determining the way we attribute meaning to language, so there are with material culture. Space, and action within space, is a text requiring interpretation (Ricoeur 1971, 530). As archaeologists, we define meanings as 'public and social concepts which

are reproduced in the practices of daily life'. Hodder suggests that we are actually examining structural binary oppositions *built into* contextual relationships, from which we abstract meaning (1986, 127-128). The textual analogy can be disputed, however, on the grounds that the meaning of a text is culturally and historically specific, and that we translate it on our own terms. It misrepresents the relationship between human action and surrounding social conditions.

Barrett proposes that in abandoning the notion of the archaeological 'record' of events in favour of 'evidence' for social practice, we embrace the *recursiveness* of social practice (Barrett 1988, 6-7). This goes far to suggest the existence of multiple meanings in the evidence of social practice. Meaning itself is contextual, because it is variable according to its context. Subjective meanings are seen as 'public and social concepts which are reproduced in the practices of daily life' (Hodder 1986, 127). In his *Meaningful Architecture*, Locock explores these ideas carefully and rejects the traditional assumption that architecture is 'meaning-free' (1994, 2-4), on the grounds that all design and construction requires decisions, and that there is meaning behind all choice. However, admitting multiplicity does not mean that we must subscribe to the deconstruction of meaning. Relativism is only a problem if archaeologists fail to develop research agendas which asks specific questions of their material, thereby determining contextually-specific meanings (*ibid,* 308). For instance, Johnson's *Housing Culture* examines what he calls 'closure' in the change in building designs from 1400-1700 (1993, 179). Johnson suggests that meanings of built space can change between groups of people, or between states and implied levels, but in all cases are produced by individuals within a given social structure, and manipulated to alter (negotiate and transform) that structure (*ibid.*, 30-31).

The drawback of most published contextual approaches to buildings and space is that although they employ contextualism, the potential for uncovering multiple meanings is understated. Most scholarship emphasizes a single, dominant interpretation, often falling back on structuralist forms of interpretation based on binary opposition. Thus Johnson opposes open and closed space, and Gilchrist relies on secular/religious, inside/outside as an explanation for the ordering of space in nunneries. As noted earlier, the identification of oppositions is not an explanation of 'how' or 'why' in itself, but only a tool for further enquiry. Contextual studies should not ignore other, archaeologically recognizable, distinctions in the use of space, in particular the possibility of additional interpretations of

distinctions in the use of space, in particular the possibility of additional interpretations of meaning which characterize attitudes to social class, age, and gender, for example. Is it possible, however, to give due credit to multiplicity when the carefully formulated research agenda tends, by nature, to focus specifically on one aspect of social practice?

The idea of recursiveness between social structure and practice (action) is a critical feature of post-processual thinking. For Giddens, knowledge is continually reproduced by both action and discourse: 'social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very *medium* of this constitution' (in Barrett 1987, 127). Accordingly, meaning itself is constantly in a state of flux as individuals mould and shape their culture. Smith and Turner (1986, 127) argue that this traps us in a duality of structure which is in fact logically impossible, because action cannot be, at one time, both the prerequisite for, and the consequence of, social structure. Yet it is possible, while acknowledging this complication, to emphasize the role of prior material conditions and individual knowledge, without disregarding recursiveness (Barrett 1987, 8).

For Hodder, knowledge is found in the individual mind, and is responsible for informing human practice. Knowledge, in this sense, is an awareness of how to act in given social conditions - an idea adopted from Collingwood, who believed that action was situation specific (Hodder 1986, 97), and from the Structuration Theory of Giddens, which states that all action is carried out by individuals with a practical knowledge of 'how to go on' within a particular set of material conditions (Giddens 1984, 35). Therefore, individual action is integral to the constitution of material culture, and plays a crucial role in the structuring of social relations. It is from this position that Hodder develops his understanding of the role of the knowledgeable agent, accepting that knowledge and action are conditioned and reconditioned by their surroundings. Knowledge and action cannot therefore be understood as static, but only in reference to intentions and consequences which continually alter and shape social conditions (Barrett 1987, 469).

In placing the individual agent at the centre of his contextual approach, Hodder isolates the individuals who instigate social practices from the forces or historical conditions which create them; this amounts to a decontextualisation of the individual. Barrett however, advocates an archaeology which attempts to 'preserve the context of social reproduction over time and space' without relying on discerning 'ideas in people's heads' (Barrett 1987,

471). In order to interpret meaning, we should instead examine the material conditions under which social relations were structured, and think about how dominant forms of meaning were produced and maintained. For the text-aided period of later monastic archaeology, it is reasonable to expect both that the reconstruction of at least some individual thought and action, through the interpretation of meaning in material culture, should be possible without decontextualising the individual, and that the context of social practice can be discerned. While admitting the role of regulation and standardisation in the planning and construction of a monastic house, there is still much evidence for individual human agency in the imparting of meaning. Authorisation of building programs does not involve a simple patron - architect relationship in which a project is both passively commissioned and enacted. The individual who plans a building has knowledge which informs both the purpose and role of the building and his or her role in its creation. The individual is responsible for imparting situation-specific and culturally-specific meanings, via the use of building form and materials, artistic detail, and furnishings. It is this individual involvement which explains 'presencing' in the social organization of space. Goffman discussed this idea in terms of 'the embodiment and spatiality of interaction' (Jenkins 1996, 69). The individual 'presences' himself or herself through the body, particularly through the face. In doing so, the individual is presenting the embodied 'self' (*ibid.*, 69-70). Through presencing, the authority of the head of the house is made apparent (Graves 1989, 311) as a particular discourse in this setting. In interpreting meaning, archaeologists can attempt to reconstruct some of these unlimited influences and their cultural manifestations.

Structuralism has contributed to archaeology the notion that patterns of meaning are generated, but it has not explained how change in structures is to be accommodated (Hodder 1986, 73) - Giddens' Structuration Theory is a means of explaining how structures change. Space is a prerequisite for social behaviour, and practice is located in space and time. Space is a dynamic element which is manipulated to structure social relations through the use of the *'locale'*, a setting (such as a building) situated in time and space, in which meaningful discourse takes place. But useful as Giddens' concept of the *locale* is in perceiving the spatial location of social practice, he does not explain how the idea of *locale* relates a material setting to the structuring of practice. This is why Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* has become popular with archaeologists, especially with those who examine buildings. *Habitus* is a set of 'strategy generating principles' or the structuring of social practice, which allows knowledgeable individuals to negotiate their

surroundings (Graves 1989, 299). A domestic building, for example, becomes an ideal situation for the constitution of *habitus*. Here the frequency with which an area in time and space (a field) is occupied, that field's geographical or spatial extents, the cultural resources used to define and carry out discourse in that field, and the recursive nature of that field are all given meaning through social interaction and activity (Barrett 1988, 11; Graves 1989, 299-300). Further social practice and cultural expression are thereby regulated. Barrett refers to these ideas under the catch-phrase 'fields of discourse', time and space inhabited by communicable action (1988, 11). These fields, which are an analytical tool for applying structuration, are particularly useful for understanding human interaction in built space. They not only focus on human relationships in time and space, but also refuse to attribute static meanings to material culture.

This section has presented and attempted to evaluate some of the more useful theoretical concepts for the archaeological interpretation of monastic visitors' buildings. Most are concerned with the way space is structured and used to direct human behaviour, with the role of the individual as a 'knowledgeable agent' influencing and being influenced by the built environment. There is an urgent need for a contextual approach in monastic archaeology which evaluates our preconceptions of medieval monastic life, and proposes an alternative means of viewing the interaction between visitors and the monastic house. To provide the ideological context for this form of behaviour, some background discussion of the role of ritual in social practice is appropriate, followed by an outline of biblical precedent for the provision and development of a practice of hospitality with the potential for ritualised expression in monastic society.

2.3 Social Practice and The Ritualisation of Hospitality

Monastic archaeologists rarely imagine the guest house or gatehouse as a setting of ritual performance. Ritual behaviour is traditionally perceived as confined to religious spaces within the inner court - the church, the cloister walk, the areas in which monks or nuns lived their day to day lives. Gilchrist, for example, has focussed on the nunnery cloister as the *locale* of ritual action (1988, 1989, and 1990). Our mistaken attribution of a strictly religious character to monastic ritual ignores the role of secular ritual in the interaction between monastic and secular cultures. Hospitality was the result of an amalgamation of secular and monastic ritual behaviour embedded in Christian doctrine, beliefs and practices. The marginalisation of the monastic outer court has been both the cause and effect of our

ignorance of this interplay, and of the place of ritual in the interaction between visitor and inhabitant. These liminal areas are precisely where we should be looking for evidence for ritual behaviour (Turner 1977b, 37) - visitors' buildings provide a materially-recognized threshold, a setting for the negotiation of relationships between religious and secular social structures.

Anthropological studies have emphasized the way in which ritual performance constitutes meaning in the built environment, and how the built environment can enhance or deplete ritual effectiveness (Lawrence and Low 1990, 474). This relationship between the built environment (space) and social behaviour is one I wish to examine within the context of the nature and role of monastic hospitality. It is useful to consider not only monasticism as a perpetuation of ritual based on an established ideology, but also secular rituals based on deeply embedded discourses of social and political hierarchy and authority, all of which originated from the same Judeo-Christian tradition. Recognizing that ritual is not a static reaffirmation of existing social order and form, but is a historical process used actively to structure society, it is essential to consider the recursive, reflexive nature of ritual (Rosser 1994, 432).

Anthropologogological debates have centred previously on the nature of ritual as either an 'expressive or symbolic' or a 'technical' activity (Asad 1987, 161). While ritual has been traditionally examined in terms of what it symbolizes, more recent attempts have focussed on how it functions (Gosden 1999, 129). Increasingly, this view of ritual has been subjected to criticism for its naivety, in favour of ritual defined as an aspect of action (Rosser 1994, 432). Both views have in common the reliance on symbolic form which signifies some meaning which must be interpreted (Asad 1987, 162). Further work has combined this with Mary Douglas' analysis of symbolic behaviour, in which ritual is communication (1970). This communication supposedly consists of a restricted code which regulates social experience and solidarity, as opposed to the elaborated code applied to secularism, in which individual perception dominates. 'Symbolic meanings' are the product of relations between individuals rather than the result of a underlying normative order. Communication leads to the ever-present textual analogy, in which ritual is seen as analogous to a text which had to be 'read' by not only its medieval audience, but by modern scholars deciphering past meanings.

Bell (1992) has recently rejected these interpretations, in favour of a focus on ritual as a form of social practice. For this reason, she concentrates on the process of *ritualising* normal social activity (1992, 88-93), requiring us to question how one social practice distinguishes itself as ritual within the general corpus of social behaviour. Theoretically, it is identified though five strategies: its formalisation, its bodily references, the construction of specific *locales* defining and being defined by ritual behaviour, the physical and mental mastery of ritual, and the way in which ritual enables individuals to affect their position within a social group.

The role of individual action in determining the efficacy and meaning of ritual is therefore predominant. Ritual has been erroneously regarded as incapable of recursively influencing individual thought and action - the individual is denied a role in acting and affecting social processes. 'Rituals as conventionalized behaviour are not designed or meant to express the intentions, emotion, and states of mind of individuals in a direct, spontaneous, and 'natural' way' (Tambiah in Asad 1987, 163). However, a definition of ritual which implies that the individual is incapable of influencing its meaning is unacceptable within Bell's ritualisation theory. In accepting that humans are affected by ritual, their reaction in turn must be seen as capable of influencing and reconstructing that which they have experienced. 'The ritualised person [may] generate in turn strategic schemes that can appropriate or dominate other sociocultural situations' (Bell 1992, 99).

This recursiveness, a feature of Giddens' Structuration Theory, is one of the key concepts on which archaeological interpretation in this thesis depends, and it has a direct bearing on the way in which ritual retains its meaning. Ritual itself, in its enactment, is a repetitive activity by nature, but as Graves points out, it should 'not be perceived as mechanical or ridiculous' (Graves 1989, 306) because it is not static. Whereas the *action* generally defined as ritual might remain the same, the motivation for that action - the meaning behind it which informs behaviour - is continually changing. In order for ritual to be convincing, it must be relevant to each unique setting or situation - it must be capable of adaptation, of re-constitution. But just as meaning embodied in ritual must be dynamic, the material setting of ritual, the built environment, must be malleable, to suit the required message. This is where Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* might be applied. *Habitus* unites ritual with its material setting by providing the means (ie. strategy-generating principles) through which individuals can recognize the behaviour appropriate to their surroundings (Graves 1989,

299). The 'fixing' of ritual meaning (Hodder 1986, 160) is not a characteristic of ritual itself, but a result of knowledgeable action continually re-establishing dominant meanings in an effort to maintain an authoritative discourse. Ritual as a form of recursive communication involved in structuring individual thought and action cannot, of course, be viewed as static. Rather, its meaning is situation specific, and alters with each reception in accordance with other influences (knowledge) informing the circumstances. This is why ritual is able to retain its validity, because it is both a statement and response.

The ritualisation of human behaviour is informed by the above issues. This is really the ritualisation of social structuring, a strategy for negotiating social relationships (Bell 1992, 89). Ritual, as an aspect of social practice, is used by individuals or institutions attempting to 'presence' themselves in a way which must be recognized (Graves 1989, 298). Ritual is not simply a mirror image of 'existing social arrangements and existing modes of thought' (Moore and Myerhoff 1977, 5), but, as a means of communication, is set up as a discourse between participants, reproducing hierarchies of power and authority (Barrett 1988, 9). Thus, monastic policy regarding the reception and accommodation of guests, played out in the material setting of visitors' buildings, creates the setting for the ritualisation of relationships between monastic and secular individuals, who, according to a ceremonial form set out by tradition but manipulated to fit the situation, not only negotiate their positions within the present setting, but establish a social role for themselves for the future. This role provides the background for further structuring, through future ritual observance.

Hospitality and ritualised action

Hospitality, in this thesis, is a form of social practice. It acts as a fundamental Christian 'truth' informing social action, but this does not imply that hospitality was an immutable law. In the medieval period, the notion of hospitality had a mandatory quality, deeply rooted in early Judeo-Christian doctrine and continually promoted by the Church through both the monastic orders and secular clergy (Heal 1990, 5). Paul's letter to the Hebrews enjoining them: 'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares' (Hebrews 13:2), harkened back to Abraham's Old Testament encounter with three angels, whom he provided with food, shelter, and water with which to wash their feet (Genesis 18:2). Matthew recorded the need for hospitality with Christ's words: 'He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me' (Matthew 10:40), and 'For I was hungry and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave

me drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in' (Matthew 25:35). While further New Testament writings expressed similar sentiments (Romans 12:13 and 1 Peter 4:8-9, for example), the passages quoted above presented the motivation for everyday Christian social practice. These sentiments were further sanctioned through the later medieval Acts of Mercy, which, returning to Matthew, adopted feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, and housing the stranger as key acts of charity guaranteeing salvation (Duffy 1992, 357-8). Even the sacrament of the Eucharist, in which individuals consumed the body and blood of Christ in the form of bread and wine, was a ritual of acceptance into a social group. Thus it was hardly surprising that medieval feasts were viewed as one of the most effective means of maintaining the spirit of fraternity (McRee 1994, 191)

In monastic terms, hospitality was integrated into the behavioural codes of communal life. The passages from Matthew in particular were interpreted literally through the *Rule of St Benedict* (McCann 1952), which urged that guests be given food, drink, and shelter, but with the addition of the kiss of peace, and provisions for prayer and spiritual counsel (*ibid.*, 119).

A final addendum to the *Rule* was an order that the feet and hands of guests be washed. Recalling Genesis 18:2, this washing served the functional purpose of refreshing a traveller after a long, hot journey. But in the New Testament gospels, water took on additional, symbolic associations of cleansing both the body and spirit. This is most evident in John 1:33: '...he that sent me to baptise with water... said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptiseth with the Holy Ghost'. At the Last Supper, Christ washed the feet of his disciples, saying 'If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet' (John 13:14). Not only did ritual washing purge the guilt of original sin, but its sacramental form was perceived as an initiation rite of membership of the community, akin to circumcision (McGrath 1993, 177).

While the provision and reception of hospitality was, in effect, a certainty, its nature and content was flexible. Hospitality found several guises and expressions in medieval society. It is essential to distinguish between these various forms and to make explicit the kind of hospitality concerned here, and who its recipients were. Hospitality is an ambiguous concept which has lacked definition from most scholars, but has been given careful

consideration by Heal (1984, 1990), in the context of the language and symbolism of hospitality in Early Modern England. Following her example, this thesis draws a distinction between two dominant forms of hospitality - charity for the poor, and generosity for the benefit of the affluent.

By the seventeenth century, a period well beyond the limits of this thesis, hospitality had apparently come to mean solely the charity shown to the poor. Heal suggests that this conversion in meaning had already occurred some time in the sixteenth century, and was evident in prescriptive writing of the time (1984, 75). But in 1523, before the disintegration of the monasteries, John Fitzherbert wrote that there was an inherent difference between feasting, which promoted amity, and alms-giving, which although taking many forms was not related to hospitality (Heal 1990, 16). Earlier definitions relied even more heavily on *hospitalitas* and the classical ideology of generosity captured in the phrase *ius hospitii*. This ideology arose in part as a response to the need to incorporate the stranger into the household (Heal 1990, 2). Accordingly, *hospes* could mean not only host, guest, and friend, but also stranger. This implied a concentration on generosity and acceptance to anyone who entered a household.

Charity was distinct from this. While being based on the same New Testament doctrine and Church injunctions quoted above, medieval charity was equated with mercy and the giving of alms, while hospitality was reserved for a more general treatment of friends and strangers. Cullum's study of *maisons dieu* as social equivalents of the chantry chapel emphasises the nature of charitable giving, the role of the *maisons dieu* being to provide for the poor - namely, those incapacitated by infirmity, accident, or age (1994, 44 and 51). Likewise, Gilchrist's study of medieval hospitals concentrates on the way in which such buildings were situated in a town so as to display the stigmatized bodies of the diseased, leprous and aged (1994a, 47 and 58). The limits of a thesis which deals specifically with monastic gatehouses, guest-houses, and superiors' lodgings preclude any discussion in detail of lower-status buildings associated with charitable giving. Here, the emphasis is placed on higher-status buildings, constructed to maintain a ritualized hospitality, in which guests could negotiate the discourse of authority with their hosts, and in which reciprocity was as much an understood motivation for generosity as established Christian belief and practice.

Further discussion on the identity of the recipient of monastic hospitality centres around the

negotiation of the status of the stranger, and involves a discourse of power and authority. 'The worth of a stranger was by definition unknown' (Heal 1984, 77). The stranger was a figure who demanded honour and generosity on the basis of his being an unknown. The stranger posed a potential threat which was only diminished by incorporation into the household (*ibid.*, 1984, 67, 76). Once a stranger had been welcomed, via a complicated ritual which in effect transformed the stranger into a neighbour and friend, the household (and the buildings accommodating it) became a setting for the negotiation of social authority, in which the host was free to present symbols engineered to maintain his superior social position. The accompanying element in such hospitality was the guarantee of reciprocal behaviour. Reciprocity was assured if the visitor was part of a peer group, rather than a member of the deserving poor. This was the incentive to uphold the tradition of free and generous hospitality.

But how far did the ritual meanings imparted by biblical precedent and Church sacrament, particularly those emphasising community, maintain their validity? Ritual is used to structure and display specific interpretations of aspects of society in an effort to legitimize them (Moor and Myerhoff 1977, 4); in an environment in which social status was an increasing concern, it may be that rituals symbolising and enforcing community and equality were undermined by the material setting of their enactment. The following section will set out the methodological means of answering such questions.

2.4 A Methodology for the Study of Monastic Visitors' Buildings

The research agenda

As Meeson has suggested, 'No two recorders of ... architecture have precisely the same motives for surveying buildings' (1989, 19). Thus, the emphasis of archaeological recording is not so much on the 'how', but on the 'why', and a critical part of the 'why' comes with the construction of a viable research agenda. Chapter 1 demonstrated that if we desire a better understanding of the nature and role of medieval monasticism in general, and of the social practice of hospitality in particular, we must approach the evidence in new ways. This study cannot proceed according to the existing guidelines for architectural analysis, nor can it gain much more from the contributions of centuries of excavation - the level of detail provided by these methods is insufficient for understanding the development, the layout, and use of space in monastic visitors' buildings.

The inadequacies of these methods have led archaeologists to develop other means of analyzing standing structures. As suggested in section 2.2, any work which proposes to study the use of space in buildings is best undertaken on remains existing in three dimensions, since, as Grenville and Morris (1991) have pointed out, both imagination and reality are three-dimensional (*ibid.*, draft version, 1). While three-dimensional space can sometimes be partially recreated from excavated remains by transposing upwards the evidence for doorways, windows, fireplaces, staircases, and vaulting, the lack of information for the nature of additional lighting, decoration, and spatial hierarchy (particularly on the upper floors), means that the results can only be a shadow of the original. All of this is responsible for the creation of a complex environment in which people lived and interacted, for the creation of a *locale* for hospitality. This thesis demonstrates methods which can be employed in an effective analysis of such evidence, taking account of existing knowledge, while being unconstrained by traditional means of interpretation.

A methodology

Recent attempts to create a standard methodology for buildings archaeology have promoted much fruitful discussion, but with inconclusive results. There still remain an assortment of approaches based on the more established architectural and excavation techniques for dealing with material evidence. Considering the nature of the questions this thesis seeks to answer, I chose to employ the methods of stratigraphic analysis to standing building remains, in which contexting is favoured over more descriptive methods.

The outright transfer of below-ground stratigraphic recording and analysis to standing structures (as demonstrated by the 'Harris system' (1989b))was an approach advocated in 1989 by Ian Ferris of the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, in a paper which sparked a vociferous debate about how and why we record buildings (Ferris 1989; *cf.* Bold 1990, Ferris 1991, Meeson 1989, Smith 1989, and Wrathmell 1990). The theory of stratification states that in the ground, gravity will dictate that the earliest deposits are found at the bottom, and that layers will accumulate horizontally unless there is some additional interference, so that the final or top layer will be the most recent (Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 103). As an excavator reaches earlier deposits, those above are irretrievably destroyed. However, the deposition of 'layers' in a standing structure does not necessarily reflect the order in which they appeared, since deposition can be both horizontal and vertical - building material can be replaced at ground level while retaining the earlier structure above, and a

feature can be inserted into an earlier wall mass. Furthermore, the process of archaeological examination is often non-destructive in itself, and is often a response to predetermined activities such as restoration. Thus, both the academic and physical motives for below-ground and above-ground recording are different, and the excavation methodology designed to respond to circumstances of the former cannot simply be transferred to buildings.

Contrary to Ferris' initial assertion that the recording process is objective and unbiased, permitting an independent interpretation of a feature's significance (Ferris 1989, 13-14), this thesis is founded on the conviction that, from beginning to end, recording is a product of interpretation, particularly in the evaluation of 'significance' (Bold 1990, 16). Ferris encouraged an uncritical use of the excavation-based *pro forma* context sheets, in which the traditional 'feature' (a window, for example) now became an 'architectural element' identified not by its function, but by a figure (AE1), and a building phase became a 'structural element', or 'any distinct and discernible episode of building' (SE1) (Ferris 1989, 13). The recording process, however, is not impartial, as these labels suggest - it is inescapably subjective, being based upon individual human choice and observation. Building recording, including contexting, is inherently selective, informed by such considerations as the nature of the structure, the circumstances and purpose motivating the record, and the available resources for its production, and as such, can never provide a 'complete record' (Meeson 1989, 18).

Constraints and imperfections aside, contexting is still a necessary tool and can be employed in an informed way, and the fieldwork in this thesis (presented in chapters 4 and 5) makes abundant use of it. In a highly complex, multi-phased structure, the necessity of some level of objectification beyond the descriptive approach is absolute. Several examples of building context forms were examined and experimented with in preparation for this fieldwork, including those used by the Central Archaeology Service of English Heritage, but were found to be too reliant upon excavation methodology. The form produced for this thesis is given in figure 5; this is a composite record sheet, modified specifically to allow recording of structural evidence at the level of detail required for this thesis. Here, a context is defined as an *event*, or past human activity, which affected the arrangement, appearance, or use of a structure. At a deeper level, a context is the *physical evidence for human intention or decision*. Initially, this identifies original choices on the part of builders and patrons, from building type to decoration; at subsequent levels, it identifies adjustments to

those original choices, through alteration, addition, or removal of material. Thus, the context form was used to record, for example, the types of materials used, surface marking or decoration, the presence of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal breaks and fills in the fabric, the structural and stylistic nature of openings, and initial observations or interpretations of stratigraphic relationships. Context numbers were assigned on a tier system, so that an entire wall might be identified by a number, while elements within that wall were given further numbers, and so forth. Contrary to Ferris' technique of assigning window openings, for example, with an 'uninterpretative' identifying number, a window is a window even if it was once a door (Meeson 1989, 19), and thus their context numbers are given a prefix of W for clarity (D for doors, C for cut, F for fill, and so on).

Levels and methods of recording

As already demonstrated, in order to approach an understanding of monastic visitors' buildings at a level of detail by which the social practice of hospitality might be understood, it is necessary to make the most of the available evidence. What makes stone by stone recording worthwhile is the opportunity it provides to discover the most intimate evidence of choice, as well as how more complex buildings, and their provisions for hospitality, may have developed over time. For that, it was necessary to choose structures which were clearly the result of several monastic building phases, even if the exact nature of the changes made in each was not initially apparent.

The time and effort expended in recording buildings to this level of detail made it impracticable to study the structures of more than a very few sites. Thus a deliberate selection of two case studies was made, reflecting the hospitality provided by two different monastic orders, with varied social and economic backgrounds, and representing the distinct environments of rural and urban monasticism. An important consideration was the accessibility of each site. Not only did the chosen case studies need to be within a readily convenient geographical region, so that a recording programme largely carried out by one archaeologist would be both physically and economically possible, but the buildings needed to be in care or ownership which would permit detailed internal and external recording and the inconveniences that such work might create. Thus, sites in guardianship or managed by large trustee bodies were most suitable.

In short, the well-preserved guest range of a minor rural Cistercian house at Stoneleigh,

positioned between a gatehouse and other, earlier remains, and also the subject of an imminent restoration programme, provided an excellent opportunity. The multi-phase, elaborate complex of guest houses, superiors' lodgings and gatehouses at the powerful Benedictine abbey at Gloucester, already subjected to several programmes of restoration but still not understood, provided the second case study.

The levels of recording employed on these sites were based largely on the above understanding of a context - that a context can be defined as the evidence for both action and intention. The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England outlines four levels of recording in its publication *Recording Historic Buildings: A Descriptive Specification* (3rd ed. 1996), ranging from brief written notes accompanied by a photographic record and perhaps sketches (level 1, *ibid.*, 4), to complete historical analysis accompanied by detailed elevation drawings, plans, and photographs (level 4). Included within this are the various technical methods of building survey, including hand survey, computer rectified photography, and photogrammetry. Though producing similar results, they vary enormously in cost, time, and equipment, and the choice of a recording technique is often reliant on these factors. In general, insufficient funding for the necessary equipment or operators keeps many archaeologists, in particular those not associated with large archaeological bodies such as the Central Archaeological Service, from using photogrammetry. Hand survey is an essential method for obscured or less accessible areas, but is time-consuming, very dependent upon weather conditions, and is a reasonable option primarily when circumstances make other methods unfeasible. Computer rectified photography, the recording method preferred for the fieldwork in this thesis, escapes some of these difficulties, being time-efficient, cost-effective, and achieving results comparable to that of photogrammetry. Both computer-rectified photography and photogrammetry, however, still rely on the human eye and hand in both the production of the basic drawings and in the enhancement stage of those plotted drawings.

With each of these levels, there is still a need for photography. As Wrathmell has observed, 'photographs give the archaeologist a second chance' (1990, 40); they allow the archaeologist to 'revisit' the site and reinterpret previously observed features. They can capture overall views of a building, its general spatial arrangement and division, as well as most structural or decorative detail, and thus are invaluable to the recording and interpretation process.

Ultimately, both detailed recording and contextual analysis enable the attribution of structural evidence to a specific chronology, thereby allowing a confident reconstruction of stages of development and appearance. This, in turn, forms the basis of a social explanation for a building's construction and development, for the recreation of a changing *locale* for hospitality.

Methodology in practice

In the case of both Stoneleigh Abbey and Gloucester Cathedral, the obvious complexity of regions of the standing fabric, never before examined or explained in detail, made external stone by stone recording necessary both to dispel accepted but incorrect theories regarding their development, and to form an meaningful interpretation of their original roles in providing hospitality. At Stoneleigh Abbey, a preliminary TST survey, accompanied by medium format photography, was undertaken prior to the erection of scaffolding (a restoration measure)around the entire building. The captured data was then transferred into coordinate form, suitable for plotting in AutoCAD 14. The main subject of recording at Gloucester Cathedral, the Parliament Room, its external timber and stone faces constructed along single north/south or east/west alignments, made it possible to calibrate photographs to hand-measured coordinates. In the case of elevations which were obscured by foliage or additional structures, hand survey was deemed to be the quickest and most accurate means of recording. Internally, the elevations of both case studies were largely obscured in render, and thus much of the recording was restricted to photography, although one noteworthy exception was the northern first-floor partition of the Parliament Room, which was hand surveyed on both faces (fig.203).

Digitized drawings produced via computer rectified photography, and requiring enhancement, were plotted at a scale of 1:20. Enhancement of both the plotted drawings and of the hand surveyed elevations typically detailed the limits of the survey, evidence for cuts and fills in the main fabric, evidence of tooling, masons' marks, and other marking devices such as plumb and level marks (Miles and Russell 1995), centering lines, and finally, indications for the arrangement of elevations abutting each. Masons' marks, non-existent in the Gloucester buildings, and only a rare occurrence at Stoneleigh, were recorded by means of photograph, charcoal rubbing, and scaled line drawing (Alexander 1996). Profiles were taken, where possible, of hood mouldings, labels, jambs, mullions, and string courses, using a 0.15m steel-pin profile gauge, and in instances where the profile

had suffered severe weathering, were accompanied by photographs (Morris 1996a). Internal traces of painted decoration were recorded where possible with both color and black and white flash photography.

Upon the removal of Stoneleigh's roof covering, a TST with EDM capability was used to record the roof structure, including the arch-brace section of truss IV and the northern windbraces of bay 2. Because the roof trusses and windbraces were patently the result of a single phase of construction, one example of each series was surveyed, in detail at 1:20. The plotted drawing, minus its characteristic marking details, was then used as an underlay for recording the markings on each remaining example. Due to financial restrictions, the roof trusses at Gloucester were not recorded to scale with a TST. Instead, the posts forming parts of the internal north and south elevations were hand surveyed at 1:20, and these results were combined with data from the gable elevations and first-floor plan to reconstruct, approximately to scale, the form and extent of the trusses. The plotted drawings were then enhanced for marking, pegging, and evidence for recutting or alteration.

In the case of building plans, basic plans existed for both sites, having been commissioned through architectural firms. For Stoneleigh, these plans proved relatively reliable at ground level, but being transposed upwards to provide plans for upper floors, included many inaccuracies which had to be correct by careful measurements. Gloucester's collections of plans, starting with crude, inaccurate examples from the nineteenth-century, needed a great deal of checking and correction. Plans were digitized from dyeline copies at a1:50 scale, and multiple CAD layers were created in order to correct and manipulate the arrangement of walls, windows and stairs, both in an attempt to phase the existing material, and to reconstruct the layout of the original monastic structures.

Summary

This thesis is not simply about determining where visitors' buildings were found, and what they looked like. It attempts to explore the deeper meanings of the social practice of higher-status hospitality, through a detailed examination of the way in which these structures were designed and constructed to regulate perception, use, and behaviour, or to convey meaning. For this to be accomplished, the research must employ a framework based upon a broadly contextual approach, in which the socially informed individual has an active role, in which meaning can be actively altered by social practice, and in which there is

allowance for the ritualisation of that practice. Finally, this research must be accompanied by a carefully designed and informed recording methodology, capable of interpreting evidence at level of detail hitherto unattempted with such structures. The recording process ultimately enabled a close reconstruction of specific *locales* of hospitality which, with other evidence, can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's *habitus*, from which social practice can be inferred.

CHAPTER 3. MONASTIC HOSPITALITY: INTERPRETING MATERIAL CULTURE

'The social ritual of the great household, at its most effective when presented for a large audience, was a coded language, designed to articulate both power and magnanimity.... 'keeping hospitality' expressed the vital, ethical element in what would otherwise be merely a functional description of the domestic unit.' (Heal 1990, 7)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 1 and 2 summarized previous efforts to explore monastic hospitality, and suggested ways in which recent theoretical archaeological approaches, accompanied by a developing recording methodology, might further illuminate this aspect of medieval life. This chapter begins to put such ideas and intentions into practice, by targeting as much published structural evidence as possible, thereby setting the stage for the detailed investigations into visitors' buildings at Stoneleigh Abbey and Gloucester Cathedral which follow in chapters four and five. Broadly reviewing our existing knowledge, it challenges some old theories, while suggesting new questions and hypotheses. Through emphasizing both the visual and physical impressions created by gatehouses and domestic structures, I hope to highlight ways in which they managed the experience of both hospitality and monastic life. It attempts to resolve some basic problems of identifying domestic visitors' buildings arising from a review of the assimilated material, by investigating and establishing some fundamental spatial criteria. This social setting is then given further substance through the examination of documentary evidence for 'semi-fixed' and 'non-fixed' elements (Rapoport 1982, 87-122), including furnishings and decoration, household personnel, and food and drink.

The sections which follow are specifically arranged to present the route of the visitor from the monastic gatehouse to the bedchamber, observing some of the buildings, spaces, and individuals encountered. These sections examine such encounters through evidence of very differing status and purpose, and attempt not to reconstruct, but to recognize and understand the perception of the guest.

The structural evidence has been collected from published excavation reports, architectural studies, building records, as well as guide books, pamphlets, and some site visits. The published material generally contains both written descriptions and valuable illustrative or photographic evidence. Specific, concentrated scholarship on a particular building form,

such as Fergusson's and Morant's work on gatehouses (1990a; 1995) is assessed in detail below.

In addition, documentary evidence representing the early, high and late medieval periods was selected from both monastic and secular contexts in order to highlight specific aspects of monastic hospitality. The choice of these particular sources was made primarily on their inclusion of evocative illustrations and incidental details of the reception, provision, and/or entertainment of guests. To counteract the inevitable biases of documents created with both acknowledged and subconscious motives, a wide variety of sources has been selected, which observe medieval life from a variety of social, economic, religious, and symbolic perspectives, whether secular or monastic. Bias is here both recognized and stated when important to an interpretation, and there is no suggestion that the information retrieved is either universally applicable to monasticism, or even chronologically constant within a monastic house. The information provided by them, however, as with the evidence of the buildings themselves, is employed primarily to provoke the exploration of particular social themes or concepts.

It is only by bringing evidence from these cultures and periods together, with the recognition of chronological change, that the true character of later medieval hospitality becomes apparent. The earliest medieval source examined is the sixth-century *Rule of St Benedict* (McCann 1952). This provides a carefully orchestrated code of conduct written to govern the isolated mountain convent of Monte Cassino in Italy, and gives a valuable insight into the idealised organization of a monastic house. The *Regularis Concordia* (Symmons 1953), dating from the tenth century, is a code of monastic law composed for the Synodal Council at Winchester to regulate the variety of monastic observances in use at the time. In many ways an elaboration on the *Rule*, it contains descriptive instructions for the treatment of guests of differing social status. The ninth-century plan of St Gall (Horn and Born 1979; also Price 1982) (fig.6), may be regarded as the illustrated equivalent of these two textual sources. Created as a guidance document for the rebuilding of the monastery of St Gall, and as 'an instrument of policy to inform and regulate monastic planning throughout the Frankish Empire' (Price 1982, 1), the plan represents an ideal, rather than actual, arrangement of buildings including rooms for receiving and accommodating guests. Twelfth-century sources include the *Summa cartae caritatis* from *c.*1119, a document concerning the construction and organization of the Cistercian

monastery (de la Croix Bouton and Van Damme 1974) ; the Canterbury waterworks plan (*c.*1160) (fig.7), providing a bird's eye view of the layout of visitors' buildings on a wealthy English Benedictine monastic site (Greene 1992, 109-110); the *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond* (Butler 1949), offering insights into everyday life at Bury St Edmunds; and Walter Daniel's *Vita Aelredi* which presents a brief glimpse into the early years of Rievaulx Abbey (Powick 1950). From the thirteenth century there survive the Beaulieu Abbey accounts of the expenditure and allowance of all major monastic offices between 1269 and 1270 (Hockey 1975), as well as the *Observances* for Barnwell Priory (Clark 1897) In the fourteenth century, monastic sources include the compotus rolls of Worcester (Wilson and Gordon 1908) and Selby's bursars' accounts (1398-99) (Tillotson 1988). The Bristol compotus rolls (1491-2) represent the fifteenth century (Sabin 1960). Finally, the sixteenth century provides a plethora of Dissolution inventories of abbeys and priories, accompanied by the Whalley Abbey bursar's accounts for 1520 (Ashmore 1962b), the Durham accounts (1530-34) (Raine 1844), and the *Rites of Durham* from 1593 (Fowler 1844). Again, these represent the main documentary sources used in the discussion of hospitality below, but they have been included selectively, and not as a comprehensive or exhaustive body of evidence.

3.2 Image and meaning - the Gatehouse

Recent descriptions of the structural nature and function of the monastic gatehouse, particularly from the disciplines of archaeology and architectural history, have hinged on three initial premises: that the gatehouse was one of the first buildings to be constructed on the monastic site (Fergusson 1990a, 51), that the model for the monastic gatehouse was the towered castle gatehouse, with flanking towers and passage (Morant 1995, 121), and that the proliferation of turreted, 'defensive' gatehouses in the later monastic period was largely a reaction to the social upheaval (see Wood 1965, 155), such as that created by the onset of Black Death in the mid fourteenth century (Platt 1984, 188). Further scholarship notes the construction of separate vehicular and pedestrian archways within the gatehouse (Gilyard-Beer 1958, 37; Fergusson 1990a, 55), particularly as an indicator of social status (*cf.* Lawrence 1989, 123) and emphasizes the structural and social dichotomy of inside/outside, and secular/religious embodied by the gate (Heal 1990, 8; Fergusson 1990a, 47). A closer examination of the published built and recorded evidence, however, hints that these interpretations may be only partial, and that the development and evolution

of the monastic gatehouse may have relied more on a developing monastic consciousness of the way in which the built environment could be employed to govern experiences of the monastic life.

Precedents for the gatehouse

The twelfth century is a critical period for understanding the evolution of the gatehouse. There is no known surviving timber or stone evidence in England prior to this date to suggest that a gatehouse was part of a general foundation routine. Thus, while Fergusson has stated that the gatehouse was an indispensable element of a new (especially Cistercian) monastery in twelfth century England, he was also puzzled by the fact that no gatehouse had yet been found from the first forty years of the Cistercians' establishment in the north of England, the first surviving instance of such a structure being at Kirkstall, built *c.*1170 (1990a, 51). Fergusson, however, like others (*cf.* Brakspear 1905, 12), based his belief in the existence of the early gatehouse upon segments of Cistercian statutes, in particular from the *Summa cartae caritatis* (*c.*1119), which states that prior to the establishment of a community, a 'gatekeeper's cell' had to be erected on the site (de la Croix Bouton and Van Damme 1974, 121). Further support is cited from the later twelfth-century *Vita Aelredi*, in which a visiting party was met by the 'keeper of the gate' (Powicke 1950, 14). The sixth-century *Rule of St Benedict*, in addition, states that an elderly monk should be appointed to the office of porter, to man the gate, and that he should be given a chamber near the gate (McCann 1952,153). But the comprehensive plan of St Gall, although detailing the need for agricultural buildings which would be recognized now as courtyard structures, shows no trace of a formal gatehouse controlling access to these regions, and instead relies upon a narthex on the west front of the church as a 'sorting room' from which guests were distributed (fig.6). Such an arrangement emphasises both the physical and social centrality of the church, and suggests that the symbolism embodied in later gatehouses may harken back to this intimate church and porch affiliation.

Excavations at the Augustinian priory at Thornholme (Linconshire) determined that the third phase of monastic occupation, dated *c.*1170, saw the construction of a two-storey stone building, with opposing doors and a garderobe, to the immediate south of a road surface. Although Coppack interpreted this as a guest house (1989, 188), it is more likely that this isolated structure was intended initially as a gatekeeper's cell, prior to the construction of a gatehouse proper. The first such structure appeared only in the

excavator's phase 4, dated by documentary evidence to *c.*1202 (fig.18b) (*ibid.*, 188). The title of gatekeeper, both before the twelfth century and later, suggests the existence of some physical feature, although this has not been substantiated by the archaeology. It may have simply been a road or track leading into the courtyard, which the gatekeeper monitored for traffic, as is again suggested by excavated remains at Thornholme (*ibid*, 187-8). Alternatively (or in addition), the house may have been enclosed by a definite physical boundary in the form of walls, banks, ditches or hedges, punctuated by a breach containing timber gates. What we are seeing in these differing forms of evidence is not simply the absence of a structure with significant spatial depth (a gatehouse rather than a gateway) on some sites throughout much of the twelfth century, but rather an emphasis on the role of a *human* barrier, in the form of a gatekeeper, to control entry to the site. The identity and role of this individual will be addressed later in this chapter.

Morant has suggested that the monastic gatehouse was the offspring of defensive, military architecture, noting the remnants of two eleventh-century towers flanking an otherwise fourteenth-century gatehouse range at Battle (Morant 1995, 121). Even if such an identification were reliable, the castle gatehouse from the eleventh century through to the late twelfth century still remained a simple opening between two defensive towers, only developing into a coherent structural form, incorporating the elements of flanking towers and passage, in the thirteenth century. Kenilworth Castle retains one of the earliest remaining examples from the 1220s (McNeill 1992, 98). Even so, the castle gatehouse as a structural entity was not quickly disseminated throughout the country. Morant's second proposed prototype (1995, 121; see also Platt 1984, 190), the four-storeyed St James' Tower at Bury St Edmunds (1120-48) (fig.15), also deviates from the later castle type and should be regarded as more significant in its function as a belfry, resembling Anglo-Saxon bell towers (Kerr 1983, 24-29) (figs.16). The gatehouse-*cum*-belfry combination is only found again in isolated instances, such as at Evesham, in the sixteenth century, as an access route to the cemetery (fig.17).

Maximizing the effect of the monastic gatehouse - a reconsideration

In Roland Morant's recent study *The Monastic Gatehouse* (1995), his most valuable contribution to an understanding of the siting and layout of gatehouses and gateways on monastic sites is the recognition that the further away from the monastic church a gatehouse was, the greater the probability that it would be positioned in the quarter directly west,

northwest, or north of the church, and aligned in such a way that the gate passage faced the church. Conversely, the closer the gate was to the west facade, the more likely it was that the gate would be aligned at a right angle to that facade (1995, 26-37). While this chapter makes no pretence to be an exhaustive study of monastic gatehouses, it builds upon the premise that Morant did not adequately exploit the potential of his observations for understanding the symbolism and meanings behind the monastic gate. Thus the discussion below re-examines and expands upon Morant's initial observations, relying primarily on those buildings still extant, but also incorporating documentary and illustrative evidence for the position, alignment, layout, and appearance of gatehouses which have since disappeared, and which Morant neglected to represent. These include post-Dissolution artists' views, which though often unreliable in decorative detail, can normally be shown to be accurate topographically where excavation or geophysical examination have taken place, as at Stoneleigh (see section 4.4). In addition, some structures included in Morant's data have been omitted due to their dubious identification as gatehouses - these primarily include porches attached to west ranges, which, on account of their differing function, are best included in the discussion of domestic guest buildings in section 3.3.

A spatial and stylistic typology

Conkey stated that, as archaeologists, we have traditionally approached and understood 'style' primarily through our classification of homologous data, ignoring the 'why' and 'how' in favour of the 'what' (1990, 5-6). More simply, style has mattered as an end in itself (Davis 1990, 23). Instead, we should regard style as a medium of social practice, or the communication of constructed meanings (Conkey 1990, 7 and 10-11). The creation of a spatial and stylistic topology of monastic gatehouses allows us to interpret the significance of type in the construction of meaning.

In this chapter, after an initial consideration of the gatehouse as an emerging building type in the twelfth century, monastic gatehouses associated with hospitality are categorized below into four groups, according to such 'diagnostic attributes' (*cf.* Davis 1990, 20) as physical position, axial orientation, and visual composition, in an attempt to recover these meanings. For the sake of convenience, these gatehouses will be described as 'pitched gabled', 'cross-placed' (Morant's terminology, 1995, 33), 'turreted', or 'towered'. By assessing the overall physical and visual impact of an arrangement of space and choice of building form on a medieval viewer, such a classification attempts to avoid creating single-

attribute archaeological types based solely, implicitly or explicitly, upon ground plans. These attributes are assessed within a corresponding chronological framework representing the twelfth through to the sixteenth centuries, as illustrated by figures 10-14, which supply some of Morant's data, with additions, in a graphic format demonstrating position and alignment not only according to construction date and monastic affiliation, but also corresponding with visual composition[1]. The trends or shifts observed through this compilation provides the foundation for a more probing enquiry into intention and meaning. Several factors, however, may affect the quality or reliability of these results. Obviously the earlier the structures that are being considered, the greater the likelihood that additional contemporary examples have either been incorporated into later buildings or entirely dismantled, and thus are missing from this study. Any site which has suffered extensive redevelopment following the Dissolution is unlikely to have retained peripheral structures, and where they are retained, they have often become completely dissociated from their original monastic contexts, and may remain undetected. Finally, the still-current widespread attitude which regards these buildings as peripheral not only in location but in intrinsic value, makes tracing esoteric scholarly work on such structures difficult.

Pitched gable gatehouses

Although few twelfth-century gatehouses survive to first-floor level, both their ground plans and accompanying (limited) documentary evidence suggest a compatibility with a high-pitched roof. The *pitched gable* gatehouse, as a structural and visual type, featured a ground-floor passage aligned with the ridge of the roof (figs.18a-j), accompanied by a first-floor chamber lit by opposing windows in the gables (figs.19a-q). It may have appeared first in an urban monastic setting, particularly in towns with an established circuit of pre-Norman defences such as at Canterbury and Hereford (Schofield and Vince 1994, 41 and

---

[1]Figure 8, corresponding with Appendix 1, presents most of the gatehouses used in this study, both those whose identity and position are firmly established (in red), as well as those for which such information is somewhat conjectural (in blue). Excluded are isolated gatehouses for which there is no information on position and alignment with relation to the remainder of the site. Figure 9 offers these details according to affiliation with the primary monastic orders examined in this thesis. In both, lines connect gatehouses on a single site, between which there is a concrete relationship (eg. outer and inner gates).
Figures 10 through 14 plot this information in chronological series, both according to the visual type employed in each (figs. 'a'), and according to passage alignment (figs. 'b'). Where such information is not available, the gatehouse is represented with a •. For each successive century, earlier structures are retained in grey, thereby demonstrate overall development. In order to present the evidence in comparable diagrams, cloisters and peripheral buildings to the north of the church have been inverted to a southern position. Thus a gate to the northwest of the church is plotted to the southwest.

163; also Platt 1976, 41-43). The Canterbury Waterworks Plan from *c.*1160 (fig.7), details the physical relationship between the city and monastery, the stone walls and gates of the precinct backing on to and contained within the limits of the crenellated city walls and gatehouse. It illustrates a pitched gable Court Gate, built *c.*1153+, with a row of blind semi-circular arcading above the inner doors and a gable pierced by two small windows. This may be emerging as a fashionable arrangement for a monastic gatehouse; while a complete twelfth-century arrangement no longer survives, being either destroyed or rebuilt at first-floor level, a remarkably similar composition is found in the thirteenth-century outer facade of St Mary's gatehouse at Gloucester (fig.19a), which, while employing pointed openings instead of semi-circular, appears to be modelled on the twelfth-century prototypes (and indeed retains late twelfth-century vaulting in its passage, prompting a suggestion that the facades are perhaps original to the structure, and not the result of rebuilding, as is suggested in the VCH (1988, 281; also Heighway 2000, 9). If it was this urban environment which fostered a desire to distinguish between the secular and monastic spheres of influence so physically, rural monastic houses may have been inheritors of the practice, hence explaining the absence of gatehouses on rural sites until the latter part of the twelfth century.

Twelfth-century gatehouses in this study appear to have been scattered generally northwest, west, or southwest of the west front of the monastic church (fig.10a). With the exception of the great gate at Bristol, each gatehouse falls at or beyond a fifty metre radius of the west front. This widespread scatter is in part due to the Cistercian preference for distant gate positions, dictated by an interest in securing large expanses of the rural landscape. The alignment of gatehouse passages (fig.10b) may suggest that the church or the west range were focal points. Notably, gatehouses positioned along the axis of the west front and west range were regularly aligned north-south, drawing visitors along the length of the facades. Only the Benedictine gatehouses at Bristol (abbot's gate), Peterborough and Gloucester directly faced the church and west range respectively.

The thirteenth century (fig.11a) saw gatehouse construction centred around the church. Pitched gable gatehouses were routinely aligned north-south within the fifty metre radius (fig.11b, Lewes, Minster in Sheppey, the abbot's gate at Peterborough, Repton, and St Osyth). In order to reach domestic buildings, the visitor crossed in front of the west front of the church. Further gatehouses were constructed at least one hundred metres west of

the west front, thereby 'framing' the church in the gate passage aligned east-west (Fountains, Lanercost, Thornholme). Although the Cistercians persisted in constructing gates approximately 175 metres from the church (Beaulieu, Furness), some inner gates were placed at or within 100 metres of the west front (Cleeve, Fountains). The construction of additional, inner gates by other orders may account in part for gates within fifty metres of the church (the abbot's gate at Peterborough, accompanying the great gate further west), although the limited remains on some sites makes precise functional attribution of 'inner', 'outer', or 'great' impossible.

With the appearance of the *cross placed* and *turreted* gatehouses in the fourteenth century (see below), the pitched gable gatehouse no longer held a monopoly, although it remained a popular type (fig.12a). The Cistercians, in particular, refrained from employing the new styles of gatehouse, instead constructing pitched gables at Beaulieu (fig.19b), Cleeve (rebuilt, fig,.19c and d), Forde, Kingswood (fig.19m), Stoneleigh (fig.19h), and Whalley (fig.19p). Non-Cistercian houses at Butley (fig.19j), Calder, Easby (fig.19n), Gloucester (inner/abbot's gate, fig.19e), Maxstoke (outer gate, fig.19f and g), Norwich (St. Ethelbert's gate, fig.19k) also continued with the pitched gable type, often accompanied by gatehouses of other forms, while in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, pitched gatehouses at Durham, Lacock (inner gate), Letheringham (fig.19o), and Norwich (Erpingham gate, fig.19 l) were constructed. Although many pitched gable gatehouses display evidence of later rebuilding, the retention of the type throughout subsequent phases suggests a similar precursor. The inner gate at Cleeve (fig.19c), for example, was rebuilt in both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Morant 1995, 194), while that at Tavistock (fig.19q) was rebuilt in the fifteenth century (Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 783).

The facades of pitched gable gatehouses required the close attention of the viewer, relying on carefully chosen imagery rather than structural features to make an impression. Messages imparted through armorial shields, or figurative or relief sculpture set in gable niches, for example, might be of particular interest, since they emphasise the importance of lay or religious affiliation, but the useful comparison of such evidence is restricted by a poor survival rate. At Beaulieu (inner), Butley (fig.19j), Cleeve (fig.19c), Gloucester (fig.19a), Kingswood (fig.19m), Letheringham (fig.19o), Maxstoke (fig.19f), Monk Bretton, and Norwich (St Ethelbert's gate, fig.19k), for example, there are single or multiple empty niches over passage arches. At Cleeve, the outer face still retains a carving

of the Virgin, with the Child on her left arm and the lily (a symbol of the Annunciation, also found on a mullion on the front facade at Kingswood) in her right hand, while on the rear facade is a scene of the Crucifixion (Morant 1995, 81-82). Religious imagery is also found at Malling, where a series of shields represent the Passion of Christ (Morant 1995, 155). Similarly, the gatehouse at Butley retains shields representing the Passion, with further depictions of the arms of England, France, the Holy Roman Empire, alternating with fleur-de-lys, grotesques, and various human heads (Caröe1933, 235). At Kirkham (fig.19i), a central relief of the crucifixion (now missing) was flanked by Saint George and the dragon on one side, and David and Goliath on the other, while above, a seated Christ is accompanied by Saint Bartholomew and Saint Philip. These are surrounded by series of shields with the arms of patrons (Peers 1988, 2-3). Dugdale identified the arms of the founder, Henry II, on the outer facade of the gatehouse at Stoneleigh (fig.19h; Dugdale 1721, 445), while over the gate arch at Monk Bretton (outer gate) and Kingswood, an angel holds a shield depicting the arms of the abbey (Graham and Bilyard-Beer 1986, 6; Morant 1995, 82).

Surviving evidence suggests that a widely employed feature of the gate passage throughout the periods concerned was blind arcading extending from the outer to the inner archways of the gate facades. Examples survive in twelfth-century gatehouses not only at Canterbury (Court Gate; Morant 1995, 143), but also within great gates at Evesham (*c.*1139-43) (fig.20a), Bristol (fig.20b), St Mary's, York (fig.20c), Hexham (*c.*1160) and Peterborough (*c.*1177-94). Intriguingly, in each instance the blind arcading has survived later rebuilding programmes, to be incorporated into new gatehouse designs. Furthermore, blind arcading on gatehouse passage walls continues to be newly constructed as a form of sculpted embellishment throughout the monastic period, being found, for example, on the passage walls of the great gate at Durham, built *c.*1500 (Morant 1995, 111). Although the passage was often a single, continuous space, with uniform structural and decorative material throughout, some gate passages were bisected by a cross-wall, creating a 'lobby' before and a 'gatehall' after. In certain instances, different vaulting or ceiling types might be constructed to either side of the cross-wall. At both Reading (inner gate, fourteenth century) and Whalley (inner gate, *c.*1480), for example, a tunnel vault covers the lobby before the cross-wall, while simple timber boarding covers the inner gatehall (Morant 1995, 161, 168). Although neither example has yet been recorded in detail, there is thus far no

suggestion that the difference in ceiling types is the result of rebuilding. Rather, it is quite possible that further examples of this differentiation have since disappeared.

Cross-placed gatehouses

The term *cross-placed* (Morant 1995, 33) ideally describes a gate passage aligned perpendicular (ie. north-south) to the east-west axis of the nave of the monastic church. While this alignment had already appeared in numbers during the thirteenth-century (fig.11b), a distinctive style of gatehouse developed in the fourteenth century to accompany it. A *cross-placed* gatehouse consisted of a symmetrical range of rooms adjoining both lateral walls of the passage (figs.21a-l, 22a-g). This arrangement maximized the outer and inner facades, providing large expanses of wall surface flanking either side of the passage, allowing windows to light the spaces inside. It also necessitated the use of buttresses to support the front and rear walls, normally arranged to flank either side of the entrance/exit arches, and at each corner. This type included some notable half-timbered examples, at Bromfield (fig.21i and j), Polesworth (fig.21 l), and Wigmore (fig.21k). The results are also demonstrated by the surviving facades and plans of Bridlington (figs.21c, 22a), Bardney (fig.22c), Dover, Langley (figs.22e), Reading (fig.21a), and St Albans (figs.21d and 22b), Thornholme (fig.22d), and perhaps even Cartmel (figs.21f and 22f). This form remained popular, examples being found at Abbotsbury, Abingdon (fig.21g), Bardney (fig.22c), Blanchland, Dunstable, and Great Malvern (fig.21h) in the fifteenth century.

In the fourteenth century, the cross-placed gatehouse was generally erected in two distinct areas (fig.12a), either within fifty metres due west of the west front, as at Dover, Langley, Reading, and St Albans, or between fifty and one hundred and fifty metres due west of the church, at Bardney, Bromfield, Cartmel, and Thornholme. Also beyond the fifty metre radius, more isolated instances of cross-placed gatehouses are found southwest at Bridlington and Wigmore, north at Worksop, and southeast at Maxstoke. The distinction between *under* or *over* fifty metres is significant on the basis of passage alignments (fig.12b). Within the first group, as well as at Bridlington, Wigmore, and Worksop, passages were aligned north-south, whilst in the second, passages faced the church, east-west. In the fifteenth century (figs.13a and b; also 14a and b), this attention to position and alignment was further sharpened. The passages of three gates constructed next to the church, at Great Malvern, Dunstable, and Blanchland, were aligned north-south. At fifty metres, Bardney was aligned east-west, as are Abingdon and Abbotsbury further beyond.

Thus, there was an increasingly distinct correlation between the proximity of the gatehouse to the church, and passage alignment.

Although the broad facade created by the cross-placed gatehouse provided a blank canvas upon which to exercise artistic inclinations, it remained relatively unadorned. The exception is the fifteenth-century gatehouse at Great Malvern (fig.21h), which sports two levels of elegant cinquefoil arcading across the facade. Otherwise, builders employed decorative focal points similar to those on the pitched gable. A niche at Abingdon (fig.21g) contains a figure of the Virgin (Pevsner 1966, 55), while those on the outer facade of Worksop (fig.21b) hold images of St Augustine, St Cuthbert (the patron saint), and the Trinity (Cook 1960, 55). The arms of the founders are found flanking the pedestrian's archway at Llanthony (fig.21e) (Morant 1995, 187).

The development of the cross-placed gatehouse from the pitched gable type, and its significance, may be understood through a closer consideration of the highly decorated, late thirteenth-century gatehouse at Kirkham (fig.18g and 19i), a building which does not, however, belong to this group. A recent attempt to pinpoint a construction date based of the evidence of sculptural ornament has concluded that the gatehouse was erected *c.*1300 (Goodman 1999, 50), therefore around the time of the emergence of the cross-placed gatehouse, as at Reading (fig.21a). Positioned over fifty metres directly northwest of the monastic church, and aligned to overlook the west front, the gatehouse is a single-phase structure incorporating both gate and domestic accommodation. Although parallels might be suggested from Canterbury (Court Gate and *Aula Nova,* fig.7) Gloucester (St. Mary's gate, fig.18a), Bardney (inner gate, fig.18d), and Monk Bretton (great gate, fig.18e), each of these consists of two distinct phases, the domestic range being a later addition to the gatehouse. Crucially, Kirkham's plan demonstrates that the gate passage extended well beyond the width of the domestic range, suggesting that builders were still employing the pitched gable over the gatehouse proper, necessitating the construction of a separate roof to cover the abutting range. Technically, while this arrangement was satisfactory for structural additions to pre-existing pitched gable gatehouses, fourteenth-century gatehouses at Maxstoke (fig.22g) and Wigmore (fig.21k) demonstrate that in single-phase gatehouses with contemporary ranges, the preferred arrangement of the joined spaces was under one roof placed lengthwise to, rather than aligned with, the gate passage. This dictated that the gatehouse be no deeper than the width of the adjacent and perpendicular range. Thus a

cross-placed roof was economical, requiring both less time and timber than the Kirkham example.

Turreted gatehouses

The *turreted* gatehouse found immediate and sustained favour within the Benedictine Order in particular, although the Augustinians and Premonstratensians also employed it in number. Perhaps most lavishly represented by the great gate at Thornton (fig.23f and g), the main structural body was flanked by two or more turrets projecting from the front facade, and often by additional ones from the rear. These might be square in plan, as at Ely (fig.23j and 24b) and Alnwick (fig.24c), but were more often multangular. They sometimes encased small closets (Ely fig.24b; Thornton, fig.24i; Torre, fig.24f; Worcester, fig.24d), provided a forward bay extension of a large floor space occupying the area above the gate passage (Pentney, fig.24h; St Osyth, fig.24j), or might be contrived simply as a buttressing mass of stone (Colchester, fig.24g). Sometimes, however, turrets encased spiral stairs communicating between floors of a multi-storey structure. Both spiral staircases and those stairways encased in squared elevations or within the mass walls tended to be placed on the rear facade of the gatehouse, as at Colchester (fig.24g), Ely (fig.24b), St. Osyth (fig.24j), Thornton (fig.24i), Torre (fig.24f), Worcester (fig.24d).

Unlike cross-placed gates, fourteenth-century turreted gatehouses were routinely constructed beyond the fifty metre radius of the west front, with the sole exception of Alnwick (fig.12a). Directly west, and aligned east-west, were Peterborough and Tynemouth (fifty to one hundred metre range), and Thornton (over 200 metres) (figs.12a and b). To the southwest, turreted gatehouse passages were directed towards the west range (i.e. guest accommodation), as at Torre, St Augustine's Canterbury, and Bury St Edmunds. Within one hundred metres north of the church were Battle and Waltham, aligned north-south to overlook the west front. Incongruously, the great gate at Worcester was situated to the east of the cloister, due to the inconvenient position of a river along the western facade. It cannot be coincidence that those gatehouses directly west of the church or west range contain passages aligned consistently east-west, while those to the north or northwest are also turned to face the church (ie. north-south). This feature is particularly noticeable in contrast to the alignment of cross-placed gatehouses within the fifty metre radius.

What the turrets embellished, however, was a plan otherwise identical to that found in the cross-placed gatehouse, including a passageway flanked by symmetrical domestic or administrative space, and creating broad expanses of wall surface to either side. The first appearance of the turreted monastic gatehouse, at least on the basis of surviving remains, is the abbot's gatehouse at Peterborough (fig.23a and 24a), in which flat, square turrets, conceived solely as solid-mass, decorative buttresses, flank either side of the passage arch, and include large niches with statues of religious figures. The gable, however, is pointed, containing an additional niche and statue, and the plan, with the exception of the turrets, otherwise copies the pitched gable plan discussed previously. Thus, this visual enhancement of the facade still relies on the basic pitched-gable design which preceded it. Furthermore, the position of this turreted example, within fifty metres of the west front and placed perpendicular to it, has no other parallel for the remainder of the medieval period (see figs.11a-14a). Following the Peterborough example was Fyndon Gate at St. Augustine's, Canterbury (1300-09) (fig.23b), the construction of the great gate at Bolton, (early fourteenth century), and of Bury St. Edmunds (1327-46) (fig.23c), all to the southwest beyond 100 metres. The rebuilt great gate at Battle (*c.*1338) (fig.23d and e), and that at Alnwick (mid fourteenth century) (fig.23i), were positioned to the north. Interestingly, the Canterbury example conceals a pitched gable type ground plan, while Bolton employs 'mock' turret buttresses, linking them with the Peterborough gate. Post-1350 turreted gatehouses include Torre (fourteenth century, fig.23m and 24f), Waltham (*c.*1370), Worcester (1378, fig.23o and 24d), Tynemouth (late fourteenth), Thornton (late fourteenth, fig.23f-g and 24i), Ely (1396-97, fig.23j and 24b), and Pentney (late fourteenth/early fifteenth, fig.24h), as well as those of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, at Ramsey (fig.24e), St Osyth (figs.23n and 24j), and Colchester (figs.23l and 24g).

Crenellation was a common feature of the turreted gatehouse. Coulson has suggested that this was an architectural expression of nobility, of 'divine lordship'. The church was the main focus, but the exclusive and walled close as a whole had a symbolism as eloquent as that of the castellated gentry-residence (1982, 72). Furthermore, the crenellations themselves were less important than the walls and gates, and were only an 'incidental supplement' which merely emphasized the 'jurisdictional mantle' of the Church (1982, 74-75). That turreted gatehouses were at least symbolically defensive is not denied, and is indeed supported by further evidence provided by the buildings themselves - for example, the arrow slits set in the facade at Bury and Battle, and the position of Alnwick on

borderlands between Scotland and England. But in practical terms, most gatehouses, with their proliferation of large windows, were hardly capable of withstanding serious opposition in the way that strictly defensive fortifications might (Coulson 1982, 91). Thus whatever defensive nature might be attributed to the turreted gatehouse, it was largely symbolic.

Decorative sculpture on the turreted gatehouse reflected that of the pitched gable and cross-placed types. At Alnwick (fig.23h and i), Battle (fig.23d and e), Ely (fig.23j), Canterbury St Augustine's (fig.23b), and St Osyth (fig.23n), for example, the niches which probably once contained figures are now vacant. At Thornton, while several niches are empty, the primary ones above the entrance arch hold images of the Virgin, St John the Baptist, and probably St Augustine, while above are a seated Christ and an angel holding a spear and crown of thorns (Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1989, 21). St George and the Dragon, and St Michael, are carved in relief in the spandrels of the entrance arch at St Osyth, which is otherwise flanked by empty niches (RCHME 1922, 203).

Tower gatehouses

The final variety of monastic gatehouse, one now found on a select few sites, is primarily a variation on previous types, but is described separately by merit of its later date and distinct appearance. It takes the form of a crenellated square or rectangular tower above a passage. Such gatehouses can be found at Tewkesbury (fig.25b), Michelham (Fig.25c), Wetheral, Blanchland, and Whalley (fig.25e), and also once existed at St Mary's, York (fig.28a) and Norton Priory (fig.25d), and their visual schemes draw extensively on their precursors. Given their late fifteenth-century dates, and the nature of their plans and elevations, it may be that the tower gatehouse developed primarily as a result of the proliferation of turreted gatehouses, from an initial form based on the pitched gable gatehouse, but with the roof pitch lowered to complement the fifteenth-century battlements which could also be found adorning military, domestic, and church architecture of the period. The gatehouse at Michelham, constructed against a moat, employed a similar multi-storey tower design in the early fifteenth century (fig.25c). Most compelling are those examples which display evidence, in the form of the passage and general plan, of an earlier pitched gable form, as is found at St Mary's, York (fig.25a). The use of crenellated buttresses at the corners of the facade, recalling the earliest turreted gatehouses at Peterborough and Bolton, also therefore draw upon the pitched gable tradition. Interestingly, the abbot's eastern gatehouse at Tavistock, rebuilt in the fifteenth century, still

retains its pitched gable form (fig.19q), but with added machicolations and turrets at the corners, demonstrating that elements of gatehouses of vastly different designs could be and were deliberately combined to update older forms.

In spite of the tower gatehouse's composite genealogy, and its isolated and late occurrence, one observation of its position and alignment is justified by figures 14a and b. The gate passages of these buildings are consistently aligned to overlook the church, with the single exception of the abbot's gate at Whalley. Accordingly, these buildings were constructed beyond the fifty metre radius in the same regions preferred for turreted and pitched gable gatehouses.

The construction of meaning in the monastic gatehouse

Messages in changing form

Gatehouse position, alignment, and visual design - the 'type' of gatehouse - characterized specific sets of meanings for the visitor. While the twelfth century saw the development of a basic form of monastic gatehouse, including a specific vocabulary of passage ornamentation, the thirteenth century witnessed the coalescing of structures to a specific location in the courtyard, reflecting in their position what twelfth-century builders apparently intended by overall facade design. Thereafter, the chronological stability of position, alignment and decorative embellishment in the pitched gable gatehouse passage suggests not a passive attitude towards the passage, favouring evolving gatehouse facades, but rather, an active awareness that an existing formula retained its functional and symbolic validity in spite of centuries of use. Repetitive, schematic blind arcading, as artistic ornamentation, was capable of achieving what other forms of isolated or stylistically complex decoration could not - it ensured that the viewers attention was not distracted, but continually channelled forward, and into, the courtyard and towards the primary target, the monastic church. Such an interpretation is further supported by the distinction in ceiling types before and after a cross-wall. Thus, if a visitor stood before the cross-wall in the lobby before being admitted to the monastic house, eyes were drawn to detail deliberately placed to attract and hold attention, but upon entering the gate-hall such overhead detail was omitted so as not to distract the guest from the central focus of monastic life, the church. Both the blind arcading and the differences in ceiling types suggest an intention to manipulate the visitor's experience of the gatehouse and monastery, demonstrating that contemplation was being deliberately channelled to emphasize the inner, monastic, aspect.

With the initial recognition that gatehouses could be employed to manage perceptions of the monastery came yet another effective means of enhancing those perceptions. Cross-placed gatehouses, particularly those positioned next to the church, were an attractive option for two reasons. First and foremost, by the omission of strongly visible structural features, such as turrets, from the front facade, the attention of approaching visitors could be focussed primarily on the monastic church. Furthermore, once the visitor's direction and field of vision had passed by the west front, and was therefore focussed towards the gate, the broad facade of the structure invited strong visual messages, in the form of isolated, carefully chosen armorial and/or religious carvings (e.g. Llanthony (fig.21e); Abingdon, fig.21g). Thus the gatehouse served several purposes, presenting not only the church to its greatest advantage, but also marshalling awareness of the religious, social and economic privileged status of the house. While Kirkham's choice of ornamentation was deliberate (fig.19i), its approach to facade decoration directly challenged the desired effect of both the pitched gable and cross-placed gatehouse - it was a deliberate eye-catcher, and would have monopolized attention, even in its distant position. It apparently remained an isolated example of an undesirable effect, although its overall survival does suggest that it was appreciated.

The recognized visual and symbolic impact of the turret on monastic buildings is sustained by, for example, the fact that the Cistercian chapter passed legislation prohibiting their use on churches, considering them a distraction from spiritual devotion (and a distraction from the church). The image of the turreted gatehouse, however, experimented with in the Peterborough example, was conceived prior to a recognition of the impact such a gate could have if both its alignment and position were controlled. Turreted gatehouses as a whole, and not simply their crenellations and other military paraphernalia, can be seen not simply as a visual deterrent to violent intentions, but again as a reflection of something much more central to the monastic ideology. When positioned over fifty metres from the church, the turrets on the gatehouse mirrored the rising towers of the tallest structure in the precinct, whether it be the towers of west front or crossing, or lesser spires over the transepts or east end. One led the eye to the other.

Thus the significance of the monastic church to the relationship between the precinct and the outside cannot be overstated. Recalling the ninth-century plan of St Gall, it is crucial

to our understanding of monasticism, and of hospitality, that we recognize the decisive relationship between the gatehouse (the narthex at St Gall) and the church. Particularly within an evolving monastic environment, one receptive to the demands of secular patrons and peers, the church reaffirmed the religious character of the house when the secular nature of the hospitality the visitor received might not. The gatehouse was intended to manage the relationship between the visitor and this powerful symbol.

Inner versus outer facades

The inner facade of the gatehouse normally received a less decorative treatment than the outer face. This, to some extent, contradicts Morant's conclusion that the inner and outer facades of monastic gatehouses were generally treated in the same manner, due to the two-way regulatory function of keeping inhabitants in and strangers out, contrasting with a castle gatehouse's one-way control (1995, 23-24). More often than not, statues and associated niches, armorial shields and blind arcading are found on the front facade only (Thornton, figs.23f and g; Canterbury St Augustine, Fyndon gate, fig.23b). This rule can extend to windows and arches- the more heavily moulded or traceried examples were normally placed on the outer face. Occasionally, an oriel window graces the front, while a less obtrusive opening lights the back (Bromfield, fig.21i and j). Only in rare examples, however, do the front and rear facades receive similar treatment, as at Battle (figs.23d and e). The concentration on the outer facade suggests that symbols of any kind were primarily directed towards incomers.

The inclusion of single or flanking stair turrets on the cross-placed or pitched gable gatehouse was unusual, but where they were constructed, they were confined to the rear or inner face of the gatehouse, while the front face remained turretless. Instances of such an arrangement are still found, for example, at Reading (inner gate, fig.21a), St Albans (fig.21d), and Maxstoke (outer gate)(fig.21g). The turret's significance in the visual image of the turreted gatehouse suggests that its exclusion from the front face of the gatehouse in these examples was deliberate. However, the reasons for their inclusion on the rear facade are unclear. Since the symbolic, rather than practical, nature of turreted gatehouses' defensive capabilities has already been stated, the incorporation of stairways within rear turrets cannot simply be attributed to protective measures. A desire to emphasize the inner face of the gatehouse more elaborately contradicts both the evidence of the turrets employed on the outer face of gates, as well as further evidence which suggests that in the

majority of cases, the inner face received a less elaborate treatment that than the outer. It may be that the meanings embodied by the turret differed according to their placement, and that those interpreted through the turreted front facade did not operate on the rear.

Conformity and innovation

Not only did different monastic orders favour different gatehouse types (for example, the Cistercian preference for pitched gable gatehouses) but the choice of a gatehouse design might reflect a direct response to a gatehouse of a different order, particularly amongst houses within a close geographical area. The gatehouses of St Osyth (fig.23n) and Colchester (fig.23 l) in Essex, for example, represent the Benedictines and Augustinians respectively, and their visual similarity, only in part accounted for by the materials used in their construction, suggests communication and even competition between houses. A similar argument could be made for the relationship between Reading and St Albans, both of which constructed cross-placed gatehouses with rear-flanking turrets. But experimentation also had a part to play in the gatehouses, such as at Kirkham (fig.19i), Butley (fig.19j), Norwich (figs.19k), and Thornton (fig.23f). Here, features and forms with recognized meanings were manipulated into new arrangements. It has already been demonstrated that the Kirkham gatehouse, in spite of an apparent longstanding appreciation of its 'beauty', did not really work as a gatehouse, because it undermined the spatial and interpretative relationships between the gatehouse and church. At Thornton, the extravagant form of the gatehouse may only have been permissible on account of the distance between the gatehouse and church - it may be that such a gatehouse would have undermined the gatehouse/church relationship if positioned nearer the church.

While some preference can, as stated previously, be attributed to the geographical location of different monastic sites, including relationships with urban or rural populations or borderland conflict, this fails to explain the Cistercians' persistent attraction to pitched gable gatehouses. While Cistercian legislation had repeatedly attempted to quell elaborate architecture and decoration, surviving remains of Cistercian churches, at which much of this legislation was directed, testify to the ineffectual nature of these statues. Why, then, did the Cistercians not experiment with new designs in their gatehouses in the same way that they did in their churches? While it might be possible to speculate on this phenomenon, none of the complete surviving examples have ever been studied in detail, and only the detailed

examination of a Cistercian gatehouse, determining its intended original character as well as any changes to that character, will provide some answers.

Segregation, transition, and enclosure

The gatehouse is traditionally regarded as part of an enclosure representing seclusion and security, a conscious and deliberate attempt to shield, isolate, and protect the religious world from the secular world (Fergusson 1990a, 47; Coulson 1982, 73-74). Certainly, some of the gatehouse's accompanying functions appear to corroborate this desire, since its use as a centre for business and administration, or for the distribution of alms and the accommodation of visitors, also seem to suggest that whatever contact must be had with the outside world, it was carefully regulated and contained at the point where the two cultural spheres met. Felicity Heal, writing on hospitality in early modern secular England, has described the gate as 'a transitional structure that stood between the general territory of the stranger and the particular environment of the household. To cross it was to undertake the crucial transformation from stranger (even if known) into guest' (1990, 8). This elementary dichotomy of outside/inside, or secular/religious, is reiterated by many scholars interpreting the role of the monastic gatehouse (*cf.* Fergusson 1990a, 47). In this context, walls and gates are regularly perceived as signalling 'enclosure', in terms of a house's desire for seclusion or separation from the outside world (Coulson 1982, 73). Both images, however, may over-simplify the role of the gate in managing social encounters.

We have already seen the way in which the gatehouse could manage a visitor's interaction with the church. Taking this a step further, the gatehouse could also establish a visual link with the west cloister range, thereby allowing builders to control by inference the visitors' impressions of cloistered life. As demonstrated by gatehouse alignments from the twelfth century onwards (figs.10b-14b), the west range had already been singled out for attention. This was done by uniting the west claustral range and church not only physically, but in visual arrangement, using a vocabulary which secular visitors could recognize and appreciate. Unfortunately, the survival of church, west range, and gatehouse on a single site, without substantial rebuilding, is rare. At Battle, there is a clear link between the appearance of the abbot's lodgings in the west range and the great gatehouse to the northwest (fig.26), in particularly through the use of crenellations. At Castle Acre, a twelfth-century church facade employing repeating schemes of tall, narrow blind arcading, was reproduced in the remodelled, fifteenth-century prior's lodging (fig.27), by the

construction of an oriel window with tall, narrow, cusped lights, supported by multi-ordered moulded base. A similar window was created in the western gable end of the building. A frontal view of the west range alongside the church (a model created on the basis of surviving evidence for plan and elevation) demonstrates an effort to maintain continuity of design, particularly through the employment of pitched gables over the chambers, porch and minor entries, and the gable end of the south range (fig.28).

The gatehouse is a structure in which the possibilities for exploring 'multiple meanings' targeting different social groups becomes apparent. If the gatehouse was a 'transitional' or 'liminal' structure (see pp.20-21), it also signalled a desire to keep inhabitants *within* the boundaries. Fergusson suggested that by screening the monastic population from secular culture by means of physical barriers, the constant temptation to abandon vows was not removed, but concealed. Walter Daniel, however, in describing the life of Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, at the end of the twelfth century, gave us a rare documentary glimpse into the internal significance of the precinct gates and walls, one which suggests that the presence of such structures did not necessarily quell temptation to forsake the monastic life. A former secular clerk, attempting to abandon his newly-adopted monastic life for the second time, found that although the monastic gates were open for him '*quasi murum ferreum sensit aerium inanitatem*' (he felt the empty air as though it were a wall of iron) (Powick 1950, 31). In a rage he grasped the door and tried to force himself through, but Aelred '*contra illum aerum clauserat*' (had shut the air against him) through his prayers. For Daniel, the monastic gate and its accompanying walls represented not only a physical, but also a spiritual prohibition to forsaking vows. It is perhaps in this context of containment which we should view the transitional element.

'Signposting'

A final element of the relationship between the monastic gatehouse and the church was one which also supports the hypothesis of encouraging access, involves the notion of 'signposting'. By consistently presenting the western end of the monastic church through the careful positioning and alignment of the gatehouse, the builder informed the visitor of the liturgical, if not the cardinal, points of the compass. With such knowledge, the religiously-aware visitor could, by means of the standard monastic plan, direct himself to the appropriate departments within the precinct. In making the visitor aware of the layout of the house, additional codes regarding the right of secular access to and behaviour within

a space could be imparted by individual layout and decoration. These codes also distinguished between visual access and more restricted physical access, whereby the visitor might be encouraged to witness, but not necessarily actively participate in, monastic life. Thus while the typical monastic plan was in part a regularization of domestic structures to reflect the ordered schedule of the monastic hours lifestyle in general, its continued use reflected a need to make the monastic house accessible, and comfortable, to those individuals whose favour, demonstrated through the code of *reciprocal* hospitality, was so critical to these orders' survival.

Human interaction and the gatehouse

The porter

In the *Rule,* a servant of the monastery, or perhaps a *conversus*, and not a monk, was given the full-time duty of porter. This is reasonable, when it is considered that a full-time porter would be unable to attend the monastic offices which were so critical to the identity of a monk. He was described as *senex sapiens* - an elderly man who would be unlikely to wander from his post, and who could take and receive messages accurately (McCann 1952, 153), although there is no evidence from later sources to testify to the age of monastic gatekeepers. It was necessary that the porter be wise enough to question visitors tactfully concerning their business, and that he be conscious of the social hierarchy which defined both visitors' status in society, and his own superior or inferior role in relation to them. The *Rule* states that the proper greeting to anyone who knocked or hailed him was *'Deogratias' or 'Benedic'* (McCann1952, 153). It was the porter who was responsible for the initial decision of which buildings or individuals a visitor might be directed to. Such a servant of the monastery is found in the *Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond*, a late twelfth-century work written at Bury St Edmunds, and concerned primarily with the life of one of its great abbots, Samson (1182-1211)(Butler 1949). Although Jocelin says little about the nature of walls or gateways giving access into or out of the abbey, he does recount an incident involving the gatekeeper, called Richard, of whom obedientiaries had complained that he was testifying against them in lawsuits. The punishment meted out to Richard was that suitable to a servant- a loss of pay, although it was not possible to confiscate legally the accompanying corrody which belonged to the office of gatekeeper, 'as was testified in his charter', since a corrody was a guaranteed lifetime annuity (*ibid.* 1949, 117). Likewise, the compotus rolls for St Augustine's, Bristol, list the porter receiving wages of 26*s.* 8*d.*, and board of 34*s.* 8*d.*, so that his total for each account year of 1491-92 and 1511-12 was £3

1*s.* 4*d.* (Bristol Record Soc. 1938, 63). In the sixteenth-century chronicle of Butley Priory, in Suffolk, the porter is still listed as a servant of the priory, one William Sympson (Dickens 1951, 71-3). Similarly, in the Beaulieu Abbey accounts, the porter is not a monk and is given an annual allowance of clothing and foodstuffs, suggesting that he had a lifetime corrody from the abbey (Hockey 1975,172-175). While it is possible that porters for other houses were taken from the monastic community rather than from secular circles, and thereby did not figure in the accounts of the house, the arrangement suggested by the *Rule* in the sixth century does seem to have been maintained throughout the medieval period, a layman assuming the role of porter, and a corrody designated to support his office.

The spatial provisions for the porter, his living and working accommodation, have been tentatively identified in association with monastic gatehouses at Abbotsbury, Battle, Bridlington (fig.22a, identified by 'P'), Bromfield, Cleeve, Colchester, Dunkeswell, Hyde, Kenilworth, Kingswood, Kirkham (fig.18g), Polesworth, Maxstoke (fig.18i), Minster in Sheppey, Monk Bretton (fig.18e), Repton, Roche, Thornton (fig.24i), Thornholme (fig.18b), Walsingham, Wetheral, Whalley, Worcester (fig.24d), Worksop, and York, although certainly there were more. Criteria generally include, quite reasonably, a close physical, ground-floor relationship with the gate passage, a doorway between the two spaces, and, occasionally, squints overlooking the passage or the region of road leading up to the outer facade of the gatehouse (see Maxstoke, figs.18i and 19f). Only at Walsingham has an upper floor space been associated with the porter, and here also it is suggested that a carving over the first-floor window represents the porter himself (Morant 1995,167), a feature which is certainly exceptional (if correctly identified). The physical comfort of the porter, however, has received less attention. In the instances where plans or elevations have been published, it appears that while doorways allowing interaction with visitors were a necessity, a fireplace and garderobe were not, although some degree of uncertainty must exist when published plans are unphased and the identification of features within a plan are far from clear. The outer gatehouse at Maxstoke provides squints and a garderobe, but no fireplace, for the porter's accommodation (figs.18i and 19f) (Holliday 1878, 75-77). On the other hand, the late fourteenth-century porter's accommodation at Thornton has a large fireplace in the southern wall of the porter's room (fig.24i), and the fifteenth-century porter's accommodation in Monk Bretton's outer gate also appears to have both fireplace and garderobe (fig.18e). While there has not yet been enough detailed examination of such lodgings to confirm such a theory, it is quite possible that the porter's status within the

monastic house improved over the centuries, and that towards the latter part of the monastic period, he was enjoying increasing comfort and privileges from the monastery.

The provision of two archways, one for pedestrians, the other for vehicles and horseriders, set either in the front facade, a cross-wall, or in the rear face of the gatehouse, did allow a porter to isolate and direct certain traffic towards appropriate departments within the precinct (Gilyard-Beer 1958, 37). In one respect, this was the natural solution to the problem of repeatedly opening and closing large gates, instead allowing a porter to admit arrivals on foot with greater ease - the same applying to the inclusion of a wicket in the main gates (Morant 1995, 100). The suggestion, however, that such a practice established a social hierarchy amongst visitors, since those arriving on foot were far more likely to be part of a lower social class (*c.f.* Harvey 1993, 16; Lawrence1989, 123 on Cluny), presents several problems. While the segregation of incomers may have been both intended and practised, it cannot be demonstrated that the physical provision of pedestrian and vehicular arches achieved such an effect. Because many monasteries were integrated into urban societies, and familiar with the local gentry, they could expect such members of high social status to approach the monastery without the need of or desire for horses or elaborate escort.

Whether monastic gates were habitually kept open or closed is an issue which has received only cursory attention. The *Vita Aelredi* provides an image of eternal openness, one which may or may not reflect the actuality of monastic practice - *Et uitque illi qui uagantes in seculo quibus nullus locus religionis prestabat ingressum, accudentes ad matrem misericordie Rieuallem et portas apertas inuenientes libere introierunt in eas confitentes Domino* (and so those wanderers in the world to whom no house of religion gave entrance, came to Rievaulx, the mother of mercy, and found the gates open, and entered them freely, giving thanks unto their lord) (Powick 1950, 37). Sixteenth-century alterations of the main gatehouse at Cleeve included the installation of an inscription, *Porta patens esto/ nulli claudaris honesto* (Gate be open, shut to no honest person) (Gilyard-Beer 1959, 12), being placed over the archway, but Fergusson has argued that its presence indicates only an 'image of openness', while in reality the gates were shut (Fergusson 1990a, 52). He states that 'the [monastic] gatehouse was barred, at least at night, as it probably was at most other times' (1990, 52), basing his conclusion upon another incident in the *Vita Aelredi* in which the recalcitrant monk is brought through the gate and into the cloister by the abbot (Powick

1950, 35-36). Fergusson assumes that the gate was closed, although the text states only that the monk was brought through the gate, and not that the gateway was shut. Similarly, he refers to the monks who departed from Furness to found Calder, and then returned to Furness to find the gates barred (1990a,.52, note 11). Surely, the event is recorded as significant in that these travelling monks did not *expect* to find the gates barred, and indeed, may not have even expected them to be closed. During normal working hours, commencing before sunrise and ending after, the monastery would have experienced a steady stream of two-way traffic on foot and by vehicle, both deliveries of goods and the arrival and departure of hired labour, not to mention guests. Such a bustle of activity could imply that the gates were best left open during these times, since any gates sealing a high, wide archway were liable to be a heavy burden to open and close repeatedly. It is possible that the main gates were closed only at night, when general activity and movement was reduced. The perceived 'openness' of a house, monitored as much by a porter as by physical barriers, could be an effective means of demonstrating a house's power and wealth, and this would be an image any household would wish to cultivate.

Identifying the guest

The desire, however, to differentiate between different social groups of visitor is apparent. Mark Girouard writes of an 'etiquette of arrival', whereby if the social rank of a visitor to a secular household was that of a baron or greater, the gates would be opened upon his approach so that he could ride through the gate passage and into the courtyard (1978, 64). The desire to recognize rank visually, or to renegotiate it, was apparent in religious circles as well. Crossley relates instances in which ecclesiatics pushed each other off of their seats, or sat on each others knees, when they felt their social position was being usurped (1935, 94). Such considerations were part of the careful distribution of seats in the chapter house or church choir, for example. This consciousness of rank dictated relationships within both the monastic house and its guest houses.

A fifteenth-century document, *The order of goyng or sitting* (Furnivall 1868, 381-383), ranks in order of superiority the various individuals who might be entertained within the secular household. Appendix 2 demonstrates that those individual of higher rank than baron included, in ascending order, a legate, earl, marquis, bishop, duke of royal blood, prince, cardinal, king, emperor, and pope, although such a list should not be taken too literally - it is easy to believe that a mitred abbot, full of his own social position, insisted

on such a right when visiting secular or monastic households. The average household of a peer or prelate during this period contained between one hundred to two hundred persons, although it was possible that a royal household could contain over five hundred individuals (Girouard 1978, 14-15). Dukes and earls kept between forty and 160 people, while barons normally had twenty or more, and wealthy knights between twelve and thirty (Dyer 1989, 48). Aware of the strain such households put upon the hospitality of a monastic house, popes frequently legislated against ecclesiastics, over whom they believed they had some control, travelling with too large a number of attendants. In the thirteenth century, while an archbishop was permitted forty to fifty mounted attendants, and a bishop twenty to thirty, an archdeacon was theoretically only permitted a maximum of five to seven attendants (Wade Lawrence 1982, 140-1). Thus a mitred or unmitred abbot, for example, would have fallen somewhere in between, with what was still an impressive company; Mertes has suggested that the smaller households of abbots and priors numbered somewhere between ten and twenty individuals (1988, 18) When these households travelled, monasteries could be expected to accommodate them along the journey. The head officers and gentlemen (in monastic terms a cellarer, for example) were there to receive him, and if the visitor was of higher rank than the lord (or superior) of the house, the officers of the house would surrender their positions to the appropriate officers of the guest (Girouard 1978, 64). Through such a ritual the guest might become the head of the household in which he received hospitality.

3.3 RITUAL AND CONSUMPTION - THE DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

While domestic structures devoted to hospitality on the monastic site were to some extent variable in quality, size, arrangement and position, there existed formulae to dictate their basic layout. By using these formulae, builders subscribed to the pre-established meanings which these structures were meant to convey to their users. But in choosing a particular building form or layout, along with the addition of decoration and furniture, for example, a building absorbed other meanings. This section examines not only the basic trends observable in the construction of specific types of guest structures, but also identifies and discusses both officials and servants, and social themes, tied to these domestic spaces. The discussion includes not only the physical nature of spaces such as the hall, great chamber, parlour, bedchambers, chapel, kitchen, and associated service structures, but also the activities which took place therein, attempting to present the potential for the setting of

hospitality, to which the detailed examination of visitors' structures in the chapters which follow can be compared.

The logistics of hospitality

The distribution of guests amongst the variety of services available for visitors to a monastic site was a complicated matter. In the plan of St Gall (fig.6), there was abundant allowance for differentiation between guests of varying status. The visitor approached the 'porch for the reception of all visitors', a narthex on the west end of the church. From here, visiting monks were taken to accommodation adjoining the north aisle. Pilgrims and paupers were shepherded by the porter to a second porch specifically for such visitors, which though structurally separate, provided entry to a hospice. Distinguished guests, however, were led to the north side of the court, to a porch for the guest house. The theoretical arrangement of segregated accommodation for visiting monks, pilgrims and poor, and distinguished guests, did, to some extent, translate into the physical reality of the monastery of the later monastic period. Visiting monks might be provided with lodgings more intimately associated with claustral domestic space than guests of any other status - in a large Benedictine establishment such as Ely, a late thirteenth-century 'black hostelry' was attached to the monks' infirmary (fig.29) (Holton-Krayenbuhl 1997, 141-43; see below, pp.71-73, for a discussion of infirmaries in monastic planning). The almonry and similar structures catered for the poor (see below, pp.72-75), leaving two additional options available for accommodating religious guests or higher-status secular visitors - the monastic guest house or the superior's lodging. Jocelin of Brakelond, at various times prior's chaplain, abbot's chaplain, guest master and almoner, and thus a valuable witness to the division of responsibilities, suggested that the burden of hospitality at twelfth-century Bury St Edmunds was carefully allotted; monastic and secular priests, bishops and other religious persons were lodged in the guest house and attended by the guest master, while knights, laymen (town officials, squires, etc.) and distinguished guests (royalty, high-ranking church officials) were housed by the superior (Butler 1949, 39). If, however, the abbot was not in residence, then the requirements of visitors were to be met by the cellarer, who doled out provisions such as bread, flour and drink to the various monastic departments and households, *unless* they brought with them a retinue of more than thirteen horses, in which case, the abbot's servants were to receive the guests in his absence, entertaining them at the abbot's expense, whether they were physically accommodated in the abbot's lodging or in the guest house (Butler 1949, 39). Thus, when the abbot of Selby was away during a

period between 1398-99, William de Skipwith, John de Amyas, Robert Mauleverer, and others were entertained in the abbey guest house, and the abbot settled the bill for the wine they drank (6*s.* 8*d.*), the meat and fish purchased for their meals (3*s.* 4*d.*), and the horse bread provided for their horses (Tillotson 1988, 67). On the other hand, the chronicle of St Albans, which describes the construction of a new guest house around the mid-thirteenth century, suggests that guests were primarily members of the royal household and other magnates (Riley 1965, 314). The later thirteenth-century Beaulieu accounts give a much more specific list of those guests received in the guest house, which includes religious men, knights, parsons and priests, representatives of the pope, cardinals, the king and queen and their children, archbishops, bishops, and clerics, thus indicating that while religious visitors dominated, laymen were also well-represented (Hockey 1975, 271). As might be expected, this variable division of responsibility left much room for conflict, and could result in superiors having guests dumped unceremoniously on their doorsteps, as occurred at Bury (Butler 1949, 6).

In this context of the responsibility for hospitality, the financial outlay involved in constructing visitors' domestic buildings should also be considered. Particularly in the case of guest houses fit for accommodating royalty, it is sometimes suggested by textual evidence that the superior was responsible for their construction. A new guest house at St Albans, called the Royal Palace (*Palatium Regium*), and intended to accommodate the royal household, was attributed to Abbot John (1235-60) (see pp.77-8; Riley 1965, 314). At St Augustine's in Bristol, it is recorded that Abbot Knowle built the king's hall and chamber, in the fourteenth-century (Sabin 1960, 243). Such lodgings were independent of the superior's own, and associated with the guest house of the monastery, being either the only such guest structure and intended to accommodate all types of guest, or a high-status suite within a larger guest complex. In spite of an increasing distinction between the incomes of the superior and the convent, a circumstance fostered by the proliferation of superiors' lodgings from the twelfth century onwards, the superior was still the head of the monastic community, and therefore oversaw the finances of the institution - recognition for the construction of a guest house might indicate routine administrative duty, rather than direct financial responsibility. Accordingly, where accounts survive for repairs to guest buildings, and for providing the guest house with the appropriate furniture, textiles, lighting, vessels and utensils, these are recorded by monastic officials, and are not part of the superior's own expenditure. Thus, at Beaulieu, the late thirteenth-century accounts list

the expenses for the guest house in a separate table, which includes the contributions to the guest house from the various departments of the monastery, such as the cellarage, bakery, and stables (Hockey 1975, 269-281). At Worcester, the guest master's accounts for 1387-88 record expenditure for candles, wood for the fire, dishes and sheets, as well as repairs to the guest chapel, and at Selby between 1413 and 1414, the guest master's accounts record the purchase of similar items (Tillotson 1988, 250-253).

The guest master and the superior as hosts

The *Rule* states 'Let the guest house be assigned to a brother whose soul is full of fear of God' (McCann 1952, 123). It was important that there be a respected, trustworthy individual, appointed as full-time host and caretaker, responsible for the maintenance of the guest house and the entertainment of its occupants. A thirteenth-century book of observances in use at Barnwell dictated that the guest master have 'not merely facility of expression, but also elegant manners and a respectable bringing-up' so that the monastic life was presented 'in a creditable light'(Clark 1897, 193). Furthermore, through the provision of hospitality, 'the reputation of the monastery is increased, friendships are multiplied, animosities are blunted, God is honoured, charity is increased and a plenteous reward in heaven is promised' (*ibid.*, 1897, 193). Thus, unlike the porter, the guest master was a brother of the monastery, one who could be trusted to ensure that visitors to the house were treated with the care and attention they merited. At Yedingham, there were two guest masters - a *Hostilarius intrinsecus*, meant to care for visiting brethren, as well as a *Hostilarius forinsecus*, who attended to the general public (Brown 1886, 206). There is little indication that this division was regular practice, and it probably reflected instances where a 'black hostelry' accommodated monastic travellers; this section, therefore, is primarily concerned with the latter official. Jocelin of Brakelond, as mentioned above, was guest master of Bury in the late twelfth century (Butler 1949, xiii). Hockey has demonstrated, by comparing recorded names of Cistercian monks and *conversi* in the late thirteenth-century Beaulieu accounts with daily allotments of clothes, bread, and wine, that the term *frater*, found at the beginning of each departmental account, referred to a monk only and not to a *conversus*, and thus that the guest house was managed by a monk, with two *conversi* assisting (Hockey 1975, 17-18, 281). For the fourteenth century, Worcester provides the *Compotus fratris Iohannis Hatfelde Hostilarii* (Graves Hamilton 1910, 54-56). Similarly, at Selby, the 'Keeper of the Guest House' between 1413 and 1414 was Brother Thomas Bolton, a monk who had previously been the abbot's chaplain, and at St

Augustine's Bristol, we find the *Compotius Fratris Roberti Elyot Hostillarii* (Beachcroft and Sabin 1938, 198).

While the status of the guest master as an official within the monastery can be identified, however, little is known about the physical provisions of space for such an official within the guest house. The increasing tendency towards privacy of the monastic inhabitants suggests that in the later monastic period, guest masters, at least on some sites, were able to work, and live, independent of the claustral house, in spaces either part of or near to the guest complex. Certainly, this is suggested by the Selby guest master's accounts, which note the purchase of seven stones of paris candles for lighting 'the office', with a further purchase of reeds for strewing the floor of the 'rooms of the office' (Tillotson 1988, 253). Limited structural remains at Worcester, accompanied by post-Dissolution documentary evidence, suggest that the guest master had a series of office and living spaces to the east of the refectory, between the eastern claustral range and the guest house (Brakspear 1901, 404). It is quite possible that more modest arrangements were contrived within the guest house of a smaller monastery. While the presence of such spaces has been recorded, however, no standing remains of lodgings for the guest master have been identified within or without the guest house on any monastic site, and thus much is left open to speculation, such as how the social position of the official was affected when exposed to an environment in which guests were of a higher social status.

The superior was described by the *Rule* as the representative of Christ in the monastery, 'displaying all goodness and holiness by deeds and words, but [teaching] by deeds rather than words' (McCann 1952, 19). Monks were to take their guidance from the living example of the abbot, and in return, he was morally responsible for the souls of his monks, and thus he was warned not to be too concerned with 'fleeting perishable things'(*ibid.* 1952, 27). Such pious notions, however, required that the superior be a hermit from the secular world, an implausible expectation of one who needed to establish a firm understanding with secular spheres of influence in order to maintain status. Instead, the later monastic superior, particularly one of a rich monastic house, lived the life of a wealthy noble. The heads of monastic communities were recognized and appreciated as skilled administrators (Burton 1994, 168), but such skill had its consequences, compelling the superior to travel the countryside almost incessantly, attending to matters both of business and politics. Thus, while Dyer has commented that the main difference between monastic

and secular households was that secular households travelled (1989, 54), the same can be said of the superior's household within the monastery. Most aspects of his lifestyle were often on display - the clothing, for example, of the abbot of Selby demonstrates the importance of this visual display most effectively. Between the years 1398 and 1399, the abbot paid for not only quantities of everyday black cloth, but also *'burnet cloth'*, *'stamyn cloth'*, an ounce of silk for embroidery, and for repairs to the furs and linings of his clothes (Tillotson 1988, 66).

As the holdings of monastic houses increased, so did the duties (and the pleasures) of the superior, until little time could be devoted to the convent. With a superior roaming the countryside, is was not surprising that a second-in-command was often appointed to act for the superior *in absentia* (Lawrence 1989, 121). As suggested by Jocelin of Brakelond, servants tied to the abbot's house were capable of receiving large numbers of guests, regardless of the superior's absence (Butler 1949, 39), but certainly this was not a headless household. In such cases, an abbot was backed by a prior, who, in turn, was backed by one or more sub-priors (e.g. Gloucester and Worcester). At the great monastic establishments such as Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury Christ Church, Gloucester, and Peterborough, the prior held such demanding responsibilities for hospitality that he was given a separate set of lodgings, distinct from that of the abbot and convent (see figs.30-32).

As in other secular and monastic households, the guest master and the superior were supported by numerous staff, hired to serve the various departments such as the kitchen, buttery, pantry, stables, as well as the hall, chambers, and chapel which provided for the needs of visitors (Dyer 1989, 49). At Barnwell, the guest master had a 'faithful, sober, and courteous servant' who was obliged to put out candles and lock up for the night, as well as cleaning up after the guests' departure (Clark 1897, 195). As in secular houses, servants were yet another physical manifestation of the wealth and generosity of the host, and thus, those servants who were visible to the guests were fitted with the livery of the house - the compotus rolls for Worcester record a payment by the guest master to the cellarer for liveries for two servants of the guest house (Graves Hamilton 1910, 55), while the abbot of Selby paid five shillings for the cloth necessary to sew a hooded gown for his chamberlain (Tillotson 1988, 57). The hierarchy of the household placed hired labour in the descending categories of yeoman, groom, and page (*ibid.*, 49), and in the accounts of salaries paid out to staff at Selby for 1398, there is evidence for a sliding scale of wages. The highest paid

individual was the abbot's cook, receiving a total of 20*s*. for a full year's service. Next were the abbot's chamberlain and palfreymen, as well as a servant of the guest house, all apparently yeomen, all receiving 13*s*. 4*d*. yearly. In addition were several ushers, grooms, and a laundress, receiving 10*s*. each, while a page received 6*s*. 8*d*. (Tillotson 1988, 56-7). For the guest house's account years 1413-1414, a laundress of the guest house received 6*s*. 8*d*., while money gifts were bestowed upon a servant (12*d*.), the same laundress (4*d*.), and to a page (2*d*.) (Tillotson 1988, 73). The compotus rolls for Worcester similarly record stipends to two servants of 6*s*. 4*d*., to grooms, 5*s*., and to the laundress 3*s*.4*d*., for a half-year (Wilson and Gordon 1980, 55). By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, the division of the abbot's and monastery's household accounts was complete in some establishments; the bursar's accounts for the monastery at Bristol do not list payments to the abbot's household, the wages for the abbot's servants being taken from his own annual allowance of £160 (BRS 9 1938, 69).

Challenging the evidence for visitors' buildings

Chapter 1 drew attention to a singular difficulty in discussing visitors' buildings - that current archaeology is unable to differentiate between these structures, in spite of Verey's assurances to the contrary (see p.12; Verey 1976, 371). Embedded within a century of excavation and survey publications is a series of rudimentary misinterpretations which have had a cumulative effect on our understanding of visitors' structures within the monastic site. At this stage, identifying the guest house or superior's lodging is not simply a question of defining what it is, but more to the point, what it is not. Thus, infirmaries, almonries and the elusive 'undercroft hall', are all examined below, particularly in spatial terms, in order to distinguish between them and higher status visitors' buildings.

The infirmary - identification, conversion and access

The first in the series of building misidentifications is the classification of ground-floor guest halls or superiors' halls as lay or monastic infirmaries. At Haughmond, Hope and Brakspear first identified an abbots' hall as an infirmary hall (fig.33a) (1909, 303-306), while at Waverley, Brakspear classified the guest hall and chamber block as an 'inferior guest house and secular infirmary' (1905, 81-85). The problem, however, was not restricted to ground-floor structures. At Boxgrove, Hope decided that a two-storey stone structure with a five-bay vaulted undercroft and entrance porch was an infirmary (fig.33b) (1901, 165), a conclusion later to be criticized by Peckham (1920, 12-14), who determined on the basis

of comparison with buildings on other sites, that the structure was instead a guest house consisting of a first-floor hall over an undercroft. However, if these buildings are reconsidered in the context of their potential users, spatial arrangement, and their position within the precinct, their intended function becomes much easier to determine.

The misidentifications described above are exacerbated by the way in which infirmaries might by converted to other uses during their monastic lifetime. Infirmaries and guest or superiors' halls were spatially similar enough, it seems, to make conversion of an infirmary to the guests' or superior's use possible. Arguably, the need to provide better standards of comfort and convenience for the elderly and ill also made the structure ideal for the needs of secular visitors. This observation is coupled with the fact that the ground-floor hall, whether aisled or unaisled, was undeniably a popular building form in both monastic and secular contexts (see below, pp.74-7). At Rievaulx, the Norman infirmary hall was converted into an abbot's hall *c.*1500 (Peers 1938, 16-17; survey in Coppack 1986, 109-111, and 123). Similar events are suggested to have occurred at Furness, with the construction of a new infirmary hall in the late fourteenth century (Hope and Kaines-Smith 1914, 297). At Fountains, the large lay infirmary, no longer needed after the decline in numbers of lay brethren, apparently became a guest hall in the fourteenth-century, when the former guest hall (recently discovered by geophysics, see fig.43) was dismantled (Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1995, 60-61).

With a consideration of the ease of access from the courtyard, it may be possible to reassess early twentieth-century identifications of infirmaries. Monastic infirmaries were intended for the old and sick, those unable to participate in the monastic schedule of offices or in the normal business of the house. They were thus permitted to live apart from the bustle of everyday monastic life, yet in a space easily accessible from the cloister. A chapel might be set aside for their use, positioned at the east end of the infirmary hall as illustrated by Bardney (fig.38a) and described by the Dissolution survey for Bridlington (Caley 1821, 274). Further sites demonstrate that an ideal position for such accommodation was beyond the east or south ranges, accessed via a covered passage running east or southeast from the east range. A ground level living space ensured ease of access. Examples of this sort of arrangement are clearly demonstrated at Beaulieu, Christ Church Canterbury (fig.31), St Augustine Canterbury (fig.37), Ely (fig.29), Fountains (fig.36), Furness (fig.35), Jervaulx (fig.38b), Kirkstall, Rievaulx (fig.34), Thetford, and Waverley, to name just a few. In

particular, recent surveys of the infirmary at Ely demonstrate that by *c.*1220, the hall was reached through the dorter undercroft and 'dark cloister' (fig.29) (Holton-Krayenbuhl 1997, 127). Primary access was therefore internal, provided from regions of the claustral ranges rather than from the great court. Even at Easby, where an abnormal claustral arrangement might have affected traditional access or spatial considerations, the infirmary is found to the north of the monastic church, while the gatehouse is far to the south (fig.39). On sites where additional external access to an infirmary hall *is* provided (e.g. Fountains), such access allows ease of movement between the hall and its service structures and private chapel.

Kirkham Priory is a case in point. Re-assessed as recently as 1995 by Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield, the 'infirmary' is positioned to the southeast of the claustral ranges, with access provided through a prominent porch against its southeast wall (fig.40). The position of this porch is described as 'eccentric' because it is set in the second bay to the east, apparently 'from the need to provide a wall fireplace to the south of the door within this bay' (1995, 104). The awkward physical relationship between the porch and the claustral ranges, however, is not considered irregular. Although admittedly, the northwest wall has never been examined in detail, and thus access from that side is uncertain, the prominent size and placement of the porch on the southeast wall calls for a reinterpretation of the use of the structure as being one of several visitors' buildings on the site.

The infirmary, like other monastic buildings, needs to be readdressed within the context of the needs and physical requirements of its inhabitants. The evidence demonstrates clearly that monastic infirmaries were ground-floor, hall-type structures, ideally with attached chapels, to which primary access was afforded from the claustral ranges, and not from the outside. Thus while the presence of a porch, hall, and chapel invites several interpretations of function, the absence of the associated spatial criteria denies an infirmary interpretation.

The almonry versus the guest house

A second problem of identification arises when a domestic structure is located close to the gatehouse - whether it is a guest house or an almonry, and how one can be distinguished from the other. Although there were several building types through which charity could be exercised, it has not yet been established that all monastic houses had permanent structures dedicated to the distribution of alms. The Dissolution survey for Nunkeeling Priory

(Benedictine nuns) notes the presence of a 'house for poore folkes'(Brown 1886, 211), and that for Kirklees Priory (Cistercian nuns) notes the existence of two almshouses. The first is described most specifically, being 'ane old almeshouse whereyn a poore man dwellith w[ith]oute the gate'. The second is 'ane other old almeshouse, xl foote longe and xiiij foote brode, by the bek syde' (Brown 1886, 332). In the absence of either a permanent almshouse or almonry, however, alms might have been distributed from the gate to the deserving poor. What is clear is that there was a definite physical relationship between alms and the gates of the monastery. Standing or excavated examples of almonries have been tentatively identified, either on the basis of a direct association with a main gatehouse, or on the authority of a varying mixture of documentary evidence and oral tradition, at sites including Bardney (inner gate, fig.41a), Bury St Edmunds (great gate, fig.30), Canterbury Christ Church (outside Court Gate, fig.31), Canterbury St Augustine (outside great gate, fig.37), Ely (northeast gate, fig.29), Evesham (outside great gate, fig.41f), Gloucester (St Mary's gate, fig.41g), and Monk Bretton (outer gate, fig.41b). Standing or excavated guest houses, however, are apparently found in a similar position, attached to gates at Blanchland, Canterbury Christ Church (Court Gate, fig.31 and 49a), Canterbury St Augustine (great gate, fig.41d), Kirkham (fig.18g), and Stoneleigh (fig.41e). There are also many additional instances in which lodging chambers survive in whole or in part, next to or above such structures, and their function has either been identified as accommodation for the porter, or not specified.

One of the criteria which distinguished almonries from higher status guest buildings may have been a different standard of comfort, as compared to other domestic buildings on a site, in addition to specific imagery relating to charity to the poor, but the general lack of known or published evidence for either characteristic leaves such conclusions unsubstantiated. However, one distinction often observable is the nature of access into alms buildings compared with that of guest structures. While most domestic structures were placed within the precinct, some were built directly next to the gatehouse, against either the inner or outer face of the precinct wall, or beyond. The nature of access into these buildings, whether from within or without the precinct, was the fundamental characteristic which separated them, allowing monastic houses to restrict access; what was agreeable was admitted, and what was undesirable, unhealthy, or unclean was kept at arms' length. It may be this which influenced the almoner described in Lanfranc's *Statutes*, who, instead of receiving the poor within the precinct, distributed alms to houses of the poor and

sick in the neighbourhood beyond (cited in Knowles 1963, 483). Such an interpretation is particularly attractive because it recognizes the potential of buildings to convey specific messages to different groups of viewers. While a gate may encourage the entry of one group, it could also deny access to another. Thus, at Canterbury St Augustine, the almonry was set up prior to 1130, '*before* the abbey gate, for the help of the pilgrims and poor' (Gem 1997, 130, my emphasis), and at Evesham, the almonry survives in a much altered form to the southeast of, and outside of, the main gate (fig.41f). At Bridlington, however, a survey states that the 'Lodgyngs and stables for strangers' is 'one the Northsyde of the ... Gatehouse, to the Priory warde' (Calley 1821, 271). These references suggest buildings which, if not structurally and spatially distinct from the gatehouse, were at least entered from outside and within the precinct respectively. A further division might be found in the spatial isolation of particular gatehouses and domestic ranges within the site, permitting access into the precinct, but isolating that access from other regions (Ely, fig.29). Access to domestic space attached to the gate and walls, thereby overlapping the division between 'outside' and 'inside', might be determined through an understanding of the building's original construction. Thus, while at Evesham (fig.41f) and Gloucester (fig.41g), access appears to have been provided primarily from outside the precinct, the domestic ranges at Bardney (fig.41a), Kirkham (fig.18g), Stoneleigh (fig.41e), Canterbury Christ Church (*Aula Nova*) (fig.31), and Canterbury St Augustine's (Great Gate, fig.41c and d) (Munby, Sparks and Tatton-Brown 1983, 124-5) are entered from within the precinct. Once again, the nature and direction of access appears to be a deciding factor in the identification of guest houses.

'Undercroft halls' and the first-floor hall debate

The term 'undercroft hall' here describes a ground-floor space spanned lengthwise by a central row of columns which support vaulting and an upper floor. This space is sometimes interpreted as a ground-floor hall with no upper floor; at Croxden (fig.42), both Baillie Reynolds and Pevsner suggest that the fourteenth-century abbot's lodging consisted of a ground-floor hall with a first-floor solar positioned beyond the high end (1963, 278; 1974, 112), although the presence of central columns demonstrates that the entire structure was two-storeyed. But such a space is also interpreted as a 'lesser hall' with a 'greater hall' above. A recent publication from Coppack, for example, maintains that the two-storey guest houses at Fountains were a complex of upper and lower halls of varying social status (Coppack1998, 108), a conclusion particularly remarkable in the way it disregards a large

contemporary ground-floor aisled hall nearby, which John Szymanski at the Electronics Department at the University of York discovered while using resistivity on a tract of open ground (fig.43). Similarly, a structure found at Thame (fig.48d) has been interpreted as two halls superimposed, one for high-status guests entertained by the abbot, the other for lower-status guests (Godfrey 1929, 60). The issue is further complicated by the existence of ground-floor spaces within two-storey stone buildings which are not interrupted by central columns, instead being vaulted with ribs springing from wall corbels, or not vaulted at all. The ground floor of the range associated with the gatehouse at Kirkham contains three vaulted bays without central columns, and is described as a lower guest hall (fig.18g) (Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield 1995, 107). These descriptions thus present two problems. The first is whether a ground floor space punctuated by central columns can operate as a hall. The second involves the attribution of 'lower' or 'upper' hall status to ground- and first-floor spaces within a single building, and to what extent the first-floor hall was an alternative in monastic contexts.

In response to the first question, our current understanding of spatial hierarchy demonstrates that a space vaulted from central columns is unlikely to function as a hall, and that spaces interpreted as such require reconsideration. Girouard has emphasised the visual importance of the high end of the hall, a distinction borne out by Harris' observations regarding the grammar of carpentry (Girouard 1978, 34; Harris 1989, 4-6). Spatial hierarchy might be indicated structurally both above the head (for example, through differences between or markings upon roof trusses), or in the case of an aisled hall, by columns to either side of the central space. Therefore, the visual and physical distinction between high and low space might rely on, amongst other things, an 'open' primary axis. The occurrence of a ground-floor hall with a central row of columns fundamentally contradicts this understanding. It is important to note that even in the monastic infirmary, a single-aisled structure is achieved by positioning the columns to one side of, and *not* directly upon, the main axis, as is seen at Rievaulx (fig.34) and at St Augustine's Canterbury (fig.37). For this reason, it is difficult to believe not only the widely-accepted interpretations of Fountains and Croxden, but also that the guest hall at Easby was in a vaulted undercroft below the prior's solar (fig.39), while the guests' solar was sandwiched between the monks' dorter and reredorter (VCH 1968, 53). Furthermore, while the practice of creating two-storey structures (particularly chamber blocks) from ground-floor halls was not uncommon, being recognized even in documentary evidence such as that for

the abbot's lodging at Malmesbury (Brakspear 1912-13, 431), Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield (1995, 105) have suggested that an upper floor was *added* to a prior's hall at Kirkham on the evidence of surviving post bases, features which have not, however, been demonstrated as secondary to the structure.

Although investigations in Brittany have demonstrated the possibility of two, three, or even four hierarchically superimposed halls in seigneurial residences (Meirion-Jones, Jones, and Pilcher 1993, 177), archaeologists in England have thus far been unable to demonstrate effectively that two halls, of similar function but differing status, could be juxtaposed vertically. Attempts have been made; Faulkner and Wood *et al.* advocated an interpretation of domestic two-storey stone structures on secular and monastic sites as the nucleus of the great house, with a hall ('greater upper chamber') and solar ('lesser upper chamber') set above ground-floor chambers of similar function intended for the household (Faulkner 1958, 161-63; Wood 1965, 18-20). This was the direct source of Coppack's description of Fountains' guest houses (Faulkner 1958,152-54). Faulkner and Wood's typology has since been critically reappraised by various archaeologists, including Stuart Rigold (1965), John Blair (1993), Edward Impey (1993), and most recently by Anthony Quiney (1999). In particular, Blair controversially redefined these structures as two-storey chamber blocks, to which the accompanying detached ground-floor hall has disappeared, contending that the 'first-floor hall model is inappropriate to normal manorial buildings in England between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries' (Blair 1993, 2). Using this model, the complex of structures in the great court of the Welsh house at Tintern (fig.44a) might be reassessed. Courtney described a standing structure ('Building B') as a first floor hall over an undercroft of four bays, but ignored its physical juxtaposition to the excavated ground floor aisled hall of four bays which formed the main subject of his report (fig.44b) (1989, 101). Similarly, it might be suggested that the early thirteenth-century guest house excavated at Kirkstall was only one part of a larger complex, including a detached chamber block beyond the area of investigation (fig.45). At Ely (fig.46), where perhaps the original arrangement of guest structures survives *in toto* on a site directly east of the bishop's palace (VCH 1953, 79-80), the original layout of buildings prior to centuries of renovation may have consisted of two chamber blocks juxtaposed to two ground floor halls, instead of three first-floor halls.

Quiney, however, argues for the reinstatement of the upper hall type as a tradition running parallel to that of the open aisled hall, by tracing its introduction into England through the Norman conquest, and by illuminating its physical and symbolic reliance on Roman architectural forms, as well as stone rather than timber construction, to evoke messages of power (Quiney 1999, 33-35). Most intriguingly, Quiney questions our beliefs regarding the role of the hall within the medieval household, suggesting that in fact, size and appearance of a space might matter more in its identification as a hall than in its function. 'It is the occupier who decides usage, not the outsider' (Quiney 1999, 37).

In monastic contexts, standing and documentary evidence both suggest that the first-floor hall was a popular choice for visitors' buildings. In my MA dissertation on late monastic Cistercian abbot's lodgings, I demonstrated that the occurrence of the first-floor hall was most often a consequence of incorporating pre-existing building fabric, and that this trend was most apparent when the building in question demonstrated a direct structural relationship with the cloister. It was primarily in the instance of a spatially isolated, purpose-built structure that the authentic ground-floor hall was found (Ramey 1996, 30). There is reason to believe that this practice extended to non-Cistercian guest structures as well. The chronicle of St Albans contains a mid thirteenth-century episode in which a dilapidated guest hall is apparently dismantled to make way for a new, first-floor guest hall over an undercroft in the same position:

> Likewise, a most noble hall was built for the use of the guests, with many bedchambers adjacent; a most noble picture, with rooms and a fireplace, and a hall and undercroft, which is called a Royal Palace, because it has two floors, and a crypt. Next to the most noble hall is the entrance which is called 'a porch' or 'oriel'; and many bedchambers, with their rooms [closets?] and fireplaces, for the receiving of guests. In fact, the hall which had been constructed before in the same place, had been ruinous, and the walls cast down and old dark and ugly. Overhead the roof was covered with [wooden] shingles and tiles having been repaired. The new hall, moreover, of which we speak at present, with its coping and pentices, was now covered in lead in the best fashion (my translation)[2].

[2]'Item, unam nobilissimam aulam ad opus hospitum construxit, cui adjacent thalami plures; una nobilissima picta, cum conclavibus et camino, et atrio et subaula, quae Palatium Regium dicitur, quia duplex est, et cryptata, dici potest. Adjacet atrium nobilissimum in introitu, quod 'porticus', vel 'oriolum,' appellatur; et plures thalami, speciosi valde, cum suis conclavibus et caminis, ad hospites suscipiendos. Aula enim, quae prius in modem loco construebatur, ruinosa fuerat, et muris depulisis et veternis tenebrosa et deformis. Insuper scindulis et lateribus tecta ac resarta. Aulam autem novam, de qua impraesentiarum loquuimur, cum suis capellis et appendicitis, fecit iste optime plumbo cooperiri...'(Riley 1965, 314).

While it cannot be proven that the new hall retained and assimilated parts of the old hall into the undercroft of its new first-floor arrangement, the excerpt does demonstrate how the first-floor hall might have become a popular building type in monastic houses which displayed a continuous desire to renovate and improve their buildings. Furthermore, the comparison with a 'Royal Palace' appears to refer to a contemporary surge in the number of first-floor halls constructed under the command of Henry III (for example, at Shrewsbury, *c.*1240, or at Chester, *c.*1250), suggesting a tantalizing monastic awareness of court fashion[3].

Defining location, arrangement, and access

The monastic site was, arguably, dominated by one particular building form or variants thereof - the open hall, of which the church was the most visually important within the overall scheme. One could expect a variety of secondary halls - the refectory, the infirmary, the misericord, and sometimes other claustral structures, as well as the abbot's hall and the guest hall, all of which echoed the layout and spatial hierarchy of the monastic church, by placing the most significant or highest-status space opposite to the main access point. The internal layout of domestic visitors' building was determined by the same social forces which informed secular planning, with the tripartite spatial arrangement, and variations thereof, dominating both spheres. Consisting of the hall, private accommodation and various services, the monastic tripartite plan was a coherent domestic unit, constructed in multiples for entertaining the claustral household, guests of the monastery, and the superior's household and guests. Basic components of both the superior's lodging and the guest house, like the manorial structures, included the hall, the service end of which was punctuated by a porch or opposing doorways, and sometimes including a screens passage, with buttery, pantry, and kitchen beyond. At the 'high' or 'dais' end of the hall, were more comfortable domestic spaces, including a parlour and great chamber, with additional bedchambers and sometimes a chapel. Each of these will be considered in turn below, both in an attempt to conjure the 'setting' for monastic hospitality, by drawing on both standing and excavated buildings as well as documentary evidence, and as the starting point from which the case studies of chapters 4 and 5 will follow.

---

[3]I am indebted to Dr J Clark for this information.

The terms 'detached', 'semi-detached', and 'incorporated' are used here to describe specific positions and arrangements of visitors' structures (see Appendix 3). At the most basic level, a 'detached' building is one for which no connection to the claustral ranges can be established (for example, at Byland, fig.47a), whereas an 'incorporated' building refers to a structure (especially the hall, see Bardney, fig.47b) which is an integral part of the claustral ranges. 'Semi-detached', however, describes a more fluid, indistinct relationship with the cloister, one which can be difficult to pinpoint, particularly where a complex has developed over several centuries. This may have some effect on the numbers of such buildings identified (see Appendix 3, table 3, for example). Most often, this describes buildings which project at right angles from the claustral ranges. While a 'detached' superior's lodging, for example, might become 'semi-detached' by the development of additional rooms or corridors creating a physical bond with the claustral ranges, I have generally used the term to suggest the original intentions of the builder. Such an arrangement is most clearly illustrated where the visitors' building, especially the hall, directly abuts a range of the cloister at a right angle, as at Durham (fig.48a), Finchale (fig.48b), Forde (fig.48c), Thame (fig.48d) and Wigmore (fig.48e), for example. Likewise, a distinction can be drawn between 'renovated' and 'newly-built' structures. The former occurs where a new structure absorbs pre-existing, standing remains, whether, for example, by erecting a structure on the foundations of an older one, or by using pre-existing walls as its gable ends - thus, both horizontal and vertical incorporation. It does not include the use of old stonework from an *entirely* dismantled structure A newly-built structure, therefore, not relying on pre-existing buildings, allowed the builder a freer hand in the choice of position, alignment, size, and overall spatial and decorative appearance. There is danger in assuming that a structure is 'new' simply because it appears to have been constructed in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, but considered in conjunction with a monastery's foundation date and the construction dates of surrounding buildings, some assumptions about the earliest date of a building, particularly of a stone building replacing a timber one, might sometimes be made. Relying, however, on published secondary material as this chapter does, conclusions can only be drawn with a generous margin of error. In the light of developing archaeological observation and recording techniques, there are many sites which would benefit from a review of their built evidence, particularly within a research framework exploring the social arrangement and use of space.

Because the present thesis considers not only the Cistercian abbot's lodgings noted above, but also visitors' buildings from the Benedictine, Augustinian, Premonstratensian, and Cluniac orders, the physical area on the sites concerned is much greater. Houses of different monastic orders unquestionably preferred specific locations for both guest houses and superior's lodgings, but the Cistercians were certainly the most particular about the placement and arrangement of their buildings. Just as in the general claustral layout, where Cistercians were innovative with the alignment of the refectory range, running north-south rather than east-west, and in the gatehouse, where they repeatedly constructed pitched-gable gatehouses in spite of the fact that new, more fashionable and elaborate forms of gatehouse were taking hold in other orders, the Cistercians further distinguished themselves by constructing their abbots' lodgings to the south-east of the claustral ranges, and their guest houses to the west or north-west (see Appendix 3). This consistency in Cistercian planning began to relax only in the fourteenth century, when lay brethren populations dwindled, making the west range available for superior and guest accommodation, for example, at Flaxley, Hailes (fig.50c), and Forde (fig.48c), but no alternative arrangement ever really took hold.

For the Augustinians and Benedictines in particular, the west range, an integral part of the claustral complex, was apparently a favoured position for a superior's lodging or a guest house (see Appendix 3, tables 5 and 6). That the west range was reserved for such a use should be regarded as a normal planning policy - the Cistercian use of the west range for lay brethren was exceptional, and the Premonstratensians, who were otherwise modelled on the Cistercians, refrained from admitting lay brethren, and instead, used their west range for superior or guest accommodation. The preferred detached or semi-detached south-easterly position preferred by the Cistercian abbots was also used by the other orders to greater or lesser extents. This apparent preference for west range visitors' accommodation, however, should be viewed with some caution. Insufficient evidence for the arrangement of the upper storeys of west ranges, accompanied by an incomplete knowledge of ex-claustral regions and a desire to explain neatly every observable space, has often prompted the misattribution of a hospitality function to the upper west range. Many of these sites might warrant reconsideration.

Such problems of identification, location, and function mean that any generalizations made upon such criteria should be viewed with caution. The tabulation of these structures

according to their relationship with the cloister, the circumstances surrounding their construction, and the position of their halls, however, does point to some trends worth noting.

Both in superior's lodgings and in guest houses, as suggested above, a ground- or first-floor position for the hall was dictated to some extent by its structural and spatial relationship with the claustral ranges, and whether the hall was the result of refurbishing a pre-existing structure, or was constructed afresh. Of at least thirteen detached, renovated visitors' halls (Appendix 3, table 1) (whether found in the superior's lodging or the guest house), only three, the Prior's lodging at Bury St Edmunds, that of the Prioress at Norwich Carrow, and the abbot's or guest house at Tewkesbury (all Benedictine), can be demonstrated to contain ground-floor halls. In contrast, of thirty-eight detached, newly-built halls (table 2), twenty-six were constructed at ground-level, sixteen in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and another seven in the fourteenth. Of the twelve first-floor halls, eight were constructed from the mid thirteenth century onwards.

All of the four semi-detached, renovated complexes (Appendix 3, table3) appear to have been superior's lodgings containing first-floor halls. Similarly, nineteen examples were identified as newly-built (table 4), two-thirds of which contained first-floor halls. In contrast, only six were ground-floor halls. It may be significant that only two of the total (with two unaccounted for) were dedicated to guests alone, while the remainder housed the superior and guests.

The category of incorporated lodgings (tables 5 and 6) was the most predictable - on sites where claustral ranges were normally arranged in two storeys, living space such as a hall was regularly constructed on the first floor. Furthermore, since the construction of the claustral ranges was one of the first tasks in the establishment of a new foundation, the original upper floor of the west range might be contemporary with those activities, and any later phase observed would represent an alteration to that initial arrangement. Thus, of a total of twenty renovated halls (table 5), only Coverham, Kington, Muchelney, and Norwich placed halls at ground-floor level within single-storey or part-single-storey ranges. Of the newly-built incorporated halls, each (with the exception of Ulverscroft, where the west range was single-storeyed), was constructed at first-floor level, and within a reasonable period after foundation. In both new lodgings and renovated examples, there is a degree

of uncertainty surrounding the attribution of function - this, however, probably reflects our lack of understanding of these sites, along with the additional factor of shared function in the smaller houses which might not easily afford the maintenance of two separate visitors' households.

The data given above demonstrates that the ground-floor halls made inroads primarily where they could be constructed in a position physically isolated from other standing monastic structures. The most favourable period for such construction would have been in the earlier centuries (twelfth and thirteenth), before the precinct had become crowded and available space minimal. However, regardless of its prevalence within secular spheres, the first-floor hall was a popular hall type of the monastic establishment, dominating in particular the arrangement of halls within and adjoining the claustral complex. Furthermore, with the decreasing availability of space within the courtyard over time, the erection of a first-floor hall over an earlier ground-floor hall, or even over an undercroft, was an economical means of updating the guest complex. Adding to this those circumstances which appeared to make the first-floor hall the vogue around the early to mid thirteenth century, it is easy to accept the place of the first-floor hall within monastic building tradition.

The porch

One of the most important external features of the hall, whether ground- or first-floor, was the entrance porch, being a focal point both of intention and of activity. A vital key to understanding the identification of visitors' buildings, and the relationship between life within them and life within the cloister, is provided by the position of porches and pentices accessing visitors' halls, whether of the abbot's lodging or the guest house. It has been traditionally suggested that the monastic cloister was largely 'off-limits' to outsiders. More recent archaeological investigations which examined the existence of such segregation, especially those which used access analysis to determine degrees of privacy (Cromwell 1987), have drawn the conclusion that the cloister region was generally inaccessible to non-monastics. One of the key drawbacks of this research, however, was the omission of peripheral (i.e. non-claustral) visitors' buildings from the analysis (for example, the abbot's house at Byland), and little consideration was given to the need for access to such non-claustral areas - on sites such as Fountains and Rievaulx, access to the abbot's lodging was obtained only by entering the cloister, and exiting through an eastern passage which led

directly into these lodgings.

A rare early survival is the porch leading into the first-floor *Aula Nova* illustrated by the Canterbury Waterworks Plan. While the first-floor position of the hall was perhaps exceptional at this date, the presence of a visually important entrance porch leading into the hall (fig.49a) was not: mid twelfth and thirteenth century bishops' palaces display similar features (e.g. Canterbury, Hereford, Wells, fig.49c). The first-floor guest hall constructed at St Albans in the mid thirteenth century also included such a feature, placed at the entrance into the hall and described as a *porticus* or *oriolum* (Riley 1965, 314, see above, p.78). The secular or monastic origins of the porch would be difficult if not impossible to pin down, but its presence continued throughout the monastic period, gracing both first- and ground-floor halls in positions of prominence, accentuating the main access point into the great hall. Such a feature as suggested above, was not part of the infirmary plan, presumably having no purpose in a self-contained complex intended for the private accommodation of monastic inmates, and thus provided with sheltered corridors to the east range rather than prominent, 'external' access.

Thus, intended for the eyes of people entering a visitors' hall, and meant to encourage entrance, it was perhaps logical that the porch continued to evolve, gracing two distinct arrangements of guest buildings. That of Canterbury's *Aula Nova* (fig.49a) was perhaps characteristic of the earlier group, which may also have found initial expression in detached ground-floor guest halls such as the twelfth-century example excavated at Furness (fig.49d). But the construction of small, often squared, sometimes multi-storeyed entrance porches on detached halls continued; distinctive examples have survived or been excavated and recorded at Kirkham (late thirteenth century, see reinterpretation above, pp.72-3) (fig.49e), Boxgrove (fourteenth century, fig.33b), and Worcester (fourteenth century, fig.49f), and at Milton Abbas (1498, fig.49g). The second group is characterised by the porch's association with a hall dominating the west claustral range, such arrangements being found at Bolton, Bradenstoke (fig.50a), Castle Acre (fig.50b), Cerne Abbas (fig.50f and g), Hailes (fig.50c), Kington (fig.50d), Newstead, and Torre (fig.50e), as well as a semi-detached example perpendicular to the west range at Forde (fig.50h). The porch is positioned mid-way along the full length of the west range; in both the west range arrangements and the detached examples, the porch appears to have indicated the hierarchically 'low' end of the hall at first-floor level, or the position of a screens passage.

In some of these buildings, the porch is a later addition to a pre-existing hall structure. Castle Acre provides the earliest demonstration of this practice, having a mid twelfth-century hall to which was added a late twelfth-century porch, extended or lengthened in the fifteenth century. The west range at Torre acquired a porch in the fourteenth century (fig.50e), and at Hailes (fig.50c), a porch was added to a thirteenth-century west range in the fifteenth century. The presence of these alterations, coupled with the construction of porches at Cerne (fig.50f and g), Forde (fig.50h), and Kington (fig.50d), imply a 'fashion' in hall design in the late monastic period, mirroring a similar trend in secular building. As in secular building (for example, Dartington Hall, fig.51a, Great Chatfield Manor, fig.51b) the porch complemented in design and building materials the hall which it fronted. As in monastic gatehouses, porches (and the domestic structures which they enhanced) employed schemes of battlements and turrets or towers, or doggedly turned forward the pitched gables of chambers and ancillary structures (for example, Castle Acre, fig.28).

Significantly, where evidence is lacking for the existence of an entrance porch approaching the hall, another device may have been used. The inclusion of highly moulded doorways at the main point of entrance, normally at the low end of the hall into a screens passage, was employed at Birkenhead, Rievaulx, and Fountains in particular, all of which had very similar moulded cinquefoil door heads set in square frames (figs.52a-c). Sometimes a panel of sophisticated sculpted decoration might be set above; at Rievaulx and Fountains, the main doorways were surmounted by carved panels depicting the Annunciation of the Virgin (Coppack 1993, 77).

Ritual, comfort and cleanliness

Chapter 2.3 established the biblical and statutory precedents for a 'ritualized' hospitality, and suggested several theories to pursue in this investigation of domestic provisioning for hospitality. In particular, it established an emphasis on concerns with ritual cleanliness and purity, and on the importance of a sense of 'community' portrayed by ritual action. The social practices through which these meanings were expressed are now examined within a specific '*locale*'- the internal spaces of the domestic buildings themselves - in an attempt to determine to what extent they had retained, or had evolved beyond, their original symbolic associations.

The following passage from the Barnwell *Observances* summarised the responsibilities of the guest master, in aiming to provide a suitable quality of hospitality to guests:

> It is part of the Hosteller's duty to be careful that perfect cleanliness and propriety should be found in his department, namely, to keep clean cloths and clean towels; cups without flaws; spoons of silver, mattresses, blankets, sheets not merely clean but untorn; proper pillows, quilts to cover the beds of full width and length and pleasing to the eyes of those who enter the room; a proper laver of metal; a bason clean both inside and out; in winter a candle and candlesticks; fire that does not smoke; writing materials; clean salt in salt-cellars that have been well scrubbed; food served in porringers that have been well washed and are unbroken; the whole Guest-House kept clear of spider-webs and dirt, and strewn with rushes underfoot; a supply of hay in the necessary-house, and the seats covered; a sufficient quantity of straw in the beds; keys and locks to the doors and good bolts on the inside, so as to keep the doors securely closed while the guests are asleep... When [the guests] are gone [the servant] ought to fold up the sheets and coverlets; get together, and store up in a safe place, all the vessels he had put out overnight; throw up and lay smooth the bed-gear; arrange in a suitable place the cushions and the chairs, the trestles and the tables, clear away the ashes from the hearth... [and] close the doors... (Clark 1897, 193-5).

It is not the intention of this thesis to romanticise what was, quite clearly, hard physical work. However, this passage also points to a carefully constructed and monitored set of social practices - the preparations for, and treatment of, guests - which may have had additional, ritual significance when combined with specific social situations or individuals. It may be possible, by exploring some of these more physical provisions below, from the buildings and their furnishings to the food, drink and services provided, to examine the ritual potential or significance of this behaviour.

'Locale': high-status space

Hospitality was not simply a matter of providing enough food and drink to satisfy the stomach, and a roof over the head for the night. Provisions were to be of quality, and bestowed within an appropriate setting or framework. The internal arrangement, decoration, and use of space in guests' or superiors' buildings could be, and often was, comparable with that found in any secular manor house. With a mitred abbot's social rank being roughly equivalent to that of the nobility, and that of an unmitred abbot or prior falling just below, superiors and guests enjoyed a comfortable standard of living, and the quality of their accommodation was capable of surpassing that of all other domestic structures within the precinct (*cf.* Gilchrist 1994, 119).

Some time has already been spent discussing the importance of precinct position and spatial

arrangement of, and access to, the hall. As important as these considerations were, they were equalled by concerns with internal design. Part of the ritual of hospitality was the creation of the right setting, one which implied all the mystique of power, as well as benevolence and welcome. This was achieved through a careful proportioning of overall height and horizontal space. The roof of the hall was a crucial part of this balance, delineating bay rhythm, and providing a very physical recognition of spatial hierarchy. Types found over guest halls, as well as other domestic space, demonstrate an elegance in both execution and decoration, but with some variance between houses of different wealth, status, and aspirations. The standing remains, however, supplemented by post-monastic illustrations and descriptions, generally give a clear picture of roof types popular from the fourteenth century onwards; pre-fourteenth-century buildings, where they survive to roof level, have invariably had their roofs replaced. The guest hall at Ely, for example, though predominantly a thirteenth-century structure but with even earlier remains incorporated, had its roof renewed in the fourteenth century (VCH 1953, 79). The exception is found at Robertsbridge, where a thirteenth-century king strut roof is found over a supposed abbot's hall (it may instead be a chamber block) (Munby, Sparks and Tatton-Brown 1983). A distinct preference for the arch-braced collar truss roof, with two or more stages of cusped windbraces, has left us with several examples of varying sophistication, at Worcester (fig.53a), Great Malvern (fig.53b), Little Malvern (fig.53c), and Flaxley (fig.53d), all Midlands sites, while additional roofs of the same type were constructed over west range visitors' halls at Exeter and Sherborne in the fifteenth century (fig.53e). Crown-posts covered the fifteenth-century Prior's hall in the west range at Prittlewell (fig.53f), while a tie-beam roof with a stunted king post was used in the late fourteenth-century abbot's hall at Westminster (fig.53g). A hammerbeam roof, of considerable splendour, was constructed over the abbot's hall at Milton Abbas in the late fifteenth century (fig.53h). Such examples illustrate the preference for highly decorative roof types in monastic buildings of status.

A natural extension of the roof was the spere truss, used to 'screen' the hall from a cross-passage and the low-status service chambers. The few which survive include an example in the guest hall at Exeter (Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 398), in the prioress' lodgings at nearby Polsloe (*ibid.*, 399), and in the fourteenth-century prior's hall at Little Malvern (fig.53c). Moveable screens, for the same purpose, are also scarce as in the secular world, the only surviving monastic example identified being that at Milton Abbas (fig.54). The dissolution inventory for the abbot's hall at Rievaulx may also indicate the presence of

portable screens in its list of contents (Coppack 1986, 109), although such sources should be interpreted with caution, since any feature of value, and capable of being removed, might be included, whether fixed or moveable.

Further elements of '*locale*' were lighting, furnishings, and decoration. The interior of the hall, as well as the great chamber, parlour, and additional bedchambers, was illuminated in daytime primarily by the presence of large, multi-light windows. The impression made by such light could be, and was, actively manipulated. Windows did not always contain clear glazing; they could hold coloured or painted glass, might depict biblical or secular images, and some were maximized to create the greatest illuminating effect possible. Most monastic halls being incorporated into or directly associated with a claustral range, and thus having features such as cloister walks, corridors, and service buildings on at least one lateral wall to contend with, included as many full-length windows as possible, and had raised sills for the remainder to clear the roofs of obstructions.

An additional large window might be found high in the gable end of a hall or chamber. A glazed window measuring sixteen feet was set in the gable end of the lord abbot's hall at Selby, by William de Bardenay, glazier, for a cost of 13*s*. 4*d*. (Tillotson 1988, 77). Exactly which end is not specified, but as in church architecture, a large window might be used either at the high end to illuminate the dais from behind, and to dazzle those facing, or in the opposite gable, creating a spotlight on the dais and its company.

The generous use of candles also created a favourable impression, candlelight hiding a myriad of structural and decorative flaws, and displaying any house or host (secular or monastic) from the most flattering angle, although admittedly, poorer quality candles may have obscured more by smoke. Although no precise figures for allowances of candles survive, the guest house at Worcester, for example, had a general allowance of 9*s*. 8*d*. for their purchase (Graves Hamilton 1910, 55), probably to be set in stone and iron brackets, or stone lanterns built into the walls, and the 1537 inventory of Whalley Abbey indicates that the abbot had a 'hanging candlestick in the middest of the [hall] chamber' (Ashmore 1962, 18). Paris candles were candles normally made by the household from tallow, as a by-product of the kitchen. Their cost when purchased was approximately 1 ½*d*. per pound. Wax, however, was used to fill cresset lamps, open bowls with floating wicks, and was much more expensive, at approximately 6 ½*d*. per pound (Dyer 1989, 74).

The fireplace was an additional source of light as well as heat, found both in the hall and chambers and providing the host with additional opportunities for decorative display. Although central hearths and portable braziers were undoubtedly used in specific examples, such as in the fourteenth-century guest hall at Worcester (where there is no indication of a fireplace in either the lateral or gable walls - see fig.49f), the wall fireplace had a firmly established early history within the monastic house, being constructed particularly in kitchens and warming houses, and possibly infirmaries (e.g. Rievaulx), from the later twelfth century onwards. The Canterbury Waterworks Plan (fig.7) demonstrates, via the illustration of chimney stacks, the presence of wall fireplaces in the kitchen, bakery, brewery, and infirmary kitchen only, suggesting that at this date (*c.*1160), the fireplace was not yet incorporated into monastic domestic buildings, even those intended for visitors. Even in secular contexts, the earliest example of a fireplace is one of *c.* 1090, in the keep of Colchester Castle, and following this, they appear to have been primarily the prerogative of the well-to-do (Wood 1965, 273). The earliest structural evidence for a wall fireplace used in a monastic visitors' hall or chamber is that described for the mid-thirteenth-century guest house at St Albans; here, the hall contained a *camino*, while the many bedchambers also appear to have been supplied with *caminis* (Riley 1965, 314, see above p.78). These probably included a projecting hood, permitting a shallower recess in the wall (Wood 1965, 262). Surviving examples of fireplaces in monastic and secular halls, the majority from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggest that the preferred position for a fireplace was either in a middle bay of the hall (or mid-way along a lateral wall of a chamber), or otherwise favouring the high end, thus serving as a further indicator of the hierarchical arrangement of space. In the later fifteenth century in particular, a mantel design composed of quatrefoils and other carved foliate patterns was used frequently in both secular and monastic buildings. An elegant example at Evesham, reputed to be from the abbot's lodging, now rests in the former almonry (fig.55a), and is surpassed only by the abbot's fireplace at Muchelney, which takes ornamental display to new heights (fig.55b). To each fireplace was a set of implements for tending the fire; the secular inventory for Edmund Dudley, taken in 1509, lists the various items: ij fyer forkes: a payr of tonges: a fyre schowell: a fyre rake' (*Archaeologia* 1920-1, 39). The abbot of Selby bought two pairs of andirons, one new and one old, for his hall in 1398-99, costing 8*s.* (Tillotson 1988, 71).

Additional means of wall decoration employed included painting, tapestries, and even

panelling, but the physical remains of such decoration are scarce. The chronicle of St Albans states that the new guest hall, constructed in the mid-thirteenth century, was 'most handsomely painted and delightfully redecorated by the hand of our monk, Richard' (*decentissime per manum Ricardi, monachi nostri, artifices optimi pingi, et deliciouse redimiri*) (Riley 1965, 314). The original, pre-fourteenth century abbot's hall in the west range at Gloucester was painted with the images of kings (Barber 1991, 628).Pre-1950s photographs demonstrate that the dais end of the refectory at Cleeve - also the abbot's hall - displayed a rendering of the crucifixion (fig.56). Dissolution inventories only occasionally record the presence of painted tapestries in the hall; one such was recorded for the hall at Repton, but without a description of any imagery (Hope 1884, 365).

Inventories of halls, great chambers, parlours, and bedchambers give an additional impression of both use and comfort. The hall being witness to the reception of guests, feasts, music and entertainment, and a stage on which social and political alliances were made and remoulded, the contents of the hall needed to be malleable, particularly as the number of people eating in the hall was extremely variable, reflecting both numbers staying in the guest house or superior's house, and a tendency for more important inhabitants to eat in a separate dining chamber. Most commonly, contents included tables, trestles, and benches, and an additional table or cupboard for displaying fine drinking and eating vessels. The abbot's hall at Pipewell contained four tables, seven forms, and a cupboard (Brakspear 1909, 312). At Whalley, the abbot's hall was furnished with a cupboard, a long settle, two chairs, three carpets to put on tables, and a dozen cushions (Blackburn 1962, 18).

It is apparent, however, that the trend in secular households for eating in the great chamber rather than in the hall was not absent from their monastic counterparts. Its use as a ceremonial eating space is first evidenced by royal household ordinances of the early fourteenth-century, but by the later part of that century, most men and women of importance had ceased eating in the hall regularly (Girouard 1978, 46). Monastic accounts and dissolution surveys suggest a similar situation, but demonstrate an indefinite association with a 'great' chamber as such. By 1398-99, the abbot of Selby was certainly dining in his chamber with guests or intimates, the accounts noting the purchase of thirty-six ells (one ell being forty-five inches) of canvas for tablecloths as well as twenty ells of linen cloth, as well as sixteen dozen goblets, eight candlesticks, four bowls, and half a dozen decorated pewter pots (Tillotson 1988, 66). There is no indication of the position of this chamber in

relation to the hall. At Rievaulx, an inventory cites an 'abbottes dyning chamber', with its roof, lead, and ceiling intact (Coppack 1986, 110), indicating that the room was either a first-floor space, or a ground-floor space with no other room above. The *great* chamber however, was positioned at the north end of the first-floor hall, and had a parlour situated underneath (*ibid.*, 110). The Dissolution survey for Bridlington listed the great chamber as that 'where the Priour alwayes dyned' (Caley 1821, 273). This evidence for removal from the hall is parallelled by trends in the cloisters, where monks were increasingly noted for eating outside the refectory, whether in the private chambers of various officials, in the misericorde, or with the abbot himself. During Christmas in 1500, the entire convent of Westminster ate with the abbot at his house at La Neyte (Harvey 1993, 62).

In some instances, however, the great chamber, or 'hall chamber' as it was sometimes called, never became the dining room of the superior or guests. At Pipewell, the hall chamber contained

> 'j bedsted, j featherbed, j boulster, j matres, ij pyllowes, ij blanketts, j keveryne of Counterfett arres, j Covering of olde bandkyn, the hanging of olde redd saye and yelow wt the tester and curteins to the same, ij Chayres, vij payre of flaxen shetts and iiij payr of sorse shets, sould for xxvj s. viijd. (Brakspear 1909, 312)

The hall chamber at Repton, apparently part of the Prior's lodgings in the west range, was apparently a dual purpose eating and sleeping apartment containing a featherbed, bolster, two coverlets, a tester of linen, as well as an old table and form (Hope 1884, 366).

Identifying great chambers on the ground has been accomplished generally where there is a definite structural relationship between a large chamber and the high end of a hall. At Fountains, the abbot's great chamber has been identified as a first-floor chamber at the south end of a semi-detached first-floor hall, opposite to an access point on the north. Similarly, the great chambers of the superiors at Finchale and Durham are at the eastern end of the semi-detached halls, access to the hall being directly from the eastern claustral range. But in detached structures, the great chamber is found either in the same position, as is seen at Byland (fig.47a), structurally linked with the hall, juxtaposed to, but still linked with, the hall, as at Boxgrove (fig.33b), or in a detached chamber block, or multiples of such blocks, the most orderly scenario being that at Fountains (see p.75 above).

It was the parlour, however, to which some superiors and guests retired to dine. In the traditional monastic context of a space set aside in which visitors and monastic inmates

could converse, the parlour first appeared near the entrance to the west claustral range. As an informal sitting and eating room, the parlour appears in secular literature of the mid-fourteenth century. Although fifteenth-century secular inventories indicate a function as guest bedchambers, by the sixteenth century they were being used only as dining chambers (Girouard 1978, 58). The final outcome of the sequence is confirmed by the monastic evidence; at Pipewell, the parlour contained

> ij tables, iij formes, j rondetable, j Joined Chayre, j andiron, iij ould Carpette, j banker, iij Cusshyons, the hangynge of ould grene saye and ij Joyned stoles (Brakspear 1909, 312)

while the prior's inner and outer parlour at Dover contained tables and chairs (Gairdner 1836, 241). Although the most common position for the parlour was the ground-floor space, formerly a vaulted undercroft below the great chamber, as recorded at Rievaulx (Coppack 1986, 110), parlours could also be found at the low end of the hall, in association with service structures such as the kitchen, buttery and pantry, as at Bridlington (Caley 1821, 273). In addition, many surveys record multiple parlours, ceiled and wainscotted, as part of the ground-floor of the west range, but with no clear indication of function in relation to the hall, either by name or by reason of the listing of the appropriate furniture and fittings.

Apart from the above, it is often difficult, in standing buildings, to identify spaces intended as bedchambers, and even more so to identify bedchambers associated with guests rather than with a host. The surveys are ambiguous on this point. The nunnery at Handale had one 'guest chamber', positioned on the first floor in the southwest corner of the cloister, measuring sixteen feet square, with two partially-glazed windows, a fireplace, and a lead roof (Brown 1886, 208). At Nunkeeling, two guest chambers are associated with the great chamber in the west range, both of which have fireplaces and one of which has a window containing four feet of glass (Brown 1886, 210). The Prioress' chamber at Baysdale, with its glazed bay window, fireplace, and closet, is abutted by three guest chambers, one with a large fireplace. A distinct guest house containing two upper and two lower chambers, with unglazed windows and two chimneys at one end, appears to have been situated just beyond the southwest corner of the claustral ranges. While their contents are open to speculation, they appear to have been intended as bedchambers (*ibid.*, 326). The contents of the 'geysts' chamber at St Olaves gives some indication; listed are hangings 'wt steyned clothes', a 'trussing bedde stede wt an old ffetherbedd a bolster a payer of blanketts a payer

of shets a couyng a pillow and thre corteynes of steyned cloth', a 'table wt a payer of trestylls', a 'retell and ij chayres old', 'a fforme', and 'ij chests old', with a total value of xj s. vj d. In another guest chamber described as 'agenst the hall', are identical contents with the exception of the chests, and with an additional 'trondell bedde and old ffether bedde and an old couyng', suggesting the presence of a servant assisting the visitor (Haslewood 1863, 85-86).

The chapel was an integral part of any medieval house of standing (Girouard 1978, 56), and may have been a significant part of the practice of hospitality. Similarities between the high-ranking superior's household and that of the secular lord seem to have made the presence of a chapel inevitable in visitors' buildings. Although those in superiors' lodgings are more easily accessible both by means of surveys and inventories and through the standing or excavated remains, at Worcester, at least, there was a chapel at the north end of the guest hall, for which 4*d.* was paid in 1387-88 for improvements (Graves Hamilton 1910, 55). Chapels are primarily identified by their east-west alignment, the presence of a substantial east window, and occasionally, by a raised stone altar platform at the east end (see Jervaulx, for example, fig.38b). What normally disqualifies a chapel interpretation is the presence of a fireplace - although the addition of a heat source to an otherwise a cold, open-roofed structure seems a particularly attractive option. In the late fourteenth-century, the prior's chapel at Canterbury Christ Church was ceiled, and a new window and fireplace were inserted (Platt 1984, 162), all of which could be described as measures taken the make the chapel more comfortable. On the one hand, the favoured position for Cistercian superiors' lodgings', east of the claustral ranges, sometimes permitted a chapel to be included within the east end of the monastic church (e.g. Fountains, fig.36), but the alternative placement over the west range sometimes resulted in chapels positioned above the outer parlour (Battle, Gloucester, fig.32; Bardney, fig.47b). According to both documentary and archaeological evidence, however, the chapel was most often associated with the high end of a hall, with a great chamber, or with a superior's bedchamber. In the mid-fourteenth century, Prior Fossor of Durham spent large sums of money in repairing his lodgings, including a chapel, which appears to have been located near the high end of his hall (Hill 1866, 228-9). At Rievaulx, the chapel was placed roughly between the great chamber and the east end of the church (fig.34), while at Ely (fig.46), the prior's chapel was placed south of, and perpendicular to, the great chamber (my reinterpretation), as was the chapel of the prior at Finchale (fig.48b). The Bridlington survey places the prior's chapel at the east end

of the great chamber (Caley 1821, 273).

Few details of the chapel's internal appearance have survived. At Dover, the prior's chapel was adjacent to his bedchamber, and contained two mass books, two images in alabaster, a desk, and a sakering bell (Gairdner 1836, 241). Between 1311 and 1312, the prior at Bolton rebuilt his chapel, paying £7 6*s*. 6*d*. to workmen, 43*s*. 6*d*. for lead, 20*s*. for glass, and in the following years, 13*s*. 4*d*. was spent on paint, a further unspecified sum on an altar and sconces for tapers, and 15*s*. on vestments (Hamilton Thompson 1928, 97). In the abbot's chapel at Selby *c.*1398-99, a coat of arms for Richard, archbishop of York, was restored. Excavations at Newminster revealed the tiled floor of the abbot's chapel, in which scores of heraldic shields were arranged amidst simple geometric patterns (fig.57a) (Honeyman, Bertram, and Hunter Blair 1929, 95). In Prior Crauden's chapel at Ely (1321-41), arguably the most spectacular survivor (fig.57b), a sophisticated tiled floor was created, combining rosettes and stars with images of lions, and surmounted by Adam and Eve eating from the Tree of Knowledge (Eames 1992, 34).

What the guest house perhaps did provide more regularly was a small chamber set aside as the guest master's private study or oratory, since as a monastic official, this individual would have been unable to adhere to the normal hours in the church with the main body of the community. In such a case, it might not have been uncommon to find guest masters, rather than occupying the high-status chambers, taking second place to guests of more elevated social positions. In this respect, the guest master was less a symbolic head of his household than a manager of it, and while accorded some privileges with the post, could not claim the same rights as the superior.

'Locale': services

The close relationship, both structurally and symbolically, between the hall and kitchen is manifest in the role played by food in the practice of hospitality. To provide food to others was both an expression of Christian love and a demonstration of power and authority, particularly when liberal amounts of food and alcohol were liable to make any guest more amenable to such a display. Though generally regarded as a low-status space, the kitchen, a primary source of spiritual and physical nourishment, was a potent symbol of a host's generosity. Often a highly visible structure, the kitchen constituted the physical proof of the household's magnanimity. Carefully planned and constructed, sometimes with floors

of tile rather than earth and spacious roof structures to channel smoke and heat, with adequate provisions for light, working space, and the disposal of waste, the kitchen was not the dingy, dark, back room in which menial servants were imprisoned. Rather, it was a hive of activity, the very heart of hospitality.

Due to the existence of at least four distinct 'households' of varying size and importance on many monastic sites, the claustral household, the infirmary household, as well as the abbot's and guest houses, plus a fifth created by the Cistercian inclusion of lay brethren in the monastic population, it was common practice to construct multiple kitchens, as well as additional butteries, pantries, and bake- and brew-houses to cater to them. While the latter structures are often more difficult to identify on the ground, on account of their more spatially isolated positions and often less permanent construction, kitchens follow distinct patterns of location and function, and are traditionally identifiable by the even trace remains of multiple fireplaces and ovens. The claustral kitchen was generally either part of a range of rooms, usually the south claustral range, or was a detached square or polygonal structure positioned southwest beyond the claustral ranges. The Cistercian tendency to align the refectory north-south rather than along the main axis of the south range resulted in a large amount of unused space at the southwest corner of the cloister, and this commonly became the site of the kitchen, as is found at Beaulieu, Hailes, Forde, Fountains (fig.36), Jervaulx, and Rievaulx.

While the claustral kitchen was an established part of all monastic houses, it was often a dual-purpose structure, also supplying one of the peripheral visitors' households. Thus, a kitchen at Bardney served both the refectory and the guest house, by means of double doors at the low end of the guest hall (fig.58), as did similar kitchens at Canterbury Christ Church (fig.31), Easby (fig.39), Ely (fig.29), and Kirkham (fig.40). The kitchens of Byland, Fountains (fig.36), Kirkstall, and Roche served both the monastic and lay refectories, and those at Forde, Hailes, and Haughmond the refectory and the superior's lodging. Where peripheral kitchens were constructed, they might serve both the superior's lodging and guest house, as at Bury and Kirkham, or the superior's lodging and the infirmary, as found at Easby, Furness, Rievaulx and Roche, but examples serving only one household are not unusual, as demonstrated by the superiors' kitchens at Glastonbury (fig.58b), York (Norton 1994, 279), and Bridlington (Caley 1821, 273). In addition, an unreasonable distance between kitchen and hall might necessitate a smaller 'warming' kitchen at the low end of

the hall, so that food cooled by the trek between buildings might be reheated before serving. Finally, the construction of a 'meat kitchen', in which meat dishes normally prohibited in the refectory could be prepared and served to the superior, visitors, or the inmates of the infirmary, is suggested at sites such as Byland (fig.47a). Consequently, an additional hall, the misericorde, might be added to the scenario, in which the consumption of meat was permissible, as found at Jervaulx (fig.38b) and Fountains (fig.36).

Those kitchens forming an integral part of the claustral ranges tended to be both smaller and more rectangular than their detached counterparts. This was perhaps, to some extent, a general indicator of the size and wealth of the house, those smaller and poorer tending to assume a simple manorial, tripartite form which catered to both convent and guests instead of the over-developed monastic complex as found at Canterbury. Surviving surveys of Yorkshire priories, primarily nunneries, give measurements of kitchens ranging from seven feet square (Wilberfoss, in Brown 1886, 205) to thirty by sixteen feet (Swine, in Brown 1886, 328). But as detached buildings, kitchens could be distinctly impressive structures. From the evidence provided by their plans, internal width measurements of greater than ten metres were common, particularly in the wealthier houses. The external scheme might include angle or lateral buttressing in association with a polygonal or square layout, high-placed prominent windows, multiple doorways and a louvre as well as chimney stacks. The most famous, and best surviving monastic example of an abbot's kitchen is the mid-fourteenth century structure at Glastonbury, at one time intended to feed a household of approximately three hundred individuals (Wood 1965, 249). Its survival, in spite of the near obliteration of surrounding buildings and most of the monastic site, may suggest that it was retained because its grandeur was exceptional. This was a building constructed to be seen and its hospitable implications appreciated. It compares, however, very favourably with the conventual kitchen at Durham of a similar date, particularly in the way in which an externally square plan is transformed into a hexagonal plan internally by the construction of wide fireplaces in its right-angles (figs.58c and d).

Various monastic accounts tell a tale of consumption verging on gluttony, and certainly food and drink was the largest source of expenditure in the monastic or secular household (Dyer 1986, 55). The Church had long stressed that fasting was merely a tool of self-discipline, and while it might be a chosen method of self-deprivation, it was not meant to be imposed on others - 'a fast was not to be regarded by the frugal housekeeper as a

heaven-sent excuse for belt-tightening' (Henisch 1976, 29). A compilation of accounts for expenditure on foodstuffs is provided in Appendix 4. These accounts demonstrate that although the inhabitants of a monastic house might abstain from certain types of food, such as meat, they did not force their diet on their guests, and as monasticism evolved, they even refrained from forcing it upon themselves. By 1500, the monks of Westminster were living like gentry, and their diet was almost indistinguishable from that of secular noble households (Harvey 1993, 38). It is easy to see how, in an environment of exaggerated self-denial, the monastic calendar became clogged with feast days which encouraged very obvious indulgence.

Preparation and practice

It has been demonstrated that biblical forms of hospitality embodied perceptions of purification and acceptance into a community, through both ritual washing and the partaking of food and drink in the presence of a social/religious gathering. These concepts found long-term ritual expression in the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, both of which were considered forms of initiation into a social group. Baptism purged the guilt of original sin, but also represented the initiation into Christian society, in much the same way as circumcision represented membership of Judean (McGrath 1993, 177; Muir 1997, 22-3), while the Eucharist not only marked the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the blood and body of Christ, but also their consumption, which transformed the receiver - the guest - into a member of the community. Thus, receiving communion was known in medieval society as 'taking one's rights' (Duffy 1992, 94). Concerns with community and cleanliness were further amplified by the *Rule,* which enjoined monastic communities to receive visitors not only with prayers, but with the kiss of peace, ritual feet and hand washing, and bodily nourishment, all of which may be interpreted as acts of purification, initiation and acceptance. The Acts of Mercy further confirmed these provisions - food, drink, and shelter - as the practices of Christian brotherhood.

This 'community', however, was interpreted in the sense of 'equality'. Christ himself supplied the reasoning: 'If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet' (John 13:14). Was this still the essence of monastic hospitality, represented by the behaviour situated in and around visitors' buildings - or had the 'rituals' of hospitality lost their meaning, and become simply routine social practice? The structural and documentary evidence described above provided the *locale* for a social

behaviour defined by hospitality; how far this behaviour might be construed as ritual is less clear.

In a partial response to this question, it is perhaps most profitable to address several issues provoked by the remains themselves. The first of these is spatial arrangement, or rather, the overall impact on behaviour created (and altered) by the arrangement of buildings within the precinct, the role of visitors' buildings within this organisation, and the ordering of space within the visitors' buildings themselves. Graves (1989) has observed that physical alterations to a building, such as the addition of aisles or chapels to a church, affect the way in which people enact religious practice (1989, 307). This implies that routine is constructed not only by adhering to behavioural formulae, but that the recognition of *locale* is an integral part of the meaning of that routine. The concept of 'signposting' introduced in the discussion of gatehouses applies here as well. By imposing a spatial order on the monastic plan, by standardizing the position of structures - particularly visitors' buildings - within that plan, visitors were provided with cues to the appropriate actions.

The introduction of the first-floor hall to domestic building, particularly in monastic circles where the design of the cloister encouraged the placement of domestic space at first-floor level over an undercroft, may have inserted a pause into the normal social rituals surrounding guest reception. Prior to this introduction, the guest anticipated an entrance at ground level, entering the hall at a level equal to that of the host. Differentiation between social status was therefore indicated by an elevated dais within, or by a solar at first-floor level beyond. However, the first-floor hall created a much more imposing distinction between high and low status. The guest was now forced to enter the hall from a physically diminished and subordinate position, a potent reminder that the guest was *not* equal to the host. Thus, additional indicators of a guest-host relationship in which the guest enjoyed higher status must have been implemented to redress the balance; what these provisions were will be further addressed in chapters 4 and 5.

Grenville (1997) and Rawson (1998) have stressed that hall lengths increased over the duration of the later medieval period, also reflecting a decrease in hall width, and an increase in hall height (Grenville 1997, 108-9; Rawson 1998, 15-7, 21). These increases, they theorize, reflect an increase in the hierarchy of the hall - greater length increases the distance between low and high ends, while an increase in height may indicate not only the

use of impressive fittings, but an intention to intimidate the viewer (the guest) (Rawson 1998, 23). While the unclear sequence of construction characterising many surviving domestic visitors' buildings makes the production of histograms based on chronology impractical here, the available evidence does suggest trends similar to those in secular counterparts. Appendix 3 provides a data set of sixty-one halls with known ratios of length: width. Thirty-two of these are constructed at a 2:1 or greater. However, what is particularly striking is that twenty-three (sixty-eight percent) of the first-floor halls have a length:width ratio *equal to or over* 2:1, while eighteen of the ground floor halls (sixty-seven percent) have a ratio *below* 2:1. The majority of ground-floor halls being of a twelfth or thirteenth-century date, surely this signifies a conscious increase in hierarchical discrimination both through the favouring of the first-floor hall and the elongation of its space. The increasing tendency for the occupants of the dais to eat in chambers beyond the high end appears to be a further extension of this trend.

A further consideration is the significance of 'quality' in monastic hospitality. It has been repeatedly indicated above that guests expected a standard of hospitality equal to that provided in high-status secular households. This was in part characterised by the quantities of provisions and the way in which they were offered. However, one facet which has not yet been fully addressed is the importance of cleanliness in these provisions, and its potential ritual significance. The passage from the Barnwell *Observances* quoted on page 85 in particular endorses a high level of care and attention in the upkeep of the instruments of hospitality, including not only the cleanliness of textiles, vessels, and implements used during meals, but also in sleeping accommodation. While the practices of maintaining the house are normally regarded as mundane, everyday activities, their importance in the ritual of hospitality, particularly in the feast, must be stressed. The spatial resemblance between the hall and the church has already been addressed by Grenville (1997) and asserted above (p.78). But the importance of purification was not only emphasized in the baptism or washing of hand or feet, but also in the preparation of instruments for those rituals. While some criticism might be made of such a theory, particularly because of the temporal distance between these preparations and the ritual proper, and the fact that they occur primarily outside of guests' presence, it should be remembered that rituals do not require the full awareness of the various actors in order to be considered effective. Baptism loses its efficacy if the font or the holy water is impure, or if the actors involved are not sufficiently prepared or instructed, but not if the child is too young to be a cognitive

participant. Thus, these unobserved preparations of hospitality, both directly before and after, may be as ritually significant to host and guest as very visual ritual actions.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to present large amounts of standing, excavated, and documentary evidence both to support several hypotheses, and to throw up additional questions which might be addressed by undertaking detailed building recording and analysis. It has highlighted the possibility of identifying isolated, individual intention, through the consideration of 'snapshots' in the history of a monastic house. The manifestation of such intentions might be brought out further by the examination of isolated periods in the construction history of particular examples of guest structures. Furthermore, something further might be revealed about variation in arrangements and standards of decoration, and the influence of secular and monastic trends in buildings devoted to hospitality, and attitudes towards the reuse, rebuilding, and dismantling of older guest buildings. The first-floor hall and its place in monastic building history is thus a key issue.

One of the most important concerns is to understand the ways in which social hierarchy or segregation might be 'built into' monastic visitors' buildings, through the choice of hall dimensions and vertical situation, for example. This line of inquiry is directed primarily at relationships such as that between the guest and superior, between the guest and the guest master, and between the guest and the monastic house in general. Of particular interest are provisions made for large numbers of guests entertained at one time, the way in which the responsibilities of hospitality were increasingly handed over to seconds-in-command, and the way in which the presence of a guest master affected the construction of hierarchy into built space, since it seems that it is in the guest house context that the relationship between the 'household' and the 'head' of that household becomes most blurred. The overriding concern, however, is to elaborate on both the visitors' perception of the monastic house, and the monastery's perception of the guest. Was the guest an intruder, a stranger, or was there a more sympathetic relationship between secular and monastic cultures?

It will be demonstrated below, in conjunction with the material presented in this chapter, that the notions of community generally imparted by the biblical associations of hospitality, in the washing of feet and the partaking of food and drink, appear to have given way to the overwhelming desire to recognize rank. This was apparent not only on a large scale -

including the sometimes higher quality of visitors buildings and their furnishings as compared with the remainder of domestic monastic building - but also at the more intimate levels within the guest house and hall itself. In this sense, the use of water to cleanse, for example, may have lost its intended ritual significance as an indicator of community, even if its role of purification was retained in the rituals of the feast. The provision of food, drink, and accommodation, also seen as a symbol of acceptance within a household, appears to have retained its ritual significance in the feast, even if the significance of community had been supplanted. The following chapters, resulting from the detailed recording and analysis of individual visitors' buildings at Stoneleigh Abbey and Gloucester Cathedral, aim to highlight some of these issues, and provide the more conclusive answers which documentary evidence and superficial structural examinations cannot.

CHAPTER 4. MONASTIC VISITORS' BUILDINGS: STONELEIGH ABBEY

"Stoneleigh was a poor, obscure house, and seems to have played no part in English history outside its immediate neighborhood. Nor was it significant in the annals of the Cistercian Order. It was hardly ever brought to the attention of the Chapter General of the Order, and its dissolution was not attended by any circumstances out of the ordinary" (Hilton 1960, xvi)

4.1 TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Stoneleigh Abbey is situated within the medieval parish of Stoneleigh, in Knightlow Hundred, Warwickshire, at grid reference 3179 7124. The area has a long history of settlement (fig.59), including much Romano-British activity particularly to the northwest (SMR2594, 5287, 5668). A pre-conquest castle is believed to have been built on a site presently known as 'The Grove' (SMR 2591), located approximately 400 meters south of the abbey. The Cistercian monastery was built to the southwest of the village of Stoneleigh, and besides the fragmentary remains of claustral buildings and a freestanding gatehouse, there is evidence for the location of monastic fishponds (SMR 2910), several grange mills, (including SMR 2898, 2899, 2901), and a medieval tile kiln (SMR 7251). Following the Dissolution, the abbey was rebuilt by the Leigh family, over a period of centuries, to become what Pevsner described as 'the grandest, most dramatic Georgian mansion in Warwickshire' (Pevsner and Wedgwood 1966, 407). The site is currently approached from either the east (via the A444 running south of Stoneleigh and Stareton villages), or from the direction of Kenilworth (via the B4115), roads which probably follow medieval routes, since an estate map of 1597 demonstrates that they were already well-established, being surrounded by field systems (fig.60). A detailed history of the parish is given in the VCH (Kaines Smith 1951, 229-234).

Geologically, the area is noteworthy for its use of its indigenous New Red Sandstone in both 'polite' and vernacular buildings, an unfortunate circumstance, given its tendency towards severe erosion (Clifton-Taylor 1972, 122-132). The abbey appears to have been constructed primarily of this stone, and its friable nature has resulted in the loss of much sculpted detail and characteristics such as masons' marks and tooling.

The present buildings of Stoneleigh Abbey are Grade I listed, within Grade II registered parks and gardens, and are currently managed by a trust, Stoneleigh Abbey Limited. Of the abbey church, nothing remains except the south transept and south aisle, incorporated into the north range of the present house (figs.61 and 66). Recent watching brief excavations

have determined the position of the north wall of the abbey church (Warwickshire Museum Service, ex. inf. WMS). Extending further south, the present east range incorporates, at ground level, much of the fabric originally comprising the monastic east range (fig.61), including remains of the slype, chapter house (now a kitchen), parlour, day stairs, and the undercroft of the dorter converted into a dining hall. The present enclosed garden reflects the original location of the cloister garth, and excavations have discovered the original level and tiling of the north cloister walk (WMS, pers. comm.). In 1957, the architect Guy Silk drew an isometric reconstruction of the church and claustral ranges, based on his own observations of monastic remains (fig.62).

Areas to the north and east of the standing ranges have been targeted as archaeologically sensitive areas, retaining the foundation material of the church, of further courtyard buildings, and the remains of the monks' cemetery (fig.65). A recent service trench excavation to the west of the main house, in the area of the outer court, has revealed the foundations of probable monastic structures, perhaps associated with agricultural activities (WMS, pers. comm.).

Arguably the most complete remains of the monastic complex are those found in the building presently known as 'The Gatehouse', which is, in fact, a gatehouse incorporating a hospitium (guest) range extending to the east (figs.63 and 64). Within the monastic plan, this building was placed at the intersection of the inner and outer courts. Although it is possible that this was the only gatehouse to this monastery, a second outer gateway or gatehouse was quite common on Cistercian sites in England (Fergusson 1990a, 47-48) and could, in this case, have been positioned at some distance from the main complex, perhaps in the position of Mary Lodge (also called East Lodge), or perhaps closer to Stare Bridge (fig.59). The existing gate is situated approximately forty-five meters north of the west front of the monastic church (fig.65), thereby guaranteeing the medieval visitor a full view of the religious focal point of the monastery.

The Gatehouse presents a somewhat incongruous image within the present landscape, for in the centuries following the dissolution of the monastic house, the abbey site underwent large-scale domestic conversion. Although the late sixteenth and early seventeeth-century alterations may have retained much more than just the cloister layout, east range, and south transept and south aisle, this was probably swept away by eighteenth-century rebuilding

programs. The result is a series of ranges which, although incorporating some monastic remains, are more in keeping with sixteenth- to eighteenth-century tastes (fig.66), some of which even depart from the traditional use of red sandstone. It is perhaps to this dichotomy of building styles that the Stoneleigh Abbey Gatehouse owes its survival, for in the early nineteenth-century, Humphrey Repton praised it as a 'Curious Specimen of Architecture', worthy of preservation 'in these modern days of upstart Innovation' for those who 'delight in whatever is Ancient and Venerable' (Repton's Red Book, 1809- SBT DR 18/4).

4.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The first Cistercian monastery in England was founded at Waverley in 1128. Based initially on a determination to return to a monasticism which renounced wealth and indulgence and embraced asceticism, Cistercian monasticism received enthusiastic support. For in a culture which believed that the establishment or endowment of a monastic house was a means of 'safeguarding the soul of the benefactor and the souls of his relatives' (Lawrence 1984, 69) the effectiveness of this act was proportional to the sincerity and dedication of the monastic observers. Although the foundation of a monastic house was no doubt in part motivated by piety, there was also the added advantage that a Cistercian foundation required comparatively less funding than other monastic houses. Cistercians initially preferred uncultivated, wild lands on which to test themselves. It was within this environment of monastic renewal and reform that Stoneleigh Abbey was founded in 1155.

The main documentary source for the history of Stoneleigh Abbey is the *Stoneleigh Leger Book*, a register compiled by Thomas de Pipe, abbot of Stoneleigh from1352-64 and again from 1372-82, a monk of dubious moral character (Hilton 1960, xvii-xx). This work contains chronicles of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman invasions, the abbey's foundation charters and licences, charters of Kenilworth Priory, and an interesting history of the abbots. There is some material added in a later hand, including the *Valor* of 1535. Beyond this volume, there are only small collections of charters, deeds, court rolls, and the occasional reference in royal papers. Much of this material is replicated in Pipe's account, and most of it relates to the economic concerns of running the abbey's estates.

It is Pipe's account of the foundation of Stoneleigh which is quoted in all publications on the history of the site. *Circa* 1140, King Stephen granted a small tract of land called Radmore, situated in Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, to two hermits and their companions.

In 1153, after suffering prolonged disruption from local foresters of Cannock, who were not only troublesome, but demanded hospitality too frequently, they appealed to the Empress Mathilda, daughter of Henry I, for a change of site. Being particularly sympathetic to the Cistercian Order, Mathilda granted their request provided that they adopted the Cistercian rule. However, although they were granted Abbey status and received many benefits from their improved circumstances, they did not leave Radmore until 1155, when they petitioned the newly crowned Henry II to be removed to his manor at Stoneleigh in exchange for their holdings at Radmore (Hilton 1960, xv).

After a first attempt to settle on a site too close to the highway (Coventry Way, now the A429) at Cryfield, to the northwest (fig.59), therefore imposing a similar strain on monastic hospitality, the monks found a suitably isolated location on the present site in Echills Wood. The first stone for the church foundations was laid on 13 April 1156 by Walter Durdent, bishop of Coventry (Hilton 1960, xvi). This foundation was supported by the Augustinian priors and canons of Kenilworth Priory, to whom the parish church of Stoneleigh belonged.

Stoneleigh enjoyed a reasonably uneventful history. Most important for this study is the severe fire which damaged some of the abbey buildings in 1241 (Close, 25 Hen. III, m.9, cited in VCH 1908, 79). In the later years of the thirteenth century, the abbey's rights and income were increasing, having been granted a Thursday market and an annual eight-day fair, as well as free warren in seventeen manors (Quo Warranto Rolls, cited in VCH 1908, 79). In 1291, the revenues of the abbey were estimated at £83 12*s.* 3*d.* (*Pope Nich. Tax.* Rec. Com., 255, cited in VCH 1908, 79), a paltry sum in comparison with larger Cistercian houses. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 attributed an annual income of £151 3*s.* 1 ¼*d.*, while the commissioners of 1536 determined the annual value to be £208 3*s.* 1 ½*d.* At its dissolution, the abbey contained eleven monks along with the abbot and the retired abbot, all of good religious life. There were also forty-six dependants, made up of fifteen yeomen servants, twenty-one hinds, two dairy-women, five corrodians, two individuals receiving alms, and one receiving an annuity. The monastic house was reported to be ruinous and worth only its bells and lead, totalling £214 19*s.* 4 ¾*d.* (Aug, Off. Misc. Bks. cliv,147, cited in VCH 1908, 81).

There is little which can be said specifically about the monastic history of the Gatehouse at Stoneleigh, although one late thirteenth-century event may be of particular significance. It

is known that the abbey was attacked in 1288 by 'persons unknown', who 'came armed to the lands and tenements of the abbot at Stoneleigh, set fire to his houses, burnt the gatehouse, consumed goods, and hunted and took away deer' (Lich. Epis. Reg. Stretton, cited in VCH 1908, 80). Archaeologically, there is no evidence of this in the present gatehouse, and it is possible that this gate, built as it was in the fourteenth century, was intended to replace one which was destroyed. This possibility will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.6.

The register written by Thomas de Pipe states that it was Robert de Hockele, sixteenth abbot of Stoneleigh (1310-1349) who was responsible for the construction of the Gatehouse

> Domus ad portam edificauit et ecclesiam fere plumbo cooperuit
> grangiam del...(Hilton 1960, 254)

There are two comments to make on this passage. First, it is uncertain whether the gatehouse involved is the example still standing, or an additional, outer gate. Second, the phrase 'Domus ad portam' cannot be conclusively attributed to both the gatehouse proper *and* the attached guest range, particularly since, as will be shown, the gatehouse was initially built as a free-standing structure and pre-dates the guest range by several years at least.

Another important documentary source for the history of the Gatehouse is a post-Dissolution survey of the site of the abbey (DR 18/30/24/91). References to the ownership of mills on the site, which correspond with further documents recording the sale of parts of the estate (Kaines Smith 1951, 229), date the survey to *c.*1558-61. A fine watermark on the document, in the shape of a gloved hand with a crescent moon off the middle finger and an inverted '3' just above the wrist (fig.67), has strong parallels with watermarks being produced in Germany and Belgium between 1540 and 1560 (Briquet 1966, 570-574) (fig.68). The survey, transcribed in full in Appendix 5, states that a 'fayre Gatehowse well buylded of Stoone and covered with Tyles contenyng in it iij over Roomes and iij nether Roomes with iij chimneys' stands to the north of the abbey site (DR 18/30/24/91). The contents of the survey indicate that the abbey church had, by this date, been dismantled, and that other than the Gatehouse, the monastic remains included parts of the claustral ranges and accompanying service structures, and to the south, several mills along the river. Thomas Dudley, a farmer who occupied the site at this time, is noted to have constructed a lathe and plaster building, with a thatched roof, in an area almost certainly to the east of the present Gatehouse (*ibid.*). This information, including the description of the Gatehouse,

will be considered in more detail in section 4.6 below.

A final source which might be mentioned here as an independent observation of the Gatehouse is that given by Dugdale in volume 5 of his *Monasticon Anglicanum,* first published in 1721. In it, Dugdale describes the Gatehouse as a

> 'fair and strong building... on the front whereof, outwards, there is remaining yet a large escutcheon of stone, whereon three lions passant gardant are cut; with a lion passant gardant upon a helm set in the corner of the shield, according to the fashion of that time wherein [Robert de Hockele] lived. Which badge he fized here, in memory of King Henry the Second, their founder (1849 edition., 445).

This shield and helm is now barely discernible, and certainly the details on their surface have eroded beyond recognition. Dugdale's observation is, then, quite valuable.

4.3 PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE SITE

General descriptions of the monastic buildings remaining on the abbey site are found in S. C. Kaines Smith's account in the VCH, for Warwickshire (1951), and in *Buildings of England: Warwickshire* (Pevsner and Wedgwood, 1966). In 1964, G.H. Parks published a study of the post-monastic rebuildings in which he emphasized the value of the documentary sources, namely inventories, for the period, still held in the Abbey archive at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford upon Avon. Three articles have appeared in *Country Life* which discuss primarily the post-monastic phases of the mansion, of which the latter directs attention to the restoration work undertaken after a fire consumed parts of the 1720s west wing in 1960 (Aslet 1894a, 1894b; Leyland 1897). Geoffrey Tyack has published some historical information on these rebuildings in his papers on Warwickshire country houses for the *Warwickshire Local History Society Occasional Papers* (1980, 1982, 1989). Of these published items, only the first two listed discuss the medieval buildings in any detail.

Until very recently, few scholars interested in the Gatehouse at Stoneleigh have ever managed to gain access to the inside of the building. This seems remarkable, particularly in light of the fact that in the 1970s, when the abbey site was undergoing alterations in keeping with Stoneleigh Abbey Limited's desire to open the site to the public, plans were

drawn up for the conversion of the Gatehouse into a tearoom, necessitating a detailed examination of its interior. Although this scheme was subsequently abandoned, some ground excavation was carried out to the east of the building for the construction of public toilets. This work appears to have been undertaken without archaeological monitoring, and information concerning the development of the present Gatehouse was lost. Thus, the more detailed descriptions of the Gatehouse deal only with its visible, above-ground exterior.

Of these same works, only Kaines Smith and the *Buildings of England* volume provide any information on the Gatehouse, and these descriptions are not only misleading and incomplete, but say little about the nature and use of the building in its original monastic context. Kaines Smith's description, though it discusses the stylistic details of the gatehouse proper in detail, and states that the southern facade is refaced, is particularly unhelpful when one turns to the guest range, for in his opinion, the fourteenth-century hospitium 'appears to be wholly an addition of seventeenth-century date, much repaired in the nineteenth century' (1951, 231). The embattled parapet between the gatehouse and porch are, in his opinion, renewed or added in the early nineteenth century. Even his account of the stylistic detail of the gate must be read with caution, since his description appears to have been written *in absentia*. Thus, he omits the transom from the northern window while including it in the south, when on the basis of both structural and pictorial evidence, transoms must have been present in both windows at the time of writing (*ibid.*, 231).

Pevsner's description of the building suggests that he may have recognized the medieval nature of the eastern range, otherwise attributed to the seventeenth century:

> The gatehouse has an archway with a depressed-pointed arch, buttresses, a gable, and above the archway to outside and inside a two-light window withflowing tracery. Next to the porch is a small blocked spiral stair, E of the gatehouse is the hospitium, also partly C14. The porch e.g. has another two-light window with flowing tracery. There are also a blocked E window and two upper N windows. What is not C14 of the hospitium is Elizabethan, e.g. the dormers. They represent an upper hall. The outside stair-case to the upper room of the porch is yet later (Pevsner and Wedgwood 1966, 408).

4.4 VISUAL RECORDS

Surviving visual records for the development of the Gatehouse are entirely post-monastic, and are therefore most useful in determining the nature of renovation and conversion schemes from the sixteenth century onwards. Occasionally, however, they might also imply

the presence of monastic features affected by subsequent alterations, and thus they enable a conjectural reconstruction of the building before its nineteenth- and twentieth-century alterations. This section does not attempt to explain in detail the accuracy or otherwise of each depiction of the Gatehouse, but rather, emphasizes very briefly the potential, and the hazards, of this form of evidence. As a general rule, however, the accuracy of each illustration was determined first and foremost according to its correlation with the results of structural analysis, although it was sometimes necessary to draw upon an illustrative source in order to 'fill in the gaps'. A list of the various plans and illustrations is found in Appendix 6, along with a brief summary of useful details, and faults, associated with each. Specific items of dating evidence will be summoned as appropriate, as additional witnesses to the findings of the fieldwork described in section 4.6.

One of the urgent questions to be answered by detailed structural recording was the destruction date of the thirteenth-century guest range. Was this early range dismantled when the fourteenth-century guest house was completed, or was it retained until some later date, such as the Dissolution? Plans and illustrations defining any structures to the east of the present Gatehouse, including an estate map from 1597 (fig.60), Wilkes' 1749 plan (fig.69) and illustration (fig.70) of the site, Mathias Baker's 1766 site plan (fig.71), and a 1795 illustration (fig.72) were of critical importance, supplementing meagre datable structural detail.

The reliability of these illustrations and plans is a problematic issue. The circumstances which led to each illustration or plan's execution, and their contexts, vary greatly. Estate plans and panoramic views of the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were likely commissioned with an aim of establishing the holdings, and thus the value, of the estate, so that the structural nature and quality, but not the individual stylistic details, became important. Moreover, several publishers, who catered for a specific perception of beauty, or picturesqueness, paid for views of buildings which fit into these moulds. An example is the nineteenth-century illustration by Brandard, published by Elston, 'Publisher of Local Views' (fig.73), and possibly also Dean's south view (fig.74), and the *c.*1858 north views of the gate (figs.75 and 76). Perhaps the unpublished watercolour by Lady Leigh (fig.77) had the most potential for accuracy, plausibly a study executed for her own, or her family's, private enjoyment and approval, in which a resemblance to the original was a key requirement.

Humphrey Repton's *Red Book* of 1809 seems, at first glance, a detailed and accurate representation of the buildings on the Stoneleigh estate, yet here again the motivations behind the images cast doubts on their accuracy. Repton's south view (fig.78), painted from across the River Avon facing the main house, is an invention of his imagination - the grand colonnade across the south end of the west range was never constructed. How, then, should we view his rendering of the Gatehouse in the same picture? In this case, previous illustrations, viewed in conjunction with an analysis of the present standing fabric, suggests that the Gatehouse was not part of Repton's scheme for improvements, and was represented faithfully. It thus shows, for the first time, the unusual vaulted passage between gate and porch, with its crenellations above. It is the misunderstanding of Repton's purpose, along with misinterpretation of earlier illustrations, which induced Kaines Smith to conclude that the embattled parapet was an addition of the early nineteenth century (VCH 1951, 231). But it is more probably the limits of scale and angle, along with some of the motives described above, which omit the parapet from eighteenth-century depictions, since structural recording described in section 5.6 will demonstrate the monastic nature of this feature.

4.5 RESEARCH AIMS AND SURVEY STRATEGY

In 1997, an application for planning permission was submitted by Stoneleigh Abbey Limited for the conversion of the gatehouse into a ticket office, kitchen, and tearoom at ground level, and residential accommodation on the first and second floors[1]. The erection of complete external scaffolding with a temporary corrugated roof, and the removal of roof tiles and modern internal furnishings and wallpaper, provided a unique opportunity for the formulation of a detailed program of archaeological recording and analysis.

Within the entire site restoration program, allowances were made for watching-brief monitoring by several archaeological bodies. I undertook the Gatehouse watching brief in conjunction with my own recording programme. The Warwickshire Museum Service was appointed to deal with below-ground evidence both within and around the gatehouse, and the Oxford Archaeological Unit was asked to monitor all above ground work on the remainder of the site, and to coordinate the final results of all archaeological investigations. In the light of the relative dearth of scholarship focussing on the Stoneleigh Gatehouse in

[1]These plans have since been altered, in sympathy with the history and structural integrity of the building. The plans for the tearoom have been retracted.

comparison with post-monastic buildings on the site, the aim of the recording programme designed for this thesis was to understand the form and nature of the fourteenth-century structure, such as its arrangement and use of space, and its role within the monastic site. This included an attempt to determine the building sequence of the structure, focussing on the pivotal relationships between the gate, the guest range, and an earlier eastern gable wall. In addition, the role of the vaulted passage, its embattled parapet, and associated staircases and doorways between porch and gate, have been considered. Also of concern has been the original internal arrangement and appearance of the building, including its decoration, and the hierarchical relationship between the spaces above the gate and the hall. This includes some consideration of the original appearance of the arch-braced collar truss roof structure. And finally, some attempt has been made to understand the position and nature of the building in relation to other guest structures, and the rest of the abbey buildings, including both those currently present, and those which have long since disappeared.

Within this agenda, the nature of monastic provisions for hospitality has been a primary concern. Through the use of detailed stone-by-stone recording techniques described in the methodology chapter, it has been possible to dismantle conceptually the present building, and to trace its development back through the post-medieval centuries, to its original fourteenth-century state. What has emerged is a picture of why the gate and guest house were built in their particular forms. The original organization and use of space has made clearer the ways in which such buildings could influence, and be used to influence, the relationships between monastic inhabitants and visitors. These results will be discussed thoroughly below, and will be taken up again in chapter 6.

4.6 FIELDWORK ACCOUNT

The layout of the fieldwork sections below is chronological, being divided into four periods or phases of structural development. These phases represent the constructional periods of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including post-monastic changes which affected the medieval nature of the building, with a final, tentatively 'dismantling' phase for an earlier guest range, tentatively attributed to the Dissolution. Structural analysis is restricted to the Stoneleigh Gatehouse and its surrounding area, although discussions will draw upon some of the results of the WMS excavations carried out during the recent refurbishment. Isolated internal observations will be dealt with primarily in association with adjacent external elevations.

Within the Gatehouse itself there are three distinct, though chronologically close, monastic periods (figs.81 and 82). The first involved the erection of a range to the east of the present building, of which only the west gable wall survives, now as the east gable wall of the guest hall. The next phase included the construction of a two-storey gateway 17.2 m to the west. The third phase saw the construction of a guest range within the space occupied by the period 2 gate and the period 1 guest structure to the east. However, one further phase, tentatively dated to the Dissolution of 1536, saw the dismantling of the period 1 guest range. These phases were observed and recorded as follows (compare with figs.81 and 82):

Period	*Date range*	*Structure*	*Type of record*	*Elevation nos.**
1	lt. C13	E guest house	computer rectified photography	11, 14,
			hand survey	10 buttress, 17
			photographic survey	as above
			excavation by WMS	
2	*c.*1342-45	gatehouse	computer rectified photography	2, 12, 16
			hand survey	1, 3, 20
			photographic survey	as above
			dendro. sampling by R Howard	joists, posts, doors
3	*c.*1346-49	guest range	computer rectified photography	6, 8, 9, 10, 13
			EDM survey	roof
			hand survey	3, 4-5, 8, 9, 19
			photographic survey	as above
			dendro. sampling by RH	trusses, windbraces
4	*c.*1536	C13 guest range	computer rectified photography	11, 14
			hand survey	10 buttress,
			photographic survey	as above

*A full breakdown of context numbers associated with each elevation or region are found in Appendix 7.

Period 1: Early provisions for hospitality

Introduction

The construction of a set of buildings for the use of guests visiting Stoneleigh was only one task in a comprehensive scheme of building activity following the foundation of the house in 1155. Strategically positioned at the perimeter of the courtyard overlooking the abbey church, these first buildings were carefully designed to provide maximum visual effect while still maintaining some level of segregation from the main house. The remains of these early

buildings are fragmentary, but do provide enough evidence from which to make a partial conjectural reconstruction of buildings for hospitality in this early period of the abbey's history.

The period 1 remains are contained within the east gable elevations 11 (fig.83) and 17 (internal) (fig.92), along with a fragmentary lateral wall projecting further east within elevation 14 (fig.97) (see plans, fig. 81 and 82). Foundations delineating the basic outline of the building were discovered by excavation in spring of 1999 (fig.81). The structural relationship between the gable wall and the guest range to the west demonstrates not only that the gable wall is earlier than the building composed of elevations 10 and 13, but that elevation 11 was originally the internal, not external, wall of a structure further east. In addition, sculptural detail and stylistic decoration, contemporary with the main elevation, lend additional support to this interpretation.

Elevation 11

Stone by stone recording and analysis revealed that most of the elevation 11 facing stonework belongs to period 1 (fig.81 and 82). The facing consists of regularly coursed red sandstone, in blocks ranging in width from 0.12 to 0.28 m. Some evidence for breaks in building progress are present in courses around the first-floor opening 2606. Surface tooling includes narrow, diagonal incising, usually slanted top right to bottom left (2623), although the opposite (2670) is found in the collapsed area of stonework 2660, over blocked opening 2676.

Nine masons' marks are still visible on the surface of this material, and are confined to the area directly north of opening 2606. They consist of three marks in the shape of an X (2643, 2644, 2651), one more X with an additional diagonal branch (2650), three more in the shape of a Z (2645, 2647, 2648), and two arrows (2646, 2649) (Appendix 8). Their survival is probably due to their protected position, being in a corner sheltered by the gable and by the fragment of walling which makes up elevation 14.

Within the elevation there remain five surviving putlog holes (2603i-v), averaging 0.08 m^2, at vertical distances of approximately 1.45 m apart. The uppermost putlog hole (iv) is directly to the right of window 2597. A corresponding putlog to the left may have been destroyed by the replacement of the outer extents of the gable wall and coping (cut 2590,

fill 2591), as might another putlog corresponding with ii. The lowest visible example is that to the left of opening 2606. Its partner to the right is not traceable.

As suggested above, there are two original openings still visible within the gable wall. The first, 2606, was 2.65 m internally at its widest point at the springing of the head. A two-centred arch of two orders (2615-2618), was supported by engaged capitals, the mouldings of which (profiles 2741 and 2742) are badly decayed (fig.87). The base of the northern capital in particular retains evidence for the presence of jamb shafts, though this evidence is also detectable to the south. During restoration, traces of red paint on a limewash background were found on both capitals. Additional traces of red paint were found on the internal splay of the arch directly above corbel 2613. None of this paint was found in enough quantity to establish a continuous pattern or design, although the last example may take the form of a leaf or vine. During the removal of four blocks of stone from the head of the arch (cut 2619), however, numerous fragments of collapsed voussoirs were found in the debris of the wall core (2664i-xi), all of which retained red foliate painting in the shape of vines and leaves (fig.88), as well as one moulded piece of stone, identified as part of a mullion (2666).

The upper blocked window 2597 retains its original eight voussoirs. Due to some bulging of the wall eastwards, as well as the collapse of stonework within the arch below and further collapse to the north of the same, the segmental pointed arch has expanded slightly. No traces of marking or paint were observable.

To the north, immediately below the coping of the gable, is the original eaves course. More clearly visible in elevation 14, this stonework is embellished with two carved grotesque heads (2161, 2162) (fig.90). The corresponding eaves level on the south is identified by a similar projecting course with another carved head (2624, fig.90). The south wall plate is positioned 0.16 m lower than that on the north due to the dismantling of the south lateral wall (cut 2630, fill 2677) and the erection of a buttress supporting the gable wall (2627), during which activity the wall plate was probably repositioned.

No evidence was found for the use of beams or joists to divide the upper part of the elevation into what might be considered a first and second floor. Likewise, no evidence was detected for the support of a first floor, but this is almost certainly concealed behind

elevation 18 which abuts the lower part of the gable wall.

Elevation 17

Elevation 17 is the reverse face of elevation 11 (fig.91). Prior to the removal of the roof tiles of the period 3 guest range, only the very upper limits of this elevation were visible above the line of the roof (fig.92), and this was further obscured by a post-monastic chimney. The restoration program disclosed this area to daylight, revealing several important features. The stonework is similar to that found on elevation 11, again with changes in coursing centred around the window opening 2551. The position of original putlog holes may be reflected by voids and small blocks remaining in the stonework at 1.7 m vertical intervals (2555i-v). Two masons' marks (2564, 2565, fig.), both in the form of an X and similar to mark 2651 on elevation 11, are located to the north of the elevation (Appendix 8).

The moulding detail of the upper window opening observed in elevation 17 consists of an arch of two orders of stonework. The badly damaged outer order makes identification of a hood moulding difficult, but the presence of packing at the lower extents of the arch suggests that there was a hood, finished with decorative label stops (2579, 2580). The inner order is chamfered to a depth of 0.11 m. The sill of the window retains a splay 0.18 m deep. Within the guest range second-floor bedroom is an intact hood (2567) corresponding with the position of opening 2606 in elevation 11 (fig.93).

At the base of the main area of exposed stonework, at both north and south extents, are buttresses projecting westwards from the main elevation (2002, 2431), stabilizing the gable wall from the west. During the construction of the period 3 guest range, the width of the northern buttress (0.48 m) was incorporated into a wall mass of 1.05 m. The insufficient bonding of this period 3 northern wall with the period 1 gable allowed the wall to collapse (area 2582) approximately 0.12 m northwards, taking the buttress and the northern extent of the gable wall with it. This was stabilized during the restoration program by the insertion of new stone into the voids previously packed only with mortar.

A further buttress (2154) projects north from the northern extent of the gable. This buttress, as well as those mentioned above, retains its original form, including several stages of chamfering and a plinth, as well as a moulded string course. The exact profile of this string

course (2794), heavily eroded in some areas, was found sealed within cavity 5283 during the stabilizing of buttresses 2002, 2003, and 2627/2628 (elevation 10), which were collapsing southwards (fig.96).

Elevation 14

Elevation 14 represents part of the northern lateral wall of the period 1 range (figs.97 and 98). The western limit of the period 1 walling within elevation 14 is marked by buttress 2431, and remains continue for a maximum of 3.85 m east. Corresponding period 1 remains of an additional, lower plinth in elevations 10 (fig.122) and 11 (fig.85) suggest that original ground level in elevation 14 was approximately 1.3 m below present.

The period 1 stonework of this elevation is similar to that described in elevations 11 and 17. Putlog holes survive at 2165, 2166, 2167. A badly damaged string course (2158) runs along the length of the elevation at 2.06 m above original ground level, with what appears to be the same profile as found on buttresses 2002, 2431, and 2154. Below the string course, the stonework is narrower, with a maximum width of 0.20 m, while above, courses reach a maximum width of 0.32 m. Stone tends to be laid following the coursing pattern of buttresses 2154 and 2431, in particular below the string course (2158) and above the first stage of chamfering (2156). Some diagonal and vertical tooling (2168) survives in the area directly above the string course.

Discussion

The dating of the period 1 structure, and its implications

It is important to recognize that although Stoneleigh Abbey was founded in 1155, the period 1 guest building may have been the first stone guest house constructed for a monastery with limited financial means. Many early Cistercian houses are believed to have been first established in a timber form, which was then replaced by stone buildings (Fergusson 1983, 74). The foremost concern was to complete the monastic living quarters and the church, which would then be embellished or rebuilt as time passed. At Stoneleigh, twelfth-century remains identified in the eastern range of the main house, as well as documentary references to the construction of the church (VCH 1908, 79), demonstrate that, as expected, the construction of the claustral ranges and church was a primary objective (Kaines Smith 1951, 232). While there is a general scarcity of monastic guest houses surviving, standing or excavated, only three English Cistercian sites besides Stoneleigh (Fountains, Furness,

Kirkstall) retain definite remains of detached stone guest houses, and these are hardly comparable, the abbeys having annual incomes greatly exceeding that of Stoneleigh. But these sites also indicate that the guest house was built in stone only upon the completion of the main claustral buildings. Fountains was the quickest in providing for visitors, taking somewhere between twenty and forty years to construct its first chamber blocks, and its ground-floor hall immediately thereafter (Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1995, 60). Kirkstall, founded in 1152, had completed the first phase of its guest hall in the early thirteenth century (Wrathmell 1984, 12).

While it is possible, as will be demonstrated below, to date later building phases with a great degree of accuracy, a specific date for period 1 is more difficult to pin down with confidence. There is, however, sufficient evidence surviving in elevations 10, 11, 14 and 17 to attribute a late thirteenth-century date to the period 1 material.

It has already been demonstrated that the gable wall is earlier than the building composed of elevations 10 and 13, and that elevation 11 was originally the internal wall of a structure projecting east. The presence of window opening 2551, cut by the line of the dendrochronologically dated roof of the period 3 guest range (*c.*1348-49) (see pp.142-5), demonstrates that the window is earlier than the period 3 guest range. Similarly, the width of the gable wall, 7.32 m without buttresses 2154 and 2003, is 0.96 m greater than that of the period 3 guest range. The presence of buttresses 2002 and 2431 projecting west of the gable wall confirms that prior to the erection of the period 3 guest range, elevation 17 was an external face, as does the presence of a hood moulding (2567) within the second-floor bedroom of the period 3 range. Finally, the disruption of the gable stonework (cut 2590) in elevation 11 suggests that a roof, covered either in lead or tiles (see pp.154-5), was tied into the gable wall along this cut, and was removed and the void filled upon the dismantling of the thirteenth-century guest range.

Establishing that elevation 17 was originally intended as an external face has some implications for the functional identification of opening 2606. Due to the absence of any evidence for the original first floor level of this building, opening 2606 might be interpreted as either a doorway or window. The traces of internal jamb shafts below moulded corbels (2613, 2614), however, suggests that 2606 was indeed a window. Jamb shafts were still in use in the thirteenth century, but their internal use on doorways was extremely rare, whereas

they remained a popular internal embellishment for windows throughout the thirteenth century (Wood 1965, 339 and 347). The discovery of a possible mullion fragment (2666) within the later blocking of the window, strengthens this conclusion.

The reconstructed profile (2741) of corbel 2614 demonstrates that it originally included three descending tiers, decreasing in size, with roll, beak, and s-curve (fig.94). This is identical to the profile of a moulded capital found by Carey-Hill during excavations of the east cloister walk at Kenilworth in the 1920s (fig.95). He gave this capital a later thirteenth-century date (Carey-Hill 1930, 218). The presence of the same profile in sculpted stonework of two neighbouring houses suggests a single mason employed at both sites within a close time frame, and supports the acknowledged decrease in Cistercian detachment from contemporary artistic forms in the centuries following the foundation of the Order.

The string courses found on the buttresses and on the wall of elevation 14 both display the same moulding, a scroll with an angular edge, and a roll terminating in an ogee curve, placing the profile in the period after 1250, particularly in the Decorated period, 1280-1360 (Morris 1992, fig. 3.6, pp. 7 and 13-14). The profile resembles that of a hood moulding found at Little Wenham, *c.*1270-80 (Wood 1965, fig. 117.4, pp. 406-407). The way in which the profile has evaded any trace of environmental erosion by being encased within the wall of the period 3 guest range also suggests a date closer to period 3. Finally, the hood moulding of opening 2606 consists of a roll and fillet, hollow chamfer, and a small ogee, suggesting a late thirteenth-century date (Morris 1992, figs. 2.8, 3.8, pp. 6-7 and 14).

The painted stonework found collapsed within blocked window 2606, decorated with scrolled vines and foliage, is found in both thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contexts. Cistercian painting survives or has been recorded at over thirty sites in Britain (Parks 1986, 181), but known painting is restricted to the main monastic buildings and the church, and thus it is unknown whether there was, in practice, a difference between painting employed in guest structures as opposed to central monastic buildings. Both twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cistercian legislation condemned painted decoration, believing it a distraction from spiritual devotion, and banned it from the entire monastic site (Parks, 1986, 182-3). But by the thirteenth century, multi-coloured decorative painting, with the use of foliate and other motifs not distinctly 'Cistercian' in nature, was to be found in many Cistercian monastic buildings (*ibid.*, 191). The examples from Stoneleigh, with very stylized foliage patterns,

seem to indicate a thirteenth-century date, particularly when they are compared with thirteenth-century examples from Gloucestershire churches published by Tristram[2] (fig.89).

The extents of the C13 building

The restoration and redevelopment of Stoneleigh Abbey required the excavation, in 1999, of regions to the east of the Gatehouse, for the insertion of services and the construction of garages along the post-monastic lengths of boundary wall (fig.84). The necessary excavation work was monitored by Warwickshire Museum Services. A trench opened up 13.0 m to the east of elevation 11 and extending a further 4.5 m eastwards revealed the remains of three structurally-distinct buildings (fig.81). The latest structure (WMS context 408) has been identified with a post-monastic building which appears in the 1749 plan and illustration by William Wilkes (figs.69 and 70), but is then missing from Mathias Baker's survey of 1766 (fig.71). The feature which dominated the excavated area, however, consists of 1.75 m wide foundation stonework, the alignment of which coincides exactly with the alignment of the thirteenth-century range. The height of the foundations is consistent with the bottom of the lowest courses of the standing remains, and suggests that the dismantling of the thirteenth-century building stopped at the base of the facing stone. Several pieces of facing were found at the south-eastern extent of the excavation, sitting directly on top of the foundations and flush with the outer extent of the wall mass (WMS 405).

A structurally distinct stretch of walling, identified as medieval (WMS 427), abuts the facing stonework WMS 405, continuing due south. The single course of stonework is chamfered 0.10 m deep. This may have been a wall depicted by Wilkes and Baker running from the south-east corner of the post-monastic building (WMS 408) to the main house on the site of the abbey church.

The excavation determined the position of the east gable wall of the thirteenth-century range (fig.81). The building measured 18.3 m x 7.3 m externally, and assuming a wall thickness of 0.80 m consistent with the depth of the standing western gable wall, 16.7 m x 5.70 m internally. There is no evidence to suggest that the ground floor space was vaulted, but the possible lack of vaulting in other structures on site from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, such as the chapter house, cloister walks (Morris, pers. comm.), as well as the gatehouse,

[2] I am indebted to David Parks at the Courtauld Institute for this reference.

seems to suggest a preference for timber, if based only on economy.

The use of the thirteenth-century range

The results of the analysis of the standing remains of the period 1 range, accompanied by the results of the WMS excavation, provide fragmentary evidence for the height, length, vertical division, lighting, and internal and external decoration of the thirteenth-century range. What it does not provide is any information concerning access into, within, or around this structure. Nor does it offer any information about the nature of incorporated or peripheral service. There is no excavated or standing evidence for the position of either an attached or associated gatehouse of this date, although both the documentary evidence, as well as comparative evidence from other sites, attests to the existence of one, most probably in the same region of the abbey site. Based chiefly on its structural and functional association with the period 3 guest range, in the absence of other diagnostic information about access and internal spatial arrangement, this building is here interpreted as one element of the thirteenth-century monastic guest complex at Stoneleigh.

The theoretical spatial division of this building for such a purpose is open to question. As noted above, the scarcity of Cistercian guest houses makes parallels with non-Cistercian, and even non-monastic, buildings necessary. The two options which all of these sources present are first, a first-floor hall with storage or living accommodation underneath, and second, a detached chamber block accompanying a now-destroyed ground-floor hall.

This thesis has already demonstrated the conditions and probability of occurrence associated with each of these two options (chapters 1 and 3). The present period 1 remains, unfortunately, do not make it possible to determine in favour of one or the other possibility. It is conceivable that, with ground penetrating radar or selective excavation, such as was demonstrated at Fountains Abbey, the presence or absence of a ground-floor hall to the south of the period 1 range might be established. Service structures might be detected using the same techniques. The current financial restrictions imposed by the restoration programme, however, make such investigations unlikely in the near future, and in any case, post-monastic landscaping may have obliterated such evidence. Such theories will be re-examined in the context of period 2 and 3 building activity.

Period 2: Constructing a gate

Introduction

There is conclusive evidence that when Abbot Robert of Hockele initiated the construction of the gatehouse, he intended it to be a free-standing structure, not connected in any way with other domestic buildings. But nearing the completion of this work, he changed those plans, resulting in the construction of a guest range between the thirteenth-century guest structure to the east, and the east wall of the gatehouse. The material evidence relating to Robert's original intentions regarding the gate are treated as a single phase below, while the alterations to these plans will be considered in period 3. The material described as part of period 2 can be attributed, on the basis of stylistic evidence, and with the help of dendrochronological sampling, to the years between 1342 and 1345. That the gate was intended as a free-standing structure is demonstrated both by the presence of a buttress and corbelling projecting west from the western exterior elevation (elevation 1, fig.103), making the presence of further structures to the west unlikely, and on the east, the presence of a string course at eaves level (now inside the guest range) accompanied by an external doorway with a hood mould (figs.107 and 108). Within the material recorded, no evidence was found for a structure predating the present gatehouse.

The north and south facades (elevations 2 and 12)

The gatehouse is a two-storeyed structure positioned approximately 17.25 m west of the thirteenth-century gable (figs.81 and 82). There is no evidence within or around the building to suggest the existence of the gate recorded as burnt in 1288. The two main facades (figs.99 and 100) are displayed north and south, with a passage running below into the great court. The outer face of the gate, elevation 12 (fig.100), is almost wholly original, and reaches a height of 11.5 m from ground level to the top of the gable. The inner face, elevation 2 (fig.99), measures 12.0 m in height. Original ground level appears to have been altered very little, perhaps increased by only 0.50 m on the north side. Although Kaines Smith claimed that the inner face of the gate had been refaced (1951, 231), stone by stone analysis has demonstrated that this is not the case, and that the facade retains its original facing, with some period 3 or later insertions. The main stonework of both facades follows an alternating pattern of two or three narrow stone courses to one wide course, with breaks occurring around windows 2393 and 2680. Further interruptions are encountered high in the gable wall, where the need for kneeled coping necessitated the use of larger blocks of sandstone, and just above the entrance arches 2410 and 2688, where repeated narrow

courses of stonework are found. In both elevations, putlog holes are situated at transom level (2405i and 2711i), corresponding roughly with the level of putlog holes in the western elevation (elevation 1, fig.103), and at sill level (2405ii and 2711ii). Further possible putlogs are positioned to either side of and above the window head of elevation 2 (2714). A feature of both elevations is the position of several facing stones, of unidentified purpose, which lack core walling behind, and which do not appear to relate to either common construction practice or the original roof structure. These (2390 and 2391 on elevation 12, and 2713 on elevation 2) are positioned either side of the window heads, at 0.65 to 0.70 m above eaves level. Interestingly, similar features are visible in an engraving by Buck of the great gatehouse at Maxstoke (fig.114).

Elevation 12 retains a two-light window, divided by a mullion and transom, the head of which contains curvilinear tracery with cusped heads to each light, mouchettes above, surmounted by a quatrefoil lobe in the apex. The hood of the window is badly weathered, and its apex was cut back with the insertion of a clock face (see fig.79), hanging diagonally from cut 2389. Set high in the gable wall is a badly weathered sandstone block measuring 0.85 x 0.90 m, and bearing the remains of a helm and crest, with a shield (fig.101); this is now indecipherable, but was described by Dugdale as the arms of the founder, Henry II (1849, 257), and depicted in a slightly less eroded state (perhaps fancifully) in two *c.*1858 illustrations (figs.75 and 76). In contrast, the window of elevation 2 (2680), although also retaining a transom and mullion[3], is composed of reticulated tracery. A single ogee-headed quatrefoil lights the head. Similar damage was caused to the hood of this window by the insertion of a clock face and mechanism, corresponding with cuts 2615-2618. The moulding profiles of the jambs of windows 2680 and window 2393 are the same, consisting of a shallow roll flanked either side by a hollow chamfer (see profiles 2750 and 2753, Appendix 9).

The pointed archway of elevation 12 (fig.100) consists of a structurally independent roll, below which are two orders of arches, each with an attached roll below. The arches spring from the sides of two flanking buttresses. The buttresses of this elevation, as in elevation 2, vary according to their relationship with the surrounding stonework. Buttress 2414 to the west projects northwards only, with two stages of chamfering, to a visible depth of 0.73

[3]Some confusion in the notes of Kaines-Smith made him state that only the south window has a transom and that the window tracery was the same on both north and south (1951, 231).

m, though a further projection of 0.10 m was found immediately below ground level during restoration. Buttress 2407 to the east is similar, but whereas buttress 2414 is 1.67 m wide, buttress 2407 is 0.65 m wide, owing to the abutment of the period 3 wall mass 2430, the implications of which are discussed below. The southern facade, however, contains an unmoulded arch (2688) comprising three orders. The uppermost order is contemporary with the main elevation, and springs from the buttresses to either side. Interestingly, on the east, the springing point and arch width are transposed into the buttress mass, 0.16 m proud of the main elevation. A possible area of patching (2722) on the western buttress may reflect the position of a similar arrangement. The two inner orders of the arch (2690, 2691) as well as the corresponding jambs to either side (2695, 2696), appear to be later insertions, as noted by the brick, tile and mortar fill (2724) above order 2690, and the break between the jambs and the main elevation.

Whereas the eastern buttress in elevation 2 (2692) is 1.28 m wide, the western buttress 2705 varies between 1.44 m and 1.56 m in width, with an additional 0.22 m set back into elevation 1. As with the buttresses in elevation 12, but unlike the corresponding east buttress 2692, buttress 2705 projects forward in two stages of chamfering. The unusual arrangement and mass of this buttress can be attributed to the presence of a garderobe chute descending through the core of the wall.

The western elevation (elevation 1)

Stone by stone recording of elevation 1 (fig.103) demonstrated that the original facing, like that of corresponding elevations 2 and 12, is again surprisingly complete. A seasonal break in construction is found at 2123, where the otherwise broad coursing converts to several courses of thin sandstone. A series of putlog holes can be detected at 3.75 m vertical intervals (2114i-iv), although the lower putlog corresponding to ii is concealed behind a later boundary wall projecting west, and the lower putlog corresponding to iii is found on a buttress (2113). The southern buttress of elevation 1 (2117) is that described above, strengthened to contain the garderobe chute (fig.81), and it may be this function which later resulted in the need to patch an area of masonry at ground level (2119). Above the buttress, a quatrefoil oculus lights the garderobe closet (fig.102). Internally, the garderobe closet, contained within the southwest corner of the first-floor room, is accessed through a round-headed doorway, rebated externally for a door (fig.102).

Above the wall plate are two small gablets (2118 and 2119) marking the north and south gables (figs.104). These appear to have been originally carved with an image, but are now so badly eroded as to make further identification impossible. This feature is also found on the eastern corner of the south gable (2226, fig.104), but has been cut away (C2388, elevation 12) from the corresponding eastern corner of the north gable for the insertion of a chimney between the gate gable and dormer window 2435 (see Repton's 1809 illustration of the northern face, fig.79).

The most significant feature of the elevation is the presence of corbelling, three pieces of projecting sandstone masonry, at approximate first-floor level (2126). Although this is now capped with four chamfered stones, its original function appears, particularly from internal evidence, to have been to support a wall chimney stack The post-Dissolution survey (Appendix 5) indicates the presence of three chimneys on the Gatehouse, and it is likely that this was one of them (DR 18/30/24/91). This stack was probably removed in the seventeenth century, and a window (2131) inserted, below a contemporary dormer window (now dismantled, see figs.70 and 74), while another chimney flue was inserted into the eastern wall mass, with an additional fireplace opening into the guest range at ground- and first-floor level. During refurbishment of the first-floor room, plaster was removed from the walls surrounding window 2131 (elevation 20), permitting detailed recording of the stonework. This demonstrated that no trace now remains of a medieval fireplace, but that all period 1 stonework has been removed within an area ranging from 2.24 m to 2.46 m wide. It was not possible to determine the lower extent of the cut internally, other than noting that it extended at least 0.18 m below the present floor, but it demonstrably continued up through the timber wall plate above.

The eastern elevation (elevation 3)

Much of the eastern elevation of the gatehouse (fig.105 and 106) is concealed behind plaster and paint within the guest range. Internally, the only visible period 2 feature is a string course (2219) within the second-floor westernmost room of the guest range, representing eaves level (fig.107). This also demonstrates that the gatehouse was nearing completion before the building plans of period 3 took effect.

In the uppermost levels of the exposed southeast corner of the gatehouse, comprising the exposed stonework of elevation 3, is found the expected eaves course (2219), surmounted

by a gablet (2226) similar to those mentioned for elevation 1 (fig.104). Also present is a heavily moulded doorway, including an external hood, at first-floor level, providing access into the room above the gate passage from a defunct external spiral stair (see below, p.128). The moulding, the profile (2840) of which is given in Appendix 9 , is cut by period 3 vaulting and sculptural decoration. Much of the material at ground level is dated to period 3, although the definition of a break between period 2 and 3 material is uncertain.

The roof

The roof space of the gatehouse retained little timber which could be demonstrated to be part of the original structure. Post-monastic illustrations of the tiled gate roof (figs. 70, 74, and 79) suggest that the removal of the chimney stack from elevation 1 was contemporary with the construction of a dormer window in the same position, and perhaps interfered with timbers on the west side of the roof. The construction of a bell tower centred over the roof space (see figs.70, 72, and 79) required the complete reorganisation of the load-bearing capabilities of the ridge piece, purlins, and the two trusses. Thus, the existing principal rafters, purlins, collars, posts, and braces are either heavily reworked or replaced, and this, as well as other factors such as insect infestation, guaranteed a lack of stable material for dendrochronological sampling (*cf.* Howard 1998, unpub.). The common rafters appear to be reused from the guest range roof of period 3, and will be discussed in the next section. The only timbers which provided some interest, but were again inappropriate for sampling, were two tie-beams spanning the roof space east-west. The ends of these timbers showed evidence of recutting to take later, inappropriately curved braces. Each tie beam had two long, deep mortises along its length, each with at least three or four peg holes, some of which might have been secondary (fig.109). On account of decay, the correct angle and depth of the mortises was undeterminable. The undersides of both trusses were obscured both by lateral planks and the ceiling below, but the underside of the north truss, at least, may have been chamfered, at least on the southern edge. This detail, important to determining whether the roof space was open to the first-floor room, cannot be confirmed, since the tie beam was removed and destroyed without archaeological monitoring.

The gate passage

The sandstone elevations of the ground-floor passage (fig. 110) were not recorded in detail, with the exception of that on the southeast. This choice was made because internal and external walling on the west, as well as internal stonework of the northeast internal

elevation, displayed no evidence of disruption. Thus, stone by stone recording and analysis was directed at the one area of stonework in which there were signs of original features as well as alterations, elevation 16 (fig.111). At the time of recording, the northern extent of elevation 16 was obscured by timber doors, but the subsequent removal of these doors for restoration revealed no further areas of interest.

Elevation 16 comprises well-coursed sandstone masonry surmounted by a timber wall plate and a series of joists crossing the passage east-west. There remain two putlogs, 2513i and ii, at 1.80 m above present ground level (comparable to original ground level). Two further small features, 2514i and ii, are visible along the vertical north extent of cut 2508, possibly marking the position of door hinges (compare elevation 8 (fig.132), ground-level doorway).

The presence of cut 2508 and subsequent post-monastic fill 2509 marks the position of a period 2 doorway (2537). The restoration programme involved the removal of fill 2509 to permit access to the ground-floor room of the guest range via a passage (2921) between the gate and guest range (fig.112). Although the present passage is medieval in origin, it may represent a period 3 alteration to the gatehouse, and will be discussed further below. Its re-opening in June of 1998 revealed that the southern jamb had been altered. Originally the door opened to a passage to the southeast, which would have given access to a spiral stair which ascended to the room above the gate. When the stair was removed, access was altered to give passage to the ground floor of the gatehouse. This was achieved by knocking through to the northeast, and blocking the original southeasterly passage. A further detail was the presence of two areas of dark red pigment on a limewash background on the northern wall of the passage, which may represent painted masonry lines.

Above the stonework of the gatehouse passage rests a timber wall plate (2578), upon which sits a series of nine timber joists which cover the gate passage and provide support for the floor of the room above. Within this series, there are three distinct groups, differentiated by height and width, and by the weathering patterns and character of the timber itself. Joists of the first group, containing 2, 3, 5 (2530), and 9 (2523), sit directly on top of the wall plate, and have a pitted, uneven surface. In contrast, the second group, composed of joists 1, 6 (2528), 7 (2526), and 8 (2524) has a tight wood grain, and is packed either on the east or west between the joist and wall plate. One further joist, 4 (2533), measures an additional 0.11 m in width north- south compared with the average 0.29 m of the other joists. Joist

4 is also singled out on account of a series of empty mortises along its underside, including one each at either end of the joist, and an additional, longer mortise centred along the length of the joist. The eastern mortise retains one peg in situ.

One further item of interest was noted in the passage. On the western face of buttress 2407 (elevation12), was a single mason's mark, an X between two, nearly vertical, lines (Appendix 8, 2423). No similar mark was found elsewhere on the Gatehouse.

Discussion

The original layout of the gate passage

Dendrochronological sampling of joists 2 and 3 from the first group provided a felling date of *c.*1342-45, as did samples from joist 4 (see fig. 113) (Howard, Laxton, and Litton, unpub.). No timbers from the second group outlined above were sampled, but joist 10, which sits directly below joist 3 and is of a similar character to the second group, provided a final ring date of 1546, or an estimated felling date of somewhere between 1561 and 1586. Samples from the existing doors, thus far believed to date to the seventeenth century (*cf.* Kaines Smith 1951, 231), supplied the same date range.

Thus both the dendrochronological dating sequence and the structural evidence suggest that the doors dividing the passage were originally positioned under joist 4, supported by upright posts to either side and arch braces stabilizing joist and post. These were retained until a post monastic phase reorganized the gateway. This reorganization included the construction of the two sandstone stacks positioned under joist 3, and the tenoning of the original posts and arch braces into an additional, auxiliary joist (joist 10). Achieving this arrangement meant recutting, or shortening, the original posts and braces. The post-monastic doors themselves are an imperfect fit, and it is possible that the hinges remaining in the recut posts originally held medieval doors.

The re-opening of the passage between the gatehouse and guest range, while demonstrating the existence of a route heading southeast onto a staircase, did not confirm that an additional route in its present position, heading northeast, was not intended from the first. Hypothetically, if such a secondary route existed in period 2, then it may have led into an additional space at ground level, demolished with the stair tower when the guest range was constructed.

Access and use of space

It will be demonstrated, in the following descriptions and discussion, that the first-floor room above the gate was intended for the use of a guest master. Such an interpretation naturally contradicts the traditional interpretation of first-floor gate chambers as feudal courts, chapels, or porters' accommodation. Chapter 3 demonstrated that the porters listed in monastic accounts were hired servants, receiving an income for their services. As such, they were unlikely to be provided with such high-status living accommodation such as this, supplied with a wall fireplace, large opposing north and south windows, a lighted garderobe closet in the southwest corner, and the heavily moulded doorway providing access. All of this is stratigraphically consistent with the original, period 2 construction.

The unfortunate hiatus between the burning of a gatehouse in 1288, and the construction of the period 2 gatehouse, means that provisions for reception are unknown for this interval. The period 2 gatehouse is, however, close enough to the period 1 guest range (keeping in mind that this may have been only one structure in a larger complex) to raise the question of whether a guest master might have been intended to occupy the gate chamber from the outset.

The gate facades - outer versus inner

Morant noted that because monasteries employed a two-way system of traffic control (i.e. keeping outsiders out and insiders in), gatehouses were embellished on both external and internal faces (1995, 24). At Stoneleigh, however, the employment of armorial sculpture on the north face of the gate, the use of two different (but contemporary) styles of tracery on the different facades (curvilinear on the north and reticulated on the south), as well as the more elaborate, rolled archway used on the north, leads to the conclusion that there was a conscious decision to construct a more elaborate outer facade. All of these details were demonstrated to be in stratigraphic contexts contemporary with the initial construction of the gatehouse between 1342 and 1345.

The outer facade was often capable of commanding attention primarily because of the relative lack of impressive structures outside the abbey gates. In general, monastic precinct walls reached at least ten feet or more in height (Morant 1995, 9-10). As the visitor approached, these walls would begin to obstruct the view of larger buildings within, and the visitor would instinctively seek out, and focus attention on, the means of entry. The

Stoneleigh gatehouse, with its founder's coat of arms, would be both a strong political statement regarding loyalty and affiliation, but also a more important declaration regarding the continuity or permanence, and therefore the strength of, the house and its religious order. The employment of additional demonstrations of power, such as the economic influence which enabled the monastery to commission elaborate window tracery or archways, would have augmented such impressions.

The gatehouse was constructed on a site and alignment which guaranteed an unrestricted view of the west front of the monastic church, as well as its length, height, and overall proportions- monasticism in its majesty. This was the awe-inspiring example of what monasticism, and the Church, could achieve as a religious establishment, as a economic enterprise, and as a social regulator. But if such an image was so carefully orchestrated for visitors' entry, then why were the same messages not reiterated by the south facade of the gatehouse as visitors left the site? I believe that through other elements of a visitor's experience of the site, the monastery hoped to imprint a lasting image of the house and its hospitality. Departure from the site would expose the visitor to many of the same images and messages which had been encountered upon entering, but by the point of departure, the guest now had an enlarged perception of these messages, based on an experience of life within the house. Blatant imagery was no longer necessary, and thus the difference between the gate facades was not what had been omitted from the south face, but what had been included on the north.

However, it was suggested in chapter 3 that there is a subtle and elusive distinction between stair turrets constructed on outer or inner gatehouse facades, and that the messages of power and authority which operate on the former could not be seen as effective on the latter. The strong visual and structural similarities between the gates at Stoneleigh and nearby Augustinian Maxstoke Priory, both of which included a rear polygonal stair turret (fig.115), suggest that these messages were not restricted either to a single site, or to houses of only one order (it is unclear as to which gatehouse was constructed first). Furthermore, the quick removal of the stair turret from the Stoneleigh gate to make way for the construction of the period 3 range suggests that the rear turret was not a critical part of the image or messages presented to onlookers.

Period 3: The guest house

Introduction

The construction of the gate was followed quickly by the construction of a guest range, structurally linking the gatehouse with the thirteenth-century guest building further to the east (figs.81 and 82). The new range consisted of a first floor hall over living or storage space, a two-storeyed porch, and a vaulted passage connecting the range to the gatehouse. These alterations resulted in fundamental changes to the way in which the room above the gate was accessed, and in the nature and use of the space in and around the gate and the thirteenth-century guest range. Upon its completion, the Stoneleigh Abbey guest house survived undisturbed, and apparently unaltered, until the Dissolution.

The basic stratigraphic evidence for the guest range following quickly on the heels of the gatehouse proper includes the abutment of elevation 13 to buttress 2407 and elevation 12, the treatment of the period 2 features of elevation 3, and the stylistic similarity between the windows of the gatehouse and guest range. This is backed by firm dendrochronological dating of the guest range roof to the period immediately following the construction of the gate, *c.*1348-49.

The gatehouse - reconditioning

Elevation 3

The coursing irregularities described in period 2 suggest that areas of elevation 3 (fig.105 and 106) may have been refaced. Two possible vertical breaks interrupt the coursing, without any clear termination, while above these on the south, blocks measuring an unusual 0.95 m to1.04 m in length are incorporated, forming part of buttress 2692. Directly to the north is a region of smaller stonework resembling packing. It is difficult to determine the extents of the irregularity, but the disturbance encompasses much of the ground-level elevation. This is interpreted, in conjunction with evidence from the gatehouse passage, as scarring from the removal of a stairtower accessing the first-floor doorway (see above, p.128).

Period 2 coursing of the upper elevation (2212), including the heavily moulded first-floor jambs, head and hood of doorway 2286, were cut and filled with new stone accompanying an arch (2254) and vault (2249) which spring eastwards from elevation 3.

Elevation 12

Instead of simply abutting the northern face of the gate (fig.100) with the new guest range wall (elevation 13, fig.116), some attempt was made to reconcile the two structures, perhaps due to their close chronology. This was achieved by continuing the facing of elevation 13 up to the eastern extent of buttress 2407, although above this, elevation 13 simply abuts 12 directly. Presumably, the buttress was previously intended to reflect buttress 2414 to the west, and may have even been constructed as such. The coursing pattern of buttress 2407 reflects to some degree areas of coursing in the neighbouring region of elevation 13, particularly in the upper extents. This suggests either a rebuilding of the buttress to match the new walling of elevation 13, or an attempt to make this region, which in itself deviates from the pattern dominating the elevation, reflect that of the buttress.

The northern face - elevation 13

Elevation 13 (fig.116) comprises the region of walling extending from the east of buttress 2442 to the west of buttress 2431, all on one alignment, distinct from those of elevations 12 and 14 (see fig.81). It similarly reflects the activity of a single major building phase, period 3. With the exception of dormers 2433 and 2435, window 2465 and doorway 2457, an area of brick fill (2460) and the series of small intrusions made for the insertion of vents (2094, 2440, 2441, 2453), wall ties (2438), and pipes (2439, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2454), the contents of this elevation are ascribed to period 3.

The stonework consists of a series of alternating sandstone courses of narrow and wide blocks ranging between 0.35 m and 0.15 m in height. Breaks in period 3 coursing occur around or between major features, such as at windows 2477 and 2478. Further irregularities are found around window 2465 and doorway 2457. These are not associated with the insertion of these features, but probably with an attempt to adjust gradually the coursing to that of the gate facade (elevation 12) which it abuts. Putlogs are still present at 2437i - iii, with an eastern putlog (2447) marking the junction between period 1 buttress 2431 and the period 3 wall. A second, lower series is marked by 2449 and 2462. A weather course surmounts the length of the elevation.

The two period 3 windows, 2477 and 2478, are positioned roughly within hall bays 3 and 5 (fig.82), and are constructed in the curvilinear style. Pointed heads with hood mouldings

contain two long mouchettes flanking an ogee quatrefoil. Each window is divided into two trefoiled lights by a mullion, both mullions and jambs making repeated use of the hollow chamfer and a one-quarter roll. The profiles of these, taken from window 2478, are given in Appendix 9) and will be referred to again below. All of the lights appear to have been glazed, judging from the presence of glazing grooves in the stonework, though it is possible that the grooves are secondary. Internally, each window retains a segmental rear arch, deep enough to provide space for a window seat to either side of the window. The internal head and rear arch of window 2478 was found concealed behind plaster, being just above the level of the inserted second floor dating to the seventeenth century (fig.117). This resulted in the lights of the head being externally filled with mortar. When subjected to chemical paint stripper, the internal chamfered faces of both mullions revealed their original painted decoration, consisting of a series of red curved leaves (?) on a limewash background (fig.118). No paint was detected anywhere else on the windows, and it is assumed that either the painting was restricted to the mullions, or that post-monastic renovation has obliterated further evidence.

Two period 3 chimney stacks, 2432 and 2434, are found above the eaves course, neither of which is operative. The chimneys certainly predate the insertion of the dormer windows in the seventeenth century, since the string course (2475) of dormer 2433, rather than coursing to the full east and west extents of the dormer, as occurs in dormer 2435 and in dormers 2089 and 2090 within elevation 10 (see fig.121), instead terminates to either side of the window below, thus completing the moulding just west of the chimney stack. The upper part of chimney 2434, stack 2473, may be a replacement, since it was apparently more common to finish a chimney with a cylindrical or octagonal stack with a decorative cap (Wood 1965, 286-7). Internally, it is difficult to detect the associated fireplace openings. However, upon the removal of the skirting and adjacent floorboards from an unplastered region of the north wall, eastern room (first-floor level), five courses of brick fill, spanning 1.38 m, were visible. To either side of this blocking are period 3 joists housed in the sandstone wall. Further, secondary members are set on top of the period 3 work, and are set into the brick fill. Tenoned into the period 3 joists, and aligned east-west, is an additional timber 0.64 m long, framing a space suitable for a hearth. The east-west member receives joists which cannot be set into the sandstone wall because of the presence of a fireplace opening. On the basis of the hearth size and brick fill, this fireplace, including its jambs, was approximately 1.55 m wide (fig.82). Due to the presence of heavy plastering,

it could not be determined if there was an additional, ground-floor fireplace directly below.

Chimney 2434, at some time in its history, opened into the first-floor space to the east of window 2478. Behind an inserted brick chimney breast (now blocked by a toilet) which sits precariously on period 3 floor joists, is evidence for another, brick filled, opening which may or may not coincide with period 3 (fig.119). This fill is visible for 0.22 m within a 0.80 m span of wall behind the inserted chimney breast 2840. As with the previous fireplace 2842, any evidence for an additional opening at ground level below is concealed behind plaster. While a weighted line dropped down chimney 2434 touched down at a level consistent with the blocked first-floor opening, such an experiment would not necessarily detect any subsidiary, offset openings drawing from ground-floor level.

Immediately west of the brick fill, at floor level, the sandstone wall projects inwards an additional 0.15 m, forming a ledge (2844) (see fig.82). This ledge reappears at the westernmost end of the range, and was probably intended to take floor joists north-south across the building.

One further element of probable period 3 material in this region was found below a partition wall (2826) of post-1594 date (Howard, Laxton and Litton, unpub.). Sitting on top of joists running north-south (the joists being tenoned into a beam running east-west) were a series of large oak floorboards, measuring between 0.30m and 0.40 m wide (fig.120). Laid directly on top of these boards to the west of the partition was a lime ash floor. Although dendrochronological dating was not carried out on these boards, their stratigraphic position in relation to the partition wall makes it quite possible that they are medieval.

The southern face - elevation 10

The largest flat expanse of period 3 walling on the south of the building, elevation 10 (figs.121 and 122), marks the southern lateral wall of the main range (fig.81). Period 3 material can be positively identified at first-floor level, but the dating of the ground-floor fabric remains uncertain even after detailed recording. Continuing a first-floor fenestration scheme which allowed light into the hall from only one side of the space per bay, windows 2047 and 2048 are positioned in bays 3 and 1 respectively (fig.81), both with segmental rear arches and wide, deep splays for window seats. These windows have traditionally been ascribed entirely to the seventeenth century (Kaines Smith 1951, 231; Pevsner and

Wedgwood 1966, 39) but profiles taken from the upper and lower jambs, as well as the hood and mullion, of window 2047 (Appendix 9), demonstrate that the lower jambs and sills of windows 2047 and 2048 are, in fact, contemporary with those of the windows on the north. Probably in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the upper parts of the windows, as well as their mullions, were replaced by square heads, with profiles complementing their medieval predecessors. The difference is minute, being most noticeable in the overly-shallow one-quarter hollow.

Thus the remaining medieval lower jambs and sills course with the main stonework in a fashion consistent with that found on the northern elevation. Below first-floor level, period 3 material has been obliterated by multiple phases of alterations. Although some stonework may survive in patches isolated by later cuts and fills, or along ground level, these would be difficult to determine conclusively.

The mid seventeenth-century insertion of a second-floor, with a staircase leading up to it, compelled the insertion of dormer windows 2098 and 2105 (2498 and 2499 on elevation 13), lighting the second floor, and window 2080 lighting the staircase. At the same time, doorway 2077 was inserted, to provide access to the base of the stair. The insertions of window 2080 and doorway 2077 necessitated the removal of all internal and external facing stone, and there is no evidence for period 3 fabric in these areas.

It has already been demonstrated that buttresses 2002 (elevation 10), 2154 and 2431 (elevation 14) (see fig 81) are part of the period 1 construction of the eastern guest range. Buttress 2003, on the other hand, which cuts into the stonework of buttress 2002, retains a string course profile markedly different from that of the period 1 examples, and can probably be ascribed to period 3. This consists at least of a simple roll with a keel, but considering the degree of sandstone erosion present in this area of the building, it is quite possible that the original profile was a pointed or rounded ogee keel. In any case, it is an isolated example in this building, and is difficult to date other than in its specific structural context - filling cut 2035 of buttress 2002, and cut by 2022 (representing the demolition phase of the period 1 guest range, see p.155). In other respects, primarily in its chamfering, buttress 2003 resembles those examples from period 1, and thus appears to be an attempt to reconcile the two buildings of period 1 and period 3.

The southern face- elevations 4-5, 6[4]

As noted previously, elevation 3 was drastically reworked in period 3 to incorporate a vaulted passage between the period 2 gatehouse and the new guest range (fig.106). The presence of a 'bridge' (2215) supporting the vaulted passage (elevation 4-5, fig.123 and 124), tied into both the gatehouse and the south lateral wall of the guest range, dictated that facing stone below (2239) be cut to fill the remaining space (tied into neither the bridge nor elevation 3). A chamfered segmental rear arch (internal) is externally faced with the remains of a window, incorporating the square head with a profile identical to that used in elevation 10 windows 2047-9. The presence of an additional piece of moulding (2142) inserted between the two halves of the head may indicate that it was expanded to fit a pre-existing opening, the width being otherwise identical to that of openings in elevation 10.

Continuing with the upper extents of elevation 4, the period 3 material (fig.124) is restricted primarily to the lower parts of the window jambs, the head again being replaced by a square-headed window in the late sixteenth-century, and the entirety again being severely cut back at a later date by the insertion of a mock-pointed window head with a simple one-quarter roll profile which mimics the outer extent of the period 3 moulding (profile 2841, Appendix 9). In order to retain the heavy mouldings of period 2 doorway 2286 (elevation 3) with the southern wall of the guest range, the wall tapers back as it reaches the moulded jambs (2288). This terminates in a large block of sandstone carved with the upper torso and head of a human figure, with arms outstretched, though only the left hand is visible (2278, fig.127). The entire carving is badly worn, but the face retains some trace of rounded cheeks which give the face a jovial expression. The torso detail is now too decayed to interpret.

Internally, the western splay and lateral wall associated with window 2285 showed some traces of paintwork, consisting of red horizontal lines painted on a white background. Both this and the examples found in the passage between the gatehouse and guest range are consistent with known examples of red line masonry painting found in Cistercian contexts from the thirteenth century onwards (Parks 1986, 194-7).

A rib vault covers the passage. The ribs are plainly chamfered, with decoration restricted

---

[4]Elevation 7 is not presented here in detail, as relevant information appears in elevation 6.

to the floral bosses at intersections (fig.128). Below the vault in the passage, elevation 5 (fig.123) contains a simple doorway (2284), without rebates, leading into the darker regions of the passage and a short, descending flight of steps (fig.82). Its sheltered position has allowed the sandstone to retain its surface tooling and marking. An incised line, possibly intended for alignment, drops from the north corner of the vaulting rib through the head of the doorway, while another runs perpendicular just below the vault (2253).

The passage, if taken from the gatehouse first floor, originally opened into three distinct spaces (fig.82). A spiral stair, now blocked, could be taken down to the ground floor of the porch (through doorway 2849, fig.129), providing access to the ground floor of the guest range as well as the courtyard. To the south of the passage, a doorway, the head of which has been cut back or enlarged to provide more head room (see fig.128, foreground), led into the first-floor room above the porch. Finally, to the north of the passage was the first-floor hall of the guest range, entered though a simple pointed doorway (2957). Internally, this doorway projected forwards from the main wall face, resting on a corbel still visible at ground-floor ceiling level (fig.131) Between the doorways into the porch and the main range is a region of sandstone and mortar fill (2848) blocking a feature interpreted here as a laver (fig.134).

Elevation 6 (fig.125) is the 'external' face of elevation 4, being set approximately 1.30 m further south (fig.81). The coursing is careful and regular, with larger blocks reserved for the upper parts of the elevation. Two putlog holes (2323i and ii) remain in the eastern part of the elevation. A peculiar half-arch acts as a bridge to distribute the weight of the passage floor to the stair tower. The 0.80 m tall, chamfered ogee-headed window (profile 2843, Appendix 9), unglazed, lights the passage. An identical ogee window was found, blocked, behind a seventeenth-century staircase, the head of which is approximately 1.90 m above ground level. This window lit the spiral staircase ascending from the ground floor of the porch to the vaulted passage above.

The embattled parapet at the upper extent of the elevation has been interpreted in the past as an addition of the nineteenth century (Kaines Smith 1951, 231), probably on the strength of its first appearance in Repton's 1809 illustration (fig.78). Yet earlier illustrations from 1749 and 1795 (figs.70 and 72), the failings of which were discussed in section 4.4, are not only drawn from such a perspective that this region of stonework would not have been

clearly visible to the artist, but in addition, the 1795 illustration leaves out details which are included in the 1749 version. The manner in which the parapet abuts the period 2 gate on the west, and the roof of the period 3 porch on the east, does little to clarify the situation. One clue to its date, however, was uncovered during the restoration of the decaying stonework. Sandstone block 2298, forming part of the weather course while also sitting above it, was discovered to have a large circular hole cut through it, and packed with mortar front and back. Its position, against a flat roof covering the vaulted passage, suggests that it originally held a water spout (represented by cut 2322 and fill 2323) removing rainwater from the roof. If so, one would expect this feature to have been removed when the internal spiral stair was replaced by the external stair 2308, leading to doorway 2326. Since 2326 is a seventeenth-century doorway, this suggests that the parapet, with its integral waterspout, is earlier.

Arch 2302 springs from period 3 sandstone coursing at either side, being inserted into the period 2 stonework of elevation 3. The arch is moulded with a simple one-quarter roll profile. The voussoirs of the arch are not tied into the stonework, but act as a relieving arch for a heavy parapet above. The arch also allows light into the passage and, more importantly, into the interior of the guest range.

The south face - the porch

The stonework in elevations 4, 5, and 6 provided a link between the gatehouse and the porch of the guest range. Externally the porch (fig.132) is divided into two storeys by a prominent string course of a one-quarter roll below a hollow chamfer (2793, Appendix 9). At ground level, a large entrance arch measuring internally 1.37 m between jambs and 1.81 m in height, includes a heavily eroded hood (2362) as well as two damaged inner orders (2361). The archway is flanked on either side by short buttresses (2200 and 2369) topped with chamfers descending from the main face. The damaged western buttress (2369) belongs to period 3, but that to the east is a replacement (2200; cut 2357).

On elevation 9 (the east face of the porch, fig. 133), period 3 stonework is further interrupted by cut 2204, which has no apparent function other than creating a square window opening in an otherwise blank wall. There is no corresponding evidence of a period 3 feature in the interior wall.

Internally, the ground floor of the porch contains two doorways (2849, fig.129; 2850, fig.130). The western doorway (fig.129) measures 1.80 m in height, with a one-quarter roll moulding running the length of the head and jambs. The internal west jamb retains fittings for door hinges. The treads of the spiral stair have been removed to an underside height of 3.54 m, and the stair passage ceiling over. Doorway 2850, leading into the ground floor of the guest range, has a heavily moulded pointed doorway, featuring a series of one-quarter rolls and hollow chamfers, with an internal height of 1.97 m. The inside frame also retains evidence for hinges. Behind the doorway, a stone passage measures 0.65 m in length before reaching a sandstone barrier built to abut the internal wall face, and probably added at the same time as doorway 2077 was inserted into elevation 10 and doorway 2326 was inserted into the first floor of the porch. Fixed into the alcove was a wooden bench, constructed of various fragments of fourteenth-century carving from another, unknown source(fig.130).

A plain rib vault covers the ground-floor, devoid of decoration except for an incised six-petal flower set in a concentric series of five incised circles (fig.135). Set beneath in the stone floor is a stone 'trough' of unknown function, but possibly also of medieval origin (fig.136).

At first-floor level, the front elevation of the porch (elevation 8, fig.132), is pierced by a two-light pointed window, with curvilinear tracery of two mouchettes below an ogee-pointed quatrefoil. Its hood and label stops are similar to those used on the northern elevation window hoods. The window jambs, however, are a series of slight rolls flanking a three-quarter hollow (2748, Appendix 9). Above the first floor, the stonework of a pointed gable is cut by the insertion of a square-headed window 2347. Internally, however, there are indications that the window replaced another, period 3 opening, recutting the original sill (fig.137). The chamfers remaining in the sill permit an internal splay 0.60 m wide, roughly comparable to the small ogee-pointed lights of elevation 6, and of elevation 9 described below. In these examples, the internal splay is marginally wider than that found on the outside face, allowing a wider diffusion of light. These indicators suggest that there was a functioning gable room above the first floor space. The use of this room will be discussed below.

At and above first-floor level, the stonework of elevation 9 (fig.133) is original. A putlog survives at 2195. An ogee window (2196), similar to those found on elevation 6, is set at

first-floor level, but measuring 1.03 m in external height and 0.40 m in external width. This was probably blocked in the seventeenth century, when the access to and use of the porch was rearranged. The coping of the gable terminates at a string course (2193) with a small trefoiled gablet (2858) (fig.138). The upper extent is topped with another elaborately trefoiled gablet.

Internally, the period 3, first-floor room of the porch has suffered dramatically. Presently, the porch space is divided three ways (fig.82), the western space being an access route from the outside into the guest main range, while the other two form small rooms, the southernmost containing a stair to the gable room above, the northernmost acting as a broom closet. As noted above, the original arched head and jambs of doorway 2854 have been cut back (C2856) to create a larger opening (foreground of fig.128). The doorway measures 1.84 m from floor to the underside of the head, thus demonstrating a height consistent with other medieval doorways in the building. The previously continuous period 3 western wall was cut through (C2311, elevation 6) and filled with the head and jambs of a seventeenth-century doorway. The ogee window (2196) in the eastern wall (elevation 9) is now blocked.

In addition, the broom closet contains a cupboard (2848, on plan) 0.47 m wide, 0.68 m high, and 0.45 m deep, set in the northern wall, now divided into two spaces by the insertion of a wooden shelf into secondary grooves cut into the sides of the recess (fig.139). The front face of the cupboard is set back 0.05 m into the wall surface, perhaps as a rebate for a door, and although no hinge sockets are evident, they may be concealed behind mortar, difficult to detect in an unlit space. Floor level within the closet appears to have been 0.43 m below the present floorboards, the lower surface being later covered by rectangular floor tiles, 0.24 by 0.12 m. Outside the closet, the floor is at approximately the same level as the tiled floor, but is stone flagged, with steps leading up to the vaulted passage (fig.82). Thus, the height of doorway 2854 and level of the porch floor both suggest that there has always been a descending staircase into the first-floor porch space, and demonstrates that the gable room above could have had enough head room to be a fully-functioning room in itself, rather than an uncomfortably cramped attic space.

The roof of the guest range

Owing to the unusual alignment of the gable ends of the range, the internal space of the guest range proper is divided into six full bays aligned north-south, with additional semi-bays at the east and west ends (fig.82). The maximum bay width is 0.58 m. The roof is composed of seven trusses of the arch-braced collar type (fig.141, for section, see fig.105), with cusping above the collar. Principal rafters, sitting on timber wall plates at front and back of the stone wall mass, ascend to a ridge piece of two long lengths running east-west (fig.140, inset). On the south side, chamfered posts ascend from a minimum of 0.70 m below the top of the stone wall, up to the principal rafter, and continue along the rafter for 0.85 m. A separate timber arch brace continues the chamfer to a collar. On the north, however, the post only abuts the rafter, and then the arch brace continues the chamfer up to the collar. The discrepancy is explained by the increased mass of the northern wall, which is 1.05 m wide, as opposed to 0.76 m on the south, due both to the inclusion of the two chimney flues, and the need to encompass period 1 buttress 2431 within the wall mass (see elevation 17, fig.91). Two diagonal struts stabilize the junction of collar to principal rafters, both of which are cusped, with the rafters, to form a pointed quatrefoil.

The eastern face of each truss displays a series of Roman numerals, I through VII, indicating both the position of the truss within the building, and the junctions of principal rafters to ridge, collar to principal rafters, and struts to principal rafters (figs.140 and 141). The numbering is haphazard; the principal rafters of trusses II and III omit markings corresponding with those on their struts, and the same marking is omitted on the north sides of trusses I and V and on the south of truss VI. In addition, marks are absent from the principal rafters-to-collar junction of trusses I, IIII, and V, while marks are similarly omitted from the north side of trusses III and VI, and from the south side of truss IIII. The markings which are in place seem, in any case, arbitrary, appearing in different regions of each timber from truss to truss, and occasionally omitting the flecks which differentiate north from south. Differences between truss VII and trusses I-VI, such as the width of the struts, the misplaced peg holes near the ridge piece, and additional scribed lines, suggest that truss VII was constructed by a different carpenter, or that it was tailored somehow to suit the junction of guest range to gatehouse. Similar 'mistakes' on the western faces of trusses II and VI suggest multiple carpenters.

Purlins shallowly trenched into the backs of the principal rafters divide the roof into two

levels, further emphasized by two stages of cusped wind braces (figs.142 and 143). In the upper stage, a cusped quatrefoil is created in each bay by the use of struts ascending from the purlin to the main braces. The lower parts of the brace and strut form a trefoil. Another stage of windbraces, parts of which are visible from within the second floor, contain bays of two braces ascending the rafter from a point one third of the way between wall plate and purlin, without the additional struts, thus creating a cinquefoil. Numeral marking on the wind braces is concentrated on the junctions of strut to upper brace, such as in south bays 3 and 4, and on the upper part of the lower stage of braces (fig.143). Yet here, as in the trusses, the markings are unsystematic. While there is the possibility that some marks have been erased by woodworm infestation, no markings could be found on the upper stage of bay 1 south or on the lower stage of bay 4 south. Numerals indicating the position of windbraces on principal rafters are absent from the southern bays with the exception of bay 2, where the marks are found immediately below the purlin, but are a common feature in the north bays, indicating the junction of the upper stage of windbraces to principal rafters. The variance observed in the layout of marking on both the trusses and on the windbraces suggests that several carpenters may have been responsible for the construction of the Stoneleigh roof.

The presence of carpenters' marks on the eastern face of all seven trusses, and on the upper, or outer, face of the windbraces, demonstrates that the carpenters adhered to what Richard Harris calls 'the grammatical rules of the language of building' (1989a, 1), whereby the 'fair' or 'marking' face of the timbers or frames either faced towards the high-status end of the space, or, in the case of external frames, to the outside of the building (*ibid.*, 6). On individual trusses (fig.140), all assembly marks and centre lines are scribed, as opposed to chisel- or knife-cut (Wallsgrove 1989, 10), and are found on the eastern faces only. Similarly, several mistakenly positioned peg holes, never completed or used (see truss VII), are found cut into the eastern face only. The few complete pegs found *in situ* are driven from the east. Centering lines are found aligning the upper and lower parts of the quatrefoil, formed by braces and collar. The difference between the north and south ends of each truss is indicated by 'flecks' added to the southern series of Roman numerals, as are the windbraces on the southern side.

An anomaly in numbering places truss II not after truss I, but following truss IIII. There is no evidence to suggest that the main structure of the roof (excluding the common rafters)

has been reassembled. One possible explanation for the variance in numbering is simply that upon erecting the roof, it was discovered that truss II fit better in its current position. A second, more interesting possibility, which draws upon the presence of eight peg holes holding the arch brace instead of the six used on the other trusses, is that the alteration was made because truss II was somehow more suitable for the inclusion of a partition wall beneath. Further information regarding the arch brace employed in this truss is hidden by the second-floor ceiling and partition wall, or has been cut back for the creation of a passage along the southern side of the building.

Truss VII, and to a lesser extent truss VI, appear to collapse into the building on the north side (fig.105). This is due to the post-seventeeth-century insertion, and then removal, of chimney 2497 into the northern junction of the period 2 and 3 buildings (fig.144, see also Repton's illustration, fig.79), which resulted in the cutting back of the northern principal rafter and the removal of the western member of the lower windbrace. At second-floor level, this results in the perception that the northern post of truss VII is relatively complete (see fig.147). As the truss has rotated and collapsed, it has dragged truss VI, pegged into the same ridge and purlins, with it.

The common rafters now positioned irregularly over the guest range and gatehouse roof retain an unusual pattern of chamfering. Found on either the upper or lower faces, or on the eastern or western edge of each rafter, is an irregular pattern of chamfering which differs markedly from rafter to rafter (fig.145). An effort was made to record schematically the nature and position of this chamfering on rafters which, though not *in situ*, still cover the roof space of the guest range. The results suggested that the chamfering would have been visible from the first floor (prior to the insertion of the second floor, when the rafters were redistributed, and some used in the construction of the second-floor ceiling - see fig.146). In addition, the chamfering could be arranged so that it might face only the east end of the building, as do the fair faces of the trusses. Thus, the insertion of a second floor and the redistribution of the rafters, indicates that the intended spatial hierarchy was no longer important, and thus dispensable.

The posts supporting the arch braces are currently found on the second floor (fig.147). Initial examination suggested that the lower extents of the posts 2784, 2785, and 2788-91 were intended to be chamfered back towards the wall. But within this interpretation, the

south post of truss IIII (2786) was an unexplainable anomaly. During restoration works, however, the lathe and plaster partition concealing the south post of truss VI (2787) was investigated; this revealed a chamfered post terminating in a blunt, squared end, although it was not possible to determine how it was fixed to the wall, the north face of the post still being concealed. Recording each remaining post in detail demonstrated that with the exception of 2786 and 2787 and those which have been removed, each post has been cut back and rechamfered on an angle, probably to clear head room when the second floor and its accompanying partitions were inserted. Post 2786 was retained because it was enveloped by a partition.

Discussion

Almonry versus guest house

Chapter 3.3 discussed the lack of scholarship pertaining to the difference between the guest house and the almonry, and for the purposes of this thesis, attempted to set down some standard or criterion for differentiating between these structures. This criterion was hinged on the abbey's desire to keep less desirable members of society on the 'outside' of the monastery by restricting primary access to the external, rather than internal, face of a building. In contrast, guest accommodation was found either within the establishment, or if along the precinct wall, with primary access from the inside face. At Stoneleigh, there is, thus far, no evidence remaining for access into the guest range from without the precinct walls. In addition, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 recorded that Stoneleigh made a weekly distribution of bread and beer at (not within) the gates costing an annual £5 7*s* 8*d* (Rec. Comm., iii, 67, in VCH 1908, 78). As one of the less wealthy houses of the Cistercian Order, Stoneleigh may have restricted its charitable work to this extent, and not have constructed a building specifically designed for the provision of charity.

The alignment of the guest range

The guest range was not planned and executed with a width measurement reflecting that of the thirteenth-century guest structure and the fourteenth-century gate. There are several probable reasons for this. The first explanation is that a span of 6.0 m is simpler and less expensive to floor and roof than one of 7.3 m in width. But there are additional, more probable, explanations. First, the alignment of the period 3 guest range is dictated by its use of the eastern wall of the gate and the western gable wall of the thirteenth-century guest range as its east-west extents. Knowing that those standing walls were to be used, the best

way of securing the new lateral walls to the existing structures would be to use the external buttresses of the thirteenth-century guest range as anchors. Internal timber structures would, hopefully, prevent the lateral walls from collapsing inwards; the use of the buttresses would keep them from collapsing outwards. This was best achieved by constructing the southern wall on the inside of buttress 2002. This had the additional advantage of allowing the other end of the southern wall to be tied into the scars left by the removal of the gatehouse stair tower, while still retaining the use of the first-floor doorway. On the north, however, the need to increase the wall core mass in order to accommodate two chimney flues, while leaving a respectable internal hall width, meant that the northern wall had to be built to encompass buttress 2431. It should also be noted that it would have been unlikely that the period 3 builders would have used the period 1 eastern gable wall if the building originally associated with it was not still standing.

This is a very neat explanation, but unless everything can been attributed to the desire to reduce building costs, it does not really explain the decision to construct between two independently designed structures, as opposed to building on a different area of ground to the south or south-east. There are several additional theories which might account in part for such a deliberate action. First, there may have been a desire to avoid impeding the visual experience of a guest entering the courtyard and seeing the monastic church, the importance of which was discussed for period 2. Alternatively, there may have already been religious barriers to building on ground to the south. Little is known about the position of the monastic burial grounds, although several graves were uncovered to the east of the church (WMS, pers. comm.). But the most likely suggestion, one which draws on theories discussed for both periods 1 and 2, as well as accommodating the last-mentioned religious restriction, is that another guest building existed to the south, or southwest of the thirteenth-century guest range, one which could not be dismantled until further provisions were made, and which made the use of ground between the gate and guest range a necessary compromise. As suggested in chapter 3 above, it is quite possible that timber precursors of the stone guest buildings, such as a ground floor hall and chamber block, could be replaced, first by a stone chamber block (the period 1 range), and then by the first-floor guest hall (period 3) so favoured in monastic circles.

The original fenestration scheme

There has been some suggestion by Richard Morris of the University of Warwick (pers.

comm.) that the square heads inserted in the place of fourteenth-century pointed forerunners may in fact be late fifteenth-century alterations, and therefore monastic, but so far no parallel has been found for late fifteenth-century square headed windows without any evidence for tracery. Cusped square-headed windows appeared *c.*1490 at the earliest (Wood 1965, 359), while plain ones are a general feature of the later sixteenth century. Thus, in the absence of comparative material indicating otherwise, and the unlikelihood that Stoneleigh Abbey was a pioneer in architectural or stylistic design, the material is most probably post-monastic. Accompanied by dendrochronological evidence for alterations to the gate passage occurring in the late sixteenth century, and further evidence for rebuilding of the northern and eastern ranges of the main house during the same period (Kaines Smith 1951, 231), is it conjectured that the square heads represent a late sixteenth-century period of renovation. This was probably an attempt to modernize the internal face of the guest range in keeping with new work on the main house, while still retaining the monastic character of the external north face of the range, itself an interesting choice which, unfortunately, falls beyond this research brief.

Ground floor window 2049, in elevation 10, presents a different problem. This window is backed by the same chamfered segmental rear arch as is found in the other ground-floor windows mentioned above. The external jamb and hood mouldings are consistent with those used to replace the pointed heads of windows 2047 and 2048, but heavy erosion and the later infill of the lower parts of the window make a period 3 identification of the lower jambs and sill impossible. It is possible that the late sixteenth-century insertion of a square window head included, in this case, the insertion of a full length window where there was none previously. If so, then the sill remaining directly below fill 2021 is also sixteenth-century. But the presence of a segmental rear arch of the type found backing every other monastic opening suggests that if this opening was not a window, it may have been a doorway into the ground floor space. Evidence supporting either interpretation is limited, in particular since the ground-floor interior is almost entirely obscured by plaster and paint. The post-Dissolution survey (Appendix 5) which states that the ground floor of the building was divided into three rooms (DR 18/30/24/91), might support a doorway leading into a space separate from that accessed from the ground floor of the porch. Equally, it seems unlikely that windows of the same width and depth, therefore necessitating the same rear arch, would be found at ground level, mirroring those windows of the first floor. On the other hand, is it likely that a doorway accessing the ground floor would be positioned next

to another doorway, provided by the ground floor porch, accessing the same space?

The presence of two much-altered ground floor windows, 2065 and 2067, to the east of the inserted doorway, provides little positive support for either theory. Internally, the stonework is entirely concealed behind flawless plaster. There is no indication of a segmental rear arch to either window. Externally, the hood of a window identical to 2094 is still present in two fragments flanking window 2065 (2061 and 2062), but has been shaved back to the main wall plane, and only a trace of the label stop remains on the west. The outer extent of the jamb moulding was found on the courses directly below these hood fragments, when the stonework was being repointed. These remains, as well as width measurements corresponding to the width of window openings 2047, 2048 and 2049, demonstrate that window 2065, and probably window 2067, are sixteenth-century openings, but do nothing to illuminate the period 3 fenestration scheme at ground level.

Concerning the nature of the ground-floor opening 2247 through elevation 4, the first possibility is that the opening was originally a doorway. There are, however, several items of evidence which refute this theory. First, examples of minor period 3 doorways in the guest range have an internal height of 1.8 m. Such a measurement would place the base of the doorway at 0.94 m above ground level. Since both internal and external ground levels appear to have been equal, stairs leading up and down from a doorway are improbable.

Keeping in mind that the room behind the opening was already accessible from the gate passage, and that there is, thus far, no provision of light for the room, the obvious second option is that the opening was originally intended as a window. Yet it has already been demonstrated that there is no definite evidence for the nature of ground floor windows in the guest range. If the window was of the same dimensions as those found at first-floor level on the north and south elevations, a very unusual type for a ground-floor window, then the bottom of the sill would have been at least 0.70 m above ground level. The late sixteenth-century measurements of ground-floor window 2049 (elevation 10) would put the sill only approximately 0.15 m higher. In any case, the opening would need to correspond roughly with the width of the rear arch, so a narrower window is unlikely.

Identifying the guest

The figure set in elevation 4 (fig.127), at the junction of the guest range with the gatehouse proper, is badly worn and difficult to identify with any certainty. Its most distinguishing feature, a hood with a liripipe, does, however, suggest several possibilities. One option is a jester, hired for the entertainment of guests. A large number of jesters are found carved into wood misericords or bench ends, but while late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century jesters, found in abundance, are identified on the basis of a costume which includes a hood with pointed ears (fig.148), or playing bagpipes (such as at St. George's Chapel, Windsor or at St Boltoph's, Boston, where jesters are found squeezing cats under their arms while biting their tails) the criteria for the identification of early to mid fourteenth-century examples are much less certain, and seem to be based on unusual activities displayed by an individual. An example from Chichester, *c.*1330, in which a man, naked except for a hood, dances with an ape-like bear (Remnant 1969, 154), shows only a hood attached to a shoulder cape, without a liripipe. At Winchester Cathedral, a man identified as a fool lies on his side, with a protruding tongue, while attempting to draw his sword (Remnant 1969, 57). It is the humour *perceived* in the scene, rather than the certainty that the humour is intended by the 'fool' which provides the identification. Thus, the lack of certainty over the nature of the fourteenth-century jester makes a more certain parallel with the Stoneleigh example impossible.

Another possibility is that the figure represents a peasant, since both men and women of this class wore a similar hood with a short liripipe around the time of the guest range's construction. Particularly good examples of this type of headwear are found in manuscript illuminations, shown in figure 149, by an East Anglian illuminator from *c.* 1335-40. But while the comparison is interesting, it is difficult to understand why a peasant, bound to the land by financial restrictions, would be represented on this type of building.

A third possible identity is a member of the group of artisans who constructed the guest house. Even as far back as the mid thirteenth century, people working on buildings wore hoods with liripies (fig.150). In woodcarving as well, it is possible to find representations of masons or woodcarvers, occasionally as self-portraits. But in a monastic, domestic building, one with so little character sculpture, that representing a mason would seem somewhat out of place.

The final, and most intriguing possibility which conforms to both the nature of the sculpture and the nature of the building itself, is the traveller, or in more specific terms, a traveller who becomes the guest of the monastery. Illustrations of travellers in varying garb but consistently with a hood and liripipe are easy to find for this period (fig.151), although the social status or occupation of such individuals varied greatly. The traveller would not generally have been of a status which would allow him accommodation in the abbot's lodging, and possibly not even a member of the retinue or company of someone received by the abbot, since it was likely that such groups were received by the abbot or the guest master but not normally by both. But the traveller was a free man and had a right to the monastery's hospitality.

Gate chamber, passage and porch: access and the use of space

While the main first-floor space of the guest range, with its open roof and hierarchical design, was most certainly a guest hall, the period 3 use of space in the first-floor gate room, vaulted passage and porch, is more difficult to ascertain, and clues to its nature must be sought both in its period 3 characteristics and in its post-dissolution treatment.

The retention of a heavily moulded period 2 doorway (2286) in elevation 3 (fig.108), though violated by the insertion of period 3 material, suggests a high-status living space within the gate chamber. This space was accessed only through the associated vaulted passage, and not directly from the hall (fig.82). Access to the passage came from two directions, either through an small doorway within the ground-floor porch (2849), opening into a spiral stair, or through a corbelled doorway (2957) opening from the first-floor hall onto the passage.

There was a deliberate attempt to guide the visitor to an appropriate space by the use of a more decorative approach to the hall. Upon entering the porch through a moulded entrance arch, the visitor was presented with two options - a small, unobtrusive doorway on a lateral wall (2849) (fig.129), or, directly ahead, another deeply moulded, wide archway (2850) (fig.130). It would not have been difficult for a guest to recognize the appropriate entrance. Inside the guest range, there must have been a stair leading to the first-floor hall, probably positioned somewhere below bays 5, 6, or 7, although the evidence for this is now undetectable.

The prominence of the corbelled doorway (2957) opening into the hall, suggests that the doorway was on display to those inside the hall, although its primary function was to allow access into the hall from the vaulted passage. Thus, there was a deliberate attempt to emphasise doorways from a visitor's perspective, and there is reason to believe that both the chamber above the gate was used by a permanent occupant and not by a guest, and that the vaulted passage accessed from the first through the unobtrusive doorway in the ground-floor porch was primarily a private route. The hierarchy of the hall, favouring the eastern end of the hall and an earlier guest structure beyond, is a further indication that the gate chamber was not a high-status guest space, but rather a high-status space reserved for a guest master, an important monastic official who might, under specific circumstances, permit access to his private domain.

Such an interpretation is supported by the additional evidence of the passage and porch. It was noted above that a blocked feature, interpreted as a laver, was found in the eastern wall directly before doorway 2957. As with the monastic refectory, this would have been useful for the practical, but also ritual, washing of hands before entering a hall. This may have been particularly convenient in light of the use of the porch chamber. This space, which still retains features including a large cupboard (2848), an ogee lancet in the east wall, and a large pointed window in the south wall, may have been used as an office by the guest master, protecting an additional space above for the storage of guests' valuables during their stay. Taking this one step further, it is also possible that the chamber may have served (or perhaps even doubled) as a private chapel, when the duties of office made regular church worship difficult. Either interpretation draws strong parallels with the traditional arrangement of space over the entrance porch of west range-type visitors' accommodation, particularly Benedictine superiors' lodgings such as is found at Battle (fig.152) (Brakspear 1933, 156-7).

Period 4: The destruction of the thirteenth-century range

Introduction

Due to the uncertainty surrounding the date of the destruction of the thirteenth-century guest range, this event has been included and discussed as a separate monastic phase within the history of the Gatehouse. The 1558-61 survey of the site (Appendix 5) demonstrates that the guest range had been dismantled by this point, and that a thatched farm building was built on the site. The sixteenth-century farm building is featured in the 1749 and 1766 plans

(figs.69 and 71), and in the 1749 panoramic view of the site (fig.70). This sequence of events was confirmed by the WMS excavations to the east of the Gatehouse (p.120). If the building was demolished by 1558-61, the question then remains as to whether it was still standing and in use up to the time of the Dissolution, or had already been dismantled, due to a lack of need or a state of poor repair.

Elevations 10, 11, and 14

The structural relationship between buttresses 2003 and 2627 (period 3 buttress 2003 being cut by 2022 and then filled with 2627) (Elevation 10, fig.121 and 122), demonstrates that the thirteenth-century guest range was demolished at a date after the construction of the fourteenth-century guest range. Period 3 buttress 2003 clearly attempts to mimic its neighbour, period 1 buttress 2002, by copying both its levels of chamfering (2009, 2010, imitated by 2011, 2012) and coursing, as well as the plinth profile and level (2006 and 2007, imitated by 2014 and 2015). The only indications that buttress 2003 post-dates 2002, as described above (pp.136-7), are the nature of the profile employed in the string course (2005 profile 2794), and the clear evidence of disturbance between the two features (cut 2035, mortar packing 2008).

If buttress 2003 was intended to conform to the style of construction used in 2002, then that continuity should have been carried into buttress 2627 as well. Instead, buttress 2627 (which survives only in its upper parts, the lower half being cut by 2030 and filled by buttress 2628), retains only four courses of chamfering, while its corresponding wall segment (2025) is patchy and irregularly coursed. This difference implies both that 2627 is later than 2003, and that the main wall mass of 2627 (area 2025) is composed of re-used thirteenth-century stonework, cut back to its present, fragmentary state when the period 1 guest range was dismantled. If so, then buttress 2627 may correspond with walling 2171 in elevation 14 (see figs.97 and 98).

Material from period 4 in elevation 14 (fig.97 and 98) consists of approximately twenty-four courses of sandstone set into and around thirteenth-century material, perhaps due to some undetectable feature in the thirteenth-century stonework. Of this material, the upper fifteen courses (fill 2171) are regular. The top course is consistent with the probable lateral wall height of the thirteenth-century building. The lower courses (fill 2176), however, are erratic, and include very thin (eg. 0.12 x 0.55 m) blocks of stonework interrupted by several

0.15 x 0.15 m pieces. It is possible, based solely on the character of the stonework, that fills 2171 and 2176 represent two distinct events, separated by a horizontal break, and united by the use of chamfering to create a buttress, but it is the creation of the buttress which represents the destruction of the period 1 range. Area 2176 is cut by 2187, and abutted by fills 2179, 2184 and 2185. Fill 2178 retains post-medieval chisel-cut tooling. The insertion is completed with at least three levels of chamfering, terminating the stub of wall in an elongated buttress.

A single recognizable mason's mark (2177) is found at the eastern limits of 2176 (Appendix 8). This is patently similar to mark 2609, found on the infill (2605) of window 2606 in elevation 11, and is characteristic also of mark 2610. Unlike the other masons' marks on the building, resembling Xs, Zs, and arrows, these few examples are formed with curved lines descending from a vertical bar. Though not conclusive, the similarity suggests that the blocking of the first-floor window and the dismantling of the eastern guest range may be contemporary.

The sandstone coping of elevation 11 (fig.85 and 86) also dates to the dismantling phase of the structure, when the roof structure was removed (cut 2590), and the void left along the coping filled in (2591). Similarly, the upper part of the southern wall was removed, and the remaining vertical mass converted into buttress 2627.

Like the difference in the buttress profiles in elevation 10, the insertion of doorway 2676 into the northern part of elevation 11 at first-floor level also suggests that the period 1 guest range was not dismantled immediately upon the construction of the period 3 structure. Instead, the gable wall was pierced to provide communication between the two buildings (fig.82). The first instance of the blocking of this doorway is either prior to or contemporary with the dismantling of the period 1 range. Since the present window conforms with seventeenth- or eighteenth-century styles, it is feasible that with the construction of the post-dissolution farm structure abutting the east gable, the doorway was thus blocked by this building and not with stonework inserted directly into the opening itself. Upon the dismantling of this farm building in the mid eighteenth century, the doorway might then be blocked properly.

Discussion

Thus there is no certain evidence to pinpoint the destruction of the thirteenth-century guest range other than between the period of 1350-1558, that is, after the construction of the period 3 guest range and before the 1558-61 survey. It seems most plausible, however, that a building constructed only shortly before another guest range, and thus likely to be in good repair, would be retained and used, and that the dismantling of that building would only occur if it no longer served a useful function or was falling into disrepair. In both instances, the Dissolution might provide the necessary conditions. The king's commissioners found the abbey site 'ruinous', but worth with bells and lead £214 19*s* 4¾*d*, and granted it to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Pat. 30 Henry VIII, pt. 4, in VCH 1908). Buildings deprived of their roofs quickly fall into disrepair, and it is to be expected that the monastic church, at the very least, suffered this fate, and was dismantled. The packing under the coping of the east gable indicates that the early guest range may have had a lead roof, and that this was seized by the commissioners. With an approximate surface area of 670 ft. square, 4.2 fothers of lead, one fother being approximately 19-20 cwt. (Salzman 1952, 263), would be required to cover just the surface, with additional lead for additional fittings such as gutters and spouts. While prices did vary according to the market and geographical region in which lead was bought, and while there were additional costs for carriage, a fother of lead was selling in London in 1533 for £4 6*s* 8*d* (Salzman 1952, 264). Thus, a salvaged lead roof on the thirteenth-century guest house would have accounted for only a fraction of the total taken from the site.

4.7 Conclusions

The detailed recording programme undertaken at Stoneleigh has demonstrated both the main constructional phases of the building, as well as the probable role of the standing structure within the abbey's provisions for hospitality. The first identified phase of construction, the later thirteenth century, was likely to be part of the abbey's initial construction of a stone guest complex, perhaps replacing earlier timber buildings. This two-storey stone guest house may have provided living accommodation to accompany an additional detached, ground-floor hall. A gatehouse was burnt in 1288, and this may have been the initial trigger for the construction of the period 2 gatehouse between 1342 and 1345. The fourteenth-century construction of a new gate provided the setting for the creation of a first-floor hall between the existing stone buildings, probably completed by 1350, and replacing any earlier guest hall in the area. This scheme retained the thirteenth-

century stone block, probably in its original function, by piercing the gable wall with a doorway. There is no evidence to suggest that this arrangement did not continue in use until the surrender of the monastery in 1536, at which time the thirteenth-century range was probably de-roofed and later dismantled.

Although the absence of positive evidence leaves the use of space in regions of the building explained only in theory, it is plausible that the internal use of space in the present Gatehouse consisted of a first-floor hall above an undercroft used either for storage or sleeping accommodation, with an additional room within the same for the use of a porter. Accompanying this arrangement were the quarters of a guest master, a previously little-examined individual who presided over the guest house not as a lord, as his abbot would have presided over his lodgings, but as a representative of the monastery, an intermediary between two supposedly distinct worlds. The guest master accessed both the hall and a private office by means of a vaulted passage extending from his chamber over the gate to the porch.

The hierarchical layout of space employed in the Gatehouse was innately both spiritual and manorial in its associations, accompanied by those nuances which were part of a monastic tradition, yet with references to the secular spheres outside, and creating strong messages for all who entered the monastery. These messages, including suggestions of religious and economic dominance as well as spiritual and material largesse, were presented at the first encounter with the north face of the gate, reiterated with a full view of the monastic church, and entrenched within the nature of the reception and accommodation of the visitor in the guest house. By emphasising access routes through the accentuation of a doorway which opened either inwards or outwards, was accessible or inaccessible within specific social and spatial guidelines, the monastery reinstated both its benevolence and its authority.

CHAPTER 5. MONASTIC VISITORS' BUILDINGS: GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

"...when Edward the second King... came to Gloucester, the Abbot and community received him with honor. And sitting at the table in the Abbot's hall and seeing there painting of the kings his predecessors he was jokingly asking the Abbot whether he had him painted among them or not. To whom the Abbot replied, prophesying rather than merely talking, that he hoped he would have him in a more honorable place than there..." (*Historia*, trans. in Barber, 1991)

5.1 TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

The limits of the Roman and medieval city of Gloucester were to some extent dictated by the Severn, circling the area on the north and west, leaving Gloucester on a peninsula. The monastic precinct of Gloucester Cathedral is situated to the northwest of the Roman city, with the southeast corner of the precinct overlapping the northwest corner of the original line of the Roman walls (fig.153) The positions of two castle sites are known, abutting the Severn to the southwest. Medieval religious presence *c.*1400 included the Greyfriars and Blackfriars in the south and west corners of the Roman city respectively, as well as many churches lining the main roads which cut through the Roman city from north to south and east to west. Further churches were located in the parish of St Mary's, and the monastic foundation of St Oswald's was positioned even further north, against the northern corner of the cathedral precinct.

The geology of the region is clearly visible in the building works of both the Roman and medieval periods. The stone types used most abundantly, particularly in the precinct of Gloucester Cathedral, included Lower Jurassic lias limestone or mudstone, a blue-grey limestone used in the precinct walls and in larger secular buildings of Gloucester; Painswick stone, a fine white oolitic freestone used notably in the eleventh-century building works, as well as in the Roman period; and Minchinhampton stone, a 'harder silver-grey coarse fossiliferous rock, used for exposed areas such as plinths, string-courses, and copings' (Heighway 2000, 21). These types were supplemented with tufa for vaulting, and red sandstone, used primarily for repairs and patching (Heighway 2000, 21). Gloucester is particularly notable for its re-use of stone, not only of Roman material for building, but also the re-working of architectural stonework, especially Norman, to create new windows and doorways. Thus, a knowledge of the sequence of use of stone types aids in phasing areas of building work on a given structure.

A detailed description of the individual buildings concerned in this thesis is found later

in the chapter. However, it is pertinent to give a general account of the distribution and layout of the site and the position of the visitors' buildings within it (fig.154). Gloucester Cathedral precinct is composed of a vast array of listed buildings and scheduled monuments. Scheduled monuments include the infirmary arcade, the Little Cloister, St Mary's Gate, and the north wall of the Bishop's Palace (the King's School) (Heighway 2000, 2). The remainder of the historic buildings are listed, including the cathedral and cloisters, the chapter house, buildings north of the refectory site, the bishop's palace, the abbot's lodging and guest ranges, and all of the houses and buildings lining the precinct walls.

The building dominating the site, the great cathedral church, is in the centre of the precinct and is approximately ten degrees off a true east-west alignment. With the exception of its north-positioned cloister, the precinct follows a standard Benedictine plan. The eastern range held a slype, chapter house and the monks' dormitory. In the north cloister range was the refectory, with its accompanying services to the west. Further north were a second cloister and the infirmary. The west range contained buildings of uncertain use, but which were most likely associated with the abbot's tower - possibly an early set of guest buildings, taken down when new guest accommodation was built further to the west, since this area then became a courtyard and garden (GRO D936/E/1, 267-269). These made up the immediate surroundings of the monks. Beyond, in the outer courtyards, were various services, such as the bakehouse, brewhouse, larders, mill, and stables, and, most significantly, those buildings devoted to hospitality.

The surviving domestic guest buildings at Gloucester (excluding gatehouses) (fig.155) include a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century tower of three storeys, used by the abbot. Abutting this on the south is an outer parlour (the west slype, allowing passage into the cloisters, but also serving as a formal meeting point for monks, abbots, and visitors) with a twelfth-century chapel for the abbot above. In front of the tower block is a vestibule or lobby. A stair tower attaches this area to the north block, known as Church House, running approximately north-south, comprising an undercroft and first floor hall, later subdivided into two chambers, the Henry Room and the Laud Room. And finally, a further range running east-west, called the Parliament Room, abuts the north block. These comprise the first group of buildings associated with hospitality at Gloucester.

A second group of buildings is positioned at the north of the site (fig.154, also figs. 173-4).

This is the original location of the new abbot's lodging, built in the fourteenth century. It has since been replaced by the nineteenth-century Bishop's Palace, now the King's School, but there are still some medieval remains retained within the later building.

Finally, there are two gatehouses associated with the above complexes. The first, St Mary's Gate (figs.154 and 170), was the great gatehouse of the precinct, opening into the outer courtyard now called College Green. Its function of facilitating access to the monastic church was later adopted by King Edward's Gate, constructed directly south of a new south porch, but St Mary's remained the primary means of access to domestic visitors' structures. The second is the inner gatehouse (figs.154 and 171), so called because it leads from College Green into an inner courtyard, now Miller's Green, where the new abbot's lodging was situated along with the various services and workshops of the monastery.

Such were the buildings devoted to the provision of hospitality for individuals and groups entering the monastery. They provide a complex, but incomplete, picture of hospitality, for they are concerned with one particular brand of hospitality only, that of high-status accommodation and entertainment, rather than provision for lower-status guests. It is also unclear, as will be discussed in the coming sections, whether there were further buildings associated with higher-status accommodation which have not survived due to rebuilding activity, particularly in the southern regions of the outer court. The picture, however, has more potential for 'completeness' than could be hoped for from most other surviving monastic sites, and until now, this picture has remained very cloudy.

5.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The early history of Gloucester Cathedral, and its development up to the end of the fourteenth century is described in the *Historia Monasterii Sancit Petri Gloucestriae*, collected and collated by Abbot Froucester (1381-1412) (Barber 1991, 233). The present Cathedral has its origins in an Anglo-Saxon foundation of 679-81 (Barber 1991, 597; Heighway 2000, 4). It was founded as a double minster, a house of both men and women ruled by an abbess. At some later (but unknown) date, it was converted into a house of canons, but was reformed in about the late tenth century (Heighway 2000, 4). According to the *Historia*, the church was rebuilt from its foundations in 1058, when Aldred Bishop of Worcester consecrated the monk Wilstan as Abbot (Barber 1991, 601).

It is said that when the first Norman abbot, Serlo, came to power, he rebuilt the church yet again (Barber 1991, 603). It is this building program, beginning in 1089 and continuing into the twelfth century, which provides the first significant remains in the present cathedral church, as well as the first visitors' buildings - the abbot's lodging tower and chapel. In the succeeding centuries, many of the monastic buildings were rebuilt and renovated along with the church itself, including the infirmary, refectory, dormitory, abbot's lodging, cloisters, gatehouses, and even the precinct walls. At the time of the Dissolution, the See of Gloucester was created, thus rescuing the buildings from the fate of many other houses. Although some buildings were demolished, those which were suitable for conversion into prebendal dwellings (for example, the abbot's old and new lodgings) or those which still retained a valid function (such as St Mary's Gate) escaped such a fate, thereby allowing the nature of monastic hospitality at Gloucester to be studied.

5.3 RECORDS, REPAIRS, AND RESTORATION

In her *Overall Archaeological Assessment* of Gloucester Cathedral, Carolyn Heighway writes that 'to obtain information about past repairs for a particular part of the cathedral is a labourious process. The documentation is extensive, but comprises many different sources, in three or four different places' (2000, 20). Most of these sources are post-Reformation, much of the medieval documentation having been lost, with only a couple of exceptions. One of the more interesting of these is a thirteenth-century royal manuscript illumination depicting the skyline along the west front of the cathedral (MS 13A III f.41v), a frontal which was lost in the rebuilding of this front in the early fifteenth century (fig.156).

As previously stated, Gloucester Cathedral has a long history of reparation and rebuilding, a history which goes back to the earliest times of its foundation. During the medieval period it suffered repeated ravaging by fire, particularly between the years of 1100 and 1300, which destroyed not only workshops and services on the periphery of the outer courtyard, but also parts of the cathedral church and the buildings abutting the cloisters. Thus there was a constant need to repair and rebuild, as well as the overpowering desire to improve and beautify the cathedral and its surroundings. Some of this is recorded in the *Historia* described above, and extracts from this source relating to fire damage and building activity are given in Appendices 10 and 11.

One of the most valuable post-monastic documentary resources is a series of seventeenth-century leases and surveys relating to precinct buildings, some of which record the schematic layout of structures and their state of repair, as well as general area measurements. These were published recently by Eward (1985), but with some important errors of transcription and interpretation which will be discussed thoroughly below. A selection of data from these has been tabulated in Appendix 13. The most important of these sources is a 1649 Commonwealth survey, which describes in some detail the layout of Church House and the adjoining parliament block. The application of these surveys to the standing structures, however, has been the source of some confusion, and to what extent they may be used to reconstruct the appearance and arrangement of medieval guest buildings will be considered in detail.

Accompanying these records is a wealth of illustrations of the precinct. For convenience, the most useful of these have been grouped according to subject, and appear between figs.157 and 167. They include a series of maps (the earliest dating from 1610) demonstrating the survival, and size, of visitors' structures (see figs.157-161). Although the cathedral church remained the most popular subject of artistic efforts, its close proximity to Church House and the Parliament Room meant that these, too, often appeared in elevation sketches and paintings (figs.162-7). Many of these were produced for popular publication, and thus might be expected to have emphasized the picturesque quality of these buildings, but some record the apparent state of structures prior to restoration, and thus are a valuable resource, though one to be interpreted with caution, as will be demonstrated.

The Victorian restoration (*c.*1867-1905) of cathedral buildings under the control of the Chapter was undertaken by the Supervisor of Works, Frederick S. Waller, and from 1892 onwards, by his son, Fredrick William Waller. The former's philosophy of repair, reasonably sympathetic to the medieval material, stated that it was imperative

> 'to retain in all cases as much as possible of the old work, restoring only where actually perished, ...to take all precautions that can be adopted to prevent further decay in the external stonework by carrying the water from the building, and by such judicious repair as from time to time may be found necessary' (quoted in part in Welander 1991, 460, and in Heighway 2000, 5).

It was with this approach that the work of restoring Church House, the buildings associated with the abbot and guests of the monastery, was carried out. Newspaper clippings from *c.*1863 state that the whole of the building (excluding the Parliament Room and the Henry

Room) had been 'almost gutted' to 'remove the monstrosities' of post-medieval alterations. This included knocking out inserted lathe and plaster partitions, removing the stucco facing from the facades, and restoring windows to their medieval forms (The Builder, June 20, 1863). Several alterations were made to the use of space, making the building fit for occupation by the new Dean.

Similar work was undertaken on the Parliament Room and the Henry Room in 1957. This involved the stripping out of inserted partitions and ceilings obscuring the roof structure, as well as any Victorian insertions, such as a fireplace. At the same time, timber oriel windows were reconstructed on the north face of the Parliament Room on the basis of surviving mortise and tenon evidence, doing away with the eighteenth-century sashes (Oswald 1962, 1425). At the time of restoration, a special report on the Parliament Room was compiled by John Harvey, but this has since disappeared.

5.4 PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATIONS

One outcome of the abovementioned restoration work was an increased understanding of the form of the medieval monastic structures, although it did nothing to increase our understanding of how these buildings were used to provide hospitality. Much of the current published and unpublished discussion of this evidence is based on the work of Hope, who in 1897 published an extensive architectural and archaeological analysis of the cathedral and precinct. Since then, several events have occurred which make it imperative that Hope's descriptions of the form and function of Gloucester's visitors' buildings be reconsidered. First was the restoration of the Parliament Room and Henry Room, as mentioned above. Of similar importance was the publication of a weighty volume by David Welander (1991), which compiles much of the known documentary sources (in translation) and accepted interpretations of buildings in the precinct, thereby greatly facilitating further research. Finally, watching brief excavations were carried out in 1980 and 1981 in regions of the west range previously uninvestigated, and which Hope had assumed were devoid of structures (see below, p.165). Without the above circumstances, further research into the guest buildings at Gloucester would have been a much more daunting proposition.

What follows is a description of the current state of knowledge regarding the visitors' buildings at Gloucester, on the basis of which the research questions and a corresponding

recording programme for this thesis was developed. In these descriptions, I have attempted to refrain from describing conclusions derived from of my own fieldwork, apart from those initial observations which prompted further enquiry.

The gatehouses

St Mary's Gate

St Mary's Gate is situated within the western wall of the outer courtyard (fig.170). The passage is aligned east-west, overlooking Church House. A gatehouse has apparently occupied this location since 1190, when fire destroyed parts of St Mary's Church, 'in front of the abbey gate' (Barber 1991, 611). The earliest surviving work is visible in the twelfth-century vaulting spanning the passage - three bays of Norman ribbing, decorated with chevrons (Verey 1970, 225), but the remainder of the work is predominantly mid thirteenth-century, possibly a response to the fire of 1222, which burnt the parish church of St Mary de Lode directly in front of St Mary's Gate (Barber 1991, 613, see Appendix 10).

This was the main gatehouse into the precinct for much of the medieval period, and yet we have no clear idea of how it fitted into the everyday running of the monastery. For example, there has been some suggestion that the building attached to the south of the gate, a half-timbered structure of multiple construction phases but predominantly fifteenth-century, was an almonry (e.g. Harvey 1957), but this theory has never been examined through any detailed recording, and thus its relationship with the gate (culminating in a number of blocked openings in the gate passage) has not been explored. In light of the findings of chapter 3, however, the strong likelihood of an association with almsgiving meant that focussed research on this structure would probably not highlight the research themes of this thesis. Instead, this gatehouse contributes to an understanding of hospitality through its changing spatial and visual relationships with other structures in its vicinity.

The inner gate

The inner gate (fig.171) was positioned at the south of the inner court, now known as Miller's Green. This area supposedly contained such monastic facilities as the bakehouse, brewhouse, boulting house, stables, and mill (Hope 1897, 113). The gate was built in the fourteenth century to provide access to the newly constructed abbot's lodgings (fig.154) - whether it replaced an earlier gate on the site is still unknown, and only selective excavation could shed light on this matter. It is possible that if the area was previously occupied only

by service buildings, the regulation provided by St Mary's Gate was sufficient.

The gatehouse includes a gate passage covered by a lierne vault (see fig.198). In the west side of the passage is a blocked opening, leading into the building originally occupying the site of the present Community House. Thus, little is known about the monastic use of the building, other than its role in providing access to the inner court and new abbot's lodging. No records of restoration or repairs exist, and the south external face is rendered, while the internal stonework and roof space are currently inaccessible. At the moment, little can be gained from the surviving structural evidence other than its association with the building to the east, and therefore its relationship with the Parliament Room.

The Bishop's Palace

The fourteenth-century abbot's lodging, later the bishop's palace and now the King's School, was located to the north of the precinct, accessed during its monastic lifetime via the inner gate alone. The area is enclosed by a wall which follows the line of, and incorporates, the medieval curtain wall which segregated the abbot's lodgings from the rest of the precinct.

The present structure is a massive mock-Tudor mansion, with imitation Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular windows, constructed around 1862 by Ewan Christian, on behalf of the Ecclesiastical Commission (Chandler 1979, 81-2). Although his original intention was to retain some parts of the medieval and post-medieval buildings - specifically the hall and chapel - the resulting structure apparently makes little use of original fabric, which was discovered to be unsound. While it is believed that some vestige of the original layout of the great hall survives in the basement of the present structure (Chandler 1978, 82), the only immediately noticeable monastic remains are along Pitt Street, where the north wall of a long gallery, with its oriel window, was retained as a noise barrier between the new bishop's palace and Pitt Street (fig.172). The windows of this elevation are now in danger of collapse, and while such circumstances might merit archaeological recording, the general scarcity of monastic evidence suggests that little information about the social context of this material would be retrieved from such efforts.

The documentary sources, however, merit a closer examination. According to the *Historia*, the abbot's lodging was constructed in several phases from the fourteenth century onwards.

It was begun by Prior Wygmore (1316-29) who built 'the Abbot's Chamber beside the infirmary garden', and later completed the 'Abbot's Chamber near the Great Hall, with the Small Hall attached to it and the chapel there' (Barber 1991, 629; Appendix 11). Following this, no major work is documented until the abbacy of Malverne, who repaired or extended the abbot's lodging, including the creation of the oriel window in the elevation fronting Pitt Street (Chandler 1979, 81). The resulting complex appears in the King's records *c.*1541, when the buildings were handed over to the bishop of the new See of Gloucester. Furthermore, before their demolition, a survey was made of the structure (*c.*1856) - this was traced by Waller in 1881, and published by Hope in 1897 (figs.173-5). These records were used by Hope to indicate the original layout of the abbot's lodging. He concluded that the abbot's lodging proper was to the east of the great hall, while the servants' department and lodgings for guests were to the west. The long gallery at the north of the site led into the chambers associated with the abbot - that is, a hall, pantry, kitchen, chapel, and bedrooms, with cellars and offices beneath. His interpretation was based on a belief that a *camera* could be translated as a group of chambers, or a hall with chambers and offices attached (1897, 109). It will be demonstrated below, however, that Hope probably translated the *Historia* references too literally, and distributed the buildings too widely.

The west range

Hope was unaware of the existence of a monastic west cloister range at Gloucester (other than the abbot's tower and chapel), and assumed that it had not been constructed (1897, 95). This consequently affected his interpretation of the remaining domestic buildings, in particular those associated with hospitality. Excavations undertaken by Garrod and Heighway in 1980 and 1981 (record 11/80, City Arch. Unit), in the area of the present toilets and passage, uncovered the remains of the late eleventh- or twelfth-century west range, a structure which they interpreted as the original guest accommodation (1984, 53) (fig.155). It was described as a 'cellar building 4 m wide with associated partition walls and postholes...'. The alignment of the trenches F1 and F2, found associated with these remains, were taken to represent the position of a western wall, slightly skewed, but similar to the alignment of the north block 'which has remains of thirteenth-century date but could of course rest on earlier foundations' (Garrod and Heighway 1984, 53-55). The alignment of the cellar was not determined, but presumed to be similar. To the north of this was an area interpreted as a kitchen. In the twelfth or thirteenth century, the cellar was backfilled and several floors laid on top. Several walls bonded with the cloister, and therefore

attributed to the fourteenth century, were found above and extending further to the west, though their relationship with the stair tower and the present north block was not determined.

Herbert stated that a range of buildings in this position was dismantled in or around the mid 1730s, when a brick coach house and stable were built on part of the site (1988, 287), although whether the dismantled structures were of fourteenth-century origin, or a later undocumented rebuilding, is not certain. Certainly, the 1760 Chapter Acts plan (fig.158) shows no buildings on the site, but Hall and Pinnell's 1780 plan of the precinct still shows a full west range in this position (fig.159). By 1843, however, the only buildings in this location were some stables (fig.161).

Thus, there were standing buildings in the area of the west range during the monastic period. As described previously, there is documentary evidence for the presence of a cellarer in *c.*1380 (Welander 1991, 587), so the ground floor of this range could reasonably be associated with him, but whether it was also associated with general hospitality has been thus far unclear.

'Church House'

The most structurally 'developed' buildings associated with hospitality at Gloucester are those making up what is presently known as Church House, west of the west cloister walk. These structures, along with those of the adjoining parliament block, form the main focus of my fieldwork. Briefly, the earliest standing remains are believed to be the abbot's tower block, against the southwest corner of the cloisters, and the west slype and abbot's chapel above, all of which are Norman (fig.176). Their construction was followed by the addition of the vestibule in front of the west facade of the tower in the thirteenth century, and then the construction of the north block and connecting stair tower in the thirteenth and/or fourteenth century, both directly west of the original west range of the cloisters.

The slype and chapel

The west slype, a passage which also served as a meeting place between monks and visitors, opens from the great cloister onto the outer courtyard (fig.177). It is tunnel-vaulted, and divided east-west into four unequal bays by wall shafts with scalloped capitals, with stone benches lining the walls (fig.177). Hope suggested that the end of the slype and the chapel

above were originally longer, but were shortened and rebuilt with old masonry in the fifteenth century, also proposing that the west facade of the church had been shortened, as well as rebuilt, at the same time (Hope 1897, 108). A blocked doorway set into the northern wall, at its east end, may have functioned as an access route from the tower block into the cloisters. The plaster was stripped from the walls of the slype in 1991, allowing the architectural details to be recorded by Heighway, but no definite conclusions were reached concerning the sequence of construction of the room, although it has been suggested that the large-block areas of the south wall may have been part of the original northwest tower of the church (Heighway 2000, 17).

The chapel above, like the slype, is believed to have been built between 1120 and 1135. It boasts shafts and capitals similar to those found below (fig.178). The window lighting the west end apparently included reused chevron mouldings in a pointed head, but this was entirely removed during the restoration works of 1863 and a 'copy' set in its place (*The Builder*, June 20, 1863). The east end of the floor of the chapel retains a fourteenth-century tiled floor, to judge by the impressed arms and initials of priors Wigmore and Staunton (1329 and 1337). Before the restoration, there were traces of ashlar painting on the walls, but this has since been obliterated by whitewash (Oswald 1951, 1104).

The tower block and vestibule

The abbot's tower is a twelfth-century rectangular stone building, with a thirteenth-century vestibule abutting its west front (fig.180) (Heighway 2000, rec.125). Although originally the abode of the abbot, in the fourteenth century it was given to the prior, when the abbot moved to the north of the precinct. A description of the building is given by Hope, and it is upon his work that most other published descriptions rely (1897, 107-108). Each chamber has on its northeast corner an archway leading to what Hope described as a garderobe tower - this was visible on Carter's plan of 1807 (fig.160) and Causton's plan from 1843 (fig.161), but has since disappeared, and was relocated only during excavations of the west range area. The doorways now lead out onto a fire escape, and Heighway has suggested the alternative interpretation of a stair turret (2000, rec.125). The ground- and first-floor rooms feature large semi-arches crossing their southeast and, on the ground floor only, southwest corners; these may have carried a heavy weight above (Verey 1970, 223), although it is perhaps more likely that they were buttressing the building against a weight pressing in from the south, since the chapel and west slype 'show signs of movement and

rebuilding' (Heighway 2000, rec. 125)

By the thirteenth century, each of the three floors was entered via a vaulted vestibule on the west (see fig.179). The ground-floor vaulted undercroft features stiff-leaf capitals, while the first floor uses foliate capitals (Heighway 2000, rec.125). This arrangement has since been altered on the second floor, where internal renovations resulted in the dismantling of the partition wall between the vestibule and the main floor. Hope suggested that the arrangement of living space in this building, with its associated chapel and slype ran as follows: reception room, and probably accommodation for one or more servants on the ground floor, the abbot's private apartments, including dining room, bedroom, solar, and chapel above, with the second floor devoted to accommodation of 'special guests' (1897, 107-108). This arrangement relied heavily on Hope's belief that there was no west range proper, and thus needs re-examination.

Much of the window tracery of the west facade was renewed during the 1862-3 restoration. At this time, it was recognized that the northern windows were an anomaly, in that they reused older stylistic detail in later pointed window forms. During the same works, an angled wall which joined the tower with the chapel, and which appears to have been a large chimney stack, was punctured for the insertion of windows and the uppermost parts of the chimney removed (fig.168).

Heighway has begun to try and understand the sequence of mouldings which appear in this building, by surveying the internal north elevation of the tower block (fig.179)(2000, rec.125). Verey had pointed out that on the west facade, the two uppermost windows, containing early Perpendicular (1335-50) tracery, are set underneath gables with arches and shafts of *c.*1200 (1970, 223). This directs attention to one very important feature of the Gloucester Cathedral buildings, namely the wholesale and very frequent reuse of earlier architectural fragments in later compositions. This is particularly important when considering the north internal elevation of the abbot's tower. The garderobe doorway arches on the east do not quite fit into the space available, and so are shortened on their eastern sides. On the second floor, the garderobe doorway appears to reuse thirteenth-century material, and on the first floor, the jambs and head incorporate twelfth-century shafts and chevron. The ground-floor arch reuses elaborately carved early twelfth-century ornament - Welander has suggested that this may have come from the twelfth-century

cloisters (1991, 55, 57 and 81).

The window openings of this elevation, externally, are rectangular with mullions and transoms, and set regularly in the elevation. Internally, however, the size and splaying of the openings varies from floor to floor. The jambs of the windows re-use a variety of chevron mouldings. On the top floor, there is evidence of shutter grooves in the heads of the windows. A western window on this floor, now a doorway, contains the same grooves and demonstrates that 'the window arrangement with shutters post-dates the thirteenth-century western addition [of the vestibule]' and shows that on the top floor, the stair tower was much narrower than at present (i.e. that its east wall has been moved) (Heighway 2000, rec.125). Thus, Heighway concludes that the northern elevation was entirely rebuilt or redesigned at some point after the fourteenth century, reusing earlier materials from the cathedral buildings. Some of the stylistic detail may have been reused for a second time; Heighway further suggests that the external window detail is sixteenth-century or later, thus suggesting a rebuilding at that date, when the tower first became part of the Deanery. The surviving shutter grooves set in the square window heads support this - if, during restoration, Waller had found arched heads, he would have reincorporated them into the present design

At the time of the parliamentary survey, in 1649, the Deanery contained all of the buildings of the present Church House, including the Parliament Room. The tower was described as measuring twenty-seven feet by forty-two feet, and contained a cellar, kitchen and pantry together with chambers (GRO D936/E/1, ff. 267-269). Thus, there may be a great deal of continuity in the use of this building between the end of the monastic period and the date of the survey, in spite of the rebuilding of the north elevation, and there needs to be a closer investigation of its relationship with the west range and the north block.

The stair tower

Connecting the tower and vestibule with the north block is a stair turret of semi-octagonal form, rebuilt from its foundations in 1863 (Architect's Reports 1855-63, 64) (fig.181). Hope claimed that this had replaced a much older entrance tower, nearly square and of the same date as the thirteenth-century vestibule (1897, 108), although the nature of his evidence is uncertain. Certainly, there is no structural evidence in the restored facade to suggest that this tower replaced an earlier square one, although Hope may have been relying

on discoveries from the restoration work of thirty-five years earlier. A report in *The Builder* stated that the tower was built in the fifteenth century, based on the fifteenth-century identification of the lantern found *in situ* during the restoration work (fig.182)(1863, no p. ref.).

The north block

The accepted date for the construction of the north block (fig.183) is pre-fifteenth century. It appears to have originally contained ground floor services, with a first-floor hall above. It is this structure which Herbert, in the VCH, describes as the guest hall (i.e. ' the Great Hall') built by Abbot Horton between 1351 and 1377, and used for the sitting of the commons during the 1378 Parliament (Herbert 1988, 282; see also Appendix 11). Oswald suggests that it may, instead, have been the covered chamber of the monks' guest house, built at the same time as 'the Great Hall' (1951, 1104). The relationship between this building and the Parliament Room, the two structures vying for the prestige of being identified as Horton's guest hall, remains unclear. The building is said to have undergone extensive renovation in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, when the first floor was rebuilt and the entire lodging became the domain of the prior (Herbert 1988, 282) - this contradicts other versions which state that the prior adopted the old abbots' lodgings immediately after the abbot had moved into his new apartments in the early fourteenth century (Hope 1897, 109, also Appendix 11). It appears that in the last years of the fifteenth century, or in the early sixteenth, the upper floor was divided into the two rooms - the 'Henry Room' on the north and the 'Laud Room' on the south (see fig.155). The Henry Room was so-called because tradition states that Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn used it when passing through Gloucester in 1535, only a few years before the surrender of the monastery. Its fifteenth-century roof was exposed during the restorations of 1957, and is painted in a marbled pattern of blue, green, and red (fig.184), but whether this painting is an original feature or a later embellishment is unclear (Oswald 1951, 1104). A fireplace in positioned in the east wall and, until recently, incorporated an overmantle of a late sixteenth-century date (Oswald 1951, 1104). The Laud Room and Henry Room were supposedly refitted in the early or mid seventeenth century, with the addition of panelling to the walls and ceiling, but Oswald dates this work to the last years of the sixteenth century, drawing a comparison between it and the panelling of the Red Lodge in Bristol (Oswald 1951, 721) (figs.186). This panelling still survives in full in the Laud Room. The ceiling conceals the original roof structure with the exception of the moulded roof posts, which descend onto wall corbels,

and appear to be of the same type and date as those in the Henry Room (fig.185) (Ashwell, in Heighway 2000, rec. 124-125).

This range, as well as the remainder of Church House, was subjected to 'restoration' *c.*1760 under the instruction of Dean Josiah Tucker, who inserted new 'gothic' windows and upgraded the facades of the buildings (see figs.165 and 167). The restoration work of 1862-3, which removed the stucco and stone facing which adorned the entirety of Church House, attempted to salvage and rebuild the original windows (Architect's Reports, 1853-66, 64), with what will be shown to be limited success.

The Parliament Room

The Parliament Room abuts the north end of the north block, but aligned at an approximate right angle to it, east-west (fig.155). The present structure is composed of a stone-built ground storey, with a timber-framed upper storey. The north elevation may be clearly seen from Miller's Green (fig.187), but the gable ends are difficult to access, lying as they do within the small walled yard of 7 Miller's Green on the west, obscured by sheds and outbuildings, and within another yard on the east.

The accepted date of the stone-built ground floor is the thirteenth century, based largely on the presence of a cut-off Early English window at the northwest corner (fig.190). Oswald states that a fifteenth-century date fits the corner bracket and carved post at the northeast angle of the building, and is thus the date when the existing stone structure was apparently cut down and the timber-framed upper storey built (1951, 1105). Published descriptions claim that the fifteenth-century building originally extended further west, citing as evidence the cut-back condition of the thirteenth-century window at the northwest corner, as well as the open square framing on the west gable (fig.197) (in contrast to the close studding of that on the east, see fig.196) (Oswald 1951, 1105; ibid, 1962, 1425; Verey 1970, 224). The date at which the building was supposedly shortened is unclear, but Eward has suggested that it was around 1649, when a Thomas Pury junior is known to have held leases for both 7 Miller's Green and the Parliament Room (which was part of the Deanery), and is recorded as having done substantial repairs to both properties (1985, 95).

The building was restored by Waller and Ashwell in 1957, being 'completely gutted' (Oswald 1957, 1423), and including such alterations as the removal of an inserted ceiling

to expose the roof, and the removal of a Victorian fireplace to expose a fifteenth-century forerunner. The arrangement of an arch-braced collar truss to either side of a tie and collar truss (see fig.202), with the more heavily moulded arch-braced truss to the east, led Oswald to claim that the moulded truss adorned the more important of two rooms (1962, 1425).

The medieval monastic use of the building is uncertain, though it was apparently associated with hospitality of some form. Its name is a late nineteenth-century invention, based on a belief that this was the building in which King Richard II held his Parliament in 1378 (see Massé 1898, 115, for example). According to our current understanding of the first-floor structure, however, this is a chronological impossibility (Heighway 2000, rec.123). Verey referred to the fifteenth-century first-floor space as a 'long gallery', presumably relying on a guess as to the original length of the building (Verey 1970, 225), but that interpretation is misguided; it is clear from the present remains that they were once part of a hall, though whether a hall which extended the full length of 7 Miller's Green, has not been determined.

The general presumption is that the Parliament Room was either an abbot's hall (Verey 1970, 225; Welander 1991, 308), or a guest hall. A reference in the *Historia* (Appendix 11) describes the 'Abbot's hall' in the time of Abbot Thoky (1306-29), in which Edward II (1307-27) was entertained (Barber 1991, 628). However, this hall may have been part of the new abbot's lodging to the north of the precinct. Welander stated that 'the [original, twelfth-century] guest range [in the west cloister range] was possibly destroyed by a fire which damaged the domestic buildings in 1190' (Welander 1991, 301), on the basis of calcination observed by Herbert on the west face of the *fourteenth-century* cloister (Herbert 1988, 277), damage which I have been unable to locate. Furthermore, in the absence of twelfth-century evidence for structures linking inner and outer court buildings to facilitate the spread of a blaze, it has not been demonstrated that the fire of 1190, which affected most of the town of Gloucester and the workshops lining the precinct walls of the abbey, extended further into the courtyard (Appendix 10). The first documented date upon which buildings within the courtyard might have been affected by fire is in 1300, when the 'great chamber' is burnt, a chamber closely associated with either the guest hall or abbot's hall, and in the close vicinity of the west cloister and kitchens (Barber 1991, 620). Welander suggests that this chamber was part of the abbot's house, in fact the Parliament Room itself (1991, 311), although the Parliament Room is of a much later date.

A second reference in the *Historia* speaks of the King's justices being shown hospitality in the 'great hall in the courtyard of the abbey' during the time of Abbot John de Gamages, *c.*1305 (Barber 1991, 622; Appendix 11). Welander suggests that this 'great hall' may have been the abbot's hall- that hall above the north block, now the Laud and Henry rooms[1]. The other option he suggests, one which he personally favours, is that the great hall was the great guest hall 'under charge of the cellarer, in the southwest part of the outer court', in other words, the present position of 8 and 9 College Green, where it is known from the 1649 survey that stables once existed (Welander 1991, 311). Other than the unlikelihood that there were two contemporary structures both referred to identically as the abbot's hall, there is the problem of identifying the guest hall with the office of the cellarer. Although it is true that on many sites it was the cellarer who was responsible for overseeing guests, this arrangement was due to the physical linking of a guest house over the cellars in the west claustral range (*cf.* Gilyard-Beer1958, 31). This is a relationship which has never been fully assessed. At Gloucester however, there are not only enough surviving or documented remains to have accommodated both guests of both the abbot and monastery without recourse to further lodgings in the outer court, but there is additional documentary evidence which demonstrates that the cellarer did not have the responsibility of hospitality. The *Historia* notes for *c.*1274 the presence of some 'inferior officers'- the cellarer, almoner, chamberlain, sacristan, sub-almoner, precentor, and infirmarian (Barber 1991, 619). A surviving register of the abbey, however, compiled at the same time as the *Historia* (*c.*1381-1412), lists the property allocated to each of ten departments or offices of the monastery. These include most of the officers listed above, as well as a *hosteller* (Barber 1991, 234). Thus it is the hosteller who would be responsible for overseeing such guests, and not a cellarer.

The identification of the Parliament Room as a guest hall, however, may not be a mistake. Oswald suggested that the Parliament Room may have been originally the great guest hall, while the north block's first-floor space was a hall of the abbot, and that during the works of Abbot Horton (1351-77), the north block was reworked to become a guest chamber(s) (1957, 1105). However, Oswald, like Hope, was unaware of the existence of a west claustral range.

---

[1]Note that he has mistakenly assigned both the Parliament Room *and* this range to the same function (*cf.* Welander 1991, 224, 309 and 311).

5.5 RESEARCH AIMS AND SURVEY STRATEGY

The primary aim of the survey work carried out at Gloucester Cathedral was to make a selective record of standing fabric which, though visually incoherent, had previously received little detailed investigation. There was an overwhelming need to sift through the various theories associated with these buildings, and to separate fact from fiction. Heighway had already been involved in excavation and surveys of parts of the west range area and of the tower block and west slype (see above, pp.165-6), and her records from this work were incorporated into the study primarily in order to establish visual and physical access between the west range and surrounding guest buildings. The north block and stair tower, though heavily refaced and restored, still retained valuable evidence for their monastic use. Recording was thus restricted to measurements and photographs of major internal and external features or structural incongruities, while historic illustrations and documents were used to shed light on the original external layout and appearance of these structures.

Recording on the Parliament Room, the building which undoubtedly formed the main focus of this research, involved stone-by-stone investigation of the north, east and west ground-level and first-floor exterior elevations. This was designed to help determine the original size of the thirteenth-century structure, as well as its original fenestration scheme, and the nature of any subsequent alterations. Furthermore, it aimed to identify evidence for the shortening of the fifteenth-century building, and to determine the original decorative scheme. Interior first-floor examination, including the creation of an accurate floor plan, was intended to test speculation that the existing timber structure does not represent a single fifteenth-century phase of construction, and that the present first floor was redesigned at a later date, without strict adherence to the medieval 'grammar of carpentry' (Harris 1993). Hand survey was used to record the pegging and marking of the internal partition between the Parliament Room and Henry Room, and was also employed in examining the timbers of the main posts and roof trusses, in an attempt to understand the relationship between the two spaces.

This recording programme targeted the original nature and chronological development of Glocuester's visitors' complex. Through the use of detailed recording techniques, the variety of structures available and the social segregation created within them has

demonstrated the effectiveness of buildings in managing social interaction. The picture of hospitality within a wealthy and influential monastic site, in which generosity was a vital means of emphasising a legitimate role in medieval society, has become much clearer.

5.6 FIELDWORK ACCOUNT

The layout of the fieldwork account below is chronological, covering the duration of the monastic period during which visitors' buildings are known to have existed and were in use on this site, from the late eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. The layout consists of two parts for each monastic period- a description of the fieldwork results which can be attributed to that period, with some structural analysis, and then functional and stylistic interpretation of these results. In certain instances, the buildings examined as part of this thesis retain no discernible evidence of a particular period, and are thus omitted from the initial descriptions of evidence. As noted above, some evidence for episodes of construction were observed by Heighway during previous investigations - these are integrated into subsequent discussions. Since this thesis is concerned only with the monastic period, post-Dissolution building work which seriously affected the medieval evidence has been incorporated, when significant, into the description of monastic phases, rather than being treated separately. For the sake of clarity, the chronological sequence, and the nature of the recorded evidence, are as follows:

Period	*Date range*	*Structure**	*Type of record*
1	late C11/C12	tower	hand survey (Heighway)
		west range	excavation (Heighway)
2	C13	parliament block	computer rectified photography/hand survey
			photographic survey
		7 Miller's Green	photographic survey and planning
3	C14	abbot's lodging	C19 building survey (published in Hope 1897)
			photographic survey
		inner gate	photographic survey
		north block	photographic survey
		west range	excavation (Heighway)
4	late C15/C16	Parliament Room	computer rectified photography/hand survey
			photographic survey
		north block	photographic survey and planning
		stair tower	photographic survey

*A breakdown of context numbers associated with each structure recorded for this chapter is found in Appendix 12.

Period 1: The Norman cathedral and the early west range

No observation was made of period 1 material in the fabric of the parliament block or north block and stair tower. Such material was observed by Heighway in observations of the tower block and west slype, and during excavations in the west range area (see pp.165-169).

Discussion

The period 1 guest complex, dating from the late eleventh or twelfth centuries, comprised a two-storey west range, with a hall above a cellarage possibly containing kitchen services. Attached to this on the south was a chamber block (the abbot's tower) which probably contained some arrangement of parlour and solar, for the use of the abbot and his special guests. Further south again was the outer parlour, where visitors could speak with monastic inmates, or perhaps await an audience with the abbot himself, since it appears that there was some form of access from the parlour into the ground storey of the tower block. Above, was a room which appears to have functioned from early times as a private chapel.

An early version of St Mary's Gate, including the remaining Norman arches of the gate passage, gave access into the outer courtyard. It is possible, though not provable, that an aisled guest hall of timber construction was positioned in this region.

Period 2: The visitors' complex (C13)

Introduction

This period represents the construction of a complex of guest structures beyond those Norman buildings incorporated into the west range (fig.188). The buildings were laid out in two alignments, and connected to the Norman abbots' tower block by the construction of a vestibule on its west front. The north block was arranged roughly north-south, whereas the second structure, hereafter called the parliament block, was a substantial ground floor building, with a two-storey structure at its west end. The remains of these buildings, though sparse, suggest a thirteenth-century date, and it is probable that they represent a services or chamber block and a ground-floor guest hall, with an attached solar block over an undercroft.

The parliament block: Parliament Room and 7 Miller's Green

The building standing on the site of the parliament block covered the space from the eastern extent of the present Parliament Room, to the eastern limit of the inner gate (fig.154). Stone by stone analysis of the northern ground-level elevation of the Parliament Room (fig.189) revealed only one area of thirteenth-century material (1017), at the west end of the present north elevation. The facing is comprised of long, narrow courses of lias, a blue-grey limestone. In conjunction with this work are some apparently random courses of oolitic freestone (1000). The same stone is also used as a plinth (1001), and for the mouldings of a window (1018), at the northwest corner (fig.190). Part of the mouldings of the eastern jamb survives, comprised of a three-quarter hollow, chamfer, another hollow, beak, hollow, and roll, interrupted by brick infill (Appendix 15). The lower extent is a splayed sill (1003), but with any base mouldings to the jamb damaged or removed. The outermost hollow (1022) was designed to take a jamb shaft, and originally continued the full height of the jamb, but was truncated in period 4 (late C15). No evidence for the original springing for the window head survives.

Characteristic period 2 facing stone was also observed at the western limit of this region, now the exterior wall of 7 Miller's Green (1383) (fig.192). Two storeys of lias coursing are divided by an oolitic string course (1388), and appear to rest on a badly eroded oolitic plinth (1384). A modern window positioned mid-wall, at first-floor level (1387), represents the position of an earlier window, since the stonework of the period 3 inner gate to the west is deliberately angled in this region so as to avoid blocking the window lights. The upper extent of the lias stonework coincides with the probable original extent of the first storey, from which the roof would have sprung, and is now surmounted by post-monastic brickwork.

The full extent and alignment of the west elevation of 7 Miller's Green is obscured by the abutting inner gate, which is on a different alignment (fig.154). An offset was taken along 7 Miller's Green, through the passage of the inner gate. This demonstrated that the elevation is set ninety degrees to the east-west alignment of the parliament block as a whole. The lias stonework of this wall is interrupted approximately one metre from the northern extent of the inner gate by the western end of the thrice-renewed south face of 7 Miller's Green. The renewed plinth on the north facade of 7 Miller's Green is level with that described above for the Parliament Room (1001). This, along with the present ground level along the inner gate passage, suggests that medieval ground level outside the north

elevation of the Parliament Room was at least 0.75 m lower than at present.

One final observation was made by taking an offset along the western exterior wall of the north block. This was done because of some uncertainty about the alignment of the wall and its buttresses, as represented by the architects' plan (fig.154). Handwritten amendments to this plan suggested that the western wall was on two different alignments, and that the northernmost included a single-storey buttress (1356). The offset demonstrated conclusively that the entire wall is on a single alignment, with the exception of buttress 1356, which is skewed slightly north. This buttress, though probably refaced in 1863, retains a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century profile (Morris 1992,13).

Discussion: the first guest hall and solar

The existing evidence from the parliament block of a large, heavily moulded ground-floor window, now well above original ground level, and a two-storey wall at the end of 7 Miller's Green, suggest that period 2 included the construction of a ground-floor hall, with a solar above an undercroft at its west end. Such an arrangement would designate the west end of the hall as the hierarchically 'high' end.

The stonework, thin lias coursing with oolite used for sculpted features, is directly comparable to other thirteenth-century buildings in the area, both within the cathedral precinct and town (Heighway 1999, 21), although it was also used in fourteenth-century buildings such as the inner gate. However, the structural relationship between the western wall of 7 Miller's Green and the inner gate favours a thirteenth-century interpretation.

The elaborate thirteenth-century window moulding, cut off in period 4 below springing level, was meant to light a high-status space. A reconstruction of this window (fig.191), based on the proportions of a typical thirteenth-century two-light hall window, demonstrates that it must have been a minimum 1.3 m wide from the outermost edges of the moulding, with jamb shafts to either side, and springing to a pointed arch - this takes the head well above the present extent of the ground-floor walls. Jamb shafts, though declining in popularity throughout the thirteenth century, retained their importance at Gloucester; the thirteenth-century west facade of St Mary's Gate, prior to restoration, retained such jamb shafts flanking the lights of the first-floor windows (fig.194).

In conjunction with the evidence that external ground level was at least 0.75 m lower that at present, an observation made during restoration work, inside the abutting north block, demonstrated that ground-floor level is presently eighteen inches (0.45 m) above original levels. This suggests that the window of the Parliament Room was set much higher in the wall than appears at present (Oswald 1951, 1106). Assuming that this was the first phase of this building's existence, that the window was approximately centred in its bay, and that this form was repeated in each bay of the hall on its northern face at least, a theoretical reconstruction of the hall can be made (fig.188). Margaret Wood suggested, through her details of hall dimensions and bay sizes, that the typical ground-floor, unaisled hall (this hall was not wide enough to make aisles necessary) had a maximum bay width of 4.8 m and a minimum width of 3.0 m. Further analysis of hall dimensions by David Rawson has demonstrated that a high-status hall of the thirteenth century, with an area of over 200 metres, was as likely to be a hall of the ratio 2:1 (+) length:width, as 3:2 (Rawson 1998, 19). Using these averages, the maximum number of bays in this thirteenth-century guest hall was eight, at 3.0 m per bay, and the minimum was five, at 4.8 m per bay. Within this, the six or seven bay hall fits best on the available space, with a ratio of 3.3:1.

There is no evidence to prove that the present alignment of the east wall represents the alignment of the thirteenth-century structure. Internally, this area is obscured by plaster and paint, and externally there is no trace of thirteenth-century stonework, although it is possible that the core of the wall is of the thirteenth century. If so, then it suggests that the unusual alignment may be due to the position of another structure to the east, connected with the west range, against which the thirteenth-century hall was built. If this theoretical building was later dismantled, its west gable wall would have become the east external wall of the thirteenth-century hall. The only evidence to support such a theory comes from trenches F1 and F2 in the west range area - these were interpreted as representing the remains of the dismantled west external wall of the late eleventh/early twelfth-century west range (Garrod and Heighway 1984, 53). These features were on a comparable alignment to the end wall of the Parliament Room and north block (there is a slight difference in alignment between the two which cannot be accounted for with the evidence available), but unfortunately, the limits of the excavation did not extend far enough north to prove this theory. It is entirely possible that the original east end was, instead, laid at a true right angle to the lateral walls, and that this was changed only with the reconstruction of the parliament block as a whole.

The solar block at the west end, though only recognizable by two storeys of characteristic thirteenth-century stonework on its western wall, has been retained in plan through every subsequent rebuilding to the present date, thus appearing on coherent post-monastic plans of the site (figs.158, 159, and 161). The east-west width of this block is presently 7.2 m externally, comparing favourably with the dimensions of the abbot's tower block. The upper extent of the lias stonework on the west wall marks the springing point of what was probably a gabled roof facing north-south. The presence of the solar block at this end accounts for the extra width which appears in the seventeenth-century lease surveys (Appendix 13), in opposition to the width of the Parliament Room, which is 4.4 m less. The nature of this solar space, as separate from that of the hall, may also account for the double identity of this range in the seventeenth-century leases - both as a 'schoolhouse' and a 'workhouse' (GRO D936/E/1, ff.274-281; D936/E/12/1, ff.290-290v).

Discussion: an earlier north block and stair tower?

Although Hope was certain, in 1891, that there was evidence existing in the present stair tower for a nearly square thirteenth-century tower, a 'handsome and important structure' (1897, 108), it has not been possible to verify this statement. Hope apparently left no records of this examination, and the present structure has been too altered to detect any certain thirteenth-century evidence. The fact that the turret existing before 1863 was taken down to the foundations and rebuilt during the general restoration (Architect's Reports, 1853-66, 64), prior to Hope's visit, makes one wonder whether any such evidence existed at the time of his visit, or whether Hope was relying on records from 1863, now missing.

However, if the vestibule to the tower block was indeed built in the thirteenth century, there would, of necessity, have been a stair of some form leading up from floor to floor (figs.179 and 188). Heighway has suggested that it might be possible to reinterpret the now-destroyed garderobe in the north-east corner of the tower block as a stair, but even if this were so, an explanation is still needed for the storeyed doorways on the north wall of the vestibule. If a thirteenth-century stair tower did exist, and was meant to communicate only between the doorways of the vestibule, it would have been positioned flush against only the north wall of the vestibule. In fact, the present tower projects far west of the vestibule, suggesting that the turret instead joined two ranges. This would not have been an irregular arrangement; the significance of the porch in visitors' building was discussed in chapter 3, and immediate thirteenth-century parallels for a porch joining two ranges can be found in

both the prior's lodging and guest accommodation at Ely (fig.46) (VCH 1953, 79).

Evidence for the existence of a thirteenth-century north block includes a watching brief observation made by Heighway during the creation of a new doorway, that the junction between the northwest corner of the north block and the southern elevation of the Parliament Room (fig.155) showed no sign of a butt joint. Thus the return wall forming a right angle to the parliament block was of the same build. This, accompanied by the existence of one buttress of different character and alignment from the rest, suggests that a building was constructed here in the thirteenth century, positioned at a right angle to the guest hall, and accessible from the tower block via an early, square stair tower. The two options which might fit this position are a chamber block, or (perhaps more likely) a service structure catering to both the thirteenth-century hall and the west range.

Period 3: Expense and expansion (C14)

Introduction

The wholesale rebuilding and refurbishing which took place during the fifteenth century obscures the construction work of the fourteenth, but we know from documentary evidence that this was a century of much building activity (Appendix 11). During this period, the guest complex was completely reorganized, with the construction of a new guest hall and great chamber. The fourteenth-century hall and chamber may have re-used existing two-storey structures. There is excavation evidence to suggest that the west cloister range was also rebuilt, and that this was a two-storey building as well. The abbot moved from the existing tower block to a new lodging complex to the north of the cloister ranges, and his former territory became that of the prior. The newly-built abbot's lodging consisted of hall and chamber, a second smaller hall, and a chapel. As part of this rebuilding period, an inner gate was constructed leading from College Green to Miller's Green.

The inner gate

The inner gate is a two storey structure positioned at the western end of 7 Miller's Green, providing a thoroughfare between the outer courtyard and Miller's Green (fig.171). There is no structural evidence to suggest the existence of an earlier gate. The present south facade is entirely rendered, with the exception of the arch of the passageway. The northern facade is bare stone, of thin lias coursing as found in characteristic thirteenth-century walls (fig.198), but abuts the thirteenth-century west gable exterior of the parliament block

(fig.192), and thus must be later, although it is possible that it simply represents a second thirteenth-century phase. The elevation retains an inserted (blocked), square-headed window. The passageway of the gatehouse is covered by a lierne vault (fig.198), which includes bosses in the form of a rose, a central quatrefoil keystone, and several examples of foliate bosses typical of the Decorated period. A blocked doorway originally led into a space to the west of the gate, now occupied by Community House. There was no access from the gate passage through to the ground-floor of the parliament block.

The parliamentary survey of 1649 includes the gatehouse in its survey of Community House: 'and also one GateHouse on the East side of the said house through which Gate there is a highway to the Millers Green...'(GRO D 936/E/1, f. 247). The western building, presumably including the gate, was noted to be badly decayed and in need of repair (*ibid.* f. 274). The present building occupying the site of Community House was constructed in the eighteenth century, but contains much older remains, and it is probable that evidence for access to the room above the gate is enclosed by the eastern internal mass wall.

The north block

The only tentative period 3 works identified with relation to the north block are, first, a plaster scar (1334) near the junction of the north block and Parliament Room, at first-floor level (fig.154), apparently forming the left interior jamb and head of a pointed arch. The opening created by this feature was 1.43 m wide, and appears to have continued down to floor level. A second feature was the redundant chimney stack (1324) at ground- and first-floor levels of the western exterior elevation. Finally, the southeast corbel of the fifteenth-century hall (1320), rather than projecting from the eastern lateral wall as it should (see corbels 1309-1319), instead projects from the south wall.

The parliament block

It is possible that stonework (1121) recorded in the exterior east elevation of the ground floor of the Parliament Room may be identified with the fourteenth century (fig.196). The justification for this chronology is simply that the thirteenth-, fifteenth-, and seventeenth-century stonework is immediately recognizable in both its material and the nature of its coursing. This stonework predates the construction of the original post-1649 lobby (1390) to the southeast (fig.154), and predates, or is contemporary with, the first occurrence of a jetty (1392) on the eastern elevation. It is therefore contemporary with, or later than, the

construction of the eastern elevation on its skewed alignment.

Discussion: redesigning the guest complex

The scanty remains for the fourteenth-century rebuilding make it difficult to correlate the documentary and physical evidence. This justifies a critical re-examination of the documentary material. As discussed in section 5.4, previous interpretations have focussed on the guest buildings in use during the 1378 parliament, but in struggling to correlate each building with the surviving remains, they have failed to recognize which buildings existed and were in use at different intervals within the fourteenth century. A careful re-examination demonstrates that first, an *old* great guest hall, capable of holding at least 70 people, was in existence prior to, and including, 1305 (Barber 1991,623, see Appendix 11). A *new* great hall, used for the parliament of 1378, was built by Abbot Horton between 1351 and 1377 (*ibid.*, 623). This appears to have replaced, in function at least, the old hall, although the old hall may have been retained in part for some other function. An *old* great guest chamber, 'anciently' or 'formerly' called the King's Chamber 'on account of its beauty', also existed (*ibid.*,632). The fact that it was referred to as having been in existence for some time suggests that it is not the same chamber as was built by Horton between 1351 and 1377, but rather, may have been the great chamber damaged (but not necessarily destroyed) by fire in 1300 (*ibid.*, 620, see Appendix 10). Therefore, the 'covered chamber of the monks Guest House' (*ibid.*,632), and the hall in use for the 1378 parliament were both new high-status social spaces, either newly constructed in their entirety, or refurbished older buildings. Incidentally, the covered chamber of the guest house may not have been a 'great chamber' as such, but a lodging chamber for sleeping large numbers of visitors. A 'great chamber' may have been reserved for the most important guests not housed by the abbot.

There is no logical explanation for the unusual positioning of the southeasternmost corbel in the fifteenth-century hall, unless the hall makes use of an earlier two-storey structure. If, for example, the corbel was originally set in the east wall, which was later altered, the corbel might then have been reset in the south wall. One period during which such structural work might have occurred is in period 4 (C15), when the stair tower was rebuilt in octagonal form.

Presuming, then, that the first construction of the north block was during the thirteenth

century, and that there was some continuity in the use of its space, a first-floor hall could have first been created in the fourteenth-century (thereby agreeing with the documentary sources). The junction of the thirteenth-century parliament block and an early north block could have been modified easily in the fifteenth century by lowering the upper wall plate level of the parliament block to take a timber storey, and constructing a timber partition wall between the two buildings at first-floor level (fig.203). Thus, the present period 4 Parliament Room could have been built after the construction of a period 3 first-floor hall in the north block.

The use of the period 2 hall and solar (parliament block) after the construction of a new guest hall remain a mystery. There is neither surviving structural nor documentary evidence to suggest that the guest building constructed by Horton in 1351-77 reused the previous guest hall and chamber. But the fact that the existing thirteenth-century material was not cut back until the fifteenth century, suggests that the building was not dismantled, but retained to serve another function. It is possible that the post-monastic leases, which describe the building of 7 Miller's Green as an old, void and ruinous workhouse and schoolhouse provide a clue (GRO D936 E/12/1 f.290; D936/E/1 f.281). A large hall with a two-storey block at its west end could easily have been converted to such uses once its suitability as a great guest hall had expired, especially if some parts (ie. the timber roof, and any paintings) had been damaged by fire, and repaired to a level suitable for reuse, but not for high-status entertaining. Such repair work might necessitate a larger proportion of guests being entertained by the abbot, and might, then, have resulted in the scheme to create a new abbot's lodging, as appeared to the north of the precinct before 1329. It would then still be possible, in the fifteenth-century, to reclaim *part* of this stone-built structure as a ground level for a new first-floor hall.

Discussion: relocating the abbot

The same difficulties of documentary interpretation have arisen with the buildings of the old and new abbot's lodging. The new abbot's lodging 'by the infirmary garden' contained a *camera*, constructed during the abbacy of John Thoky (pre-1329) and finished by Abbot Wigmore (1329-37) (Barber 1991, 629). Accompanying this was a great hall. A small hall and chapel were also constructed between 1329 and 1337. The abbot's hall in which Edward II (1306-29) dined with the abbot, however, cannot have been in the location of the new lodgings, since it is described as being adorned with paintings of past kings, and as

Edward pointed out himself, he was not among them. This therefore suggests that the hall and its vivid paintings predated Edward's accession in 1307. Thus, the abbot's hall described was likely to be that of the old lodging, and was probably positioned over the west range, with the tower block serving as its chamber block. The west range was reconstructed in the later fourteenth-century, after the prior had taken up occupancy, when the cloister walks were redesigned (Garrod and Heighway 1984, 55).

Of the original buildings, only the great hall, chapel, and north wall of the gallery were entirely built in stone. The remainder were apparently partially timber-framed (Chandler 1979, 81) - such buildings, if not adequately maintained, would probably have been the first buildings which Christian recommended be demolished. Contrary to Hope's claim (1897, 110), it is impossible to correlate verbatim Ewan Christian's nineteenth-century building survey with the 1541 documentary survey of the abbot's lodging (Appendix 14). We know, for example, that some buildings to the east of the hall were demolished in 1691 (Chandler 1979, 81), and the arrangement and function of the remaining spaces may also have changed dramatically. The room identifications on the 1856 survey represent nineteenth-century functions, and are *not* an effort to correlate the 1541 survey with the remaining structures. Other than in the location of the gallery, the great hall, and the chapel, many of the rooms featured in the documentary survey, such as the second 'walking room', make no appearance in the 1856 plans.

However, certain interpretations of the original layout of the abbot's lodging can be made (compare Appendix 14 and fig.175). The measurements given for the circuit of walls encompassing the complex form a parallelogram around the nineteenth-century site, excluding the infirmary region. The core of the site, the great hall, fits a standard tripartite form, with the high end at the north, and a buttery, pantry, and passage to a kitchen beyond on the south - this was altered in the eighteenth-century by the addition of a portico to the south front. Attached to the high end of the hall was a great chamber, chapel, and several private chambers, as well as a fifteenth-century long gallery ('walking house'). Hope's assertion that the abbot's private apartments were to the far east of the complex, based on a vague reference to the abbot's *camera* 'by the infirmary garden'(Barber 1991, 629) is inaccurate - the fourteenth-century buildings were centred around the great hall, and the eastern chambers were probably an addition related to the long gallery linking the two areas. Additional correlations and corrections are given in Appendix 14.

The inner gate giving access to this complex was part of the same long-term building campaign initiated by Prior Wigmore, before he became abbot (1329-37), and was continued by his successors. The key to a date for this structure is contained in its lierne vault (fig.198). The lierne vault first began appearing in England *c.*1290 (Welander 1991, 133), and was a significant feature of the Decorated period. The first lierne vault at Gloucester, a much simpler design, was constructed over the south transept between 1331-36. But the fully developed form did not appear until the newly-built choir was vaulted, circa 1345, by Abbot Staunton (1337-51).

Period 4: The Pinnacle of Hospitality (C15/C16)

Introduction

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, just prior to the Dissolution, saw a shift of visitors' attention from the outer courtyard to the inner court (Miller's Green), with the creation of a 'guest courtyard' encompassed by the west range, the Parliament Room, and the north block (fig.155). This involved yet another refurbishment of the existing guest complex. The thirteenth-century great hall (parliament block), disused for entertaining since the fourteenth-century, was at least partially rebuilt, taking the form of a stone undercroft and a timber-framed upper storey. The upper floor of the north block was also reworked, and then shortly thereafter subdivided into two high-status chambers. The adjoining stair tower, giving access to the former abbot's tower block, was updated to a semi-octagonal form, with the inclusion of a stone lantern to light the passage.

The parliament block

Stone by stone analysis of the north elevation, ground level (fig.189), revealed that period 4 was the first phase in which the single-storey hall of period 2 became a two-storey structure. Such a conversion involved the dismantling of the existing roof structure and at least 1.2 m of the upper walls (the minimum required to clear a thirteenth-century window head). Two courses of large oolitic blocks (1024) were added above the period 2 stonework, to provide a secure base for an upper storey, and four corbels were inserted into the remaining external elevations, directly below the oolite courses, to take the posts of the jettied timber storey above. Two of these are found on the northern elevation (1025, 1045), one centred in the eastern elevation (1125) (fig.196), and the last supports a heavily moulded post rising to a dragonbeam (1069). The other timber posts supported by these

corbels, though alike in dimensions, nevertheless terminate differently at their bases. On the northern elevation, the eastern and westernmost posts (1142 and 1143) terminate in pyramidal chamfer stops, while the post centred in the elevation (1145) has no termination. The westernmost post (1143) is packed from below with a 0.04 m thick piece of wood. Neither post in the northern elevation is properly centred over its associated corbel. Such differences suggest that some of the posts are replacements.

The thirteenth-century window (fig.189) (1018) received an unusual treatment in period 4. Two courses of oolite sit above the existing eastern jamb, cutting it off at a point lower than the supposed springing of the original head (see fig.191). These courses project 0.15 m beyond the present western gable end of the Parliament Room, breaking off roughly, thereby suggesting that the elevation originally extended further west, a suggestion also supported by evidence in the timber storey above (see below, p.199). The front underside of the lower stone is chamfered by 0.04 m, continuing to its western extent, where it is also roughly broken off. The westernmost period 4 corbel, rather than being positioned at a point which accurately reflects the bay rhythm set by the timber posts above, is instead positioned 0.60 m to the east, in order to avoid the period 2 window which was meant to be retained in the elevation. Below the corbel, a large oolitic block, with a damaged or chamfered bottom west corner, cuts short the empty hollow meant for a jamb shaft.

The two oolite courses at the top of the stone storey were interrupted only in those areas where they encountered an element of the new fenestration scheme. At such points, the two courses were reduced to one, surmounting a thin course of oolite directly above the square window head. Two such windows, blocked in the post-monastic period, are present in this elevation. Directly east of post-monastic window 1033 is a square window head and frame (1043), the opening of which was originally 0.68 m wide and 1.48 m high. A slight chamfer is still visible at the bottom eastern corner of the head. The entirety of the western jamb appears to be present, though the sill and large parts of the eastern jamb are missing. The eastern window, set between seventeenth-century windows 1062 and 1056, retains only its head (1073), and that is cut off on its eastern side. The blocking is of the same type as in the other period 4 window.

Period 4 material is discernible in the eastern elevation (fig.196), comprising two courses of oolite (1123) surmounting the remainder of ground-elevation walling. An area of

probable period 4 stonework (1122) is also detectable at the north end of the elevation, to the right of window 1117, but this is badly damaged, covered in large amounts of render, and is further obscured by an electrical transformer. While there is some suggestion of a break in the stonework towards the upper extent of this area, further recording is presently impossible. The elevation is abutted by a brick yard wall (1119) post-dating 1686 (*cf.* Eward 1985,168).

Above the stone ground-level, a jettied timber storey was erected. The northern elevation is close-studded with two midrails, the eastern being the same but with one midrail. The west elevation is square-panelled without studding (except in the northern bay) and has two midrails. The northern elevation is divided into two unequal external bays (5.05 m and 5.55 m east-west), defined by posts 1142, 1145 and 1148. These posts are decorated with panels of repeated single-foil lancets, and the panels are surmounted by tall shafts with finials. Post positions are inaccurately reflected by the corbels and posts in the ground-floor wall, with corbel 1025 and its associated post 1027 rising between studs 1204 and 1205; the reason for this positioning was discussed above. The eastern bay, defined by the position of main posts 1142 and 1145, is divided into three square panels vertically (as well as three horizontally). Within each square are two upright studs, with the exception of those squares above and below the oriel, which contain three studs. This alternation appears to be original; studs 1192, 1193, and 1194 are replacement timbers, but 1166-1168 are *in situ*. The western bay is framed by posts 1145 and 1148, but in this bay, each square panel contains three studs. Surrounding the 1957 oriel windows of the northern elevation are fragments of evidence to support an original oriel fenestration. These windows, as with their successors, were more or less centred in each bay. Each flanking post retains a roll and hollow, as well as mortices to receive transoms projecting diagonally from the main elevation. Any evidence for brackets to support the window from below was lost when sash windows were inserted in the eighteenth-century. Window 1295 of the eastern timber elevation is an original feature, with an intact surround of roll and hollow mouldings. This window, however, was not an oriel, and the present mullions and transoms appear to be replacements, since internally, each mullion displays a different chamfer stop at their base. The remaining carpenters' marks on this elevation are so weathered as to be illegible on most timbers, and in any case, surviving marks appear only on studs, and not posts or rails. Where they do survive, they suggest that the eastern and western bays were treated separately, with *versus* marks being included in the western bay. There is enough continuity

in numbering to show that the elevation has not been reconstructed, but only repaired.

The eastern elevation of the timber storey contains two horizontal levels of studding below the gable, divided vertically into three rectangular panels by posts 1396 and 1397. The southern and northern panels contain four studs, while the panel below window 1285 contains five studs. As on the north elevation, tension braces are used to stabilize the frame. There is no evidence to suggest that this variation between three levels of panelling on the northern elevation, and two on the eastern, is the result of rebuilding. Although post 1142, on the northeast corner, first appears to be of two concurrent parts, representing a junction of the north and west elevations as a result of two construction phases, in fact, this is a single, massive post, of which large external sections have been cut out and repaired. The repairs constitute no more than a refacing of the unsound areas. In addition, the studs of both elevations are each introduced into individual mortices in the surrounding rails, and are not pegged, though the structural timbers (posts, rails, braces, and tie beam) are. The gable of the east elevation, however, may have been rebuilt and studded at a later date, since it is here that the only pegged studding (1298) is found. The collar (1291) is held into the principal rafters (1292, 1293) by four pegs in total, two pegs at either side, whereas elsewhere timbers receive only one peg per joint. The collar itself appears to be reused, containing a row of slightly rounded mortices of unknown function.

The southeast corner of the building is presently concealed within the stone-built lobby from *c.*1863, which replaces a lobby of post-1649 date (fig.155). These timbers are now only visible from within the building (see figs.201 and 203). Their concealment, however, may have resulted from the repositioning of the eastern gable so that the southern rafter descends onto a stud rather than onto a main post as it should.

The western timber elevation (fig.197) must be dealt with separately. Although there is little obvious evidence to refute the suggestion that this is fifteenth-century work, more thorough examination suggests that the elevation was rebuilt using at least some fifteenth-century material. First, corner post 1102, with its foiled panels at the base of the north face, appears to be in situ, with small amounts of repair material to top and bottom extents. There are no mortices on its western face to suggest a continuation of the building to the west. The same is true of post 1106 at the southwest corner of the building, which lacks any ornamentation. Stratigraphically, these posts appear to be contemporary with the remaining timber of the

elevation, which is composed of three levels of square panel framing, divided vertically into four by intermediate posts 1104, 1105 and 1107. Tensions braces descend from mid-post down to a sill beam. This is all in keeping with the character of the northern elevation, but for the absence of studding. Studding, however, would not be expected on a face abutting another building occupying 7 Miller's Green.

There are, however, several discordant elements in the elevation. First, the top of corner post 1102 has a straight profile. If contemporary with posts 1212, 1211, 1217, 1237, 1215, 1238, 1227 and 1106, this post should include a jowl to support the tie beam of the gable. Instead, the jowl is found at the bottom of the post, against the sill beam. Structurally, there is no break between the panelling on the north face and the jowl. Post 1211, which represents the junction of two jetties and is supported by a dragon beam, is not jowled externally as it meets the sill, but internally, the vertical mass of the post is trimmed back except at the base, where the full circumference of the timber used is apparent (fig.200). Further, the floor beam (1095) and joists projecting through the western elevation (1096) are cut back, and the openings between them filled with oolite blocks (1098) (fig.197). It is clear from the arrangement of joists on the north and west elevations (compare figs.189 and 197 with ground plan, fig. 155) that a jetty was never intended on the west. The ends of the western joists were not designed to be exposed, and this suggests that the building once continued further west, and was later cut back, and the present timber elevation constructed above. Thus, post 1102 probably came from the original western elevation of the Parliament Room, and when the building was shortened, was retained and brought back, along with post 1106, to frame a new wall. The intermediate posts and rails of this elevation may therefore be original to the building, though not *in situ*, or may be post-monastic additions.

The stone ground-level below (fig.197) appears to be part of this intention to shorten the Parliament Room using original material. A doorway (1396) constructed of oolite is positioned 1.60 m south from the northern elevation, and is blocked with brick. This feature is apparently contemporary with the general walling, which is a mixture of badly eroded lias and oolite. Window 1084 appears to be a later insertion, on the basis of its use of timber for lintel and jambs. It was not possible to examine the junction of this wall (1080) with the northern and southern elevations, due to the obstructions of a shed and a toilet block, but the character of the stonework is unlike anything else found in the building. It is probable

that the reconstruction of the western elevation at a position further east included the construction of this stone ground level wall, using older material and reusing a Tudor-style four-centred door head.

Internally, the Parliament Room is divided into four bays by the use of roof trusses (fig.201). Truss I (fig.202), to the east, is a very carefully moulded arch-braced collar truss, descending onto two like-moulded posts, terminating in pyramidal chamfer stops. The northern post has later been badly defaced, by the removal of roll and hollow mouldings and pyramidal stops from the lower 0.80 m of the post, but enough survives to demonstrate that it was identical to its southern partner.

Truss II is a tie beam and collar truss, spanning the width of the room and sitting on two jowled posts. On the western face of the tie beam are a series of seven carpenter's marks running from II to VII south to north, with another possible II at the north end. These indicate the position of principle rafters and struts ascending to a collar, as well as the position of the truss as the second in a series. The timber of the upper truss however, is of a different character than that of the posts. The studs and collar tenoned into the tie beam are certainly newer than the tie beam, and in some cases are shaved at the bottom to fit into what must have been pre-existing mortices in the tie beam. Thus the carpenter's marks may have been original to the tie, or may have been added with the replacement of the upper parts of the truss.

A chamfer on the western underside of the tie beam continues along its entire length, even where it meets the posts, so that the top of the posts overlap the chamfer. The two braces supporting the tie beam are replacements, and are at an unusually oblique angle, and the pattern of open mortices on the upper parts of the posts suggest that the original truss in this position was not a tie beam and collar, but an arch-braced collar truss. The posts display several lower, secondary mortices which may have been associated with a partition, for which the tie beam also displays ample evidence in the form of redundant mortices and peg holes. In particular, an angled mortice cut into the eastern side of post 1238, with a chamfer added down the corner of the post, suggests the presence of a doorway added in a post-monastic phase, when the hall was no longer needed.

If truss II is, in fact, a replacement, then the original truss was probably the same form as

truss III. Truss III is a plain chamfered arch-braced collar truss ascending from two posts of the same character as those of truss II. The southern brace of truss III is a replacement, since it is straight, and fits imperfectly into a secondary cut in the post. This cut interrupts a chamfer on the western side. The arch ascends directly to the collar, without an open spandrel as in truss I. On the north, the arch descends not onto a post, but onto stud 1195, directly above the oriel window. This is an unsatisfactory arrangement, since the mortice meant for an arch brace, connecting the arch to a post, is empty. If however, both the posts and the oriel windows are primary phase features of the timber structure, then the logical explanation for this anomaly is that the simpler, original versions of trusses II and III were actually remnants from an earlier building. The present span of the room, and of the trusses, is 8.84 m, so it is possible that these trusses were part of an earlier timber first-floor hall on the same site, such as the 1351-77 guest hall which has thus far escaped detection.

The arrangement of the trusses, the most heavily moulded being at the east, first suggests that the high-status end of the building was at the east, as Oswald believed (1962, 1425). However, the additional internal evidence indicates the opposite, that this was the *low* end of a hall. First, posts 1212, 1211, 1215, 1238, and 1227, as well the tie of truss II, have a 0.04 m chamfer on their western faces. The western gable wall tie beam is also chamfered, but on its internal, eastern face. If Harris' 'grammar of carpentry' is correct, then the fair face of the west gable wall should face outwards (Harris 1989, 6). Surviving carpenter's marks are, in fact, found on the external face (fig.197, for example, rails 1265, 1266, and 1261, and tension brace 1115), thus there is good indication that this is the fair face. Only one mark is found on the internal elevation (rail 1263), and this is probably a hewing mark rather than a number (*cf.* Miles and Russell 1995, 34), similar to that found on the external face of post 1227 (south elevation). Interestingly, the internal face of the tie beam is chamfered on its underside, also supporting the theory that this tie beam, and its accompanying elevation, were constructed to face the dais end of the building, and being set behind the dais, faced east rather than west.

The partition wall between the Henry Room and the Parliament Room (figs.205 and 206) is contemporary with the construction of the Parliament Room. On the exterior face, the posts which support trusses are numbered at the base in sequence with other, intermediate posts. Thus, truss I is marked with II, an intermediate stud with III, and truss II with IIII. The logical beginning of the sequence, I, has been removed and replaced by 1218, which is

not *in situ*, since a carpenter's mark, VI, is found on the internal face rather than on the external, and the rail and wall plate into which it is tenoned are conspicuously replacements. This of course omits corner post 1212 from the numbering sequence, but it appears that the symbolic termination of the hall, to correct the unusual physical alignment, was signified not by corner post 1212, but by the missing post with the carpenter's mark I. It is, of course, difficult to verify this, since the positive evidence has been replaced and the external face of the corner post is now concealed behind plaster, but other incongruities suggest the same interpretation.

Returning to the heavily moulded truss I of the Parliament Room, there is one plausible explanation for the positioning of this truss at what must be the low end of the hall. If the builder wished to detract attention from the unusual alignment of the east gable wall, truss I might be used to signify the end of the hall in symbolic terms. The partitioning of the last bay of the present Parliament Room from the rest of a hall could be achieved without leaving any structural trace by the employment of moveable screens between posts 1217 and 1237 (Grenville 1997, 113). Such screens rarely survive, but a stunning example has already been cited from the abbot's hall at Milton Abbas (fig.54). This would partition the hall from a screens passage at the low end, with access from a doorway in the most southeastern 1.95 m created by the irregular alignment of the east gable wall. In fact, post 1212 supports this interpretation. Post 1212 retains a 0.05 m chamfer which deliberately terminates 0.48 m below the replacement rail 1222. Directly to the east of this chamfer stop is an empty peg hole. This suggests that the last post supported one side of the head of a four-centred doorway (*cf.* Harris 1993, fig.18 p.24).

A tension brace 1226 stabilizes truss II (post 1215), which in turn, flanks a chimney breast and fireplace. Post 1227, supporting truss III, is badly damaged, but evidence still survives for a similar arrangement flanking the chimney from the west (peg hole and mortice into which a replacement rail is tenoned). All material between this point and the corner post 1213 has been renewed, during works to create a new doorway into the building, probably in 1957.

The fireplace is positioned further east in the building than might be expected (fig.201) Wall fireplaces were more usually positioned midway along the hall, or favouring the high end. In this example, the latter would only be true if the limit of the high end of the hall was

reflected by the present position of western elevation. The anomaly is explained by the reuse of an earlier structure. The kitchen fireplace at ground-floor level in the north block, which encompasses a large part of the north block's end wall, provided a convenient base from which to extend a another brick chimney flue and fireplace. Indeed, the 1957 restoration works of the Parliament Room removed a Victorian fireplace immediately to the east of the fifteenth-century original, which also made use of the same resources.

Although the chimney breast appears to be constructed primarily of brick, the fireplace itself is of carefully carved oolite. Flanking the opening are carved panels with single-foil lancets mimicking those found on the external timber posts (fig.204). But above the fireplace is an overmantle set under a stone relieving arch. It is this overmantle which provides the key to dating the Parliament Room. The surface is lightly worn, and bears a clear set of patterns cut into the surface. This was the tracing surface used to create the patterns for the arcading of the lady chapel of Gloucester Cathedral. Two distinct moulding profiles are found on the surface, which, if joined together, create a profile published by John Harvey in 1978, and are still to be found in the chapel itself (Appendix 15). The scale is precise. The construction of the lady chapel began after 1457, during the abbacy of Richard Hanely (1457-72) a dating which is given by Leland (1541), but it is probable that it was begun later in his abbacy, perhaps *c.*1468 (Welander 1991, 265). The absence of any other mouldings, or re-use of the surface, suggests that it was allocated to the Parliament Room shortly after the profile was created.

The north block

At about the same time as the Parliament Room was being constructed, the north block appears to have undergone two closely-timed changes. First, seven short king-post trusses were raised over the first-floor space, supported by heavily moulded posts (figs.155 and184). Of these trusses, only the northern four are now completely visible; the southern trusses are concealed behind the Laud Room's plaster ceiling, but the posts are visible beneath. The only carpenter's mark discovered is that on the northernmost truss, a VII, scribed on the south face, along with a plumb and level mark. The only intact pegging appears to be that of truss V, pegged from the south face. Chamfering is present on the south edge only of the underside of the tie beam of truss VII, and on both north and south edges of trusses VI, and V, but not on the northern edge of truss IIII, at which point a partition wall divides the length of the space, and the remainder of truss IIII and trusses III,

II, and I disappear above the ceiling.

Painting, in red, white, and possibly dark green or blue, is visible on all faces of the exposed trusses, including the purlins and ridge piece, with the exception of truss VII, though the ridge and purlins leading to it are painted. Although there is a slight possibility that the absence of painting on this truss is the result of damp and rot, which has damaged portions of the other trusses as well, a careful examination failed to detect any remnant.

A further distinction marking truss VII as unusual is the simpler form of post supporting the truss. Whereas the other trusses appear to have all had heavily moulded posts, resembling crown posts, those of this truss are finished with pyramidal chamfer stops (fig.205), similar to those used on posts 1228 and 1237 of the Parliament Room (fig.203). The differences between truss VII and the remaining trusses might be explained by the presence of a screens passage partitioning off the last bay, with access provided from the same point as that leading into the Parliament Room eastern bay. A niche in the wall in this position is visible in Carter's plan of 1807 (fig.160), and this has since been blocked from the rear and turned into another cupboard (1333) - an easy operation if the feature was originally a doorway straight through the wall.

Truss VI is missing its original eastern post due to the insertion of a small square window high in the wall (fig.206) (late sixteenth or seventeenth century, prior to the construction of lobby 1390), which necessitated the removal of the corbel and post, but the truss retains these features on the west. Truss V has lost both posts, the western at least because of the insertion of a square-headed, four-light window, uncusped, which is presently a reconstruction of 1863 based on earlier evidence. The posts of truss IIII appear to have been removed with the insertion of the partition wall. All remaining posts visible in the Laud Room below ceiling level are heavily molded, the only oddity being that the corbel 1320 (supporting the eastern post of truss I) projects from the south, rather than the east, wall.

The fenestration scheme of the first floor of the north block (figs.155 and 183) has been heavily restored, based on evidence found during the 1863 restoration. The restored windows, from north to south, are two-light, four-light and three-light openings, with a redundant chimney stack dividing these from a final window of two lights. While the three

northern windows are all square-headed and uncusped, a popular form from *c.* 1480 onwards (Wood 1965, 359), the final replacement is a pointed, traceried window of undeterminable background. The southern bay of the room is lit by a four-light square-headed window without cusping.

The eastern wall of the Henry Room contains a large wall fireplace (see fig.206), the external chimney of which is supported externally on a moulded corbel now visible only at ceiling level of the ground floor lobby (fig.207), demonstrating that the eastern face of the wall was originally external. The mantle and jambs of this fireplace are crudely cut back, and pegged to take an arabesque overmantle, removed before 1962 (Oswald 1951, 1106). The fireplace is probably an addition of the early sixteenth-century when the hall was divided into two rooms, since it is positioned in the lower half of the hall. The redundant chimney stack in the western lateral wall must have continued in use until the insertion of a new fireplace, with Jacobean panelling, *c.* 1580 (Oswald 1951,1105).

Discussion: the original dimensions of the Parliament Room

In a 1607 lease, the range projecting west as far as the inner gate (now the site of 7 Millers' Green) was referred to as

> that ould voyde and ruinous house commonly called the ould worke house and ould scule howse... containinge three score foot or thereabouts in length and in breadth fower and thirty foote or therabut be it more or lesse and hath in length and butteth upon part of the howse of the saide Deane... (GRO D936 E12/1 ff.290-290v).

The same lease is repeated almost verbatim in 1611 (Eward, 1985, 34). In 1621, one John Jones surrenders his lease of the same property described in the same terms, but he is then re-granted the lease with an additional clause that he repair the buildings within four years and surround the garden with a wall five or six feet high at his own cost (Eward 1985, 35). The repairs were apparently not yet carried out by 1630, when Jones died and left his rights to the property to his son (*ibid.*, 95). There is then a hiatus in references to 7 Miller's Green until 1649, when Thomas Pury Jnr. is given the lease, and the buildings are again described in the same terms, with identical measurements (Appendix 13) (GRO D936/E/1). On the 24 July 1648, however, there is an agreement in the City of Gloucester Corporation Minutes that the lease of the Deanery should be given to the same man, because he has already laid out £80 for repairs (Eward 1985, 94), and this is confirmed by the parliamentary survey of 1649 (GRO D936/E/1, f.281). A further 1649 lease, for the Marshalsea (15 Community

House) to the west of the inner gatehouse, describes the buildings of 7 Miller's Green as 'Parliament House' (GRO D936/E/1 f.274). This was not the first such reference- the buildings were referred to in *c.*1600 as the 'long workhouse, the most ancient part of the abbey, where early kings were thought to have held councils or parliaments' (Herbert 1988, quoting Dugdale 1849, 564). The occurrence of both leases belonging to one man, with an additional indication of extensive repairs, led Eward to believe that it was Thomas Pury who demolished the buildings of 7 Miller's Green, thereby shortening the Parliament Room to its present length (1985, 95). But more careful consideration of the lease measurements proves otherwise. As stated above, the dimensions of the buildings on the plot of the parliament block up to and including 1649 were thirty-four feet north-south, by sixty feet east-west. In 1667, however, the Chapter Acts recorded that a Mr Deane desired to erect new buildings on a 'plott or parcel of grounde knowne by the name of the old Parliament Howse...' (Eward 1885, 167) and on 26 October 1667, an Edmund Brough pays 20*s.* for a 'plott' of ground, which measures forty feet north-south by sixty-four feet east-west. But he apparently did not build on it, for it is then recorded in 1670 that William Lambe, the chapter clerk, paid for 'a messuage or Tenement lately built and erected on a certain plott of ground... [called] Parliament Howse' which measured ' in length from East to West next the Miller's Green 23 yards [69 feet] and on that side next the Lower Churchyard 29 yards [87 feet] and in Breadth from north to south next the Deanery 32 yards [96 feet]...' (Eward 1985, 167), and the register of leases stated in 1680 that Mr. Lambe paid nothing 'for ye parliament house lately rebuilt by him' (Eward 1985, 166-7). Thus, according to the 1667 lease, the buildings on the plot of 7 Millers Green had been dismantled, and the new structures were not raised until *c.*1670. However, the thirteenth-century material noted in the western wall of the present buildings proves otherwise, as does the evidence that the solar block was retained throughout the rebuilding of 1670 and every subsequent refurbishing (see p.180). It is possible that the solar block was rendered uninhabitable, but that any structures to the east were completely obliterated.

The lease measurements given in Appendix 13 are plotted on an accurate plan of 7 Miller's Green and the Parliament Room (fig.208), demonstrating several key points. First, the 1670 measurements of 7 Miller's Green were quite accurate, if the north-south measurement of 96 feet (29.3 m) projected in a straight line from the northwest corner of the Parliament Room along the alignment of the buildings, to a point in the former outer courtyard. A measurement of 87 feet (26.5 m) projected from the southwest corner of 7 Miller's Green

to meet the north-south measurement in the courtyard. The 1667 measurements of 40 feet north-south (12.2 m) fit reasonably well with the length of the retained wall of the thirteenth-century solar block. The 1607, 1621, and 1649 lease measurements of 34 feet north-south and 60 feet east-west do not fit the present plot, and Heighway has demonstrated that, along with additional lease measurements of the precinct, they represent a negative error of between thirteen and nineteen percent (2000, rec.122). The same is true of the 1649 measurements of the Deanery which included the Parliament Room, 'in Breadth on the North side next the Mill Green 10 yards [30ft.]', a measurement which is short by 6.4 feet.

Even if these last measurements accurately reflected the buildings of 7 Miller's Green, one conclusion cannot be altered - the Parliament Room must have been truncated to its present length before the first lease measurements were taken in 1607. An attempt has been made to reconstruct the original length of the timber upper storey, based on the existing structural evidence, and on the theory that the present west gable is, at least in part, the original gable wall moved eastwards at a later date (fig.209). The present external north elevation is divided into two bays of 5.05 m and 5.55 m east-west. The minimum length of the Parliament Room would of necessity need to include one 5.05 m or 5.55 m bay, in order to maintain visually and aesthetically pleasing proportions, with an additional oriel window centred in that bay. Internally, the bay rhythm is unusual due to both the singular alignment of the east end, and the need to stabilize the chimney breast by the placement of main posts (or trusses) to either side. The western bays, however, establish a rhythm of either 2.8 m or 2.6 m bays. Plotted on the plan, the first reasonable position for the western gable wall of the hall both in terms of external and internal bay rhythm is at 5.7 m from its present position. In this example, the preferred internal bay measurement is 2.6 m, and the width of the existing corner post auspiciously claims 0.23 of the 0.24 m space remaining. Beyond this, the next possible alignment of external bay measurements is at 11.36 m from the end of the present building, or 11.15 m to the nearest 2.6 m bay (a 2.8 m internal bay would go beyond both exterior bays suggested).

In terms of hall ratios of length:width, the first suggested termination, with a ratio of 1.9:1 length:width, is the most appropriate. Rawson's studies of category B fifteenth-century halls (halls with an internal area of between 100 m and 200 m squared) determined that the ratio of 2:1 length to width was favoured in 75 percent of his examples, as opposed to the

3:2 ratio favoured in 25 percent (Rawson 1998, 20). Even if the hall extended to the second possible length, it would fall within the same area category, but would display a ratio of 2.6:1. Further evidence favouring the 1.9:1 ratio is the position of the fireplace as far west as possible but still relying on the earlier chimney provided by the north block ground-level fireplace. Thus the fireplace which should have been positioned mid-hall in bay 3 (the symbolic end of the hall marked by the position of truss 1), is instead found in bay 2. Such evidence, along with the evidence that the original trusses of the Parliament Room were reused from another building, helps support the theory that this hall took second place to that in the north block.

The removal of this last 5.7 m of the Parliament Room seems an odd action- why remove so little if removing anything at all? The explanation probably refers to a sixteenth-century reworking of the space to create two, similarly sized chambers, with a communicating door between. This was achieved by replacing truss II with a simple tie and collar truss, which could easily taken a complete structural partition, rather than just the more visual or aural partition created by the use of a moveable screen. As in the creation of the Henry Room and Laud Room (named thus much later), this was a post-monastic occurrence, when the large open space required for a guest hall was no longer needed.

Discussion: identifying first-floor halls

The 1649 lease for the Deanery describes 'in the Second storey a Fair Hall and three Chambers the said Hall and one of the last mentioned chambers are covered with lead' (GRO D936/E/1 ff. 267-269). Heighway suggested (2000, rec.122) that the 'fair hall' in question was the Parliament Room. But not only does the timber framed upper storey and high pitched roof of the Parliament Room make this unlikely, but the comparative low pitch and battlements of the roof of the north block, so similar to many church roofs of the fifteenth century, particularly in nearby Somerset, make a lead roof covering a near certainty. The fact that this hall was, by the date of the lease, divided into two chambers, and that one of them was still known as a 'fair hall' (the Laud Room) appears to demonstrate some continuity in its original use through to the seventeenth century.

Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn are reputed to have slept in the Henry Room in 1535, five years before the abbey's surrender. This idea, though popularly repeated in publications, has no apparent documentary basis, and has survived as folklore. It is presumably based on

the fact that Henry and Anne did visit Gloucester in 1535, and a book of ordinances records that after being received into the town by the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen, they proceeded to the abbey, where they were 'met in great state by Abbot Parker and his brethren' (Welander 1991, 299). The fact that the abbot was in residence at the time, and received the king and his current queen, suggests that they would have been accommodated in the abbot's lodging, continually extended and improved since the fourteenth-century. Thus the subdivision of the first-floor hall, and the addition of a second wall fireplace, were probably additions of the post-monastic period, when the guest complex was reconditioned as a Deanery.

The late fifteenth century saw the construction of two high-status first floor halls, in the same region of the court, and possibly accessed from the same point in a small courtyard framed by these structures on the west, the west cloister range on the east, and the tower block on the south. This courtyard was accessed via the fourteenth-century inner gate which led directly from the outer court to the inner court, now Miller's Green. The enclosure of such an area reflected the activities of other large monastic houses, such as Westminster, where a west range first-floor hall was retained, while an additional hall (newly constructed, so at ground-level) was built on the same alignment further west (Brakspear 1933, 141-2). Additional access from the outer court at Gloucester, however, appears to have been created by the reconstruction of the stair tower in an octagonal form, with a ground-level doorway in its southwest face (figs.162 and 163) - such a doorway, with an elaborately carved finial above a pointed archway, gave easy entry into both the first-floor hall of the north block and the chambers of the tower block. There was some difference in the status of these spaces, as opposed to that of the Parliament Room hall, which allowed certain guests to use the outer court entrance to the high end of only one hall, while refusing others, who were made to circulate to the guest courtyard. Therefore, it is probable that hall in the north block was, at least in its initial conception, the higher status of the two, and was reserved for those guests who might drift between the hall and the tower block, which probably served as private accommodation for both the prior and important guests. In this scenario, the west range continued to serve as a hall for the prior.

Discussion: the 1863 north block windows

The restored fenestration scheme of the north block's first-floor is highly questionable when considered in conjunction with pre-1863 drawings and plans of its western elevation. First,

both the published and unpublished versions of Carter's 1807 illustration (figs.166 and 167) omits the width of two crenellations from the northern end. This immediately confuses the sense of scale. The reason for this omission is probably related to Carter's erroneous view of the Parliament Room, which is drawn with an additional six or seven metres on its southern side, and displays an arrangement of timber framing which is completely implausible on the basis of the physical evidence.

Taking these errors of length into consideration, it is possible to reconstruct the western face of the north block, with the positions of both the windows existing in 1807 and those recreated in 1863 (fig.210). This demonstrates which areas of the elevation may have yielded evidence of the original fenestration when the eighteenth-century 'gothic' windows were removed in 1863. Having demonstrated this, it then becomes clear that while there was enough evidence to suggest that the original fenestration was characterised by square-headed, labelled windows with four-centred, uncusped lights, the number of lights in each of these windows was less than clear. Without stopping to consider the probable character of the space (hall) which was originally lit by these windows, Waller inserted two, four, and three-light windows in succession. The same evidence could just as easily, and more convincingly, have suggested an evenly spaced rhythm of two-light square-headed windows, each centred in its own bay framed by corbels and posts, and only interrupted by the chimney breast (see fig.210).

5.7 Conclusions

To summarize, fieldwork undertaken on the Parliament Room and north block in particular, along with observations of the surrounding structures, have led to a detailed interpretation of the development of hospitality at Gloucester. In the early years of the monastery, a west range and chamber block attached to the cloister served as the accommodation of the abbot and his guests. Further accommodation and a ground-floor aisled hall may have been positioned further into the outer court. In the thirteenth century, a stone-built, ground-floor guest hall was constructed, with an attached high-status solar block at the west, and the north block may have first been constructed as either a chamber block for general visitors or as a service wing catering to both the new guest hall and the west range. A vestibule was added to the tower block, possibly with a stair tower connecting it with the north block.

In the fourteenth-century, the abbot moved into a new house to the north of the site, a series of structures which continued to expand throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As part of the effort to enclose this area, the inner gate was built between the outer court and inner courts. Also in the fourteenth-century, a new guest hall was constructed, with a 'covered chamber', of which there are now no certain remains. The west range, now the domain of a prior with increased entertainment responsibilities, was rebuilt, probably as part of the reconstruction of the west cloister walk.

With the reorganization of access to the abbey church by the construction of King Edward's Gate in the late fifteenth-century, along with the construction of a new west front, St Mary's Gate became the focus of traffic accessing the guest buildings. This complex was rebuilt yet again, resulting in three first-floor halls in one area. One hall (now the Parliament Room) probably served as a guest hall for middling and higher status visitors, with an access point from a courtyard created between the west range and north block. The second hall, for high-status visitors, was accessed at its low end from the same point or from the new octagonal stair tower, which led both to the high end of the second hall, or into the chamber block now used by both the prior and guests. And finally, the prior's hall in the west range, by this time probably popular with many of the monks of the abbey, provided not only a third visitor's hall, but also relieved the abbot of some of the responsibilities of hospitality. Although this profusion of halls might seem excessive, multiple halls were a common occurrence on both large monastic and secular sites. At Malmesbury, for example, the abbot's house contained two halls of differing status, while a third hall was converted into a *camera* (Brakspear 1912-13, 431), and Girouard notes the presence of two halls in secular arrangements where either an older hall was not demolished when a replacement was built, or where a larger hall was used for great feasts while a smaller hall became the dining room of the household (1978, 59). Such an arrangement, particularly within the guest house complex, presents a more developed and complex picture of late monastic hospitality than has yet been realized, both for Gloucester, and for the whole of monasticism.

CHAPTER 6. HOSPITALITY: MEANING IN VISITORS' BUILDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

While acknowledging the value of previous contributions to our present understanding of the monastic site, this thesis has sought to enlarge upon established archaeological techniques and approaches. Specifically, this chapter attempts to recontextualize visitors' buildings, proposing an explicitly contextual interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the provision of hospitality within the late monastic period, presented in chapters 3 through 5. It attempts to uncover the means by which space was structured and used to direct human behaviour, with the 'knowledgeable agent' taking a primary role in influencing and being influenced by the built environment. This thesis has employed methods of archaeological investigation which might help in elucidating these two themes.

Thus, one of the most significant features of this work has been its attempt to engage with the material not at a single level, but within a framework which relies upon multi-level, multidisciplinary analysis. The opportunity to examine complex issues at several levels of resolution allows the archaeologist to draw upon different strands of evidence and weave them into a richer account of the past. At a macro-level, chapter 3 presented a broad survey of the standing, excavated, and recorded remains and their associated literature. Being unsatisfied with the answers provided by traditional desk surveys, the compilation of tables of building types and identifying characteristics has helped to establish fundamental spatial criteria and to target specific research questions requiring further consideration. In particular, it has allowed this thesis to consider the degree to which we are able to identify meaning (and indeed even multiple meanings) behind the choice of building form, function, and location within a specific environment. Finally, the extensive survey of surviving remains of gatehouses and guest structures provides the evidence with which to readdress the concept of liminality. Here, its relevance in understanding the secular/monastic, guest/host relationship, is assessed, particularly with respect to the evidence of precinct walls and gatehouses, but also in regards to the arrangement of claustral and non-claustral domestic space.

Contrasting conspicuously with chapter 3, the micro-analysis approach to the Stoneleigh Abbey Gatehouse (chapter 4), involving the rigorous application of intensive building recording and stratigraphic analysis, not only develops further the relationship between

building form and function, but exposes the potential for detecting the 'knowledgeable agent', including both patron and host, within the monastic built setting. It illustrates the way in which individuals were capable of 'presencing' themselves in that setting, allowing them to negotiate social authority. Finally, the fieldwork undertaken at Gloucester Cathedral (chapter 5), linking intensive recording of the Parliament Room and analysis of restoration work carried out on Church House, with a broader examination of spatial layout, combines the macro- and micro-level approaches. It highlights in particular the significance of varying *degrees* of hospitality within a monastic house, both in its distinction between charity to the poor and generosity for the rich, as well as in its complementary levels of higher-status hospitality within one visitors' complex. Thus, the formulation of macro- and micro-level research methodologies has been effective in highlighting a wide variety of social themes, and it is this which has permitted such a rich reconstruction of medieval intentions and meanings behind the material culture produced.

6.2 RECONTEXTUALIZING MONASTIC VISITORS' BUILDINGS

At the core of this examination of monastic hospitality lies the question of what happens when two apparently distinct cultures, the monastic and the secular, collide, within both the physical and social environments. This interaction has been explored here through one of its most permanent expressions, the buildings which provided the physical setting for social behaviour. However, much research into these buildings has tended to decontextualize this environment, reducing buildings and their components - Rapoport's fixed and semi-fixed features (1982, 87-122), such as roofs, items of furniture, window tracery, or fragments of carving or painting - from material expressions of a culture to instances of a 'type'. Form and function are each examined in isolation, rather than as two contributors to meaning. This is why contextualism, as a tool for interpreting the structuring of social relations or dominant forms of meaning through material remains, is so vital. While this thesis has not avoided such descriptive or typological analysis, it has attempted to go a step beyond it, suggesting how elements of the material setting - of visitors' buildings - might be influenced by, or employed to direct, social practice.

Dismantling the chronological development of visitors' buildings has not, admittedly, been a pivotal motive in this study. While change over time can certainly be detected in some aspects of this material, it was determined from an early stage that a more specifically contextual study would be more rewarding, and it is this approach which the detailed

recording methodology has been designed to support. Indeed, it would be wiser to reserve a detailed chronology of these structures until a more graphic picture, achieved through intensive recording, has been undertaken on additional guest structures, and lent further proof to some of the conclusions which the examinations at Stoneleigh and Gloucester have produced. That does not, however, mean that chronological change can be, or has been, ignored here. But it has been examined in an attempt to identify episodes in which individual behaviour *altered* the nature of hospitality. Chapter 3 in particular provided some very interesting conclusions regarding the development of the nature and role of the gatehouse in monastic planning. It has been demonstrated that the gatehouse's supervision of monastic/secular interaction was one which evolved from a simpler regulatory role of separating the monastery from its urban surroundings (p.46), to a more complex one involving the social discrimination on the basis of rights of access. As this discrimination increased, a vocabulary of structural and decorative agents, as well as a spatial scheme for position and alignment, developed, taking its inspiration from the role of the narthex in directing traffic (p.65). Furthermore, section 3.3 pointed to shifts in the arrangement and use of visitors' space which were concurrent with trends in the secular world, such as an apparent increase in hall length and height at the expense of hall width, thus increasing both the physical (lateral and vertical) and symbolic distances between hierarchical 'high' and 'low' ends (p.97).

The detailed recording and analysis of domestic guest structures at Stoneleigh and Gloucester has illustrated this 'keyhole' approach to chronology very effectively, as well as permitting the recontextualization of visitors' building in several additional ways. Through the isolation of particular construction phases in a building's history, we catch a glimpse of moments of individual choice, and are sometimes able to identify the agents responsible for each particular association between building form and function. At Stoneleigh, one of the most distinctive features of the gate and guest range's development is the evidence for Abbot Robert of Hockele's decision to place a guest hall directly between, and thus joining, an earlier guest structure and a gatehouse which he himself had commissioned only a short time before (p.120 and 129). This perhaps indicated an opinion that the current provisions for hospitality were inadequate, that new structures - a gatehouse which deliberately relied on the traditional pitched gable form and adhered to the now-standard criteria for location and alignment, coupled with a guest range which drew on similar traditions - could reflect favourably on the charity, the munificence, and the

monasticism practised by the house. Equally interesting is the fact that, although it is possible that the internal division of space may have altered, none of Hockele's successors sought to make any significant external structural alterations to his contribution, suggesting that the choices made by Hockele, and thus what the particular structures symbolized, remained valid over the remaining two hundred years of monastic use. In this respect in particular, this abbot 'presenced' himself in an enduring way - his decisions, and by implication, his authority, was a continuous influence in this setting. In contrast, while we are unable to link clearly the physical and documentary evidence for the development of much of Gloucester's provisions for hospitality, it is apparent that such a complex could, and did, evolve according to the changing needs of a house and its guests, including the increased differentiation between buildings of status in order to accommodate guests of widely different social groups, and the gradual shift to forms of hospitality more broadly secular in nature (see pp.194-8).

The carefully formulated relationship between building form and function is particularly evident in the guest master's accommodation at Stoneleigh. This is the first time that archaeology has been able to pin down the spatial provisions for this important monastic official (pp.147-8). To what extent Hockele's guest master had a say in the spatial arrangement of the combined gate and guest house, and of his own quarters, is impossible to tell, but certainly, the hierarchical arrangement of his house indicates a high level of forethought and planning, and allowed him to dominate his house not as a lord, but as a representative of the abbot and monastic house. Detailed recording and analysis is able to point to not only 'high-status' space, but degrees within the high-status category - not in terms of spatial depth, as we might otherwise expect, but at opposing ends of a hall, and in the intricate route of access to the guest master's private chambers.

The patrons and builders of visitors' structures achieved such differentiation by focussing on the choice and position of distinguishing features. This is most apparent in the design and construction of the hall, one of the best survivors of the practice of hospitality. The marking of timbers comprising the roof, and in Gloucester's Parliament Room, the lateral walls, in these buildings (pp.139-142, 182-9) denotes not only an adherence to the 'grammar of carpentry' (Harris 1989, 6) in its capacity of demonstrating technical competence, but also in its continued ability to convey spatial orientation and significance, thereby dictating movement and behaviour. This appears to have been further emphasized,

for example, by the position of a fireplace or hearth either midway along, or favouring the high end of the hall (p.88; see abbots' lodgings at Haughmond, fig.33; Byland, fig.47a; Forde, fig.48), in some instances by windows placed to illuminate the dais (Selby, p.87), and as chapter 3 illustrated, by the distribution and display of moveable symbols of wealth, such as tapestries, furniture, vessels, and even food or drink (pp.93-6). But chapters 4 and 5 have also demonstrated that the recognition of such significance cannot be reduced simply to a statement that the more decorative or elaborate detail indicated a higher-status area. In the Parliament Room, for example, the most sophisticated surviving truss was positioned over the low end of the hall, marking the transition from screens passages to hall, and also compensating for an irregular alignment of a gable wall adopted from an earlier building phase (pp.187-8). As noted above, at Stoneleigh, the prominence of a corbelled doorway leading from the hall into the guest master's private vaulted passage was not an indicator of openly-accessible high-status space, but denoted the presence of an *additional* high-status space used by a monastic official which, on account of an unusual building development, did not conform to the normal pattern of hierarchical spatial division (pp.147-8). By the careful inclusion of such markers, guests, host, and servants were cued on the appropriate circulation, as well as their allocated 'fixed' positions, within the hall. Such attention to detail reiterates the importance of the messages which were being conveyed to builders, patrons, and users. That these cues were understood by their intended receptor, the guest, cannot be doubted. Not only did monastic builders employ the same vocabulary of structural forms and decorative detail as was fashionable in secular circles, but they did so deliberately. The superiors or monastic populations who commissioned guest structures desired the comparison to be made.

Another element of this hierarchy was the deliberate positioning of the hall at or above ground-floor level. Chapter 3 (pp.81-3) demonstrated that the ground-floor hall was the preferred structure when open ground, particularly at a distance from the cloister, was available. The long internal expanse, accentuated by aisles and by a high-pitched roof, emphasized the similarities between the hall and the church, and thus drew parallels between the rituals of the church and of the feast (p.78). However, despite recent debates questioning the existence or predominance of the first-floor hall in England (pp.74-8), chapters 3 through 5 have demonstrated unequivocally that the first-floor hall was also prevalent in monastic contexts, particularly when located around the cloister or when constructed over the ground-floor remains of an earlier building. The reasons for its initial

adoption and continued favour are complex; the first-floor hall may have been both a result of the necessity of locating both domestic space and services or storage areas within the restricted length of the cloister ranges, and a more emulative reaction to the appearance of such structures in high-status secular contexts, such as the *Palatium Regium* described in chapter 3 as the model for St Albans (p.77-8). Gloucester's hierarchy of halls within a single complex accentuates this even further. While the internal arrangement and appearance of the Parliament Room and north block themselves suggested a hall hierarchy favouring the north block, further interpretations might be made of the relationship between location and function of these two halls, along with the west range, which provide similar conclusions. Here it may be possible to interpret their relative distance from the church and cloister (fig.), the Parliament Room being furthest from these *foci,* as indicators of the status of the hall and its occupants.

Furthermore, the first-floor hall's association with pre-standing structures may suggest that the re-use of older building remains in a new campaign lent an aura of continuity or permanence to the new hall. This would be an interesting line of further inquiry, particularly within the framework of Quiney's suggestion that it is the occupier who decides the function of a space (hall), and not the outsider (1999, 37). But this poses intriguing possibilities for the direction of future research into the first-floor hall debate in general: might this practice of re-using older fabric as the basis of a high-status first-floor hall be observed, through a more rigorous archaeological analysis, in the contemporary secular remains? Might this reveal more about the symbolic significance of this hall type and its role in managing social practices enacted within?

6.3 Constructing boundaries

Previous research has suggested that the physical recognition of a transition from secular to monastic spheres of influence, in the form of precinct walls and gates, has generally been attributed to a fundamental necessity to segregate the two cultures - to exclude one from the other, or to prohibit their interaction (pp.41 and 58-9; Heal 1990, 8; Fergusson 1990a, 147; Coulson 1982, 73-4). Such explanations are bound up with the structuralist analysis of space, in which the outside/secular/guest is both physically and symbolically opposed to the inside/monastic/host. I have argued, however, that this overstates the basic restrictive aspect of such structures, by ignoring the possibility of further subtleties of intention or practice. Archaeological recording of the Gatehouse at Stoneleigh Abbey, along with

comparative research into Gloucester and the standing and recorded remains of gatehouses and precincts in England, have been particularly effective in demonstrating the potential for recovering (multiple) meanings revolving around the concept of boundaries or liminality, which are both specific to particular situations or social groups, and reliant on a preconstructed *habitus*. These meanings have subsequently become embedded in a common vocabulary linking building form and spatial layout.

First, it is important to reinstate the role of the knowledgeable agent, both in the creation of a boundary, and in the perception of its existence and meaning. In the monastic gatehouse, there were two forces at work, the permanence of the physical structure itself, and the presence of the human authority accompanying it - the porter. While recording work at neither Stoneleigh or Gloucester was able to identify the specific domestic space allocated to this individual, it was possible at Stoneleigh, by linking an assessment of the hierarchical importance of a space with its potential occupants or users, to demonstrate where the porter would *not* have been found, thereby narrowing the field to ground-level space within the guest range itself (p.127). However, chapter 3 demonstrated that the porter's presence at the gate was potentially as significant as whether the gates themselves were open or closed (pp.42-3, 61). Furthermore, the physical relationship between the doorway leading from the gate passage, apparently to both porter and guest master's accommodation, and the original position of doors subdividing the length of the gate passage (p.126-7), point to the importance of both physical and human barriers.

This draws much needed attention to the importance of an individual's or social group's ability to interpret correctly the message or 'openness' presented by the gatehouse and its porter (p.63). Contextual interpretation of the standing remains has demonstrated that while access to the monastic house and its components was managed, this management was often far from restrictive. Where exclusion was practised, it appears to have been aimed primarily at members of specific social strata, as witnessed by the spatial constraints imposed by the position of the entrance to the almonry, for example (pp.72-4). Confined primarily to the feeding and accommodation of both resident and transitory poor (travellers or pilgrims), the almonry represented the charitable aspect of the monastic ideal. Chapter 3, however, suggested that while making allowances for the lower strata of society, the monastery was reluctant to encourage accessibility for the lower orders - almonries may have been confined to what was, in this sense at least, the 'liminal' area of the gatehouse

and precinct walls, marking the transition from secular to monastic space, with access provided from beyond the precinct boundary, as is seen at Gloucester and Evesham, for example (p.74). This parallels Gilchrist's observations regarding the liminality of leper houses and similar hospitals, which were structurally and ritually segregated from urban society by placing them at the boundaries (or beyond the walls) of towns and parishes (Gilchrist 1992b, 115). While structural remains of monastic almonries therefore appear to be scarce on the ground in comparison with potential guest houses, there is an argument to be made, particularly in the light of survival/conversion trends for high-status domestic structures, that an almonry was not necessarily high on the list for post-Reformation reconditioning. However, the level of analysis undertaken for this thesis has made it possible to detect this degree of subtlety in the arrangement and use of space within the precinct, and its implications for the 'welcome' and 'less-welcome' visitor.

In essence, therefore, gatehouses were not designed to restrict the access of *all* incomers, but only of *some*. This is a critical distinction. Particularly in circumstances associated with the reception of high-status visitors, monastic access policy appears to have been one which encouraged, and even facilitated, an experience of the house. For the specific social group of high-status secular visitors, with which this thesis has been principally concerned, gatehouses became not a safeguard against entry, but a means of manipulating physical and visual interaction with religious *foci*, most particularly the church. This was achieved through the careful choice of form, function and location. Chapter 3 examined systematically the relationship between these aspects of monastic planning, in particular looking at them in the context of date and monastic affiliation. It has demonstrated that locations were chosen generally to the west, northwest or southwest of the church, so that the church dominated the visual field beyond. Of equal importance, therefore, was the alignment of the gate passage, which 'framed' the church in its archway into the courtyard. But the manipulation of built culture was not restricted to a building's position in the precinct, but rather was only a catalyst in the construction of a symbolic boundary between the secular and monastic.

Chapters 3 through 5 have shown that through carefully chosen structural features, spatial layout, and/or artistic embellishment, buildings (gates, religious and domestic structures) impressed upon the visitor not simply that the house enjoyed a degree of social and economic influence or favour, but that it was capable of exerting that influence (pp.54-6 and

127-8). The gatehouse in particular affected visitors' perception by means of its spatial relationship with them, their approach, entrance, and exit into the precinct being carefully choreographed by the patron and builder by means not only of location and alignment, but by the inclusion of turrets, towers, windows, sculpted or figurative imagery, and arcading - or, as Stoneleigh demonstrated, by the almost total omission of such features (pp.127-8). While structural features such as turrets on a facade commanded the visitor's approach, more detailed artistic imagery, particularly sculpture, conveyed meaning at the carefully chosen moment of access to the passage, just as arcading drew the visitor through into the courtyard. Builders relied not only upon the single structure of the gatehouse itself to create this effect, but also on the presence, or absence, of accompanying buildings. As demonstrated by the development of the turreted, cross-placed, and tower gatehouse types and their associated precinct positions from the initial pitched gable design, the effectiveness of this scheme was not immediate. Instead it emerged gradually over time as a result of an increasing recognition that buildings and space could be used to impress and transform dominant (and subversive) images of monasticism within the social order. The importance of this visual relationship is sustained by the retention at Gloucester of St Mary's Gatehouse as the primary access to the west front of the church for all high-status visitors, even after pilgrims and townfolk were re-routed to the south by the initial construction of a south porch and gatehouse (later to become King Edward's Gate) in the fourteenth century (p.155). This careful presentation of the church both leading up to and upon the visitor's entrance was the first of a series of spatial cues (*cf.* Rapoport 1990, 12) indicating the behaviour appropriate within this setting. More significantly, these spatial cues were designed to elicit a reaction from the viewer, preferably one of respect, admiration, and awe.

The gatehouse-church juxtaposition, whereby the west front of the church was presented to the viewer, indicated the orientation of the liturgical compass (pp.59-60). This amounted to a mental map of the precinct for a high-status guest equipped with previous experience of a monastic house and its 'regular' layout. This policy was institutionalised further through the standardised monastic plan adopted by the mainstream monastic orders, and was particularly important to a visitor to a large and complex house, such as Gloucester, where the abundance of buildings in the courtyard might confuse the unfamiliar. Further spatial cues allowed the visitor to negotiate physical and visual access to surrounding areas. Like the gatehouse, a porch at the west end of the nave, or on the

north or south lateral walls, indicated the appropriateness of access to that space, while internal spatial cues, whether fixed or non-fixed features, would indicate the necessary behaviour and direction of circulation. This 'pointer' could be particularly important where the initial visual connection between the gatehouse and church, indicating orientation, was absent - as at Worcester, for example, where the gatehouse was on the southeast side of the precinct.

Thus, the suggestion that regular planning allowed monastic inmates a degree of detachment from their surroundings through a familiarity with, and order in, their surroundings can be, in certain contexts, applied to the visitor as well. A basic knowledge of 'where to go' permitted a degree of freedom to interpret additional spatial and structural signals which indicated 'what to do'. The vocabulary and syntax of spatial form and layout has been demonstrated to be shared by high-status secular and monastic households (see pp.85-98). Such familiarity enabled visitors to interpret their surroundings, while differences in that syntax were used to emphasize the monastic character of the setting. Similarly, while the great gatehouse/church juxtaposition was a particularly monastic strategy, often the position of a subsidiary gatehouse, an inner or superior's gate, reflected the focus of its secular counterparts by leading directly towards the great hall and its entrance porch (for example, at Dartington Hall, see fig.51, Edlingham Castle and Middleton Castle (Emery 1996, 88 and 228 respectively). The continued popularity of the domestic porch from the twelfth century onwards, as demonstrated not only by the early porch of the *Aula Nova* at Canterbury Christ Church (fig.49a), but also by Stoneleigh's entrance to the hall and guest master's accommodation, as well as Gloucester's stair turret linking the early abbot's tower and north block (see pp.176-7) and even the suggestive remains of such a structure linking the north block and the Parliament Room (p.178), can be attributed to its effectiveness in guiding guests to 'visitor-friendly' zones within the courtyard - west ranges, independent guest houses and superiors' lodgings alike. So important was this cue, that where visitors' structures had been absorbed into a confusing array of structures, amongst which the hall could not be immediately identified, the hall doorway was elaborately embellished, as at Rievaulx, Fountains, and Birkenhead (p.84, figs.52a-c). From there, the adoption of tripartite domestic layouts in both settings increased this visual recognition and contributed to a common *habitus* for visitors and inhabitants.

However, the scholarly perception of 'restrictiveness', as discussed above, has normally been extended to the claustral complex as well, denying the visitor freedom to witness or experience monasticism in a more personal way, while protecting monastic inmates from secular 'contamination'. To some extent this is justified, since chapter 3 demonstrated that while the criteria for domestic guest structures regularly included the porch, which provided access from without, and not within, the claustral ranges, structures such as a monastic infirmary (which protected particularly vulnerable occupants) were accessed from the claustral ranges directly (p.71-2). Such a conclusion, however, cannot be accepted without caveats. There is a danger in assuming that secular/religious contact *needed* to be obstructed through the explicitly physical exclusion of visitors. Forms of bodily or personal liminality, such as the long robes of a monk or nun which shielded the body from view (including parts of the face if the head was lowered), as well as the monastic vow of silence, might similarly guarantee a degree of personal isolation without the need for physical seclusion. It was for this reason that such practices were adopted by monasticism, not simply to restrict verbal and physical contact amongst claustral inhabitants, but to shield them from any non-monastic presence. Surely the invitation of secular visitors into the cloister could only impinge on monastic isolation if these more personal safeguards had already been breached, either by individuals or collectively. Furthermore, the regular inclusion of guest structures within the claustral ranges, particularly in the west range, *guaranteed* at least physical proximity with, as well as aural and visual access to, the cloister, if not physical access as well.

But the rationale behind such a policy of moderate 'inclusion' with regards to high-status visitors is hardly remarkable when viewed in the light of monasticism's reliance on secular society - particularly the upper classes - for their continuing livelihood. Patronage included not only the donations of land and wealth, but also protection, building materials, and reciprocal hospitality, all of which might be intended as very public investments, demonstrating both personal status and outward religious devotion. Most significantly, they supplied the novitiates who maintained the vitality of a house - some of these would later become the superiors, or high-ranking officials, thus providing a valuable familial link on which they could rely for support. To allow guests some form of access to the cloister was equivalent to allowing the investor to inspect the growth of investments, and negotiate potential returns. Thus, in many ways, the monastery operated *within* secular culture, not outside of or beside it. This shared background effectively guaranteed a common

vocabulary of building forms, and it was left to monasticism to emphasize its chosen degree of difference from the culture which nurtured it.

6.4 IDENTIFYING RITUAL?

The concept of *habitus* allows us to appreciate the cultural importance of visitors' buildings within hospitality, and within monasticism in general, allowing us to connect material culture with practice. The actions and behaviour demonstrated within and around the *locale* of visitors' buildings can all be defined as forms of social practice. The embodiment of such practice, much of which had become routinized, enabled the framing of *habitus.* However, it was asked whether such practice could be interpreted one stage further, as ritual behaviour, understanding that ritual is used by individuals or groups to 'presence' themselves in a setting in a way which allows them to negotiate personal or communal power and authority. More to the point, however, has it been possible to detect the embodiment of ritual within these standing remains?

It was demonstrated in chapters 2 and 3 that the Judeo-Christian definition of hospitality included certain specific practices, the washing of hands and feet and the sharing of food and drink, which carried a ritual significance defined as initiation, reception into and membership of a community (pp.29-30 and 99-100). One the one hand this might be interpreted as an indicator of brotherhood, or social equality between guests and host, although it might equally be seen as a reinforcement of the social division between them. According to the biblical texts, this ritual was both intuitively understood and publicly expressed by all parties, although we should not assume from this that the meaning of these rituals was static. However, by the late monastic period, the ritual actions associated with hospitality had become part of a much broader collection of practices, perhaps embodied in the construction of buildings dedicated solely to them. With the continuing evolution of and addition to such practices, their meaning may not have been evident to all who participated. Certainly, it may have been desirable that specific participants, such as guests or servants, remained unaware of the significance of what they did or said, since such ignorance permitted the host a greater degree of control. However, such circumstances did not necessarily deplete ritual effectiveness - the actions themselves were still significant to some, and could be employed to reinforce new interpretations of meaning.

In fact, this is what monasteries and their occupants may have been doing, using material

culture - the buildings, their fixtures and fittings - to subvert the 'original' ritual meaning of hospitality. While the initial imagery and presentation of the gatehouse and monastic church encouraged high-status secular society to partake of the hospitality offered, this welcome was then both covertly and explicitly challenged by the accompanying domestic setting and practices. The prevalence of recognitions of hierarchy in the arrangement and use of space suggests that monasteries and their superiors used ritual to reinforce their own authority. The spatial arrangement of the hall, services, and chambers, the distribution of guests to halls and chambers of varying degrees of status, the constant parallels with secular forms of social distinction, all intended to inform visitors that while they were welcome to the hospitality on offer, and would be treated as befitted their status, such generosity came with conditions.

However, this is as yet still a theory - in spite of the various degrees of resolution employed in the analysis of the material evidence in this thesis, it has not been easy to identify the expression of ritual built into these particular types of monastic buildings. It is tempting to point to the evidence for a laver directly outside the guest master's entrance to the hall at Stoneleigh (p.148) and claim that its presence drew explicit parallels with overt ritual cleansing, such as baptism. But where we draw the line between the kinds of repetitive behaviour which mark everyday life, and ritual, and how this becomes 'built into' permanent features, is a difficult issue. Graves has suggested that physical changes made to a church, which affect the use of or circulation within it, by implication affect the religious practice within this space (1989, 307). But whereas the ritual role of a church, for example, cannot be denied, it is difficult to detect such an identity embodied in structures which have been regarded as essentially domestic or regulatory by nature. Thus, while there is still reason to believe in the presence of a ritual element in monastic visitors' buildings, by merit of the activities which occurred therein, it remains elusive in material terms. It may be that ritual significance was primarily restricted to Rapoport's semi-fixed and non-fixed elements (1982, 87-122), such as representational art or religious processions - in which case, we may be forced to employ interdisciplinarity more rigorously in order to locate it. Here, it has been possible to show ritual observance, but only through the aid of surviving documentary texts which point to the presence of forms of ritual behaviour - without such sources, we might be unable to locate it at all.

6.5 EPILOGUE: THE FUTURE OF MONASTIC RESEARCH

In light of the above, perhaps it is time for us, as archaeologists, to reassess our preconceptions concerning the nature of late monastic life and the reasons for its collapse. Instead of regarding monastic life as a foreign one, alien not only to much of modern society, but also to our medieval forebears, we should begin to emphasize the similarities between monastic and secular cultures - the common background, the shared tradition of beliefs and practices, the desire to establish a social and economic niche in society. A verdict of corruption has dogged monasticism since the Dissolution. While certainly there was an element of truth in such a denunciation, it would be wise to consider the social, political, and economic agendas which contributed to this shaming. This is not simply a recognition that Henry VIII desired the wealth of the monasteries and dissolved them in order to attain it. Monasticism, by nature, fostered the religious element in a secular society which estimated worth according to the display of wealth, through such touchstones as the size of a household, the standard of furnishing and decoration in a house, and the quality and abundance of food and drink. Naturally, then, the society which maintained monasticism did so on its own, familiar terms. All of this contributed to a *habitus* which was, on the one hand, recognized in both monastic and secular circles, but on the other, provided a background for the manipulation of social control. An understanding of this *habitus* can only be achieved through the development of a critical contextual approach to both the archaeological and documentary evidence.

Part of this is the recognition that monastic hospitality, the *raison d'être* of monasticism, evolved in response to the needs of secular society, as did monasticism as a way of life. If anything, monastic hospitality, and the culture which offered it, was a familiar experience, not only because the monastic population was one drawn from the secular world 'outside', but because high-status secular visitors expected a degree of generosity to justify their patronage. This was impossible without some degree of secularization of their experience within the monastic precinct. Yet while this appears to place monasticism in the role of victim, particularly in the light of the Dissolution, it would be more accurate to say that monastic officials used their intimacy with secular lifestyles to their advantage, to manipulate impressions of their houses.

This thesis has only touched on these issues, attempting to bring them to the forefront in a discipline which is too focussed on the 'inner' aspects of its subject. Visitors' buildings,

like hospitality, were as much a part of monasticism as the communal life within the cloisters, but they served a different purpose. It has been demonstrated here that it is possible to learn more about this aspect of monastic life. The employment of multiple methodologies, from typological and spatial survey to detailed stone-by-stone recording and stratigraphic analysis of some of the most complex and interesting monastic remains, allowing analysis at several degrees of resolution, has, along with a carefully framed research agenda which employs contextual methods of interpretation, allowed us to piece together the social and spatial development of buildings which retain evidence for behaviour within the precinct previously dismissed as *un*monastic.

Having achieved these results, it would be interesting to apply the same principles and techniques to a site which exhibits further, tantalizing potential for examining the nature of monastic hospitality. The remarkably complete complex of visitors' buildings at Ely (fig.29) includes not only remains of much of the church, claustral range, and infirmary, but also peripheral structures such as granaries, an almonry, and gatehouses. More specifically, it includes the standing remains of high-status visitors' structures, including the great gatehouse ('Ely Porta'), the displaced west range, and an adjacent complex known as the 'prior's lodgings' - an intricate cluster of halls, chambers, and a chapel used by the prior and his guests. Between 1990 and 1999, the 'prior's lodgings' and west range have been the subject of watching briefs and a programme of building survey, in response to necessary restoration and repair works (Holton-Krayenbuhl 1999). The accompanying research agenda was formulated with the belief that previous research had presented a static view of monasticism, relying on documentary evidence to breathe life into old structures.

There are, however, two things which I would have done differently at Ely. First, the recently published report states that the recording methodology consisted of scaled elevation drawings, accompanied by some plans and sections - these, however, are not stone-by-stone, instead representing the major visible features within each region, in spite of an admission that some regions of walling contained much evidence for disturbance (1999, 300). But stone-by-stone recording and analysis at Stoneleigh had demonstrated unequivocally (compare descriptions of elevation 10 - p.107 and pp.132-3) that placing too much faith in our ability to phase a building by just looking at it has often resulted in serious misinterpretation. What this reappraisal also lacks is a research agenda which is framed in sympathy with the some of the broader social questions which this thesis has attempted to

address. The analysis addresses form, but not how it influenced and was influenced by function, and the people involved here are decontextualized from their environment. Macro- and micro-level investigation such as that undertaken at Stoneleigh and Gloucester, but at a more encompassing level and on a site with such an intricate history of development and a fascinating array of structures, would surely provide a degree of resolution surpassing what has thus far been achieved.

APPENDIX 1. TABLE OF KNOWN GATEHOUSES ASSOCIATED WITH HOSPITALITY, CORRESPONDING WITH FIGURES...

[1] Includes first known instance of a gate in a given position, along with substantial rebuilding dates.
[2] Given where known. Some are determined on the basis of gate position, with respect to general site size. Occasionally, proper names (e.g. Bayle) are quoted.
[3] Distance was determined by measuring from a central point on the west front of the church to each individual gate. Where the church was missing, measurements were taken from the nearest point on the claustral ranges. The positions having been plotted, the distance relative to the church was noted. The symbols <,>, and ~ indicate approximate distances, either taken from Morant 1995 (as indicated in sources column), or measured from small-scale plans.
[4] Position is determined according to a division of the distance radii into eight sectors, representing north, northwest, west, etc.
[5] Alignment refers to the axis of the gate passage - for example, north-south, east-west.
[6] Types include pitch. = pitched gable, cpl. = cross-placed, turr. = turreted, and tower.
[7] * denotes statistics taken from Morant 1995, facing p.30. In some instances, the only source used was Morant's (unreferenced) description. + Denotes sites which visited during this research.
~denotes gates omitted from chronological figures based on type and alignment.
---- denotes information which cannot be determined due to the lack of remains. ? is given where I was unable to find information, although it may be available.
Italics indicate sites for which information on position was unavailable. These are excluded from figs.8-14.

Site	*Order*	*Date*[1]	*Name*[2]	*Distance (m)*[3]	*Position*[4]	*Alignment*[5]	*Type*[6]	*Source(s)*[7]
1. Abbotsbury	B	15	outer	50	(n)w	n/s	---	*RCHME1952, 5 (plan)
2. Abbotsbury	B	15	inner	73	sw	e/w	cpl.	*RCHME1952, 5 (plan)
3. Abingdon	B	lt15	great	135	w	e/w	cpl.	*Biddle 1968, 60 (plan); Chandler 1993, 32
4. Alnwick	P	14	great	43	n	n/s	turr.	*Hope 1887, facing 245 (plan)
5. Bardney	B	14	great	79	w	e/w	cpl.	Brakspear 1922, 9 (plan)
6. Bardney	B	15	inner	43	w	n/s	pitch.	Brakspear 1922, 11 (plan)
7. Battle	B	12/14	great	50-100	nw	nw/se	turr.	*M, 138-9; Platt 1984, 198
8. Bayham	P	14	inner	50-100	nw	n/s	pitch.	*Clapham 1923, 131 (plan)
9. Beaulieu	C	14	inner	180	sw	n/s	pitch.	*Hope and Brakspear 1906, 142 (plan)
10. Beaulieu	C	lt13	outer	250	sw	n/s	pitch.	*Hope and Brakspear 1906,145 (plan)
11. Binham	B	15	great?	80	w	ne/sw	?	*Anon. 1923a, 334 (plan)
12. Blanchland	P	lt15	inner	9	w	n/s	cpl.?	*Knowles 1902: facing p.328 (plan)
13. Bolton	A	e14	great?	>90	sw	e/w	turr.	*Hamilton Thompson 1928, 174-178 (plan)
14. Bordesley~	B	---	-----	>100	w	e/w	-----	*Aston 1972, 133 (plan)

15.	Bridlington	A	lt14	Bayle	>90	sw	ne/sw	cpl.	*M, 76 (plan); Pevsner 1972, 199; VCH 1974, 45
16.	Bristol	A	12	great	32	w	n/s	pitch?	*Ross 1947, 55-56; Paul 1911-12, (plan)
17.	Bristol	A	12	abbot	60	s	e/w	pitch?	*Ross 1947, 56-57; Paul 1911-12, (plan)
18.	Bromfield	B	14	great?	50-100	w	e/w	cpl.	*M, 140-41
19.	Bromholm	Cl	15	?	65	nw	?	?	Anon. 1923b, 352 (plan)
20.	Buckfast	C	15	south	>100	sw	n/s	?	*Knowles and St Joseph 1952, 37
21.	Buckfast	C	12	north	50-100	nw	n/s	?	*Knowles and St Joseph 1952, 37
22.	Bury	B	14	great	160	sw	e/w	turr.	*Whittingham 1951, pl. 201 (plan)
23.	Bury~	B		abbot	170	s	n/s	?	*Whittingham 1951, pl. 201 (plan)
24.	Butley	A	e14	great	>150	n	n/s	pitch.	Caröe 1933, 229-281 (plan)
25.	Byland	C	12	inner	150	nw	e/w		*+ Harrison 1990, 21-23 (plan)
26.	Byland	C	?	outer?	300?	nw?	?	?	Harrison 1990, 22 (plan)
27.	Calder	C	14	?	>100	w	e/w	pitch.	*M, 177
28.	*Canonsleigh*	AC	15						Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 243
29.	Canter. CC	B	12	Court	95	se	nw/se	pitch.	*M, 143; Cant. Waterworks Plan (Greene 1992, 109-11)
30.	Canter. CC	B	12/15	Pentice	30	se	nw/se	pitch.	*M, 171; Cant. Waterworks Plan (Greene 1992, 109-11)
31.	Canter. CC	B	15	Forrens	110	e	nw/se	pitch.	*M, 142-43
32.	Canter. SA	B	e14	Fyndon	70	sw	e/w	turr.	*Gem 1997, 124 and 129 (plan)
33.	Carlisle	A	16	great	50-100	w	nw/se	tower	*M, 144
34.	Cartmel	A	e14	?	>100	w	n/s	cpl.	*M, 145; Dickinson 1991, 106-7 (plan)
35.	Castle Acre	Cl	16	great	>100	n	n/s		*M, 194
36.	Cerne	B	lt15	?	50-100	sw	?	-----	RCHME 1952, 77-80; Newman and Pevsner 1972, 134 (plan)
37.	Chester	B	14	great	50-100	sw	e/w	?	*M, 172
38.	Cirencester	A	12		>100	s	n/s	pitch?	*M, 146
39.	Cleeve	C	13/14/16	inner	60	nw	n/s	pitch.	*Knowles and St J. 1952, 143; Platt 1990, 199; Coppack 1998, pl.21; Robinson 1998, 86
40.	*Colchester*	B	15	great	?	?	?	turr.	M, 146-7; RCHME 1924, 47-8 (plan)
41.	*Cornworthy*		15					turr?	Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 290
42.	Coverham	P	e16		>100	nw	e/w	?	*M, 186
43.	*Croxden*	C				nw			VCH 1970, 279
44.	Dover	A	14	great?	<50	w	n/s	cpl.	*Stell 1994, 20-21 (plan)
45.	Dunkeswell	C	15	?	50-100	w	e/w	?	*M, 179

46.	Dunstable	A	m15		<50	w	n/s	cpl?	*M, 186
47.	Durham	B	e16	great	>100	se	e/w	pitch.	+*M, 149; *BAA* 1980, (plan)
48.	Easby	P	12/e14	great	50	se	ne/sw	pitch.	*+VCH 1968, 59 (plan)
49.	Ely	B	lt14	great	160	se	e/w	turr.	*VCH 1953, 200 (plan)
50.	Evesham	B	12	great	50-100?	n	n/s	pitch?	+M, 150
51.	Evesham	B	e14	great	100-150	w	e/w	-----	*+M, 179
52.	Forde	C	15	abbot	45	sw	n/s	pitch.	*+*RCHME Dorset, West* 1952, 246 (plan)
53.	Fountains	C	e13	inner	100	w	e/w		*+Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 61-2 (plan); Fergusson 1990, 56-57
54.	*Fountains*	C		outer	~700	w	e/w	----	Coppack 1993, 90 (plan)
55.	Furness	C	13	inner	>150	ne	n/s	-----	*M, 200; Fergusson 1990, 58 (plan)
56.	Furness	C	14	outer	>200	ne	n/s	-----	*Dickinson 1967, 73-4 (plan)
57.	*Glastonbury*	B	14			w			Ralegh Radford 1973, 18-19
58.	Gloucester	B	12	St M.	55	sw	e/w	pitch.	*+Hope 1897, 113-4 (plan); Heighway 2000, rec. 118, pp. 7-9; see chapter 5
59.	Gloucester	B	14	inner	35	sw	n/s	pitch.	*+Hope 1897, 94 (plan); see chapter 5
60.	Grt Malv.	B	15	great?	30	w	n/s	cpl.	*+VCH 1924,; Smith 1978, 73 (plan)
61.	Guisbor.	A	12	?	50-100	w	n/s	-----	*M, 187
62.	Haughm.~	A	?	?	122	n	?	-----	+Hope and Brakspear 1909, 284
63.	Hexham	A	12	great?	75	n	n/s	?	*Pevsner and Richmond 1992, 318 and 327
64.	*Hyde*	B	15						Cook 1960, 54 and pl.106
65.	Jervaulx	C	lt12	-----	>100	sw	---	?	*M, 180
66.	Kenilworth	A	lt14	great	54	w	n/s	?	*+Carey-Hill 1927, 194-6 (plan)
67.	*Kingswood*	C	14	?	?	w	?	pitch.	M, 188; Little 1979, 41
68.	Kirkham	A	lt13	great	50-100	nw	n/s	~pitch.	*+Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield 1995, 105-131; Peers 1988, 2-3 (plan)
69.	Kirkstall	C	lt12	inner	130	nw	ne/sw	pitch.	*+M, 181; Fergusson 1990, 54 and 57 (plan)
70.	Lacock	AC	15	inner	100	s	e/w	pitch.	*Brakspear 1900, 158; National Trust 1991, 4 and 7 (plan)
71.	Lanercost	A	13	?	>100	w	e/w	-----	*Pevsner 1967, 156-7
72.	Langley	P	14	inner	10	w	n/s	cpl.	*Clapham 1923, 137, 140 (plan)
73.	Letheringh.	A	lt15	?	45	nw	n/s	pitch.	*M, 182
74.	Lewes	Cl	13	great	0-50	nw	n/s	?	*M, 189
75.	Llanthony	A	14?/16	?	165	(s)w	e/w	cpl.	M, 187; Glevensis 1987,9-10; Glevensis 1988, 15
76.	Malling	BN	15	?	0-50	nw	e/w	?	*M, 155-6; Newman 1969, 601
77.	Maxstoke	A	14	inner	~150	se	n/s	cpl.	*RCHME 1990-91, 5 (plan)

78.	Maxstoke	A	14	outer	~200	se	n/s	pitch.	*Holliday 1878, 75-8 (plan); James 1926, between 142 and 3
79.	Michelham	A	15	great	50-100	nw	nw/se	tower	*Holliday 1878,72-3; RCHME 1991, 5
80.	M. in Shep.	BN/AC	13/15		0-50	w	n/s		*M, 157
81.	Monk Brett	Cl/B	?/15	great	65	nw	n/s	pitch.	*Graham and Gilyard-Beer1966, 6-7,10-11 (plan)
82.	*Montacute*			great?				turr?	VCH 1974, 214
83.	Much Wenl.	~Cl	13	?	72	nw	n/s	?	*+Cranage 1921-22, 128; Pinnell1999, facing 24 (plan)
84.	*Norton*	A	lt15?	?	?	?	?	tower?	engrav. of 1727 in Platt 1984, 164
85.	Norwich	B	15	Erp.	60	w	n/s	pitch.	*Pevsner 1962, 232-3 (plan)
86.	Norwich	B	14	St.Eth.	125	sw	e/w	pitch.	*Pevsner 1962, 232 (plan)
87.	*Pentney*	A	lt14/15		?	?	?	turr.	Anon. 1932a, 377 (plan)
88.	Peterbor	B	12/14	great	80	w	e/w	turr.	*Pevsner 1968, 321-22; Anon. 1932b (plan)
89.	Peterbor	B	e13	abbot	40	w	n/s	pitch./turr.	*Pevsner 1968, 320-22
90.	Polesworth	BN	?/14	great?	130	nw	n/s	cpl?	+*Mytum 1978-79, 80 (plan); James 1925, 4-5?
91.	Ramsey	B	lt15/16		>100	nw	n/s	turr.	*RCHME 1926, 208-9 (plan)
92.	Reading	B	lt13/14	inner	45	w	n/s	cpl.	*M, 161; VCH 1906, 341(plan)
93.	Reading~	B	?	outer	215	w	e/w	cpl.	*VCH 1906, 341(plan)
94.	Repton	A	lt31	gateway	0-50	nw	n/s	----	*M, 190; Pevsner 1953, 205
95.	Rievaulx~	C	?	inner	~90	nw	n/s?	?	*+M, 201; Coppack 1986, 108, 115, 119, 122 (plan)
96.	Rievaulx~	C	?	outer	~110	nw	?	?	+Coppack 1986, 115, 119 (plan)
97.	Roche	C	lt12/14	inner	~120	nw	nw/se		+*M, 190; Fergusson 1990, 50, 55-56; Hamilton Thompson 1954 (plan)
98.	Roche~	C	?	outer	~220	nw			Fergusson 1990, 50 (plan)
99.	Rochester	B	15	prior's	50-100	s	n/s	pitch?	*M, 161; Newman 1969, 485-6
100.	St Albans	B	14	great	16	w	n/s	cpl.	*Watkins 1934, 32-33; RCHME 1910, 187
101.	St Ben of H	B	e14	?	>100	nw	nw/se		*M, 183
102.	St Osyth	A	e13/lt15	great	36	n	n/s	/turr.	*RCHME 1922, 198-99, 204 (plan)
103.	Stoneleigh	C	e14	inner	45	nw	n/s	pitch.	*+see chapter 4
104.	Tavistock	B	15	abbot	50-100	sw	e/w	turr.	*M, 164; Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 784
105.	Tavistock	B	12/15	great	~150	e	n/s	pitch.	*M, 191; Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 783; James 1926, facing 70
106.	Tewkes.	B	e16	abbot?	50-100	w	e/w	tower	*+VCH 1968, 125 (plan); Porter 1994, 14
107.	Thetford	Cl	14	great	>100	n	n/s	turr.	*Raby 1946, 20 (plan); Platt 1984, 100
108.	Thornholme	A	e13/m14	?	120	w	e/w	pitch/cpl.	Coppack 1989, 186-95 (plan)
109.	Thornton	A	lt14	great	215	w	e/w	turr.	*Clapham and Baillie Reynolds 1989, 4 and 16-22 (plan)

110. Torre	P	14	great	<100	s	e/w	turr.	*Clapham 1923, 145 (plan); Cherry and Pevsner 1989, pl.56
111. Tynemouth	B	lt14	great	70	w	e/w	turr.	*M, 192; Hodgson 1822, 216-218; (historic plan)
112. Walsingham	A	m15	great	50-100	w	e/w		*M, 167
113. Waltham	A	14	great?	85	n	n/s	turr.	RCHME 1921, 240 and 244 (plan)
114. Waverley~	C		outer	~122	n	n/s	?	Brakspear 1905,15 (plan)
115. West Acre	A	14	?	>100	nw	n/s		*Fairweather 1929, 361 and 373 (plan)
116. Westminst.~	B			60	w	e/w	?	Harvey 1993, facing xvi (plan)
117. *Wetheral*	B	15	great				turr?	M, 168
118. Whalley	C	lt15	abbot	~150	(n)e	n/s	tower?	*M, 168; Ashmore 1962, 20 (plan); Pevsner 1969, 259
119. Whalley	C	e14	outer	>100	w	nw/se	pitch.	*M, 198; Ashmore 1962, 20 (plan); Robinson 1988, 202
120. Wigmore	A	14	inner	~80	sw	n/s	cpl.?	*Brakspear 1933,38-39 (plan); Cook and Smith 1960, pl.5
121. Wigmore	A	14	outer	>100	w	nw/se	?	*Brakspear 1933, 31
122. Worcester	B	14	great	150	se	e/w	turr.	*+Brakspear 1901, 397; Willis 1863 (plan)
123. Worksop	A	14	great	50-100	n	n/s	pitch.	*M, 169-70; Stayce 1874, 277-282; Cook and Smith 1960, 55, pl.107
124. York, St M	B	12/lt15	great	50	n(w)	n/s	pitch./turr.	*+RCHME 1975, 4-5 and 16, pl.18 (plan)
125. York, St M	B	e16	abbot	>250	e	e/w	gateway	*+M, 170; RCHME 1975, 5 (plan)
126. *York, Trinity*~	B		great?				pitch.	Chandler 1993, 543

APPENDIX 2. ***'THE ORDRE OF GOYNG OR SITTING'***, from Balliol MS 354, f.203v, published in Furnivall 1868, 381-383.

A pope hath no pere
An emprowre A-lone
A kyng A-lone
An high cardynall
A prince*, A kyngis son
A duke if blod Royall
A busshop*
A markes*
An erle*
A vycownt
A legate
A baron*
An abbot mytered
the ij cheff Iugys
the mayre of london*
the chif baron of the cheker*
An abbot without myter
A knyght
A pryoure
A deane
An Arche-dekon*
the Master of the rollis
the under Iugis* [justice]
the under barons of the cheker
the mayre of caleis
A provyncyall*
A doctor if divinity*
A prothenotory ys boue*
the popes colectour [legate]
A doctor of both lawes*
A sergeant of lawe
the Masters of channsery
A person of Chyrche
A secular prest
A marchant
A gentleman
An Artificer
A yeman of good name

APPENDIX 3. EVIDENCE FOR THE ARRANGEMENT OF HALLS IN VISITORS' BUILDINGS

[1] Most households conform to a simple guest/abbot/prior description. However, where there might be some confusion over the identity of a building due to the number of guest buildings on one site, or where a building stands out as unusual due to a conversion in function, further details are given. In addition, the identity of some buildings cannot be confirmed, and are indicated with a ?. In rare cases, normally in nunneries, the superiors' lodging may have doubled as the sole domestic guest structure
[2] Building positions are given a + where they are not located within the main claustral ranges. Directions are given relative to the cloister garth. North cloisters have been transposed to a southern arrangement.
[3] First date indicates first known date of construction on site of hall, while additional dates indicate rebuilding on top of, and using parts of, the earlier remains.
[4] Internal length and width measurements are given in feet. Most of the published plans are at a small enough scale to admit errors, and the conversion of measurements to metric would increase this margin.
[5] Ratio of length to width.
? indicates uncertain information.
↕ indicates further information given in later table.
* indicates sites I visited.

Table 1: The detached, renovated hall

site	*order*	*household*[1]	*position*[2]	*date*[3]	*floor*	*dimensions*[4]	*ratio*[5]	*comments/ reinterp.*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Bury St E.	B	Prior	+E	13/14	G	?			standing /doc.	Wittingham 1952, 168-87, pl.21, plan
Ely	B	Queen's Hall	+SW	?/13/14	1	47x20	2.4:1	probably a chamber block accompanying Great Guest Hall	standing	Wood 1965, 26, plan; VCH 1953, 79-80, plan
Ely	B	Guest II-W range	+SW	12/14	1			converted to 2-storeys with vaulting	standing	Wood 1965, 26, plan; VCH 1953, 79-80, plan
Ely	B	Great Guest Hall	+S	13/14	1	80x30	2.7:1	probably originally a ground-floor hall	standing	Wood 1965, 26, plan; VCH 1953, 79-80, plan
Ely	B	Prior's small hall	+S	e12/e14	1	50x20	2.5:1	probably originally a chamber block to Prior's Great Hall ↕		

Furness	C	infirmary→Abbot	+SE	e13/lt13	1	70x26	2.7:1		standing/ excavated	Hope and Kaines-Smith 1914, 297-305, plan
Furness	C	Guest	+NE	12/14	1	?x60		porch	excavated	Dickinson 1967, 60-61, plan
Gloucester	B	Guest I-Parliament	+W	13/15	1	?x24			standing	*see chapter 5
Gloucester	B	Guest II-N Block	+W	14?/15	1	55x23	2.4:1		standing	*see chapter 5
Halesowen	P	Abbot	+SE	13/16	1	58x16	3.6:1		standing	*VCH 19 , 137, plan
Nor. Carrow	BN	Prioress	+W	?/16	G				standing	Pevsner 1962, 286
Stoneleigh	C	Guest	+NW	13/14	1	56x15.4	3.6:1	length determined by pre-existing building	standing	*see chapter 4
Tewkesbury	B	Abbot/Guest?	+W	?/15	G				standing	Verey 1976, 371; VCH 1968, 125

Table 2: The detached, newly-built hall

site	*order*	*household*[1]	*position*[2]	*date*[3]	*floor*	*dimensions*[4]	*ratio*[5]	*comments/ reinterp.*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Alnwick	P	Guest	+W	13?	G	65x38	1.7:1		excavated	Hope 1887, 343, plan
Bardney	B	Guest	+S	e13/14	G	58x40	1.45:1	aisled	excavated	Brakspear 1922, plan
Boxgrove	B	Guest	+SE	14	1	66x26	2.5:1	porch	standing	Peckham 1920, plan; VCH 1905, 140-2
Bury St E	B	Abbot	+SE	e12?	G				documentary/ standing	Whittingham 1952, pl.21 plan
Bury St E	B	Guest- King's Hall	+SW	pre1180	G				documentary	Whittingham 1952, p.184 (plan)
Byland	C	Abbot	+SE	*c.* 1225	G	55x27	2:1		excavated	*Harrison 1990, 18, plan

Cant. Ch. Ch.	B	Guest I-*domus hosp.*	+S(W)	12	1	80x25?	3.2:1		standing/ waterworks plan	Newman 1976, 214-7, plan; Greene 1992, 109-11
Cant. Ch. Ch.	B	Guest II-*Aula nova*	+S(E)	lt12	1			porch	standing/ waterworks plan	Newman 1976, 214-7, plan; Greene 1992, 109-11
Cant. Ch. Ch.	B	Guest III- Cellarer's	+SW		1	80x25?	3.2x1?	on site of C12 *domus*	standing/ waterworks plan	Newman 1976, 214-7, plan; Greene 1992, 109-11
Cant St A	B	Guest	+SW	*c.* 1260	1	55x27	2:1	king strut roof	standing	Munby, Sparks and Tatton-Brown 1983, 123-5
Croxden	C	Abbot II	+SE	*c.* 1335	1	50x30	1.7:1		standing/ documentary	Pevsner 1974, 112; Baillie-Reynolds 1946, plan
Dover	B	Guest	+SW	lt12	G	82x33?	2.5:1	aisled	standing	Stell 1994, 19-21, plan
Durham	B	Guest	+SW		G	?		aisled	documentary	BAA 1980 plan; Rites of Durham 1593, 89-90
Easby	P	Abbot	+N	*c*1300	1			attached to infirmary	standing/excav.	VCH 1968, plan
Ely	B	Prior's Great Hall	+S	13	G	75x37	2:1			Wood 1965, 26, plan; VCH 1953, 78-80
Fountains	C	Guest	+W	12	G	110x55	2:1		ground-penet. radar	Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1995, 60-1, plan
Furness	C	Guest	+N	12	G	?x60				Dickinson 1967, plan
Gloucester	B	Abbot II	+S	14	1	45x24.6	1.8:1		documentary/ frag. standing	*see chapter 5
Gloucester	B	Guest I-Parliament	+W	13	G	?x24.5			standing	*see chapter 5
Great Malvern	B	Guest	+SW	14	G?	?x30		screens	documentary	Smith 1978, pl 10; Fletcher and Cordingley 1961, pl.25a
Haughm.	A	Guest/Abbot?	+S	13?	G	50x33	1.5:1		excavated	*Hope and Brakspear 1909, 305, plan

Haughm.	A	Abbot	+S	14	G	68x35	1.9:1		standing	*Hope and Brakspear 1909, 303-8, plan
Kirkham	A	Guest?	+S	lt13	G	40x25	1.6:1		needs reinterpreation	*Peers 1988, 9, plan
Kirkham	A	Infirmary?	+SE	lt13	G	80x45	1.8:1		needs reinterpretation	*Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield 1995, 104-5, plan
Kirkham	A	Guest(gate)	+NW	lt13	1	39x20	2:1		standing/ excavated	*Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield 1995, 105-10, plan
Kirkham	A	Prior?	+SE	14	G	44x25	1.8:1		needs reinterpretation	*Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield 1995, 104-5, plan
Kirkstall	C	Guest	+W	13	G	66x49	1.3:1	later reduced to 43x36?	excavated	*Wrathmell 1984, plan
Malmesbury	B	Abbot	+NE		G			two halls adjacent, also old hall into *camera*	documentary	Brakspear 1913, 431
Milton Abbas	B	Abbot	+E?	lt15	G	53.5x26.5	2:1	moveable screens	standing	RCHME 1970, 191-3, plan
Monk Bretton	CI/B	Guest	+SE	14	G	40x36	1.1:1	single aisle	standing/ excavated	Graham and Gilyard Beer 1986, 18, plan
Netley	C	Abbot	+E	lt13	1	45x17	2.6:1	my reinterpretation	standing	Kell 1983, 85-86
Peterborough	B	Abbot	+SW	m13	1				frag. standing	Pevsner 1968, 322; anon. 1932b, plan
Roche	C	Abbot	+SE	14	G	33x23	1.4:1		excavated	*Fergusson 1990, 24, plan
Waverley	C	GuestI	+W	e13	1?	44x20?	2.2:1		excavated	Brakspear 1905, 75-77, plan
Waverley	C	GuestII	+NW	13	G	70x44	1.6:1		excavated	Brakspear 1905, 81-83
Whalley	C	Abbot	+E	16	G	54x25	2.2:1		standing/ documentary	Ashmore 1962a, 18-9, plan; Ashmore 1962b, 49-53
Worcester	B	Prior	+E	14	G	55x20	2.2:1		documentary	*Brakspear 1901, 395; Willis 1863, 307-9, plan

Worcester	B	Guest	+E	*c*1320	G	66x35	1.9:1		standing	*Brakspear 1901, 404; Willis 1863, 309-15, plan

Table 3: The semi-detached, renovated hall

site	*order*	*household*[1]	*position*[2]	*date*[3]	*floor*	*dimensions*[4]	*ratio*[5]	*comments/ reinterp.*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Bristol	A	Abbot/Guest?	+W	14	1				standing/ documentary	Paul 1912, 246-7, plan
Cant. Ch. Ch.	B	Prior	+E	lt14/15	1				documentary	Platt 1984, 162
Fountains	C	Abbot	+E	*c.* 1160	1	C14- 53x33	1.6:1		excavated	*Coppack 1993, 73-7, plan
Rievaulx	C	infirm.→Abbot	+E	12/*c.*1490	1	68x30	2.3:1		standing/ excavated/ documentary	*Coppack 1986, 109-12; Hope 1914, 499, plan

Table 4: The semi-detached, newly-built hall

site	*order*	*household*[1]	*position*[2]	*date*[3]	*floor*	*dimensions*[4]	*ratio*[5]	*comments/ reinterp.*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Battle	B	Abbot II	+(S)W	15	G	58x30	1.9:1		standing/ documentary	Brakspear 1933, 139-66, pls. 33-35, plan
Bolton	A	PriorII	+SW		1	?x25			standing/ documentary	Hamilton Thompson 1928, 197, plan
Bristol	A	Abbot	+SW	12?	1				standing/ documentary	Paul 1912, 246-7, plan
Buildwas	C	Abbot	+E	13	1			arch braced roof	standing	VCH 1973, 58
Easby	P	Guest	+W	13	1				standing	*VCH 1968, 53, plan
FInchale	B	Prior	+E	13/15	1				documentary	Roberts 1967, 82, plan

Forde	C	Abbot	+W	16	G	83x27	3:1	Renaissance ornament on windows; hall later shortened; porch	standing	*Clapham and Duffy 1950, 119-20; RCHME 1952, 244-5, plan
Jervaulx	C	Abbot	+SE	14	1	41x17?	2.5:1	needs reinterp. along with infirmary?	standing	*Brakspear 1914, 282-3, plan; Hope and Brakspear 1911, 322
Kirkstall	C	Abbot	+SE	*c.* 1230	1	43x18	2.4:1		standing	*Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987, 50, plan; Hope 1907, 34-8
Lanercost	A	Guest	+W	13	1				standing	Anon. 1939, 322-3, plan
Much Wenlock	Cl	Prior	+E	lt15/16	1	27x20	1.4:1		standing	*Wood 1965, pl.16, plan and section; VCH 1973, 45; Cranage 1922, 122-5
Much Wenlock	Cl	Prior/ Guest?	+S	13	G	?x38		probably an end-hall type guest hall	part. standing	*Cranage 1922, 118-21
Norwich	B	Prior	+E	lt13	?	?			frag. standing	Pevsner 1962, 231, plan
Notley	A	Guest?	+W	lt15/16	G				standing	RCHME 1913, 245-6
Robertsbridge	C	Abbot	+(S)W	*c*1275	1	48x22?	2.2:1	king strut roof	standing	VCH 1937, 219; plan, Munby Sparks and Tatton Brown 1983, 128-30
Thame	C	Abbot	+SE	16	1	42x22	2.2:1	Renaissance ornament	standing	Godfrey 1929, plan; VCH 1962, 168-9, plan
Westmin.	B	Abbot II	+W	lt14	G	47x26	1.8:1		documentary/ standing	Brakspear 1933, plan; Armitage Robinson 1911, 1-15, plan
Wigmore	A	Abbot	+W	14	1			may be great chamber?	standing	Brakspear 1934, 36-39, plan
Winchest	A	Prior	+SE	15	G				standing	Pevsner and Lloyd 1967, 687-8, plan

Table 5: The incorporated, renovated hall*

*where two distinct dates are given, the first is the original date of building, thesecond is the date of rennovation

site	*order*	*household*[1]	*position*[2]	*date*[3]	*floor*	*dimensions*[4]	*ratio*	*comments/ reinterp.*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Cant St Aug.	B	Abbot	W	lt13	1			porch.	documentary; dem. C17	Gem 1997, 123, 128, 143 plan
Cerne Abbas	B	Abbot	W	lt15/16	1			armorials, porch	frag.	RCHME 1952, 77-8
Cleeve	C	Abbot	SW	lt15/16	1	50x22	2 3:1		standing	Simms 1950, 118-9; Gilyard Beer 1959, plan
Coverham	P	Guest	W	16	G			doubtful interp.	fragmentary	Clapham 1923, 131-3, plan; VCH 1914, 217
Croxden	C	Abbot I	E	lt13	1			position uncertain	documentary/ frag.	Bailiie Reynolds 1946, plan
Durham	B	Prior	SE	13/15	1				documentary	Hill 1866, 228-9
Exeter	B	Prior/Guest?	W	15?	1			screens	standing	Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 398
Flaxley	C	Abbot/ Guest?	W	12/lt14	1	65x25	2.6:1	reinterp. of grt. chamber	standing	VCH 1951, 142; Middleton 1882, 282, plan
Gloucester	B	Prior	W	14	1	72x18			excav.	*see chapter 5
Hailes	C	Abbot	W	13	1				documentary/ excavated	*Hope 1899, 337, plan
Kington	BN	Prioress/Guest	W	15	G	31x18?	1.7:1	single-storey w range	standing	Brakspear 1923, 248-51, plan
Little Malv	B	Prior/Guest?	W	13/14/15	1	45x24	1.9:1		standing	*VCH 1924, 450
Monk Brett	Cl	Prior	W	m14	1	40x24	1.7:1			Graham and Gilyard Beer 1986, 15-7, plan
Muchelney	B	Abbot	SW	12/lt15	G				documentary/ standing/ excav.	VCH 1974, 40

Newstead	A	Prior	W	15?	1	46x24	1.9:1		standing	Williamson 1972, 205, plan
Norwich	B	Guest	W	lt13	G			porch?	fragmentary	Pevsner 1962, 228
Polsloe	BN	Guest	W	1300	1			screens	standing	Cherry and Pevsner 1989, 399
Prittlewell	Cl	Prior	W	?/15	1	min. 33x21?	1.6:1	king post roof	standing	RCHME 1923, 111-3
Repton	A	Prior	W	12/e15	1				standing/ doumentary	Hope 1884, 362-3, 365
Sherborne	B	Guest	W	?/15	1				standing	RCHME 1952, 213
Thetford	Cl	Prior	W	12/15	1				frag. standing	Raby and Baillie Reynolds 1946, 10-11, plan

Table 6: The incorporated, newly-built hall

site	*order*	*household*[1]	*position*[2]	*date*[3]	*floor*	*dimensions*[4]	*ratio*[5]	*comments/ reinterp.*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Bardney	B	Abbot	W	12	1	70x23	3:1	porch	excavation	Brakspear 1933, 142-3, plan
Battle	B	Abbot	W	13	1	70x26?	2.7:1		standing	Brakspear 1933, 139-66, pl.33-35, plan
Bayham	P	Guest/Prior?	W	e13	1			?based on comparison	excavation	Clapham 1923, 129-31, plan
Birkenhead	B	Prior	SW?	13/14	1			?doubtful arrangement	standing/ excav.	Aldridge 1890, 156-7
Blanchland	P	Guest	W?	13	1			?based on comparison		Knowles 1902, 341
Bolton	A	Prior I	W	e13	1	?x25	1.9:1	porch	standing	Hamilton Thompson 1928, 197, plan
Bradenstoke	A	Prior	W	12?	1			armorial	standing	Brakspear 1923, 231-4
Bridlington	A	Prior	W	?	1			tripartite	documentary	Caley 1821, 272-3

Bury St E	B	Abbot	W	e12	1					Whittingham 1952, pl.21 plan
Castle Acre	Cl	Prior	W	m12/14	1	52x28	1.9:1	hall replaced C14	standing	Faulkner 1962, 300-2; Brakspear 1933, plan
Chester	B	Abbot	W	12	1	60x30	2:1		excavation	Brakspear 1933, 140, plan
Gloucester	B	Abbot I	W	12	1				part. standing	*see chapter 5
Lacock	AC	Abbess	W	13	1	48x31	1.5:1		standing	Brakspear 1900, 155; Burnett-Brown 1991, 6-8, plan
Langley	P	Abbot	W	13	1				excavation	Clapham 1923, 137, 140, plan
Shulbrede	A	Prior	SW	13	1					Nairn and Pevsner 1965, 324
Torre	P	Abbot/Guest?	W	12	1			porch		Clapham 1923, 143, 145, plan
Ulverscroft	A	Prior/Guest?	W	13/16	G	42x17	2.5:1	single storey	standing	Hills 1863, 178-9, plan; Med Arch 1981, 190
Westminst.	B	Abbot	W	12	1				standing	Brakspear 1933, 141-2, plan; Armitage Robinson 1911, 1-7

Table 7: Additional halls with length:width ratio data

site	*order*	*household*	*position*	*date*	*floor*	*dimensions*	*ratio*	*comments*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Baysdale	CN	Prioress/Guest	W		G	18x18	1:1	additional guest chambers	doc. survey	Brown 1886, 327-8
Bridlington	A	Prior	W		1	(38x10 paces)	3.8:1		doc. survey	Caley 1821, 372-3
Kirklees	CN	Prioress/Guest	W		G	30x21	1.4:1		doc. survey	Brown 1886, 332

Nunkeeling	BN	Prioress/Guest	W		G	18x14	1.3:1		doc. survey	Brown 1886, 210
Thicket	BN	Guest	W		G	20x14	1.4:1		doc. survey	Brown 1886, 201-3

Table 8: Additional halls with position data

site	*order*	*household*	*position*	*date*	*floor*	*dimensions*	*ratio*	*comments*	*evidence type*	*sources*
Buckland	C	Abbot/Guest?	+N					renovated 1793-4	fragmentary	Cherry and Pevsner 1989,
Carlisle	A	Prior, pele tower	S?	16						Pevsner 1967, 95
Dorchester	A	Guest	+W							
Dunster	B	Prior	+NW							
Glastonbury	B	Abbot's kitchen	+SW?	(lt14)				kitchen abuts add. struct.	frag. standing	Platt 1984, 147; Wood 1965, 249, plan
Hexham	A	Prior	+W	16				destroyed 1819		Grundy, McCombie, Ryder, Welfare 1992, 327, plan
Ixworth	A	Prior/Guest?	+E	?/lt15						
Michelham	A	Prior?	W					vaulted ch. 1st floor,.	frag. standing	Nairn and Pevsner 1965, 568
Newminster	C	Abbot	+E	13				remains interp. as chapel	excavated	Honeyman 1929, 95-115
St Bartholomew's	A	Prior	+E	*c.* 1520				layout uncertain	excavated	Webb 1913, 175
St Osyth	A	Abbot	+S(W)	16				armorials	frag. standing	RCHME 1922, 200, plan
Tynemouth	B	Guest	+SW						doc. illustration	Hodgson 1822, 216-8, plan
Tynemouth	B	Prior	+NW						doc. illustration	Hodgson 1822, 216-8, plan

York	B	Abbot	+E						standing, documentary	RCHME 1975, 30-40

Statistics:

Table 1:

total= 13
ground floor= 3
first floor= 10

Table 2:

total= 38
ground floor= 26
first floor= 10

Table 3:

total= 4
ground floor= 0
first floor= 4

Table 4:

total= 19
ground floor= 6
first floor= 12

Table 5:

total= 20
ground floor= 4
first floor= 16

Table 6:

total= 18
ground floor= 1
first floor= 17

APPENDIX 4. DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR PROVISIONS FROM KITCHENS AND SERVICES

Features of kitchens:
multiple fireplaces, ovens, optional central hearth
storage cupboards
hatches for taking out food and returning dishes and leftovers (Durham, Jervaulx)
washing basin (Rievaulx)

Additional contents from inventories:
Rievaulx: a 'boylyng pott of brass bordered with lede', a 'swildying pott of brass', and in two attached larders, a 'sistern of lede sett in a frame of wood' along with a 'troh of lede in a frame of wood'(Coppack 1986, 110)

Whalley: four pairs of pothooks, a gridiron, and nine roasting spits, the gridirons and spits being used to grill and roast an abundance of meat served at the abbot's table (Ashmore 1962, 19)

St. Olaves, Suffolk: (convent and guests) contained in two small spits and a large one, racks, tongs and a grid iron, brass pots, a brass mortar and one of stone, dripping pans, as well as various pewter dishes, among them sixteen platters, six dishes, and five saucers (Haslewood 1863, 86), and additional inventories list collanders, chaffing dishes trivets and frying pans (Haslewood 1863, 93, 101 and 107)

Available food and drink from kitchen, cellarage, etc.:
Retrieving an accurate picture of a monastic meal, both that available to regular inhabitants and to guests, is difficult, in that most of the information comes from the accounts of a variety of monastic offices, only some of which may survive *in toto*. For example, the a kitchener may have supplied accounts of the food he had cooked, but he was generally responsible for only main dishes. A 'pittancer' looked after the 'extras'. The cellarer, with the help of the baker and brewer, accounted for bread and ale, and then the treasurer would often underwrite the expenses of officials procuring these consumables (Harvey 1993, 36).

<u>Beverages</u>
red and white were available in quantity, and in the fifteenth-century, sweet wine, such as malmsey or rumney
prices ran from 3*d.* or 4*d.* per gallon at its cheapest, up to 8*d.* and even 10 *d.* (Dyer 1989, 62).

Beaulieu Abbey- abbots, priors, and other dignitaries were to be given wine, most knights and parish clergy were to be content with good ale (Dyer 1989, 62).
Whalley- abbot spent £31 5*s.* in 1520 and £33 15*s.* 8*d.* in 1521 on wine, as well as £4 1*s.* 8*d.* and £9 on sweet wine, but the quantities are not given (Ashmore 1962b, 56)
Selby- 8 gallons of wine purchased for guests in the guest house, while the abbot was absent, cost 6 *s.* 8*d.* At 10*d.*/gallon (wine of good quality). A further 1 ½ gall. wine cost 18*d.* (1*s.* per gallon - expensive), 6 gallons 3*s.* (6*d.* per gallon- medium grade), 6 gallons red wine 4 *s.* (9*d.* per gallon- good).

Only great households could afford to lay in pipes and tuns of wine:
Barrels contained 120 and 240 gallons respectively, costing 3*d* to 4*d.*/gallon at its cheapest, rising to 8*d.* (Dyer 1989, 62).
Selby- 2 pipes red wine cost £7 13*s.* 4*d.* was priced at about 8 (7.7) *d.* per gallon, 2 pipes and transport £6 16*s.* 1*d.* probably about 6 (6.8)*d.* per gallon, 4 pipes £14 13*s* 4 (7.3) *d.* per gallon, and 1 tun red wine

and 2 pipes white wine was worth 21 marks (£13 7*s*. 2*d*.), of which £6 13*s*. 4*d*. had been paid (6.7*d*. per gallon).

Fish:

Another important aspect of the monastic diet, in part the result of prohibitions against eating meat and other animal products such as butter, cheese, milk, and eggs (Henisch 1976, 33). Fish could be bought, salted, and stored when prices were low, so that it became an economical staple to the medieval diet. This did not, however, mean that certain types of fish were not a delicacy, reserved for special occasions. Pike, as well as other freshwater or exotic fish, small birds, and game, was generally reserved for pittances, those little 'extras' that cost so much more than basics, and were most commonly eaten on feast days (Harvey 1993, 44). It appears that it was specifically freshwater fish ('fresh fish') which the abbot of Whalley paid £37 8*s*. 10*d*. for in 1520 and £39 17*s*. 3*d*. in 1521. In addition to this, he had brought in large quantities of red and white herring, 'hard' fish (salted and dried cod and ling), salted fish, salted salmon, salted eels, and sturgeon (Ashmore 1962, 55-72). In comparison, the abbot of Selby and his household consumed ½ barrel sturgeon (16 *s*.) , ¼ barrel sturgeon and 1 barrel salted eels (13*s*. 4*d*.), and 6 barrels of salted eels 30 *s*. (Tillotson 1988, 67). The abbot of Battle, however, appears to have had a singularly exotic diet, with all of the above supplemented by dolphin and porpoise (Platt 1984, 162).

Meat:

By the late medieval period, the amounts of meat allowed per day to monks as compared to members of the aristocracy or gentry was very similar.

Westminster- monks were allocated between 2½ and 3½ pounds of meat per person (Harvey 1993, 55).

Whalley- the abbot and household ate cooked beef of a value of £72 4*s*. 6*d*. in 1520 and £72 19*s*. In 1521, they spent £11 16*s*. 8*d*. and £15 8*s*. on mutton, £8 13*s*. 10*d*. and £8 5*d*. on veal, £2 1*s*. 6*d*. and £1 10*s*. on pork, 17*s*. 2*d*. and 16*s*. on flesh of young pigs, £1 1*s*. 7*d*. and 17*s*. on lamb, £2 4*s*. 8*d*. and £1 10*s*. 6*d*. for wild game and fowl (Ashmore 1962, 55).

Selby- the abbot purchased 55 capons at 4*d*. each, totalling 18*s*. 4*d*., as well as having boar, swan, rabbits, further capons, and fish transported in (Tillotson 1988, 67).

Spices:

Much of the meat cooked for the abbot and his guests, especially beef, was 'powdered', ie. cooked in spices (Harvey 1993, 72). The variety of spices or flavourings for meat and other foods available to monastic cooks was surprising. Olive oil, pepper, saffron, ginger, nutmeg, cloves, mace, liquorice, cinnamon, and green ginger were all procured for Whalley, at an unknown cost (Ashmore 1962, 55), but Selby's purchases of similar ingredients cost £9 1*s*. 1*d*., as well as a barrel of olive oil, 8*s*. (Tillotson 1988, 65-67). Dyer notes that most spices cost between 1*s*. and 3*s*. per pound, although saffron fetched 12-15*s*. per pound (1989, 62).

Sweets:

Medieval monastic inhabitants and their guests also had a sweet tooth. Whalley's abbot had an unspecified quantity of sugar candy, cakes and treacles, and on the slightly healthier side, a variety of dried fruit and nuts, including figs, raisins, almonds, dates and currants. (Ashmore 1962, 55). Selby paid 8*s*. for one measure of figs and raisins (Tillotson 1988, 67). Such foodstuffs, say Dyer, cost between 1 and 4*d*. per pound, and as much as 6*d*. (Dyer 1989, 62).

APPENDIX 5: TRANSCRIPTION OF A SURVEY OF THE STONELEIGH ESTATE UNDERTAKEN *C.* 1558-61

(SBT ref. DR 18/30/24/91)

Md there is standynge withyn the Sayte of the seyde late monastary wheryn the ffermer Thomas Dudley nowe Dwelleth a fayre longe howse buylded of a longe range of Stone and Tymbre and Covered with tyles and theryn havinge divers romes benith, and over the same a fayre haule, a fayre longe chamber a buttree underneth in manner of a seller, a great hawle hole roofed a howse called the cloyster chamber, a fayre kytchinge with a chymney all wich doo yett remeyne builded of Stoone substantially and much glased with dyv's other stoone walls yet remeyninge of howses wasted.

Item a fayre Gatehowse well buylded of Stoone and covered with Tyles contenynge in it iij over Roomes and iij nether Roomes with iij chymneys.

Item one lath nowe sett upp by the seyde Dudley thacked all wich buyldynge with Orcharde, gardeyne and Turtill becircueted with a stone wall in part nowe decayed.

Item ther is a fayre River runnynge by the south ende of the seyde sayte wheruppon be buylded iiij milles new unto the howse wherof three of them pteyne to the Duches of Suffolk purchase & thother ptyneth to the seyde mansion howse with wich River all the howses of Office, and larders, sellers howses of Estament with a vowlte of brycke made under the ground maye be at all tymes escowred and made cleane.

Item the lordes have a severall fysshinge in the same River called the Aven extendynge from the holme grange untyll the steare brydge and conteyneth in length ij onyles (?) and in bredth lx foote.

APPENDIX 6: PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE STONELEIGH ABBEY GATEHOUSE UP TO 1900

1597. Plan of the Stoneleigh Abbey Estate. (SBT DR 237/5). A complete plan of the estate, including the villages of Stareton and Ashow. The details of the Abbey itself are barely discernible.

1749. T. Wilkes. 'A South Prospect of Stoneleigh Abbey' (SBT DR 237/5). A view of the south face of the Gatehouse, including the dormer windows and clock tower, but excluding any chimneys. The detail of the western elevation of the gate is unclear. A building abutting the guest range on the east is probably the farm building built by Thomas Dudley and mentioned in the c.1558-61 survey.

1749. T. Wilkes. 'Plan of the Stoneleigh Estate' (SBT DR 237/5). A clumsy, stylized representation of the north view of the gate and guest range. Shows Thomas Dudley's farm building to the east.

1766. Mathias Baker. 'Survey of Stoneleigh'. Another plan of the Abbey site, similar to the 1749 plan, but with some differences in the alignment of the stables abutting the Gatehouse on the west. Thomas Dudley's building is not present.

1795. Samuel Ireland. South view for his *Picturesque Views of the Upper Avon*. (SBT PC 87.2). A view of the Gatehouse from the south-west. Interesting for its view of the chimneys and clock tower.

1809. Humphrey Repton. South view of Stoneleigh Abbey in his 'Red Book' (SBT DR 18/4). The Gatehouse is far into the background, but details such as the clock tower, inserted stair to the porch, embattled parapet, dormer windows, etc. are clearly visible. At least two chimneys are visible on the guest range. In the case of the main house, however, Repton has illustrated his intended alterations to the souther facade - alterations which were never carried out.

1809. Humphrey Repton. North view of Gatehouse for his 'Red Book' (SBT DR 18/4). This is the first decent surviving view of the north face of the gate. Notable are the dormer window above the west elevation window 2131, the clock tower, and a chimney between the gate and guest range, all of which are now missing. Also illustrated as being clearly visible are the shield and helm above the gatehouse window.

1809. Humphrey Repton. View of Gatehouse passage from the north, for his 'Red Book' (SBT DR 18/4). The only known illustration of the passage, with a clear view of the late sixteenth-century doors hung on the secondary arrangement of joists.

*c.*1829. J. Dean. 'The Abbey Gate, Stoneleigh' (Graham 1969, 22). Another view of the Gatehouse, directly on the southern elevation. It is a very stylized and inaccurate illustration, with many of the windows and arches exaggerated or completely inaccurate. The crenellations of the parapet are elongated. The details of the elevation 10 windows and buttresses are incorrect. The continuous hood moulding is imagined. The only truly interesting item in the illustration is the long, unmoulded windows at ground level in elevation 10, which seem surprisingly accurate.

post-1829. J. Brandard. 'The Abbey Gate' (SBT PC 87.2). Provisionally dated to post-1829 on the appearance of the ground level windows of elevation 10, the sills of which are raised well above ground as they are now. But the gatehouse windows include Jacobean-style

keystones, the gateway arch is overdone, the parapet and 'bridge' of elevation 6 is larger than life, etc.

pre-1858 engraving by unknown artist. 'Gate house, Stoneley Abbey' (SBT PC 87.2, unknown source). Another view of the northern face of the Gatehouse. Chimney 2497 is still standing, and the helm and shield above the gate are still discernible. The projection from the western elevation may either the south end of the elevation, or the window lighting the roof space- either quite inaccurate.

1858 engraving by unknown artist. 'Lodge and entrance to Stoneleigh Abbey'. (SBT DR 823.4). Another north view of the gatehouse proper, without the guest range. The label stops of the window may be fanciful, showing a great deal more detail than previous illustrations. Again, much detail is picked out of the helm and shield.

1878. Lady Caroline Leigh, watercolour of the south view of the Gatehouse. (SBT DR 823/4). A very accurate rendering of the view, but the watercolour technique makes any small details impossible.

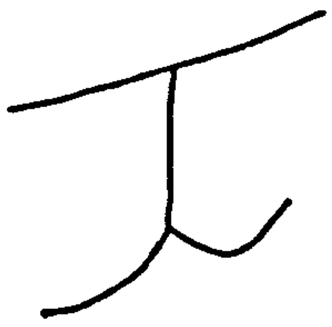
1897. Unknown photographer. South view of the Gatehouse (*Country Life* 1897, 187). The earliest photograph I could find of the Gatehouse. Taken face-on to the gate, so that the guest range is at an angle. The sandstone erosion is clearly visible.

APPENDIX 7: CONTEXT NUMBERS ASSIGNED TO THE STONELEIGH ABBEY GATEHOUSE

Area or region	*Elevation no.*	*Number sequence*
west face gatehouse	1	2113- 2139, 2144-2149
gatehouse, west, internal, 1st	20	2874- 2918
south face gatehouse	2	2678- 2731
south-eastern face gatehouse	3	2210- 2230
north face gatehouse	12	2381- 2428
gatehouse passage, east	16	2506- 2540
north face guest range	13	2429- 2505
south face guest range	4-5	2140- 2143, 2231- 2293
south face guest range	6	2294- 2331
south face porch	8	2332- 2380
east face porch	9	2191- 2209, 2858- 2861
porch, internal, west	19	2861- 2873
south face guest range	10	2000- 2112
east gable (C13), upper	11	2588- 2677
east gable, lower	18	2795- 2836
north face C13 range	14	2150- 2190
west face, east gable	17	2541- 2587
profiles	various	2732- 2757, 2792- 2794, 2840- 2847
guest range, roof	trusses	2758- 2771
guest range, roof	windbraces	2772- 2783
guest range, 2nd floor	posts	2784- 2791
miscellaneous	------	2837- 2857

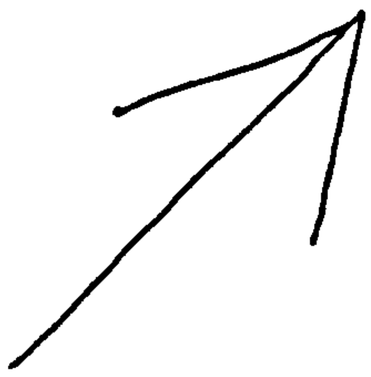
APPENDIX 8: MASONS' MARKS FOUND ON THE STONELEIGH ABBEY GATEHOUSE

ELEVATION 11



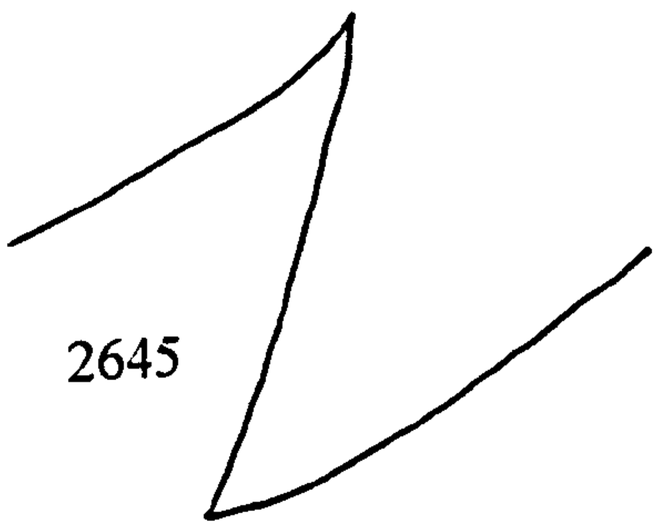
2609

2610

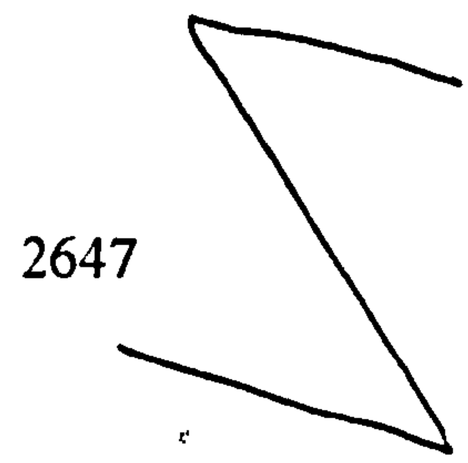


2649

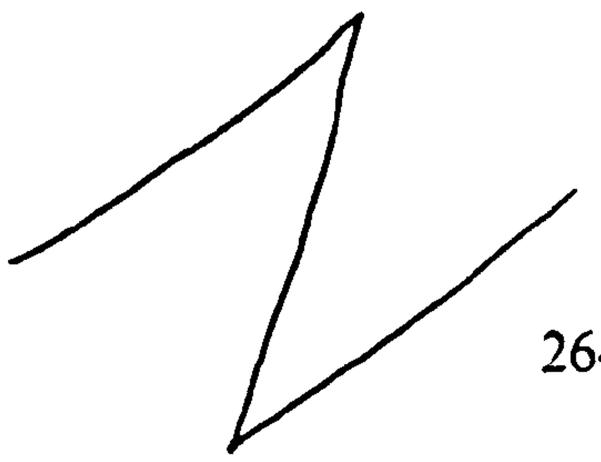
2646



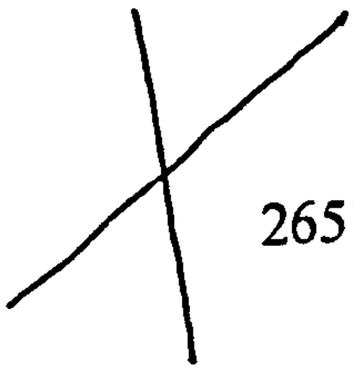
2645



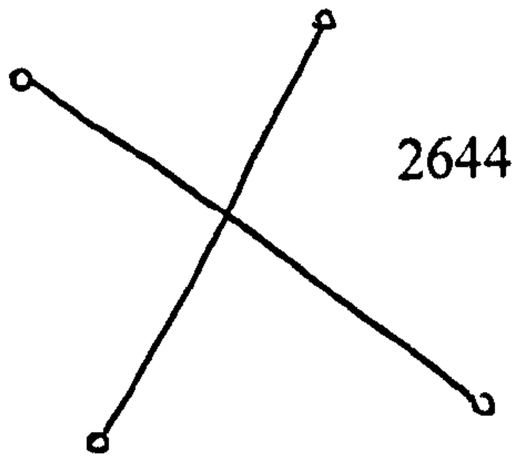
2647



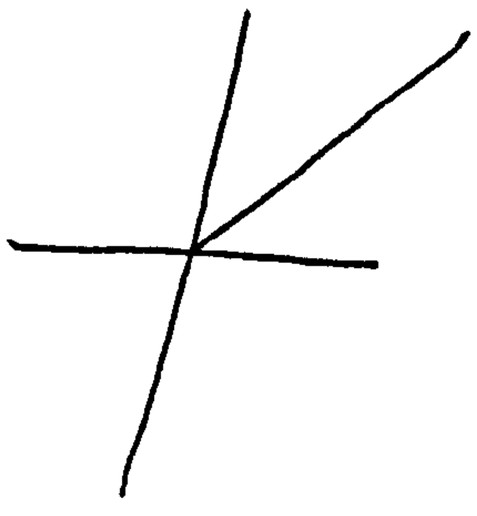
2648



2651



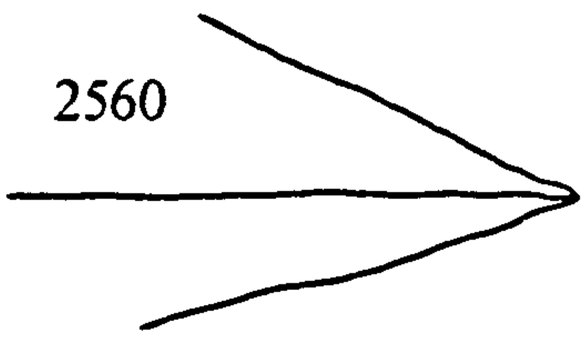
2644

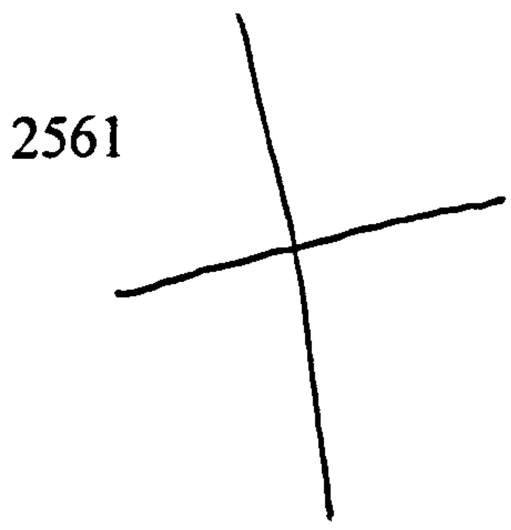


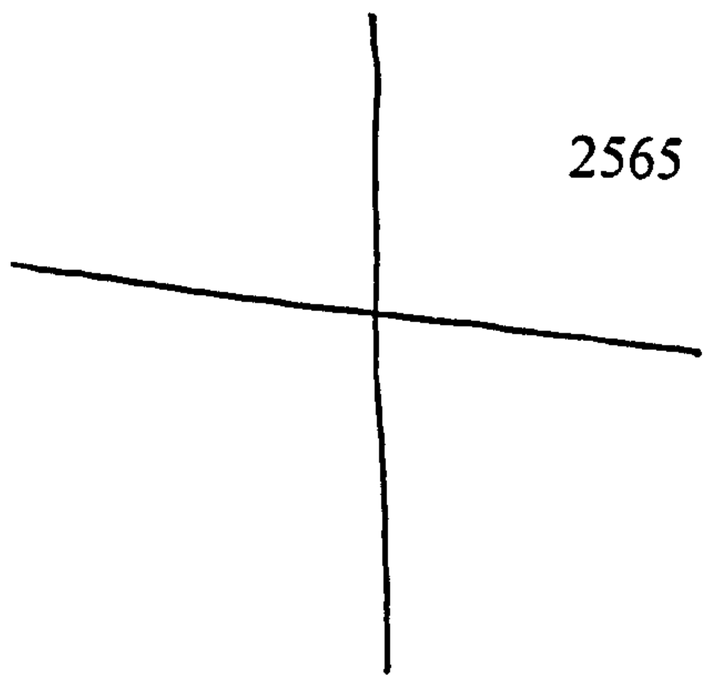
2650

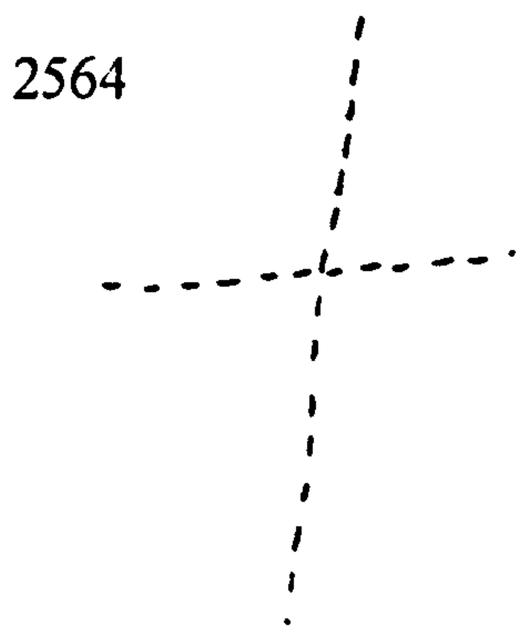
SCALE = 1:2

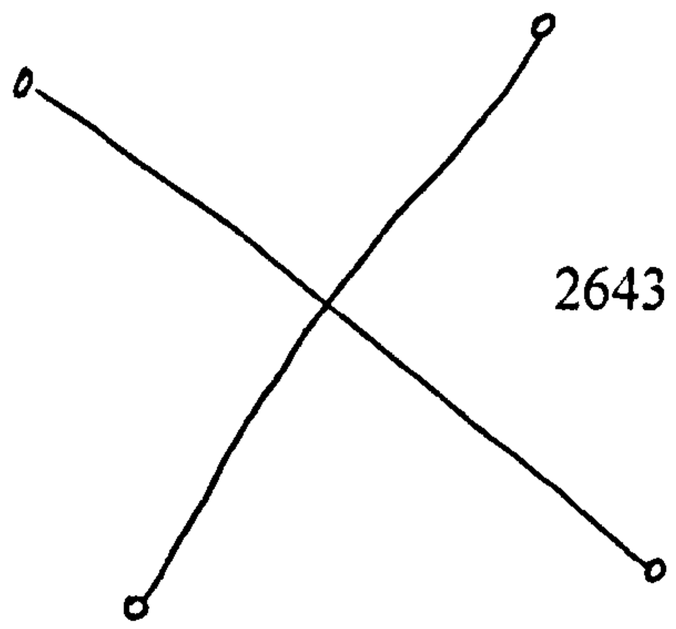
ELEVATION 17





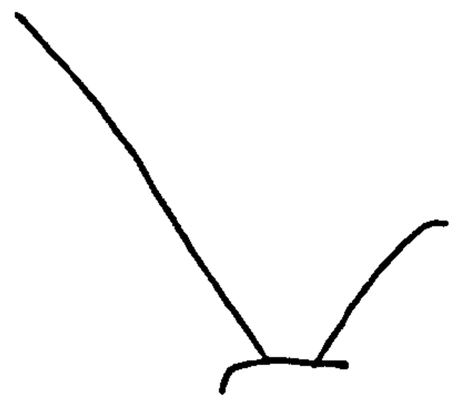




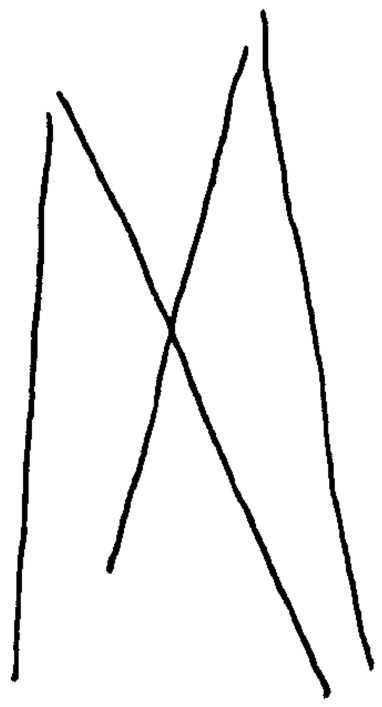


SCALE = 1:2

PORCH, INTERIOR, FIRST FLOOR, N WALL

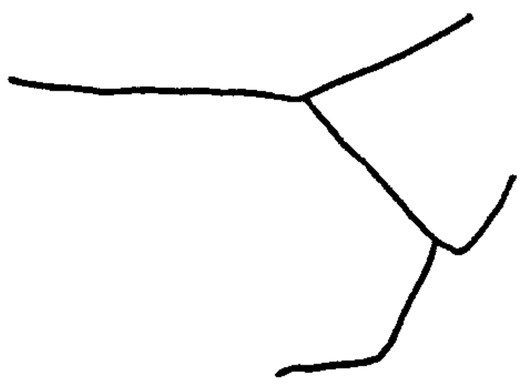


2855



GATEHOUSE, N ENTRANCE ARCH, E JAMB

2423

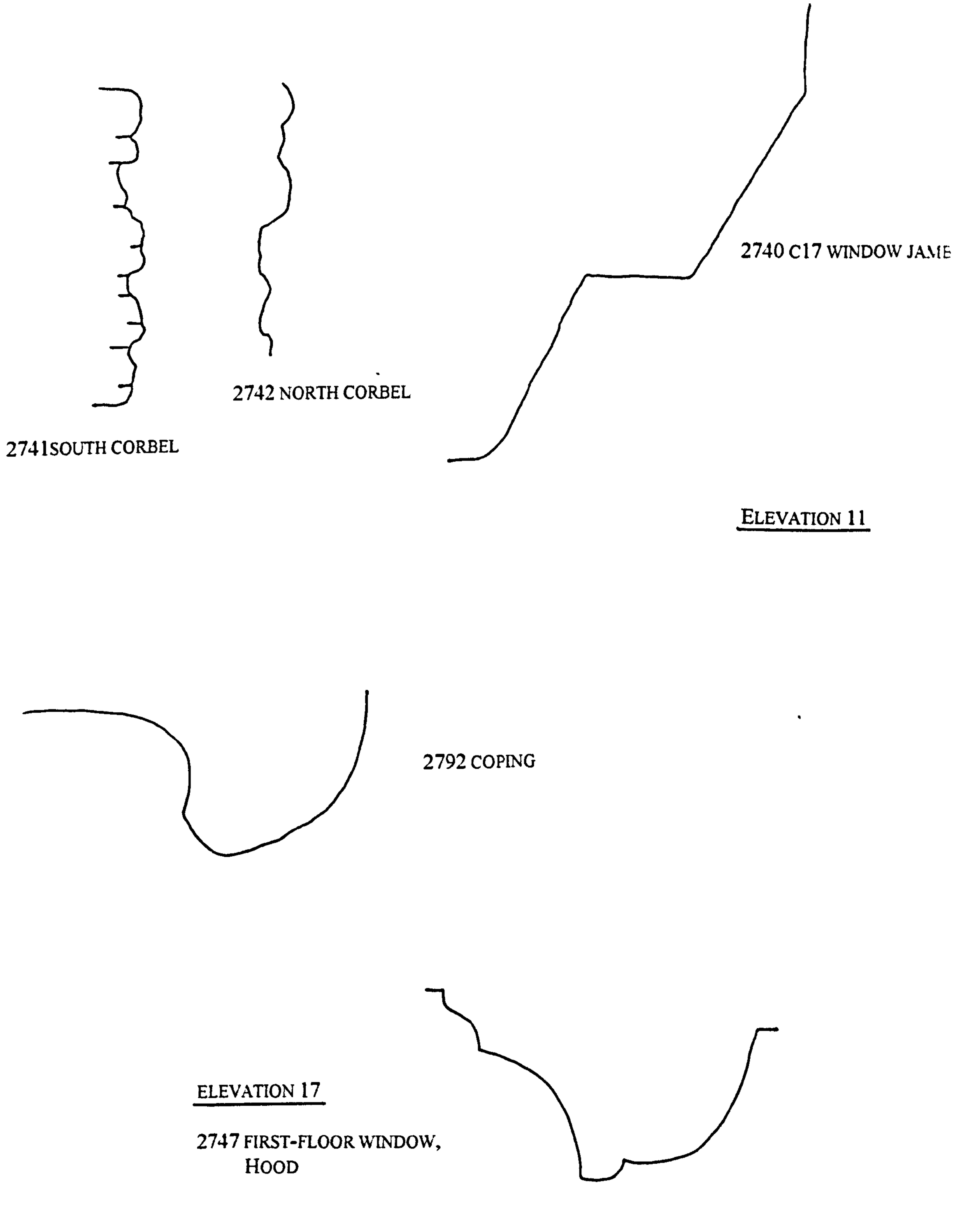


ELEVATION 14

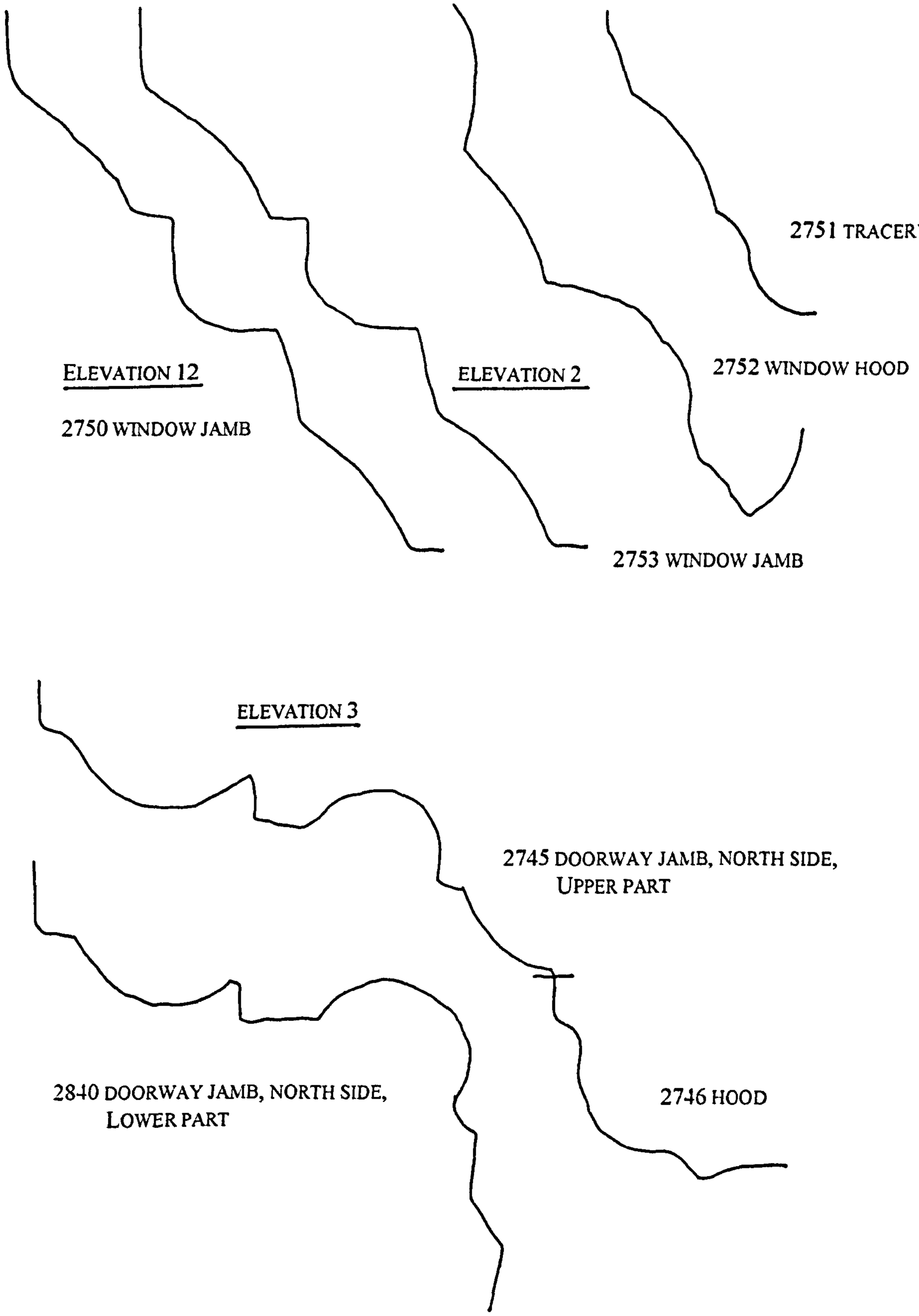
2177

SCALE = 1:2

APPENDIX 9: A CATALOGUE OF MOULDING PROFILES FROM THE STONELEIGH ABBEY GATEHOUSE

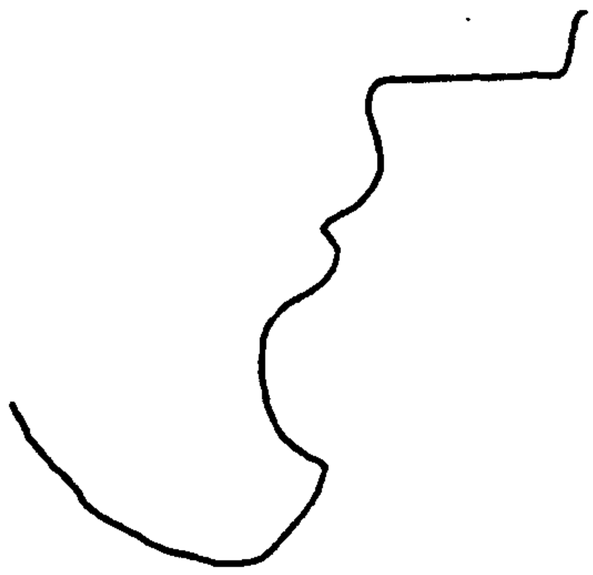


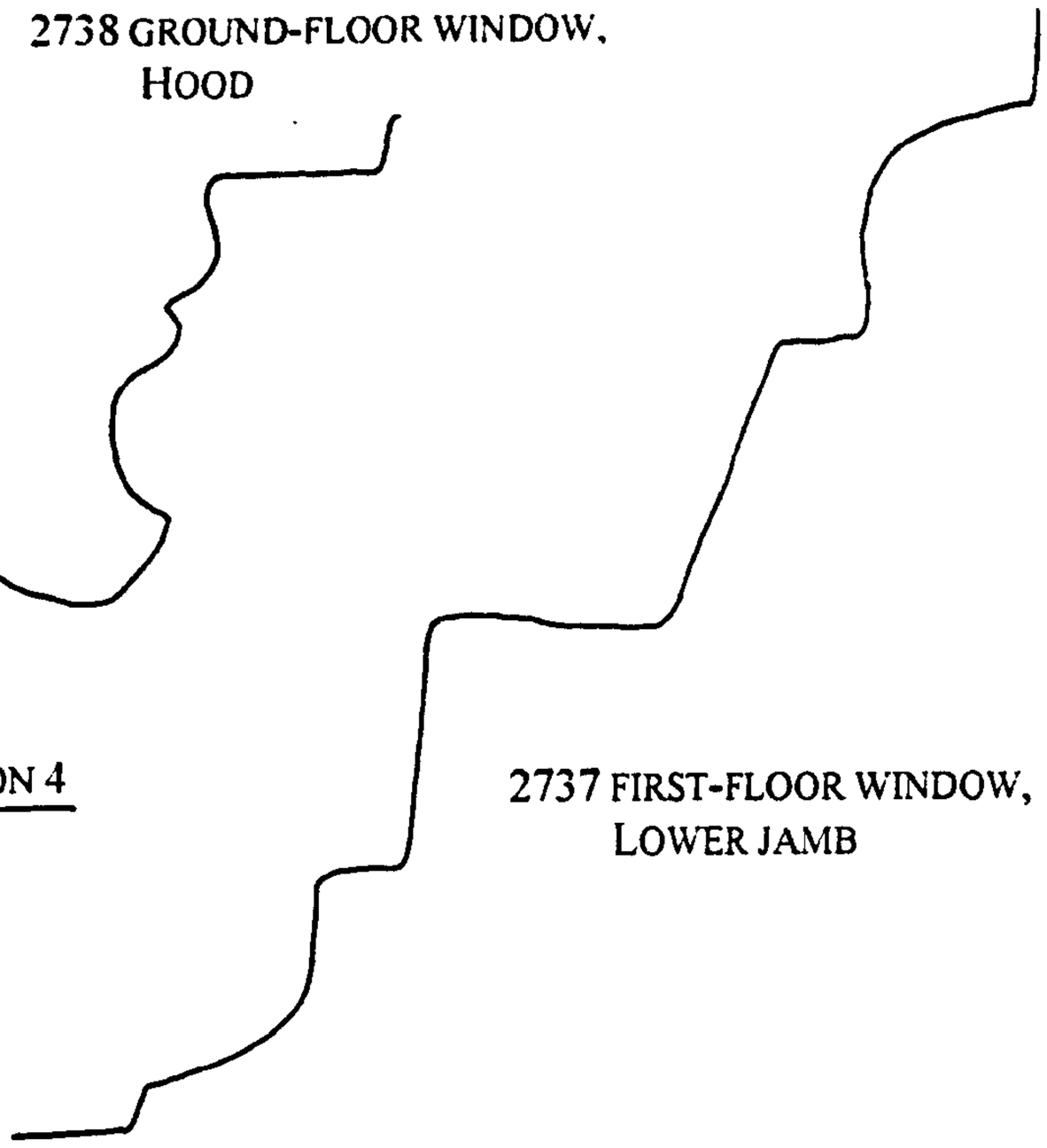
SCALE = 1:2


2751 TRACERY
ELEVATION 12
2750 WINDOW JAMB
ELEVATION 2
2752 WINDOW HOOD
2753 WINDOW JAMB
ELEVATION 3
2745 DOORWAY JAMB, NORTH SIDE,
UPPER PART
2840 DOORWAY JAMB, NORTH SIDE,
LOWER PART
2746 HOOD

SCALE = 1:2

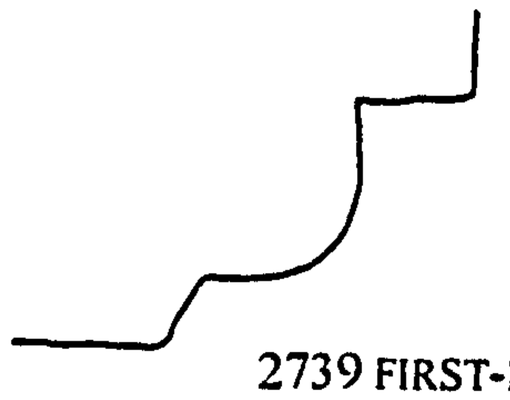
2738 GROUND-FLOOR WINDOW, HOOD



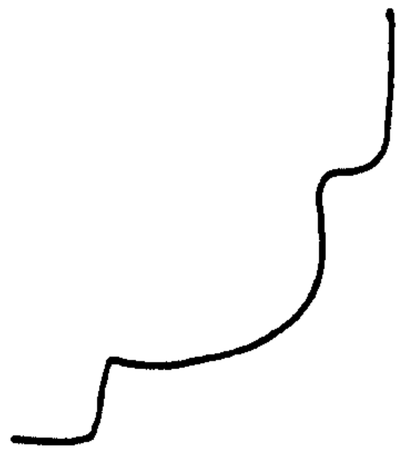


ELEVATION 4

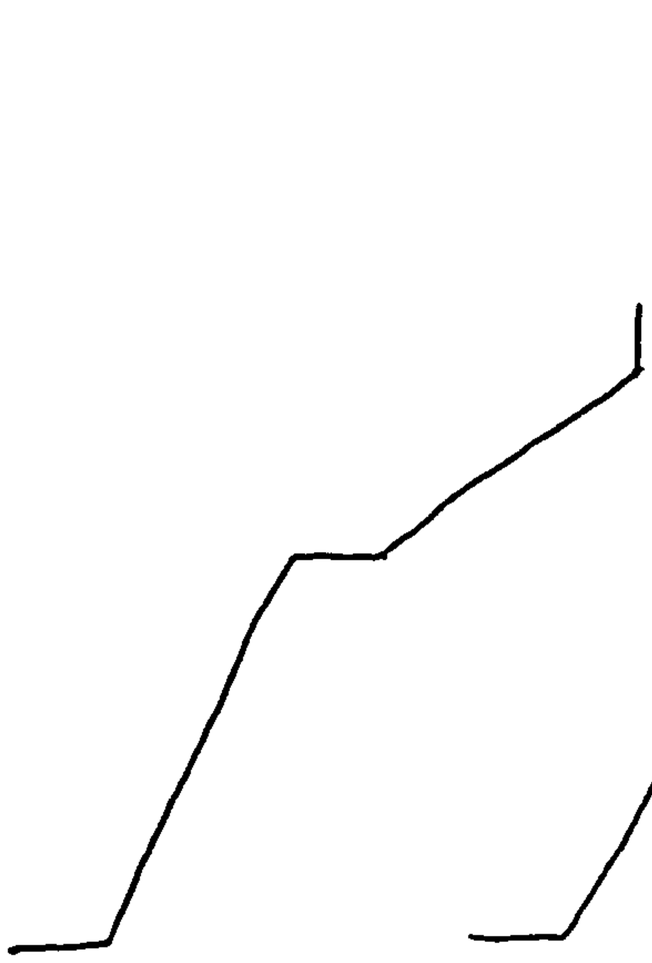
2737 FIRST-FLOOR WINDOW, LOWER JAMB

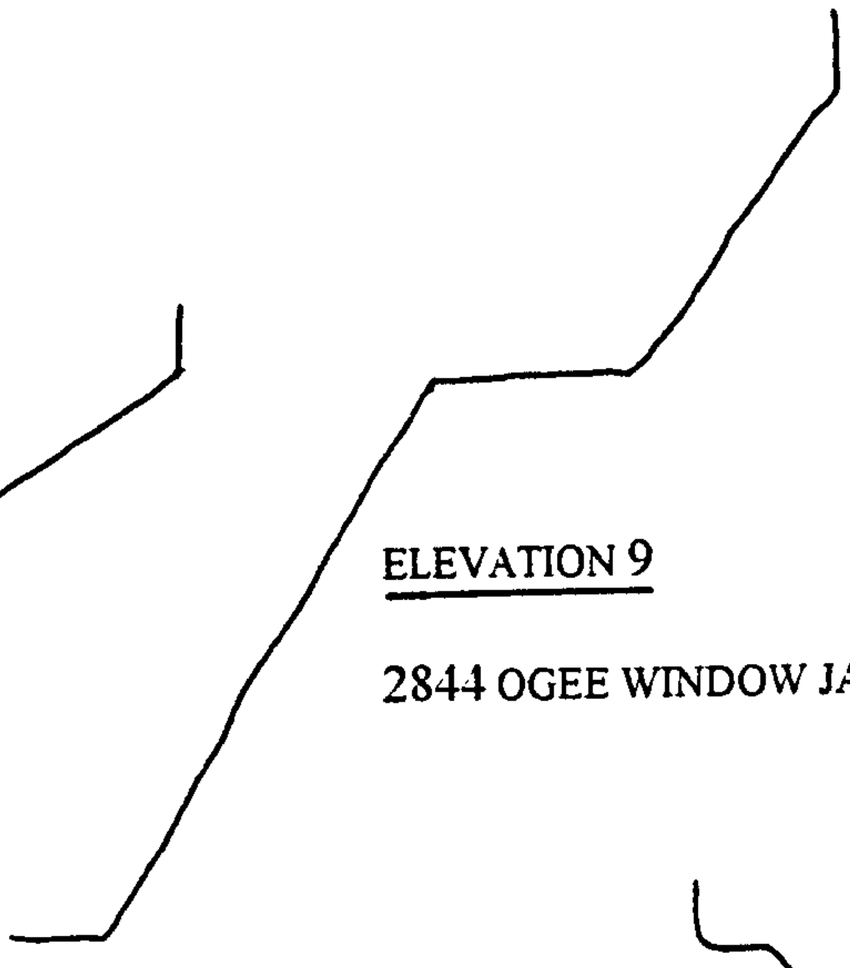


2739 FIRST-FLOOR WINDOW WESTERN JAMB



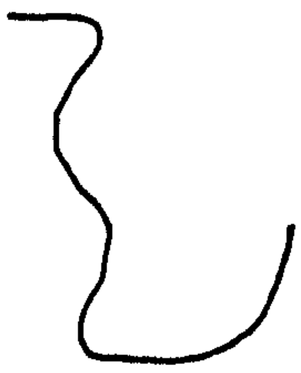
2841 FIRST-FLOOR WINDOW. INSERTED ARCH





ELEVATION 9

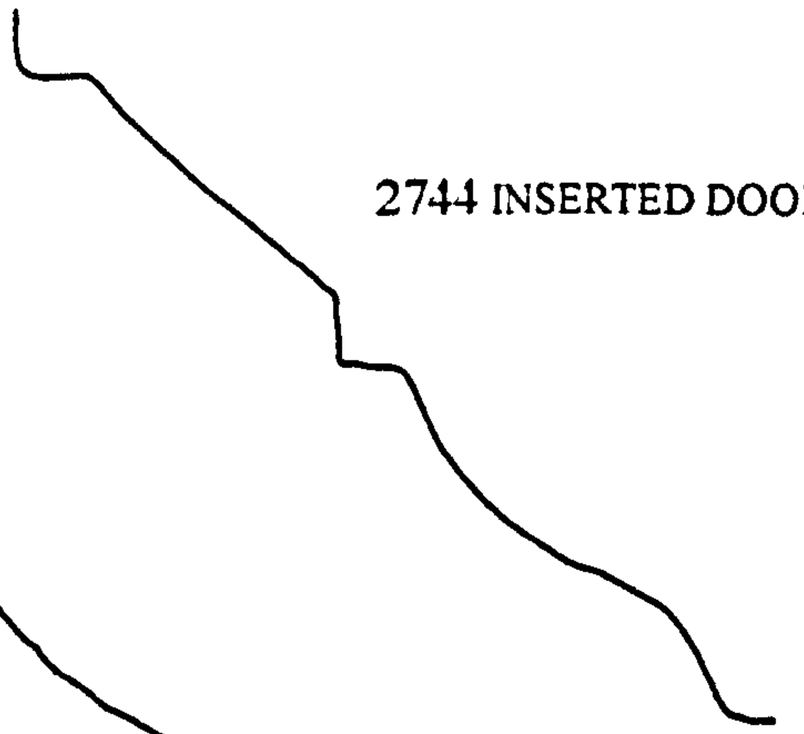
2844 OGEE WINDOW JAMB



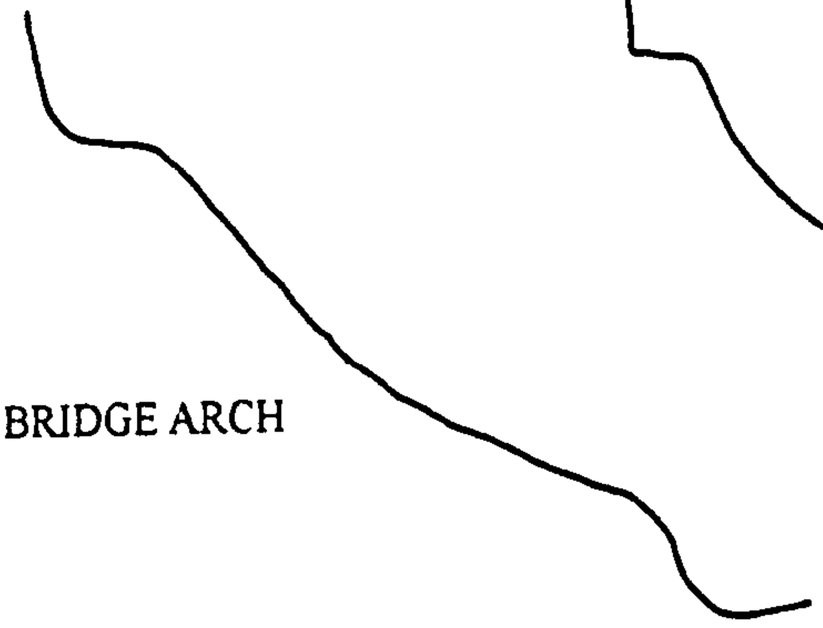
2847 PARAPET MOULDING

ELEVATION 6

2843 OGEE WINDOW JAMB



2744 INSERTED DOORWAY JAMB



2743 BRIDGE ARCH

SCALE = 1:2

ELEVATION 13

2755 WINDOW JAMB

2754 WINDOW TRACERY ABOVE MULLION

2756 WINDOW MULLION

2757 WINDOW HOOD

2842 LABEL STOP

ELEVATION 10

2794 CONCEALED STRING COURSE

2736 WINDOW JAMB, LOWER

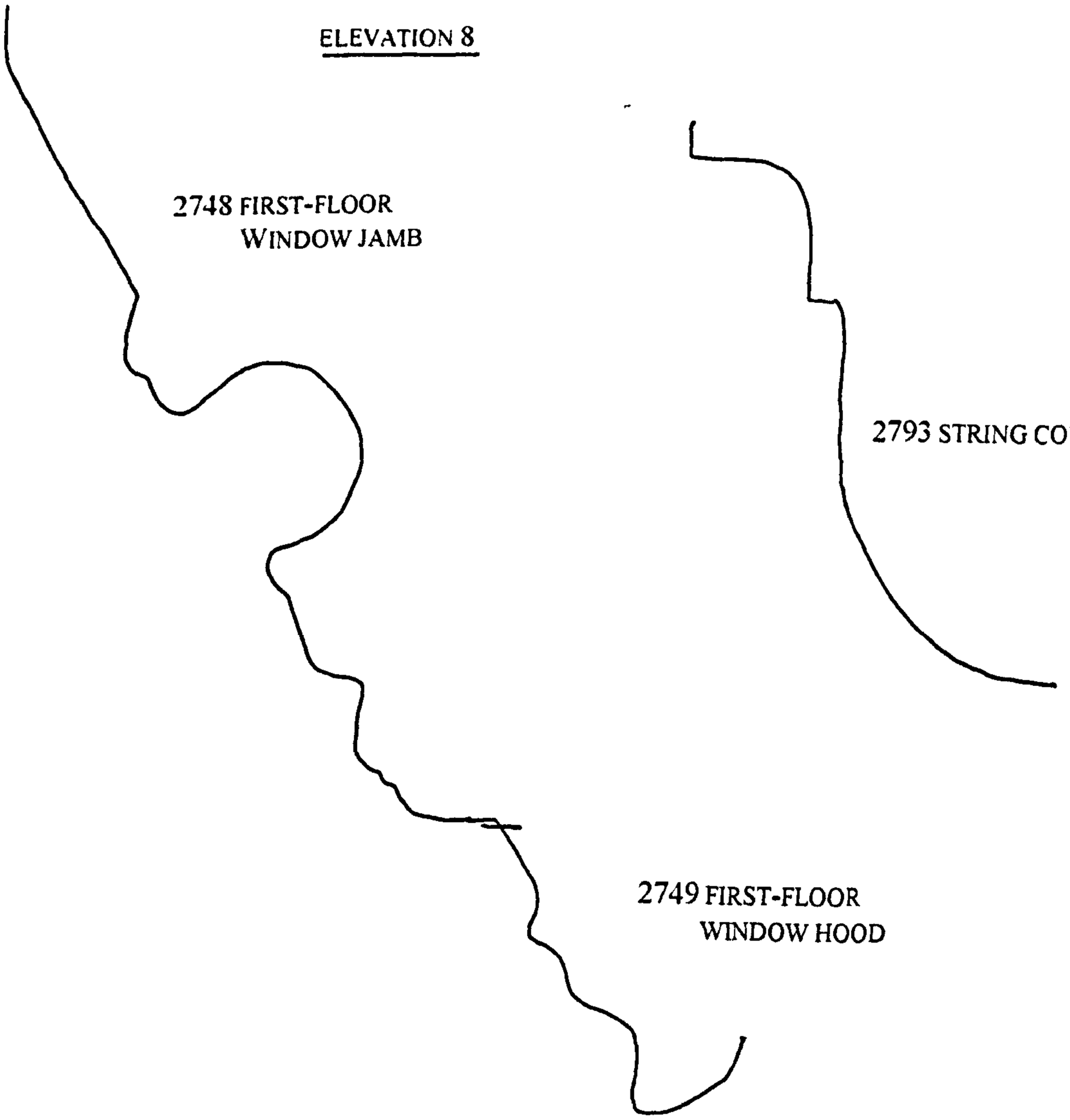
2735 C16 WINDOW JAMB (UPPER)

2732 C16 WINDOW HOOD

2734 WINDOW MULLION

SCALE = 1:2

ELEVATION 8



SCALE = 1:2

APPENDIX 10. EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY OF ST PETER OF GLOUCESTER 681-*C.*1400 RELATING TO FIRE DAMAGE AT GLOUCESTER,

translated from the *Historia* (Gloucester Cathedral copy) by William Barber, published in Welander 1991

pp.603-4
AD 1102.

And in the year 1102 the church of Saint Peter of Gloucester together with the city was burnt by fire after Lord Abbot Serlo of revered memory, by his industry and hard work, had acquired much land and wealth...

Abbot Peter.
AD1104.

Lord Peter, Prior of Gloucester... took over ruling the church of Gloucester on August 5.... And he surrounded the Abbey with a splendid stone wall and enriched the cloister with an abundance of books.

p.605
Of the fire in
Gloucester monastery.

And in the year of our Lord 1122, ... the city of Gloucester with the principal monastery on Wednesday March 8th was once more ablaze with fire. It was indeed in the third year of the beginning of his [Henry's] reign on Thursday May 22 that the city was first burnt.

p.611
Fire in the city.
AD 1190.

During his [Abbot Thomas] time, on May 11 in the year of Our Lord 1190 a fire in the city of Gloucester burned down most of the town and almost all of the workshops attached to the abbey and also set on fire two churches, Saint Mary in front of the Abbey gate and Saint Oswald adjoining the wall.

p.612
Burning of Gloucester
for the fourth time.

In the year of the Lord 1214 the whole town of Gloucester was burnt on Saint Alban's day.

p.613
Fire in Gloucester.
Fire, July 31.

On July 31 [1222] the whole parish of Saint Mary before the gate of the Abbey was burned, and part of the bakehouse and brewhouse, and the house between the gate and the stable, and both sides of the main street from Saint Nicholas to the bridge, and all the little streets to our own Barton.

Another fire. 1223.

On Sunday night, May 21, in the year of Our Lord 1223, fire attacked from the street to the castle to the gate called Lichgate on both sides of the main street, and on the following Thursday, after the first bell for Matins, a fire started from the Great Cross of Gloucester and enveloped the entire street of the cobblers and drapers and the church of Saint Mary of Graselove and part of the Holy Trinity church, together with both sides of the main street as far as the place where the earlier fire finished.

p.620
Fire at the Abbey.

AD 1300.

Of the third fire in the Abbey.

In the year of the Lord 1300, on the day of the Epiphany, towards the time of the Sequence the High Mass, a fire started in one building above the timber in the great courtyard of the Abbey. From this fire many buildings were set on fire all through the Abbey, i.e. the small belltower and the great chamber and cloister. But after folk ran together from all sides and many prayed, the entire fire was sson brought under control, so that this may be ascribed more to a miracle than to the great help [we received].

APPENDIX 11. EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY OF ST PETER OF GLOUCESTER 681-*c.*1400, RELATING TO IMPORTANT BUILDING WORKS,

translated from the *Historia* (Gloucester Cathedral copy) by William Barber, published in Welander 1991

p.613
Wall built. End of lawsuit between Abbey and St. Oswald's AD 1218

At that time an exchange was made between us and Walter de Grey Archbishop of York and the canons of Saint Oswald, and the wall was built.

Exchange between us and the canons of Saint Oswald.

... It was about the church of Saint John by the north gate and the chapel of Saint Brigid. Also about the land below the abbey wall going down in a straight line past the refectory, larder, and bakehouse as far as the new wall nearest to Saint Oswald. ...

p.617
Refectory rebuilt.

In the year of the Lord 1246 the monks' old refectory was demolished and a building begun with new material [?]. [or to a new plan]

p.622-23
The solemn festival of John de Gamages. AD 1305.

In the year of the Lord 1305, around the Feast of St. Hilary, Lord William Inge, Lord William Haward, Nicholas Fambur, Knights, Justices of the Lord King, sat in Gloucester to make inquisition into traylebastone primo [beating during questioning]. During this court of justice Lord Abbot de Gamages held a solemn and sumptuous festival in the great hall in the courtyard of the abbey. There were about 70 at the said festival, 30 Knights, the Priors of Llanthony and St Oswald, and other ecclesiastical persons and many others and the more honourable persons of the whole country who were present at the said court of justice. And they all were assembled in order in the hall and behaved quietly according to their feudal rank, and were summoned in very great numbers to take the oaths, with no commotion nor any absent. Whether judges or other barons who were at this festival, they said at their summoning that they never had seen such a festal and such a distinguished gathering in those parts for many years past.

p.623
Death of the Abbot. AD 1306.

Of the death of the same Abbot [Gamages].
When they left the hall there was a rumour that the Abbot had foretold his own death, according to which he was about to journey from this life very soon, nor would he again come back to hold a festival in the said hall...
...
Likewise he greatly improved the manor of Upton... and there as elsewhere many buildings were erected in his time on common lands, as [for example] the Abbot's residence at Hartpury...

p.625
The new dormitory begun. AD 1303.

Of the beginning of the new dormitory at Gloucester.
In the year of the Lord 1303, the twentieth of his prelacy, the old monks' dormitory of this place was demolished around the Feast of St Michael and the fabric of the new dormitory begun.

The new dormitory completed. 1313.

In the year of the Lord 1313 the new dormitory of this house is completed around the Feast of St Michael and the monk-brethren all leave their cells with their own beds and transfer themselves to the new dormitory around the Feast of All Saints...

p.628
Edward II at Abbey.

Of Edward Caernafon.
In the time of that Abbot [Thoky], when Edward the second King [of that name] after the Conquest [and] son of King Edward I, came to Gloucester, the Abbot and community received him with honour. And sitting at table in the Abbot's hall and seeing there paintings of the kings his predecessors he was jokingly asking the Abbot whether he had him painted among them or not. To whom [the Abbot] replied, prophesying rather than merely talking, that he hoped he would have him in a more honourable place than there.....

p.628
His achievements.

In the year of the Lord 1329 John Wygemore the Prior of this place was elected to the Abbacy and blessed by the Bishop of Worcester. He did much good for the monastery and, whilst in the office of Prior as in the prelacy as Abbot, acquired in vestments as in different buildings both within and without as are noted here later. As for example green samite with winged beings in gold for the Feast of Pentecost which he wove and made with his own hands. ....

p.629
His artistic abillity.

Likewise while he had been Prior of the same monastery he built the Abbot's Chamber beside the infirmary garden. Likewise he adorned the re-table at the Prior's Altar with polished and gilded figures at his own expense. And he adorned the other retable which is now in the Abbot's Chapel with the same work. And he greatly delighted in various arts, so that he himself was very often involved in them and he excelled in many different undertakings concerned with the arts, as much in mechanical devices as in weaving.

St. Andrew's Aisle completed.

...As a result out of the offerings made there in 6 years of his prelacy St Andrew's Aisle was completed to the last detail, as may now be seen. And he totally constructed a large grange at Highnam and he completed the Abbot's Chamber near the Great Hall, with the Small Hall attached to it and the chapel there.

John's personal appearance and character

In face and expression he was calm, in speech pleasant and affable, and with his brothers gentle and kind, so that he would often invite now these

or those of his brothers to his chamber for relaxation, and would prepare different dishes and drinks, and thus he so conducted himself among his fellow monks that they all loved nd respected him, not with the respect due to a father but with the love felt by sons. And he increased their extra payments which had been laid down in Chapter at each Festival of the Lord's Nativity and of Easter, from every monastery servant upwards, by 2s. Above the usual amount....

p.630
The Abbot's Lodging.

At this time [*c.*1337] the vineyard [The Vineyard] which formerly was cultivated for fruit and the produce of various trees and for vines was first built upon. He [Abbot Adam de Staunton] built the Abbot's Lodging there and surrounded part of it with a wall, but his successor [Abb.Th. Horton] completed the work.

p.631
Abbot Thomas Horton.

...
... He greatly increased the [extent of] the buildings both outside and inside [the monastery], as in the case of the Abbot's Chapel beside the garden of the infirmary.
Also he built the covered chamber of the monks' Guest-house and the Great Hall in the Courtyard where later the King held his Parliament, and in the Vineyard, in the same place, he constructed a Parlour, and finished off the wall surrounding the same vineyard which his predecessor had left unfinished.

p.634
Parliament held at Gloucester. AD 1378.

Of the King's Parliament at Gloucester.

In the year 1378, the second year of the reign of King Richard II, in the first year of the time of that Abbot, the Parliament began at Gloucester on October 22 and lasted until November 16.

King Richard stayed in turn, as he pleased, sometimes in the Abbey of Gloucester, sometimes in Tewkesbury. But when he was at Gloucester he and his whole family were lodged in the Abbey, which was so full everywhere with them and the [members of Parliament] that for some days the community ate impartially according to the circumstances in the Dormitory [and] afterwards, which was more convenient, in the School, both on meat-days and fish days, as long as the Parliament lasted. And on some days dinner was prepared in the orchard.

Discussion of laws about arms took place in the Refectory.

However the Guest Hall was decided upon for general parliamentary matters. Moreover in the Guest Chamber, which because of its beauty was called in former times the King's Chamber, secret debates were held among the nobles, and the general debates held in the Chapter-house.

... To be sure, all places in the monastery being thus open [to members of] Parliament, they were thronged, so that they looked to beholders more like a market than a house of religion. For the green of the cloister was so flattened by wrestlings and ball games that it was hopeless to expect any grass to be left there.
...

p.636
Abbot Walter Foucester.
AD 1382.

... For example he built the monastery Cloisters in fine style at great expense. It was begun in the time of [name erased] and taken as far as the door of the Chapter house and left unfinished at that point for many years. Also all the buildings standing in the vineyard, except the Abbot's Chamber, the Parlour and the entrances. And at very great expense he surrounded them with a moat.

And on common land [he built] a house of stone for the buildings at Over.

...

APPENDIX 12: CONTEXT NUMBERS ASSIGNED TO THE GLOUCESTER VISITORS' BUILDINGS

Area or region	*Elevation/floor*	*Number sequence*
Parliament Room	north exterior	1000-1078, 1139-1210
	east exterior	1116-1138, 1284-1300, 1403-1436
	west exterior	1079-1115, 1261-1283
	south interior/exterior (first floor)	1215-1233
	plan	1211-1214, 1234-1245
	roof trusses	1246-1260
north block	ground floor	1356-1382
	first floor	1301-1355
7 Miller's Green	west exterior	1384-1388
	north exterior	1389

APPENDIX 13. SEVENTEETH-CENTURY LEASE MEASUREMENTS FOR VISITORS' BUILDINGS AT GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, from GRO D936 E12/1 ff.290-290v; D936 E/1, ff.267-274; D936 E12/3, f.227b; D936 E12/4, f.129

Building	1607	1649	1667	1670	Present	Differ.	
7 Miller's Green NS	34.0 ft 10.37 m	34.0 ft 10.37 m	**40.0 ft** **12.2 m**	***96.0 ft** **29.3 m**	43.5 ft 13.3 m	.78 (1649) .92 (1667)	
7 Miller's Green EW	60.0 ft 18.3 m	60.0 ft 18.3 m	64.0 ft 19.5 m	**69.0 ft** **21.0 m** **^ 87.0 ft** **^26.5 m**	68.32 ft 20.8 m	.88	
Parliament Room NS	----------	----------	----------	----------	29.0 ft (30.24 ft 1st fl.) 8.84 m	----------	
Parliament Room EW	----------	(30.0 ft 9.15 m)	----------	----------	36.4 ft 11.1 m	.824	
w range NS	----------	**78.0 ft** **23.78 m**	----------	----------	79.38 ft 24.2 m	.98	
w range EW	----------	**27.0 ft** **8.23 m**	----------	----------	29.5 ft 8.99 m	.92	
n block NS	----------	79.0 ft 24.1 m	----------	----------	(96.0 ft 29.3 m)	----------	
n block EW	----------	30.0 ft 9.15 m	----------	----------	36.4 ft 11.1 m	.824	
tower blk NS	----------	**27.0 ft** **8.23 m**	----------	----------	27.0 ft 8.23 m	----------	
tower blk EW	----------	**42.0 ft** **12.8 m**			42.0 ft 12.8 m	----------	
cloister garth	----------	**114.0 ft** **34.76 m**			app. 35.5 m x 37.0 m	.98	

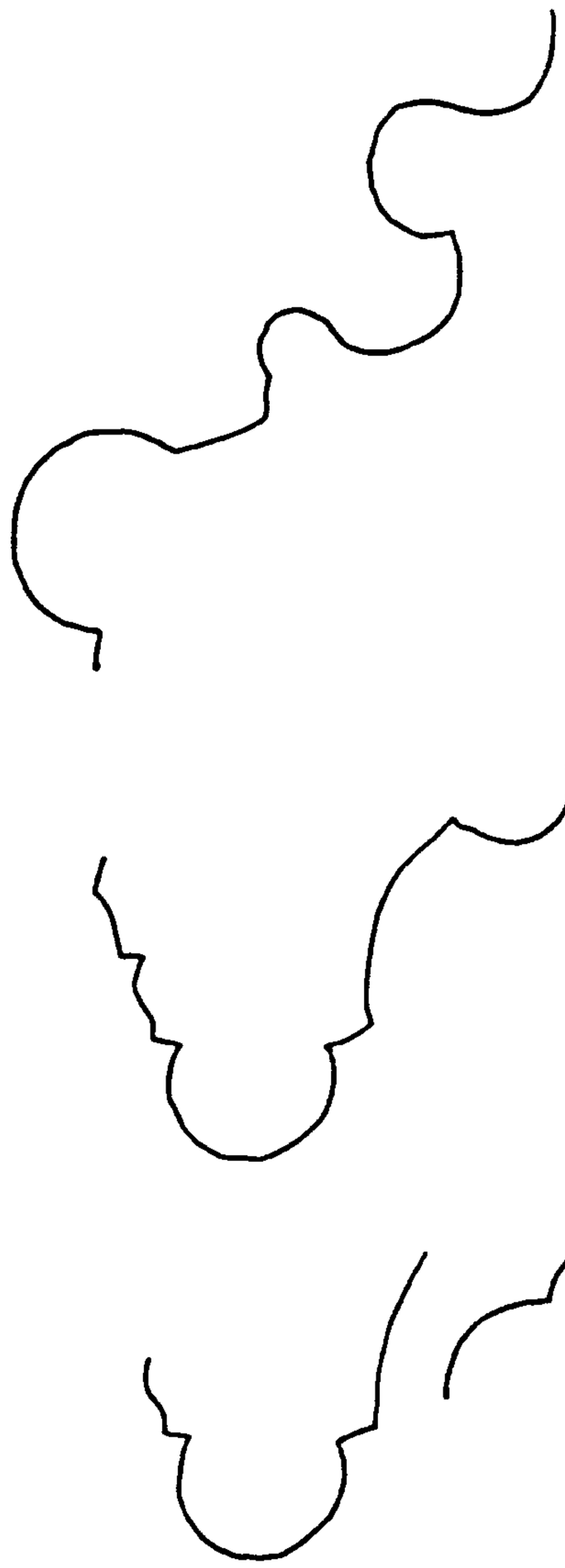
*to south-east corner of courtyard
^ from south-west corner of 7 Miller's Green to south-east corner of courtyard(*)
correct lease measurements given in **bold** type

APPENDIX 14: THE 1541 SURVEY OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, from Stevenson, W.H. (trans.) 1893. *The Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester* (Gloucester): 22-23

Compare with figs.195-197.
My comments/corrections are given in [ ]. Repetitive or redundant sections are given in grey.

...And whereas we wish to honourably endow the said Bishop of Gloucester and his successors, we give him all that hall covered with lead commonly called the 'Leaden Hall' (*plumba aula*); a bread-room (*panarium*); a store-room (*promptuarium*) with a kitchen; two buildings for storing food; a small square with a pool or stew into which the fresh water at the eastern end of the same hall flows; and also a great bedchamber, in which the servants of the late Abbot used to feed, situate at the eastern [western?] end of the said Hall; and also a bread-room, a store-room, and an underground workshop (*officina*) and the way leading to it on the southern side of the said great bedchamber; and also a square or vacant place, containing by estimation in length two perches and in breadth one perch and three feet [11.5 m x 6.6 m], adjoining the said great bed-chamber; and also another bed-chamber, commonly called 'the square bedchamber', on the northern side of the said great bed-chamber, with three other bed-chambers built over the said square bed-chamber; and another great bed-chamber, wherein the late Abbot used to take his meals, with a bread-room, a store-room, and an underground workshop at the southern end of the said bed-chamber [services repeated from above]; and also a house for walking (*domus deambulatoria*) at the said southern end and on the eastern side of the same bed-chamber; and a bed-chamber situate on the southern side of the same house for walking, with three chambers constructed together and situate on the northern side of the said house for walking; and also those three interior bed-chambers with a space in the middle (*cum uno meditullio*), a chapel, and another house for walking adjoining the said three chambers and private to the late Abbot, situate at the northern end of the said great bed-chamber, in which the late Abbot used to take his meals, and on the eastern side of the said bed-chamber. Also another hall; a bread-room, a store-room, a kitchen, and two bed-chambers at the eastern end of the said house for walking; and also all the bed-chambers, houses, buildings, underground workshops, and other workshops whatsoever situate or built above or beneath the said halls, bed-chambers, houses for walking, and all and singular the premises, or under or above any part thereof. Also a garden, containing in length by estimation six perches and ten feet and in breadth seven perched and thirteen and a half feet, which garden extends the length of the said three interior bed-chambers and other buildings peculiar to the late Abbot [Hope said this was to the south, but it was probably to the north]; and also all and singular the messuages, habitations, houses, edifices, structures, with the soil thereof, and gardens, orchards, vacant places, walls, and all and singular the hereditaments whatsoever known by the name or names of 'the Abbott*es* Lodgyng' or situate within the precinct and circuit known as 'the Abbott*es* Lodgyng:' which circuit contains on the southern side nine perches and six feet, and on the northern side nine perches and six feet, and at the western end eight perches, nine feet, and eight inches, and at the eastern end eight perches and sixteen feet, each perch containing eighteen and a half feet and three inches [i.e. s= 53 m, n= 53 m, w= 49 m, e= 51 m]

APPENDIX 15: A CATALOGUE OF MOULDING PROFILES FROM THE PARLIAMENT ROOM AND NORTH BLOCK, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL



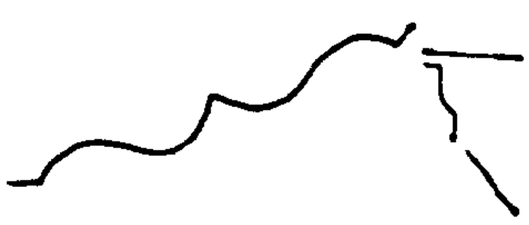
C13 WINDOW JAMB,
PARLIAMENT ROOM

LADY CHAPEL, *C.* 1457

TRACING SURFACE RE-USED
AS FIREPLACE MANTLE,
PARLIAMENT ROOM

JAMB OF WINDOW 1328,
LAUD ROOM

CHAMFER STOP ON JAMB



JAMB OF WINDOW 1330,
LAUD ROOM

CHAMFER STOP ON JAMB

TRUSS I, NORTH POST,
PARLIAMENT ROOM

TRUSS I, SOUTH POST,
PARLIAMENT ROOM

CHAMFER STOP

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A

Anon. 1903. 'Red Lodge, Bristol' *Country Life* 14: 721-3

Anon. 1923a. 'Binham Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 80: 334-5

Anon. 1923b. 'Bromholm Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 80: 352

Anon. 1925-26. 'Report on summer meetings, 1926' *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*: 72-73

Anon. 1932a. 'Pentney Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 89: 377

Anon. 1932b. *Handbook of Peterborough Cathedral* (Peterborough)

Anon. 1939. 'Lanercost Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 96: 322-3

Abram, A. 1913. *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages* (London)

Airs, M. 1995. *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Stroud)

Alcock, N.W. 1994. 'Physical space and social space: the interpretation of verncular architecture', in M. Locock (ed.) *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* (Aldershot): 207-230

Aldridge, C. 1890. 'The priory of the Blessed Virgin and Saint James, Birkenhead', *Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 42: 141-160

Alexander, J.S. 1996. 'Masons' marks and stone bonding', in Tatton-Brown, T. and Munby, J. (eds.) *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 42: 220-236

Alexander, J. T. G. 1992. *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (London)

Anderson, M.D. 1971. *History and Imagery in British Churches* (London)

Armitage Robinson, J. 1911. *The Abbot's House at Westminster* (Cambridge)

Asad, T. 1979. 'Anthropology and the analysis of ideology', *Man* (N.S.) 14: 607-27

Asad, T. 1987. 'On ritual and discipline in medieval Christian monasticism', *Economy and Society* 16.2: 159-203

Ashmore, O. 1962a. *A Guide to Whalley Abbey* (Blackburn)

Ashmore, O. 1962b. 'The Whalley Abbey Bursar's account for 1520', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 114: 49-72

Aslet, C.1984a. 'Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire I: The seat of Lord Leigh', *Country Life* (13 Dec): 1844-1848

Aslet, C. 1984b. 'Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire II: The seat of Lord Leigh', *Country Life* (20 Dec): 1934-1937

Aston, M. 1972. 'The earthworks of Bordesley Abbey, Redditch, Worcestershire', *Medieval Archaeology* 16: 134-136

Aston, M. 1993. *Monasteries* (London)

Attwater, D. 1965. *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Harmondsworth)

Austin, D. 1992. 'The proper study of medieval archaeology', *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* [Conf. Proc.]: 9-42

Austin, D. and Thomas, J. 1990. 'The "proper study" of medieval archaeology: a case study', in D. Austin and L. Alcock (eds.) *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* [Conf.Proc.]: 43-78

B

Bailey, D. 1990. 'The living house: signifying continuity', in R, Samson (ed.) *The Social Archaeology of Houses* (Edinburgh):19-48

Baillie Reynolds, P.K. 1946. *Croxden Abbey* (London)

Baillie Reynolds, P.K. 1963. 'Croxden Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 120: 278-89

Bapty, I. and Yates, T. 1990. *Archaeology after Structuralism* (London)

Barker, P. 1977. *Techniques of Archaeological Excavation* (London)

Barrett, J.C. 1987. 'Contextual archaeology', *Antiquity* 61: 468-73
Barrett, J.C. 1988. 'Fields of discourse: reconstituting a social archaeology', *Critique of Anthropology* 7: 5-16
Barrett, J.C. 1991. 'Towards an archaeology of ritual', in P. Garwood *et al., Sacred and Profane* (Oxford): 1-9
Barrett, J. 1994. 'Defining domestic space in the bronze age of southern Britain', in M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards (eds.) *Architecture and Order* (London)
Bateson, G. 1966. 'Ritual and social change', *Man* 1.1: 60-74
Beaudry, M.C. , Cook, L.J. and Mrozowski, S.A. 1991. 'Artifacts and active voices: material culture as social discourse', in R.H. McGuire and R. Paynter (eds.) *The Archaeology of Inequality* (Oxford): 150-191
Bell, C. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford)
Bell, C. 1997. *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford)
Biddle, M. 1968. 'The excavations at Abingdon Abbey', *Medieval Archaeology* 12: 60-69
Blair, J. 1993. 'Hall and chamber: English domestic planning, 1000-1250', in Meirion-Jones, G. and Jones, M. *Manorial Domestic Buildings* vol. 15 of *Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries in London*: 1-21
Bold, J. 1990. 'The recording of standing buildings', *Vernacular Architecture* 21: 16-17
Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge)
Brakspear, H. 1900. 'Lacock Abbey', *Archaeologia* 57: 125-158
Brakspear, H. 1905. *Waverley Abbey* (London and Guildford)
Brakspear, H. 1914. 'Jervaulx Abbey', in Victoria County History. *A History of the County of Yorkshire, North Riding,* vol.1 (London): 280-3
Brakspear, H. 1901. 'Worcester Cathedral', in Victoria County History. *A History of the County of Worcestershire,* vol. 4 (London)
Brakspear, H. 1909. 'Pipewell Abbey' *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers* 30: 299-313
Brakspear, H. 1913. 'Malmesbury Abbey', *Archaeologia* 64: 399-436
Brakspear, H. 1922. 'Bardney Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 79: 3-92
Brakspear, H. 1923. 'Excavations at some Wiltshire Monasteries', *Archaeologia* 73 : 225-52
Brakspear, H. 1933. 'The abbot's house at Battle', *Archaeologia* 83: 139-166
Brakspear, H. 1934. 'Wigmore Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 90: 25-51
Briquet, C.M. 1966 (rpt.) *Les Filigranes et Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier, vol. III* (New York)
British Archaeological Association 1985. *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury* (BAA Conference Transactions 7)
Brown, R.J. 1986. *Timber Framed Buildings in England* (London)
Brunskill, R.W. 1978a. *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture,* 3rd edit. (London)
Brunskill, R.W. 1978b. 'Distributions of building materials and some plan types in domestic architecture of England and Wales', *Vernacular Architecture* 14: 45-47
Brunskill, R.W. 1985. *Timber Building in Britain* (London)
Brunskill, R.W. 1990. *Brick Building in Britain* (London)
Burnett-Brown, J. 1991. *Lacock Abbey* (National Trust)
Burton, J. 1994. *Monastic Religious Orders in Britain* (Cambridge)
Butler L. and Given-Wilson, C. 1979. *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain* (London)

C

Carey-Hill, E 1930. 'Kenilworth Abbey', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* 52: 184-227
Caröe, W. D. 1933. 'The later history of the priory and the Gatehouse at Butley',

Archaeological Journal 90: 229-280
Chandler, P E. 1979. 'The Bishop's Palace, Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 97, 81-83
Cherry, B. and Pevsner, N. 1989. *Buildings of England: Devon* 2nd edit. (London)
Clapham, A.W. 1923. 'The architecture of the Premonstratensians, with special reference to their buildings in England', *Archaeologia* 73: 117-46
Clapham, A. and Baillie Reynolds, P. K. 1989. *Thornton Abbey* 2nd edit. (London)
Clapham, A. and Duffy, A.R. 1950. 'Forde Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 107: 119-20
Clarke, D. 1973. 'Archaeology: the loss of innocence', *Antiquity* 47: 6-19
Clarke, D. (ed.) 1977. *Spatial Archaeology* (London)
Clifton-Taylor, A. 1972. *The Pattern of English Building* (London)
Clifton-Taylor, A. and Ireson, A.S. 1983. *English Stone Building* (London)
Coad, J.G. 1993. *Hailes Abbey* (London)
Cohen, A. 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London)
Cohen, I. 1986. 'The status of structuration theory: a reply to McLennan', *Theory Culture and Society* 3.1: 123-134
Coldstream, N. (ed.) 1979. *Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral,* BAA Conference Transactions 2 (Leeds)
Coldstream, N. (ed.) 1980. *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral.* BAA Conference Transactions 3 (London)
Coldstream, N. 1991. *Masons and Sculptors* (London)
Coldstream, N. 1994. *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (London)
Collingwood, R.G. 1946. *The Idea of History* (Oxford)
Conkey, M.W. 1990. Experimenting with style in archaeology', in Conkey, M. and Hastorf, C. *The Uses of Style in Archaeology* (Cambridge): 5-17
Contamine, P. 1988. 'The use of private space. peasant house to papal palace: the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', in P. Aries and G. Duby (eds.) *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World,* (London): 425-507
Cook, O. and Smith, E. 1960. *English Abbeys and Priories* (London)
Coppack, G. 1986. 'Some descriptions of Rievaulx Abbey in 1538-9: The disposition of a major Cistercian precinct in the early sixteenth-century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 139: 100-33
Coppack, G. 1989. 'Thornholme Priory: the development of a monastic outer court', in R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum (eds.) *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries* BAR 203: 185-222
Coppack, G. 1990. *Abbeys and Priories* (London)
Coppack, G. 1993. *Fountains Abbey* (London)
Coppack, G. and Gilyard-Beer, R. 1995. *Fountains Abbey* (London)
Coppack, G. 1998. *The White Monks: The Cistercians in Britain* (Stroud)
Coppack, G. and Fergusson, P. 1994. *Rievaulx Abbey* (London)
Coppack, G., Harrison, S., and Hayfield, C. 1995. 'Kirkham Priory: the architecture and archaeology of an Augustinian house', *JBAA* 148: 55-136
Cordingley, R.A. 1961. 'British historical roof types and their members: a classification', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 17: 73-118
Coulson, C. 1982. 'Hierarchism in conventual crenellation: an essay in the sociology and metaphysics of medieval fortification' *Medieval Archaeology* 26: 69-100
Courtney, P. 1989. 'Excavations in the outer precinct of Tintern Abbey', *Med. Arch.* 33: 99-143
Cox, D.C. 1993. review of Greene, J.P. *Medieval Monasteries*, in *Med. Arch.* 37: 330-331
Cranage, D.H.S. 1922. 'The monastery of St Milburge at Much Wenlock, Shropshire', *Archaeologia* 72: 105-132

Cromwell, T. 1987. 'A brief examination into the viability of networks and other techniques of spatial analysis through examination of a known data set', unpublished MA dissertation, Dept. of Archaeology, University of York

Crossley, F.H. 1935. *The English Abbey* (London)

Crossley, F.H. 1951. *Timber Building in England* (London)

Cullum, P.H. 1993. 'St. Leonard's Hospital, York: the spatial and social analysis of an Augustinian hospital', in R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum (eds.) *Advances in Monastic Archaeology* BAR 227: 11-18

Cullum, P.C. 1994. '"for pore people harberles": what was the function of the maisonsdieu?', in D.J. Clayton, R.G. Davies, and P. McGiven (eds.) *Trade, Devotion, and Governance* (Gloucester)

D

Davey, N. 1961. *A History of Building Materials* (London)

Davies, M. 1993. 'The application of the Harris matrix to the recording of standing structures', in E.C. Harris (ed.) *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*

Davis, W. 1990. 'Style and history in art history' in Conkey, M. and Hastorf, C. *The Uses of Style in Archaeology* (Cambridge):18-30

Dickinson, J.C. 1950. 'Early suppressions of English houses of Austin canons', in V. Ruffer and A.J. Taylor (eds.) *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford):54-77

Dickinson, J.C. 1967. 'Furness Abbey- an archaeological reconsideration', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Associated Architectural Societies* 67: 51-80

Dickinson, J.C. 1991. *The Priory of Cartmel* (Milnthorpe)

Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo* (London)

Douglas, M. 1970. *Natural Symbols* (London)

Driscoll, S.T. 1984. 'The new medieval archaeology: theory vs. history', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3.2: 104-9

Duffy, E. 1992. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-1580* (New Haven)

Dugdale, W. 1721. *Monasticon Anglicanum,* vol. 5 (1849 edition)(London): 443-450

Dugdale, W. 1730. *The Antiquities of Warwickshire 1* (London) re-edit. Calley, Ellis, and Bandinel 1821, 257

Dyer, C. 1989. *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge)

E

Eames, E. 1992. *English Tiles* (London)

Eco, U. 1980. 'Function and sign: the semiotics of architecture', in *Signs Symbols and Architecture* (Chichester)

Emery, A. 1996. *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, vol.1, Northern England* (Cambridge)

Evans, S J A, and Eward, S M. 1972. 'The Common Kitchen', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 91, 168-174

Eyton, R.W. 1888. 'The monasteries of Shropshire, their origins and founders', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeology and Natural History Soc.* 11: 109-29, 142-52

F

Fairclough, G. 1992. 'Meaningful constructions- spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings', *Antiquity* 66: 348-366

Fairclough, G., Stocker, D., and Wood, J. 1992. 'Building on recording: the analysis and

interpretation of buildings', *The Field Archaeologist* 16: 293-303
Fairweather, F. H. 1929. 'Priory of St Mary and All Saints, Westacre', *Norfolk Archaeology* 23 (1929): 359-394
Faulkner, P.A. 1958. 'Domestic planning from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries', *Archaeological Journal* 115: 150-183
Faulkner, P.A. 1962. 'A model of Castle Acre Priory', *Medieval Archaeology* 6: 300-302
Fergusson, P. 1983. 'The first architecture of the Cistercians in England and the work of Abbot Adam of Meaux', *JBAA* 136: 74-86
Fergusson, P. 1990a. '"Porta patens esto": notes on early cistercian gatehouses in the north of England', E. Fernie and P. Crossby (eds.) *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson* (London): 47-60
Fergusson, P. 1990b. *Roche Abbey* (London)
Ferris, I. 1989. 'The archaeological investigation of standing buildings', *Vernacular Architecture* 20: 12-17
Ferris, I. 1991. 'I am not a camera', *Vernacular Architecture* 22: 1
Fletcher, B.F. and Cordingley, R.A. 1961. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method,* 17th edit. (London)
Foster, S. 1989a. 'Analysis of spatial patterns in buildings (access analysis) as an insight into social structure: examples from the Scottish Atlantic Iron Age', *Antiquity* 63: 40-50
Foster, S. 1989b. 'Transformations in social space- the Iron Age in Orkney and Caithess', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6: 34-55
Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. Sheridan (London)

<u>G</u>
Gallagher, D.B. 1994. 'The planning of an Augustinian monastery in Scotland', in M. Locock (ed.) *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* (Aldershot):167-187
Gardiner, M. 1993. 'Reading the past- historical documents and archaeology', *Field Archaeology* 19: 381-2
Gardner, A. 1951. *English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge)
Garrod A P, and Heighway, C M. 1981. 'Gloucester Cathedral', *Glevensis* 15, 44-45
Garrod A P, and Heighway, C M. 1984. *Garrods Gloucester: Archaeological Observations 1974-81* (Bristol)
Garwood, P. 1991. 'Ritual tradition and the reconstitution of society', in Garwood, P., Jennings, D., Skeates, R., and Toms, J. (eds.) 1989. *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion* (Oxford):10-32
Gasquet, F.A. 1925. *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* , 8th edition (London)
Gem, R. 1997. *St Augustine's Canterbury* (London)
Gerrard, C. 1995. Review of Aston, M. *Monasteries* in *Med. Arch.* 37: 328-9.
Giddens, A. 1984. *Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration* (London)
Giddens, A. 1985. 'Time, space, and regionalisation', in D.Gregory and J. Urry (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures* (London): 265-295
Gilchrist, R. 1988. 'The spatial archaeology of gender domains: a case study of medieval English nunneries', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 7.1: 21-8
Gilchrist, R. 1989. 'Community and self: perceptions and use of space in medieval monasticism', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6: 55-64
Gilchrist, R. 1990. 'The Archaeology of Female Piety: Gender, Ideology, and Material Culture in Later Medieval England, *c.*1050-1550', unpub. DPhil thesis, University of York
Gilchrist, R. 1991. 'Women's archaeology? Political feminism, gender theory, and historical revision', *Antiquity* 65: 495-501
Gilchrist, R. 1992a '"Blessed art thou among women": the archaeology of female piety',

in P.J.P. Goldberg (ed.) *Woman Is a Worthy Wight: Women in Religious Society c. 1200-1500* (Goucestershire): 212-226

Gilchrist, R. 1992b. 'Christian bodies and souls: the archaeology of life and death in later medieval hospitals', in Steven Bassett (ed) *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 1000-1600* (Leicester): 101-118

Gilchrist, R. 1994a. 'Medieval bodies in the material world: gender, stigma, and the body', in S. Kay and M. Rubin (ed.) *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester): 43-61

Gilchrist, R. 1994b. *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*, Routledge (London)

Gilyard-Beer, R. 1958. *Abbeys: An Introduction to the Religious Houses of England and Wales* (London)

Gilyard-Beer, R. 1959. *Cleeve Abbey* (London)

Girouard, M. 1978. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London)

Godfrey, W. 1929. 'The Abbot's parlour, Thame Park', *Archaeological Journal* 86: 58-68

Goodman, E. 1999. 'Sacred strongholds: the imagery on the facades of early fourteenth century monastic gatehouses', unpublished MA dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York

Goody, J.R. 1962. 'Religion and ritual, the definitional problem', *British Journal of Sociology* 12: 142-164

Gosden, C. 1999. *Anthropology and Archaeology: A Changing Relationship* (London)

Graham, F. (ed.) 1969. *Warwickshire One Hundred Years Ago* (Newcastle)

Graham, R. and Gilyard-Beer, R. 1986. *Monk Bretton Priory* (London)

Graves, P. 1989. 'Social space in the English medieval parish church', *Economy and Society* 18: 297-322

Greene, J.P. 1992. *Medieval Monasteries* (Leicester)

Grenville, J. 1997. *Medieval Housing* (Leicester)

Grenville, J. and Morris, R. 1991. 'Archaeological approaches to the recording of buildings', *The Field Archaeologist* 15: 1-7

Gresley, J.M. 1854. *The Cistercian Abbey of Stoneley* (Ashby-de-la-Zouche)

Grundy, J., McCombie, G., Ryder, P., and Wallace, H. 1992. *Buildings of England: Northumberland* 2nd edn. (London)

H

Haines, H 1863. 'The Deanery, Gloucester', *Gentlemens Magazine* NS, XIV, 767-9

Hamilton Thompson, A. 1928. 'A historical and architectural description of the Priory of St Mary, Bolton-in-Warfdale', *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 30

Hamilton Thompson, A. 1954. *Roche Abbey* (London)

Hall, L.J. 1981. 'Vernacular roof types in N. Avon and S. Gloucestershire', *Vernacular Architecture* 12: 30-7

Hankey, C.P. 1964. *The Pictorial History of Ely Cathedral* (London)

Harbottle, B., and Salaway, P. 1964. 'Excavations at Newminster Abbey, 1961-63', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., 42: 95-171

Harding, J.M. 1980. 'Medieval vernacular roof trusses in Surrey', *Vernacular Architecture* 11: 39-42

Harland, R. 1987. *Superstructuralism: the Philosophy of Structuralism and Post-Structuralism* (London)

Harris, R. 1978. *Discovering Timber Framed Buildings* (Princes Risborough)

Harris, R. 1989a. *Principles of Archaeological Stratification,* 2nd edn. (London)

Harris, R. 1989b. 'The grammar of carpentry', *Vernacular Architecture* 20: 1-11

Harrison, S. 1988. 'The architecture of Byland Abbey', unpub. MA Thesis, University of York

Harrison, S. 1990. *Byland Abbey* (London)
Harvey, B. 1993. *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford)
Harvey, J. 1957. 'Report on St. Mary's Gateway and the 'Almonry' (unpublished doc. submitted to the Gloucester Cathedral Library, uncatalogued)
Harvey, J. 1978. *The Perpendicular Style* (London)

Harvey, J. 1972. *The Medieval Architect* (London)
Harvey, J. 1975. *Medieval Craftsmen* (London)
Harvey, P D. 1993. *Maps in Tudor England* (London)
Harris, R. 1989. 'The grammar of carpentry', *Vernacular Architecture* 20: 1-8
Haslewood 1863. 'Inventory of monasteries suppressed in 1536', *Bedforshire Archaeological Journal*: 83-116
Heal, F. 1984. 'The idea of hospitality in early modern England', *Past and Present* 102: 66-93
Heal, F. 1990. *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford)
Heighway, C M. 1974. *Archaeology in Gloucester: A Policy for City and District* (Gloucester City Museum)
Heighway, C. 1981. 'Gloucester', in Leech, R. (ed.) *Historic Towns in Gloucestershire* (Bristol): 39-44
Heighway, C. 1996. 'The archaeology of Gloucester Cathedral', in Tatton-Brown, T. and Munby, J. (eds.) *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* , Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 42: 73-79
Heighway C. 2000. *Gloucester Cathedral: Overall Archaeological Assessment* (Kings Stanley)
Henisch, B.A. 1976. *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (Pennsylvania)
Herbert, N. 1988. 'Gloucester Cathedral and the Close', Victoria County History. *A History of the County of Gloucestershire* 4, 275-88
Hill, G.M. 1866. 'The cathedral and monastery of St Cuthbert at Durham' *JBAA* 22:197-237
Hillier W. and Hanson, J. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge)
Hills, B.M. 1863. 'On the priories of Ulverscroft and Charley in Leicestershire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 19: 65-83
Hodder, I. 1982. 'Theoretical archaeology: a reactionary view', in I. Hodder (ed.) *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge):1-16
Hodder, I. 1986. *Reading the Past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology,* 2nd edition, (Cambridge)
Hodder, I. 1987. 'The contextual analysis of symbolic meanings' in I. Hodder (ed.) *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings* (Cambridge):1-10
Hodder, I. 1989. 'This is not an article about material culture as text', *Journal of Anthropology and Archaeology* 8: 250-269
Hodgson, J. 1822. 'Some accounts of an ancient plan of Tynemouth' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 1: 216-218
Holliday, J. R. 1878. 'Maxstoke Priory' *Transactions of the Birmingham and Midland Chilstitude Archaeological Section* 5: 56-105
Holton-Krayenbuhl, A. 1997. 'The infirmary complex at Ely', *Archaeological Journal* 154: 118-72
Honeyman, H.L., Bertram, R., and Hunter Blair, C.H. 1929. 'The tile pavements at Newminster Abbey', *Aechaeologica Aeliana,* 4th series, 6:95-115
Hope, W. H. St. J. 1884.'Repton Priory, Derbyshire', *Archaeological Journal* 41: 349-368
Hope, W. H. St.J. 1887, 'On the Premonstratensian Abbey of St Mary, Alnwick', *Archaeological Journal* 44: 337-346

Hope, W.H.St.J. 1897. 'Notes on the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester', *Archaeological Journal* 54: 77-119
Hope, W.H.St.J. 1899. 'Fountains Abbey' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 15: 269-400
Hope, W.H.St J. 1901. 'Boxgrove Priory', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 163: 63-82
Hope, W.H.St J. 1907. 'Kirkstall Abbey' *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 16: 1-72
Hope, W.H.St J. 1914. 'Rievaulx Abbey', in Victoria County History. *A History of the County of Yorkshire, North Riding* (London): 494-9
Hope, W.H.St.J., and Brakspear, H. 1906a. *Stoneleigh Guidebook* (London)
Hope, W.H.St.J., and Brakspear, H. 1906b. 'The Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu, in the county of Southampton', *Archaeological Journal* 63: 128-186
Hope, W.H.St.J., and Brakspear, H. 1909. 'Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire', *Archaeological Journal* 66: 281-310
Hope, W.H.St.J., and Brakspear, H. 1911. 'Jervaulx Abbey', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 21: 303-44
Hope, W.H.St.J., and Kaines Smith, S.C. 1914. 'Furness Abbey', Victoria County History. *A History of the County of Lancashire,* vol.8 (London): 287-305
Horn, W. and Born, E. 1979. *The Plan of St Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley)
Howard, M. 1987. *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics, 1490-1550* (London)
Howard, M. 1998. 'Inventories, surveys and the history of great houses, 1480-1640', *Architectural History* 41: 14-29
Howard, R. Laxton, B. and Litton, C.D. 1998. 'Tree-ring analysis of timbers from the Gatehouse, Stoneleigh Abbey, Stoneleigh, Warwickshire', unpub.
Hurle, P. and Winsor, J. 1985. *Portrait of Malvern* (Worcester)

I
Impey, E. 1993. 'Seigneurial domestic architecture in Normandy, 1050-1350', in Meirion-Jones, G. and Jones, M. *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, vol. 15 of *Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries in London*: 82-120

J
Jack, S. 1965-6. 'Monastic lands in Leicestershire and their administration on the eve of the dissolution', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Natural History Soc. Trans.* 41: 9-40
James, M. 1983. 'Ritual, drama, and social body in the later medieval English town', *Past and Present* 98: 3-29
James, M. R. 1925. *Abbeys* (London)
Jenkins, R. 1996. *Social Identity* (London)
Johnson, M. 1990. 'The Englishman's home and its study', in R. Samson (ed.) *The Social Archaeology of Houses* (Edinburgh):245-258
Johnson, M. 1993. *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (London)
Johnson, M. 1994. 'Ordering houses, creating narratives', in M.P. Pearson and C. Richards (eds.) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space* (London): 170-177
Jusserand, J.J. 1889. *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (London)

K

Kaines Smith, S.C. 1951. 'Stoneleigh', in Victoria County History. *A History of the County of Warwickshire,* vol. 6: 229-234

Keen, L.J. 1979. 'The fourteenth-century tile pavement in Prior Crauden's chapel and in the south transept' in Coldstream, N. (ed.) *Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral,* BAA Conference Transactions 2 (Leeds):47-57

Kell, E. 1863. 'Netley Abbey, with an account of recent excavations and discoveries', *Collectanea Archaeologia* 2: 65-92

Kellock, A. 1989. 'Abbot Sebrok's Pavement: a medieval tile floor in Gloucester Cathedral', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 107, 171-188

Kerr, M. and Kerr, N. 1983. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Aylesbury)

Knowles, D. 1948-59. *The Religious Orders in England,* 3 vols. (Cambridge)

Knowles, D. 1963. *The Monastic Order in England* 2nd edn (Cambridge)

Knowles, D. and St Joseph, J. K. S. 1952. *Monastic Sites from the Air* (Cambridge)

Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N. 1953. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London)

Knowles, W.H. 1902. 'The Premonstratensian abbey of St Mary, Blanchland', *Northumberland Archaeological Journal* 59: 328-241

Kraus, D. and Kraus, H. 1975. *The Hidden World of Misericords* (London)

L

LaFontaine, J.W. (ed.) 1972. *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A.I. Richards* (London)

Lavine, M.W. 1981. 'Boundaries in the built environment: concepts and examples', *Man-environment Systems* 11(5-6): 195-206

Lawrence, C.H. 1989. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages,* 2nd edition (London)

Lawrence, D. and Low, S.M. 1990. 'The built environment and spatial form', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 453-505

Lawrence, R.J. 1983. 'The interpretation of vernacular architecture', *Vernacular Architecture* 14: 19-28

Lees-Milne, J. 1973. 'Flaxley Abbey, Gloucestershire', *Country Life* 153: 842- 845

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

Leone, M. 1984. 'Interpreting ideology in historical archaeology: the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland' , in D. Miller adn C. Tilley (eds.) *Ideology, Power and Prehistory* (Cambridge): 25-36

Le Strange, R. 1973. *Monasteries of Norfolk* (Kings Lynn)

Leyland, J. 1897. 'Country homes: Stoneleigh Abbey', *Country Life* (20 Feb):186-188

Little, B. 1979. *Abbeys and Priories in England and Wales* (London)

Locock, M. 1994. 'Meaningful Architecture', in M. Locock (ed.) *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* (Aldershot):1-13

Lloyd, D. 1993. *A History of Worcestershire* (Chichester)

Locock, M. 1994. 'Postscript: the Death of Meaning' in M. Locock (ed.) *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* (Aldershot):308-309.

Lubar, S. and Kingery, W.D. 1993. *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington)

M

Markus, T.A. 1993. *Buildings and Power* (London)

Massé, H.J.L.J. 1898. *The Cathedral Church of Gloucester* (London)

McGrath, A.E. 1993. *Reformation Thought,* 2nd edn. (Oxford)

McNeill, T. 1992. *Castles* (London)
McRee, B.R. 1994. 'Unity or division? The social meaning of guild ceremony in urban communities' in Hanawalt, B and Reyerson K.L. (eds.) *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minnesota): 189-207
Meeson, B. 1989. 'In defence of selective recording', *Vernacular Architecture* 20: 18-19
Meirion-Jones, G., Jones, M., and Pilcher, J.M. 1993. 'The seigneurial domestic buildings of Brittany, 1000-1700', in Meirion-Jones, G. and Jones, M. *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France* vol. 15 of *Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries in London*: 158-191
Mertes, K. 1988. *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford)
Middleton, J. 1977. 'Ritual and ambiguity in Lugbara society', in S.F. Moore and B.G. Myerhoff, B.G. (ed.) 1977. *Secular Ritual* (Amsterdam)
Middleton, J.H. 1881-2. 'Flaxley Abbey', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 6: 280-3
Midmer, R. 1979. *English Medieval Monasteries: A Summary* (London)
Miles, D.W.H. and Russell, H. 1995. 'Plumb and level marks', *Vernacular Architecture* 26: 33-38
Moore, H. 1990. 'Paul Ricoeur: action, meaning, and text', in C. Tilley (ed.) *Reading Material Culture* (Oxford): 85-120
Moore, S.F. and Myerhoff, B.G. 1977. 'Secular ritual: forms and meanings', in S.F. Moore, and B.G. Myerhoff (eds.) *Secular Ritual* (Amsterdam): 3-24
Moorhouse, S. and Wrathmell, S. 1987. *Kirkstall Abbey, the 1950-64 excavations: a reassessment* (Wakefield)
Moorman, J.R.H. 1994. *Lanercost Priory* (no pub.)
Morant, R.W. 1995. *The Monastic Gatehouse and Other Types of Portal of Medieval Religious Houses* (Sussex)
Moreland, J. 1991. 'Method and theory in medieval archaeology in the 1990s', *Archaeologia medieval* 18: 7-42
Morris, R. 1978. 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England, *c.*1250-1400 - Part I', *Architectural History* 21: 18-57
Morris, R. 1979a. *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: The Building Church, 600-1540* (London)
Morris, R. 1979b. 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England, *c.*1250-1400 - Part II', *Architectural History* 22: 1-48
Morris, R. 1992. 'An English glossary of medieval mouldings: with an introduction to mouldings *c.*1040-1240', *Architectural History* 35: 1-17
Morris, R. 1996a. 'Mouldings in medieval cathedrals', in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (eds.) *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 42: 211-217
Morris, R. 1996b. 'The 'building break' and its interpretation: an art historian's perspective on stratigraphy', unpub.
Muir, E. 1997. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge)
Munby, J., Sparks, M., and Tatton-Brown, T. 1983. 'Crown-post and king-strut roofs in south-east England' *Medieval Archaeology* 27: 123-135
Mytum, H. 1989. 'Functionalist and non-functionalist approaches in monastic archaeology', in R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum (eds.) *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries* BAR 203 (Oxford): 339-361

N

Nairn, I. and Pevsner, N. 1965. *Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmondsworth)
Newman, J. 1976. *Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, 2nd edit.

(Harmondsworth)
Newman, J. 1976b. *Buildings of England: Northeast and East Kent* (Harmondsworth)
Norton, E.C. 1994. 'The buildings of St Mary's Abbey, York and their destruction', *Antiquaries Journal* 74: 256-288

Q
Ohler, N. 1986. *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. C. Hillier 1989. (Woodbridge)
Olsen, B. 1990. 'Roland Barthes: from sign to text', in C. Tilley (ed.) *Reading Material Culture* (Oxford): 163-205
O'Neil, B. H. St. J. 1954. *Castles: An Introduction to the Castles of England and Wales* (London)
Oswald, A. 1951. 'The Old Deanery', *Country Life* April 13, 1102-6
Oswald, A. 1962. 'The Parliament Room', *Country Life* December 6 1962, 1421-5
Oxford Archaeological Unit 1998. *Stoneleigh Abbey, Stoneleigh, Warwickshire: Restoration and conversion of Listed Buildings. Written scheme of investigation for archaeological work* (unpub.)

P
Paley, F.A. 1947. *Manual of Gothic Mouldings* (London)
Palmer, R.L. 1930. *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages: An Outline of Monastic Architecture and Custom from the Conquest to the Suppression* (London)
Parker, J.H. 1860. 'Medieval houses of Gloucestershire', in *Gentleman's Magazine* 209: 335-354
Parker Pearson, M. and Richards, C. 1994. 'Ordering the world: perceptions of architecture, space, and time', in M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards (eds.) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space* (London): 1-37
Parks, D. 1986. 'Cistercian wall painting and panel painting', in C. Norton and D. Parks (eds.) *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge):
Parks, G. H. 1964. 'Stoneleigh Abbey', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* 79: 75-84
Patrik, L.E. 1985. 'Is there an archaeological record?', *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8: 27-62
Paul, R.W. 1912. 'The plan of the church and monastery of St Augustine, Bristol', *Archaeologia* 63: 231-250
Peacock, J. 1991. *The Chronicle of Western Costume* (London)
Peckham, W.D.1920. 'The conventual buildings of Boxgrove Priory', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 61: 1-19
Peers, C. 1933. *Finchale Priory, Durham* (London)
Peers, C. 1938. *Rievaulx Abbey* (London)
Peers, C. 1988. *Kirkham Priory* (London)
Pevsner, N. 1953. *Buildings of England: Derbyshire,* revised by E Williamson 1986 (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1958. *Buildings of England: Shropshire* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1962. *Buildings of England: Northeast Norfolk and Norwich* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1966. *Buildings of England: Berkshire* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1967. *Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmoreland* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1968. *Buildings of England: Bedfordshire, Huntingdon and Peterborough* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1972. *Buildings of England: Yorkshire, York and the East Riding* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner, N. 1974. *Buildings of England: Staffordshire* (Harmondsworth)

Pevsner, N. and Lloyd, I. 1967. *Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth)
Pevsner N. and Richmond, I. 1992. *Buildings of England: Northumberland* 2nd edition, revised by Grundy, J., McCombie, G., Ryder, P., and Welfare, H. (London)
Pevsner, N. and Wedgwood, A. 1966. *Buildings of England: Warwickshire* (Harmondsworth)
Pinnell, J. 1999. *Wenlock Priory* (London)
Pitt-Rivers, J. 1977. 'The law of Hospitality', in *The Fate of Shechem* (Cambridge)
Platt, C. 1976. *The English Medieval Town* (London)
Platt, C. 1981. *The Castle in Medieval England and Wales* (London)
Platt, C. 1984. *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England*, 1995 edition (London)
Porter, A. 1994. *Tewkesbury Abbey* (Andover)
Price, L. 1982. *The Plan of St. Gall: In Brief* (Berkeley)

Q
Quiney, A. 1999. 'Hall or chamber? That is the question. The use of rooms in post-conquest houses', *Architectural History* 42: 24-45

R
Raby, F J E. and Baillie Reynolds, P.K. 1946. *Thetford Priory* (London)
Rahtz, P. 1981. *The New Medieval Archaeology,* inaugural lecture (York)
Rahtz, P. 1984. 'The new medieval archaeology: theory vs history- comment on Driscoll', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3.2: 109-113
Ralegh Radford, C.A. 1973. *Glastonbury Abbey* (London)
Ramey, R. 1996. 'Abbot's lodgings of the Cistercian Order in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', unpub. MA dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York
Rapoport, A. 1969. *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs)
Rapoport, A. 1980. 'Vernacular architecture and the cultural determinants of form', in A.D. King (ed.) *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (London)
Rapoport, A. 1982. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach* (Beverley Hills)
Rapoport, A. 1990. 'Systems of activities and systems of settings', in S. Kent (ed.) *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space*, New Directions in Archaeology (Cambridge)
Rawson, D. 1998. 'Twilight or apotheosis? The changing nature of the later medieval hall', unpub. MA dissertation, Department of Archaeology, University of York
RCHME 1924. *An Inventory of the City of London, vol. I, Westminster* (London)
RCHME 1910. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Hertfordshire* (London)
RCHME 1913. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Buckinghamshire, South*, vol.1 (London)
RCHME 1921. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Essex, Central and Southwest* (London)
RCHME 1922. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Essex, Northeast* (London)
RCHME 1923. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Essex, Southeast* (London)
RCHME 1926. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Huntingdonshire* (London)
RCHME 1952. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Dorset, West*, vol. I (London)
RCHME 1970. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Dorset, Central*, part 2 (London)
RCHME 1975. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of the City of York*, vol. 4 (London)

RCHME 1991. *Maxstoke Priory Survey,* unpublished (NMR ref. UID 970777)
RCHME 1996. *Recording Historic Buildings: A Descriptive Specification* 3rd edit. (London)
Reece, R. 1984. 'Sequence is all: or, archaeology in an historical period', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3.2: 113-115
Remnant, G. L. 1969. *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford)
Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P. 1991. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice* (London)
Rhodes, J. 1987. 'Llanthony Priory Gatehouse', *Glevensis* 21: 9-10
Rhodes, J. 1988. 'Llanthony Priory, South Precinct', *Glevensis* 22: 14-15
Rickman, T. 1819. *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (London)
Ricoeur, P. 1971. 'The model of the text: meaningful action considered as text', *Social Research* 38: 529-56
Rigold, S. 1965. 'Two *camerae* of the military orders', *Archaeological Journal* 122: 86-132
Roberts, E. 1867. 'On Finchale Priory, Durham', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 23: 67-85
Robertson, D. 1974. *The King's School, Gloucester* (London and Chichester)
Robinson, D. (ed.) 1998. *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London)
Ross, J. 1947. *Bristol Cathedral* (Gloucester)
Rosser, G. 1994. 'Going to the fraternity feast: commensality and social relations in late medieval England', *Journal of British Studies* 33.4: 430-46

S
Sabine, A.N. 1909. 'English Monasteries on the eve of the Dissolution', *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* 1
Salzman, L.F. 1952. *Building in England down to 1540: A documentary history* (Oxford)
Samson, R. (ed.) 1990. *The Social Archaeology of Houses* (Edinburgh)
Sanders, D. 1990. 'Behavioral conventions and archaeology: methods for the analysis of ancient architecture', in S. Kent (ed.) *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space* (Cambridge): 43-72
Saunders, A.D. 1983. 'A century of Ancient Monuments legislation, 1882-1982', *Journal of the Society of Antiquaries* 63, pt. 1: 11-33
Schofield, J. and Vince, A. 1994. *Medieval Towns* (London)
Scott, T. 1986. *East Anglian Illuminators* (Cambridge)
Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. 1987a. *Reconstructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (London)
Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. 1987b. *Social Theory and Archaeology* (Oxford)
Simms, R.S. 1950. 'Cleeve Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 107: 118-9
Smith, B. 1978. *A History of Malvern* (Trowbridge)
Smith, J.C. 1969. *Church Woodcarvings: A West Country Style* (Newton Abbot)
Smith, J.C. 1974. *A Guide to Church Woodcarving* (London)
Smith, J.T. 1958 ' Medieval roofs: a classification', *Archaeological Journal* 115: 111-149
Smith, J.T. 1965. 'Timber-framed building in England', *Archaeological Journal* 122: 133-158
Smith, J.T. 1989. 'The archaeological investigation of standing buildings: a comment', *Vernacular Architecture* 20: 20
Smith, J.W. and Turner, B.S. 1986. 'Constructing social theory and constituting society', *Theory Culture and Society* 3.2: 125-133
Snape, R.H. 1926. *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge)
Stacye, J. 1874. 'The priory and parish church of Worksop or Radford, Nottinghamshire' *JBAA* 30: 277-296

Stell, C. 1994. 'St Martin's Priory, Dover', in Pounds, N. J. G. (ed.) *The Canterbury Area* (supplement to *Archaeological Journal* 151): 19-21

Stocker, D. 1992. 'Broken toes or interdisciplinary ballet: architectural history, archaeology and the recording of buildings', in G. Fairclough, D. Stocker, and J. Wood (eds.) 'Building on Recording: The Analysis and Interpretation of Buildings', *The Field Archaeologist* 16: 293-303

T

Thomas, J. 1990. 'Archaeology and the notion of ideology', in F. Baker and J. Thomas (eds.) *Writing the Past in the Present* (Lampeter): 63-68

Thompson, A.H. 1949. *The Abbey of St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester* (Leicester)

Thompson, M. 1995. *The Medieval Hall* (Aldershot)

Thompson, M. 1998. *Medieval Bishops' Houses in England and Wales* (Aldershot)

Tilley, C. 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (Oxford)

Tracy, C. 1988. *English Medieval Furniture and Woodwork* (London)

Trigger, B.G. 1989. *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge)

Tristram, E.W. 1950. *English Medieval Wall Painting: the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford)

Turner, V. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago)

Turner, V. 1977a. 'Variations on a theme of liminality', in S.F. Moore and B.G. Myerhoff, (eds.) *Secular Ritual* (Amsterdam)

Turner, V. 1977b. *The Ritual Process* (London)

Tyack, G. 1982. 'The making of the Warwickshire country house, 1500-1650', *Warwickshire Local History Society Occasional Paper* 4

Tyack, G. 1980. 'The making of the Warwickshire country house, 1650-1800', *Warwickshire Local History Society Occasional Paper* 3

Tyack, G. 1989. 'The making of the Warwickshire country house, 1800-1939', *Warwickshire Local History Society Occasional Paper* 7

Tyson, B. 1994. 'Identifying and classifying masons' marks', *Vernacular Architecture* 25: 4-15

V

Verey, D. 1970. *Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: Vale and the Forest of Dean*, rpt. 1988 (Harmondworth)

Verey, D. and Welander, D. 1979 *Gloucester Cathedral* (Gloucester)

Victoria County History 1905 *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 4 (ed. W. Page)

Victoria County History 1906. *A History of the County of Berkshire*, (ed. W. Page)

Victoria County History 1908. *A History of the County of Warwickshire*, vol. 2 (ed. W. Page)

Victoria County History 1913. *A History of the County of Worcestershire*, vol.3 (ed. W. Page)

Victoria County History 1914. *A History of the County of Yorkshire, North Riding*, vol.1 (ed. W. Page)

Victoria County History 1923. *A History of the County of Yorkshire, North Riding*, vol.2 (ed. W. Page)

Victoria County History 1924. *A History of the County of Worcestershire*, vol.4 (ed. R.B. Pugh)

Victoria County History 1937. *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 9 (ed. R.B. Pugh)

Victoria County History 1953. *Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, vol.2 (ed. R.B. Pugh)

Victoria County History 1962. *A History of the County of Oxford*, vol.7 (ed. M Lobel)

Victoria County History 1968. *A History of the County of Gloucestershire*, vol.8 (ed. C.R. Elrington)

Victoria County History 1970. *A History of the County of Staffordshire*, vol. 3 (ed. M.W. Greenslode)
Victoria County History 1973a. *A History of the County of Sussex*, vol. 3 (ed. A.T. Gaydon)
Victoria County History 1973b. *A History of the County of Shropshire*, vol.2 (ed. M.W. Greenslode)
Victoria County History 1974a. *A History of the County of Yorkshire, East Riding*, vol.2 (ed. K.J. Allison)
Victoria County History 1974b. *A History of the County of Somerset*, vol.3 (ed. C.R. Elrington)
Victoria County History 1988. *A History of the County of Gloucestershire*, vol.4 (ed. C.R. Elrington)
Victoria County History 1996. *A History of the County of Gloucestershire*, vol.5 (ed. C.R. Elrington)

W

Wade Labarge, M. 1982. *Medieval Travellers: The Rich and Restless* (London)
Waller, F.S. 1890. Notes and Sketches from Gloucester Cathedral (Gloucester)
Wallsgrove, S. G. 1989. 'Carpenters' marks', *Vernacular Architecture* 20: 9-11
Watkins, J. 1934. *The Albans Guide to the Cathedral and Abbey Church and its Surroundings* (St Albans)
Weaver, J. 1989. *Richmond Castle and Easby Abbey* (London)
Webb, E.A. 1913. 'The plan of St Bartholomew's, West Smithfield, and the recent excavations', *Archaeologia* 64: 165-176
Welander, D. 1991. *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud)
Whittingham, A.B. 1951. 'Bury St Edmunds Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 108: 168-187
Williamson, E. 1972. *Buildings of England: Nottinghamshire*, 2nd edit. (Harmondsworth)
Willis, R. 1844. *Architectural nomenclature of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge)
Willis, R. 1863. 'The architectural history of the cathedral and monastery at Worcester', *Archaeological Journal* 20: 254-80, 301-18
Wilson, D.M. and Hurst, D.G. 1964. 'Ixworth Priory', *Medieval Archaeology* 8: 244
Withers, H. 1925. *The Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (London)
Wood, M. 1965. *The English Medieval House* (London)
Wrathmell, S. 1984. *Kirkstall Abbey Guest House* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeology Service)
Wrathmell, S. 1990. 'Why the archaeologist cannot be a camera', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 7: 37-40

Y

Yates, T. 1990. 'Jacques Derrida: "There is nothing outside the text"', in C. Tilley (ed.) *Reading Material Culture* (Oxford): 206-280
Young, S.M. and Clark, J. 1981. 'Ulverscroft Priory', *Medieval Archaeology* 25: 190

LIST OF SOURCES

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Barber, W. (edit. and trans.) 1991. *Historia Monasterii Sancit Petri Gloucestriae*, in Welander, D. 1991. *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Gloucester):

Benedict of Nursia. *The Rule of St. Benedict* , edit. and trans. J. McCann, 1952 (London)

Brown, W. (ed.) 1886. 'Description of the buildings of twelve small Yorkshire priories at the Reformation', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 9: 197-215, 321-333

Caley, J. 1821. 'Copy of a Survey of the Priory of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, taken about the 32nd year of Henry VIII', *Archaeologia* 19: 270-5

Chambers, R.W. (ed.) 1848. *A Fifteenth-century Courtesy Book.* Early English Text Society 148 (London)

Chandler, J. 1993. *John Leland's Itinerary: travels in Tudor England* (Stroud)

City of Gloucester Corporation Minutes 1632-1656 (?)

Clark, J W. (edit. and trans.) 1897. *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge)

Daniel, Walter *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx,* edit. and trans. Powick, F. M. 1950 (London)

Fowler, J.T. (ed.) 1844. *The Rites of Durham, Being A description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customes of the Monastical Church of Durham, 1593.* Surtees Society 15

De la Croix Bouton, J. and Van Damme, J.B. 1974. *Les Plus Anciens Textes de Citeaux* (Auchel)

Dickens, A.G. 1951. *The Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory, Suffolk, 1510-1535* (Winchester):71-3

Dugdale, W. 1849. *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, 'Gloucester', 531-566

Durham Household Book, or, The Accounts of the Bursar of the Monastery of Durham, 1530-1534 Surtees Society 18 (1844)

Eward, S. 1985. *No Fine but a Glass of Wine- Cathedral Life at Gloucester in Stuart Times* (Salisbury)

Furnivall, F.J. (ed.) 1868. 'The Order of goying or sitting' in *The Babees Book.* Early English Text Society 32 (London): 381-3

Graves Hamilton, S. (ed. and trans.) 1910. *Compotus Rolls of the Priory of Worcester: the XIV and XVth centuries, Worcester Historical Society 23*

Harvey, B.F. (ed.) *Documents illustrating the rule of Walter de Wenlock, abbot of Westminster, 1287-1307,* Camden Soc., 4th ser., 2

Hilton, R.H. ed. 1960. 'The Stoneleigh leger book', *Dugdale Society* 24 (Oxford)

Hockey, S.F. (ed.) 1975. *The account-book of Beaulieu Abbey* Camden Society, 4th ser., 16

Jocelin of Brakelond. *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond,* edit. and trans. H.E. Butler, 1949. Nelsons Medieval Texts Series (London)

Riley, H.T. (ed.) 1965. *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani: Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, Krauss Reprints Ltd. (London)

Sabin, A. 1960. *Some Manorial Accounts of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol* (Bristol Record Society 22)

Sabin, A. and Beachcroft, G. 1938. *Two Compotus Rolls of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol* (Bristol Record Society 9)

Symons, T. (ed. and trans.) 1953. *Regularis Concordia* (London)

Tillotson, J.H. (ed. and trans.) 1988. *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages: Selected account rolls from Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, 1398-1537* (Woodbridge)

Wilson, J.M. and C. Gordon. (eds.) 1908. *Early Compotus Rolls of the priory of Worcester* (Worcester History Soc. 23): 15-23

UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

(Royal MS 13A III f.41v) on Gloucester
Architect's Reports 1855-63 Gloucester Cathedral Library

GRO (Gloucester Record Office)

GRO D936 E12/1, ff.290-290v
GRO D936 E/1, ff.267-274
GRO D936 E12/3, f.227b
GRO D936 E12/4, f.129

SBT (Shakespeare Birthplace Trust)

Leigh MS DR 18/30/24/91 Survey of the Stoneleigh estate, between 1558 and 1561
Leigh MS DR 18/4/1 *Inventory of Sir Th. Leigh of Stonely*, 1626
Leigh MS DR 18/4/20 *Inventory of household furniture*...1749
Leigh MS DR 18/4/4 *Inventory of the goods of Thomas, Lord Leigh made by Joseph Simcox*... 1671/72
Leigh MS DR18/4/6 *Inventory of the goods of late Th. Lord Leigh*, 1710
SBT DR 18/4 Repton's Red Book (1809)

CAU (City Archaeological Unit, Gloucester)

record 11/80